

INTRA MOENIA MIDDLE BRONZE AGE BURIALS AT TELL ES-SULTAN: A CHRONOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Tell es-Sultan, ancient Jericho, has always been considered a key site for the study of Middle Bronze Age in Palestine, especially because of its necropolis located north and north-west of the tell, which is one of the best known cemetery for that period, while the stratigraphy of the Middle Bronze Age town¹ is less known due to the severe erosion which afflicted the mound.

1. HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

Four archaeological expeditions excavated at Tell es-Sultan and each of them discovered some *intra moenia* burials, which do not seem to have had a significant role within the town layout, but which can provide new knowledge about the urban history of ancient Jericho.

The first expedition² was directed by Ernst Sellin on behalf of the *Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft* between 1907 and 1909 and started the systematic exploration of the mound, digging several important areas: the northern part of the town and a large sector of the so called Spring Hill, where some burials were found.³ The publication of the results was as accurate as fast,⁴ but the preliminary state of knowledge at the time did not allow right dating, so that the Middle Bronze Age remains were called “israelitisch”.⁵

The Marston-Melchett expedition, directed by John Garstang from 1930 to 1936,⁶ continued the excavation of the tell, mainly digging on the Spring

Hill, where some jar burials were found: he also discovered the existence of an *extra moenia* necropolis, located west of the mound. This excavation was undertaken with a biblical perspective, which occurred in assigning sometimes a wrong dating of the archaeological remains.⁷

In 1952, Kathleen Kenyon, on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, began her famous excavations at Tell es-Sultan, which lasted until 1958, digging several tombs in the northern part of the *extra moenia* cemetery, cutting three main trenches and uncovering other important areas on the mound, where some graves and a tomb were excavated. The stratigraphic method of excavations adopted by the archaeologist and the subdivision of the tombs into five groups based on their pottery sequence made her final reports a fundamental tool for the study of Middle Bronze Age pottery.

The joint Expedition of Rome University “La Sapienza” and the Palestinian Department of Antiquities resumed the excavation of the site in 1997. The excavation concentrated on eight areas in various parts of the tell, dating from the Early Bronze Age to the Byzantine Period: in Area G,⁸ where the main archaeological features date from the Early Bronze Age, a Middle Bronze Age grave was excavated in 1999. Moreover other areas yielded Middle Bronze Age remains, which clarified the urban history of Tell es-Sultan during this period, especially as far as stratigraphy is concerned.⁹

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¹ The recent re-evaluation of Middle Bronze Age remains on the Spring Hill conducted by N. Marchetti (MARCHETTI 2003b: 304–316) has permitted a stratigraphic phasing of this and other periods.

² C. Warren dug the first shafts on the tell in 1868, concluding that there was nothing interesting to dig (MOOREY 1991: 20).

³ SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: pl. 1.

⁴ SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913.

⁵ After some years, Carl Watzinger corrected this dating, thanks to the new results obtained from the excavations of other Palestinian sites (WATZINGER 1926: 133–134; 136).

