



ORIGIN OF COPPER USED IN BRONZE ARTEFACTS FROM MIDDLE BRONZE AGE BURIALS IN SIDON: A SYNTHESIS FROM LEAD ISOTOPE IMPRINTS AND CHEMICAL ANALYSES

ARCHAEOLOGY & HISTORY
IN THE LEBANON ISSUE
THIRTY FOUR-THIRTY FIVE:
WINTER/SPRING 2011/12.
PP. 68-78.

ALAIN VÉRON ¹
GAEL LE ROUX ²
ANDRÉ POIRIER ³
DAVID BAQUE ²

1. CEREGE, CNRS,
Univ. Paul Cézanne,
BP80, 13545 Aix en
Provence cedex 4 -
France

2. EcoLab, Campus
Ensat, CNRS- Univ.
Toulouse, avenue
Agrobiopole, BP
32607, 31326 Castanet-Tolosan -
France

3. GEOTOP, UQAM,
CP8888 Centre
Ville, Montréal H3C
2P8 Québec -
Canada

Introduction

Burials from the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1550 BC) have been explored in Sidon by the British Museum and the Department of Antiquities since 1998 ¹. Here we present a synthesis of chemical and isotopic analyses performed on copper artefacts (named “bronzes” according to the regional archaeological terminology) found in these Sidon burials. These artefacts include weapons (daggers, knife, arrowhead, spearhead), jewels (torque, belt) and some miscellanea (pin). Our goal was to determine the geological origin of copper used to manufacture bronzes so as to provide some insights on economical exchanges. Elemental analyses allows the verification of the metal composition of the bronzes and any contamination (from soils, corrosion or secondary melting) that would affect the reliability of lead isotope imprints. Meanwhile trace and major element concentration patterns alone are not accurate enough to clearly determine the geographical origin of metal deposits used to produce bronze artefacts due to smelting heterogeneities ². In order to be truthful, geographic markers should remain unchanged by smelting and corrosion processes. Lead (Pb) stable isotopes (^{206}Pb , ^{207}Pb , ^{208}Pb) provide reliable imprints that can be used to distinguish ore districts possibly in operation in the Mediterranean basin during the Bronze Age ³. Indeed, lead isotopes are end-members of the radioactive uranium (U)-thorium (Th) (^{238}U , ^{235}U , ^{232}Th) natural decay chains. The relative proportion of lead isotopes in copper (Cu), silver (Ag) and lead ores shall vary according to the age of formation of the ore body and their initial U-Th content ⁴. Therefore most ore bodies will display lead isotopic imprints that can be traced in bronze artefacts and which then allow the determination of the geographic origin of the ores used to produce said artefacts. These results are expected to provide complementary insights on the economical exchanges during the Middle Bronze Age in Sidon. Bronze artefacts from burial 4, 5, 12, 13, 42, 66 and 67 have already been discussed in Véron *et al.*, (2009) and Le Roux *et al.*, (2004, 2009) according to lead ore signatures only. Here, we have revisited these findings and new artefacts (table 1) on the basis of combined lead and copper ore bodies that sometimes display different imprints.

Methods

Table 1 Artefacts from Sidon's burials with corresponding lead isotope signatures and captions used in fig. 1 to 4.

Sample	Artifact	Burial	Age	Caption	$^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$	$^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$
34238/1734	Knife	4	MB IIB	+	1.1751	2.0959
34242/1744	Spearhead	5	MB IIA	+	1.1260	2.1220
34234/1747	Axe-head	5	MB IIA	+	1.1588	2.1031
34240/1820	Axe-head	12	MB IIA	+	1.1863	2.0822
34241/1820	Axe-head	12	MB IIA	+	1.1693	2.1133
34244/1825	Spearhead	13	MB IIA	+	1.1923	2.0746
3617/2079	Belt	42	MB IIB	+	1.2032	2.0690
3619/2079	Belt	42	MB IIB	+	1.2025	2.0706
3580/2079	Torque	42	MB IIB	+	1.1860	2.0836
3544/2071	Spearhead	42	MB IIB	+	1.1828	2.0848
3541/2068	Dagger	42	MB IIB	+	1.1807	2.0854
2605/1846	Dagger	66	MB II	+	1.1842	2.0815
2715/1906	Knife	67	MB IIA-B	○	1.1852	2.0850
2916/1916	Spearhead	69	MB IIA-B	+	1.1823	2.0826
2989/1917	Spearhead	70 A	MB IIA	+	1.1824	2.0860
4210/1945	Knife	70 B	MB IIA	+	1.2083	2.0292
4056/1924	Dagger	74	MB IIA	+	1.1869	2.0815
4140/1924A	Knife	75	MB II A	+	1.1722	2.0927
4140/1924B	Knife	75	MB IIA	+	1.1866	2.0816
4117/1940A	Spearhead	78	MB IIA	○	1.1900	2.0777
4117/1940B	Spearhead	78	MB IIA	○	1.1951	2.0702
4149/1940A	Axe-head	78	MB IIA	○	1.1788	2.0870
4149/1940B	Axe-head	78	MB IIA	○	1.1788	2.0871
4574/6037	Knife	100	MB IIB-C	○	1.1867	2.0820
5341/6056	Dagger	107	MB IIA-B	○	1.1994	2.0460
5363/6056	Pin	109	MB IIA-B	□	1.1694	2.0940
5320/2304	Fish hooks	Room 1	EBA	+	1.1959	2.0664

All artefacts were treated with mechanical (brushing, scalpel scraping) and chemical (corrosion inhibitor and Benzotriazole stabilizer) procedures by Isabelle Skaf. Artefact subsamples were acid leached (HCl-HNO₃) and rinsed (MilliQ water) in order to remove soil and corrosion residues. Trace and major elements were measured by ICP-OES (Varian Vista-MPX Iris Intrepid 2 -Thermo Electron) after concentrated acid digestion (HNO₃) and are presented in table 2 (concentrations are in %, u.l. is used for concentrations "under detection limit"). Aliquots for stable lead isotope analyses were purified on an AG1X8 anionic exchange resin ⁵. Isotopic ratios ($^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$, $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$, Table 1) were determined by Multi-Collector-Inductively Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry (MC-ICPMS) (ISOPROBE, UQAM, Montréal) at GEOTOP. Calibration and mass fractionation were corrected with concurrent analyses of thallium and the SRM981 NIST standard. Standard deviation for lead ratios is 0.01%.

