

EXPLORING THE *LONGUE DURÉE*

Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager

edited by

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37. THE BUILT TOMBS ON THE SPRING HILL AND THE PALACE OF THE LORDS OF JERICHO (𐎠𐎤𐎎𐎕𐎗𐎚) IN THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

by Lorenzo Nigro

RECENT excavations by the University of Rome “La Sapienza” and the Palestinian Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage at the site of Tell es-Sultan have produced new data on the urban organization and stratigraphy of Jericho in the Middle Bronze Age. These discoveries shed unexpected light on the results of previous excavations (Marchetti and Nigro 1998:103–97; 2000:165–281; in press). Interesting information was gathered on the Spring Hill (figure 1), the artificial mound beside 𐎠𐎤𐎎𐎕𐎗𐎚—the perennial spring that provides Jericho with a constant supply of fresh water.¹ The discovery there of a built tomb (D.641) in Area G (figure 2), with a distinguished burial inside, not only supports the idea that the MB palace (Garstang’s “Hyksos Palace”—Garstang 1933:41; 1934:100–1, pl. 15, nn. 80, 81; Garstang and Garstang 1948:99–101) was located on the summit of the Spring Hill, but also provides a possible hint of the Egyptian name of Jericho during the Middle Kingdom and the Egyptian title of its rulers.

¹ On the archaeology of the Spring Hill, see Bienkowski 1986:112–20 and Marchetti 2003a. The plans published in Marchetti 2003a:figs. 3–4, 6–8, 10–13 offer a partial stratigraphic reconstruction of the EB and MB phases on the Spring Hill; however, for a more coherent reconstruction of the occupational sequence at this central point of the ancient city, the elevations of buildings and layers and the location of the spring and the roads (ancient and modern), as well as the structures detected by Garstang in between these two key urban elements, should have been indicated. In this respect, some aporias could have been solved, such as (1) the attribution of two distinct architectural phases to MB I in spite of the limited layers and related pottery ascribable to this period [Sultan IVa] in the tell as a whole; (2) the stratigraphic multiplication of the same structures between MB I and II (e.g., the tower excavated by Kenyon ascribed to a different phase than the wall to which it is connected, and the walls and one tower that delimit an intramoenia cemetery); (3) the room called “X” by Garstang, from which a well-known EB IV goblet comes, ascribed to EB III; and (4) the dating to EB II of the rooms from which came the well-known ivory bull-head, dated by Marchetti himself to the EB III; see Marchetti 2003a, 299–310, figs. 3–4, 6–8, 10). These aporias show the difficulty of correlating the archaeological data gathered by different archaeologists in this sector of the tell. The main architectural structures in the area therefore must be reconsidered in light of the original documentation of the previous excavations, i.e., Garstang’s unpublished plans.

Tomb D.641 and the Other Built Tombs on the Eastern Flank of the Spring Hill

In 1999, a built tomb (D.641) was excavated in Area G. It consists of a square chamber lined with mud-bricks (figure 3), in which two individuals were buried: an adult and a girl 9–10 years old (figure 4).² They were lying on their left sides and were accompanied by funerary equipment apparently related to the younger person. The young girl was clearly the more prominent individual because she wore a distinctive set of personal ornaments (the only case known in Jericho, including the huge nearby necropolis excavated by K. M. Kenyon), and she had at her side distinctive pottery and animal bones, which presumably resulted from sacrifices.

The stratigraphic location of Tomb D.641 (figure 5) and its chronology (end of period Sultan IVa; MB IB; 1825–1800 B.C.E.) are clear, based upon the examination of its ceramic assemblage. But what is more important is the observation that this tomb was situated well within a major wall delimiting the top of the Spring Hill. This wall, excavated by the Italian-Palestinian Expedition (W.633; Nigro 2006a:25, 27), had already been brought to light by John Garstang, who convincingly interpreted it as the boundary wall of a major building occupying the summit of the Spring Hill (figures 6 and 9; Garstang 1934:pl. 15, nn. 80, 81; Garstang and Garstang 1948:86, fig. 4). An examination of the original plan of this building (figure 7), which had rectangular rooms along its perimeter that recall contemporary palatial buildings like the so-called Courtyard Temples of Tell el-Balaṭah/Shechem (Nigro 1995:71–89, 417–19, pls. 12–14), as well as the MB III “Palace I” of Tell el-ʿAjjul (Nigro 1995:112–18, pl. 21) and Palace P at Tell ed-Duweir/biblical Lachish (Nigro 1995:107–11, pl. 20), not only reveals the layout of what was most likely the royal palace of Jericho in the Middle Bronze Age, but also shows two other features important for the comprehension of this strategic spot in the ancient city. A main terrace-wall supported the top of the Spring Hill on its eastern flank (Kenyon’s Wall HBF+HBN[+HDR], labeled “intermediate

² Human remains were examined by E. Spagnoli (Marchetti 2003a:306), who also hypothesized that the adult was a female.



Figure 1. View of Tell es-Sultan and the Spring Hill (right) in 1930, seen from the south, with the road cutting its eastern flank just in front of Ain es-Sultan spring

Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund

terrace-wall” in figure 9; Kenyon 1981:350–62, pls. 328b–333), while at the bottom of the slope, a major structure, possibly representing a fortification wall related to the great Eastern Tower discovered by Garstang roughly 15 m to the south (figure 8),³ retained the foot of the hill (figure 9).⁴ Within these massive walls, at least five built chambers had been used as tombs—quite surprisingly, if one considers that from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, the main burial place at Jericho was the nearby necropolis, where rock-cut tombs had been used since the Early Bronze Age (some of these tombs were reused for the earliest burials of the Middle Bronze Age).

The western and uppermost of these built chambers was Tomb D.641, which actually was located within the compound of the palace. In the underlying middle terrace, in between the limit of the palace and the main terrace-wall, a labyrinthine structure was excavated by Garstang (figure 7) that was tentatively

interpreted as a tomb or cenotaph.⁵ Actually, no human remains are reported to have been found in it, even if a group of complete pottery vessels may be considered part of a collection of funerary equipment.⁶

In the same terrace, abutting the inner face of Wall HBF+HBN(+HDR), Kenyon excavated Tomb HAR (Square HII), which offers a clear example of this kind of funerary construction. The plan is roughly square with an entrance near a corner blocked by a limestone slab; the mudbrick work was partially preserved in elevation, indicating the existence of a corbeled vault in bricks (figures 10 and 11; Kenyon 1981:349–50, pls. 188–89, fig. 5). Six people were buried in Tomb HAR, indicating that it was reopened several times, but only the last two were in primary deposition with flexed legs. The previous burials had been grouped against the walls of the chamber, together with animal bones that may have belonged to food offerings. The pottery associated with the last two burials consisted of two jugs, one dipper, a small jar, and a carinated bowl (Kenyon and Holland 1983:fig. 162).