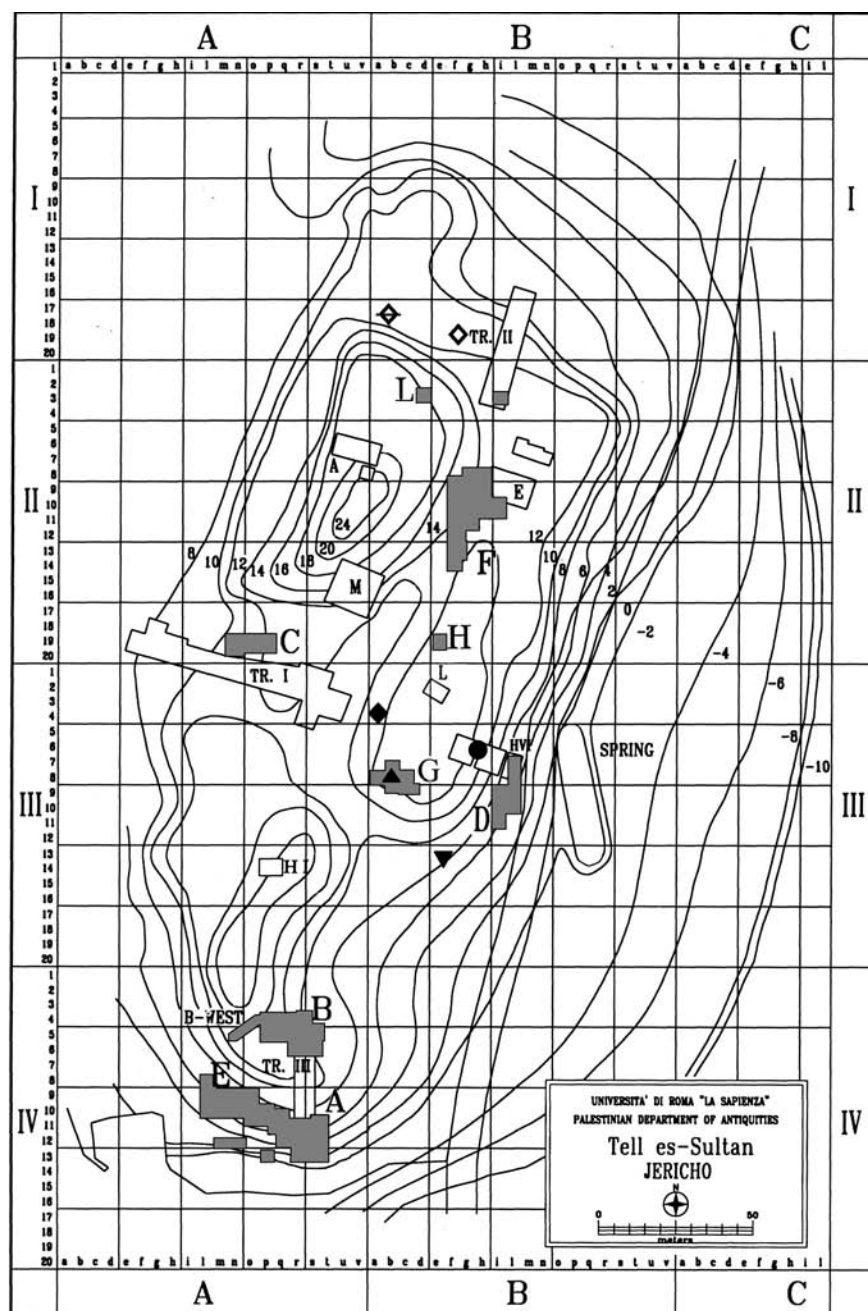
⁶ The results were only preliminarily published by GARSTANG (1932a; 1932b; 1933; 1934; 1935; 1936) and were summa-

rized in a book written with his son (GARSTANG and GARSTANG 1940). K. M. KENYON (1951) later revised the results obtained for the 2nd millennium BC before she started her own excavations.

⁷ MOOREY 1991: 64.

⁸ MARCHETTI and NIGRO 2000b.

⁹ In Area A (MARCHETTI and NIGRO 1998: 117–140; MARCHETTI and NIGRO 2000a: 193–281) a military building and a domestic quarter dating to MB II were uncovered; in Area E (MARCHETTI and NIGRO 2000a: 181–192) and in Area C (MARCHETTI and NIGRO 1998: 103–115) were excavated parts of the first rampart; in Area D (MARCHETTI and NIGRO 2000a: 167–179), on the east side of the mound, a massive wall near Garstang’s “East Tower” was excavated.



Sellin-Watzinger (T1-6, 13-14) ◆ (T15-18) ◆ (T19) ◆

Garstang (T7-8, 20-21) ▼ Kenyon (T9-11) ●

Joint Italian - Palestinian expedition (T12) ▲

Fig. 1 Plan of Tell es-Sultan with indicated areas excavated by the joint Italian-Palestinian Expedition (1997–2000) and the Middle Bronze Age *intra moenia* burials

2. THE *INTRA MOENIA* BURIALS OF TELL ES-SULTAN

A somewhat interesting feature of Middle Bronze Age Jericho is the presence of a small number of burials on the tell itself, notwithstanding the huge *extra moenia* necropolis attested to since many centuries.¹⁰ The examination of these burials allows to add new data on the urban plan of Tell es-Sultan during the period considered and about the use of the necropolis (see §§ 2.3. and 2.5.).

Before starting the analysis of the burial remains, it is important to remark that Middle Bronze Age vestiges on the tell have been brought to light in several areas: in the region in front of Elisha's Spring;¹¹ in the northern part of the mound¹² and in the Lower Town, south of the tell (Area A excavated by the joint Italian-Palestinian Expedition). The central zone of the town is not preserved due to erosion and other activities of later times.