Different aliquots (A and B) were analyzed for three samples 4140/1924 (burial 75), 4117/1940 and 4149/1940 (burial 78). The latest aliquots are in perfect isotopic agreement, while the two others show significant discrepancies (table 1). This could result from either the artefact heterogeneity (ore mixing or secondary smelting) and/or soil

corrosion contamination. The calcium (Ca) enrichment of aliquot 4140/1924A (Ca 29%, table 2a) could suggest soil contamination that could be invoked to explain the isotopic discrepancy between aliquots 4140/1924B ($^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb} = 1.1866$) and 4140/1924A ($^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb} = 1.722$) (table 1), in spite of acid cleaning of the samples. Aliquot 4117/1940B ($^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb} = 1.1951$) is enriched in silver

Sample	Burial	Cu (%)	Ag(%)	As(%)	Au(%)	Fe (%)	Pb(%)	Sb(%)	Sn(%)	Zn(%)	Al(%)	total % ("Metals")
2916 / 1916	69	72.95			n.d.	1.29						74.24
2989/1917	70 A	87.13	1.4		n.d.	0.54	traces			0.84		89.89
4210/1945	70 B	72.62	1.4		n.d.	0.06	traces		20.59			94.64
4056/1924	74	94.98			n.d.	0.36	traces			0.20		95.55
4140/1924A	75	64.29	0.6	0.233	n.d.	1.31	traces			1.62		68.03
4140/1924B	75	95.17			n.d.							95.17
4117/1940A	78	88.21	3.5	0.408	n.d.	0.83				0.36		93.27
4117/1940B	78	96.69		0.048	n.d.	0.05				0.05		96.83
4149/1940	78	96.31			n.d.		0.2081					96.52
4149/1940	78	95.37	0.2		n.d.		1.15015					96.70
4574/6037	100											
5341/6056	107	95.36		1.486	n.d.	2.05	traces			0.13		99.03
5363/6056	109	94.81			n.d.					0.6		96.27
5320/2304	Room 1	92.60		0.220	n.d.	1.37					1.42	95.61

Table 2 a Chemical composition of the bulk artefact including elements brought by soil contamination. % of major and minor elements compared to the sum of these elements.

(Ag) as compared to aliquot 4117/1940A ($^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb} = 1.1900$). We also observe a silver enrichment for 4140/1924A (0.6%, table 2a) as compared to 4140/1924B. These could be explained by artefact heterogeneities due to the mixing of ores of different origin and shall be discussed on the basis of isotope systematics.

Chemical composition

The composition of the new samples is given in table 2 a, including minor and trace elements allowing the identification of corrosion and soil inclusions (see above), which will be further used in the lead isotope analyses.

Table 2 b shows a synthesis of metal compositions found in Sidon's artefacts ⁶ including iron and aluminium as possible tracers of soil inclusion and corrosion. The new results confirm previous measurements (table 2 b), which show that most of the artefacts are made of copper without intentional alloying. Only one sample (4210/1945) is a very high tin bronze, whereas other samples are low tin bronzes (2605/1846, 2715/1906, 5363/6056). There is not a clear chronological pattern based on metal composition. Arsenic is present in 5 samples, again without any clear pattern. There is no clear selection of alloy by function as hypothesized by Philip *et al.*, (1991) for weapons from EBA in Palestine.

Lead Isotope systematics

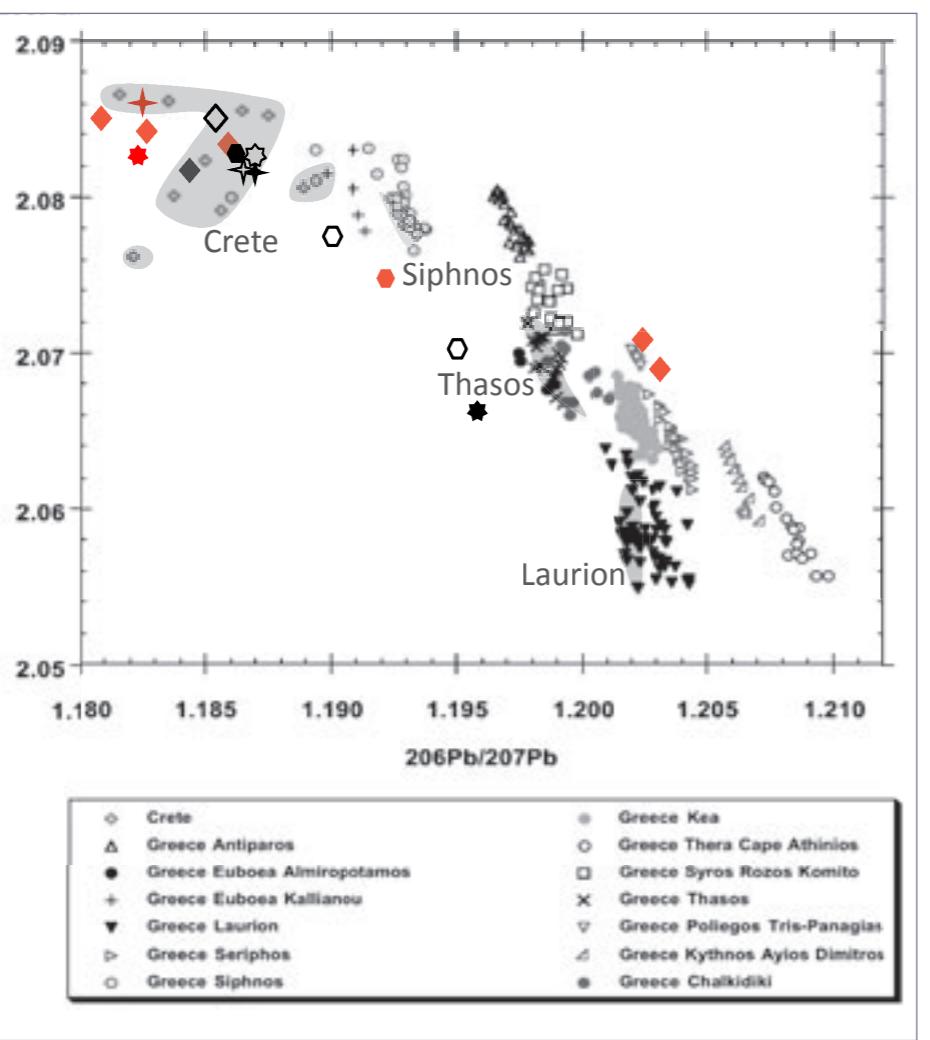
Lead isotope ratios are shown in table 1, and are compared to copper and lead ore body imprints from Crete, Greece (fig. 1), Turkey (fig. 2), Oman, Sardinia, Spain, Italy (fig. 3) and Cyprus, Egypt, Southern Levant, Iran-Iraq, Syria (fig. 4). Because of the copper content of the artefacts,