In the lower terrace, between Wall HBF+HBN and the main fortification wall at the foot of the slope, Kenyon discovered three more tombs. Although these were in a worse state of preservation, they apparently belong to the same type. Tomb 10,⁷ located in Square

³ The Eastern Tower was a monumental building possibly connected to an inner gate giving access to the Spring Hill, erected at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age (Garstang 1932:15–16, pl. 9; 1934:pls. 13, 15; Garstang and Garstang 1948:85–86, fig. 4, where he finally dated the tower to the Early Bronze Age; Nigro 2006a:26, fig. 38; 2006b:365–66).

⁴ Garstang discovered this wall protruding from the Eastern Tower (Garstang 1932:16; Garstang 1934:pl. 15; Garstang and Garstang 1948:86, fig. 4); it was reexcavated in its northern extension by Kenyon in Square HVI (Walls HCJ and HCP; Kenyon 1981:356–58, pls. 331, 339–40). The wall abutting the tower to the north was reexcavated by the Italian-Palestinian Expedition (W.7) in the area just south of Kenyon’s Square HVI (Marchetti and Nigro 2000:165–70, figs. 3:1–3:7; Nigro 2006a:25–26). Moreover, at least two drains (figure 7) connected the summit of the hill with the area of the spring (Garstang 1934:pl. 15), thus providing a useful tool for the stratigraphic correlation of the structures erected on the eastern flank of the mound.

⁵ Garstang’s Area 60 (1934:101, pl. 15, loci 61–63; note that n. 60 refers to the whole area including Rooms 61–63).

⁶ Later LB I vessels were found, but from an upper and probably reused level of the building (Garstang 1934:107, 118, pls. 24:1–11, 13–14; 29:10–17). The attribution of this labyrinth-like structure to the LB I is thus to be corrected (compare Garstang 1934:105, 107, pl. 15 with Marchetti 2003a:317, fig. 12).

⁷ This tomb and the two others discussed below were not named by Kenyon and so were given new names by the Italian-Palestinian Expedition: Tombs 10, 11, and 12.

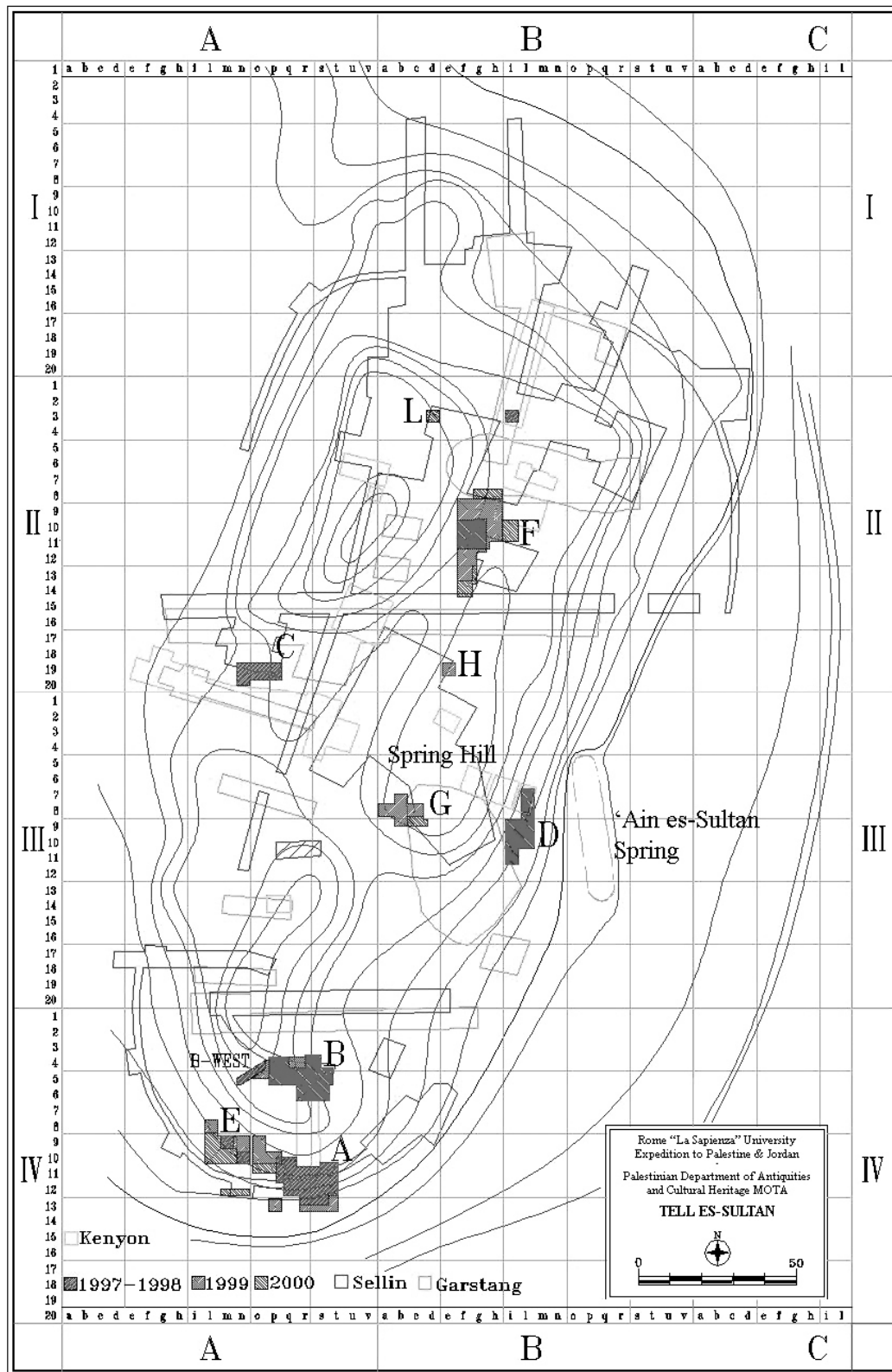


Figure 2. General plan of Tell es-Sultan with areas excavated by the Italian-Palestinian Expedition in 1997–2000 and the Spring Hill, and with the area of Kenyon's excavations in the 1950s (Squares HII, HIII, HVI); the location of the spring is also indicated.

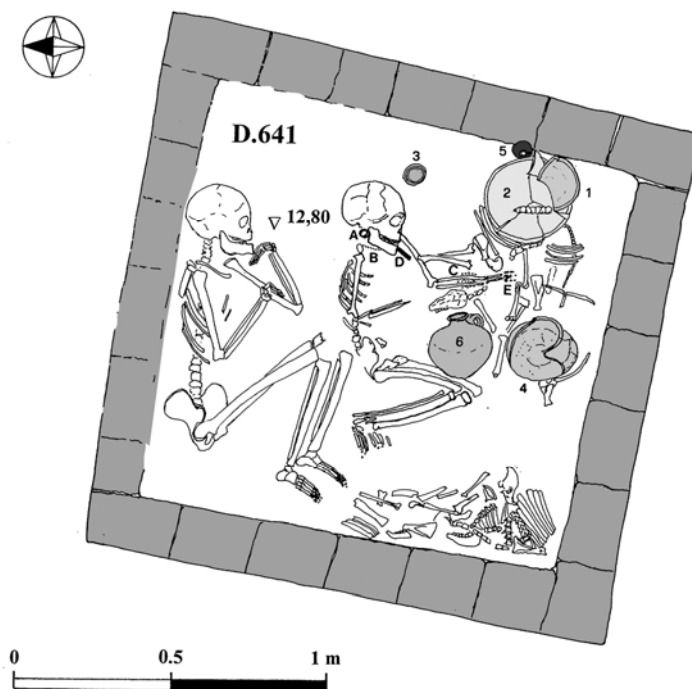


Figure 3. Plan of Tomb D.641



Figure 4. The two individuals buried in Tomb D.641 as they appeared during the excavation

