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EYBLOS

1100 B.C.--A.D. 200

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment for the requirements
of the degree of Master of Arts
in the History Department of the
American University of Beirut
Beirut, Lebanon 1965

BYBLOS

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author wishes to express a debt of gratitude to Dr. John Pairman Brown, Associate Professor of Ancient and Classical Languages, American University of Beirut. Dr. Brown has not only served as advisor for this work but also has given invaluable encouragement, assistance and skilled counsel, making this thesis possible.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis endeavors to state what is known about Byblos during the period 1100 B.C.--A.D. 200. Special emphasis is given to the economic, political and religious relations of the city with the empires of the ancient world. Although more importance has been attributed to Tyre and Sidon because of their predominance in the Old Testament and in classical texts, I have felt that not enough credit or emphasis has been given to Byblos. In 1899 Jules Rouvier published a lecture, Gébal-Byblos: Son Histoire Dans L'Antiquité et Sa Nécropole Phénicienne,¹ which gives the best published outline of the city's history.² John Kenrick, Phoenicia and George Rawlinson, History of Phoenicia³ are the only readable full histories. All three works were written during the second half of the nineteenth century before the excavation of Byblos; thus they cover only our literary sources, in addition to the Assyrian materials in Rawlinson. Our understanding of Assyria has however been greatly enlarged since then. George Francis Hill in his Introduction to the Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia⁴ gives an excellent short introduction to the history of Byblos.

¹Jules Rouvier, Gébal-Byblos: Son Histoire Dans L'Antiquité et Sa Nécropole Phénicienne, Conference donnée a l'Association Bibliographique de Beyrouth le jeudi 23 mars 1899.

²John Kenrick, Phoenicia (London: B. Fellowes, Ludgate Street, 1855).

³George Rawlinson, History of Phoenicia (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1889).

⁴George Francis Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia (London: Longmans and Co., 1910) Introduction lxi-lxxi.

By the light which has been shed on Byblos by the excavations undertaken⁵ by Ernest Renan, Pierre Montet and Maurice Dunand, in some cases the interpretations of these scholars must be revised; in view of the numerous inscriptions and monuments discovered. In 1963 Maurice Dunand, who has been in charge of the excavations from 1926 to the present time, published a very short history without references: Byblos, Son Histoire, Ses Ruines, Ses Légendes.⁶ I have also seen a manuscript of Professor John Pairman Brown which it is hoped will be replaced by his forthcoming collection of texts illustrating Phoenicia and Lebanon, to be published by the American University of Beirut. It is much to be desired that the manuscript history of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine by P. Rene Mouterde, S.J.,⁷ the foremost Syrian epigraphist, should be published without delay.

An attempt has been made, wherever possible, to refer to all texts, inscriptions and references covering this period in which the name of the city of Byblos appears. Frequent references have been made to the excavation reports and publications of Ernest Renan, Pierre Montet and Maurice Dunand. I have listed all inscribed monuments found on the site of Byblos dating to the second and first millennia B.C. in an effort

⁵The results of the excavations have been published in the following books: Ernest Renan, Mission de Phénicie (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale 1864); Pierre Montet, Byblos et l'Égypte, Quatre Campagnes de Fouilles à Gebeil, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924 (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1928); Maurice Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I and II (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1939). (This covers the years 1926-1938)

⁶Maurice Dunand, Byblos, Son Histoire, Ses Ruines, Ses Légendes (Beyrouth, 1963).

⁷Announced by A.J. Rustom, Iconoclasm and the Orthodox Sunday (Beyrouth 1958) p. v; Publications de l'Université Libanaise, Section des Études Historiques, V.

to corroborate the archaeological material with available texts and inscriptions as background to this thesis.

Although Pierre Montet and Maurice Dunand are responsible for carrying out the excavations at Byblos, no less credit should be given to Ernest Renan who in 1860 was responsible for the first exploration of the site. Strabo, Greek geographer of the first century of our era, in referring to Byblos states that "the city is situated on a height only a slight distance from the sea"⁸. Until the middle of the nineteenth century all knowledge of the history of Phoenicia was derived from the works of Greek and Latin authors and from references in the Old Testament. In May 1860 Ernest Renan was commissioned by Napoleon III, Emperor of France, to make a survey of the historical sites of Phoenicia.⁹ He found the remains of a Crusader castle occupying a commanding position on the accumulated debris of Byblos, as Strabo had written, on a height only a slight distance from the sea. Twenty nine houses and gardens were built over the site. After a superficial survey he realized that the inhabitants of the region, in their desire to furnish jewelry and works of art to antique dealers, had done incalculable damage to the site by clandestine excavations. Renan wrote: "Jamais peut-être on ne vit mieux que dans cette circonstance combien la petite curiosité de l'amateur est ennemie de la grande curiosité du savant"¹⁰.

Renan clearly recognized that the Crusader castle was composed of building materials of an earlier period and he noticed building blocks and

⁸Strabo 16.2.18. ⁹Renan, Mission de Phénicie, p. 1.

¹⁰Renan, p. 155.

granite columns of the Roman period used as binders in the construction.

Nassiri Khosrau who had passed through Byblos and Beirut in A.D. 1037 marvelled at the great number of columns he saw. "No one, he wrote, knows what purpose they served nor from where they were brought."¹¹

The testimony of the Spanish Jewish traveller, Benjamin de Tudèle, who visited Byblos in the twelfth century is of interest in that De Tudèle describes a temple he saw in the city in which there were three sitting colossi.¹² In 1921 Montet discovered the three broken statues sitting at the entrance of a temple he uncovered at Byblos. This building has proved to be a temple of the Roman period in which the colossi, dating from an earlier period, had been re-used.¹³ Montet's discovery is one clear instance where archaeology has been able to corroborate literary texts. It is a further indication that at Byblos building materials and architectural elements were being constantly re-used during successive periods, down to the twentieth century.

Although Damascus is commonly considered to be the oldest continuously occupied city in the world, I believe that Byblos can claim to have existed at an earlier period.¹⁴ In Phoenician legend Byblos of Phoenicia is considered to be the first city founded by Kronos.¹⁵ Archaeological evidence has proved that Byblos was inhabited during the Neolithic Age (ca. 4500 B.C.). Successive

¹¹Rene Dussaud, "Le Sanctuaire Phénicien de Byblos, d'après Benjamin de Tudèle", Syria VII (1926), p. 251. Dussaud refers to the Sefer Nameh ed. Schefer, p. 46 of the translation.

¹²Dussaud, Syria VII, pp. 248-249.

¹³Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, pp. 71-72.

¹⁴Merrill F. Unger, Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus, A Study in Archaeological Illumination of Bible History (London: James Clarke and Co., Ltd., 1957), p. 1.

¹⁵Felix Jacoby, Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker Dritter Teil C (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1958) 790 Fr 2 § 19.

settlements belonging to the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages have been found on the site. During the third millennium the city developed into an important timber-trading center with Egypt and massive city walls were erected around the city. The second millenium was also marked with close commercial and cultural ties with Egypt. Throughout the first millennium the city of Byblos survived in the face of invading armies of the empires of the ancient world. During the Hellenistic period the city developed along religious lines and became a center of worship and pilgrimage in the pagan world until the end of the Roman period. Lucian, a Syrian from Samosata born in A.D. 125, was the last traveller of the classical world to visit and to describe Byblos, the temple city of Phoenicia.¹⁶

The site of Byblos, within the city walls, has been excavated to virgin soil. The material furnished in the excavation reports so far published added to the literary texts and inscriptions extant have enabled me to attempt to reconstruct the history of this important Phoenician city-state for the period 1100 B.C. to A.D. 200.

¹⁶Lucian, De Dea Syria, § 6-9.

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CHAPTER I

BYBLOS DURING THE ELEVENTH CENTURY B.C.

A. The political and economic background of Byblos

Archaeological evidence points to contact between Egypt and Byblos during the Protodynastic Period (First and Second Egyptian Dynasties, ca. 3200-2800 B.C.). This consists of small Egyptian objects found at Byblos: a gold bead, a bird figurine, two playing pieces and a small ape statuette.¹ The first inscribed artifact of Egyptian origin found at Byblos is a fragment of a vase with the cartouche of Khasekhemui, the last Pharaoh of the Second Dynasty.² The Fourth and Fifth Dynasties are also represented at Byblos. Many fragments of alabaster vases bearing the cartouches of Pepi I and Pepi II dating to the Sixth Dynasty have been found on the site. This evidence points to close commercial and religious ties between Egypt and Byblos from the beginning of the third millenium. With the reign of Thut-mose III (1490-1436 B.C.) Byblos was drawn into the

¹William A. Ward, "Egypt and the East Mediterranean from Pre-Dynastic Times to the End of the Old Kingdom," Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient, VI (1963), pp. 1-57, especially p. 18.

²Maurice Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I (Service des Antiquités; Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Vol. XXIV; Paris:Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1939), p. 26. See Appendix A: Monuments at Byblos with datable Egyptian inscriptions.

political sphere of Egypt. The Tell-el-Amarna period (ca. 1400 B.C.) brought instability in Phoenicia and Syria caused by the weakness of Amenhotep III and Ikhnaton. The city of Byblos surrendered after repeated attacks of Aziru and of the Habiru. Egyptian influence was restored by the campaigns of Seti I (1318-1301 B.C.) and Rameses II (1301-1234 B.C.). During the twelfth century B.C. the migrations of the Sea Peoples in the eastern Mediterranean caused the destruction of the Minoan civilization in Crete and the Hittite Empire, and the settlement of the Philistines on the coast of Canaan. Towards the end of this century, Byblos entered a period of independence from Egypt, both political and commercial.

B. Wen-Amon and Tiglath-Pileser I in Byblos

The Wen-Amon papyrus, the last sizable Egyptian document mentioning Byblos, forms a suitable introduction to the city's history during the first millenium B.C. This document, now in the Moscow Museum, was found at El-Hibeh in Middle Egypt and was written in the early Twenty-first Dynasty³ (eleventh century B.C.) shortly after the period it purports to describe. The events described are probably real, possibly exaggerated; there seems no reason to doubt that social and political conditions are faithfully reflected. The document claims to be a report by Wen-Amon, the envoy of Herihor, the High Priest of Amon at Thebes, about his mission to Phoenicia to buy cedarwood for the ceremonial barge of Amon. The year was either that of the last of the Ramessids or of the kingless period following the Twentieth Dynasty. Nesubanebded and Herihor are treated as effective rulers

³James Henry Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt IV (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906) § 557. Another translation of the papyrus has been made by John A. Wilson and can be found in Ancient Near Eastern Texts edited by James B. Pritchard. A concise statement on the date of this work is found in Jürgen von Beckerath, Tanis und Theben (J.J. Augustin Gluckstadt, 1951) p. 100; von Beckerath puts the papyrus in the reign of Smendes, contemporary of Herihor.

but not given royal titles.⁴ Nesubanebbed, who ruled the Delta, later became the first Pharaoh of the Twenty-first Dynasty.⁵ The main value of this document is the picture it gives of the position of Egypt, now forced to beg and give a price for the timber of Lebanon, which in the past had been exacted as tribute by Thut-mose III and Rameses II.⁶ Although Egypt was continuing to assert herself as the predominant power in the Mediterranean area, her former vassals were beginning to express their independence of their great neighbor. The result was that Egypt was unable to exercise political control outside her own borders.

Herihor could only give Wen-Amon a small sum in gold and silver. He also entrusted him with a certain divine representation called "Amon-of-the-Way". In the past, images of gods had led the Egyptian armies into battle; in this case Wen-Amon had a "travelling Amon" to ensure the success of his mission.⁷

The account of Wen-Amon's mission to Byblos has been taken from John A. Wilson's translation of Egyptian myths, tales and mortuary texts published in the Ancient Near Eastern Texts edited by James B. Pritchard. Wen-Amon left Thebes, and upon presenting his credentials to Nesubanebbed

⁴James B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament 1st ed., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 25 and footnote no. 1.

⁵Breasted IV, § 557.

⁶Ibid., § 562. See also Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 240; the Barkal Stela, which refers to ships being built of cedar in Byblos by Thut-mose III.

⁷Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 26 and footnote no. 12.

at Tanis, was well received. This ruler, along with his queen Tentamon, arranged for a Syrian sea captain to take Wen-Amon to Dor. Formerly, when on official business, Egyptian envoys had travelled in Egyptian ships with a large retinue. Wen-Amon arrived at Dor, which he called "a city of the Tjeker". The Tjeker were one of the Sea Peoples associated with the Philistines in the great movements of the twelfth century B.C.⁸ The Tjeker king, Beder, sent Wen-Amon fifty loaves of bread, one jug of wine and one leg of beef, indicating that he considered it still necessary to show honor to an emissary of Egypt.

On the ship at Dor a man stole a total of 5 deben of gold and 31 deben of silver from Wen-Amon. This amount, about 450 grams of gold and 2.8 kilograms of silver, was to pay for the timber. Wen-Amon complained to the King of Dor, who would take no initiative, claiming the thief was not a Tjeker. After waiting nine days for reparations, Wen-Amon left for Byblos by way of Tyre. The account of his voyage from Dor to Tyre is lost; but on the way from Tyre to Byblos he states that he recovered 30 deben of silver from a Tjeker as security for his loss at Dor.

Wen-Amon arrived at Byblos four months and twelve days after he left Thebes. Since he came on a foreign ship, with no gifts and unaccompanied, Zakar-Baal, King of Byblos, refused to receive him. He spent twenty-nine days in the harbor of Byblos and Zakar-Baal sent him

⁸Ibid., p. 26 and footnote no. 5. See also G.L. Huxley, Early Sparta (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), p. 15 who states that one of the Dorian tribes, the Pamphyloi, gave their name to Pamphylia in Southern Asia Minor. According to Huxley, Doros in Pamphylia and Dor in Syria may well preserve the Dorian name; it is possible that some Dorian Greeks wandered almost as far eastwards as the Philistines themselves.

messages every day telling him to get out of his harbor. Wen-Amon in desperation requested a ship from the King to be sent back to Egypt. Finally he was granted an audience by the King. One of the noble youths in attendance upon Zakar-Baal was seized by divine frenzy and in prophetic ecstasy demanded that Wen-Amon and his image of Amon be summoned and honorably treated. This appears to be the oldest known instance of Palestinian prophecy in its earliest form and secured for Wen-Amon an interview with the King, that is, the earliest recorded ecstatic tran-

Wen-Amon recorded "I found him sitting (in) his upper room, with his back turned to a window, so that the waves of the great Syrian sea broke against the back of his head."⁹ At Byblos Maurice Dunand did not find the remains of a palace of the Iron Age (1200-500 B.C.). The foundations of the storehouses of a palace of the Middle Bronze Age (1900-1600 B.C.) were uncovered. This structure is situated close to the sea on the site.¹⁰ As the Iron Age levels at Byblos have not been discovered, whether the palace of Zakar-Baal was built over the existing Middle Bronze Age foundations is open to conjecture.

The King of Byblos was annoyed that Wen-Amon had no credentials and had sailed on a non-Egyptian ship. This could have been a factor accounting for the hostile treatment that the Egyptian envoy received. Zakar-Baal,

⁹Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 26.

¹⁰Maurice Dunand, Byblos, Son Histoire, Ses Ruines Ses Legendes (Beirut: 1963), p. 62. Dunand describes the walls of a building of well dressed masonry, as well as the substructure of a large building which appears to have been a royal storehouse. See also Dimitri Baramki, Phoenicia and the Phoenicians (Beirut: Khayats, 1961) p. 101. He states that during the Middle Bronze Age stone dressing improved. Stones were cut into perfect square or rectangular blocks and the surface was dressed very smooth. The royal palace and the temple of Baalat-Gabal at Byblos were built of such masonry.

being crafty and business-like, doubted the validity of his mission. The religious claims of Amon on Lebanon put forth by Wen-Amon did not impress the King. One must admit that Wen-Amon arrived in Byblos under dubious conditions.

Wen-Amon told the King: "I have come after the woodwork for the great and august barque of Amon-Re, King of Gods. Your father did (it),¹¹ your grandfather did (it), and you will do it too!"

Zakar-Baal replied: "To be sure, they did it! And if you give me (something) for doing it, I will do it! Why, when my people carried out this commission, Pharaoh---life, prosperity, health!---sent six ships loaded with Egyptian goods, and they unloaded them into their storehouses!¹² You---what is it that you're bringing me---me also?"

Zakar-Baal had scrolls recording previous transactions brought out and had them read in Wen-Amon's presence. There were sums of one thousand deben mentioned in the records, proving that Egypt had paid for past shipments of timber. This is significant in that it shows that the Kings of Byblos had been recording their business transactions for several generations. Zakar-Baal further stated that he felt no obligation to Egypt, either political or commercial. He did admit, however, the debt of culture which his land owed Egypt as a source of civilization. "Now Amon has founded all lands. He has founded them, but he founded first the land of Egypt, from which you come; for skill came out of it,¹³ to reach the place where I am." Zakar-Baal refused to recognize

¹¹Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 27.

¹²Idem.

¹³Ibid., p. 27 and footnote no. 24. Zakar-Baal's statement has been corroborated by the excavations at Byblos. Art and sculpture at Byblos have been subjected to strong Egyptian influences.

political responsibility to the ruler of Egypt, whom he did not refer
to as Pharaoh except in referring to a former sovereign.¹⁴

Wen-Amon mentioned the religious ties existing between his
country and Byblos, but this made no effect on Zakar-Baal. Formerly¹⁵
Phoenician princes had worshipped and paid tribute to the Temple of
Amon erected by Rameses III.¹⁶

Wen-Amon was obliged to send a messenger to Nesubanebbed and
Tentamon to request payment for the shipment of cedarwood. Zakar-Baal
shipped some timber, while waiting for the payment, as a sign of good
will towards Egypt. Among the items for further payment of the timber
which Nesubanebbed sent to the King of Byblos were five hundred rolls
of papyrus and five hundred coils of rope. Zakar-Baal gave the order
to have more timber felled. Three hundred men undertook to cut the trees
and three hundred oxen dragged the logs to the shore of the sea. It
must be borne in mind that at this period the slopes above Byblos were
heavily wooded. The area had not been exploited as in later periods,
that is from the tenth century on. Zakar-Baal still was not satisfied
with the payment and Wen-Amon was obliged to promise further remuneration

¹⁴James Henry Breasted in Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 1960), II, p. 192.

¹⁵Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 27. See also Appendix A for a list of
gifts sent by the Pharaohs of the Old Kingdom to the Temple of Byblos.

¹⁶Breasted IV, § 383, 386, 391. These three sections are from the
Papyrus Harris, listing tribute sent from the cities of Syria to the
Temple of Amon during the reign of Rameses III.

upon his arrival at Thebes.

As Wen-Amon was about to depart with the timber, Tjeker ships lay in wait outside the port of Byblos. Appealing to Zakar-Baal for help, he was able to escape from the pirates but was cast by a storm on the shores of Alashiya (Cyprus). At this point his report breaks off and the conclusion is lost.

The conclusion, however, seems self evident. Wen-Amon's report reveals the complete collapse of Egyptian prestige abroad and shows with what rapidity the most powerful Empire of the Mediterranean area had declined under the weak successors of Rameses III. The report also sheds light on the political and economic situation which prevailed at Byblos. The city enjoyed independence and prosperity. In Zakar-Baal's boast to Wen-Amon of independent power he states: "If I cry out to the Lebanon, the heavens open up and the logs are here lying (on) the shore of the sea."¹⁷ While all political control in Phoenicia had vanished, a fiction of traditional sovereignty in Palestine, without practical significance, was maintained at the Egyptian court.

When Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (ca. 1114-1076 B.C.) appeared on the Mediterranean coast, a Pharaoh, probably Nesubanebedd, feeling his exposed position on the Delta, believed it prudent to send the Assyrian King a crocodile.¹⁸ If one is to consider this gift as tribute

¹⁷ Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 27.

¹⁸ David Daniel Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), I § 392. See also § 385; Luckenbill believes this is a stele of Tiglath-Pileser I re-used by Adad-Nirari II. There is no evidence that Adad-Nirari II visited the Mediterranean coast.

or placatory, the gesture of the Pharaoh supports the fact that Egypt was on the decline. In the inscription commemorating the rebuilding of the Anu-Adad temple in Ashur, Tiglath-Pileser I records;

"I went to the Lebanon. I cut (there) timber of cedars for the temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, and carried (them to Ashur). I continued (my march) towards the country of Amurru. I conquered the entire country of Amurru. I received tribute from Byblos (Gu-bal), Sidon (Si-du-ni), and Arvad (Ar-ma-da). I crossed over in ships (belonging) to Arvad, from Arvad which is on the seashore, to the town Samuri which (lies) in Amurru (a distance of) 3 double-miles overland. I killed a narwhal which they call "sea horse" on high sea." 19

It is not possible to ascertain whether Wen-Amon visited Byblos before the arrival of Tiglath-Pileser I in Phoenicia. If we are to take Albright's date for Zakar-Beal as ca. 1076 B.C. and assume that Tiglath-Pileser marched to Phoenicia towards the end of his reign, it would appear that both Assyrian king and Egyptian envoy had visited Byblos within a short time of each other.

C. Papyrus trade in the West; Byblos and Melos

Of significance are the five hundred rolls of papyrus mentioned among the items sent by Nesubanebedd to Zakar-Beal as further payment for the timber. This is evidence that at this period in Byblos the hieroglyphic and pseudo-hieroglyphic scripts had been displaced by another type of writing. The sarcophagus of Ahiram and the royal inscriptions of the tenth century B.C. found on the site of Byblos show that Phoenician scribes had discarded the numerous signs of the Egyptian

¹⁹ Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 275.

²⁰ W.F. Albright, "The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Tenth Century B.C. from Byblus", Journal of the American Oriental Society, LXVII (1947), pp. 153-160, especially p. 160.

hieroglyphic and had developed their own alphabetic script of twenty-two letters, which was simpler than that developed at Ugarit.

There are five hundred coils of rope also mentioned as payment for the timber. This commodity appears as an important item of export from Egypt. A reference in the Odyssey indicates that papyrus rope was used for sailing purposes by the Greeks. Odyssey 21.390-391 speaks of an ὄπλον νεός...βύβλινον "a ship's cable made of papyrus." This indicates that the Greeks first saw papyrus in the form of rope. Rope of Egyptian origin had been used by the Greeks and the use of this rope was retained in tradition at a period which corresponds approximately with the period of Wen-Amon's visit to Byblos. Rope was also vital to the Phoenicians for the hauling and binding of cedar logs in shipments of timber from Byblos to Egypt. Zakar-Baal said to Wen-Amon concerning the timber to be shipped to Egypt "Give me the ropes (which) you have brought (to lash the cedar) logs which I am to cut down to make you..."²¹ Papyrus rope continued to be used during the fifth century B.C. A text in Herodotus indicates that during the Persian wars Xerxes ordered his engineers to build two bridges across the Hellespont. One of these bridges was built by Egyptian engineers who used papyrus cables τὴν δὲ βυβλίην Αἰγύπτου.²²

During the eleventh century B.C. it would appear that Egypt maintained a flourishing trade in papyrus rope and papyrus rolls with

²¹Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 27.

²²Herodotus, 7.34. The other bridge was built by the Phoenicians who used flax cables.

the city of Byblos. Byblos was the center of transshipment of papyrus to the western Mediterranean world. The fact that the Greeks associated the article with the city of Byblos and named the article after the city is indication that Byblos was the center from which papyrus could be obtained. It is probable that rolls of Egyptian papyrus for writing were also transhipped from Byblos to Greece. This commodity appears to be of important commercial value and indispensable for shipping purposes and writing during the first millenium B.C.²³

A reference to colonization in the Aegean during this period can be found in a text of Stephanus of Byzantium, writing in the fifth century of our era. He relates that the inhabitants of Byblos were responsible for the colonization of the island of Melos. "The Phoenicians were its first settlers, whence it was called Byblis from the Phoenicians of Byblos." Φοίνικες οὖν οἰκιστὰὶ πρότερον ὄθεν καὶ Βυβλῆς ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τῶν Βυβλίων Φοινίκων.²⁴ The old name of Melos is Mimblis. The names Mimblis and Mimallis, with their variants,²⁵ could plausibly be interpreted as successive corruptions. In the absence of archaeological or corroboratory evidence it is difficult to know what

²³Herodotus 1.1. With reference to the commercial activities of the Phoenicians, Herodotus states: "Among other places to which they (the Phoenicians) carried Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, they came to Argos, which was about that time preeminent in every way among the people of what is now called Hellas."

²⁴Stephanus of Byzantium, Ethnica s.v. Melos: p. 450, ed. A Meineke (Berlin 1849; reprinted Graz 1958).

²⁵Pliny, Natural History 4.12.70. "Melos, with the town of that name, called by Aristides Mimblis, by Aristotle Zephyria, by Callimachus Mimallis." Melos cum oppido quam Aristides Mimblida appellat, Aristoteles Zephyriam, Callimachus Mimallida.

weight to assign to this testimony. A passage from Thucydides, referring to a debate which took place when Athens was attempting to force Melos into the Athenian Empire, states that the people of Melos said that the city had enjoyed liberty from its foundation for seven hundred years.²⁶ One could correlate the two passages, as Thucydides is referring to an event which took place during the Peloponnesian War (towards the end of the fifth century B.C.). Therefore according to this testimony the founding of Melos took place sometime during the eleventh century, and colonists from Byblos may have been responsible for its foundation.

During the Iron Age in the Mediterranean basin, civilization was diffused by the plantation of colonies. The new cities were overseas settlements of emigrant farmers for whom there was no room in the narrow coastal plain of Phoenicia and the narrow valleys of Greece. The colonists were looking for new lands to cultivate.²⁷ The references to papyrus in the Odyssey and to the founding of Melos by the inhabitants of Byblos are two texts that point to overseas trade and colonization by the city of Byblos during the eleventh century B.C.

²⁶Thucydides 5.112.

²⁷Gordon Childe, What Happened in History (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1960), p. 189.

CHAPTER II

BYBLOS DURING THE TENTH CENTURY B.C.

A. Survey of the Near East during the tenth century

After Tiglath-Pileser's death in 1075 B.C. there was a succession of non-imperialistic kings of Assyria. Tributary states shook off whatever control Tiglath-Pileser had imposed, and Assyria was reduced to a small state contained within the upper valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. The history of the country from his death to the end of the tenth century is almost a blank. Adad-Nirari II (912-890 B.C.), who was an energetic king, reorganized the state during his reign and paved the way for military expansion. There are no texts to indicate that there was contact between Byblos and Assyria during the tenth century. During the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) there is an inscription describing an expedition to Phoenicia.¹

In the meantime Egypt continued to decline. The records of tomb robberies under the Pharaohs of the Twentieth Dynasty extant attest to the state of insecurity within Egypt itself.² The priesthood carried out

¹Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 275. The King states: "The kings of all (surrounding) countries came to me, embraced my feet and I took hostages from them and they marched (with me) towards the Lebanon forming my vanguard".

²James Henry Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906), IV, pp. 245-275. The re-burial of the royal mummies took place during the Twenty-first Dynasty.

and recorded the various removals of the ancient royal mummies, hoping to protect them from outrage at the hands of tomb robbers. The records of the Twenty-first Dynasty, which are brief and fragmentary, comprise temple inscriptions, building inscriptions and records on royal mummies.