available copper ores were represented along with lead ore signatures for each region (grey or red shaded areas in figures with corresponding location). Both copper and lead ore imprints generally overlap except for the Taurus region in Turkey (fig. 2) and for Egyptian ores (fig. 3). The geographic origin of copper found in bronze artefacts, based on lead isotope imprints, is presented in table 3 where each possible ore body origin is marked with crosses (one to three depending on increasing matching imprints between the artefact and the ore signatures in figures 1 to 4). The three most common origins are Cyprus, Oman and Crete (Tab. 3). No other obvious geographic source is evidenced for these artefacts, except for one sample likely originating from the Southern Levant region in burial 5 (34234/1747). While Feinan and Timna (Southern Levant) have been extensively mined for copper since the middle of the third millennium BC⁷ and throughout Antiquity, almost none of these ores are found in Sidon. With the exception of burial 5 (34234/1747), the Southern Levant ores do not appear to contribute much to ore sources in Sidon artefacts during the Middle Bronze Age. The two artefacts found in burial 5 have a different origin as fingerprinted by Pb isotopes. This confirms the essential role of this burial in Near Eastern archaeology, where the structure of this burial

71

Mg(%)	Mn(%)	Na(%)	P(%)	S(%)	Si(%)	Ca(%)
1.47					11.37	12.91
1.07			0.43	0.12	1.41	7.09
0.21			1.34		0.88	2.92
0.78					1.16	2.51
1.09			0.35	0.11	0.84	29.57
0.62					2.16	2.05
0.31					3.52	2.90
0.51			0.20	0.05	0.19	2.21
0.63					0.77	2.09
0.53			0.27		0.80	1.71
0.07			0.12	0.32	0.03	0.42
0.75					1.07	1.91
0.62			0.35		0.39	3.03

1 Comparison of isotopic imprint ($^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ vs. $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$ ratios) of burial bronze artefacts to those of Greece and Crete (see symbols and corresponding locations in caption under figure) and copper (grey shaded areas with corresponding location within figure) ore deposits.