Intra moenia burials were retrieved in two areas:¹³ in the northern part of the tell, in particular in a battered domestic quarter excavated by Sellin,¹⁴ and on the Spring Hill: near Garstang's "East Tower",¹⁵ in Kenyon's Squares HII–HIII–HVI¹⁶ and in Area G, excavated by the Italian-Palestinian Expedition¹⁷ (Fig. 1).

Further, in comparison with the Middle Bronze burial tradition of other Palestinian sites,¹⁸ it is possible to divide these inhumations in three main types based on the burial method, that is: jar burials for

infants; graves simply dug in the ground, and built-up tombs. These three main types were adopted in different proportions depending on their chronology and were employed according to the age or the number of buried people (see § 2.4.).

2.1. MB I burials

Digging the so called Spring Hill, the German expedition retrieved a group of eight burials, located west and east of a wall,¹⁹ which could be part of the domestic structure to which Sellin said the burials were related.²⁰ The archaeologists described them as graves for adults, except a jar burial, older than the nearby domestic quarter. It is possible to establish the date of these burials thanks to the analysis of their funerary assemblages, which are very scanty, but characterised with diagnostic MB I²¹ types, such as red burnished carinated bowls and black or red burnished piriform juglets, typical of the MB I period,²² which represent a sort of fixed set, including at least a carinated bowl and a piriform juglet, while other objects were almost absent, except for two shells in T1²³ and T6, which contained some bird's bones too, and a limestone grindstone in T2.

The funerary equipment of T1 was composed of a shell, a fragmentary black burnished piriform juglet with double handle and a fragment of a red burnished vessel, that can be dated to MB I, because of the rounded body of the piriform juglet and for its flat base.²⁴

¹⁰ NIGRO 1999: 8.

¹¹ KENYON 1993: 679.

¹² SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 62–66, pl. III. The German expedition excavated a domestic quarter, in which MB pottery was retrieved (SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 122, figs. 113–116).

¹³ The burial of a woman aged 25–30 without funerary set was retrieved by Kenyon in Trench III site N (KENYON 1981: 217), in the corner of a room built outside the city wall, and dated to the Middle Bronze Age because of its stratigraphic position. This feature could hint at the presence of other burials in the domestic quarter outside the defence, as noted in the report on some human bones in a secondary context in Area A (MARCHETTI and NIGRO 2000a: 200; 319–327).

¹⁴ SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 63–65.

¹⁵ GARSTANG 1934: 119, SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 70–71.

¹⁶ KENYON 1981: 348–350, 356.

¹⁷ MARCHETTI and NIGRO 2000b.

¹⁸ E.g.: Tell el-Mutesellim (LOUD 1948), Tell el-Qadi (ILAN 1996), Tell el-Fâr'ah north (MALLETT 1973).

¹⁹ SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 70.

²⁰ SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 71. Even after the analysis of all the evidence of the period it is not easy to attribute this wall to one or another phase (MARCHETTI 2003b: 309, note 35).

²¹ Throughout the present paper the terminology MB I, MB II and MB III is adopted, instead of MB IIA, MB IIB and MB IIC.

²² These vessels, imitating metallic prototypes in bronze (red burnished vessels) or in silver (black burnished pottery), both in shape and in treatment of the outer surface, are mainly found in funerary equipments (NIGRO 2000: 1193–1194, NIGRO 2002: 310).

²³ See the catalogue for the original excavation number of the burials.

²⁴ The same juglet, however, is said to be part of the funerary assemblage of T15 (SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 63, pl. 30:D,4), which could be dated to MB II, for the presence of two jars, typical of this period. It has to be noted that often the same vessel is shown for different burials, just to illustrate the typology, so the presence of a red burnished fragment of a not better identified vessel should hint at a MB I dating.