Under the last Ramessid, as seen in the report of Wen-Amon, a local dynast of Tanis called Nesubanebded had assumed political control of the Delta. At the death of Rameses XII, Nesubanebded became King of Lower Egypt. At Thebes, Herihor, the High Priest of Amon, became King of Upper Egypt. At Herihor's death, his family was unable to retain power, and Nesubanebded for a period ruled the whole country. Although Herihor's grandson, Paynozem I, likewise became sole king for a time, the Tanites were dominant. Manetho chronicled Nesubanebded and his Tanite successors alone as kings of the Twenty-first Dynasty.³

Unity was restored between the two kingdoms by Sheshonk I (954-924 B.C.), the half-Libyan warrior prince of Bubastis in the Delta, when he seized the throne. Founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty, Sheshonk I tried to extend Egyptian political control to Palestine by using discontented elements in the country. The Egyptians had maintained some control over Philistia since Rameses III repelled the Sea Peoples at the Battle of Pelusium in 1194 B.C. Unable to throw the invaders back into the sea, he had allowed them to settle along the southern coast of Palestine. The Philistines had established a confederacy of five city states, Gaza, Ekron, Ashdod, Gath and Ashkelon ruled by kings. In course of time, they expanded over the entire

³Breasted IV, p. 295.

country of Canaan, attacking southern Phoenicia and Sidon.⁴ The Philistines also entered into military engagements with the Israelites. David, who had risen to power with Philistine help (1 Samuel 27.2), was responsible for the defeat of the Philistines and was made first King of Judah and then King of Israel. In their relations with Egypt, Israel's monarchs avoided challenging Egypt directly and desired marriage alliances which would give prestige to their new royalty.⁵ The Egyptian court had become the refuge of dispossessed princes, and Egyptian princesses were given in marriage to Syrian kings and chiefs. Hadad, King of Edom, overthrown by David, had taken refuge at Tanis and had married Pharaoh's wife's sister.⁶ Later on Jeroboam fled to Egypt, and it is possible that the Egyptians encouraged him to revolt against Rehoboam, Solomon's son and heir.⁷

Sheshonk I profited from these dissensions. Twelve years after Sheshonk's accession to the throne of Egypt, Solomon died, to be succeeded by his son, Rehoboam. Solomon's vast building program had already depleted the treasury, and Rehoboam further alienated his subjects by tyranny instead of reforms.⁸ Israel seceded under Jeroboam. Sheshonk profited from this division and (ca. 930 B.C.) attacked the divided Kingdoms of Israel and Judah. After his conquest of Jerusalem he returned to Egypt

⁴Justin, Abregé Des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompee I (Paris: Librairie Garnier Freres), 18.3.5.

⁵ 1 Kings 3.1. ⁶ 1 Kings 11.19.

⁷ 1 Kings 11.40. ⁸ 1 Kings 12.10,11.

with the spoils of the Temple built by Solomon; the golden shields and treasures of the palace (2 Chronicles 12.2-9). In Byblos a royal inscription (No. 3 below) was found; a fragment from the base of a statue which has inscribed on it the cartouche of Sheshonk I⁹ and three incomplete lines of Phoenician letters.

In the great Karnak relief commemorating Sheshonk's campaign, a number of places in Palestine can be identified whose names are known to us from the Old Testament. This is important, as it shows that all these well known places existed as fortified towns in the days of Solomon and Sheshonk. Whether they all really submitted to Sheshonk is not known.¹⁰ Sheshonk I did not attempt to enforce his authority over Israel and Judah as being too expensive a course, but wisely left the two kingdoms to their mutual rivalries. The Empire of Solomon had been broken up in the interest of Egypt and he had secured the prestige and permanence of his dynasty. The Bubastites had shown proof of their imperialism, which the Tanites and the priest-kings of Thebes could not. Egypt, except for a temporary increase of wealth obtained from this expedition, was not stronger and decadence soon set in again. Sheshonk I died in 924 B.C. and was succeeded by

⁹See René Dussaud, "Les Inscriptions Phéniciennes du Tombeau d'Ahiram, Roi de Byblos," *Syria* V (1924) pp. 135-155 for a discussion on the inscription of Abibaal.

¹⁰Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 264. In footnote no. 3 J. Wilson states that R.S. Lamon and G.M. Shipton have published a fragment of a monumental stela bearing the name of Sheshonk I at Meggido indicating that the Pharaoh had set up a triumphal arch there. This piece of evidence and the inscription of Abibaal at Byblos attest to Sheshonk's presence on Asiatic soil.

his son Osorkon I (924-889 B.C.)

During the reign of Osorkon I Egypt made no further attack on Palestine. There is an inscription listing gifts which Osorkon, in the fourth year of his reign, bestowed on the gods and which was chronicled by him in the Temple of Bubastis. For some reason he compiled a record of all the statues, images, vessels, utensils and the like which he had presented to the temples of Egypt. The amounts of gold and silver were sufficiently large to be of economic importance.¹¹ It could be conjectured that the treasures of the Temple of Jerusalem and the royal palace may have figured among these gifts. That such sums could be given to the temples, evidently in addition to their fixed incomes, is proof of the wealth of the Twenty-second Dynasty. The bust of a beautiful statue in reddish sandstone of Osorkon I with a bilingual text (No. 4 below) is presently found at the Louvre. The plaster cast of this interesting statue is in the Beirut National Museum. The Phoenician text consists of three lines inscribed around the cartouche of Osorkon I.

¹¹Breasted IV, p. 362.

¹²René Dussaud, "Dédicace d'Une Statue d'Osorkon par Elibaal, Roi de Byblos," *Syria* VI (1925) pp. 101-110. This statue was probably found by a clandestine excavator at Byblos towards the end of the nineteenth century who sold it to a private collector. It came to the attention of the Egyptologist, Wiedemann, in Naples in 1881. It was put up for sale in Paris in 1910 and bought by the Peytel family who donated the statue to the Louvre when convinced of the exceptional interest the statue raised.

B. The royal inscriptions of the tenth century at Byblos

This background throws light on the historical and political situation during the tenth century in the Near East in general and Byblos in particular. The city states of Phoenicia were no longer bound by political ties to Egypt, nor had they any immediate fear from the imperialistic designs of Assyria. It can be assumed that Byblos enjoyed a period of independence and commercial expansion during the latter part of the eleventh century as well as all of the tenth century. Commercial and cultural relations with Israel reached their height during the reign of Solomon earlier in the century. Towards the end of the century the inscriptions of Elibaal and Abibaal indicate that the kings of Byblos in their religious dedications to the Temple of Byblos wished to be associated with offerings of the Pharaohs Sheshonk I and Osorkon I, perhaps as a safeguard from future encroachments by the kings of Assyria. Close ties with Egypt in the past had resulted in important commercial benefits for the city of Byblos. Therefore it appears only natural that the kings of Byblos would tend to associate themselves with a friendly neighboring country.

A series of royal Phoenician inscriptions have been found on the site of Byblos. Dussaud published these in Syria V (1924) and Syria VI (1926). Albright republished the inscriptions in the Journal of the American Oriental Society Vol. LXVII (1947) under the title "The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Tenth Century B.C. from Byblus." To these inscriptions he adds the inscription found on the sarcophagus

of Ahiiram, placing it at the beginning of the tenth century.

In 1923 the discovery by Pierre Montet of the sarcophagus of Ahiiram caused a sensation, inasmuch as the lid of the sarcophagus had inscribed on it the earliest form of the Phoenician alphabetic script yet to be discovered. Several of the Phoenician letters appeared so archaic in form that it was natural to date the inscription several centuries before the Moabite stone, the oldest datable document in the North Semitic alphabet, ca. 835 B.C. Moreover, in view of the facts that two fragments of alabaster vases bearing the cartouche of Rameses II were found in the debris which filled the tomb itself and the adjacent shaft leading to the surface, and that pottery was found within the tomb belonging to the Late Bronze Age (1400-1200 B.C.), it was believed by Dunand and others at the time that the tomb should be dated as early as the thirteenth century B.C. This date, however, was not accepted readily by all scholars. A comparison with the royal inscription of Abibaal, King of Byblos, incised on a large fragment of what appeared to be a seated statue of Sheshonk I (945-924 B.C.), altered this view. The script of the Ahiiram and Abibaal inscriptions is so nearly identical that it seems quite evident that both fall within the tenth century, the sarcophagus of Ahiiram belonging to the beginning of the century.¹³ The vase fragments bearing the cartouches

¹³W.F. Albright, "The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Tenth Century B.C. from Byblus," Journal of the American Oriental Society LXVII (1947), 154.

of Rameses II would then have to be considered as fragments of older debris. This is understandable in Byblos where digging and exploitation of the site within the city walls has been carried out continuously throughout the centuries. Dunand reversed his position in 1946 and agreed with Albright's views by dating the sarcophagus about 1000 B.C.¹⁴ However, in his latest publication, Dunand places the sarcophagus at the end of the thirteenth century.¹⁵ There is no evidence that he published a paper refuting his conclusions put forth in 1946.

In this chapter the writer is following Albright's translations and chronology. The following are translations of the royal inscriptions found at Byblos.

1. Ahram (ca. 1000 B.C.)

The coffin which (It)tobaal, son of Ahiram, king of Byblus, made for his father as his ab(o)de in eternity. And if any king or any governor or any army commander attacks Byblus and exposes this coffin, let his judicial scepter be broken, let his royal throne be overthrown, and let peace flee from Byblus; and as for him, let a vagabond (?) efface his inscription(s)! 16

Graffito on the side of the tomb shaft of Ahiram

(1) Attention! (2) Behold, thou shalt come to grief (3) below here!¹⁷

¹⁴Maurice Dunand, Byblia Grammata (Beyrouth:1945), République Libanaise, Ministère de l'Education Nationale et des Beaux Arts, Direction des Antiquités, Etudes et Documents d'Archéologie, Tome II. See Post-Scriptum (April 1946) circulated after publication of the book.

¹⁵Maurice Dunand, Byblos, Son Histoire, Ses Ruines, Ses Légendes (Paris:Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1963), p. 29.

¹⁶Albright, JACS LXVII (1947) pp. 155-156. See also Pritchard, 2nd ed.(1955), p. 504 for translation.

¹⁷Albright, JACS LXVII, p. 156.

The sarcophagus inscription is directed against any person who might capture the city of Byblos and subsequently desecrate the royal tomb. Ironically it did not deter robbers and the tomb was looted completely in antiquity. It is obvious that in Byblos, as in Egypt, tomb robbery was an ordinary occurrence.

The appearance of the sarcophagus of Ahiram is already strikingly different from all previous ones found at Byblos. The workmanship indicates that local art had developed appreciably along its own lines. The royal necropolis of Byblos has produced nine tombs; the sarcophagi found in these tombs are plain, made generally of white limestone, polished inside and outside.¹⁸

On the lid of the sarcophagus of Ahiram the tenons are formed by the protruding heads of two lions which are sculptured in low relief. The tenons had a functional purpose; namely, ropes were tied to them when the lid was lowered into the shaft. On the sarcophagus itself King Ahiram is represented twice on either side. The sarcophagus is borne by four crouching lions and there are different scenes depicted on the sides. Side I, which was visible when entering the tomb from the shaft, shows Ahiram seated on a throne guarded by cherubs. In front of him is a rich offering table towards which courtiers advance. The motif of the cherubs on the throne is also found in Hebrew art; the cherubs guarding the Ark (1 Kings 6.23-28). This art object appears

¹⁸See Pierre Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1928), p. 156 for a detailed description of the tombs dating to the Middle Bronze Age at Byblos. On the Ahiram sarcophagus the scene with the deceased king seated before an offering table and holding a lotus is distinctly Egyptian. This entire side shows a scene which is universal in Egyptian tombs.

to be of Gibleite inspiration. It is described by Ezekiel 9,3 and 10,4 who sees the Lord on a cherubim throne. It is also found in Hebrew literature and is seen in the Book of Psalms: "He rode on a cherub,¹⁹ and flew; he came swiftly upon the wings of the wind."

Seven persons advance towards King Ahiiram in an attitude of greeting. The two small sides of the sarcophagus are occupied by four women, two beating their breasts and two lifting their arms over their heads. The second long side depicts a procession of people carrying offerings: two women with baskets on their heads, followed by two men carrying jugs on their shoulders. Then comes a man leading a sacrificial goat and finally three persons with hands lifted in salutation or grief. On top of these scenes there is a frieze of alternate lotus flowers, some opened, some closed, which shows strong Egyptian influence. This Egyptian motif is seen on top of a rope design running all around the sarcophagus, the latter being a Syrian motif. The lions bearing the sarcophagus, the beasts on the lid and the double image of the king are Syrian and have no Egyptian prototypes or copies. These Syrian motifs are also found in Zenjirli on stelae and bas reliefs. The artisans of Byblos, although they borrowed freely from Egypt and Mesopotamia, had their own method of execution; and thanks to their imaginative faculties, they formed new combinations and styles.

¹⁹ Psalm 18,10.

2. Yehimilk (ca. 950 B.C.)

- (1) The temple which Yehimilk, king of Byblus, built--
- (2) it was he who restored the ruins of these temples.
- (3) May Baal-shamem and Baal-(ath)-Gebal
- (4) and the assembly of the holy gods of Byblus
- (5) prolong the days of Yehimilk and his years
- (6) over Byblus as a rightful king and a true
- (7) king before the h(oly) gods of Byblus! 20

The inscription of Yehimilk engraved on a stele was found by Dunand during his first campaign. The stele was buried in five meters of debris in the area between the Crusader castle and the Colonnade on the site directly above the Roman levels. The Temple of the Baalat-Gebal is found in this general area of Byblos, and the restoration which Yehimilk undertook is probably connected with this temple.

Dunand places this inscription in the first part of the twelfth century
21
B.C.

3. Abibaal (ca. 925 B.C.)

- (1) (The statue (?) which) Abibaal, king of (Byblus, son of Yehimilk (?),
- (2) king) of Byblus, (br)ought from Egypt for Baal(ath-Gebal, his lady.
May Baalath-Gebal prolong the days of Abibaal and his years)
over Byblus! 22

This royal inscription from Byblos is found on a fragment of the base of a statue of a seated figure. It is a bilingual text composed of the cartouche of Sheshonk I (founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty, ca. 945-924) and a dedication by Abibaal, king of Byblos, which comprises three incomplete lines of Phoenician letters. The text must have been

²⁰Albright, JAOS LXVII, p.156.

²¹Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, p.4 and p. 30.

²²Albright, JAOS LXVII, pp. 157-158.

inscribed on the base of the statue during the lifetime of Sheshonk I or immediately after his death. The script of the Ahiram and Abibaal inscriptions is so nearly identical that Albright places them both in the tenth century B.C.

4. Elibaal (ca. 915 B.C.)

- (1) The statue which Elibaal, king of Byblus, son of Yehi(milk, king of Byblus,) made
- (2) (for Ba)alath-Gebal, his lady. May Baalath(-Gebal) prolong
- (3) (the days of E)libaal and his years over (Byblus)! ²³

This important bilingual text is inscribed on the bust of a statue in reddish sandstone of Osorkon I (924-895 B.C.), the son and successor of Sheshonk I. The statue, which is now in the Louvre, was for many years in the hands of private collectors. It was not known to be from Byblos. The Phoenician text is curiously engraved on the chest of the statue in three lines which undulate like a necklace around the cartouche of Osorkon. For a time the alphabetic inscription was thought to be Carian. In 1924 Dussaud was able, when shown the photograph of the inscription, to confirm that the text was not in Carian but in archaic Phoenician letters. Dussaud concluded that the statue of Osorkon had been erected by the King of Byblos, Elibaal, in the temple of the Baalat-Gebal. ²⁴ Two other fragments, the upper arm of a statue bearing the cartouche of Osorkon I with four Phoenician letters above the cartouche and a fragment of an elbow, were found by

²³Ibid., p. 158.

²⁴See R. Dussaud, "Dedicace d'Une Statue d'Osorkon par Elibaal, Roi de Byblos," Syria VI, pp. 101-110.

25

Dunand in 1926 in the surface debris of Byblos. Montet has also published three fragments which he had attributed to Osorkon I. One of these fragments bears part of a royal cartouche which he believed should be attributed to Osorkon I.²⁶

This inscription mentions the name of a new king at Byblos, who was perhaps the successor of Abibaal. Whereas the text of Abibaal can be dated by the form of its letters, this inscription indicates that Elibaal is the contemporary of Osorkon I (ca. 924-889 B.C.). Either the latter gave the statue to Elibaal, or Elibaal ordered the statue of Pharaoh from Egypt. The reddish sandstone is from the quarry at Mokattam near Cairo. It would appear then that Osorkon was held in prestige and respected by the king of Byblos. Furthermore the workmanship of the statue indicates that the artistic tradition in Egypt during the Twenty-second Dynasty had not fallen to a low standard as in the succeeding period.

5. Shipit-Baal (end of the tenth century)

- (1) The wall which Shipit-Baal, king of
- (2) Byblus, son of Elibaal, king of Byblus,
- (3) son of Yehimilk, king of Byblus, built for Baalath-
- (4) Gebal, his lady. May Baalath-Gebal prolong 27
- (5) the days of Shipit-Baal and his years over Byblus!

²⁵M. Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, p. 17.

²⁶P. Montet, Byblos et l'Egypte, pp. 49-53, Catalogue Nos. 26-30. See also Plates XXXVI, XXXVII, and XXXVIII.

²⁷Albright, JAOI LXVII, p. 158.

This inscription provides the key to the genealogy of the kings of Byblos during the tenth century B.C. A list of kings who reigned from 1100 B.C. to 333 B.C. has been made by Albright and is given as follows:

Zakar-Baal	c. 1075 B.C.
.....	
Ahram	c. 1000
Ittobaal (son of Ahram)	c. 975
Yehimilk	c. 950
Abibaal (son of Yehimilk?)	c. 930
Elibaal (son of Yehimilk)	c. 920
Shipit-Baal I (son of Elibaal)	c. 900
.....	
.....	
Shipit-Baal II (Sipitti-bi'il)	c. 740
Ormilk I (Uru-milki)	c. 701
Milk-asaph (Milki-asapa)	c. 670
.....	
.....	
Shipit-Baal III	c. 500
.....	
Ormilk II	
Yihar-Baal (son of Ormilk II)	
Yehaw-milk (son of Yihar-Baal)	c. 450?
.....	
El-paal	c. 360
Ozi-Baal	348
Addir-milk	c. 340
Ayyin-El	333 28

These tenth century inscriptions, in addition to throwing light on the history of Byblos during this period, also illustrate the question of Ugaritic-Phoenician relationships. Albright states that there are many similarities in language between Phoenician and Ugaritic. Since Byblos was only about one hundred miles in a straight line from Ugarit, and since only some four centuries separate the two groups of inscriptions, this is to be expected. If the opinion of most Ugaritic scholars that

²⁸Ibid., p. 160.

Ugaritic is a Canaanite dialect is right, the close relationship between them is inevitable. The Canaanite of the Amarna letters from Byblos resembles Ugaritic more closely, since they are contemporary instead of being separated by four centuries.²⁹

It is interesting to note from the inscriptions of Abibaal and Elibaal that the kings of Byblos towards the end of the tenth century wished to be associated with the Egyptian pharaohs in their dedications to the Baalat-Gabal. Sheshonk I's campaign in Palestine and the sack of Jerusalem may have contributed to this attitude. Traditionally the city of Byblos did not offer any resistance to the invader. From the time of Egyptian domination in Phoenicia, the cities of Byblos and Sidon had followed another line of conduct from that of the other Canaanite cities. Instead of attempting to gain independence they sided with the Egyptians, to whom they remained faithful under all circumstances.³⁰ Yet Byblos was never a province of Egypt, nor was the city administered by the Egyptians. At most she was an Egyptian enclave. The pharaohs, whose people were declining as sailors nor merchants, had need of the inhabitants of Byblos. Consequently Byblos received more favorable conditions and privileges from the rulers of Egypt. In true merchant spirit, Byblos preferred the advantages resulting from adhering to a big empire in which they had held a privileged position to a more complete degree of independence.

²⁹Ibid., p. 160. The resemblance is in terms of vocabulary only.

³⁰Jules Rouvier, "Gébal-Byblos, Son Histoire dans l'Antiquité et Sa Nécropole Phénicienne," Conférence donnée à l'Association Bibliographique de Beyrouth le jeudi 25 mars 1899, p. 11.

Towards the end of the tenth century, the kings of Byblos looked east with apprehension. Assyria under Adad-Nirari II (912-890 B.C.) was looking westwards to expand. In the previous century Tiglath-Pileser I had reached the shores of the Mediterranean but had returned to Ashur. Would a new conqueror from Assyria do the same? The kings of Byblos, after a period of independence from Egypt, hastened to strengthen their ties with a new vigorous dynasty which had already showed proof of its imperialism. The Twenty-second Dynasty founded by Sheshonk I would give stability to the Near East. In the past a stable dynasty in Egypt had furthered the commercial activities of Byblos. The kings of Byblos preferred to turn towards Egypt where there was a relatively strong government in order to pursue their commercial interests.

C. Relations of Byblos with Israel

In the Book of Joshua, Chapter 13, the ideal limits of the Promised Land are set forth. The basis for this is linguistic as all the inhabitants of this area spoke Canaanite. The reference to Byblos is as follows:

In the south, all the land of the Canaanites, and Mearah which belongs to the Sidonians, to Aphek, to the boundary of the Amorites, and the land of the Gebalites, and all Lebanon, toward the sunrise from Ba'al-gad below Mount Hermon to the entrance of Hamath, all the inhabitants of the hill country from Lebanon to Misrephothmaim, even all the Sidonians. I will myself drive them out from before the people of Israel; only allot the land to Israel for an inheritance, as I have commanded you. Now therefore divide this land for an inheritance to the nine tribes and half the tribe of Manasseh. 31

³¹Joshua 13.4-7.

The Hebrews, in their desire to conquer Canaan, felt that the whole land of Phoenicia including Gebal-Byblos belonged to them.

In Psalm 92 and elsewhere the cedars of Lebanon occur as metaphors. In this context this suggests that Phoenicia was thought of, at least potentially, as part of the same cultural area. The same language was spoken (Isaiah 19,18). There was intermarriage between the royal houses of Israel and Tyre. Israel was subjected to strong cultural influences from Phoenicia. The Phoenician city-states, on the other hand, were on the lookout for new markets for the export of timber. Strong commercial ties were established between the two countries upon the initiative of King Hiram of Tyre.

It is during the tenth century B.C. that trade relations between the Phoenician city-states and Israel reached their highest point. References to these important commercial transactions are described in detail in various books of the Old Testament. Not long after David's capture of the Jebusite stronghold on Mount Zion, Hiram sent messengers to him in Jerusalem. 1 Chronicles 14,1 relates: "And Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David and cedar trees, also masons and carpenters to build a house for him." David accepted their services and a palace was built for him. 2 Samuel 7,2 states: "The king said to Nathan the prophet, 'See now, I dwell in a house of cedar, but the ark of God dwells in a tent.' " This presupposes the building of the temple, which took place on such a grand scale during the reign of Solomon. 1 Chronicles 22,2-4 relates how David made the preparations for the construction of the temple, feeling his son Solomon was too young and inexperienced for such an undertaking. He provided the materials for the construction

before his death including "cedar timbers without number; for the Sidonians and Tyrians brought great quantities of cedar to David."³²

At this period, from a commercial point of view, Tyre appeared to be the most enterprising of the Phoenician city-states. In 1 Kings 5,6-18 Hiram appears to be also the king of the Sidonians, as well as having authority over the men of Gebal (Byblos). This reference could be correlated with Homeric passages where the term Sidonian is identified with the Phoenicians in general (cf. Iliad 23,740). It is possible that Tyre acted as middleman in commercial transactions of great importance, with Sidon and Byblos acting as suppliers of raw materials and skilled workmanship. As far as Byblos is concerned there is no evidence to be found that Tyre had political authority over the city.

The commercial transaction between Hiram and Solomon was for Tyre to furnish cedar and cypress timber in return for agricultural products (1 Kings 5,10). The narrow coastal plains of Phoenicia were inadequate for growing wheat in comparison to the vast plains of the interior.³³ Importation was necessary, as it is today, for a growing population. According to 1 Kings 5,11 twenty thousand cors of wheat and twenty thousand cors of beaten oil were allocated to Hiram on a yearly basis.

A large number of workmen were employed on the project of cutting timber. It is evident that carpenters and workmen from Phoenicia went to

³²1 Chronicles 22,4.

³³At a later date, during the Roman period, the people of Tyre and Sidon came to Herod in a delegation. Acts 12,20 states that the delegation asked for peace because their country depended on Herod's country for food.

Israel to prepare, cut and process the timber, as the Israelites were not trained for this type of work. Although Solomon had seventy thousand burden bearers and eighty thousand hewers of stone in the hill country in addition to overseers, the important work in the construction was done by the Phoenicians. 1 Kings 5.18 states: "So Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders and men of Gebal did the hewing and prepared the timber and stone to build the house." From this passage the "men of Gebal" appear as highly esteemed artisans, carpenters and stone hewers. The specific mention by name of their city of these specialized workers indicates that both Solomon and Hiram realized the importance of their participation in the undertaking.

1 Kings Chapters 6 and 7 give a detailed account and description of the temple and the palace which were built. From the description of the Temple of Solomon it would appear to be a provincial copy of the great Temple of Melqart (Herakles) at Tyre to which Herodotus refers.³⁴

1 Kings 7.15 relates that workmen of Hiram of Tyre came specially to Jerusalem for the casting of the two pillars of bronze in front of the temple, which is typical of any Semitic sanctuary. Tyre, in this context, appears to be a center specializing in metal work while Gebal appears as the main center of the cedar and timber processing trade. Gebal had a tradition of two thousand years in timber shipments to Egypt and it is only normal that the city should retain the techniques and crafts of the timber trade.

At the completion of both the temple and palace after twenty years a further payment was made by Solomon; this time not in agricultural products

³⁴Herodotus 2.44. See also G. Ernest Wright, Biblical Archaeology (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957), pp. 136-137. The temple adjacent to the palace at Tell-Tainat in Syria dating ca. 8th century B.C. reproduces the plan of the Jerusalem temple.

but in land. Twenty cities in the land of Galilee were given to Hiram; which displeased him. Hiram no doubt had to pay the city of Gebal and its workmen for the important role they had played in the procurement, processing and shipment of timber, in addition to their work which they furnished as trained specialists in Jerusalem. The twenty cities in Galilee proved inadequate for the cedar, cypress timber and gold sent by the city-states of Phoenicia.

The building of the temple and palace of Solomon was the result of a transaction entered into by the King of Tyre and the King of Israel; a commercial transaction of great economic importance during the tenth century B.C. For Israel the palace gave prestige to the monarchy; the temple a satisfaction to the religious needs of the people; for the Phoenician city-states, wheat and oil were assured for local consumption for a period of twenty years. Moreover, Israel was exposed to the cultural influences of Phoenicia. Phoenician techniques were imitated and adapted by the Hebrews. Albright states that the orthography of the Hebrews was ³⁵ greatly influenced by the Phoenicians at the height of this cultural influx. Although Phoenicia and Israel were not two separate cultures as they comprised a single linguistic area, the Phoenicians, due to their geographical position on the coast, were more exposed to various influences from other countries; some of which they not only borrowed and adopted to their own use but also spread to their neighbors.

Although this costly building program undertaken by Solomon was to bring about the political break-up of the Kingdom of Israel as a result of

³⁵Albright, JAOS LXVII, p. 159.

heavy taxation and discontent, from a purely cultural point of view the Israelites were exposed to the more advanced culture of the Phoenicians in the realm of art and architecture and benefitted from this exchange.

CHAPTER III

BYBLOS DURING THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

A. Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.)

At the beginning of the ninth century B.C. the threat of Assyria loomed large in the East. Byblos had lived through a period of independence and prosperity in the previous century and apart from Sheshonk I, founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty (ca. 945-924 B.C.), who had marched on Jerusalem, no other invading armies had crossed the Near East. The Great Karnak relief is the last inscription mentioning Egyptian intervention in Palestine. The records of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Dynasties do not mention Phoenicia.¹

The first direct contact with the Assyrian Empire had taken place at the time of the expedition of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076 B.C.). The coastal city-states of Phoenicia had paid the customary tribute, following which the king withdrew with his armies to Ashur. In 877 B.C. Ashurnasirpal II made an expedition to Carchemish and Phoenicia. The principal cities of Phoenicia upon his approach made haste to submit. Embassies were sent to meet the Assyrian monarch laden with tribute in the hope of

¹No Egyptian texts covering this period with references to Phoenicia have been published by Breasted or Pritchard. There are a few references to the procurement of cedar wood from Phoenicia during the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties. See Pritchard, 1st ed., pp. 360-365; pp. 471, 491 and 494.

paving the way for a nominal subjection.² Arvad, which as the most northern state was the most directly threatened, together with Byblos, Sidon and Tyre became, in name, Assyrian dependencies. After subjecting Carchemish, Ashurnasirpal II marched towards Phoenicia receiving tribute from the cities through which he passed. He states in his inscription:

At that time I seized the entire extent of the Lebanon mountain and reached the Great Sea of the Amurru country. I cleaned my weapons in the deep sea and performed sheep-offerings to (all) the gods. The tribute of the seacoast—from the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Mahallata, Maiza, Kaiza, Amurru, and (of) Arvad which is (an island) in the sea, (consisting of): gold, silver, tin, copper containers, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, large and small monkeys, ebony, boxwood, ivory from walrus tusk—(thus ivory) a product of the sea,—(this) their tribute I received and they embraced my feet.³

A classical reference to this period is found in a text of Josephus. Quoting Menander of Ephesus, Josephus relates events in the reign of Ithobalos, King of Tyre. He states: "He it was who founded the city of Botrys in Phoenicia and Auza in Libya."⁴ One could conjecture that Tyre was moving northwards at this time with the result that the other Phoenician city-states to the north on the coast were under Tyre's hegemony.