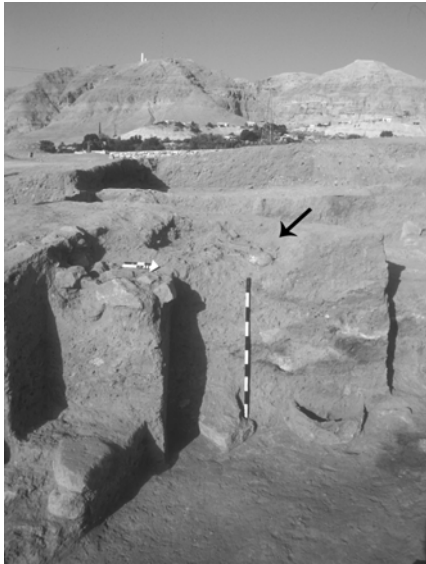


Figure 5. The stratigraphic location of Tomb D.641 in Area G, just west of the eroded stone foundation of W.634 and over the destruction layers of the previous Sultan IIIc2 (EB IIIB) phase

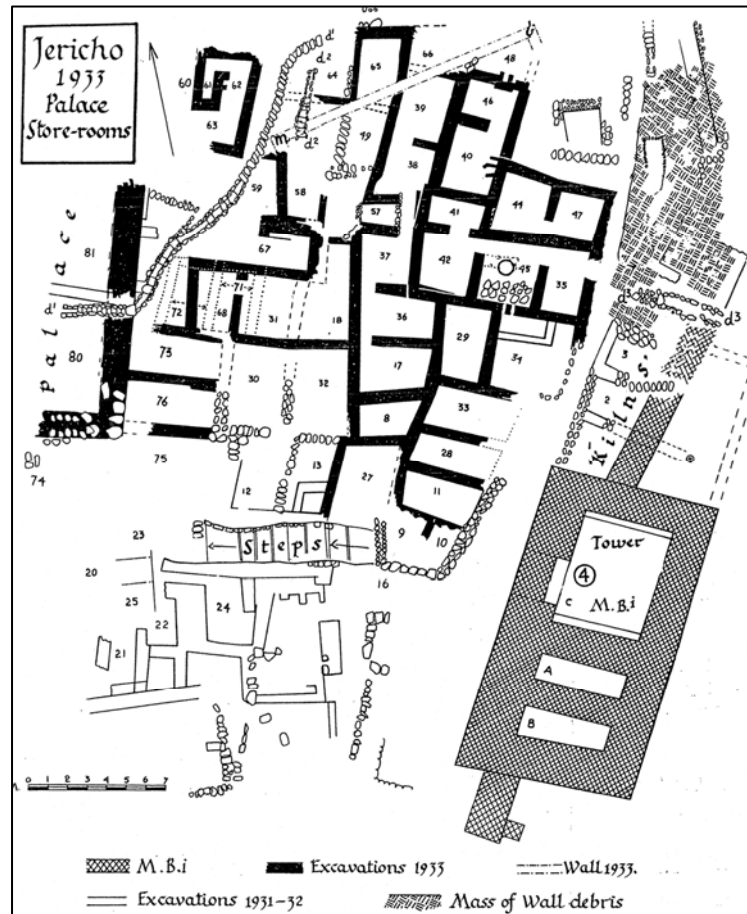


Figure 6. General plan of palace area excavated by Garstang in the 1930s on eastern flank of the Spring Hill; on left, the eastern boundary of the palace (nos. 80, 81); in middle, the labyrinth-like structure (Area 60) and so-called Palace Store-rooms; on right, the Eastern Tower and related walls (after Garstang 1934:pl. 15).

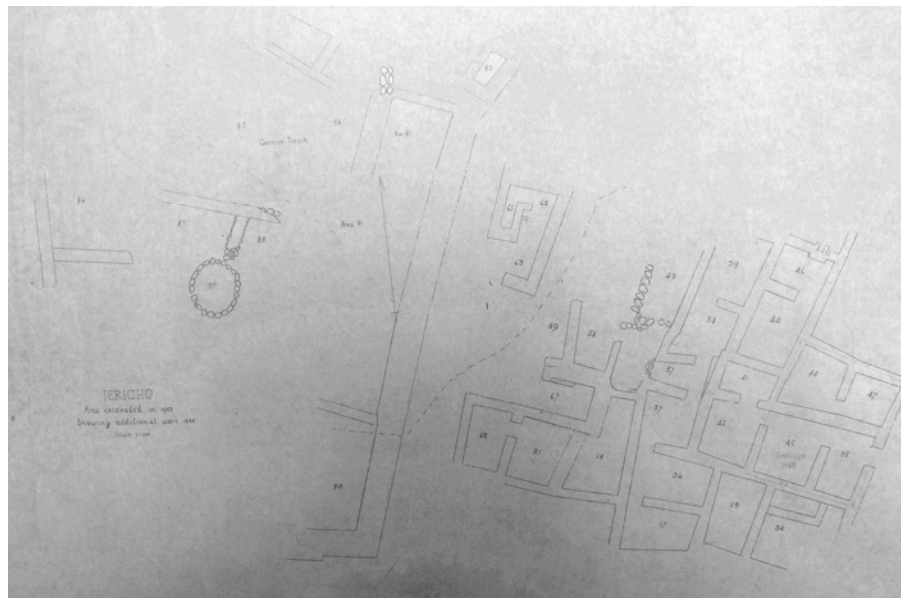


Figure 7. Unpublished plan of the structures of the palace area excavated by Garstang in the 1930s
Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund



Figure 8. The Eastern Tower excavated by Garstang on the eastern flank of the Spring Hill
Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund