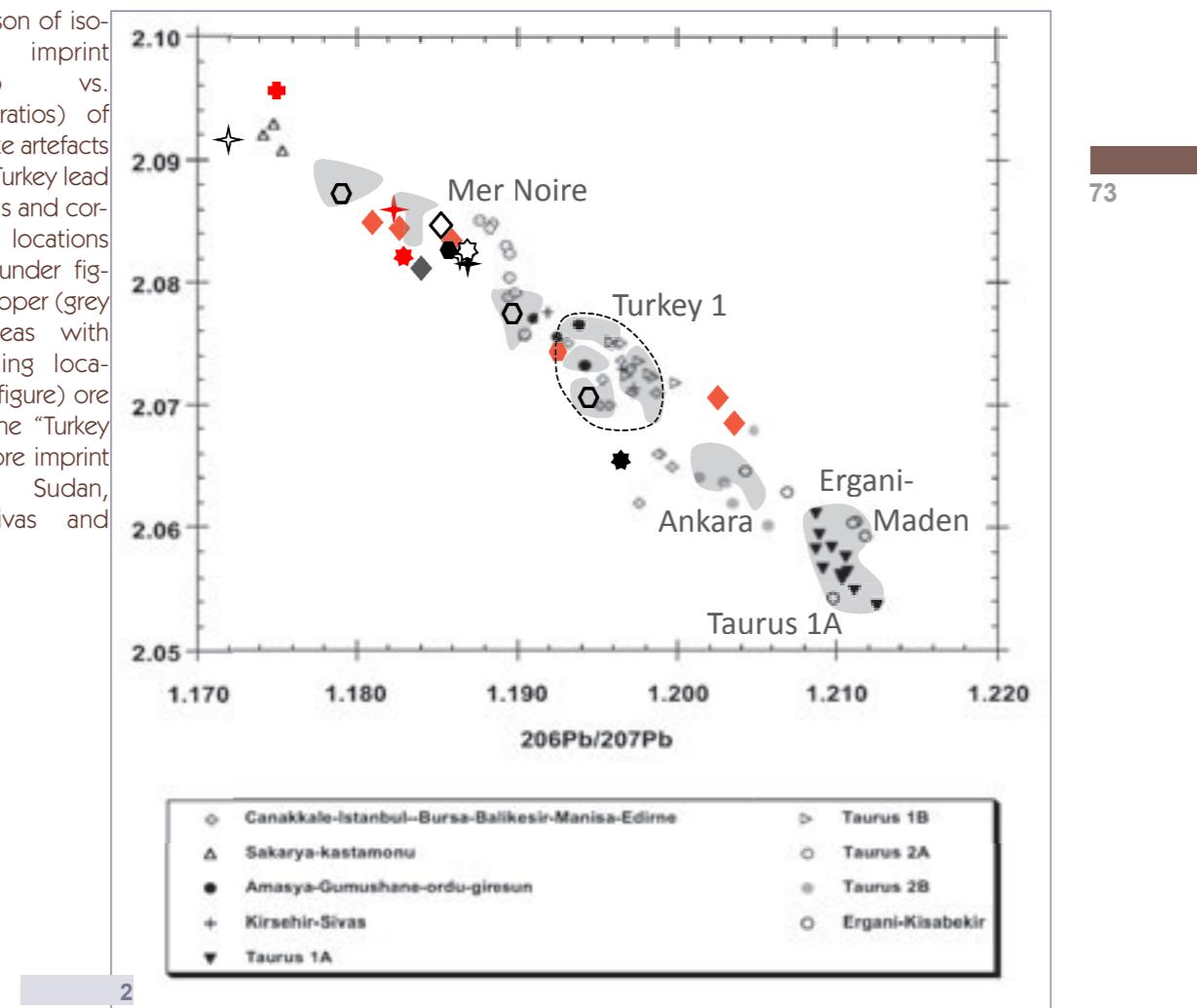
Sample	Burial	Cu (%)	Ag (%)	As (%)	Au (%)	Fe (%)	Ni (%)	Pb (%)	Sn (%)	Zn (%)	Al (%)
34238/1734	4	97.15	ul	0.2	ul	2.11	0.02	0.12	0.12	0.02	0.25
34242/1744	5	97.24	ul	0.03	ul	0.23	0	2.28	0.11	0.01	0.11
34234/1747	5	97.16	ul	0.04	ul	1.3	0.01	0.1	0.5	0.03	0.88
34240/1820	12	93.66	ul	0.02	ul	2.76	0.01	0.66	1.39	0.02	1.49
34241/1820	12	98.31	ul	0.03	ul	0.35	0	0.03	1.16	0	0.11
34244/1825	13	94.49	0.17	0.11	ul	0.86	0	0.2	3.78	0.04	0.35
3617/2079	42										
3619/2079	42										
3580/2079	42										
3544/2071	42										
3541/2068	42										
2605/1846	66	94.63	ul	0.06	ul	0	0.14	0.01	0.23	ul	4.93
2715/1906	67	91.86	0.01	0.42	0	0.01	0.34	0.01	0.54	ul	6.7
2916 / 1916	69	98.26			n.d.	1.74					
2989/1917	70 A	96.93	1.54		n.d.	0.60		traces			0.933
4210/1945	70 B	76.74	1.44		n.d.	0.07		traces	21.76		
4056/1924	74	99.41			n.d.	0.38		traces			0.210
4140/1924A	75	94.50	0.86	0.34	n.d.	1.92		traces			2.379
4140/1924B	75	100			n.d.						
4117/1940A	78	94.58	3.70	0.44	n.d.	0.89					0.390
4117/1940B	78	99.85		0.05	n.d.	0.05					0.049
4149/1940A	78	99.78			n.d.			0.22			
4149/1940B	78	98.63	0.18		n.d.			1.19			
4574/6037	100				n.d.						
5341/6056	107	96.30		1.50	n.d.	2.07		traces			0.129
5363/6056	109	98.48			n.d.				0.62		0.896
5320/2304	Room 1	96.85		0.23	n.d.	1.43					1.485

Table 2 b Synthesis of metal composition of bronze artefacts found in Sidon's burial (this study, A. Le Roux et al., 2004, 2009). % of major and minor elements compared to the sum of "metals" to allow comparison with previous results.

was linked to others from Middle Euphrate, Oman and Mesopotamia⁸. The destination for the immense quantities of copper mined in the Southern Levant still needs to be elucidated. The silver enrichment in artefact 4117/1940A (table 2b) is associated with a Turkish origin (table 3). Another artefact from burial 78 (4149/1940) also displays an isotope imprint from Turkey. These results strengthen the possible and quite unique Turkish origin for the ores used in burial 78 artefacts. Such Turkish origin was also evidenced for silver artefacts found in burial 27⁹. Because of isotope imprint overlap, some ore sources could not be identified (Tab. 3). This is particularly true for artefacts 34240/1820 (burial 12), 4056/1924 (burial 74) and 4574/6037 (burial 100). "Other" is noted when no ore body imprint could match the artefact (Tab. 3). Trace element analysis can help resolve some of these source uncertainties. Indeed, the four artefacts for which no geographic ore imprint could be determined are characterized by specific content of tin (21.76% and 1.16% for 4210/1945 and 34241/1820, table 2b), lead (2.28% for 34242/1744, table 2b) and iron (2.07% for 5341/6056, table 2b). The latest evokes a corrosion problem while the others indicate either an alloy or metal recycling. Like for the chemical composition of artefacts, there is no clear pattern between provenance determined by lead isotope analyses and