There are no records extant referring to the remaining years of the reign of Ashurnasirpal II to indicate that he engaged in any further military expeditions. Apart from a nominal subjection Byblos and the other Phoenician city-states were not oppressed by Assyria.

²Pritchard, 1st ed., pp. 275-276. The Assyrian and Babylonian historical texts are translated by A. Leo Oppenheim.

³Ibid., p. 276. See also Ezekiel 27.12-25 for commercial transactions of Tyre. Some of the imports of Tyre correspond to items in the Ashurnasirpal II inscription; silver and tin, ebony and ivory are mentioned side by side.

⁴Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 8.324. Ithobalus is also mentioned in 1 Kings 16.31 as Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians, father of Jezebel. Jezebel married Ahab, King of Israel (874-852 B.C.).

B. Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.)

Shalmaneser III, the son and successor of Ashurnasirpal II, fearing an uprising which could follow in the wake of a succession, reversed his father's policy and undertook a series of military campaigns against the Aramean kingdoms. From the sixth to the twenty-first year of his reign Shalmaneser III carried on an almost continuous war against his chief adversaries, the kings of Damascus, Hamath and what he termed "the twelve kings beside the sea, above and below."⁵ At all times he considered himself ruler of the territory west of the Euphrates including Lebanon. At some time during his campaigns Shalmaneser III erected sculptured stelae of himself as testimony to his greatness. He refers to one he had erected in the region of the Amanus mountains.⁶ Reference is also made to a stele which Shalmaneser III claimed to have had engraved by the sea.

I overthrew...of the Upper (Sea) of Amurru and of the Western Sea (so that they became) like ruin-hills (left by) the flood. I received tribute from the kings of the seashore. I marched straightaway unopposed...throughout the wide seashore. I fashioned a stela with an image of myself as overlord in order to make my name/fame lasting forever and erected it) near the sea. ⁷

At the Nahr-el-Kelb river, side by side with the three Egyptian monuments of Rameses II, there can be seen several Assyrian inscriptions. Weissbach identifies the sixth one with Esarhaddon due to an inscription which is legible in part. He states that the others are too mutilated to

⁵George Rawlinson, History of Phoenicia (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1889), p. 441. See also Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 279, Sixth Year and Eleventh Year according to the Bull Inscription.

⁶Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 277. See First Year according to the Monolith Inscriptions.

⁷Ibid., p. 278.

enable them to be identified.⁸ Rouvier claims that the stelae of the following kings are found at Nahr-el-Kelb: Rameses II, Tiglath-Pileser I, Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Nebuchadnezzar.⁹ The problem regarding the identification of these stelae must remain insoluble due to the lack of sufficient material according to Weissbach. The presence of Rameses II at Nahr-el-Kelb is further attested to by the discovery at Byblos of parts of a big doorway with his inscription.¹⁰ This indicates that apart from the erection of stelae, he also commemorated his passage through Byblos.

By far the most important battle against the Aramean coalition was the Battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C. Ben-Adad I (Adad-'idri in the inscription), king of Damascus, had been forming alliances with his neighbors. This may have been an attempt on his part to create an empire comprising Syria, Phoenicia and Israel. The emergence of Ben-Adad was a threat to Shalmaneser III. The first step he took was to defeat Irhuleni, King of Hamath (Hama). Irhuleni and Ahab, King of Israel (who was a vassal of Ben-Adad) had come to the King of Damascus' aid. Shalmaneser III in his inscription records the number of soldiers who took part in the Battle of Qarqar and the type of military equipment which his enemies used. It is interesting to note that none of the Phoenician city states, except Arvad, are mentioned in

⁸Weissbach, *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an Der Mündung Des Nahr el Kelb* (Berlin: Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1922), pp. 22-23.

⁹Rouvier, *Gébal-Byblos, Son Histoire dans l'Antiquité et sa Nécropole Phénicienne* (1899), p. 12.

¹⁰Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos I*, p. 92. See Catalogue no. 1354. The doorway has been reconstructed in the Beirut National Museum. In a passage describing the military exploits of Sesostrius, who scholars believe is Rameses II, Herodotus (2.106) states that he saw the stelae of this pharaoh when he visited Syria.

this battle. This may be due to the fact that the geographic position of Arvad rendered it more subject to involvement in Aramean internal politics. Since it was the most northern Phoenician city-state, it is probable that under pressure of the coalition the city was obliged to make a token contribution of two hundred soldiers as recorded by Shalmaneser III.¹¹ Byblos, Tyre and Sidon refrained from any participation.

In spite of the boasts of Shalmaneser III the Battle of Qarqar was indecisive. However, the king of Damascus was weakened. As a result of this Ahab, King of Israel, found it opportune as his vassal to revolt. The revolt was unsuccessful and Ahab was slain in battle. Judah and Moab, vassals of Israel, made use of this opportunity to revolt against Israel. In commemoration of the liberation, Mesha, King of Moab, set up the well known stele which was discovered at Diban and is called the Moabite Stone. The script resembles the Phoenician alphabetic script¹² which was found on the lid of the sarcophagus of Ahiaram at Byblos.

In the eighteenth year of his rule (ca. 840 B.C.), Shalmaneser III¹³ continued the struggle against Hazael, the son of Ben-Adad. In the twenty-first year of his rule (ca. 837 B.C.) Shalmaneser III marched again against Hazael. The inscription states:

In my twenty-first year, I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time. I marched against the towns of Hazael of Damascus. Four of his larger urban settlements (mahazu) I conquered. I received tribute from the countries of the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos.¹⁴

¹¹Fritchard, 1st ed., p. 279. See Sixth Year according to the Monolith Inscription (pp. 278-279) for an account of the Battle of Qarqar.

¹²Albright, *JACS* LXVII (1947), p. 159.

¹³Fritchard, 1st ed., p. 280. See Eighteenth Year according to the Black Obelisk inscription.

¹⁴*Idem*. See Twenty-first Year according to the Black Obelisk inscription.

From this inscription it is clear that Byblos, which had remained aloof throughout the military engagements, as the name of the city does not appear until now in the Assyrian king's inscriptions, thought it wise to offer tribute to appease the king. Shalmaneser III further records additional tribute sent on ships by the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon.¹⁵

In 841 B.C. in a final campaign against Damascus, Shalmaneser III ravaged the kingdom but saved the city. Jehu, son of Omri who was then King of Israel, sent tribute to placate the Assyrian. After this final campaign Shalmaneser III returned home and died there in 824 B.C.

C. Adad-Nirari III (810-783 B.C.)

At the death of Shalmaneser III, civil war broke out for two years as his sons fought for the succession. Damascus, Hamath, Israel and Babylon revolted. Shamsi-Adad V (824-810 B.C.) vindicated his claim to the throne. There are no inscriptions extant describing events in his reign which concern campaigns on the Mediterranean coast. It would appear that he restricted his military campaigning to the subjugation of Babylon and wars against the Medes.¹⁶ Adad-Nirari III undertook an expedition to regain the kingdoms which had revolted from Assyria. He marched on Damascus and made an expedition to Palestine. He gives an account of the limits of his kingdom with reference to the area west of the Euphrates and states that he imposed tribute on Tyre, Sidon, Israel, Edom and Palestine.¹⁷

Although Byblos is not specifically mentioned in this text, it is

¹⁵Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 281. See Inscription from the Bronze Gates of Balawat.

¹⁶D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia I, § 714, 715, 720, 725.

¹⁷Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 281. See inscription from a broken stone slab found at Calah.

probable that tribute was sent also on this occasion. At this period most of the Phoenician city-states followed the same policy towards Assyria. The cities retained their kings, their laws and institutions, their religion, and administration. Furthermore, apart from paying fixed tribute to Assyria, the trade of the Phoenician cities prospered. At this period Assyria had under her control the important trade routes across Asia. The inscriptions record the claim of Assyrian kings to the area "from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea", that is, from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea.¹⁸ Furthermore the hinterland comprising the Aramean kingdoms, the Hittite principalities and the Kingdom of Israel were all under Assyrian control. Assyria could have cut off the land trade routes of the Phoenician city-states had she wanted to. Being tributary states to Assyria, Tyre, Sidon and Byblos were safeguarded by a power on which they were dependent. Tyre can be taken as an example of the flourishing conditions under which the Phoenician city-states had prospered during the first period of Assyrian domination. The prophet Isaiah (23,2-8) has given a general description of the extent of the commercial expansion and prosperity prevalent in Tyre. This can also apply to the other Phoenician city-states during this period.

At the death of Adad-Nirari III in 783 B.C. the records are not clear concerning his successor. Assur-Nirari V (753-746 B.C.) made a campaign¹⁹ against Matilu, king of Arpad. This is the only information available

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 276-277. This text is taken from the "Thron-Inschrift".

¹⁹D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia I, § 749, 750. The treaty with Matilu is a document which has been much discussed.

in Pritchard and Luckenbill concerning the events between the death of Adad-Nirari III and the accession of Tiglath-Pileser III.

D. Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 B.C.)

In 744 B.C. Tiglath-Pileser III (cf. 2 Kings 15,29) came to the throne. He reversed Assyrian foreign policy in the Middle East and set about energetically to the consolidation and unification of the Assyrian Empire. At first he restricted himself to the collection of tribute.

A list of tributary states and the tribute given is listed below.

I installed Idi-bi'li as a Warden of Marches on the border of Musur. In all the countries which... (I received) the tribute of Kushtashpi of Commagene, Urik of Qu'e, Sibitti-be'l of Byblos, ...Enil of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarhulara of Gungum, Sulumal of Militene, ...Uassurme of Tabal, Ushhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tuhana, Tuhamme of Ishtunda, ... (Ma)tan-be'l of Arvad, Sanipu of Bit-Ammon, Salamanu of Moab, ...Mitinti of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz of Judah, Kaushmalaku of Edom, Muzr(i...), Hanno of Gaza (consisting of) gold, silver, tin, iron, antimony, linen garments with multi-colored trimmings, garments of their native (industries) (being made of) dark purple wool... all kinds of costly objects be they products of the sea or of the continent, the (choice) products of their regions, the treasures of (their) kings, horses, mules (trained for) the yoke...²⁰

In another inscription Tiglath-Pileser III has recorded another tribute list as follows:

I received tribute from Kushtashpi of Commagene, Rezon of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre, Sibitti-bi'li of Byblos, Urikki of Qu'e, Pisisis of Carchemish, I'nil of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarhulara of Gurgum, Sulumal of Militene, Dadilu of Kaska, Uassurme of Tabal, Ushhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tuhana, Tuhamme of Ishtunda, Urimme of Hubishna (and Zabibe, the queen of Arabia, (to wit) gold, silver, tin, iron, elephant-hides, ivory, linen garments with multi-colored trimmings, blue-dyed wool, purple-dyed wool, ebony-wood, box-wood-wood, whatever was precious (enough for a) royal treasure; also lambs whose stretched hides were dyed purple, (and) wild birds whose spread-put wings were dyed blue, (furthermore) horses, mules, large and small cattle, (male) camels, female camels with their foals. ²¹

²⁰Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 282. See (a) Building Inscription.

²¹Ibid., p. 283. See (b) Annalistic Records, Year Unknown.

This unique reference mentions stuffed and decorated animals. The use of purple dye in coloring wool and the lambs' hides indicates that the Phoenician city states, Tyre in particular, were responsible for this item, which is seen for the first time in the tribute lists.

Tiglath-Pileser III now began to tighten his control over the tributary states, leaving them no vestige of the independence which they had previously enjoyed. His policy was to rearrange the populations in the cities, to carry out deportations of peoples from one area to another. From the so-called "Annals" engraved upon slabs found in Calah, it can be seen that from nineteen districts belonging to Hamath and the cities in their vicinity, he deported 30,300 inhabitants and settled them in the province of the town Ku(...); and 1,223 inhabitants were settled in the province of Ullaba country. The Assyrians, and later the Babylonians, by forcibly transporting whole communities from one end of their empires to the other, thus incidentally effected a very thorough pooling of experience and made their cities cosmopolitan.²² Tiglath-Pileser III also appointed Assyrian governors responsible directly to himself over the cities.²³ In this manner he brought about complete centralization of government. The measures he took set a precedent for the policy of deportation which was later practiced by other Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs.

From a fragmentary annalistic text published by Pritchard it is clear that the Phoenician coastal states, although not subject to deportation

²²Gordon Childe, What Happened in History (Penguin, Hammondsworth, 1960), p. 189.

²³Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 283.

measures, had Assyrian governors put in control over them.

...the town Hatarikka as far as the mountain Saua, (...the towns:) Byb(los),...Simirra, Arqa, Zimarra,...Uznu, (Siannu), Ri'raba, Ri'-sisu,...the towns...of the Upper Sea, I brought under my rule. Six officers of mine I installed as governors over them. (...the town R)ashpuna which is (situated) at the coast of the Upper Sea, (the towns...)nite, Gal'za, Abilakka which are adjacent to Israel (and the) wide (land of) (Naphta)li, in its entire extent, I united with Assyria. Officers of mine I installed as governors upon them. 24

Byblos and the other Phoenician city-states were spared the treatment received by Israel. Tiglath-Pileser III states at the end of the above mentioned inscription: "Israel...all its inhabitants (and) their possessions I led to Assyria. They overthrew their king Pekah and I placed Hoshea as king over them."²⁵ This was direct intervention in the internal affairs of a kingdom and the Phoenician city-states were beginning to show alarm at the extreme measures taken by Tiglath-Pileser III.

E. Sargon II (721-705 B.C.)

Sargon II ascended the throne of Assyria in 721 B.C.²⁶ From the text of the "Annals" from stone slabs and wall inscriptions in Khorsabad (Dur-Sharrukin), the alarm of the Phoenician city-states manifested itself in the participation of Arpad and Simirra in a revolt together with Hama, Damascus and Samaria against Sargon II.²⁷ Sargon II states that after putting down the rebellion, he killed the rebels in their cities. This is the first indication that Phoenician city states were severely punished.

²⁴Ibid., p. 283.

²⁵Ibid., p. 284.

²⁶Luckenbill has published in Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylon I, §829, directly after the texts concerning Tiglath-Pileser III, a fragment of a small cylinder which he states is the only text extant on Shalmaneser V. It would appear that Shalmaneser V succeeded Tiglath-Pileser III but had a short reign.

²⁷Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 285.

It would appear that Arpad and Simirra were punished by having their rebels killed in their cities. Sargon II furthermore stated that he established peace and harmony. This could be interpreted that all opposition to Assyrian rule was crushed. The attempt at revolt failed and Simirra is heard of no more in the records.²⁸ Although Sargon II refers to other military campaigns against the kings of Ashdod and Carchemish, he makes no further reference to Phoenician city-states.

F. Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.)

The harsh treatment of Sargon II could have been a factor in the revolt of Elulæus (Iuli), King of Sidon, during the reign of Sennacherib. The following is taken from the account of the campaign against Elulæus and the siege of Jerusalem:

In my third campaign I marched against Hatti. Iuli, king of Sidon, whom the terror-inspiring glamor of my lordship had overwhelmed, fled far overseas and perished. The awe-inspiring splendor of the "Weapon" of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed his strong cities (such as) Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Zaribtu, Mahalliba, Ushu (i.e. the mainland settlement of Tyre), Akzib (and) Akko, (all) his fortress cities, walled (and well) provided with feed and water for his garrisons, and they bowed in submission to my feet. I installed Ethbaal upon the throne to be their king and imposed upon him tribute (due) to me (as his) overlord (to be paid) annually without interruption.

As to all the kings of Amurru-Menahem from Samsimuruna, Tubalu from Sidon, Abdiliti from Arvad, Urumilki from Byblos, Mitinti from Ashdod, Buduili from Beth-Ammon, Kammusunabdi from Moab (and) Aiarammu from Edom, they brought sumptuous gifts and-fourfold- their heavy tamartu-presents to me and kissed my feet..."²⁹

The rest of the inscription deals with the siege and fall of Jerusalem.

Once again Byblos found it expedient not to get involved in Assyrian military operations in Phoenicia. After Sennacherib captured Sidon and the

²⁸Rawlinson, History of Phoenicia, p. 444. See also Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 285 for an account of the revolt.

²⁹Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 287. This inscription is from the Oriental Institute Prism of Sennacherib, which contains the final edition of the Annals of Sennacherib.

other cities listed as dependencies of Sidon, Byblos and Arvad sent the customary tribute to the Assyrian king. Josephus relates in Jewish Antiquities 9.284 that during the reign of Elulaios the king of Assyria invaded Syria and Phoenicia. However, Josephus calls Elulaios king of Tyre and refers to the Assyrian king as Selampsas. He states further that Sidon and Arke and Old Tyre together with other cities revolted from Tyre and surrendered to the king of Assyria.

Byblos followed a policy of non-alignment which was to prove wise. Byblos was not equipped to withstand an invader from a military or strategic point of view, nor had the city the necessary protection like Tyre and Arvad which could easily become island fortresses.

Contact between the Greek world and Assyria appears to take place at this time. Sargon II refers to an Ionian Greek who usurped the throne of Ashdod and whom he overthrew.³⁰ This is another instance of Assyrian intervention in the political affairs of a tributary state. Sargon II also claimed to have defeated the Greeks who live on an island in the sea.³¹ This appears to be the first military contact between the Greeks and the Assyrians. It is probable that the island he refers to is Cyprus.

Parallel to this development, Hesiod points to a further connection between the Greek world and Byblos during this period. Hesiod Works 589 mentions a mysterious beverage for summer drinking which he calls $\text{B}\hat{\text{i}}\beta\lambda\text{iv}\text{o}\varsigma \text{o}\hat{\text{i}}\nu\text{o}\varsigma$. Since we have no evidence that wine can be made from any part of the papyrus plant, this then must refer to some place.

³⁰Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 286.

³¹Ibid., p. 284.

There is evidence in Herodotus (2.92) that the Egyptians used the top of the papyrus stalks for sale and eating purposes. Herodotus states that papyrus was best enjoyed when baked in a red hot oven. He probably would have mentioned the fact if papyrus was also fermented for drinking purposes.

Athenaeus, a native of Naucratis in Egypt, living in Rome at the end of the second century of our era, wrote a text discussing the gastronomic habits of his day.³² He refers to the mock-epic gastronomic writer Archestratus of Syracuse (fourth century B.C.) who is the only ancient source to connect Bybline wine with Phoenicia. "I praise too, Bybline wine from sacred Phoenicia," comparing it with Lesbian wine. Τὸν τ' ἀπὸ Φοινίκης ἱερᾶς τὸν Βύβλινον αἶνω.³³ When he goes on to speak of Φοινίκιος οἶνος,³⁴ it is not clear whether he means the same, or date palm wine (οἶνω Φοινικηίῳ) mentioned by Herodotus.³⁵

This is of interest as it points out that during this period there were commercial contacts between the Phoenician cities, in particular Byblos, and the Greek world. The use of papyrus in the Odyssey and the Byblian colonization of Melos also point to overseas trade and contact with the Greeks at an earlier period.³⁶ The Assyrian domination of the Phoenician coast now led to a military entanglement with the Greeks, who up to this time had been

³²Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists I (The Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951). See Introduction viii.

³³Athenaeus I 29 B.

³⁴Athenaeus I 29 C.

³⁵Herodotus 2.86. Herodotus states that palm wine was used by the Egyptians as a disinfectant in the mummification process.

³⁶See Odyssey 21.390-391 and Ethnica s.v. Melos; p. 450, ed. A. Meineke (Berlin 1849; reprinted Graz 1958). There was a Greek enclave living at Tell es-Soukas from the 8th century B.C. onward. It is now accepted that Phoenicia and the Aegean were engaged in sea-trade from the fourth millenium onward. Byblos was, from the beginning, a key spot in the sea-trade throughout the east Mediterranean.

enjoying the peaceful advantages of commerce with the Phoenician city states.

G. Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.)

Sennacherib had placed on the throne of Sidon after the expulsion of Elulaeus a certain Tubaal. Upon the accession of Esarhaddon there is an inscription which states that a certain Abdimilkutte of Sidon revolted against Assyria. Esarhaddon destroyed Sidon and executed Abdimilkutte, the king of the city.³⁷ He took the inhabitants of Sidon to Assyria to do forced labor in the building of his palace. This harsh treatment, especially the deportation of the inhabitants of Sidon, made the other Phoenician city-states fear retaliatory measures if they did not submit to the Assyrian. Another inscription of Esarhaddon indicates that Milki-asaph, King of Byblos, hurried to comply with Assyrian monarch's demands.

I called up the kings of the country Hatti and (of the region) on the other side of the river (Euphrates) (to wit): Ba'lu, king of Tyre, Manasseh, king of Judah, Qaushgabri, king of Edom, Musuri, king of Moab, Sil-Bel, king of Gaza, Metinti, king of Ashkelon, Ikausu, king of Ekron, Milkiashapa, king of Byblos, Matanba'al, king of Arvad, Abiba'al, king of Samsimuruna, Puduil, king of³⁸ Beth-Ammon, Ahimilki, king of Ashdod-12 kings from the seacoast.

The above-mentioned kings whom Esarhaddon called the "12 kings from the seacoast", with ten kings of Cyprus were forced by the Assyrian king to transport to Nineveh building materials for his royal palace.

The inscription reads:

All these I sent out and made them transport under terrible difficulties, to Nineveh, the town (where I exercise) my rulership, as building material for my palace: big logs, long beams (and) thin boards from cedar and pine trees, products of the Sirara and Lebanon mountains, which had grown for a long time into tall and strong timber, (also) from their quarries (lit: place of creation) in the mountains, statues of protective deities

³⁷Fritchard, 1st ed., p. 290. This event took place during Esarhaddon's Syro-Palestinian campaign.

³⁸Ibid., p. 291.

made of asnan-stone, statues of (female) abzastu, thresholds, slabs of limestone, of asnan-stone, of large-and small-grained breccia, of alallu-stone (and) of gi.rin.hi.li.ba-stone. 39

Thus we see the kings of the Phoenician coast and Cyprus, including Milk-asaph (Milkiashapa) of Byblos, involved in the onerous business of transporting cedar, pine wood and locally quarried stone for the royal palace at Nineveh. No doubt this was willingly complied with in order to avoid the same treatment given to Sidon by Esarhaddon.

Esarhaddon must have installed, or tolerated, a certain Baal (Balu) as king of Tyre, as his name henceforth appears in the inscriptions which concern the campaigns of Esarhaddon against the Arabs and Egypt.⁴⁰ During his tenth campaign, he proceeded from Ashur and laid siege to Tyre because Balu of Tyre had conspired with Tirhakah, King of Egypt. No mention is made of Byblos or Arvad in this conspiracy so that it can be assumed that both remained subject to Assyria. Esarhaddon then proceeded to Memphis. It is from the Nahr-el-Kelb stele mentioned earlier (see p. 36 above) that an inscription of Esarhaddon has been published by Weissbach. The Assyrian king describes his entry into the city of Memphis and describes the articles which he took to Assyria from the royal palace. He made members of the royal family accompany him; also physicians, divination experts,⁴¹ goldsmiths and cabinet makers. No doubt this inscription engraved in the rock in the proximity of Byblos was intended to keep the inhabitants of Byblos and the other Phoenician city-states in vassalage to Assyria.

³⁹Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 291. On this occasion an important amount of cedar wood must have been taken from the Lebanon cedar forests.

⁴⁰Ibid. See section (3) the Syro-Palestinian Campaign.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 293. This inscription is taken from the Dog River Stela published by F.H. Weissbach.

H. Ashurbanipal (668-633 B.C.)

Although Esarhaddon succeeded in effecting the conquest of Egypt ca. 670 B.C., within a year Tirhakah was reinstated. Ashurbanipal prepared a great expedition to regain the kingdom of Egypt lost by his father. In an inscription he states that the "kings of the seashore" brought him gifts and that he forced them to supply ships and forces to accompany him to Egypt.⁴² This inscription indicates that the Phoenician city-states were forced to supply ships and men for the sea and land approach to Egypt; Ashurbanipal succeeded in reinstating the officers and governors whom his father had installed in Egypt and who had fled in the face of Tirhakah's revolt against Assyria.⁴³

Ashurbanipal's second campaign was also directed against Egypt, but in his third campaign he marched against Tyre. He blockaded Tyre by land and sea until the city faced starvation and forced the city to surrender. No mention is made of Byblos in this connection. The king mentions Arvad arousing his displeasure and forcing the city to submit. Iakinlu, King of Arvad, brought his daughter with a large dowry to Nineveh.⁴⁴

These inscriptions indicate that although Tyre and Arvad could put up some sort of resistance to Assyria, Byblos was in no position geographically or strategically to disobey the Assyrian king's commands. Tyre and Arvad were islands; and although Ashurbanipal cut off their communications and food supply until they capitulated, it would have been impossible for Byblos to put up any effective resistance against Assyria

⁴²Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 294. This inscription is from the Rassam Cylinder found in 1878 in the ruins of Kuyunjik.

⁴³Idem.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp 295-296.

nor come to the aid of her sister city-states. The remainder of the inscriptions⁴⁵ concerning Ashurbanipal's reign deals with his campaigns against the Arabs. All the inscriptions prove, however, that if Assyria had been mild in her treatment of the subject Phoenician city-states in earlier times, by degrees the kings of Assyria had become tyrannical and cruel. The inscriptions show that they exacted costly tribute, in some cases on an annual basis. With the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III and the succeeding period, mass executions took place, populations were deported throughout the Middle East and Assyrian governors were put in charge directly responsible to the Assyrian king. In the reign of Ashurbanipal, Byblos followed a different policy from Arvad and Tyre; both of these cities opposed Ashurbanipal openly. Byblos followed the prudent policy; that is, to submit to the demands of the conqueror, to yield before being oppressed. In a tribute list from Palestine which dates to a period between Sargon II and Esarhaddon the following text is found:

Two minas of gold from the inhabitants of Bit-Ammon; one mina of gold from the inhabitants of Moab; ten minas of silver from the inhabitants of Judah; (...mi)nas of silver from the inhabitants of (Edom)

(reverse)

...the inhabitants of Byblos, the district officers of the king, my lord, have brought. ⁴⁶

Byblos remained consistent in her policy of non-alignment with her Phoenician sister city-states when this involved military entanglement or opposition to the Assyrian Empire.

⁴⁵Pritchard, 1st ed., pp. 297-300.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 301. The British Museum text K 1295 is a receipt of tribute brought from Palestine.

CHAPTER IV

BYBLOS DURING THE NEO-BABYLONIAN PERIOD

A. The Fall of Assyria

The last record referring to Assyrian military intervention in Phoenicia is an inscription of Ashurbanipal (668-633 B.C.) concerning his wars against the kings of Arabia. On the return march he conquered the town of Ushu, which is the name given to the mainland settlement of Tyre. The Tyrians had refused to pay the annual tribute exacted from them by the Assyrian governor. Ashurbanipal killed some of the inhabitants of the city; the others he deported to Assyria. He also punished the inhabitants of Accho by hanging their corpses on poles which he placed around the city. Other inhabitants he took to Assyria and conscripted them in the Assyrian army.¹ These extremely cruel measures taken by him against these cities indicate why Eyblos had made haste to deliver the city's tribute. (See page 50 above).