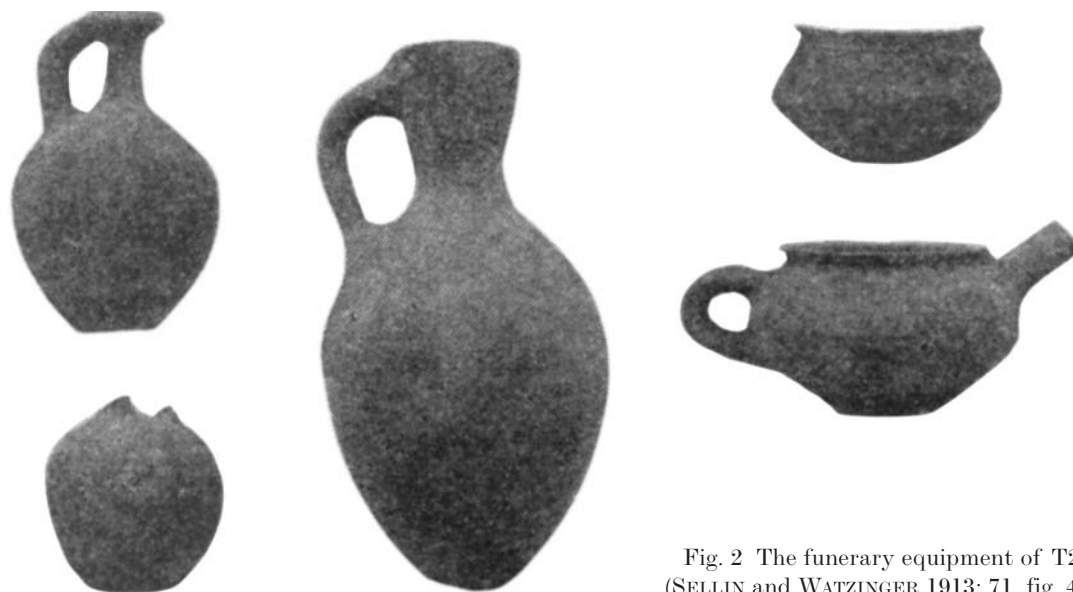


Fig. 2 The funerary equipment of T2
(SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 71, fig. 43)

T2 contained five vessels (Fig. 2): a red burnished carinated bowl, a “teapot”, two black burnished piriform juglets and a dipper, the not yet elongated shape of which and the little flat base are comparable with similar juglets from Ras el-‘Ain/Aphek Palace phase;²⁵ in addition to the vessels there was a grindstone. The vessels are firmly placed within the MB I pottery tradition, in fact one of the two black burnished piriform juglets has a stepped rim and a ring base, typical of MB I, which is comparable with examples from Tomb 1181 at Hazor,²⁶ with a juglet from tomb 427 of the Post Palace phase at Ras el-‘Ain,²⁷ which however is red burnished and has a triple handle, and in particular with a black burnished fragmentary juglet from Tomb K 3²⁸ of the *extra moenia* necropolis of Jericho, which is the only tomb in the cemetery dating to MB I.²⁹ The “teapot” has a direct comparison with two specimens found in tombs A 34³⁰ and B 51 of the necropolis datable to MB II,³¹ but the example found by Sellin has on its surface a brown burnish,³² which is not present on the other two vessels; another example of this rare vessel comes from Tomb 5234 at Tell el-Mutesellim,³³ associated to a trefoil-mouthed jug, a piriform and a

cylindrical red burnished juglet which however seem datable to MB II. The carinated red burnished bowl has many comparisons in the Palace phase at Ras el-‘Ain/Aphek.³⁴

T3 had as single offering: a jar without handles (Fig. 3) comparable with several findings from Tell el-



Fig. 3 The jar from T3 (SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: pl. 28)

²⁵ BECK 1975: 61, fig. 7:1.

²⁶ MAEIR 1997: 310, fig. IV.5:1. It has to be remarked that the pottery assemblage of this tomb is dated to MB I and MB II.

²⁷ BECK 1975: 71, fig. 11:4.

²⁸ KENYON 1965: 205, fig. 93:16–17.

²⁹ KENYON 1965: 204.

³⁰ According to J. M. WEINSTEIN (1975: 7), this tomb should be partly dated to MB I.

³¹ KENYON 1960: 357, fig. 140:31; KENYON 1965: 340, fig.

166:8. It has to be stressed that the contents of the two tombs span in more than one phase, the oldest of which were characterised by vessels dating back to Group I or older, as stated by KENYON (1960: 355; KENYON 1965: 333).

³² SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 125. It is probably a burnished self slip, as the colour of the ware and the colour of the slip are the same.

³³ LOUD 1948: pl. 34:5.

³⁴ For example BECK 1975: 65, fig. 9:6 from Tomb 468.

Mutesellim (although many of them were painted, while the jar from T3 is not decorated), as, for example, a jar from Tomb 5181³⁵ and another from the pre-Palace II phase at Ras el-^cAin,³⁶ but again a jar from Tomb K 3³⁷ seems to be the best comparison, especially because these two jars are characterised by a larger maximum diameter at the centre of the body, which makes the shape a little bit squat.