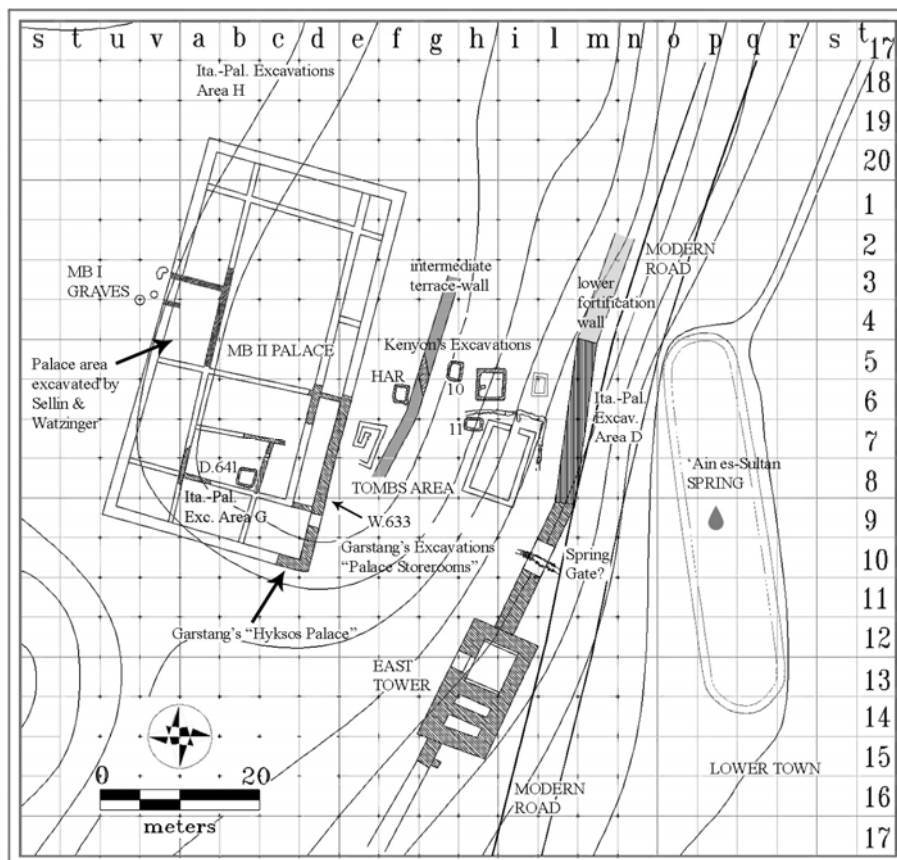


Figure 9. General plan of the MB II (Sultan IVb) palace and related structures excavated by the two British expeditions and the Italian-Palestinian Expedition on the eastern flank of the Spring Hill

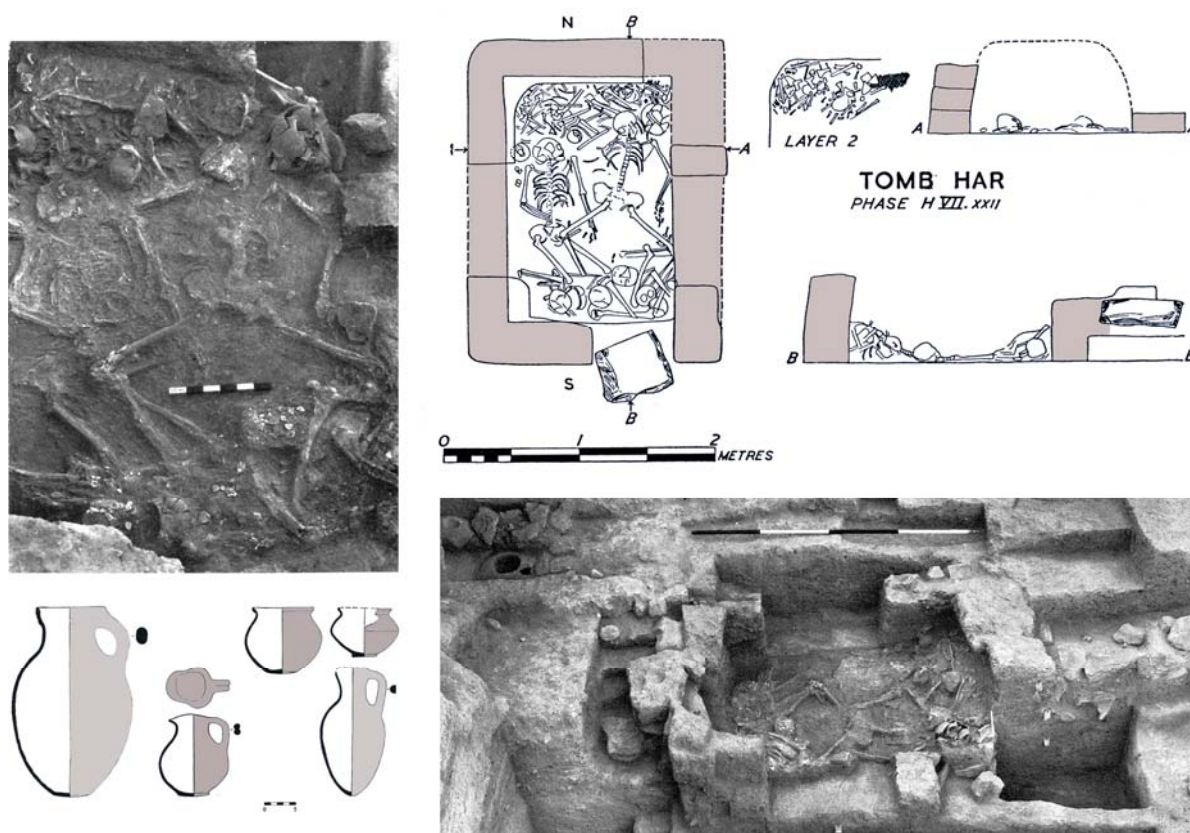


Figure 10. Plan, photographs, and pottery assemblage of Tomb HAR excavated by K. M. Kenyon in Square HII (after Kenyon 1981:pl. 188, fig. 5; Kenyon and Holland 1983:fig. 162)

HIII, contained two adults lying on their right sides with heads to the south and legs flexed. The border wall of this tomb was partly eroded and partly unexcavated, being buried in a balk (figures 11 and 12; Kenyon 1981:349, pls. 187b, 328a). The ceramic equipment, located beside the heads of the deceased, included three small jars and a jug, according to a standard funerary set known also from the contemporary necropolis (Kenyon and Holland 1983:fig. 161).⁸ Noteworthy is the presence of animal bones near the heads of the deceased, which Kenyon interpreted as food offerings, but which, consisting mainly of goat *mandibulae* and *scapulae*, seem instead to be the remains of the sacrifice of a young goat.

Some meters further to the south was Tomb 11, another somewhat disturbed funerary structure, which contained a child burial (figure 13; Kenyon 1981:356; pl. 192b) with distinguished pottery equipment, including a carinated Gublite bowl, a small globular jar, a dish with a disc base, a trefoil-

mouth juglet with squat body, and a piriform juglet of Black Burnished Ware (Kenyon and Holland 1983:fig. 174). The latter vessels, in particular, recall the ceramic equipment of Tomb D.641, which had a relatively wealthy assemblage that also included a Black Burnished Ware juglet and a dish. The peculiarity of that tomb is shown by the adoption of a funerary custom unusual for child burials, which in this period were typically placed in jars.⁹

The lowest burial, here called Tomb 12, was identified just inside the fortification wall HCP,¹⁰ but was not related to the overlying structure consisting of Walls HBC+HBB+HBG, which was attributed to the following phase. Actually, it seems more likely that the latter structure contained the two burials, which belong to the same kind of built tombs. Finally, another mudbrick square structure (HAX+HBA) without any entrance that was exposed by Kenyon just to

⁸ This kind of standard funerary set of pottery vessels is exemplarily shown in Tomb K3 (Kenyon 1965:203–6, figs. 92–93, pl. 11:1).