Earlier in the reign of Ashurbanipal there is a record which shows that he was involved in the succession of the King of Arvad. At the death of Iakinlu, Ashurbanipal installed Azibaal, one of the ten sons of Iakinlu.² This is the last indication of Assyria's political involvement in Phoenicia.

The Assyrian Empire was beset by troubles shortly afterwards which led to its dissolution and the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C. Texts from the

¹Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 300.

²Ibid., p. 296. The other sons, Abibal, Adunibal, Sapatibal, Budibal, Baliashupu, Balhanunu, Balmaluku, Abimilki and Ahimilki were retained by the Assyrian king at his court.

tenth to seventeenth year of Nabopolassar clearly indicate the events which led to the fall of the city.³ Herodotus also gives an account and states that Cyaxares, king of Media, laid siege to Nineveh.⁴ His attack did not at once succeed. This was followed up by the arrival in southwestern Asia of hordes of Scythians.⁵ Assyria was greatly weakened by this attack. The country was ravaged; towns were plundered and sacked. The Phoenician city-states without any actual revolt, due to the weakness of Assyria, regained their independence. The combined attack of the Medes and Babylonians on Assyria after the Scythians had withdrawn was to lead to the final dissolution of the Assyrian Empire.

The Phoenician city-states found their newly gained independence at stake due to two factors. On the one hand there was the fear that Babylon might lay a claim to the territory previously held by Assyria. There was also the fear of Egypt's designs on Phoenicia. Herodotus states that Egypt under Psammetichus had imperialistic designs on Syria. He relates: "The reign of Psammetichus lasted for fifty-four years, during twenty-nine of which he was engaged in the siege of Azotus (Ashdod), a large town in Syria until he finally took it."⁶ Faced with this double danger, the Phoenician city-states had no alternative but to cooperate. For the first time there can be seen some effort towards a confederation of the Phoenician states headed by Tyre.⁷ Rivalry and petty jealousies were forgotten in an effort

³Pritchard, 1st ed., pp. 303-305. ⁴Herodotus 1.103.

⁵Herodotus 4.1. See also Ezekiel 38.2-16 and Strabo 11.8 § 4. J. Rouvier in *Gébal-Byblos* p. 14 states: "Vers 625 eut lieu l'invasion des Scythes. Protégée par ses murailles, Gébal fut respectée; mais son territoire fut livré au pillage!"

⁶Herodotus 2.157. Psamtik I was founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, called the Saite Dynasty.

⁷Rawlinson, *History of Phoenicia*, pp. 463-464.

to ward off foreign intervention. Kenrick believes that the passage in Ezekiel throws light on the military system of Phoenicia. Tyre, being the predominant power, employed in her service the soldiers and sailors of other Phoenician city-states.⁸ No matter what interpretation is given to the passage, Ezekiel in his prophecy against Tyre points out under what aspect this cooperation took place.

The word of the Lord came to me: "Now you, son of man, raise a lamentation over Tyre and say to Tyre, who dwells at the entrance to the sea, merchant of the peoples on many coastlands, thus says the Lord God: 'O, Tyre, you have said that I am perfect in beauty! Your borders are in the heart of the seas; your builders made perfect your beauty. They made all your planks of fir trees from Senir; they took a cedar from Lebanon to make a mast for you. Of oaks of Bashan they made your oars; they made your deck of pines from the coasts of Cyprus, inlaid with ivory. Of fine embroidered linen from Egypt was your sail, serving as your ensign; blue and purple from the coasts of Elishah was your awning. The inhabitants of Sidon and Arvad were your rowers; skilled men of Zemer were in you, they were your pilots. The elders of Gebal and her skilled men were in you, caulking your seams; all the ships of the sea with their mariners were in you, to barter for your wares.'" ⁹

This passage is of great interest in view of the fact that it gives a description of the materials with which a Phoenician ship of this period was built as well as the technical terms of Phoenician navigation. The remainder of this chapter in Ezekiel deals with a list of the peoples with whom Tyre traded and the variety of merchandise sold. In Chapter 28 Ezekiel curses Tyre and predicts the destruction of the city at the hand of Nebuchadnezzar.

In this period of independence before the arrival of the Babylonians, the Phoenician city-states, with Tyre in the lead, enjoyed great wealth and commercial expansion. The mention of the "elders of Gebal" in Ezekiel indicates that Byblos had representatives in Tyre who were greatly respected and may have

⁸Kenrick, Phoenicia, p. 275.

⁹Ezekiel 27.1-9. R.S.V. Cyprus is the Hebrew Kittim. The place name Zemer is conjectural as published by the R.S.V. replacing the original "Tyre".

held positions as advisors to the king. Apart from the elder statesmen, reference is made to the "skilled men of Gebal". The craftsmen and artisans of Byblos were considered the best of the Phoenician city-states and held a privileged position from the time of Solomon, when they contributed to the building of the temple and palace, down through the Assyrian period. In contrast the inhabitants of Sidon and Arvad held the positions of rowers in this metaphorical ship and appear as second class citizens from allied cities. If a comparison is to be made with the social classes of the Athenian Empire a century later, the lowest class in society consisted of the oarmen. In Syracuse the oarmen were slaves. This passage in Ezekiel brings out the relative position of the cities of Phoenicia. Sidon and Arvad appear in an inferior status whereas Gebal-Byblos seems to be on an equal footing with Tyre. The elders of Gebal held respected positions in an advisory capacity and the skilled men, who were mostly carpenters, enjoyed an important responsible position in the city's economic framework.

The successor of Psammetichus, Necho, led a great expedition into Palestine ca. 608 B.C.¹⁰ He marched north to encounter the forces of Babylonia. Instead of the armies of Babylonia he met the forces of Josiah, King of Judah, at Megiddo.¹¹ Josiah fell in battle and Necho proceeded to Carchemish.

The Phoenician city-states maintained friendly relations with Egypt. Herodotus reports that during the reign of Necho the circumnavigation of Africa was accomplished. This daring exploit by a fleet manned by a

¹⁰Herodotus 2,159

¹¹2 Kings 23,29.

Phoenician crew no doubt involved the participation of skilled workmen and sailors of Byblos, Tyre, Sidon and Aradus. Even in the time of Herodotus, men wondered at this adventurous deed. Herodotus relates that after the Phoenicians in the course of the third year returned to Egypt, they reported that, as they sailed on a westerly course round the southern end of Libya (Africa), they had the sun on their right, to the north!¹² This is probably a legendary account.

B. Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562 B.C.)

Herodotus' testimony indicates that under the Egyptians, the Phoenician city-states appeared to be independent and prosperous. This state of affairs was not to last. Babylonia was beginning to look westwards and ca. 605 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, who was now aged and sickly, led the armies of Babylon against Egypt. The army of Necho stood before Carchemish. The prophet Jeremiah beheld this great battle in vision and predicted the defeat of Necho.¹³ The Egyptians were routed and Nebuchadnezzar pursued Necho to the frontiers of Egypt. He would have continued his march into Egypt had not news reached him that Nabopolassar had died. He quickly returned to Babylon in order to avoid a disputed succession.

This first contact with the forces of Babylonia, which demonstrated their strength and cruelty, was a factor in the strengthening of the ties which existed between Egypt and the Phoenician city-states. Egypt appeared now as the only protection against Babylon. The Egyptian pharaoh no doubt

¹²Herodotus 4.42. Although he reports what he considers an unusual fact, Herodotus still finds it difficult to believe.

¹³Jeremiah 46.2-12.

encouraged this trend which strengthened his own position. This cooperation resulted in the eventual revolt of Judaea and Phoenicia from Nebuchadnezzar. Tyre under King Ithobaal led the Phoenician city-states in their bid for independence. Ezekiel's prophecy was to prove correct. Nebuchadnezzar marched against the King of Tyre. He besieged Tyre, Sidon and Jerusalem. Jerusalem submitted. Sidon capitulated as the city was suffering from pestilence. No mention of Byblos is made in this context. It is obvious that the city did not intervene in any military engagements.

Ezekiel describes the siege and capture of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. The prophecy stating "And I will make you a bare rock; you shall be a place for the spreading of nets; you shall never be rebuilt; I the Lord have spoken, says the Lord God," appears in a way to have come true. After the fall of the city Sidon emerged as the stronger of the two city-states and is placed before Tyre when the two are mentioned together.

Weissbach has published an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar found at Wadi Brisa in north Lebanon near the source of the Orontes river, concerning his campaign in Phoenicia. This inscription describes the extensive logging operation undertaken by Nebuchadnezzar in the cedar forests of Lebanon. The king states that he had a stele engraved for him in order that no harm would come to the inhabitants of Lebanon. At Nahr-el-Kelb there is a stele of Nebuchadnezzar also published by Weissbach. In the Wadi Brisa inscription Nebuchadnezzar states that he brought peace to Lebanon and saw that the

¹⁴Josephus Against Apion 1.21. ¹⁵Ezekiel 28.2-11. ¹⁶2 Kings 24.10-16.

¹⁷Ezekiel 28.22-23. ¹⁸Ezekiel 26.7-14. ¹⁹Ezekiel 26.14.

²⁰Herodotus 7.100. After listing the commanders of the Persian fleet, Herodotus names the following in order of their importance: Tetramnestus, son of Anysus, from Sidon; Matten, son of Siromus, from Tyre; Marbalus, son of Agbalus, from Aradus. Herodotus 7.96 states: "The fastest ships were the Phoenician, and of these the Sidonian were the best."

inhabitants lived in safety together. His boast of bringing peace and harmony to Lebanon can be interpreted in another way. Nebuchadnezzar probably stamped out all resistance to Babylonian rule and enforced the peace. The Wadi Brisa inscription reads as follows:

(Two lines destroyed) (from) the Upper Sea (to) the Lower Sea (one line destroyed)...which Marduk, my lord, has entrusted to me, I have made...the city of Babylon to the foremost among all the countries and every human habitation; its name I have (made/elevated) to the (most worthy of) praise among the sacred citiesThe sanctuaries of my lords Nebo and Marduk (as a) wise (ruler)...always....

At that time, the Lebanon, the (Cedar) Mountain, the luxurious forest of Marduk, the smell of which is sweet, the hi(gh) cedars of which, (its) pro(duct), another god (has not desired, which) no other king has fe(lled)...my nabu Marduk (had desired) as a fitting adornment for the palace of the ruler of heaven and earth, (this Lebanon) over which a foreign enemy was ruling and robbing (it of) its riches-its people were scattered, had fled to a far (away region). (Trusting) in the power of my lords Nebo and Marduk, I organized (my army) for a(n expedition) to the Lebanon. I made that country happy by eradicating its enemy everywhere (lit.: below and above). All its scattered inhabitants I led back to their settlements (lit.: collected and reinstalled), what no former king had done (I achieved): I cut through steep mountains, I split rocks, opened passages and (thus) I constructed a straight road for the (transport of the) cedars. I made the Arahtu flo(at) (down) and carry to Marduk, my king, mighty cedars, high and strong, of precious beauty and of excellent dark quality, the abundant yield of the Lebanon, as (if they be) reed stalks (carried by) the river. Within Babylon (I stored) mulberry wood. I made the inhabitants of the Lebanon live in safety together and let nobody disturb them. In order that nobody might do any harm (to them) I ere(cted there) a stela (showing) me (as) everlasting king (of this region) and built. . . I, myself, . . . established... 21

For further information on this period reference is made to a prism, presently in Istanbul, which was found in Babylon. In this inscription there are listed the names and duties of members of the court of Nebuchadnezzar. Among the names of the master of ceremonies, the chief of engineers, the overseers of the slave girls and the cup-bearer there is mention of a

²¹Pritchard 1st ed., p. 307. This translation is from the Wadi Brisa Inscription published by F.H. Weissbach. The building of the road through the mountains to transport the cedar was a difficult engineering feat and probably involved Phoenician participation.

22

Phoenician name "Hanunu, the chief of the royal merchants." On another side of this prism seven kings are also mentioned as receiving pensions from the royal Babylonian household: "the king of Tyre, the king of Gaza, the king of Sidon, the king of Arvad, the king of Ashdod, the king of Mir(...), the king of ..."²³ As the inscription is incomplete it is not clear whether the king of Byblos is included in this list.

From administrative documents found in Babylon further light is shed on the relation between Byblos and Babylon and the privileged position the craftsmen of Byblos held in the ancient world. The tablets on which the inscriptions are found list deliveries of oil for the subsistence of individuals who were either prisoners of war or otherwise dependent upon the royal household of Babylon. The two tablets so far published mention besides the Judaeans, the inhabitants of Ashkelon, Tyre, Byblos, Arvad, Egypt, as well as Medians, Lydians and Greeks.

(text Babylon 28122, obverse 29-33)

...t(o?) Ia'--u-kin, king...
to the qiputu-house of...
...for Shalamiamu, the...
...for 126 men from Tyre...
...for Zabiria, the Ly(dian)...

(text Babylon 28178, obverse ii 38-40)

10(sila of oil) to... (Ia)l-kin, king of Ia(...)
2 1/2 sila (oil) to (...sons of the king of Judah
4 sila to 8 men from Judah...

(text Babylon 28186, reverse ii 13-18)

1 1/2 sila (oil) for 3 carpenters from Arvad, 1/2 sila each
11 1/2 sila for 8 ditto from Byblos, 1 sila each...
3 1/2 sila for 7 ditto Greeks, 1/2 sila each
1/2 sila to Nabu-etir the carpenter
10 (sila) to Ia-ku-u-ki-nu, the son of the king of Ia-ku-du (i.e. Judah)
2 1/2 sila for the 5 sons of the king of Judah through Qana'a (...)

²²Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 308. ²³Ibid., p. 308 (v).

²⁴Idem. This text is from an administrative document found in Babylon.

This is one instance where there is concrete evidence to point out the presence of artisans from Byblos as far away as Babylon. The position of carpenter was a privileged one; there were eight from Byblos in contrast to only three from Arvad; none from Tyre or Sidon. The superior amount of oil given to the carpenters of Byblos in comparison to the amount given to the Greek carpenters and the carpenters of Arvad could indicate the esteem in which the carpenters of Byblos were held in the Babylonian administration. The Wadi Brisa inscription of Nebuchadnezzar gives a description of the amount and type of wood which was cut down from the mountains of Lebanon. Special roads had to be built through the mountains for this operation. The logs were hauled overland, then tied together and floated down the Euphrates. This was an immense undertaking at that time.²⁵ The carpenters of Byblos probably were employed in a responsible supervisory capacity in the building of a large palace for the king for which so many precious logs of cedarwood were brought from the mountains of Lebanon.

At Byblos, according to the excavation reports so far published, there is no evidence of Babylonian occupation. As stated the stratified archaeological levels belonging to this age have not been found. In the area within the city walls there are no inscribed monuments published pertaining to this period.

²⁵ Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 307.

CHAPTER V

BYBLOS DURING THE PERSIAN PERIOD

A. Persian domination of the Near East and the Mediterranean

For the rest of the Babylonian period (the reign of Nabonidus 555-539 B.C.) Byblos and the other Phoenician city-states do not appear in the Babylonian historical texts. The conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, King of Persia, made him heir to the Babylonian empire but he had yet to implement this claim. In an inscription on a clay barrel concerning the deeds of Cyrus mention is made that all the kings paid homage to him upon his taking Babylon.¹ As Cyrus was engaged in campaigns against the Massagetae which tied up the major part of his armed forces in the northeast, Phoenicia enjoyed a period of autonomy.²

The only administrative measure that Cyrus took, implying that his authority reached as far as the Mediterranean, was the permission he gave to the leaders of the Jewish nation in exile to proceed from Babylon to Judaea and to rebuild Jerusalem.³ The return from captivity was, in some sense, the occupation of a portion of the West by a Persian garrison and was the first step towards Persian domination of the entire

¹Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 316. The inscription states: "All the kings of the entire world from the Upper to the Lower Sea...brought their heavy tribute and kissed my feet in Babylon."

²Herodotus 1.205. ³Ezra 1.1-11.

western seacoast which was to take place during the reign of Cambyses.⁴ The return of the Children of Israel was a fresh opportunity for the Phoenician city-states to renew close commercial relations which they had enjoyed in previous centuries. Ezra 3.7 states that cedar wood and Phoenician artisans made their way to Jerusalem. Upon the death of Cyrus and the accession of Cambyses in 529 B.C. direct intervention by Persia in the Eastern Mediterranean took place. Cambyses made preparations for an attack on Egypt. This was necessary because Egypt had regained power and some of her earlier greatness. Herodotus states that during the reign of Amasis (Ahmose II), Pharaoh of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, Phoenicia lost Cyprus to Egypt.⁵ Egypt had added the fleet of Cyprus to her forces. Persian strategy necessitated the subjugation of Egypt, if Persia were to dominate the Eastern Mediterranean world.

The march upon Egypt required that the Mediterranean seaboard be occupied and that an understanding be reached with the city-states of Phoenicia to furnish a fleet. An arrangement was made whereby the Phoenician city-states placed their fleets at the disposal of the Persian monarch. In return Persia did not occupy the cities of Phoenicia and allowed them to retain their native kings. All during the Persian period, the kings of the Phoenician city-states commanded the naval contingents.⁶

⁴Kenrick, Phoenicia, p. 393. ⁵Herodotus 2.162.

⁶Herodotus 7.98. Herodotus lists after the names of the commanders of Xerxes' fleet the following Phoenicians: Tetramnestus, son of Anysus from Sidon; Matten, son of Siromus, from Tyre; Marbalus, son of Agbalus, from Aradus. See also Arrian 2.13.7-8 who mentions that Gerostratus, king of Aradus, sailed with Autophradates and the rest of the Phoenician princes in the fleet when Alexander arrived in Phoenicia. Arrian 2.20.1-2 states that Gerostratus, king of Aradus, and Enylos, king of Byblos, learning that Alexander held their cities, left Autophradates and his fleet and arrived with their contingents to side with Alexander.

Herodotus underlines the fact that Phoenician participation in the Persian fleet was made on a friendly basis. When Cambyses made plans for several military campaigns, including a campaign against Carthage, the Phoenicians refused to sail against Carthage, as they considered the city a colony of Tyre. Herodotus states that the fleet without Phoenician participation was too weak to undertake a campaign against Carthage. He further relates that "Cambyses did not think fit to bring pressure to bear, because the Phoenicians had taken service under him of their free will, and his whole naval power was dependent on them."⁷

Herodotus' testimony indicates that the Phoenician fleet was a very important factor in maintaining the power of the Persian state. The Persians had complete confidence in the Phoenician city-states and allowed them certain benefits. The cities were allowed to maintain their native kings, their municipal administration, their national laws and religion.⁸ At Byblos the Temple of the Baalat-Gebal underwent important changes and additions. The stele of Yehamilk, King of Byblos, son of Yeharbaal, shows the importance which was attached to the reconstruction of the temple. This stele was found on the site of Byblos shortly after the Renan mission and is presently in the Louvre. At the top of the stele are portrayed the Baalat-Gebal and the King of Byblos. The goddess has on her head the solar disc surrounded by horns like the Egyptian Hathor and holds a scepter in the shape of the papyrus plant in her hand like her Egyptian counterpart.⁹ The king is garbed in the Persian fashion, in the "kidaris" and the "turreted crown."

⁷Herodotus 3.19-20. ⁸Kenrick, Phoenicia, p. 394.

⁹P. Montet, Byblos et l'Egypte, p. 5. See also p. 10. Montet states that the title "Dame de Byblos" is added to the name of Hathor from the Middle Kingdom on.

His dress and headdress resemble that of the Persian king found on the
 10
 coins of Sidon during the Persian period.

Although this ex-voto was discovered in 1869, a fragment completing
 most of its lower right hand corner was found sixty years later by Dunand in
 11
 the Byzantine levels. The following is a translation of the stele:

I am Yehawmilk, king of Byblos, the son of Yeharba'l, the grandson
 of Urimilk, king of Byblos, whom the mistress, the Lady of Byblos,
 made king over Byblos.

I have been calling my mistress, the Lady of Byblos, (and she heard
 my voice). Therefore I have made for my mistress, the Lady of Byblos,
 this altar of bronze which is in this (courtyard), and this engraved
 object of gold which is in front of this inscription of mine, with
 the bird (?) of gold that is set in a (semiprecious) stone, which is
 upon this engraved object of gold, and this portico with its columns
 and the (capitals) which are upon them, and its roof: I, Yehawmilk,
 king of Byblos, have made (these things) for my mistress, the Lady
 of Byblos, as I called my mistress, the Lady of Byblos, and she
 heard my voice and treated me kindly.

May the Lady of Byblos bless and preserve Yehawmilk, king of Byblos,
 and prolong his days and years in Byblos, for he is a righteous king.
 And may (the mistress) the Lady of Byblos, give (him) favor in the eyes
 of the gods and in the eyes of the people of this country and (that he
 be) pleased with the people of this country.

(Whoever) you are) ruler and (ordinary) man, who might (continue) to
 do work on this altar and this engraved work of gold and this portico,
 my name, Yehawmilk, king of Byblos, (you should put with) yours upon
 that work, and if you do not put my name with yours, or if you (remove)
 this (work and transfer this work from its foundation) upon this place
 and (...may) the mistress, the Lady of Byblos, (destroy) that man and
 his seed before all the Gods of Byblos. 12

The Persians instituted a vast administrative system incorporating
 all the countries under Persian rule. Phoenicia was united in the fifth
 satrapy with Syria, Cyprus and Palestine and was taxed lightly compared

¹⁰M. Dunand, Atlas, Fouilles de Byblos (1926-1932). See Plate XCI, coins
 nos. 6309 and 6310 for Sidonian double siglei. See also Fouilles de Byblos II,
 Part 2, for silver coin (Catalogue no. 7118). This coin was found in the
 surface debris of Byblos. The Persian king is seen with one knee on the ground
 facing right.

¹¹Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, p. 56

¹²Pritchard, 2nd ed. (1955), p. 502. J. Wilson states that the identity
 of the second of the three main objects which Yehawmilk here dedicates to his
 goddess is not clear. Instead of an engraved object it might have been a door.

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to the other satrapies.

The Persian king also maintained a park (paradeisos) and a royal residence in Sidon.¹⁴ The Beirut National Museum has the capital of a large column with the double protome of a bull which belongs to the Persian period. This no doubt comes from the royal palace in Sidon. At Byblos, apart from two column bases (see p. 70 footnote no. 40 below), no architectural elements of the Persian period have been found.

Under Persian rule, the city-states of Phoenicia were encouraged to establish an internal organization. Tyre, Sidon and Aradus were united by federal bonds and had a common council which met at Tripolis. Diodorus (16.41) relates the founding of Tripolis in the fourth century B.C. with the participation of the city-states of Tyre, Aradus and Sidon.

The successor of Cambyses, Darius Hystaspis ca. 521-486 B.C., ushered in an era of commercial prosperity. He united the most distant parts of the Persian empire by organized routes. Herodotus (4.52-58) gives a detailed description of this royal highway. He states that there were one hundred and eleven posthouses on the road from Sardis to Susa. Such facilities for travel enabled Greeks like Herodotus to visit distant Babylon.¹⁵ The commercial activities of the Phoenician city-states must have greatly

¹³Herodotus 3.91. Herodotus listed the twenty provinces and the taxes paid by each. The fifth satrapy paid 350 talents. A comparison with the taxes paid by the other satrapies indicates that this was not considered heavy taxation.

¹⁴Diodorus 16.41. See also Canticles 4.8. The love-garden is described as a pardes (Hebrew), which the LXX accurately translates as paradeisos. Both words are derived from an Iranian word meaning "enclosure" which in Avestan is pairidaeza.

¹⁵Childe, What Happened in History, p. 189.

benefitted by the extensive road building operations of the Persian empire, which not only facilitated transportation but also security of the roads. For this reason we see Yehamilk, King of Byblos, engaged in costly building operations. This is a reflection of the prosperity of the times.

A building inscription of Darius I states that cedar was transported to Persia for building purposes: "The cedar timber, this-a mountain by name Lebanon-and from there was brought."¹⁶

Darius, towards the end of the sixth century, established a uniform coinage throughout the Persian empire, based apparently on the coinage of Lydia. The Greeks called the coins "darics". At first the coins were made of gold, crudely made. Obviously this was not convenient for extensive circulation. Herodotus states that silver coinage was issued subsequently by a Persian satrap in Egypt who wished to compete with Darius.¹⁷ How much weight can be attributed to this statement is not known, but the term "daric" was extended to these coins also. The Phoenicians at this early period made no attempt to strike coins of their own. They felt little need for it since their trade with Greek lands, where alone coinage flourished, had practically ceased. The Persians had minted their darics and sigloi for use primarily in their Greek dominions in Asia Minor.¹⁸ The earliest Phoenician coinage was struck by Tyre about the middle of the fifth century.¹⁹ Sidon, Aradus and Byblos followed during the late fifth century or early

¹⁶Roland G. Kent, Old Persian (published by the American Oriental Society, New Haven:1953) p. 144.

¹⁷Herodotus 4.168.

¹⁸Donald Harden, The Phoenicians (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), p. 166.

¹⁹George Francis Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia (London: Longmans & Co., 1910), p. cxxvi in Introduction.

or early fourth century. The initiation of this coinage probably indicated the growing weakness of the Persian empire and a rebirth of Phoenician trade with Greek lands.²⁰

The Ionian revolt against Persia interrupted the peace. This spread to Caria and the whole of Cyprus. On the request of the Persian king the Phoenician city-states provided a fleet. Ships were sent to the Cilician coast and transported troops to Cyprus. The fleet then anchored in the bay opposite Salamis where the Ionian fleet was drawn up. The engagement which followed was the first encounter between the Phoenicians and the Greeks. The battle was lost at sea but the Persian land forces defeated the Cyprians.²¹

That hatred existed between the Phoenicians and the Greeks can be well understood as this was based on commercial rivalry. The Greeks in the Aegean were becoming fast a challenge to Phoenician trade.

After the Ionian revolt was put down, the Phoenician city-states enjoyed a period of peace. Darius, however, looked for fresh conquests in the west. According to Herodotus (3.135-138) he had already sent a spying mission of Persian nobles in Phoenician ships off the coast of Greece. He wished to add this new territory to his vast empire. No doubt the Phoenicians did all they could to encourage Darius as their

²⁰D. Harden, The Phoenicians, p.166. For early trade relations between Phoenicia and Greece see Herodotus 1.1. Herodotus states: "Loaded with Egyptian and Assyrian goods they called at various places along the coast, including Argos, in those days the most important of the countries now called by the general name of Hellas."

²¹Herodotus 5.108 and 5.112.

fear of Greek competition on the seas grew. The part played by the fleets²² of the Phoenician city-states is well described by Herodotus. There were great losses when the fleet under Mardonius sank off Mount Athos. In the great expedition against Greece led by Xerxes, the Phoenicians played a prominent part not only in the naval engagements but also in the field of engineering. The loss of the fleet off Mount Athos convinced Xerxes of the necessity of digging a canal through the isthmus which joins Athos to the mainland. Herodotus describes how this engineering feat was carried out. It was due to the ingenuity and skill of the Phoenicians that²³ the canal was successfully completed.

Another important engineering undertaking was accomplished by Phoenicians and Egyptians at the Hellespont. Xerxes ordered the construction of a bridge over which his land forces could march. The Phoenicians using flax cables and the Egyptians using papyrus cables passed the cables from shore to shore supported by an almost continuous line of boats. Planks were then laid across the cables and covered with brushwood while a thick layer of earth was placed on top. Although a violent storm destroyed the²⁴ bridge, another one was constructed. Nevertheless this was an important engineering feat in which both the Phoenicians and the Egyptians participated.

²²The fleet consisted of six hundred ships and should be taken as a hypothetical figure representing the maximum possible strength.

²³Herodotus 7.23. No sooner the canal was dug, the sides would cave in. Herodotus states: "In the section of the canal allotted to the Phoenicians they took out a trench double the width prescribed for the actual finished canal and by digging at a slope gradually contracted it as they got further down, until at the bottom their section was the same width as the rest."