72

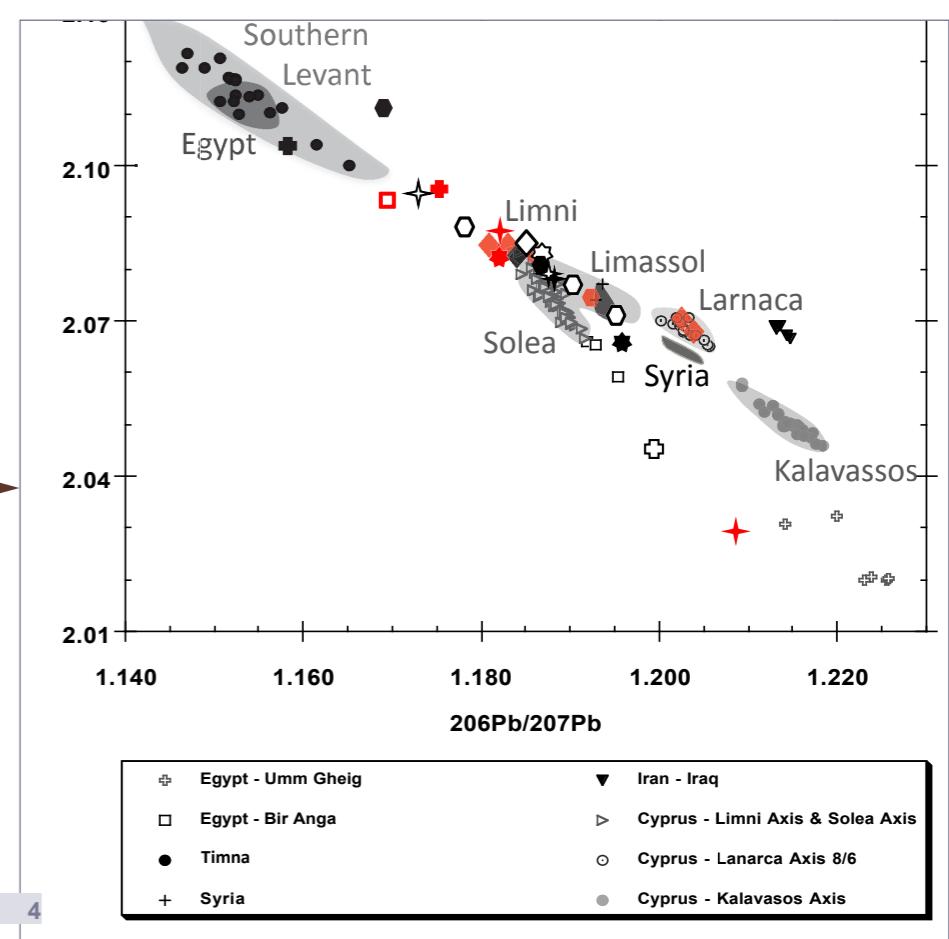
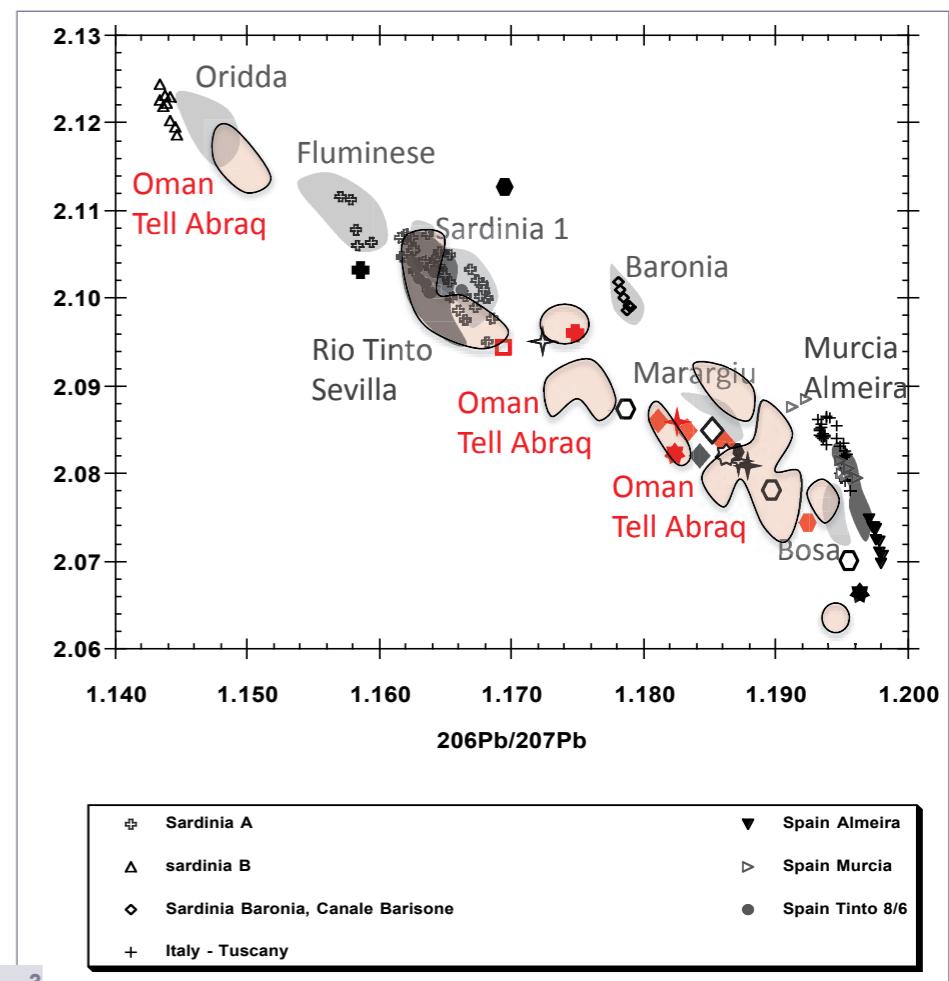
2 Comparison of isotopic imprint ($^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ vs. $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$ ratios) of burial bronze artefacts to those of Turkey lead (see symbols and corresponding locations in caption under figure) and copper (grey shaded areas with corresponding location within figure) ore deposits. The "Turkey 1" copper ore imprint includes Sudan, Ankara, Sivas and Taurus 1B.



chronology of the burials, site or object function. Copper provenance appears mainly to come from the Oman region, Cyprus, and, to a lesser extent, Crete whereas copper use from other closer sources like Syria or the Southern Levant seems scarce. If the Oman region and Cyprus are well-known sources for copper ores, use of copper from Crete is not often reported and should be further considered using an additional lead isotope (^{204}Pb) as well as additional data on ores and artefacts.

4 Comparison of isotopic imprint ($^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ vs. $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$ ratios) of burial bronze artefacts to those of Cyprus, Syria, Iran-Iraq, Egypt and Southern Levant lead (see symbols and corresponding locations in caption under figure) and copper (grey shaded areas with corresponding location within figure) ore deposits. The Southern Levant copper field includes ores from Feinan, Timna and Wadi Faynan. Data for figures 1, 2, 3 and 4 are from L. Barnes *et al.*, 1974; F. Begemann *et al.*, 2001, 2010; F. Cattin, 2008; V. E. Chamberlain and N. H. Gale, 1980; N. H. Gale *et al.*, 1981, 1988; 1996; B. Hamelin *et al.*, 1988; A. Hauptmann, 1992; Y. Hirao *et al.*, 1995; M. Hunt-Ortiz *et al.*, 2003; V. Koppel 1997; E. Pernicka *et al.*, 1984, 1990; G. Philip, 1991; G. Philip *et al.*, 2003; C. Pomies *et al.*, 1998; J. F. Santos Zaldegui *et al.*, 2004; E. V. Sayre *et al.*, 1992, 2001; B. Scaife, 1997; T. C. Seeliger *et al.*, 1985; E. T. C. Spooner and N. H. Gale, 1982; Z. A. Stos-Gale and N. H. Gale, 1981, 1992; Z. A. Stos-Gale *et al.*, 1981, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1990, 1995, 1996, 1997; I. G. Swainbank *et al.*, 1982; M. Vavelidis *et al.*, 1985; G. A. Wagner *et al.*, 1985, 1986, 2003; L. R. Weeks, 1999; K. A. Yener *et al.*, 1991.