⁹ Three child burials were also excavated by Garstang just to the west of the Eastern Tower (Garstang 1932:17; 1934:119).

¹⁰ The simple label “grave” indicates this burial in Kenyon 1981:pl. 328a, Square HVI.

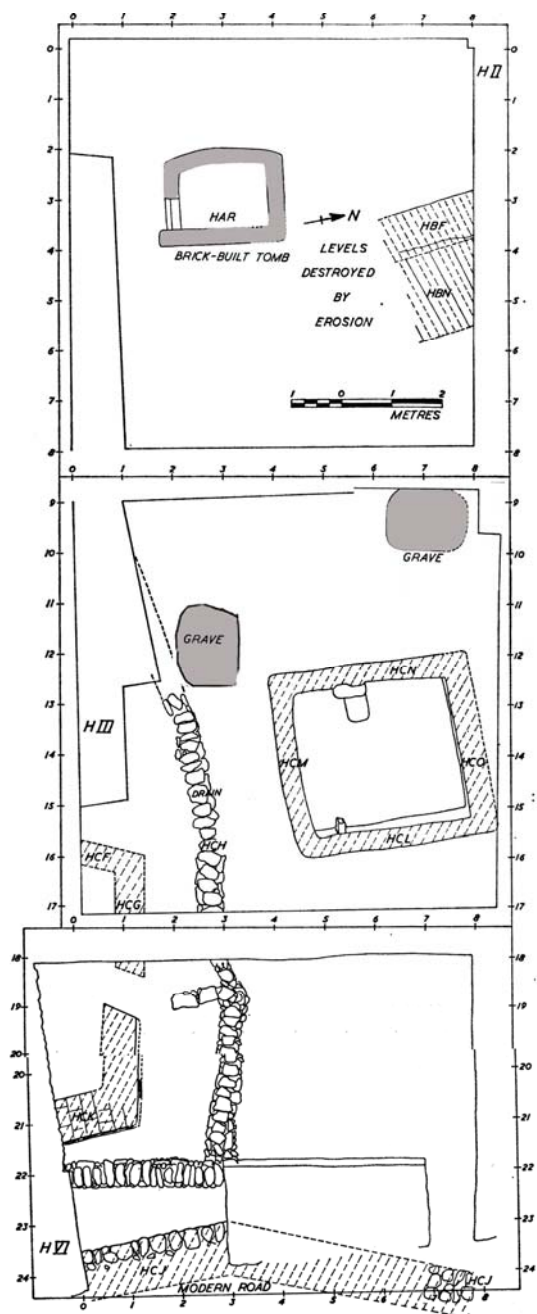


Figure 11. Plan of Kenyon's Squares HII, HIII, HVI (after Kenyon 1981:pls. 328a, 331a)

the side (Kenyon 1981:357–58, pls. 192a, 329b) was thought to be a cistern (the spring is at most 15 m away), but it may be interpreted as another tomb waiting to be used (figure 11).

The structural typology of the built tombs on the eastern flank of the Spring Hill finds very few parallels in the contemporary funerary architecture of Palestine, but it has a striking counterpart in the contemporary cemeteries of Tell ed-Dab^a (figure 14; Bietak 1991:figs. 16–17, 24–25, 30–32, 36, 43, 45, 47, 49,

53, 58, 75–77, 85, 87, 105, 113, 119, 122, 129, 131, 133, 139, 153, 155, 157, 172, 193, 199–200, 210, 219, 256). The funerary assemblages of the Jericho tombs are usually less wealthy and complex than those of the Egyptian city, except in the case of Tomb D.641.

The Earliest Burials and the Western Boundary Wall of the Middle Bronze Palace

A group of earlier burials of a very simple nature (pit burials) was also identified by the Austro-German Expedition on the opposite (western) side of the Spring Hill (figure 9). These burials were aligned along a north-south wall (Sellin and Watzinger 1913: 39, figs. 18–20), which possibly represents the western limit of the palace. Ceramic assemblages associated with these burials are very simple and date back to the very beginning of the Middle Bronze Age (Sultan IVa1; MB IA; 2000–1900 B.C.E.). They sometimes even include EB IV vestigial types, such as spouted bowls and small jars (figure 15; Sellin and Watzinger 1913:70–71, fig. 43).¹¹ The location of these burials along the perimeter of the palace, and the fact that they fall within a particular timespan, recalls a similar group of burials excavated by Schumacher along the western side of the *Nordburg* at Megiddo (Nigro 1994:20, n. 9), and suggests that they were cut at the beginning of the Middle Bronze period, when the Spring Hill was resettled. The Sultan IVa1 graves discovered on the Spring Hill show, on the one hand, that it was used as a burial place when the site was resettled at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, and offer, on the other hand, a clear *terminus post quem* for the erection of the palace, which took place in the second half of Sultan IV (IVa2; MB IB; 1900–1800 B.C.E.).

Tomb D.641 and the Lords of Jericho in the Middle Bronze Age

With the erection of the palace and the supporting walls on the eastern flank of the hill, the tradition of burying people in the area was preserved only for a select group of individuals who were buried in built tombs. The presence of chamber tombs is not unusual in a palatial area. Subterranean tombs have been discovered beneath the main palaces of the region, such as the *Nordburg* and *Mittelburg* at Megiddo (Schumacher 1906a; 1906b; 1908:13–21, figs. 9–10; Nigro 1994; Finkelstein, Ussishkin and Deutsch 2006), the

¹¹ Two more burials of this kind were excavated by Garstang in the area of the Eastern Tower.

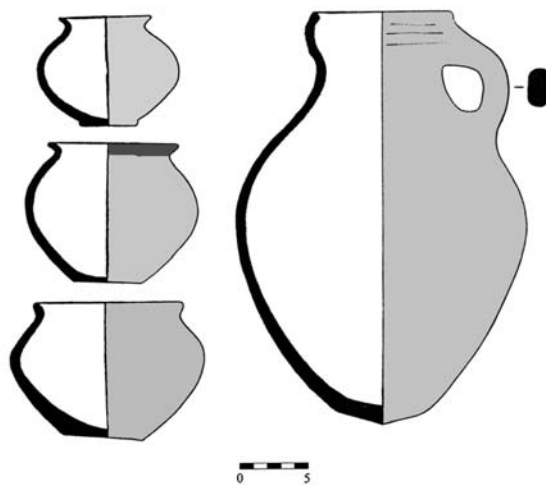
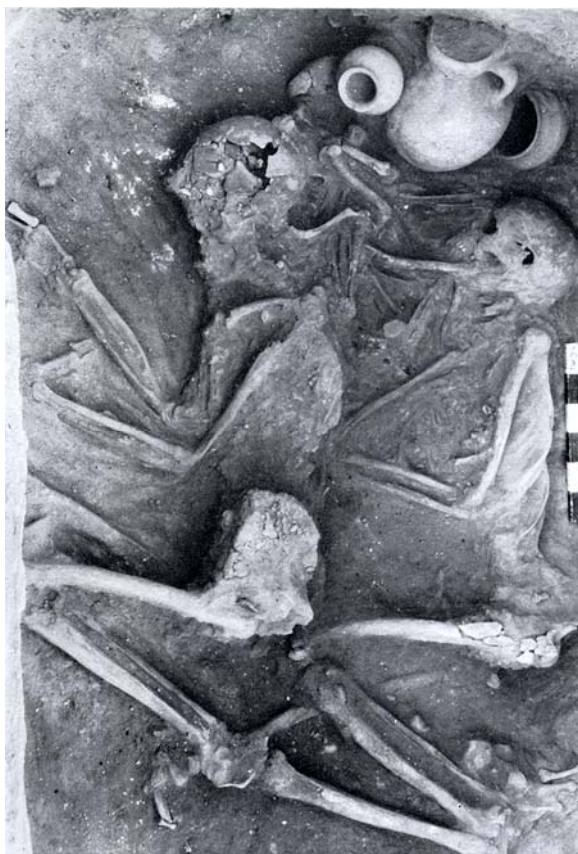