²⁴Herodotus 7.34-36.

The fleet which Xerxes assembled to accompany the land army amounted to 1207 vessels.²⁵ The Phoenicians contributed 300 triremes as compared to 200 ships from Egypt and 150 from Cyprus. The Phoenician city-states contributed the largest number of ships to the combined forces. The superiority of the Phoenician triremes was shown by the regatta at Abydos where the Sidonian trireme won.²⁶ In addition Xerxes showed a marked preference for the Phoenician vessels in contrast to the others.²⁷

In the naval encounter at Salamis, the difficult fighting fell to the Phoenicians who began the battle and forced the Athenians to retreat. The Phoenicians, however, were ultimately overpowered and took to flight. The narrowness of the seas was a factor in this defeat, plus the skill of the Athenians, the Eginetans and the Corinthians fighting in home waters.²⁸ Xerxes from his silver footed throne on Mount Aegaleos surveyed the disaster and held the Phoenicians responsible for the rout. He laid the whole blame on the Phoenician contingent and when some of the captains appeared before him to furnish explanations,²⁹ he had them executed on the spot. He threatened the other Phoenician commanders who were so alarmed, according to Diodorus, that they deserted the fleet and sailed away to Asia.³⁰

²⁵Herodotus 7.89 and Herodotus 7.89-95. Herodotus states that the Cilicians, Ionians and Hellespont Greeks contributed 100 ships each; the other maritime nations contributed 257 ships all together.

²⁶Herodotus 7.47.

²⁷Herodotus 7.128. Herodotus states that Xerxes always boarded the Sidonian vessel which he used for any special occasion.

²⁸Herodotus 8.84. ²⁹Herodotus 8.90. ³⁰Diodorus 11.60 § 5,6.

The war between Persia and Greece was transferred to Asia. There is no mention of Phoenician participation. The Phoenician ships retired from Samos on the approach of the Greek fleet under Leotychides.³¹ Nor did the Phoenicians take part in the Battle of Mycale. It was only in 465 B.C. when the war passed from the Aegean to the southern coast of Asia Minor and Cyprus was threatened that the Phoenician fleet appeared in support of the Persian king. Since many of the cities of Cyprus were Phoenician colonies, this may have been a reason why the Phoenician city-states became involved in the hostilities. The Phoenician fleet continued to render service to the Persian king. From 465 to 390 B.C. they protected Cyprus from the Athenians and more than once fought against the Athenians.³² They continued to serve Persia never showing the least inclination to revolt.

The decline of Persia had set in. In 375 B.C. a Persian attempt to recover Egypt failed.³³ In 366 B.C. the revolt of the satraps began. The revolt spread throughout Asia Minor.

In 351 B.C. Sidon, feeling herself humiliated by the conduct of the Persian authorities at Tripolis where the general assembly of the Phoenicians took place, revolted under Tennes and induced the other Phoenician city-states to revolt. The Sidonians expelled the Persian garrisons, devastating the royal park and burning the stores of grain for the Persian cavalry.³⁴ Tennes treacherously handed over the city of Sidon when besieged by King Ochus (Artaxerxes) and was executed by the Persian king when he gave

³¹Herodotus 9.96. ³²Diodorus 14.79.8 ³³Diodorus 15.90 § 3.

³⁴Diodorus 16.41 § 1 and 5.

35
himself up. Ochus marched against Egypt and effected its reconquest.

At Byblos part of the lid of a sarcophagus in white marble was
36
found by Dunand in the accumulated debris of the Crusader castle.

This fragment has on it an inscription in Phoenician letters of Batno'am,
mother of Ozbaal. Dunand has published the inscription as follows:

Dans ce sarcophage, moi Batno'am, mère du roi Ozbaal,
roi de Gebal, fils de Pillet-Baal, prêtre de Baalat,
je repose; avec un vêtement et une coiffe sur moi et
un masque d'or à la bouche, de même que (pour) toute
personne royale qui fut avant moi. 37

Dunand believes that Batno'am was not a queen but by orders of her son,
the king of Byblos, she was buried with royal honors. Apparently she
did not fear eventual tomb robbers; she very proudly had inscribed the
different articles of royal apparel with which she was adorned for burial.
Ozbaal's reign is placed by Hill in the period between the revolt of the
38
satraps and the reign of Alexander (ca. 350 B.C.)

Dunand also believes that the column bases found in Batiment I
39
(the Roman temple) belong to the Persian period. The column bases of
40
Byblos are a simplified imitation of the Persian type of column base.
Dunand also reported finding a baked clay figurine of the Persian
41
cavalryman type, which is broken beneath the waist.

³⁵Diodorus 16.45.1-6. ³⁶M. Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, p. 31.

³⁷Idem. ³⁸G. Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia, p. 95.

³⁹M. Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, p. 72


⁴⁰Idem. Dunand states: "Mais c'est l'architecture achéménide qui fournit le type se rapprochant le plus des bases gibliques, savoir un tore épais reposant sur une plinthe de plan carré. À dire vrai on n'a pas en Perse de type aussi simple. Néanmoins la parenté est évidente. Comme toujours les Phéniciens auront imité en le simplifiant un élément architectural en honneur chez leurs maîtres. Avec leur esprit pratique dépourvu d'imagination, joint à un sens profond de l'économie, ils ont retenu l'essentiel. C'est donc au IV^e siècle sous la domination perse que l'on pourrait attribuer les bases de colonne du Bâtiment I."

⁴¹M. Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos II (Part 1) p. 17, Catalogue no. 6858.


B. Coins of Byblos of the Persian period

Dunand has published a series of Phoenician coins, among which figure an important number of coins struck at Byblos. This hoard of coins was found in a grey pottery jar which had been buried standing in the ground. There were one hundred and twenty coins on which were inscribed in Phoenician letters the name of Ozbaal, a king of Byblos who reigned
ca. 350 B.C.⁴²

1. Ozbaal⁴³ (Azbaal)Obverse

Galley 1. (eye-shaped hawse-hole; prow terminating in lion's head) containing three hoplites with crested helmets and round shields; Below: hippocamp, murex and the initials 

Reverse

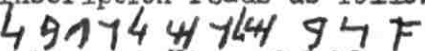
Lion 1. bringing down bull 1;
Above:

Ozbaal King of Byblos

There were thirty one coins with the inscription of Adramelek, King of Byblos ca. 340 B.C.

2. Adramelek⁴⁴Obverse

Same as coins of Ozbaal
Initials 

Reverse

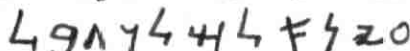
Same as coins of Ozbaal
Inscription reads as follows:

Adramelek King of Byblos

There are thirty five coins with the inscription of Ayinel, King of Byblos ca. 333 B.C.

3. Ayinel⁴⁵ (Ainel)Obverse

Same as above but does not have initials.


Reverse

Same as above
Inscription reads as follows:

Ayinel King of Byblos

⁴²M. Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, p. 407


⁴³Idem.

⁴⁴Idem. ⁴⁵Idem.

On some coins of Ayinel there is a lion mask above the bull's head; on others, which are poorly minted, the following sign  is found between lion's paws and the bull's paws.

There are also sixteen coins of a king of Byblos whose name is impossible to read as the inscription is worn out. Dunand refers to the coins in the hoard found at Byblos as staters. This collection is presently found at the Beirut National Museum but has not yet been put on exposition.

From the inscriptions on these coins it is possible to make a list of the kings of Byblos during the Persian period. Dunand believes that the coins of El-Paal are the oldest coins because the body of the bull is engraved in low relief, an archaic feature which disappears and is not seen in later coins.⁴⁶ According to Dunand the following list of kings of Byblos can be reconstructed.⁴⁷

1. El-Paal (360 B.C.). His coins were not in circulation at the time the hoard was made. He was the first king of Byblos to strike coins of the type with the lion attacking the bull. These coins were inspired from earlier coins of the vulture type.
2. Ozbaal (348 B.C.). His coins follow the same type with the lion attacking the bull. However there are noticeable differences in the minting of his coins as compared to previous coins. Dunand believes that he began a new dynasty.
3. Adramelek (340 B.C.) minted coins of the same style and type as his predecessor.
4. Ayinel (333 B.C.) issued the same type of coin but used a different style. He discarded the initials used by his predecessors on the obverse but added instead the lion mask and the following sign .

The other coins found on the site of Byblos are coins of the Alexander

⁴⁶Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, p. 408. Dunand has not published any coins of El-Paal. See Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia, p. 94 for the description of the El-Paal quarter-stater.

⁴⁷Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, p. 408.

type, coins of Sidon, Ptolemais-Acre, Aradus, Philip Arrhideus, Tyre⁴⁸
and Rhodes.

Hill has established a chronology for the kings of Byblos of the
Persian period as follows:⁴⁹

1. Uncertain king (early 4th century B.C.) Quarter-stater

Obverse

Galley l. (prow terminating in horse's head) containing three hoplites with crested helmets and round shields; below: hippocamp l.; border of dots.

Reverse

Vulture standing l. on body of a ram (incuse) lying l., with head reverted; border of dots; the whole in incuse square.

2. Elpaal (before c. 362 B.C.) Quarter stater

Obverse

Galley l. (prow terminating in head of griffin ?) containing three hoplites with crested helmets and round shields; below, zigzag line of waves and hippocamp l.; (below, murex); border of dots.

Reverse

Lion standing l. on body (incuse) of bull l., with head facing; above inscr.; border of dots.

3. Azbaal (c. 350 B.C.) Stater

Obverse

Galley l. (eye-shaped hawse-hole; prow terminating in lion's head) containing three hoplites with crested helmets and round shields; below, zigzag line of waves and hippocamp l.; below hippocamp, murex; border of dots.

Reverse

Lion l. bringing down bull l.; above, 491744409~0
border of dots; slight circular incuse.

Hill has also published 1/16 stater coins of this type.

4. Ainel (Enylus) (c. 333 B.C.) 1/16 stater

Obverse

Galley l. (prow off the flan) containing two hoplites with helmets and round shields; below, hippocamp l.; border of dots

Reverse

Lion l. bringing down bull l.; above, inscr.; border of dots; concave field.
[49]1744475~0

⁴⁸Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I pp. 408-409.

⁴⁹Hill, Catalogue of Greek Coins of Phoenicia, pp. 94-96

5. Adramelek (late fourth century B.C.) 1/16 staterObverse

Galley l. (prow terminating in lion's head) containing two hoplites with round shields; below, hippocamp l.; above its tail ✠ ; border of dots.

Reverse

Lion l. bringing down bull lying l.; above
[291944] 44 [99X]
border of dots.

6. Uncertain King (fourth century B.C.) 1/16 staterObverse

Galley l. (prow terminating in lion's head) containing two hoplites with helmets and round shields; below, hippocamp l.; border of dots.

Reverse

Lion l., bringing down bull l.; above ✠ ; border of dots; incuse circle.

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Hill believed that Adramelek succeeded Ainel. Ainel is generally identified with Enylus who was King of Byblos in the time of Alexander the Great. The connection of Ainel with Enylus is the key point that enables historians to reconstruct the chronology of the kings of Byblos of this period.

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The following is the standard of the silver coinage of Byblos:

	Normal Weight	Actual Maxima
Stater	14.35 grm	14.35
Quarter-Stater	3.58	3.57
1/16-Stater	0.90	0.87
1/32-Stater	0.45	0.39

⁵⁰For a detailed discussion on the chronology of the kings of Byblos, see Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia, Introduction lxxv-lxxviii. In a letter written to G. F. Taylor, American University of Beirut, on March 17, 1964 by G. K. Jenkins of the British Museum concerning the sequence of the coins of Byblos, Mr. Jenkins feels that Dunand is wrong in placing Adramelek before Ainel. He refers to Hill (p. lxxvi) who remarks that Adramelek re-used an obverse die of Ainel. Jenkins then refers to Hill, p. 96 (note at the bottom of the page referring to coin no. 10) where Hill gives the reference to the coin of Ainel. There is the same obverse die without the letters which appear on the Adramelek coin. It seems clear to Jenkins that the letters must have been added to this die, and therefore Adramelek is after Ainel. Jenkins feels that this fact is borne out further by the comparative condition of the coins in Dunand's hoard, where it appears from the illustrations in Fouilles de Byblos that those of Adramelek are the least worn, and so the newest.

⁵¹Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia, Introduction lxxviii.

CHAPTER VI

BYBLOS DURING THE HELLENISTIC AGE

A. Alexander the Great and his conquest of the Near East and Asia

The invasion of Asia by Alexander the Great took place in 333 B.C. Alexander was not in a position to contest the sovereignty of the seas with the naval power of Persia. He wisely crossed into Asia Minor, disbanding¹ his naval forces and engaged his army in the conquest of the interior. The fleet of Persia, composed mainly of Phoenician vessels, besieged and reduced the important islands of Chios and Lesbos under the command of Memnon the Rhodian in an effort to establish Persian influence in the Aegean.²

Three classical authors have written full accounts of Alexander's conquest of Phoenicia and Asia. Arrian, a Greek born in Nicomedia in A.D. 96, adheres to two main authorities, Ptolemaeus and Aristobolus. Arrian states that Ptolemy, his chief source, was Alexander's general and one of the dynasts who established the Kingdom of the Lagids in Egypt. Arrian believed Ptolemy, as a king, was not likely to falsify. This raises the question whether one can say that official history is always accurate history.³ Diodorus of Sicily gives an account of the history of Alexander

¹See Arrian 1.11.3 for the passage where Alexander crosses the Hellespont; and 1.20 for disbanding his fleet. See also Diodorus 1.22.5.

²Arrian 2.1.1

³Louis Gottschalk, Understanding History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), p. 156. See also Chapter VII, The Problem of Credibility.

and the ensuing period. Tarn considers that in the history of the wars of the Diadochi, Diodorus has based his history on a good source, Hieronymus of Cardia, a relative of Eumenes of Cardia.⁴ Quintus Curtius (date unknown) also wrote a history of Alexander covering his campaigns in Phoenicia and Asia. All three sources will be referred to in this chapter.

The defeat of Darius Codamannus, King of Persia, at Issus and his withdrawal to the Euphrates left the entire Mediterranean coast unprotected in the face of Alexander's advancing forces. Alexander thought it expedient to detach Phoenicia, Cyprus and Egypt from the Persian empire. Arrian (1.20) states that Alexander by capturing the Persian coastal bases would break up the Persian fleet since they would have no place to make up crews and no seaports in Asia. Arrian's analysis of the political situation, which can be seen in Alexander's speech before the siege of Tyre, shows the important role the fleets of the Phoenician city-states played in the military and naval operations of this period. The fear of the revolt of the Greek states and the possibility that the Persians would transfer the war to the Greek mainland made it imperative that Alexander possess Phoenician seaports and the fleet.⁵

Alexander in person led his forces down the coast of Phoenicia. The Phoenician city-states were in a difficult position. On the one hand if they resisted the Macedonian conqueror, he might pillage their cities and punish them severely. On the other hand, the Persian fleet was manned by Phoenicians and, in addition, had several kings of the Phoenician city-

⁴William Tarn and G. T. Griffith, Hellenistic Civilization, (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1959), p. 283.

⁵Arrian 2.17.1-2.

states who were sailing with the fleet at this time. The situation of Byblos, which had enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity under the Persians, was a particularly difficult one. The inhabitants of Sidon had personal reasons for wishing to submit to Alexander due to the brutal treatment the city had received under Ochus (Artaxerxes). The following is the account by Arrian of the submission of the cities of Phoenicia.

He himself went towards Phoenicia. On his way Straton, son of Gerostratus met him; he was king of the Aradians and those near Aradus; Gerostratus sailed with Autophradates, and the rest of the princes of Phoenicia and the kings of the Cyprians sailed with him too. But Straton meeting Alexander crowned him with a golden crown, yielding up to him the island of Aradus and Marathus which lay opposite it on the mainland, a great and prosperous city, with Sigon and Mariamne and all else under his sway.

Alexander marched from Marathus and received the surrender of Byblus, Sidon, also, invited by the Sidonians themselves, who loathed Persia and Dareius. 7

It can be seen from the above testimony that Aradus gave Alexander a royal reception; Alexander received the surrender of the city of Byblos ὁμολογία ἐνδοθεῖσαν; and the Sidonians officially invited Alexander into their city in view of the grievance they held against the Persians.

Diodorus treats these events more briefly but deals at great length with the siege of Tyre. Diodorus states:

Then he marched on towards Egypt, and as he came into Phoenicia, received the submission of all the other cities, for their inhabitants accepted him willingly. 8

Quintus Curtius in the History of Alexander gives the following

⁶Arrian 2.13.7-8.

⁷Arrian 2.13.7-8 and Arrian 2.15.6. The passage pertaining to the surrender of Byblos is as follows: ἐκ Μαραθῶν δὲ ὄρμηθεις Βύβλον τε λαμβάνει ὁμολογία ἐνδοθεῖσαν.

⁸Diodorus 17.40.2.

account:

Then Alexander marched down into Phoenicia and received the town of Byblos in surrender. From there he came to Sidon, ⁹ a city re-knowned for its antiquity and fame of its founders.

During the siege of Tyre, the cities of Aradus, Byblos and Sidon furnished contingents of their fleets to Alexander. The passage concerning the desertion of these cities from the Persian fleet is as follows:

Meanwhile Gerostratus King of Aradus and Enylos of Byblus, learning that Alexander held their cities, left Autophradates and his fleet and arrived with their own contingents, and with them the Sidonian triremes, so that a total force joined him (Alexander) of some eighty Phoenician sail. There arrived also at the same time triremes from Rhodes, nine, in addition to their state guardship, three from Soli and Mallos and ten from Lycia, and a fifty-oar from Macedon, its captain Proteus son of Adronicus. Soon also the kings of Cyprus put in at Sidon with about 120 sail, having learnt of Darius' defeat on the Issus, and scared by Alexander's hold over all Phoenicia. To all these Alexander let bygones be bygones, supposing that it was rather from necessity than choice that they had joined naval forces with the Persians. ¹⁰

The testimony of these classical authors has been given in detail because the results of the excavations at Byblos have shown a curious fact, which has been a source of discussion. In the excavated area at Byblos there was seen to be a complete absence of stratified layers pertaining to the Iron Age (ca. 1200-600 B.C.). In the area of the temples, immediately underneath the flagstones of the Roman temple (called Batiments I and II by Dunand) the archaeological layers pertaining to the Middle Kingdom in Egypt appeared (Middle Bronze Age 1900-1600 B.C.). In describing the Roman levels Dunand states: "A Byblos les couches hellénistiques et romaines sont ¹¹ souvent superimposées directement aux couches du Moyen Empire." Elsewhere

⁹Quintus Curtius, 4.1.15-16. ¹⁰Arrian 2.20.1-2.

¹¹Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, pp. 79 and 64.

on the site the excavators were unable to perceive stratification of the Iron Age. In an attempt to explain this absence, one must bear in mind that the site of Byblos has been occupied and exploited continuously by later inhabitants of the city. Barely had a building fallen down when a new building would arise making use of the building materials and architectural elements of the older construction.¹² This process continued from antiquity down to modern times. A short time before Renan's arrival in 1860 the site of Byblos had been exploited as a quarry. The archaeological levels during and after the Roman period were badly disturbed due to the construction of the Crusader castle. The Crusaders exploited the site down to the Byzantine and Roman levels in their search for large building stones. They then threw back into the excavations caused by the extraction of these large stones all the debris which had resulted from digging the foundations of their castle and moat.¹³ This however cannot satisfactorily explain the complete absence of such an important period as that of the Iron Age. A further disturbance of the site was caused by the twenty-nine houses which were built over the ancient city. These houses were bought by the Lebanese government from 1926 onwards in order to allow the excavators full freedom in their task. However these houses had reservoirs and wells, the digging of which brought to the surface objects from deeper stratified layers.¹⁴ This is evidence that the site of Byblos had been disturbed from antiquity down to the twentieth century of our era.

¹²Dunand, Byblos, Son Histoire, Ses Ruines, Ses Légendes (Beirut, 1963), p. 99. See also Fouilles de Byblos I, p. 53. In the wall of a building of the Byzantine level, a fragment with the name of Rameses II was found.

¹³Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, p. 6.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 15.

In attempting to explain the absence of the Iron Age levels at Byblos, reference to the testimonies just quoted indicates that Alexander did not destroy Byblos, as he did Tyre later, because he received the surrender of the city. Enylos, the King of Byblos, was not responsible for the surrender as he joined Alexander afterwards during the siege of Tyre (Arrian 2,20,1-2). However the elders of the city decided on capitulation. Could Alexander completely have razed the city of Byblos in order to rebuild it on the Greek pattern of a city? This seems unlikely because seventeen years later Byblos is seen as a shipyard for the building of Antigonus' fleet in the wars of the dynasts.¹⁵ An event of this importance, such as tearing down a city to rebuild it, was likely to have been recorded by at least one of the authors quoted.

A study of Dunand's excavations reports on Byblos reveals the following information. In his discussion on the city walls of Byblos he states:

Ces défenses construites au début de l'Ancien Empire ont été apparemment abandonnées à l'aurore de l'âge du Fer. A cette époque la ville les a débordés, et par suite de l'exhaussement de la ville intérieure ils ont dû se trouver oblitérés. Le long de leur tracé les terrains ont été extrêmement bouleversés au Moyen-Age, car le mur sud de l'enceinte des Croisés suit de près le mur septentrional de l'acropole giblite et là où il s'en écarte, le creusement du fossé qui défendait son abord a remué ces terrains jusqu'à d'incroyables profondeurs.¹⁶

The Iron Age was for all Phoenicia a period of maritime and commercial expansion. The city of Byblos, as a center for the timber trade, enjoyed a flourishing period of independence and prosperity. Due to the continuous process of building and rebuilding on one site within the city walls, as stated above, the city at the beginning of the Iron Age had risen to the height of the city walls and had spread outwardly over the city walls.

¹⁵Diodorus 19,58,4.

¹⁶Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos 1, p. 6.

Therefore could not the Iron Age levels of Byblos at the height of its prosperity be found outside the presently seen city walls, under the buildings of the Medieval town? Harden believes that the main Iron Age city is situated to the north of the site under the modern village.¹⁷ There are several buildings which are mentioned in texts or appear on coins which have not yet been discovered at Byblos. The palace of Zakarbaal, for instance, has not been found, yet we know from the report of Wen-Amon that it existed on an area in proximity to the sea. The coin of the Emperor Macrinus (end of the second century of our era) has engraved on it the likeness of a temple of Byblos of the Roman period. This temple, according to Dunand, also has not been found.¹⁸ An important temple of the Roman period (called Batiments I and II by Dunand) was found on the site directly above the Middle Bronze Age level where the so-called Temple of the Obelisks was discovered. Underneath this Middle Bronze Age temple was still an earlier temple dating to the Early Bronze Age (ca. 2600 B.C.) Unfortunately the flagstones and foundations of the Roman temple had to be removed completely to allow deeper excavations to take place.

The methods of construction during the Hellenistic and Roman periods required deep foundations. The column base and bull protome from the royal palace of Sidon presently in the Beirut National Museum are proof that during the Persian period also monumental constructions requiring strong foundations were erected. The complete lack of Iron Age levels at Byblos

¹⁷ Donald Harden, The Phoenicians (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962) p. 28.

¹⁸ Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, pp. 74-79. See also G. Contenau, La Civilisation Phénicienne (Paris: Payot, 1949) pp. 128-129, & H. Kalayan in "Rapport Préliminaire sur les Travaux de Reconnaissance du Site de Maschnaka," Extrait du Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth t. XVII (Beyrouth, 1964) p. 110. Mr.

could be attributed to the fact that these deep foundations were the cause for the obliteration of these levels. Yet no buildings with architectural elements which can compare to those found at Sidon have been uncovered at Byblos. Two column bases which Dunand attributed to the Persian period were found re-used in the Roman temple (See p. 70 footnote no. 40 above). I believe this question must remain unanswered until further excavations are carried out at Byblos outside the present excavated areas.

If we are to accept Dunand's statement that the tremendous city walls of Byblos were obliterated from 1200 B.C. onwards, a clearer picture of the city's policy in the face of the invasions of Phoenicia during the first millenium B.C. can be seen. Byblos did not conform with the position taken by the other city-states of Phoenicia during the Assyrian and Babylonian periods. The last we hear of Byblos resisting the enemy and being overrun was during the Tell-el-Amarna period (1400 B.C.) when the city withstood the siege of Aziru. At that period Byblos had city walls which protected the city, and it was hunger and desperation which made the king flee and the city fall.¹⁹ There is no evidence at present on the site that Byblos had effective fortifications from the twelfth century B.C. on. The Assyrian

Kalayan sees a resemblance between the temple which figures on the coin of the Emperor Maximian and the Roman temple at Maschnaka. He states: "Le grand péribole (à Maschnaka) possède quatre portes dans les parties encore sur place. On y accédait probablement par des escaliers à l'exception de la porte Est. On retrouve ici le mode d'accès figuré sur les monnaies de Maximien en cours dans la région de Jbeil, qui représentent un péribole à colonnes, entouré d'un péribole de mur accolé à un temple et contenant un autel surmonté lui-même d'une pyramide entourée d'une balustrade."

¹⁹ Samuel A.B. Mercer, Tell-el-Amarna Tablets (Toronto: MacMillan, 1939). See letters 81 and 83 from Ribadda, King of Byblos to the Pharaoh Amenhotep IV.

reliefs on the Balawat Gates set up by Shalmaneser III show tribute bearers crossing from Tyre to the mainland bringing tribute to the king. Shown in the background is the turreted and battlemented enceinte of Tyre on its rocky island proving that Tyre was fortified at this period.²⁰ Ezekiel's prophecy (Ezekiel 26.7-12) about Nebuchadnezzar and the siege of Tyre depicts a siege of a fortified town of Phoenicia. Whereas we have concrete proof that Tyre was fortified; there is no evidence of strong fortifications at Byblos for this period. If Byblos during the first millennium B.C. had no effective fortifications to protect the city, this fact could contribute to the city's ready and consistent policy to surrender without resistance to the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks and Romans.

B. Phoenicia and the wars of the successors of Alexander

After the death of Alexander and the division of his empire, Phoenicia²¹ was given to Laomedon of Mitylene and Egypt to Ptolemy, son of Lagus. However Ptolemy attacked Laomedon and attached Phoenicia to his own satrapy of Egypt.²² In 315 B.C. attacked by Antigonus, Ptolemy relinquished his conquests. Antigonus had come to Phoenicia in order to organize a naval force. Ptolemy was holding all the ships from Phoenicia and their crews in Egypt,²³ and Antigonus had very few ships to match his. Camping before continental Tyre he called together all the kings of Phoenicia and the viceroys of Syria and instructed them to assist him in building ships. He ordered the viceroys to supply a large quantity of wheat. The following is the passage

²⁰Harden, The Phoenicians, p. 147.

²¹Diodorus 18.3.1. ²²Diodorus 18.43.2.

²³Diodorus 19.58.2.

which deals with this important ship-building operation:

He (Antigonus) himself collected wood cutters, sawyers and shipwrights from all sides, and carried wood to the sea from Lebanon. There were eight thousand men employed in cutting and sawing the timber and one thousand pair of draught animals in transporting it. This mountain range extends along the territory of Tripolis, Byblus and Sidon, and is covered with cedar and cypress trees of wonderful beauty and size. He established three shipyards in Phoenicia-at Tripolis, Byblus and Sidon-and a fourth in Cilicia, the timber for which was brought from Mount Taurus. There was also another in Rhodes, where the state agreed to make ships from imported timber. 24

This text is the only historical account of logging in Lebanon in classical authors. It shows the original importance of Byblus as a center for timber trade and also the reason for deforestation of the mountains - the periodic mass cutting for naval needs. It also implies that Byblus and Sidon have a *χώρα*.

With his newly acquired fleet, Antigonus blockaded Tyre by sea and land. He forced the city to surrender. Ptolemy's garrison was allowed to leave and Antigonus put his garrison in Tyre. ²⁵ Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, controlled Phoenicia until 287 B.C. when it once again passed over to Ptolemy. It remained a dependency of the Ptolemies for nearly seventy years.