3 Comparison of isotopic imprint ($^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ vs. $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$ ratios) of burial bronze artefacts to those of Oman-Tell Abraq, Sardinia, Spain and Italy lead (see symbols and corresponding locations in caption under figure) and copper (grey and red shaded areas with corresponding location within figure) ore deposits. Lead ore imprints from Sardinia A and B include regions from: (A) Sulcis, Iglesiente, Barbagia, Solas, Arburese, Fluminense and (B) Iglesiente, Masua, Oridda, S. Giovani. Sardinia 1 copper ores embrace Arburese, Barbagia and Sulcis.



Sample	Burial	Oman Tell Abraq	Cyprus	Crete	Turkey	Southern Levant	Sardinia	Other *
34238/1734	4	XXX						
34242/1744	5							X
34234/1747	5					XXX		
34240/1820	12	XXX	XXX	XXX				
34241/1820	12							X
34244/1825	13	XX	XXX		X			
3617/2079	42		XXX					
3619/2079	42		XXX					
3580/2079	42	XX		XXX			X	
3544/2071	42	XX		X	X			
3541/2068	42	XXX	XX	X			X	
2605/1846	66		X	XXX			X	
2715/1906	67	X	X	XXX				
2916 / 1916	69	XXX		X	X			
2989/1917	70 A	XXX		XXX	X			
4210/1945	70 B							X
4056/1924	74	XXX	XXX	XXX				
4140/1924A	75	XXX						
4140/1924B	75	XX	XXX	XXX				
4117/1940A	78	XXX	XXX		XXX			
4117/1940B	78				XXX	X		
4149/1940A	78				XXX			
4149/1940B	78				XXX			
4574/6037	100	XXX	XXX	XXX				
5341/6056	107							X
5363/6056	109	XX					X	
5320/2304	Room 1	XX	XX					

Table 3 Geographic origins for copper used in bronze artefacts found in Sidon's burials based on lead isotope imprints (see figures 1 to 4).

75

- 1 C. Doumet-Serhal, 2003, 2007.

L. Barnes, W. R. Shields, T. J. Murphy and R. H. Brill, 1974,

NOTES

2 W. R. Griffitts *et al.*, 1972, H. W. Catling and R. E. Jones, 1977; J. D. Muhly, 1977.

3 R. H. Brill and J. M. Wrangler, 1965; C. C. Patterson, 1971; N. H. Gale and Z. A. Stos-Gale, 1982; N. H. Gale, 2001.

4 R. B. Doe, 1970.

5 G. Manhès *et al.*, 1978.

6 G. Le Roux *et al.*, 2004, 2009 and this study.

7 A. Hauptmann 2000; G. Weisgerber 2006; F. Begemann, *et al.*, 2010.

8 G. Gernez, 2007.

9 A. Véron & G. Le Roux, 2004.

R. H. Brill and J. M. Wrangler, 1965, "Isotope studies of ancient lead", *American J. of Archaeol.*, 71, p. 63-77.

F. Cattin, 2008, *Modalité d'approvisionnement et modalités de consommation du cuivre dans les Alpes au 3^{ème} millénaire avant notre ère: apport des analyses métalliques à la connaissance des peuplements du Néolithique final, du Campaniforme et du Bronze ancien*, Thèse de 3^{ème} cycle, Université de Genève, 458 p.

H. W. Catling and R. E. Jones, 1977, "Analysis of copper and bronze artefacts from the unexplored mansion, Knossos", *Archaeometry*, 19, p. 57-66.

V. E. Chamberlain and N. H. Gale, 1980, "The isotopic composition of lead in Greek coins and galena from Greece and Turkey", in *Proceedings of the 16th International Symposium on Archaeometry and Archaeological Prospection*, E. A. Slater & J. O. Tate (eds.), National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland,

Edinburgh, p.139-155 .

R. B. Doe, 1970, *Lead Isotopes*, ed. Springer-Verlag, Berlin and New York.

C. Doumet-Serhal, 2003, "Sidon - British Museum Excavations, 1998-2003", *Archaeol. and History in Lebanon*, 18, p. 9-19.

C. Doumet-Serhal, 2007, "The British Museum excavations at Sidon: markers for the chronology of the early and Middle Bronze Age in Lebanon", in *The Bronze Age in Lebanon*, M. Bietak and E. Czerny (eds.), p. 11-44.

N. H. Gale, 2001, "Archaeology, Science-Based Archaeology and the Mediterranean Bronze Age Metals Trade: a Contribution to the Debate", *European Journal of Archaeology*, 4, 1, p. 113-130.

N. H. Gale and Z. A. Stos-Gale, 1981, "Cycladic Lead and Silver metallurgy", *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 76, p. 169-224.

N. H. Gale and Z. A. Stos-Gale, 1982, "Bronze Age Copper Sources in the Mediterranean: a new Approach", *Science*, 216, 4541, p. 11-19.

N. H. Gale and Z. A. Stos-Gale, 1986, "Oxide Copper Ingots in Crete and Cyprus and the Bronze Age Metals Trade", *The Annual of The British School at Athens*, 81, p. 81-100.

N. H. Gale, E. T. C. Spooner and P. J. Potts, 1981, "The Lead and Strontium Isotope Geochemistry of Metalliferous Sediments Associated with Upper Cretaceous Ophiolitic Rocks in Cyprus, Syria, and the Sultanate of Oman", *Canadian Journal of Earth Sci.*, 18, p. 1290-1302.