Figure 12. Burial of Tomb 10, excavated by Kenyon in Square HIII, with its pottery assemblage (after Kenyon 1981:pl. 187b; Kenyon and Holland 1983:fig. 161)

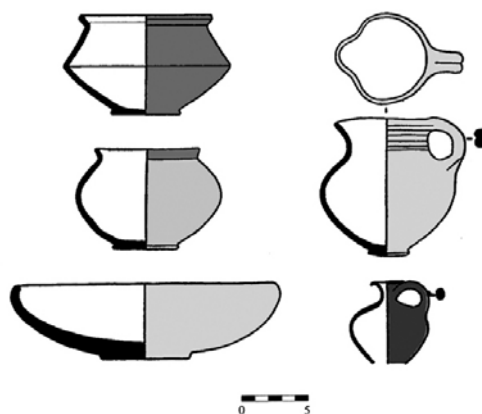


Figure 13. Burial of Tomb 11, excavated by Kenyon in Square HIII, with its pottery assemblage (after Kenyon 1981:pl. 192b; Kenyon and Holland 1983:fig.174)

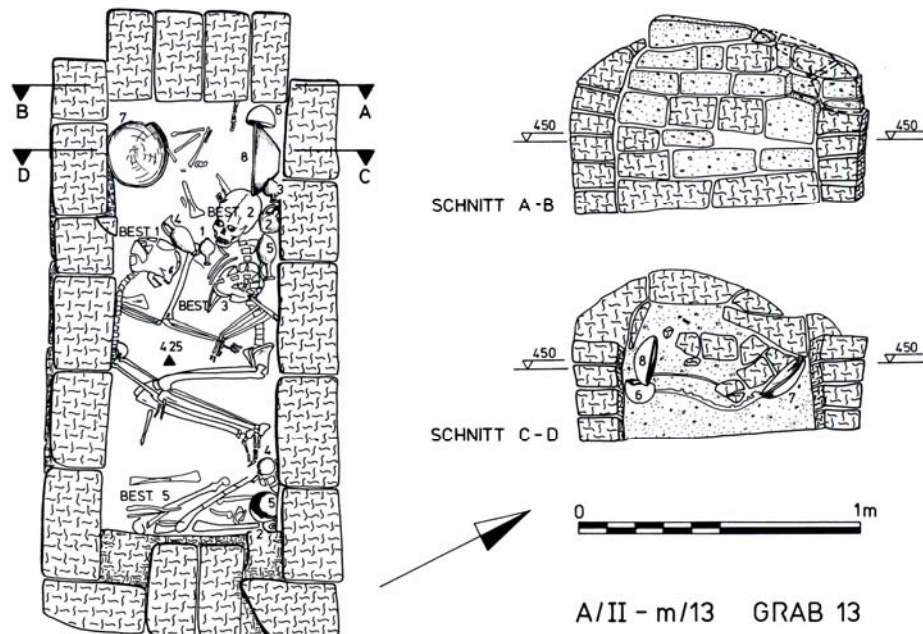


Figure 14. Plan of Tomb m/13–Nr. 13 at Tell ed-Dab^a (after Bietak 1991:fig. 45)



Figure 15. Ceramic assemblage associated with one of the burials excavated by the Austro-German Expedition on the western side of the Spring Hill (after Sellin and Watzinger 1913:fig. 43)

palace of Tell Ta^aannek (Sellin 1904:37–42, figs. 34–36, 38; 1906:32–34), and the palace of Kamid el-Loz (Hachmann 1982). These palatial tombs usually consist, however, of large hypogea with two or more chambers.¹² In the case of Jericho, only one tomb

¹² This feature is well known also at Alalakh, Ugarit, and of course at Byblos (where the palace was not surely identified but the description of Wenamun and topographic observation strongly supports the hypothesis that it was

(Tomb D.641) lies directly under the palace itself, while the others were built in between the stepped substructure of the latter on the eastern flank of the Spring Hill. The architectural and structural relationship between the tombs and the palace thus remains somewhat difficult to determine (subsequently, the same terraced area was occupied by a subsidiary

placed on top of the spur dominating the harbor where the royal necropolis is located).

building called by Garstang “Palace Store-rooms”; Garstang 1934:101, 118–30, pl. 15; Garstang and Garstang 1948:99–101). However, the location of Tomb D.641 beneath the palace bespeaks its special status. It is probably not by chance that it contained a special burial, indicated by the unusual personal ornament of the young girl buried in it (Nigro 2006a:27–28).



Figure 16. Funerary equipment of Tomb D.641



Figure 17. Burial and pottery assemblage of Tomb D.641 during the excavation

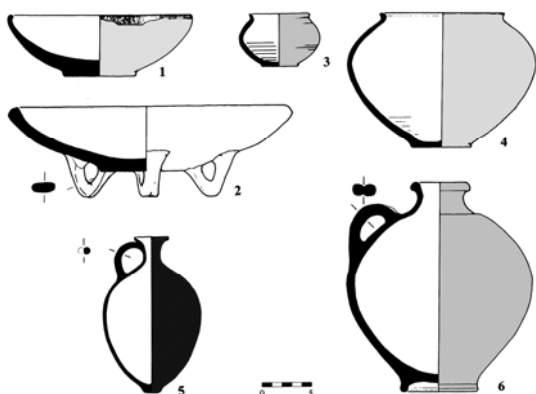


Figure 18. MB IB pottery assemblage from Tomb D.641 (end of Sultan IVa; 1825–1800 B.C.E.)

The funerary equipment of the tomb included a set of pottery vessels, some animal offerings, and the personal jewelry of the young lady (figure 16). The most interesting element in the ceramic assemblage (figures 17–18) is the Black Burnished Ware piriform juglet, which not only provides a chronological indication (last decades of the nineteenth century B.C.E.), but may be linked to a specifically female aspect: the juglet contained an ointment or a perfume. As for the personal ornaments, the lady was buried with a bronze pin on her right shoulder, which presumably had secured her vest (figure 19); a necklace with beads made of frit and a central pendant including a carnelian bead in between two beads of crystal (figure 20); two pairs of bronze earrings (figure 21);¹³ a ring with a steatite scarab affixed to it (figure 22); and a second steatite scarab on her breast (figure 23).