The Seleucids, under Antiochus III, made Phoenicia into a battlefield in their wars against the Ptolemies. Egypt, under Philopator, was weak. 26

²⁴Diodorus 19.58.2-5.

²⁵Diodorus 19.61.5. This is another instance where the Phoenician cities of Byblus and Sidon took part in the blockade of Tyre. See Arrian 2.20.1-2 for the part played by Aradus, Byblus and Sidon in Alexander's siege of Tyre.

²⁶Diodorus 30.17. See also Polybius 5.40.

In 219 B.C. Antiochus III drove the Egyptians out of Seleucia, invaded Phoenicia and took Tyre and Accho (which was now called Ptolemais) and threatened Egypt.²⁷ During the following period the cities of Phoenicia were frequently taken and re-taken. In 198 B.C. Phoenicia and Coele-Syria²⁸ passed definitely into the possession of the Seleucid kings. The Phoenicians welcomed this change, because the establishment of Alexandria had been a threat to their own commercial activities.²⁹ The Seleucid kings granted privileges to the Phoenicians. The Seleucid King, Antiochus IV, attended the quinquennial festival which was celebrated at Tyre in the Greek fashion.³⁰ With the consent of their Seleucid rulers, the Phoenician cities issued their own coins, which bore legends both in Greek and Phoenician, and had sometimes Greek or Phoenician emblems.³¹

C. The Hellenization of Byblos

Byblos at this time became rapidly Hellenized. Such a number of Greeks settled in Syria and Phoenicia under the Seleucids, that to be a Tyrian, Sidonian or Byblian in the Graeco-Roman period furnished no evidence that a man had Phoenician blood in his veins. The learned men and authors of the time had Greek or Latin names; for instance, Marinus, Paulus, Boethus, Diodotus, Philo and Hermippus. The language in which books were written was universally Greek and only in rare cases is there reason to

²⁷Polybius 5.62. ²⁸Polybius 16.18.

²⁹Rawlinson, History of Phoenicia, p. 533. ³⁰² Maccabees 4.18.

³¹Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, pp. 409-411. A list of coins is given which were found on the site of Byblos bearing Phoenician and Greek inscriptions. There is a Seleucid-Byblian coin with the head of Antiochus IV and a six-winged creature. A similar six-winged creature is described by Philo of Byblus.

suppose that authors had any knowledge of Phoenician texts. Philo of Byblos claimed he had access to works in Phoenician and at Byblos he was responsible for recasting Phoenician mythology upon a Greek type.³²

At Byblos various inscriptions have been found which prove that the city had succumbed to Hellenization. Although Montet in his excavations covering the years 1921 through 1924 did not discover any Greek inscriptions, Dunand in the following years came across a large amount of fragments of statuary of the Graeco-Roman period and a great number of inscribed and stamped jar handles.³³ There is one Greek inscription published by Dunand which, although fragmentary, is of great interest in this context.

..... α Διονυσόδωρον
 καὶ γυμνασίαρχον
 καὶ Ἀσπάσιον υἱὸν
 ντας γυμνασίαρχον
 ἀν' ἀρχὴν ἐκτετελεσ³⁴

The civic office of gymnasiarchos is characteristically Hellenistic. The gymnasion was one of the indispensable aspects of Greek paideia and was closely associated with the ephebeia. The ephebeia consisted of young men, of fourteen years or older, who had their athletic exercise and probably

³²Felix Jacoby, Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker, Dritter Teil C (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1958) No. 790.

³³Dunand has catalogued these jar handles in the two volumes of Fouilles de Byblos. Many of the jar handles are Rhodian. They are too numerous to include in this chapter.

³⁴Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos II (Part 1), p. 60. This large block of stone, broken on the left side, was found in the surface excavations during the campaign in 1933.

part of their education in the gymnasion.³⁵ The inscription published by Dunand is of significance because it shows that a gymnasium was maintained at Byblos during this period. The city had adopted one of the main features characteristic of Hellenized cities. The names ΔΙΟΥΣΤΟΔΩΡΟΣ and Ἀσπιάσιος both are Greek names.

Renan discovered several Greek inscriptions in 1860, two of which will be given. The first is a small statue base which probably had a statue of a goddess. On one side of the base there is a vase with two sphinx and the following inscription on either side of the vase:

⊕ E AC
OY PA
NEI AC

On the base the following inscription is found:

ΦΙΛΑΤΑΘΕΥ ☐
☐ ΙΕΝΗΑΝΕ ⊕ ΗΚΕΝ

Renan has reconstructed this inscription to read as follows:

Most beloved Eumene dedicated this statue of the Heavenly Goddess.
[Εἰκόνα?] θεᾶς Οὐρανείας φιλάτῳ Εὐμενῆ(?) ἀνέθηκεν. 36

Another inscription published by Renan was found in a sepulchre. It was inscribed on a large flagstone found in the middle of the chamber.

³⁵Pierre Jouguet, Macedonian Imperialism and the Hellenization of the East (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1928) p. 322.

³⁶Renan, Mission de Phénicie, p. 162.

The inscription and translation are as follows:

τὴν συνετὴν ἄλοχον Διονυσίαν ἐνθάδε κεῖσθαι
 ζύμβῳ τῷδ' ὑπ' ἐμοῖ ὄν πόσις ἡγλαῖσεν
 ὅπως τοῖς περιούσι πέλοι μνημῆια ταῦτα
 ταῖς σεμναῖς ἀλόχοις μαρτυρίᾳ προφέρειν.
 ταῦθ' ὁ βίος, παροδείξα φίλ(ε)· ἐλπίδες ἐν ζῶοισιν
 εὐφρανε τελευτόν· μὴ παρόδου ταχύτης
 βραχέος λαθέσω σε χρόνου.
 Σεραπίωνος διδασκάλου ἐφήβων τόδε τὸ γῆμα.

(Apprends) que la sage épouse Dionysia répose ici, sous moi, dans ce tombeau, que son mari a orné pour elle, afin que ce soit là, pour ceux qui passent, un avertissement de porter témoignage aux épouses respectables. Telle est la vie, cher passant; des espérances parmi les vivants. Tiens-toi (donc) en joie. Que la rapidité du cours du temps qui passe ne t'échappe pas. 37 C'est ici le tombeau de Serapion, le professeur des epebes.

This inscription is of great interest as it proves that the institution of the ephebeia existed at Byblos. 2 Maccabees 4.12 states that Antiochus IV built a gymnasion at the foot of the acropolis in Jerusalem and the most aristocratic of the epebes "he put under the hat". In other words this system offered new cultural and educational facilities to young Jews who previously had confined their education to the knowledge of their own law. The imposition by force in Jerusalem of a feature so typical of the Greek way of life resulted in the revolt of the Maccabees. There is no indication that the inhabitants of Byblos resented the imposition of Greek customs and culture. On the contrary they adapted themselves to the influences of Hellenization to such an extent that it is with difficulty that a distinction can be made between Greeks and native Phoenicians during

³⁷Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 184.

this period.

The cult of Adonis, which was centered at Byblos, spread to Alexandria during this period. Theocritus depicts under what form the celebration of the Adonis rites took place in Alexandria.³⁸ It was more sophisticated than the cult practiced at Byblos and was held under royal patronage.

In the following text there can be seen evidence that a council of elders existed at Byblos during this period.

Δόμνας Διονυσόδωρου γυναικός
Διονυσίου Διοφάντου βουλευτοῦ

Tomb of Demna, wife of Dionysodores, the Bouleutes, son of Dionysios and grandson of Diophantos. 39

A passage in Ezekiel (27.9) mentions the presence of the elders of Gebal in the metaphorical ship which represents the city of Tyre (See p. 53 above). This is evidence that from the Babylonian period through the Hellenistic age this civic office existed at Byblos.

The name of a funeral director also attests to the fact that Greek names were common in Byblos. This inscription was found on a sarcophagus at Byblos dating to this period.

τὸν πάντας πτολίτῳνα καλῶς νεκροῦς Ἀβάτκωντον
ἄλλος ἐμὲ πτολίτας τῆ (ν)δε ἐνέθηκε τάφῳ
εἰς ἣ δειν μοῖραν καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τὴν ὥραν
κἄμαυτὸν θνήσκων οὗτος ἂν ἐπτόλισσα.

³⁸Theocritus 15.

³⁹Père Louis Jalabert, s.j., "Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de Syrie," Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph I (1906), p. 140.

Moi, qui ai si bien paré (pour les funérailles) tous les défunts, Abaskantos, c'est un autre qui m'a passé cette robe et m'a mis au tombeau. Si j'avais connu mon destin et su (par avance) l'heure de ma mort, c'est moi-même, en mourant, qui me serais revêtu (de la robe funéraire). 40

Towards the end of the Hellenistic period in the Near East (ca. 69 B.C.) Tigranes, King of Armenia, invaded Phoenicia. In Plutarch's Life of Lucullus there is a text which states that the rule of the Armenians under Tigranes was "grievous to the Hellenes".⁴¹ Plutarch in this context is referring to the inhabitants of the cities of Phoenicia and the Seleucid empire. By calling them 'Ελληνες, he is giving further evidence that the inhabitants of these cities were so thoroughly Hellenized that they were even referred to and termed as Hellenes.

Another civic institution characteristic of the Greek city found in Byblos was a Greek theater. Several theater seats were uncovered during the excavations. One theater seat of polished white stone has the letters HI engraved on it.⁴² The theater of the Greek period was not found but many of the architectural elements were re-used by the Romans and can be identified in the incomplete Roman theater which has been rebuilt by the excavators near the royal necropolis. The part of the Roman theater seen at Byblos was uncovered in the vicinity of the Roman temple and had to be removed so that the excavators could reach the Middle Bronze Age levels.

⁴⁰Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph I, (1906), pp. 132-133.

⁴¹Plutarch, Life of Lucullus, 21,3.

⁴²Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos II (Part 1), p. 53.

D. Coins of Byblos of the Seleucid Period bearing the names of Seleucid kings

Byblos appears to have been a mint of the Seleucid kings only from the time of Antiochus IV (175-164 B.C.) to that of Antiochus VII (138-129 B.C.). Coins continued to be minted during the whole of the first century. The coins with royal inscriptions are as follows:

1. Antiochus IV Epiphanus (175-164 B.C.)

Obverse

Head of Antiochus IV facing right.

Reverse

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the right
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ to the left.
Isis Pharia on a raft going to the left with sail inflated by the wind.

Obverse

Crowned head of Antiochus IV to the right.

Reverse

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the right
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ to the left
Phoenician Kronos standing to the left, holding a scepter in his right hand. He has six wings and on his head he has a calathos. Inscription: on the top $\zeta\theta-\eta\lambda$ (of Gebal) at the bottom $\eta\upsilon\eta\eta$ (holy).

Obverse

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the right
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ to the left
Crowned head to the right.

Reverse

Same type of Phoenician Kronos to the left; same Phoenician inscription as previous coin.

2. Antiochus V Eupator (164-162 B.C.)

Obverse

ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ
Crowned head of Antiochus V Eupator to the right

Reverse

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ to the right
Same type of Phoenician Kronos standing to the left. Same Phoenician inscription as previous coin.

⁴³Jules Rouvier, Numismatique des Villes de La Phénicie (Beirut:1900), pp. 42-44. Catalogues Nos. 650-657. See Plates A and B. (opposite p. 66). Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia, p. 98 publishes the autonomous coins of the Seleucid era minted at Byblos. Hill in the Introduction lxii in footnote no. 5 refers to the Seleucid coins with royal inscriptions published by Rouvier.

3. Alexander I Bala (150-145 B.C.)Obverse

Crowned head of Alexander I
Bala to the right. Two counter-
marks

At the bottom of the coin
the date $\text{B} \Xi \text{P}$ (the year 162
of the Seleucid era).

Reverse

$\text{B} \text{A} \Sigma \text{I} \Lambda \text{E} \Omega \Sigma$ to the right
 $\text{A} \Lambda \text{E} \Xi \text{A} \text{N} \Delta \text{P} \text{O} \Upsilon$ to the left.

Same type of Phoenician Kronos
standing to the left. Same type
of Phoenician inscription as
previous coin.

Obverse

Same inscriptions and type as
coin above without countermark.

Reverse4. Tryphon (142-139 B.C.)Obverse

Crowned head of Tryphon
facing right.

Reverse

$\text{B} \text{A} \Sigma \text{I} \Lambda \text{E} \Omega \Sigma - \text{T} \text{P} \Upsilon \Phi \Omega \text{N} \text{O} \Sigma$
in two lines to the right.

$\text{A} \Upsilon \text{T} \text{O} \text{K} \text{P} \text{A} \text{T} \text{O} \text{P} \text{O} \Sigma$ to the left.

An eagle standing to the left
carries a palm on its right shoulder.
In front of the eagle, in the back-
ground, the monogram B of Byblos,
to the left.

In the background to the right,
the letter O above the date $\text{L} \text{B}$
(2nd year).

44

5. Antiochus VII Evergetes (138-129 B.C.)Obverse

Crowned head of Antiochus
VII facing right.

Reverse

$\text{B} \text{A} \Sigma \text{I} \Lambda \text{E} \Omega \Sigma \text{A} \text{N} \text{T} \text{I} \text{O} \chi \text{O} \Upsilon$ in a

circular inscription to the right.

$\text{V} \Delta \text{P} \zeta \text{S} \text{J} \zeta$ (of Hely
Gabal) in a circular inscription to
the left. The same type of Phoenician
Kronos.

⁴⁴This is the last coin published by Rouvier with a royal inscription. See pp. 44-45 of Numismatique des Villes de la Phénicie for autonomous coins of the Seleucid era minted at Byblos which have been published by Rouvier.

CHAPTER VII

BYBLOS DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD

A. Phoenicia and Syria under Roman rule

The weakness of the Seleucid kings gradually brought about an end to the empire. The course of the civil wars between aspirants to the throne caused instability and revolts. In 83 B.C. the states forming the Seleucid empire invited Tigranes, King of Armenia, to govern the country.¹ Phoenicia was ruled by Tigranes from ca. 83-69 B.C., at which time the Romans intervened actively in the Middle East. Lucullus compelled Tigranes to retreat to Armenia.² Tigranes was succeeded by the last of the Seleucids, Antiochus XIII Asiaticus, who reigned in Antioch from 69-65 B.C. Pompey's settlement revised the political divisions of the Near East, and Phoenicia was included in the province which was called "Syria" by the Romans.³

The account of the arrival of Pompey in Byblos is found in the Geography. Strabo, who lived during the time of Augustus, wrote a detailed description of the countries of the Near East including what he called

¹Strabo 11.14.15 ²Idem.

³M. Carey, History of Rome 2nd ed. (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1960). See p. 357 for Pompey's settlement of the Near East. Although the successful outcome of the Battle of Magnesia in 189 B.C. had made the Romans virtual rulers of the Near East, it was not until 65 B.C. that the kingdom of the Seleucids was reduced into the form of a Roman province.

4
 Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. This is the principal surviving work on ancient geography. The passage in Strabo concerning Pompey's subjection of the city of Byblus has given rise to various interpretations. The passage follows a description of the Bekaa valley (which Strabo calls the Massyas Plain) and is as follows:

After Macras one comes to the Massyas Plain, which contains also some mountainous parts, among which is Chalcis, the acropolis, as it were, of the Massyas. The beginning of this plain is the Laodiceia near Libanus. Now all the mountainous parts are held by Ituraeans and Arabians, all of whom are robbers, but the people in the plains are farmers; and when the latter are harassed by the robbers at different times they require different kinds of help. These robbers use strongholds as bases of operation; those, for example, who hold Libanus possess, high up on the mountain, Sinna and Borrana and other fortresses like them, and, down below, Botrys and Gigartus and the caves by the sea and the castle that was erected on Theuprosopon. Pompey destroyed these places; and from them the robbers overran both Byblus and the city that comes next after Byblus, I mean the city Berytus, which lie between Sidon and Theuprosopon. Now Byblus, the royal residence of Cinyras, is sacred to Adonis; but Pompey freed it from tyranny by beheading its tyrant with an axe; and it is situated on a height only a slight distance from the sea. 5

Part of the text in Greek from Strabo illustrating this point is as follows:

ἀφ' ὧν τὴν τε Βύβλον κατέζρεχον καὶ τὴν Ἐφεξῆς
 ταύτῃ Βηρυτόν, αἱ μεταξύ κεῖνται Σιδόνας καὶ
 τοῦ Θεοῦ προσώπου. ἡ μὲν οὖν Βύβλος, τὸ τοῦ Κινύρου
 βασιλείον, ἑρὰ ἔστι τοῦ Ἀδωνίδος· ἣν τυραννομένην
 ἠλευθέρωσε Πομπήιος πελεκίτας ἐκεῖνον· κεῖται δ'
 ἐφ' ὕψους τινὸς μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τῆς θαλάττης.⁶

⁴Strabo 16.2.17-18.

⁵Strabo 16.2.18 (H. L. Jones translation).

⁶Idem.

It would appear from this text that in the time of Augustus there existed in the Bekaa an Arabic-speaking kingdom which Strabo called Ituraean, with its political capital at Chalcis and its religious center at Heliopolis. From this passage it also appears that the Ituraeans had strongholds in the mountains as bases for their raiding operations. Just above the seacoast they operated from caves and also held Botrys (Batroun) and Gigartus.⁷ The Ituraeans terrorized caravan trade and would descend from their strongholds to raid nearby cities, and overran both Byblos and Beirut. (The phrase ἀφ' ὧν τὴν τε Βύβλον κατέεραχον in some MSS is found as κατέεραχε indicating that Pompey overran Byblos; this is surely wrong.) Some modern editors of Strabo interpret that when Pompey, came to Byblos, somebody called Cinyras was tyrant and Pompey beheaded him.⁸ However, there is an objection to this interpretation. Strabo refers to Homer all the time, and attempts to locate places that Homer refers to. Strabo knew of Homeric Cinyras.⁹ By referring to Cinyras as τοῦ Κινύρου and not Κινύρου τυρός, Strabo is indicating that Cinyras is somebody known to his reader and himself; that is, the Cinyras of Homer and mythology.¹⁰

⁷René Dussaud, Topographie Historique de la Syrie Antique et Médiévale (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique Tome IV, Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1927), pp. 81-83. Dussaud tends to identify Gigartus with modern Zghorta.

⁸James George Frazer, The Golden Bough, A Study in Magic and Religion 3rd ed., IV, Adonis Attis Osiris Vol. I (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1955), pp. 27-28. Frazer interprets the passage: "The last king of Byblus bore the ancient name of Cinyras...". See also Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia, Introduction lxii, who states "a tyrant named Cinyras".

⁹Iliad 11.20. Strabo has already discussed Cinyras in 1.2.32.

¹⁰Strabo 16.2.18.

Therefore the name Cinyras refers to the King of Cyprus in early legend, and the tyrant of Byblos is nameless. Strabo clearly indicates that Byblos had a tyrant by using the word *τυραννομένην. Τύρανος* (understood) is the antecedent of *ἐκεῖνον*. Cinyras may be a Semitic name, not an obvious Greek name. The tyrant Strabo refers to, who was beheaded by Pompey, was no doubt an Ituraean Arab.

In view of the above this passage could be interpreted as follows. Upon the expulsion from Phoenicia of Tigranes, King of Armenia, by Lucullus in 67 B.C., the Ituraeans had no strong government to restrain them in their incursions. For four years they held sway over Phoenicia and Coele-Syria, occupying Byblos and Berytus and (as we shall see) Tripolis as well. After Pompey's arrival on the coast, the Ituraeans were forced to withdraw to their mountain strongholds, where they were ensconced in the time of Augustus when Strabo wrote his geography. This can be considered the first Arab occupation of Byblos and Berytus.¹¹

A passage in Josephus can be compared with Strabo's passage concerning Pompey's activities in Syria and Phoenicia.¹² In describing the dispute between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, Josephus states that Pompey told their envoys to inform Aristobulus and Hyrcanus to present themselves for his arbitration in Damascus. On his way to Damascus to settle the dispute, Pompey passed through the following localities. The passage reads:

And on the way he demolished the citadel at Apamea, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and he also devastated the territory of Ptolemy, the son of Mennaenus, a worthless fellow, no less than was Dionysius of Tripolis, a relative

¹¹Strabo 16.2.18.

¹²Josephus, Jewish Antiquities 14.38-40. 1 Chronicles 5.19 states that the trans-Jordan tribes Reuben and Gad at an undetermined date made war against four tribes including LXX *Ἰτουραίων*. 1 Chron. shows them infiltrating north, a process which we can confirm in Jewish and classical records. This migration of the Ituraeans is really a prelude to Islam seven centuries in advance.

of his by marriage, who was beheaded; but Ptolemy escaped punishment for his sins by paying a thousand talents, with which Pompey paid the wages of his soldiers. He also destroyed the fortress of Lysias, of which the Jew Silas was lord. And passing the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, he crossed the mountain that divides the region called Coele-Syria from the rest of Syria and came to Damascus. ¹³

Whereas Strabo calls the Arabs Ituraeans, Josephus defines them in this and another passage (Jewish Antiquities 13.392). He states that the tyrant at Tripolis was a relative of Ptolemaeus, son of Mennaenus, King of Chalcis. ¹⁴ By correlating both passages there is seen to be concrete evidence that the tyrant of Tripolis was an Ituraean Arab, who was beheaded by Pompey in his operations against the Ituraeans. The Josephus passage shows Pompey's parallel activity in Tripolis and the Bekaa, as compared to Strabo's account of his operations against the Ituraeans in the mountain fortresses of the Lebanon and the coastal cities of Botrys, Byblos and Berytus.

A final text concerning Pompey which refers to this period is found in the work of a chronicler of the Byzantine period called Malalas. This text reflects the belief in a garbled version of the refounding of Byblos by Pompey after he had expelled the Ituraeans from the city.

Βύβλος δὲ τῆς στρατηγῆς δυνατῆς ὅς
καὶ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ Φοινίκη ἦν
κώμην καὶ ἐποίησε πόλιν τελεῖσθαι αὐτῆν,

¹³Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 14.38-40.

¹⁴Ibid., 13.392. Josephus states: "Aretas (the Nabatean) began to reign over Coele-Syria being called to the throne by those who held Damascus because of their hatred for Ptolemy, the son of Mennaenus."

ἦν ἐκάλεσε Βύβλον εἰς ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. 15

There was a certain powerful general called Byblos who founded a village on the seacoast of Phoenicia, walled it and made it a city. He called it Byblos after himself.

Roman domination proved to be advantageous to the Phoenician city-states. Rome kept strict control over the Mediterranean and in a sweeping operation Pompey was able to reduce the piratical fleets which made navigation dangerous.¹⁶ Byblos flourished under the Pax Romana. The excavations at Byblos prove that a very large and important temple was built during the Roman period.¹⁷ The theater, the Roman baths, canalization and other buildings prove that the city of Byblos was considered an important center by the Romans.

In Jewish Antiquities 15.95 Josephus states that Mark Anthony gave Cleopatra various cities of Phoenicia as a gift. The passage states:

He also gave her the cities between the Eleutherus River and Egypt, with the exception of Tyre and Sidon which he knew to have been free from the time of their ancestors although she earnestly pleaded that they be given to her.

Pliny gives a description of the Phoenician coastal cities in this day, as well as the rivers.

In ora autem subiecta Libano fluuius Magoras, Berytus colonia quae Felix Iulia appellatur, Leontos Oppidum, flumen Lycus, Palaebyblos, flumen Adonis, oppida Byblus, Botrys, Gigarta, Trieris, Calamos, Tripolis, quam Tyrii et Sidonii et Aradii optinent. 18

¹⁵Ioannis Malalae, Chronographia, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: L. Dindorf, 1851), p. 211. See also Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia Introduction lxii, footnote no. 6. Hill states that Benzinger points out (Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., iii.1100) the fact that Pompey put to death the tyrant of Byblos accounts for the statement in Malalas that the city was founded in the time of Pompey.

¹⁶Rawlinson, History of Phoenicia, p. 540. See also Carey, History of Rome 2nd ed., p. 350.

¹⁷Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, pp. 66-79. This temple is called Batiments I and II by Dunand.

¹⁸Pliny, Natural History 5.17.78.

While on the coast, below Mt. Lebanon, are the river Magoras, the colony of Berytus called Julia Felix, Lion's town, the river Lycus, Palaebybles, the river Adonis, the towns of Byblos, Betrys, Gigarta, Trieres, Calamos, Tripolis inhabited by people from Tyre, Sidon and Aradus.

Josephus describes in a passage in the Jewish Wars the various bounties made by Herod the Great to foreign cities. Josephus records that various buildings of public utility were given by Herod to several cities of Phoenicia.

Τοσαῦτα συγκτίσας πλείσταις καὶ τῶν ἔξω
πόλεων τὸ μεγαλόψυχον ἐπεδείξατο,
Τριπόλει μὲν [γὰρ] καὶ Δαμασκῶ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ
γυμνάσια, Βύβλῳ δὲ τεῖχος, ἐξέδρας δὲ καὶ
στοὰς καὶ ναοὺς καὶ ἀγορὰς Βηρυτῶ
κατασκευάσας καὶ Τύρῳ, Σιδῶνι γε μὴν
καὶ Δαμασκῶ θέατρα... 19

After founding all these places, he proceeded to display his generosity to numerous cities outside his realm. Thus, he provided gymnasia for Tripolis, Damascus and Ptolemais, a wall for Byblus, halls, porticoes, temples, and market-places for Berytus and Tyre, theatres for Sidon and Damascus...

In the preliminary report for the excavations at Byblos during the year 1962, Dunand made soundings in the area outside the northeastern gate in the city walls. The excavators uncovered a wall approximately two meters in width.²⁰ There was some difficulty in dating this wall. At first it was thought to belong to the Roman period. However the potsherds found in the vicinity of this construction consisted of black-figured Attic ware. Two

¹⁹Josephus, Jewish Wars 1.422.

²⁰Dunand, "Rapport Préliminaire sur les Fouilles de Byblos en 1962", Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth XVII (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1964), p. 33. The northeastern gate of Byblos is more commonly known as the Land Gate.

flagstones were found at a place where the wall terminated. One of these flagstones had two palm leaves engraved in pure Attic style. Therefore Dunand believed the wall to date at the beginning of the Hellenistic age. However, these flagstones were not found in situ and no others which can be compared to them have been found at Byblos. For this reason Dunand tends to revise the date and to reconsider placing this wall in the Roman period.²¹ However he feels that before one takes a definite stand, the area should be completely excavated.²²

Although it is premature to come to any definite conclusion, if the wall falls within the early Roman period, the text from Josephus could be considered as enlightening. During his reign, Herod the Great gave public buildings to various neighboring cities. He ordered a wall to be constructed for Byblos. One could conjecture that there is a possibility the wall discovered by Dunand could be the wall which Herod donated to the city.

²¹Dunand, Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth XVII, p. 34.

²²I had the privilege of visiting the excavated area of Byblos on April 17, 1965 with Mr. Haroutyoun Kalayan, Engineer attached to the Department of Antiquities in charge of restoration of Roman monuments. Mr. Kalayan has been associated with the Department of Antiquities since 1932. Mr. Kalayan pointed out that the bossage of the stones in the newly discovered wall in Byblos is similar to the stones found in Baalbeck in the substructure beneath the six columns of the Temple of Jupiter and the so-called Herodian wall in Jerusalem. Furthermore, on examining the wall in Byblos it is seen that many stones bear the mark of a circle. It is interesting to notice that in the Crusader Castle building stones with the same circular marking are seen. This indicates that the Crusaders exploited the wall and removed blocks of stone for the construction of their castle. All the area around the wall at Byblos was full of small stone chips. It would appear therefore that the tooling of the stones was carried out on this very place.