N. H. Gale, O. Picard and J. N. Barrandon, 1988, "The Archaic Thasian Silver Coinage", *Der Anschnitt*, 6, p. 212-223.

N. H. Gale, Z. A. Stos-Gale and G. Gilmore, 1985, "Alloy Ores and

76

Copper Sources for Anatolian Copper Alloy Artefacts", *Anatolian Stud.*, 35, p. 143-174.

N. H. Gale, H. G. Bachmann, B. Rothenberg, Z. A. Stos-Gale and R. F. Tylecote, 1990 a, "The Adventitious Production of Iron in the Smelting of Copper. The Ancient Metallurgy of Copper", in *The Ancient Metallurgy of Copper*, B. Rothenberg (ed.), Institute of Archaeology, London, p.182-191.

N. H. Gale, Z. A. Stos-Gale & W. Fasnacht, 1996, "Copper and Copper Working at Alambra", in *Alambra, a Middle Bronze Age Site in Cyprus*, eds. J. E. Coleman, J. A. Barlow, M. K. Mogelonky & K. W. Schaar, Jonsered, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, 128, p. 129-42 and 359-426.

G. Gernez, 2007, *L'armement en métal au Proche et Moyen-Orient: des origines à 1750 av. J.-C.*, Thèse de Doctorat, Université de Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne, 733 p.

W. R. Griffitts, J. B. Albers and O. Öner, 1972, "Massive Sulfide Copper Deposits of the Ergani-Maden Area, South-eastern Turkey", *Econ. Geol.*, 67, p. 701.

B. Hamelin, B. Dupre, O. Brevart and C. J. Allegre, 1988, "Metallogenesis at Paleo-spreading Centers: Lead Isotopes in Sulfides, Rocks and Sediments from the Troodos Ophiolite (Cyprus)", *Chem. Geol.*, 68, p. 229-238.

A. Hauptmann, 1992, "Early copper produced at Feinan, wadi Araba, Jordan: the Composition of Ores and Copper", *Archaeomaterials*, 6, p. 1-33.

A. Hauptmann, 2000, "Zur frühen Metallurgie der Südostarabischen Halbinsel", *Der Anschnitt*, 39, p. 209-218.

Y. Hirao, J. Enomoto and H. Tachikawa, 1995, "Lead Isotope Ratios of Copper, Zinc, and Lead

Minerals in Turkey in Relation to the Provenance Study of Artefacts", in *Essays on ancient Anatolia and its surrounding civilizations*, Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz, Misaka, H. I. H. Prince Takahito (ed.), p. 99-114.

M. Hunt-Ortiz, 2003, "Prehistoric Mining and Metallurgy in South West Iberian Peninsula", Oxford, Archaeopress (BAR: Int. ser.; 1188).

V. Koppel, 1997, "Bleisotope", in *Handbuch der Lagerstätten der Erze, industriemineralen und energierohstoffe Österreichs-Erläuterungen zur metallogenesischen karte von Österreich 1: 5000;000 unter einbeziehung der industriemineralen und energierohstoffe*, L. Weber (ed.), (Arch. F. Lagerst. forsch. Geol. B-A; 19), p. 485-495.

G. Le Roux, A. Véron and C. Scholz, 2009, "Metal and Pb Isotope Analyses on Weapons from the Bronze Age in Sidon", *Archaeology and History in Lebanon*, 29, p. 75-78.

G. Le Roux, A. Véron, C. Scholz and C. Doumet-Serhal, 2004, "Chemical and Isotopical Analyses on Weapons from the Middle Bronze Age in Sidon", *Archaeology and History in Lebanon*, 18, p. 58-61.

G. Manhès, J. F. Minster and C. J. Allègre, 1978, "Comparative Uranium-Thorium-Lead and Rubidium-Strontium Study of the Saint-Severin Amphoteric: Consequences for Early Solar System Chronology", *Earth Planet. Sci. Lett.*, 39, p. 14-24.

J. D. Muhly, 1977, "The copper Oxhide Ingots and the Bronze Age Metal trade", *Iraq*, 39, p. 73-82.

C. C. Patterson, 1971, "Native Copper, Silver, and Gold Accessible to Early Metallurgists", *American Antiquity*, 36, p. 286-321.

E. Pernicka, T. C. Seeliger, G. A.

Wagner, F. Begemann, S. Schmitt-Strecker, C. Eibner, O. Oztunali and I. Baranyi, 1984, "Archaeometallurgische untersuchungen in Nordwestanatolien Jahrbuch des Romisch", *Germanisches Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 31, p. 533-599.

77

E. Pernicka, F. Begemann, S. Schmitt-Strecker and A. P. Grimanis, 1990, "The Composition and Provenance of Metal Artefacts from Poliochni on Lemnos", *Oxford J. Arch.*, 9, p. 263-298.

G. Philip, 1991, "Tin, Arsenic, Lead: Alloying Practices in Syria-Palestine around 2000 BC." *Levant*, 23, p. 93-104.

G. Philip, P. W. Clogg and D. Dungworth, 2003, "Copper Metallurgy in the Jordan Valley from the Third to the First Millennia BC: Chemical, Metallographic and Lead Isotope Analyses of Artefacts from Pella", *Levant*, 33, p. 71-100.

C. Pomies, A. Cocherie, C. Guerrot, E. Marcoux and J. Lancelot, 1998, "Assessment of the Precision and Accuracy of Lead Isotope Ratios Measured by TIMS for Geochemical Applications: Example of Massive Sulphide Deposits (Rio Tinto, Spain)", *Chem. Geol.*, 144 (1-2), p. 137-149.

J. F. Santos Zaldegui, S. Garcia de Madinabeitia, J. I. Gil Ibarguchi and F. Palero, 2004, "A lead Isotope Database: the Los Pedroches-Alcudia area (Spain): Implications for Archaeo-metallurgical Connections across Southwestern Iberia", *Archaeometry*, 46, 4, p. 625-634.