Figure 19. Bronze pin from Tomb D.641



Figure 20. Necklace made of frit beads and pendant with a carnelian bead between two rock crystals from Tomb D.641

¹³ See the bronze rings found by Garstang in Tomb 5 (Garstang 1933:fig. 10:5.b.9, 5.c, 5.d.6, 5.g) and the two pairs of earrings found in Tomb n/10–Nr. 4 at Tell el-Dabʿa (Bietak 1991:147, fig. 106:2), which, however, are made of gold.



Figure 21. Two pairs of bronze earrings from Tomb D.641



Figure 22. Ring and steatite scarab TS.99.G.458 from Tomb D.641

The scarab on the ring (TS.99.G.458)¹⁴ belongs to a well-known Canaanite class with incised “Neferzeichen” formulae, as indicated by the hieroglyphs *sꜣ* “protection,” *ꜥnh* “life,” the head-rest *wrs* (Gardiner 1957:500, Q4), *wꜣd* “to be healthy” (Gardiner 1957:480, M13), and *nfr* “good.” Since it was affixed on the ring on a small plaque and not hung as usual through the hole piercing the scarab, it was apparently no longer in use as a seal (it could not rotate). In any case, it is an early specimen of a type that would spread everywhere in the Sultan IVb period (MB II; Marchetti 2003b:11–14).

The latter scarab (TS.99.G.500) was retrieved on the breast of the young lady (figure 23).¹⁵ The inscribed hieroglyphics allow a very interesting reading. A crouching lion is placed in the middle with two signs over it: the canal, which is read *mr*, and the “buri-fish” (*Mugil cephalus*), which is read *ꜥd*, giving together the well-known Egyptian title *ꜥd-mr*, “administrator (of a province),” probably literally, “exca-



Figure 23. The steatite scarab TS.99.G.500 from Tomb D.641 bearing the inscription *ꜥdmr rhꜥ* (“administrator of Jericho”)

vator of canal(s)” (Gardiner 1957:477, K3; Helck 1958:194–96, 199; Ward 1982). This title was in use since the Old Kingdom (Helck 1954:21, 79–80; Martin-Pardey 1976:13, 43–54) and its presence (which at Jericho perhaps acquires a special meaning, being a city-state extending its administration over a densely irrigated oasis)¹⁶ suggests that we read the recumbent lion, *rw* (Gardiner 1957:460, E23), and the hieroglyphic below of the rising sun over a hill, *hꜥ* (Gardiner 1957:489, N28), as a personal name. But the name *rhꜥ*¹⁷ is not attested either as an Egyptian or as a Canaanite personal name in the available contemporary sources. In the large inventory of scarabs from Jericho (almost 400 specimens), only a few bear

¹⁴ For a detailed description, see Marchetti 2003b:10–11, n. 5.

¹⁵ For a detailed description, see Marchetti, *ibid.*, (where, however, the hieroglyphic inscription on the scarab is not read).

¹⁶ One may hypothesize for MB Palestine a use of this Egyptian administrative title similar to that attested in Syria at the time with Mesopotamian titles like, e.g., the renowned *šakkanakku* of Mari.

¹⁷ In group-writing, the sign *rw* is conventionally read *r(e)*, the original vocalization being unknown.

Egyptian titles or royal names.¹⁸ The interpretation of *rh^c* as a personal name should therefore be ruled out. Another possibility does exist, however: that the hieroglyphic inscription reproduces the Egyptian transliteration of a West Semitic place name.¹⁹ By comparison with the numerous biblical attestations of the ancient name of Tell es-Sultan (Elitzur 2004), we can suggest that *rh^c* is the Egyptian writing of biblical “Jericho.”²⁰ Ἰεριχώ, the Greek name of the site in antiquity, almost equal to modern Arabic *Ariḥa* (*ar-Riḥa*)—“scent, perfume,” due to the flowers of the oasis—but also linkable to the Hebrew root of “vital spirit,” seems, in fact, fully compatible with its transposition in hieroglyphic writing, as attested in scarab TS.99.G.500. Moreover, the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing *rw-h^c* of the West Semitic toponym Jericho adopts the same kind of transposition attested for the name Jerusalem in the Egyptian Middle Kingdom Execration Texts (*ANET*³, p. 228), where Jerusalem is transcribed *r(w)-u-ṣ(l)-m-m* (Helck 1962:52, n. 12). In both instances, the initial semivowel is lost.²¹ *Rh^c*

¹⁸ In the whole corpus of Jericho scarabs, there are four specimens showing a pharaonic name. Two bear a variant of the prenomen of Sesostriis II, one (*hpr-R^c*) found by Garstang in Tomb 31 (Garstang 1933:8–9, fig. 3:2) and the other (*hpr-h^c-R^c*) found by Kenyon in Tomb J9 (Kenyon 1960:412–18; Kirkbride 1965:584, fig. 296:4); one, from Kenyon’s Tomb B35, bears the prenomen of Sobekhotep V or VI, *h^c-h-htp-R^c* (Kenyon 1960:368–93; Kirkbride 1965:581–83, fig. 292:13); and one, from Garstang’s Tomb 30, bears the prenomen of Hotepibra, *htp-ib-R^c* (figure 24; Garstang 1934:130–31, fig. 4.7). As for officials, there are three scarabs that mention Egyptian officers and six seal impressions on jars: two were found by Sellin and Watzinger (1913:156, pl. 42a) and four were found by Garstang (one in Room 17b and three in Room 44c of the Palace Store-rooms; Garstang 1934:122–24, 129, 131, fig. 3).

¹⁹ In fact, the recumbent lion *rw* is scarcely attested in Egyptian and Canaanite scarabs and it thus seems strictly related to this specific writing. It has to be distinguished from the advancing or gradient lion, which is relatively common (see, e.g., Sellin and Watzinger 1913:156, pl. 42d¹; Kirkbride 1965:590; Keel 1995:195–98).

²⁰ It is very tentative to suggest a possible Egyptian writing for Jericho in the known hieroglyphic record. We might cite the so-far unidentified placename *rh^cnu* (Ahituv 1984:165, 167), or one of the three “Rehobs” (Ahituv 1984:163–65), the reading of which should be in several cases verified on the originals. On one hand, it seems quite strange to have a lack of cities in the lower Jordan Valley (Ahituv 1984:pl. 2, E-F/9–10); on the other hand, it must be stressed that in the Late Bronze Age, the period to which most of the available Egyptian sources refer, Jericho had fully lost its role of regional center.

²¹ It should be recalled that Jerusalem in the Akkadian sources is referred to as URU *ú-ru-sa-lim* (EA 287, 289, 290, 335; Liverani 1998–99:87–94).

could thus be the name of Jericho, just as *Rushalimum* is Jerusalem.