A Phoenician inscription of the Roman period was discovered by Montet in 1923 at Byblos. The inscription was found on a small altar which was discovered in the region of the temples. It measured 36 centimeters in height and on one side of the altar there is engraved an inscription in Phoenician letters. Although the letters can be clearly read, the interpretation of the inscription has given rise to different views. From a study of the form of the letters, Dussaud believes that this altar was dedicated about the beginning of the first century of our era. Dussaud reconstructs the inscription as follows:

1. j'ai fait ces hanoutim-ci
2. moi, 'Abdeshmoun, constructeur
3. fils d'Is'a, pour notre Seigneur et pour la statue
4. de Ba'al. Qu'il le bénisse et qu'il le fasse vivre! ²³

Dussaud believes that the altar is not only dedicated to a divinity but also to the Emperor Augustus. He states that Byblos from the start felt the power of Rome. Pompey had arrived in Syria and Phoenicia and had restored order (Strabo 16.2.18). Byblos minted coins in the Imperial period; the first coin published by both Rouvier and Hill of this period is a coin on the obverse of which is the head of Augustus. ²⁴ Dussaud believes it is natural that an individual living during this period at Byblos would dedicate a religious monument to the Emperor. ²⁵ He believes that the most probable interpretation is that the person dedicating the altar is asking for the blessing of Jupiter for himself and long life for the Emperor.

²³Rene Dussaud, "Inscription Phénicienne de Byblos de l'Epoque Romaine", *Syria VI* (1925) (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner), p. 271.

²⁴Rouvier, *Numismatique des Villes de la Phénicie*, p. 48 (Gébal-Byblos coins). See also Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia*, p. 99.

²⁵Dussaud, *Syria VI* p. 272. Dussaud states that the inhabitants of Tarragone dedicated an altar to Augustus in 25 B.C. See Dio Cassius 53.25.

B. Cult

It would be impossible to treat a subject as extensive as the cult of Byblos in this thesis. However, a brief account will be given of the works of three classical authors who fall within the Roman period. There is evidence that two of these authors either lived in or visited Byblos.²⁶ In this context, Plutarch, Philo of Byblos and Lucian will be briefly treated.

There is archaeological evidence to prove that religious dedications to the Temple of the Baalat-Gebal were made by the Pharaohs of the Old Kingdom. The tenth century royal inscriptions of Byblos indicate that the Pharaohs of the Twenty-second Dynasty continued to make dedications to the Baalat-Gebal. From the Old Kingdom on the title "Lady of Byblos" is added to the name of Hathor, pointing to close religious and commercial ties between Byblos and Egypt.²⁷ There can be no doubt that the Phoenicians were a people in whose minds religious ideas occupied a prominent place. The temple was the center of activities at Byblos, where pious citizens gave abundant and costly offerings. Both the kings of Byblos and their subjects bore religious names. (See pp. 26 and 101 above).

During the early Roman period, Plutarch (A.D. 46-120), a priest of Apollo at Delphi, wrote a treatise on Isis and Osiris. This is

²⁶Philo of Byblos lived during the 2nd century of our era. Lucian of Samosata was born in A.D. 125. See Lucian, The Syrian Goddess, translated by Herbert A. Strong (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1913), pp.29-30. Lucian, urged by the desire to travel, adopted the career of a travelling sophist and visited, Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt ca. A.D. 148.

²⁷Montet, Byblos et l'Egypte p. 35.

a clear indication that during the Roman period Byblos was associated with Egypt in myth and ritual. The legend of Isis and Osiris and the struggle for supremacy between Osiris, and later, between Horus and Seth, may be interpreted as reflecting the political situation before the unification of Egypt ca. 3200 B.C. The Byblian episodes, however, appear nowhere in native Egyptian literature of any period and were obviously added to the myth in the Hellenistic Age as part of the general syncretism of this period. In Plutarch's account the search by Isis for Osiris' body brought her to the shores of Byblos. The wooden chest in which the body had been treacherously placed by Typhon (the name Plutarch has given to Seth) had floated from Egypt to Byblos and had been enveloped in a clump of heather which concealed it and grew around it. The king of Byblos, admiring the great size of the trunk, used it as a pillar to support the roof of his house.²⁸

Isis and Astarte were associated with each other in Byblos by Plutarch in this myth.²⁹ The following is the text by Plutarch concerning Isis' trip to Byblos in search of Osiris.

Thereafter Isis, as they relate, learned that the chest had been cast up by the sea near the land of Byblus and that the waves had gently set it down in the midst of a clump of heather. The heather in a short time ran up into a very beautiful and massive stock, and enfolded and embraced the chest with its growth and concealed it within its trunk. The king of the country admired the great size of the plant, and cut off the portion that enfolded the chest (which was no hidden from sight), and used it as a pillar to support the roof of his house. These

²⁸The excavations at Byblos have shown that during the Early Bronze Age the dwellings had seven pillar bases. During this period the use of wooden pillars to hold up the roof is the essential characteristic of the architecture at Byblos. See Dunand, "Rapport Préliminaire sur les Fouilles de Byblos en 1957", Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth XVI.

²⁹Plutarch, Isis and Osiris 357.15. Plutarch states that the name of the Queen of Byblos at the time of Isis' search for Osiris was Astarte.

facts, they say, Isis ascertained by the divine inspiration of Rumour, and came to Byblus and sat down by a spring, all dejection and tears; she exchanged no word with anybody, save only that she welcomed the queen's maidservants and treated them with great amiability, plaiting their hair for them and imparting to their persons a wondrous fragrance from her own body. But when the queen observed her maidservants, a longing came upon her for the unknown woman and for such hairdressing and for a body fragrant with ambrosia. Thus it happened that Isis was sent for and became so intimate with the queen that the queen made her the nurse of her baby. They say that the king's name was Malcander; the queen's name some say was Astarte, others Saosis, and still others Nemanus, which the Greeks would call Athenais. 30

Plutarch's treatise is of great interest for two reasons. In the first place, it shows that during the Roman period Byblos was still associated with Egypt in myth; second, the treatise reflects the connections of Byblos with Egypt in the remote past, the beginning of the third millennium B.C.; connections which existed and consequently were proved by the excavations carried out at Byblos.

There is no native religious literature of Phoenicia extant except for the extracts of Philo of Byblos which have been preserved in Eusebius'

³¹Praeparatio Evangelica. The following are the texts which mention Byblos:

παρὰ δὲ Βυβλίου ἑξαιρέτως θεῶν ὁ μέγιστος ὀνομάζεται. ³²

Among the Byblians (Agrotēs) is especially called the greatest of the gods.

κατὰ τούτους γίνεσθαι τὴν Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὑψιστος καὶ θήλεα λεγομένη Βηρούθ, οἱ καὶ κατώικουν περὶ Βύβλον.

33

³⁰Isis and Osiris 357.15.

³¹Jacoby 790 Fr 1-2.

³²Jacoby 790 F 2 § 12.

³³Jacoby 790 F 2 § 15.

In the time of these there is born a certain Elioun called the Highest and a female called Berout who lived in the vicinity of Byblos.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Κρόνος τείχος περιβάλλει
τῇ ἑαυτοῦ οἰκήσας καὶ πόλιν πρώτην κτίζει
τὴν ἐπὶ Φοινίκης Βύβλον. 34

In the time of these (preceding gods), Kronos put a wall around his habitation and founded Byblos of Phoenicia, the first city.

καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Κρόνος Βύβλον μὲν τὴν
πόλιν θεᾷ Βααλτίδι τῇ καὶ Διώνῃ δίδωσι. 35

And in the time of these, Kronos gives Byblos the city to the goddess Baaltis who is also Dione.

Philo in this context is identifying the goddess Baaltis with the Greek goddess Dione. It would appear that this is a transcription by Philo from the original text in Phoenician and the goddess Baaltis is none other than the Baalat-Gabal. This is one piece of evidence that Philo is in touch with good Phoenician tradition; he puts her name in Greek and associates her with a Greek counterpart.

Lucian, a Syrian born in A.D. 125 in Samosata, the capital of Commagene, visited Byblos during the second century of our era. In his treatise De Dea Syria, he describes Byblos as an important temple city and place of pilgrimage in the ancient world. The following is taken

³⁴Jacoby 790 F 2 § 19.

³⁵Jacoby 790 F 2 § 35.

from Lucian's text on the cult being practiced in his day at Byblos.

I saw too at Byblos a large temple, sacred to the Byblian Aphrodite: this is the scene of the secret rites of Adonis: I mastered these. They assert that the legend about Adonis and the wild boar is true, and the facts occurred in their country, and in memory of this calamity they beat their breasts and wail every year, and perform their secret ritual amid signs of mourning through the whole countryside. When they have finished their mourning and wailing, they sacrifice in the first place to Adonis, as to one who has departed this life; after this they allege that he is alive again, and exhibit his effigy to the sky. They proceed to shave their heads, too, like the Egyptians on the loss of their Apis. The women who refuse to be shaved have to submit to the following penalty, to stand for the space of an entire day in readiness to expose their persons for hire. The place of hire is open to none but foreigners, and out of the proceeds of the traffic of these women a sacrifice to Aphrodite is paid.

Some of the inhabitants of Byblös maintain that the Egyptian Osiris is buried in their town, and that the public mourning and secret rites are performed in memory not of Adonis but of Osiris. I will tell you why this story seems to be worthy of credence. A human head comes every year from Egypt to Byblös, floating on its seven days' journey thence: the winds, by some divine instinct, waft it on its way: it never varies from its course but goes straight to Byblos. The whole occurrence is miraculous. It occurs every year, and it came to pass while I was myself in Byblos, and I saw the head in that city.

There is, too, another marvelous portent in the region of the Byblians. A river, flowing from Mount Libanus, discharges itself into the sea: this river bears the name of Adonis. Every year regularly it is tinged with blood, and loses its proper colour before it falls into the sea: it dyes the sea, to a large space, red: and thus announces their time of mourning to the Byblians. Their story is that during these days Adonis is wounded, and that the river's nature is changed by the blood which flows into its waters; and that it takes its name from this blood. Such is the legend vulgarly accepted: but a man of Byblos, who seemed to me to be telling the truth, told me another reason for this marvellous change. He spoke as follows: "This river, my friend and guest, passes through the Libanus: now this Libanus abounds in red earth. The violent winds which

blow regularly on those days, bring down into the river a quantity of earth resembling vermilion. It is this earth that turns the river to red. And thus the change in the river's colour is due, not to blood as they affirm, but to the nature of the soil". This was the story of the Byblian. But even assuming that he spoke the truth, yet there certainly seems to me something supernatural in the regular coincidence of the wind and the colouring of the river.

I went up also from Byblos into the Libanus, a single day's journey, as I had heard that there was an ancient temple of Aphrodite there founded by Cinyras. I saw the temple, and it was indeed old. These then are the ancient great temples of Syria. 36

³⁶Lucian, The Syrian Goddess translated by Herbert A. Strong (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1913) § 6-9. The temple that Lucian visited in the mountains of Lebanon could possibly be the temple at Mashnaka. I believe that it was not possible that he travelled to Aphka as the distance is too long to cover in one day. Had Lucian visited the Temple of Venus at Aphka he surely would have mentioned the impressive waterfalls, the source of the Adonis river. At the end of the seventeenth century of our era another traveller to Byblos recorded the phenomenon of the change in color of the waters of the Adonis river (called the Nahr Ibrahim today). See The Syrian Goddess p. 28 footnote no. 18. Maundrell (Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem 1699, 6th ed. p. 35) states: "The water was stained to a surprising redness, and as we observed in travelling, had discoloured the sea a great way into a reddish hue, occasioned doubtless by a sort of minium, or red earth, washed into the river by the violence of the rain." To the present day this phenomenon can be observed, usually during the month of April after heavy rainfall.

G. Coins of Byblos of the Roman period

The Imperial coins of Byblos will be listed through the reign of Commodus (A.D. 179-192). The coins of Augustus, Claudius and Commodus are taken from Hill. ³⁷ Rouvier publishes a coin of Tiberius which will ³⁸ also be included.

1. Augustus (27 B.C. to A.D. 14)

Obverse

Head of Augustus r., bare;
 30T3A [B33] on l. upwards, (KAI)ΣΑΡ on r. upwards; oval countermark: laureate male head r., (?) | I. R

Reverse

Kronos nude, with three pairs of wings, standing l. with sceptre; on l. upwards LABY, above ΛΗΥΙ; on r., traces of Phoenician inscr. (2914 ?)

2. Tiberius (A.D. 14-37)

Obverse

CEBACTOC to the right
 CEBACTOY to the left
 Head of Tiberius with laurel facing right.

Reverse

BYBAIWN in a vertical inscription. Isis standing facing right holding with her right hand her son Horus. ³⁹

3. Claudius (A.D. 41-54)

Obverse

Head of Claudius l., laureate; on l., inscr. off the flan; on r., KAICAP (OC) downwards

Reverse

Isis Pharia, wearing crown, long chiton, and peplos flying behind, standing l. on raft; she holds before her in both hands a sail swollen by the wind; on left upwards, BYBAIWN.

4. Commodus (A.D. 179-192) ⁴⁰

Obverse

Bust of Commodus r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; inscr. ----ΔON EYT

Reverse

Temple of two columns surmounted by arch of shell pattern; within Astarte, turreted, standing r., with l. foot on prow; she rests with r. on standard, and with l. raises her dress to her l. knee; beside her, on r., Nike on column crowning her; and l. upwards (IEPAC), on r. downwards (BY) BΛOV

³⁷Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia pp. 99-100.

³⁸Rouvier, Numismatique des Villes de la Phénicie, pp. 48-51 (Byblos)

³⁹See Rouvier, p. 49 for detailed description.

⁴⁰See Hill, pp. 99-100 for description of other coins of Commodus.

D. Texts concerning Byblos and its inhabitants

There is a reference to a sophist of Byblos during the Roman period. Aspasios of Byblos wrote an encomium for Hadrian. This could be considered as evidence that Hadrian passed by Byblos. The encomium was possibly composed and presented to the Emperor as a fitting welcome to the city.

Suda, Ἀσπάσιος Βύβλιος σοφιστῆς συγχρονῶν Ἀριστείδου καὶ Ἀδριανῶ. ἔγραψε Περὶ Βύβλου... Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἀδριανὸν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τινάς. 37

Aspasios of Byblos; sophist contemporary with Aristides and Hadrian. He wrote On Byblos . . . Encomium of the Emperor Hadrian and of others.

Henri Seyrig has published an inscribed lead weight which he believes is from Byblos.³⁸ On one side of the weight there is an inscription in Greek with the name of Aspasios, the market inspector, grandson of the high priest of Dionysos. On the other side there is engraved the solar disc between two cow's horns characteristic of the headdress worn by Isis. Two factors have made Seyrig conclude that the weight is originally from Byblos dating to the Roman period. Isis headdress figures on coins of Byblos,³⁹ but is not seen on coins from Syria; and the name Aspasios is common in Byblos.

³⁷Jacoby 792 Fr 1.

³⁸Henri Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*:55. "Le grand prêtre de Dionysos à Byblos", *Syria: Revue d'Art Orientale et d'Archéologie* XXXI (1954), 68-73. This lead weight had been in the Louvre for many years and was believed by the museum authorities to come from Syria. Seyrig refers to a lead weight published by Dunand (*Fouilles de Byblos* I p. 36 catalogue no. 1157) on which the name of the market inspector is Diophantos. Seyrig states that a third lead weight now in the possession of the Beirut National Museum bears the name of Aspasios as market inspector (See *Syria* XXXI p. 69).

³⁹Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia*, p. 97, coin no. 14. This bronze coin is placed by Hill in the first century B.C.

The inscription is as follows:

Ἀσπασίου τοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Ἀσπασίου,
ἀρχιερέως Διονύσου ἀγορα[ν]ομ[οῦν]τος.⁴⁰

Pendant l'agoranomie d'Aspasios fils d'Appollodoros
fils d'Aspasios, grand pretre de Dionysos.

Seyrig believes that the title of high priest of Dionysos is the Greek equivalent to the title of high priest of Adonis, as there is no evidence that the cult of Dionysos was practiced at Byblos.⁴¹

Aelian (ca. A.D. 170-235) a Roman author and teacher of rhetoric in Varia Historia 4.1 makes the following statement:

Βύβλιος ἀνὴρ ἐν ὁδῷ περιτυχὼν οὐδὲν
ᾧ μὴ κατέθετο ἀναίρειται.⁴²

A Byblian who finds something in the street will not pick it up unless he had left it there himself.

This is flattering testimony to the honesty of the inhabitants of Byblos by a Roman author.

⁴⁰Seyrig, Syria XXXI, p. 68.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 71.

⁴²I have seen this text in the manuscript of Professor John P. Brown which will be replaced by his collection of texts illustrating Phoenicia and Lebanon to be published by the American University of Beirut.

CHAPTER VIII

FORESTATION

A. Exploitation of the cedar forests of Lebanon by Egypt; trade between Byblos and Egypt

Classical sources associate Byblos with Egypt only in myth and ritual. Plutarch, in his treatise on Isis and Osiris, shows that this legendary tale was still told during the Roman period. However the original connection between Byblos and Egypt is seen in Diodorus in his important passage on shipbuilding in Phoenicia.¹ Egypt needed timber for shipbuilding, both commercial, military and cultic and, from the earliest times, had an enclave at Byblos. The site of Byblos as a shipbuilding center was determined by two factors; an acropolis with a small but adequate harbor, and the part of the coast where the timber bearing mountains came down nearest to the sea. No other Phoenician city-state had such excellent conditions, and this is the reason why from the beginning of the third millenium B.C. Byblos developed into an important timber-shipping center. The fact that monumental architecture appeared during the third millenium proves that at this period Byblos was becoming prosperous and important as a city. Dunand found massive city walls on the site which had been erected ca. 2800 B.C. In Phoenician legend there is evidence² that the city existed from ancient times. Philo of Byblos wrote: "Kronos

¹Diodorus 19.58.2-5.

²Jacoby 790 Fr 2 § 19.

erected a wall around his own habitation and founded Byblos of Phoenicia, the first city." The presence of these city walls supports Philo's state-³ment: the antiquity of the city established in Phoenician legend.

The Pharaonic offering bowls found in Byblos which can be dated back to the reign of Khasekhemui (Second Dynasty) show the importance of the timber trade with Byblos to the Pharaohs of Egypt. Senefru, founder of the Fourth Dynasty (ca. 2650 B.C.) recorded a shipment of forty ships with cedar logs.⁴ Some of the cedar is still extant inside his pyramid⁵ at Dahshur.

Thut-mose III records on his eighth campaign (ca. 1457 B.C.):

When my majesty crossed over to the marshes of Asia, I had many ships of cedar built on the mountains of God's Land near the Lady of Byblos.⁶

"God's Land" was the east in general. It is evident that the Lady of Byblos in the inscription, whom the Egyptians equated with Hathor and to whom an important temple in Byblos was dedicated, refers in this context to the city of Byblos.⁷

An inscription of the ninth campaign of Thut-mose III indicates that the Egyptians named their commercial ships "Keftiu, Byblos and Sektu ships of cedar".⁸

³Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I, pp. 361-362.

⁴Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 227.

⁵Philip K. Hitti, Lebanon in History (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1957). See p. 69 for photograph of burial chamber of Senefru's pyramid where the cedar wood is found.

⁶Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 240, and footnote no. 21.

⁷Idem., See the Barkal Stela and footnote no. 21.

⁸Ibid., p. 241. These commercial carriers transported timber shipments to Egypt.

An official of Thut-mose III has left an inscription, which is badly damaged, concerning a commission he undertook to secure cedar from Lebanon. This inscription is found in the tomb of the Chief-Treasurer, Sen-nefer, at Thebes.

I entered the forest (preserve)...I caused that there be presented to her offerings of millions of things on behalf of (the life, prosperity and health of thy majesty)....¹⁰ in Byblos, that I might give them to her lord for her heart's satisfaction....gave....of the choicest thereof. I brought away (timbers of) 60 cubits in (their) length... they were sharper than the beard of grain, the middle thereof as thick... I (brought) them (down) from the highland of God's Land. They reached as far as the forest preserve...(I sailed on the) Great (Green) Sea with a favorable breeze, land(ing in Egypt)... 9

From the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (14th century B.C.) there is abundant evidence of Asiatic gods worshipped in Egypt. Baal was the most frequently mentioned and he was used in magical texts to frighten away evil forces. "Baal smites thee with the cedar tree which is in his hand".¹⁰

There is a scene on the walls of the Temple of Karnak of the Asiatics cutting down trees for the Pharaoh Seti I. The descriptive legend runs "...Lebanon. Cutting down (cedar for) the great barque upon the river, (Amon)-U(ser-h)et, as well as for the great flagpoles of Amon..."¹¹ This is the first representation in art of cedars being cut.

During the reign of Rameses III (Twentieth Dynasty) there are lists mentioning the accumulated properties of the temples through his action in

⁹Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 243 and footnote no. 1. The term khenti-she here translated "forest preserve" was used in Egypt for royal domains according to Jr. Wilson.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 249.

¹¹Ibid., p. 254. See also The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament by James B. Pritchard (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), p. 110, Plate no. 331.

which temple cedar is listed in detail.¹²

The demand and use of cedar wood by the Egyptians can also be seen in early mythical texts. A manuscript of the story of the contest between Horus and Seth was written in Thebes during the Twentieth Dynasty (12th century B.C.). This contest for supremacy between the two gods reflects politically the unification of Egypt ca. 3200 B.C. Horus built a ship of cedar and plastered it with gypsum so that it would look like stone. He then competed in a race challenged by Seth in which the gods were to use stone ships. As his ship was lighter due to this ruse, he won the race and the throne.¹³ Thus the mention of cedar wood is found in a legend which refers to a historical event dating to the end of the fourth millenium B.C.

These details have been given as background, although they do not fall within the period treated in this thesis. This is evidence that from the Old Kingdom on there were close relations between Egypt and Byblos due to the timber trade. During the Eighteenth Dynasty the Pharaohs maintained forest preserves, or royal domains, in Phoenicia with the city of Byblos as the center for timber shipments. During the eleventh century B.C. this state of affairs was altered and Zakar-Baal of Byblos requested payment from Wen-Amon for the required shipments of cedar wood.¹⁴

¹²Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 261.

¹³Ibid., p. 16. See pp. 14-17 for the tale drawn from the myth. It was told for entertainment, mostly as a folk story.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 25-29 for the Journey of Wen-Amon to Phoenicia. Zakar-Baal showed Wen-Amon records of previous transactions proving that previous pharaohs had sent full payment for the timber.

B. Timber exports to Israel by the Phoenician city-states

In addition to commercial relations with Egypt, timber trade existed between Byblos and Mesopotamia for the whole of the third millennium and continued thereafter almost without a break. After the invasion of the Sea Peoples, Byblos looked to other markets for export of cedar wood. During the tenth century B.C. trade relations existed between Israel and the Phoenician city-states, with Tyre acting as middleman, and there is evidence that the workers of Gebal-Byblos¹⁵ took part in the building of the palace and temple of Solomon. This commercial transaction covered a period of twenty years and an important amount of cedar wood was sent to Jerusalem. Solomon raised a levy numbering 30,000 men and sent them to Lebanon in relays of 10,000 men a month.¹⁶ While there are no written records cedar did not cease to be imported in Egypt during the tenth century. Cedar was used for coffins and cedar-oil in mummification throughout this period. This had to be imported from Phoenicia. The absence of the Assyrian armies in the west between 1100 and 854 B.C. allowed commercial exchanges to take place unhindered between the Phoenician city-states and Israel.

C. Exploitation of the cedar forests of Lebanon during the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian periods

The Assyrian texts furnish us with interesting material on the exploitation of the cedar forests of Lebanon. Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076 B.C.) in his expedition to Lebanon and the Mediterranean¹⁷ took cedar back for the construction of the Anu-Adad Temple in Ashur. His successors took cedar from the Amanus mountains. It is probable that the Assyrians could reach the Euphrates more easily and more quickly¹⁸ to float the logs down the river to their capital.

¹⁵1 Kings 5.18. ¹⁶1 Kings 5.13. ¹⁷Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 275.
¹⁸Ibid., pp. 278 and 280. See inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III for logging in the Amanus mountains.

There are two passages in the Old Testament; the first concerning the reign of Sennacherib, the second concerning the reign of Nebuchadnezzar which refer to logging expeditions of the kings of Assyria and Babylonia. During the siege of Jerusalem, Hezekiah, King of Judah, prays to the Lord and Isaiah, speaking in the name of the God of Israel, prophesizes the destruction of the Assyrian armies and addresses the Assyrian king as follows:

By your messengers you have mocked the Lord and you have said, "With my many chariots I have gone up the heights of the mountains, to the far recesses of Lebanon; I felled its tallest cedars, its choicest cypresses; I entered its farthest retreat; its densest forest".¹⁹

Isaiah (14.7-8) in a taunt against the king of Babylon predicting his going down to Sheol states: "The whole earth is at rest and quiet; they break forth into singing. The cypresses rejoice at you, the cedars of Lebanon, saying, 'Since you were laid low, no hewer comes up against us.'"

Two other passages in the Old Testament are of interest in this context. In Isaiah 60.13 the trees of Lebanon are listed. "The glory of Lebanon shall come to you, the cypress, the plane, and the pine, to beautify the place of my sanctuary; and I will make the place of my feet glorious". Isaiah 40.16 states: "Lebanon would not suffice for fuel, nor are its beasts enough for a burnt offering". This is an indication that the mountains of Lebanon were considered the greatest resource possible for timber.

Esarhaddon II (680-669 B.C.) after his Syre-Palestinian campaign undertook a vast building program. He forced the tributary kings, including Milkiashapa of Byblos, to procure cedar and pine timber for him and to transport the logs to Nineveh.

¹⁹2 Kings 19.23.

²⁰Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 291.

Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562 B.C.) in the Wadi-Brisa inscription relates that he cut through mountains and opened roads expressly for the transportation of cedar wood to Babylon. He refers to Lebanon as the luxurious forest of Marduk. This would indicate that Nebuchadnezzar considered the mountains of Lebanon as a royal domain.²¹

In an inscription during the reign of Nabonidus (555-539 B.C.) the king states that he was engaged in the repair of the temples of Esagila and Ezida. He states that he rebuilt the main door leaves of the temple gate with cedar wood and mounted them with bronze.²²

Jerome (fourth century of our era) wrote a commentary on Ezekiel (cf. Ezekiel 27.4-5). In the passage where Tyre is described as a ship and the materials mentioned from which a Phoenician ship of the Babylonian period was built, Jerome states: "The mast is of cedar from Lebanon, cedar, because its wood is not subject to decay".²³

For the Persian period there is a building inscription of Darius I found at Susa.²⁴ (See p. 65 above). This is evidence that cedar wood was transported to Susa from the cedar forests of Lebanon and that the kings of Persia considered the forest regions of the Lebanon mountains as their royal domain. The term *παράδεισος* itself is derived from Persian and means "king's park". (See p. 64, footnote no. 14 above).

Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. 5.8.1) states that in Syria τὰ δένδρα τῆς κέρου grow so large that three men cannot stretch around them; and

²¹Pritchard, 1st ed., p. 307

²²Ibid., p. 310.

²³Jerome Commentary on Ezekiel 27.4-5. Jean Paul Migne Patrologia Latina 25.260.

²⁴Roland G. Kent, Old Persian (published by the American Oriental Society, New Haven, 1953) p. 144.

that the trees are even larger *ἔν τε τοῖς παραδείσοις* .

He could mean, in this context, the former royal preserves of the Persian kings. Further proof that the Persians had royal domains can be seen in two passages in the Old Testament given below: Nehemiah 2,8 furnishes a clear piece of evidence of the King's park. Nehemiah departing for Jerusalem requests King Artaxerxes of Persia to give him a letter to Asaph, the keeper of the King's forest to give him timber to make beams for the gates of the fortress of the temple, for the wall of the city and for his house. *καὶ ἐπιστολῇ ἐπὶ Ἀσαφ φύλακα τοῦ παραδείσου, ὅς ἐστιν τῷ βασιλεῖ.*

Ezra 3,7 refers to the rebuilding of the temple after the return of the exiles to Jerusalem and reports how cedar trees were shipped to Joppa "according to a grant by Cyrus". *κατ' ἐπιχώρησιν Κύρου βασιλέως Περσῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦς.*

Diodorus 16.41.5 states that the Sidonians in their revolt against Artaxerxes commenced hostilities by cutting down and destroying the royal park which the Persian kings used for their recreation.