E. V. Sayre, K. A. Yener, E. C. Joel and I. L. Barnes, 1992, "Statistical Evaluation of the Presently Accumulated Lead Isotope Data from Anatolia and Surrounding Regions", *Archaeometry*, 34, p. 73-105.

E. V. Sayre, E. C. Joel, M. J. Blackman, K. A. Yener and H.

Ozbal, 2001, "Stable Lead Isotope Studies of Black Sea Anatolian Ore Sources and Related Bronze Age and Phrygian Artefacts from Nearby Archaeological Sites. Appendix: new Central Taurus Ores Data", *Archaeometry*, 43, 1, p. 77-115.

T. C. Seeliger, E. Pernicka, G. A. Wagner, F. Begemann, S. Schmitt-Strecker, C. Eibner, O. Oztunali and I. Baranyi, 1985, "Archaometallurgische untersuchungen in nord - und ostanatolien", *Jahrbuch des Romisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 32, p. 597-659.

B. Scaife, 1997, "Database of Lead Isotope Ratios for Ores Collected from around the Mediterranean, Papers published between 1987 and 1997", in <http://www.brettscaife.net/lead/data/index.html>.

E. T. C. Spooner and N. H. Gale, 1982, "Pb Isotopic Composition of Ophiolitic Volcanogenic Sulphide Deposits, Troodos Complex, Cyprus", *Nature*, 296, p. 239-242.

Z. A. Stos-Gal and N. H. Gale, 1981, "Sources of Galena, Lead and Silver in Predynastic Egypt", in *Actes du XX Symposium d'Archéométrie*, vol III, Bulletin de Liaison du Groupe des Méthodes Physiques et Chimiques de l'Archéologie, p. 285-295.

Z. A. Stos-Gale and N. H. Gale, 1992, "A New Light on the Provenance of the Copper Oxhide Ingots found on Sardinia in the Mediterranean: a Footprint in the Sea", R. H. Tykot and T. K. Andrews (ed.), Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, p. 317-345.

Z. A. Stos-Gale, N. H. Gale and G. R. Gilmore, 1984, "Early Bronze Age Trojan Metal Sources and Anatolians in the Cyclades", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 3, p. 23-37.

Z. A. Stos-Gale, N. H. Gale and U.

Zwicker, 1986, "The Copper Trade in the South East Mediterranean Region: Preliminary Scientific Evidence", in *Report Depart. Antiquities, Cyprus (Nicosia)*, p. 122-144.

Z. A. Stos-Gale, N. H. Gale, J. Houghton and R. Speakman, 1995, "Lead Isotope Data from the Isotrace Laboratory, Oxford: Archaeometry Data Base 1, Ores from the Western Mediterranean", *Archaeometry*, 37, p. 407-415.

Z. A. Stos-Gale, N. H. Gale and N. Annetts, 1996, "Lead Isotope Data from the Isotrace Laboratory, Oxford: Archaeometry Data Base 3, Ores from the Aegean, part 1", *Archaeometry*, 38, p. 381-390.

Z. A. Stos-Gale, N. H. Gale, J. Houghton and R. Speakman, 1997, "Lead Isotope Data from the Isotrace Laboratory, Oxford: Archaeometry Data Base 4, Ores from Cyprus", *Archaeometry*, 39, p. 237-246.

I. G. Swainbank, T. J. Shepherd, R. Caboi and R. Massoli-Novelli, 1982, "Lead Isotopic Composition of some Galena Ores from Sardinia", *Periodico di Mineralogia*, 51, p. 275-286.

M. Vavelidis, I. Bassiakos, F. Begemann, K. Patriarcheas, E. Pernicka, S. Schmitt-Strecker and G. A. Wagner, 1985, "Geologie und Erzvorkommen, Silber, Blei und Gold auf Sifnos", G. A. Wagner and G. Weisgerber, (ed.), Deutsches Bergbau-Museum, Bochum, p. 59-80.

A. Véron, G. A. Poirier and G. Le Roux, 2009, "Lead Isotopes Reveal the Origin of Middle Bronze Age Artefacts found in Sidon (Burial 42)", *Archaeology and History in Lebanon*, 29, p. 68-74.

A. Véron and G. Le Roux, 2004, "Provenance of Silver Artefacts from Burial 27 at Sidon", *Archaeology and History in Lebanon*, 20, p. 34-38.

G. A. Wagner, E. Pernicka, T. C.

Seeliger, O. Oztunali, I. Baranyi, F. Begemann and S. Schmitt-Strecker, 1985, "Geologische untersuchungen zur fruhen metallurgie in NW-Anatolien", *Bulletin of the Mineral and Exploration Institute of Turkey*, 100-101, p. 45-81.

G. A. Wagner, E. Pernicka, O. E. Seeliger, I. B. Lorenz, F. Begemann, S. Schmitt-Strecker, C. Eibner and O. Oztunali, 1986, "Geochemische und isotopische characteristika fruher rohstoffquellen für kupfer, blei, silber und gold in der Türkei", *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, 33, p. 723-752.

G. A. Wagner, I. Wagner, O. Oztunali, S. Schmitt-Strecker and F. Begemann, 2003, "Archäometallurgischer bericht über Feldforschung in Anatolien und bleiisotopische studien an Erzen und schlacken, Man and mining, Bochum, Der Anschnitt, Beiheft, T. Stöllner, G. Steffens and J. Cierny, (ed.), p. 475-494.

L. R. Weeks, 1999, "Lead Isotope Analyses from Tell Abraq, United Arab Emirates: New Data Regarding the "Tin Problem" in Western Asia", *Antiquity*, 73, p. 49-64.

G. Weisgerber, 2006, "The Mineral Wealth of Ancient Arabia and its Use: Copper Mining and Smelting at Feinan and Timna, Comparison and Evaluation of Techniques, Production, and Strategies", *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*, 17, p. 1-30.

K. A. Yener, E. V. Sayre, E. C. Joel, H. Ozbal, I. L. Barnes and R. H. Brill, 1991, "Stable lead isotope studies of Central Taurus Ore sources and related artefacts from Eastern Mediterranean Chalcolithic and Bronze Age sites", *Journal of Archaeological Sci.*, 18, p. 541-577.

78