If this is the case, did the young lady wear a scarab bearing the title of the local ruler? There is no proof, but the burial is a distinguished one, and it is located underneath the palace of the lords of Jericho.²² Scarab TS.99.G.500 therefore may indicate the Egyptian name of the city during the Thirteenth Dynasty, and, equally noteworthy, the title of the local ruler, *ḥmr*, which was presumably borrowed from older Egyptian administrative titles.



Figure 24. The scarab bearing the name of Pharaoh *htp-ib-R^c* found by Garstang in Tomb 30 (after Garstang 1934:fig. 4:7)

Does this mean that the city-state of Jericho was under Egyptian control? The evidence is too weak to support this interpretation. It seems more likely that only the title was borrowed, under a general cultural influence, without other political implications. The strong relationship of the “City of the Palms” with Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period is attested by other important finds, such as the scarab bearing the name of Pharaoh *htp-ib-R^c* (figure 24),²³ found by Garstang in Tomb 30,²⁴ which is one of very few attestations of this rather obscure royal personage, who undoubtedly established a special relationship between Egypt and Syria-Palestine.²⁵ Several mate-

²² The building was in use until the end of the Middle Bronze Age (around 1550 B.C.E.) and was rebuilt in a somewhat reduced layout, called the Middle Building by Garstang, in LB I (Garstang 1934:100–2, 105–6, 108–16, pls. 13–14, 31–37; Nigro 1996:52–55, fig. 8:2).

²³ Palestine Archaeological Museum (Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem), inv. no. 33.1256 (Garstang 1934:130–31, fig. 4:7; Rowe 1936:5, pl. 1:18).

²⁴ Tomb 30 remained in use throughout the Middle Bronze Age, and its ceramic inventory, as recorded by Garstang in his files (currently in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem), mainly dates back to MB III (1650–1550 B.C.E.), including cylindrical juglets and large double-handled carinated bowls.

²⁵ The most striking find is the ceremonial mace retrieved at Ebla in the tomb of the “Lord of the Goats” (an Eblaite

rial-culture indicators corroborate this historical reconstruction by means of parallels at Tell ed-Dab^ca, as shown by the burial customs of the Jericho elite, discussed above, and by distinctive artifacts, like the bronze belt retrieved by Kenyon in the warrior Tomb J3 (Kenyon 1960:311, fig. 117:1, 3–4, see also pl. 13: 2), which has a striking parallel in the capital of the eastern Delta (figure 25).²⁶

In conclusion, it is not surprising that Jericho had durable and profound links with the Egypt of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and particularly with Tell ed-Dab^ca, in the period of Jericho's maximum flourishing in MB II (Sultan IVb; 1800–1650 B.C.E.). We can reconstruct the political history of this central site of Palestine in relation to Egypt as follows. The city of Sultan IVa (MB I; 2000–1800 B.C.E.) was possibly destroyed by Sesostris III in his famous incursion into central Palestine, when he besieged and conquered Tell el-Balaṭah/Shechem. Jericho was subse-

quently rebuilt in monumental fashion at the end of the same period (Sultan IVa2; end of MB IB; 1850–1800 B.C.E.)—massive earthen ramparts were erected on its western, northern, and southern sides, while to the east, the side facing the spring, a complex terraced mudbrick structure was built supporting the palace of the local lords and concealing a group of built tombs used by the city's elite. One member of this aristocracy, a young lady, was buried here with her personal jewelry, including a scarab inscribed with the title of the local ruler: *ꜥdmr rḥꜥ*, the “administrator of Jericho.” The city and the palace grew further during the Sultan IVb period (MB II; 1800–1650 B.C.E.) and the following Sultan IVc (MB III; 1650–1550 B.C.E.), when the lords of Jericho established strong and durable relationships with the Egyptian pharaohs of the so-called Hyksos dynasties. And finally, perhaps due to this link with the Hyksos, they came to a violent end around 1550 B.C.E.

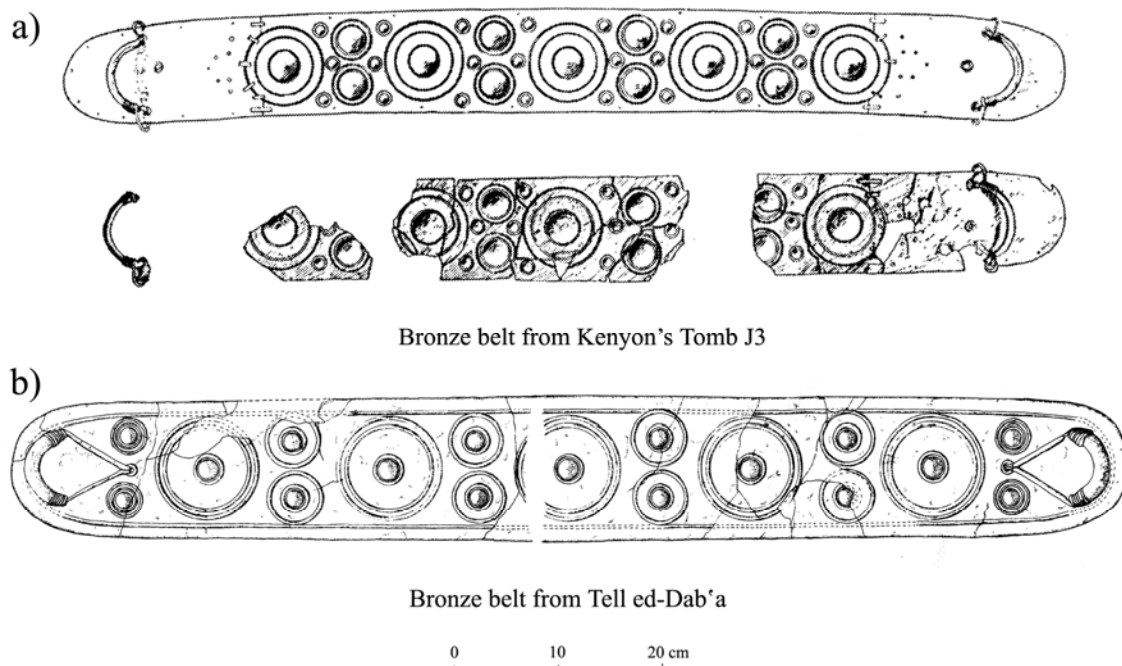


Figure 25. Bronze belt (a) from Kenyon's warrior Tomb J3 (after Kenyon 1960:fig. 117:3–4) and bronze belt (b) from Tomb F/I-o/19 Gr. 8 at Tell ed-Dab^ca (after Philip 2006:fig. 38:2)

king of the eighteenth century B.C.E.); see Scandone-Matthiae 1987.

²⁶ The bronze belt found at Jericho in Tomb J3 shows exactly the same shape and decorative motifs as one found in Tomb F/I-o/19 Gr. 8 at Tell ed-Dab^ca (Philip 2006:reg. no. 6140, 83–84, fig. 38:2), and one found in MB I Burial 42 at Sidon (Doumet-Serhal 2004:54, figs. 18–19).

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