D. Exploitation of the cedar forests of Lebanon during the Hellenistic period

Arrian has stated how important it was from a strategical point of view for Alexander the Great to control the Phoenician seaboard and the Phoenician fleet in the service of Persia. In addition to the control of the seaports it could be conjectured that the cedar forests had to be secured for the maintenance of the existing fleet and for the building of more ships.²⁵

²⁵Arrian 1.20.

Quintus Curtius states that for the siege of Tyre Alexander had timber brought down from the Lebanon mountain. "A great amount of rocks was available, supplied by Old Tyre, timber was brought from Mount Libanus for making rafts and towers."²⁶

Diodorus relates that when a powerful north west gale blew up and damaged a large part of the mole under construction, Alexander was about to give up the siege attempt. Driven by ambition he sent to the mountains "and felling huge trees, he brought them branches and all and, placing them beside the mole, broke the forces of the waves."²⁷

Quintus Curtius (10.1.17-20) states that Alexander, towards the end of his conquest of Asia, was determined to cross from Syria to Africa as he held a grudge against the Carthaginians due to their help to the city of Tyre during the siege. He planned to cross the deserts of Numidia, reach the Pillars of Hercules and Spain, skirt the Alps and the seacoast of Italy and return to Epirus. With this in view, he ordered the governors of Mesopotamia to cut timber on Mount Lebanon, transport it to Thapsacus, a city in Syria, and lay the keels of seven hundred ships; all were to be septiremes and were to be taken to Babylon. This ambitious ship-building project, as far as we know, was not carried out due to Alexander's untimely death.

Another text in Diodorus, relating to the events following the death of Alexander and the division of his empire, is the only detailed historical account of logging in the Lebanon mountains which is found in the works of

²⁶Quintus Curtius 4.2.18-19.

²⁷Diodorus 17.42.6. At the present time in Lebanon when there is a powerful wind, especially from the northwest, the Mediterranean sea becomes extremely turbulent.

classical authors. ²⁸ It shows that Byblos at this period was still important as a center for timber. It also indicates that one reason for deforestation was the periodic mass cutting of trees for naval needs. This logging operation was undertaken by Antigonus for the purpose of supplying the shipyards of Tripolis, Sidon and Byblos with timber to make him a fleet for use in his war against the Ptolemies. Diodorus also gives us the extent of the forest ranges of Lebanon during this period. "This mountain range extends along the territory of Tripolis, Byblus, and Sidon and is covered with cedar and cypress trees of wonderful beauty and size". ²⁹

One piece of evidence that the Seleucids took over the royal forest preserve is seen in Josephus Jewish Antiquities. Concerning the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple, Josephus states that Antiochus III ordered that timber be brought from Lebanon free of charge. If timber were ordinarily taxed this implies there was a royal forest preserve under the control of the Seleucid kings. ³⁰

E. Exploitation of the cedar forests of Lebanon during the Roman period

There have been no inscriptions found in Phoenicia until the Roman period showing the boundaries of the vast forested areas of which the successive conquerors of the Phoenician coast took possession. Ernest Renan, in his search for inscriptions in 1860, was told that there were many

²⁸Diodorus 19.58.

²⁹Diodorus 19.58.3.

³⁰Josephus, Jewish Antiquities 12.141. In a letter of Antiochus III to Ptolemy, son of Thraseas who was governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia under Antiochus III he states: "The timber, moreover, shall be brought from Judaea itself and from other nations and Lebanon without the imposition of a toll-charge".

inscriptions to be found engraved on live rock in various regions of the Lebanon mountains. Up to the time of the arrival of Renan these inscriptions had remained unreported and unpublished. Renan states that Burchhardt, Otto de Richter and Robinson, although informed of the existence of these inscriptions, did not visit them personally.³¹

In the region between Sannine and the Cedars and particularly near Akoura, Kartaba and Tannourin, Renan recorded eighty-four inscriptions.³² The inscriptions are seen in inaccessible places, rarely in cultivated areas in the valleys. This indicates that in antiquity this remote area was heavily wooded and the inscriptions were put there to restrict the cutting of timber for any use but that of the Roman state. The particularity of these inscriptions is that they always contain the name of Hadrian. They were inscribed deeply in the rock in letters thirty to forty centimeters long. Generally they were well executed. However, in some cases an inscription started on one rock was continued on another rock due to the lack of space. Sometimes due to the inequality of the surface of the rock, the engraver was obliged to modify the size of the letters by making the letters at the end of the inscription smaller. Another peculiarity which Renan reports is that the inscriptions had been considered in the past as marking places for hidden treasure and invariably underneath each inscription he mentioned seeing a hole which had been dug by treasure hunters. A few of the inscriptions are given below; on one rock

³¹Renan, Mission de Phenicie p. 259.

³²Ibid., pp. 258-281. Renan states that he visited each locality to examine the inscriptions he has published.

at Jrapta five meters seventy-five centimeters high and four meters fifty centimeters wide the following is inscribed ^{MPH AD AVC}
³³
 (Imperator Hadrianus Augustus). At Beidar el Hadjl on a series of rocks forming a natural wall, the following inscription is seen:

ARBORUM GENERA IV CETERA PRIVATA ³⁴

In other localities an inscription of the type just mentioned had inscribed near it the following letters: ^{MPH AD AVG} ³⁵

This series of inscriptions no doubt must have been the boundary stones demarcating the limits of the Roman state forest preserves. Renan states that these inscriptions were made by order of Hadrian in this region, which was still heavily wooded at the time, to allow logging only by command of the Emperor.

An inscription found on the road between Zahle and Shoueir (presumably on the western slope of the Lebanon; unfortunately it is unknown whether at the upper or lower altitude-limit of the forest) is presently in the Museum of the American University of Beirut. This inscription was engraved on a rough block of stone and is as follows:

IMP. HAD. AUG. DEFINITIO SILVARUM ³⁶

Another inscription on living rock is found near Lakleuk and has been

³³Renan, Mission de Phénicie, p. 262.

³⁴Ibid., p. 264. ³⁵Idem.

³⁶L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, "Les réserves forestières impériales dans le Liban", Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale IV (1910) pp. 210-212. Mouterde and Jalabert reconstruct this inscription as follows: Imp(eratoris) Had(driani) Aug(usti) definitio silvarum. Acknowledgment is made to Dr. H.S. Bliss for allowing this text to be published.

published by R. Mouterde.

IMP(eratoris) HAD(riani) AUG(usti) VIC(ennalibus) C(aius)

UMERIUS PROC(urator) AUG(usti) IMP(eratoris) IT(erum)

³⁷
S(alutati) P(osuit).

(Property) of the Emperor Hadrian Augustus, in the twentieth year. Caius Umbrius, procurator of Augustus acclaimed Emperor for a second time, placed (it).

The forest inscriptions of Hadrian restricted the exploitation of the forests of Lebanon by individuals. It is possible that the Emperor wished to preserve the timber for naval needs. During the Roman period the fleet was often stationed off the Phoenician coast; timber was necessary for maintenance of the fleet and the building of new ships. It is evident therefore that some thought was given by the Emperor to the preservation and protection of forested areas.

The inscriptions and texts presented in this chapter has been done in an effort to prove that the forests of Lebanon were subjected to periodic mass cutting of timber for building, ornamental and naval needs. This was carried out from 2800 B.C. at which time Senefru, Pharaoh of the Fourth Dynasty, recorded a shipment to Egypt of forty ships loaded with cedar wood. The inscriptions and texts prove that down to the Roman period the timber forests of Lebanon were exploited. However not all the blame should be put on the different conquerors who carried away cedar logs for the building of temples and palaces in their capitals and for the building of fleets in the

³⁷R. Mouterde, "Date des inscriptions forestières d'Hadrian au Liban", *Mélanges XXV* (1942-43), pp. 41-47 especially p. 44 and footnote no. 4. Mouterde states that the twentieth year of Hadrian's reign coincided with the date on which his army proclaimed him imperator when he crushed the second Jewish revolt, that is, in the year A.D. 134.

ports of Phoenicia. Although the inscriptions, the Old Testament and testimonies of classical authors could be considered evident proof for the gradual deforestation of the mountains of Lebanon, a good deal of the blame should be directed against the Phoenicians themselves. Dr. Alfred Ely Day, Professor of Natural Sciences at the American University of Beirut, published in 1930 a study on the geology of Lebanon and neighboring countries. In this publication he makes the following statement:

In Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon lumps of very good iron ore (limonite) are found strewn in abundance on the surface of the Lower Limestone where that formation happens to crop out. These lumps were originally embedded in the limestone and have been freed from it by weathering. Similar lumps and also much larger masses are found still embedded in the limestone. This iron came to the limestone from the overlying sandstone, which has a high percentage of iron oxide, though not enough to make it a workable ore. Water containing organic matter seeping through the porous sandstone reduces the ferric oxide to soluble ferrous oxide or carbonate, and deposits its iron again in the form of hydrous ferric oxide in pockets or cavities of the Lower Limestone. The smelting of this ore has been carried on in rude furnaces up to recent times, and has done much to make Lebanon as bare of trees as it is. Fuel is now so dear that iron can be imported much more cheaply than it can be smelted in this country. 38

During Ottoman rule to the end of the first World War it is certain that the Ottoman Empire exploited the cedar forests of Lebanon for the needs of the Ottoman Empire, military and private. Two other factors should be considered for gradual and systematic deforestation. Until recently the roof of a typical Lebanese house built in the village or the city was supported by wooden poles which were placed across the roof and plastered with a mud and straw mixture. Until 1948 several of

³⁸Alfred Ely Day, Geology of Lebanon and of Syria, Palestine and Neighboring Countries (Beirut: American Press, 1930) pp. 29-30.

these houses could still be seen near the American University of Beirut but they are now being torn down to be replaced by modern apartment houses. However in the villages in the mountains this type of structure can still be seen. In the villages especially there was no controlling authority to prevent the peasant from going into the forests to procure timber for building a house and fuel. The second factor is a present day problem. Flocks of goats have been responsible for recent deforestation. The Lebanese Government is studying measures to restrict the number of goats in Lebanon as it has not been possible to control the incursions of shepherds and their flocks in wooded areas.

In concluding it can be stated that at the time of Hadrian a considerable portion of the country was covered with trees as Hadrian's inscriptions demarcating the Roman state forest preserves indicate. After the reign of Hadrian there was no restraining authority to prevent private exploitation of the forests of Lebanon. Therefore what cut down the forests was not the periodic mass cuttings, although they should be considered a factor in deforestation, but the continuous uncontrolled exploitation of cedarwood by individuals. In between periods in antiquity, when timber was not being cut for naval and building needs, the forests were a royal monopoly. The Pharaohs, undoubtedly also the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians and Seleucids were conservationists. They wanted to preserve the timber for their fleets and building operations. Hadrian alone thought of putting up inscriptions to mark out the imperial forest domain and keep

trespassers out. Therefore the two factors put together, periodic mass cuttings and continuous exploitation by individuals, has resulted in the deforestation of the cedar forests of Lebanon. Today the few majestic cedar trees which are located at Becharre are living testimony to the ruthless exploitation throughout the ages by state and individual of the magnificent cedar forests of Phoenicia.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ARTIFACTS FOUND ON THE SITE OF BYBLOS BEARING THE INSCRIPTIONS OF EGYPTIAN PHARAOHS

The dates used in this appendix have been taken from the Cambridge Ancient History 2nd ed., edited J.B. Bury, S.A. Cook, F.E. Adcock (London: Cambridge University Press, 1924) pp. 661-664 in Volume I for the Second Dynasty through the Thirteenth Dynasty; pp. 702-703 in Volume II (1926) for the Eighteenth through the Twentieth Dynasty; the dates for the Twenty-second Dynasty have been taken from James B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament 1st ed., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950) p. 263. I have listed the inscribed artifacts according to catalogue numbers as they appear in Pierre Montet, Byblos et l'Egypte and Maurice Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos I and II. Although Khasekhemui is listed in the Third Dynasty (3190-3100 B.C.) I have placed him as the last Pharaoh of the Second Dynasty (3350-3190 B.C.) See Cambridge Ancient History I, p. 661.

OLD KINGDOM

SECOND DYNASTY (3350-3190 B.C.)

PHARAOH

Khasekhemui

ARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOS

Fouilles de Byblos I
No. 1115 Fragment of a vase with
the cartouche of Khasekhemui,
p. 26.

OLD KINGDOM

FOURTH DYNASTY (3100-2965 B.C.)

PHARAOHARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOS

- Fouilles de Byblos I
- Cheops (Khufu) (3098-3075 B.C.) 1. No. 4506 Fragment of a globular alabaster vase inscribed with the name of Cheops. The inscription has above it the falcon with the double crown of Egypt. p. 322.
- Khephren (Khafre) (3067-3011 B.C.) No. 3074 Cylinder with the name of Khephren, p. 200.
- Byblos et l'Egypte
- Mycerinus (Menkaure)
(3011-2988 B.C.) 1. No. 45 Fragment of a cup bearing the name of Mycerinus, pp. 68-69.
- Fouilles de Byblos I
2. No. 1794 Fragment of an alabaster vase with the cartouche of Mycerinus, p. 120 (found at 80 cm. depth).
3. No. 2367 Small fragment of alabaster with the name of Mycerinus, p. 163 (1 m. 40 cm. depth).
4. No. 2471 Fragment of an alabaster vase with the name of Mycerinus, p. 170.
5. No. 5120 Fragment of an alabaster vase with the banner name of Mycerinus, p. 343 (5 m. 10 cm. depth)
- Fouilles de Byblos II Part 1
6. No. 11327 Fragment of a slaty rock with the cartouche of Mycerinus, p. 438.

OLD KINGDOM

FIFTH DYNASTY (2965-2825 B.C.)

PHARAOHARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOS

Unas (2855-2825 B.C.)

Byblos et l'Egypte

1. No. 46 Alabaster vase bearing the inscription of the name of Unas (Ounas). pp. 69-70

Fouilles de Byblos I

2. No. 3867 fragment of a globular alabaster vase with part of the titles of Unas, p. 268
3. No. 3980 fragment of an alabaster vase with the name of Unas, p. 278
4. No. 3981 another fragment with the name of Unas, p. 278
5. No. 4029 Two fragments of an alabaster vase with the name of Unas, p. 280

Neouserra (2925-2891 B.C.)
 (Cambridge Ancient History
 gives as his historical
 name: Neuserre An)

Fouilles de Byblos I

1. No. 4030 Fragment of a cylindrical vase with the name of Neouserra, p. 280

Nefererkara Kakai (2946-2936 B.C.)
 (Historical name:
 Neferirikere Kakau)

Fouilles de Byblos I

1. No. 4909 Fragment of an alabaster cylindrical vase with flat rim with name of Pharaoh Kakai p. 329

N.B. I have listed these artifacts according to their catalogue numbers.

OLD KINGDOM

SIXTH DYNASTY (2825-2631 B.C.)

PHARAOHARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOS

- Fouilles de Byblos I
- Teti (or Teta) (2825-2795 B.C.) 1. No. 3753 Two fragments of an offering dish with the name of Teti, p. 258
- Byblos et l'Egypte
- Merira Pepi I (2795-2742 B.C.) 1. No. 47 fragment of a vase with the name of Pepi I. These fragments in the number of eleven form a vase of semi-spherical form. p. 70
2. No. 48 fragment of a cylindrical vase in alabaster with the name of Pepi I. p. 71
3. No. 49 fragment of a dish for offerings in alabaster with the name of Pepi I. p. 71
4. No. 50 fragment of an offering dish in alabaster with the name of Pepi I, p. 72
5. No. 51 fragment of an alabaster vase of the Sixth Dynasty. This may belong to either Pepi. p. 72
6. No. 56 Vase in the form of a monkey with the name of Pepi II. A female monkey holds her young against her body. On the right arm of the mother the name of enthronement of Pepi II can be read: "Nefekare". p. 73
7. No. 57 fragment of a vase in the form of a monkey in alabaster with the name of Pepi. p. 73
8. No. 62 Statuette in the form of a monkey with the name of Pepi II. p. 74
- Fouilles de Byblos I
9. No. 1113 part of an alabaster vase. The cartouche indicates one of the two Pepis. p. 26
10. No. 1114 small fragment of an alabaster vase. Part of the cartouche with the title of one of the Pepis is seen. p. 26
11. No. 1116 fragment of alabaster. The hieroglyphs indicate that it is part of the title of one of the Pepis. p. 27
12. No. 1359 fragment of a cylindrical vase inscribed with the name of Pepi I. p. 93
13. No. 1742 fragment of an alabaster vase with part of the cartouche of Pepi I or Pepi II. p. 117
- Neferkara Pepi II
(2738-2644 B.C.)
- (In view of the fact that Dunand in some cases is not certain to which Pepi the inscription should be ascribed, the artifacts are listed according to their catalogue numbers.)

OLD KINGDOM

SIXTH DYNASTY

PHARAOH

Pepi I and Pepi II

ARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOS

14. No. 1927 fragment of an alabaster vase with a cartouche. Name of enthronement of Pepi II - "Neferkare" p. 132
15. No. 2359 two fragments of an alabaster plate with the name of Pepi I. p. 161
16. No. 2364 fragment of an alabaster vase with part of the cartouche of one of the Pepis. p. 162
17. No. 2365 fragment of an alabaster vase with the name of Pepi II. p. 162
18. No. 2466 fragment of an alabaster vase with the name of Pepi I. p. 169
19. No. 2469 fragment of an alabaster vase with the name of Pepi I. p. 169
20. No. 2473 fragment of an alabaster cover of vase. The title of Pepi I can be reconstructed. p. 170
21. No. 2874 fragment of an alabaster vase with the name of enthronement of Pepi II. p. 185.
22. No. 3530 fragment of an alabaster vase with the name of one of the Pepis. p. 240
23. No. 3792 fragment of a large diorite vase with the name of Pepi (it is not known to which Pepi this refers). p. 260
24. No. 3800 Circular cover in alabaster with the cartouche of Pepi II. p. 261
25. No. 3860 fragment of an alabaster vase, globular in form, with the cartouche of one of the Pepis. p. 267
26. No. 4147 fragment of the neck of a cylindrical vase in alabaster with three signs belonging to the title of Pepi I. p. 309
27. No. 4149 four fragments of a circular alabaster plate with the name of Pepi I. pp. 309-310
28. No. 4366 cylindrical vase in alabaster with the name of Pepi I. p. 316
29. No. 4367 fragment of alabaster vase with title of Pepi I. p. 316

OLD KINGDOM

SIXTH DYNASTY

PHARAOH

Pepi I and Pepi II

ARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOS

30. No. 4368 fragment of an alabaster vase with the name of Pepi. p. 316
31. No. 4941 four fragments of a cylindrical vase in alabaster with the name of one of the Pepis. p. 331
32. No. 5141 fragment of vase with the name of one of the Pepis. p. 345
33. No. 5191 two small fragments of a vase inscribed with the name of Pepi I. p. 349
34. No. 5446 fragment of a plaque with the beginning of a cartouche - it is not known to which Pepi this fragment belongs. p. 373
35. No. 6496 fragments of an offering dish with the name of Pepi I. p. 417

Fouilles de Byblos II, Part 2

36. No. 17542 fragment of an alabaster plate with part of an inscription in hieroglyphs. Dunand thinks this is part of the title of Pepi I. p. 929

Fouilles de Byblos I

1. No. 1940. Fragment of alabaster with the name of Pharaoh Mehtimsaf. p. 133
- Mehtimsaf Meremra (2742-2738 B.C.)
 (This Pharaoh had a brief and obscure reign between Pepi I and Pepi II. His name appears in Byblos for the first time.)

MIDDLE KINGDOM

TWELFTH DYNASTY (2212-2000 B.C.)

PHARAOHARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOS

Amenemhat II (2150-2115 B.C.)
(Nubkaure Amenemhat II)

- Fouilles de Byblos I
1. No. 1551 Cylinder with the name of Amenemhat II. It is in bone. The hieroglyphs are in two vertical columns. p. 104

Amenemhat III (2061-2013 B.C.)
(Nemaatre Amenemhat III)

- Byblos et l'Egypte
1. No. 610 Vase in obsidian with gold ornamentation with the name of enthronement of Amenemhat III (Tomb I - royal necropolis Byblos). p. 155

- Fouilles de Byblos I
2. No. 2905 Spherical white paste bead with cartouche have the name of birth of Amenemhat III on it. These inscribed beads, frequently seen from the 12th Dynasty onwards, show the magical value attributed to the name of Pharaoh. The beads were used as amulets.

- Fouilles de Byblos II
3. No. 8503 Small figurine of Isis seated on a low backed seat. On the seat to the left is a cartouche of Amenemhat III. p. 197

Amenemhat IV (2013-2004 B.C.)

- Byblos et l'Egypte
1. No. 611 casket in obsidian with gold ornamentation with the name of Amenemhat IV. In the middle of the lid there is an inscription well preserved and well engraved which contains with the elongated cartouche the name of enthronement of Amenemhat IV accompanied by epithets. (Tomb II - royal necropolis Byblos). p. 159
2. No. 614 A vase in gray stone having on its cover the name of Amenemhat IV. p. 159

SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

THIRTEENTH DYNASTY

PHARAOHARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOS

- Mersekhemre Neferhotep (1900 B.C.)
- Fouilles de Byblos I
1. No. 3065 A large fragment of a bas-relief. The column to the left reads: "...Ra-Harmakhis. Il adore Ra chaque jour le prince de Byblos Inten, renouveau de vie, qu'a fait le prince Rjnn, le justifie". (In the column to the right Montet has deciphered the end of the name of Neferhotep I. (Montet published this in Kemi (1929)pp. 90-93). This is important as it is the first artifact to give synchronism between King of Byblos and Pharaoh. Prince Inten appears in Mari correspondence. Also important because the name of Byblian king appears in hieroglyphs. pp. 197-198
 2. No. 6923 Scarab in white stone. Cartouche with inscription "du dieu bon wsh-ib-r". According to Dunand this Pharaoh belongs to the Thirteenth Dynasty. His name is known from several monuments, scarabs and is mentioned in the Turin papyrus.

EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY (1580-1322 B.C.)

PHARAOHARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOS

Thut-mose III (1501-1447 B.C.)

Byblos et l'Egypte

1. No. 947 fragment of a bas relief. On it is the cartouche of Thut-mose III with the usual epithets. To the left the falcon with the double crown of Egypt stands on the banner. p. 249

Fouilles de Byblos II Part 1

2. No. 2325 white paste scarab. Cartouche of Thut-mose III. p. 158 (Fouilles I)
3. No. 7127 Scarab of white stone inscribed with the name of Thut-mose III. p. 69
4. No. 7640 Scarab of white stone with the name of Thut-mose III. p. 131
5. No. 8732 Scarab in blue paste. On the reverse is the cartouche of Thut-mose III with a falcon holding the flagellum. p. 216
6. No. 11791 Scarab with the name of Thut-mose III in white stone. p. 473

Fouilles de Byblos II Part 2

7. No. 17311 Scarab of white stone with inscription of Thut-mose III. p. 913

Fouilles de Byblos II Part 1Amenhotep II (1447-1420 B.C.)
(son of Thut-mose III)

1. No. 8251 Scarab in white enamel paste. On the reverse the cartouche of Amenhotep II (Amenophis II). p. 183

Amenhotep III (1412-1376 B.C.)

1. No. 8127 Scarab of white stone. On the reverse the inscription with the name of Amenhotep III (Amenophis III).
2. No. 9264 Large scarab in stone. On the reverse is the cartouche of Amenhotep III with the title "king of kings". p. 263
3. 9393 Large scarab with the names of Amenhotep III and Tjj and their titles. p. 280
4. No. 11053 Stone scarab with white enamel. On the reverse is the inscription of Amenhotep III. p. 415
5. Fouilles de Byblos II Part 2
No. 13411 Large white stone scarab. On the reverse (Amenhotep III) the royal wife Tjj. p. 599
6. No. 19150 Part of a plaque in the form of a cartouche. Three lines of hieroglyphs can be seen. This is probably a pendant, on which the name of Amenhotep III appears.

NINETEENTH DYNASTY (1346-1210 B.C.)

PHARAOH

Rameses II (1314-1292 B.C.)

ARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOSByblos et l'Egypte

1. Nos. 24-25 Fragment of a stele of Rameses II
There are two fragments. The first has part of a scene representing the king in front of a divinity. p. 48
The second fragment has an inscription which can hardly be read.
Line 3 contains two cartouches. The names and titles of Rameses II are inscribed.
 2. No. 883 Fragment of an alabaster vase with the name of Rameses II. This was found in the debris in the shaft of the tomb of Ahiram (royal necropolis - Byblos). The inscription is in fine hieroglyphs on the body of the vase with the name and titles of Rameses II. p. 225
 3. No. 890 Fragment of an alabaster vase with the banner name of Rameses II. This was found in the tomb of Ahiram. p. 227
- Fouilles de Byblos I
4. No. 1315 Fragment with the enthronement name of Rameses II. This fragment was found four meters in front of the colossi in the temple of the Roman period (Batiments I and II according to Dunand). p. 53
 5. No. 1317 Right foot of a statue bearing the cartouche and representation of Rameses II. p. 54
 6. 1320 Two fragments with the name of Rameses II. p. 56
 7. No. 1354 Fragment of a door frame inscribed with the name of Rameses II. His title is inscribed in a vertical column. p. 92. This door frame has been reconstructed in the Beirut National Museum.

NINETEENTH DYNASTY

PHARAOH

Rameses II

ARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOSFouilles de Byblos I

8. No. 1360 Small fragment with the name of Rameses II. This fragment is in serpentine. p. 93
9. No. 6031 Fragment of an alabaster vase with the double cartouche of Rameses II. p. 339

TWENTIETH DYNASTY (1205-1100 B.C.)

PHARAOH

Rameses IX (1156-1136 B.C.)

ARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOS

Fouilles de Byblos II Part 2

1. No. 14080 Small plaque in blue molded in the form of a cartouche bearing the name of Rameses IX. p. 663

TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY

PHARAOHARTIFACT FOUND AT BYBLOSByblos et l'Egypte

Sheshonk I (954-924 B.C.)

1. No. 31 Seat of a statue of Sheshonk I with an inscription in Phoenician letters by Abibaal, King of Byblos. The cartouche of Sheshonk I is also found on the seat, pp. 54-57

Osorkon I (924-889 B.C.)

1. Nos. 26-30 Montet found three fragments of a statue which he attributes to Osorkon I. These fragments were found by the two column bases in the Roman temple. They are of reddish sandstone. One fragment has part of a royal cartouche which Montet attributes to Osorkon I. The second fragment is part of a seat with no inscription. The third fragment has part of a cartouche. See Montet, Byblos et l'Egypte, pp. 49-53.

The statue of the bust of Osorkon I with a bilingual inscription is found in the Louvre (plaster cast in the Beirut National Museum). The Phoenician inscription is a dedication by Elibaal, King of Byblos.

Fouilles de Byblos I

2. No. 1048 Dunand in the excavations in 1926 discovered near the house of Fouad El-Hossamy part of the upper right arm and fragment of an elbow of a statue which he attributes to Osorkon I. On the inner part of the arm there is the cartouche of Osorkon I, above it there are four Phoenician letters. The fragments are of reddish sandstone. Dunand believes that the letters correspond to the Phoenician letters found on the bust of Osorkon I in the Louvre, p. 18. See Rene Dussaud, "Dedicace d'Une Statue d'Osorkon par Elibaal, Roi de Byblos", Syria VI (1925) pp. 101-110. Dussaud states that according to M.J. Barthoux, the geologist, the Montet fragment of reddish sandstone is similar to the statue of Osorkon at the Louvre; the sandstone coming from Mokattam near Cairo. However he believes they were quarried from two different blocks, as the Montet fragment is of a lighter shade.

Osorkon II (880-850 B.C.)

1. No. 1741 Lower part of a statue with the name of Osorkon II. The Pharaoh is sitting on a seat with a back. The statue is damaged above the navel, the legs and feet are mutilated. (Pl. XLIII). The titles of Osorkon II can be read. The right side of the seat has three columns of hieroglyphs, p. 116.

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