T4, besides the already mentioned red burnished carinated bowl and a dipper juglet, contained also a black burnished juglet with ring-base and a double handle, which, although not illustrated,³⁸ should be a piriform juglet. In this case too, the funerary equipment is datable to MB I.

T5 has a scanty funerary set composed of two piriform juglets: one red slipped and with double handle, and the other black burnished, both with button base. The shape of the two juglets, still oval, with the largest diameter at the centre of the bodies, is typical of MB I. The third vessel of the funerary assemblage is an S-shaped bowl, which might have had a yellowish slip;³⁹ this bowl has a parallel in T7 retrieved by Garstang in the same part of the tell (see below).

The last burial, T6, had several vessels: two red burnished carinated bowls, similar to the other already described, another carinated bowl, but with a black burnish (Fig. 4) and a black burnished dipper; in addition there was a big jug with an ovoid shape and a small flat base (Fig. 5), the upper part of which was fragmentary, but can be compared with examples from Tomb K 3.⁴⁰

Garstang dug three infant burials on the Spring Hill, just west of his "Tower", in his squares K.6 and I.6. In his report, the archaeologist described these funerary remains simply as child burials (one of them, not precisely identified, seems to have been of twins);⁴¹ from the associated pottery, it is clear that T7 and T8 must be two graves, because they were not characterized by the presence of a jar or another large vessel, in which inserting the corpse.

The funerary equipment was very scanty (Fig. 6), as it is usual in child burials: in fact in T7 it consisted



Fig. 4 Bowl from T6 (SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: pl. 30)



Fig. 5 Jug from T6 (SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: pl. 28)

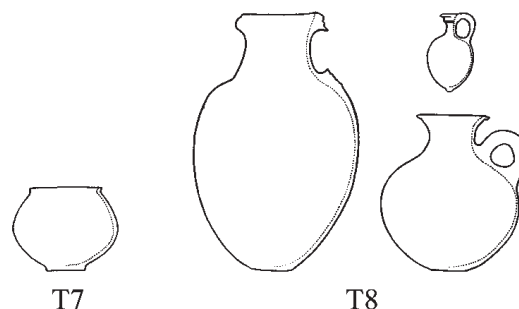


Fig. 6 Pottery vessels from T7 and T8 dug by J. Garstang (GARSTANG 1934: 119, pl. XVII:13, 15–17)

³⁵ LOUD 1948: pl. 13:1.

³⁶ BECK 1985: 191, fig. 5:2.

³⁷ KENYON 1965: 205, fig. 93:15.

³⁸ For the description of the vessel see SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 127.

³⁹ As Watzinger describes not the single vessel, but the type in general, is not possible to say it with certainty (see SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 126).

⁴⁰ KENYON 1965: 205, fig. 93:11, 13.



Fig. 7 T9 in square HIII (KENYON 1981: pl. 192b)

of only a yellow burnished S-profiled bowl with a disk base, which is associated in the illustration with an EB IV bottle clearly coming from an earlier stratum. Bowls of this type were found in MB I strata at Ras el-^cAin/Aphek Palace phase,⁴² while they were not present in the necropolis of Tell es-Sultan except for Tomb K 3.⁴³

T8 was equipped with two jugs and one juglet: the first jug has a good parallel again in a vessel from Tomb K 3 and in two tombs excavated on the tell by Kenyon,⁴⁴ and a similar kind of jug was retrieved in Cave 11 at Efrata,⁴⁵ which yielded materials dating to MB I and to the transition between MB I and II. The

black burnished piriform juglet with profiled rim, too, is comparable with two specimens from Tomb K 3 (see note 28 above) or with the already mentioned specimen from Tomb 427 at Ras el-^cAin/Aphek (see above), while the shoulder handled jug is less well represented, due to its wide mouth, which is unusual for this shape.

These two burials, found in square K.6, are therefore dated to MB I thanks to the comparisons established with materials from other sites, while as far as the stratigraphy is concerned, Garstang⁴⁶ says that they were probably in relation with the floors found in the nearby, but in this case, too, the strong erosion prevented to understand their exact stratigraphic position.

North-east of Garstang's excavations on the Spring Hill, Kenyon opened three squares: HII, HIII and HVI, in which she uncovered four graves. Two of them, one of which was a child burial, were simple pits dug near the city wall, about which unfortunately Kenyon does not say much, only noting that the pits were cut in the occupational levels.⁴⁷

Another child burial, T9, datable to MB I, was excavated by Kenyon in square HIII. The small corpse was lying on its right side, apparently in a flexed position (Fig. 7), equipped with an open bowl

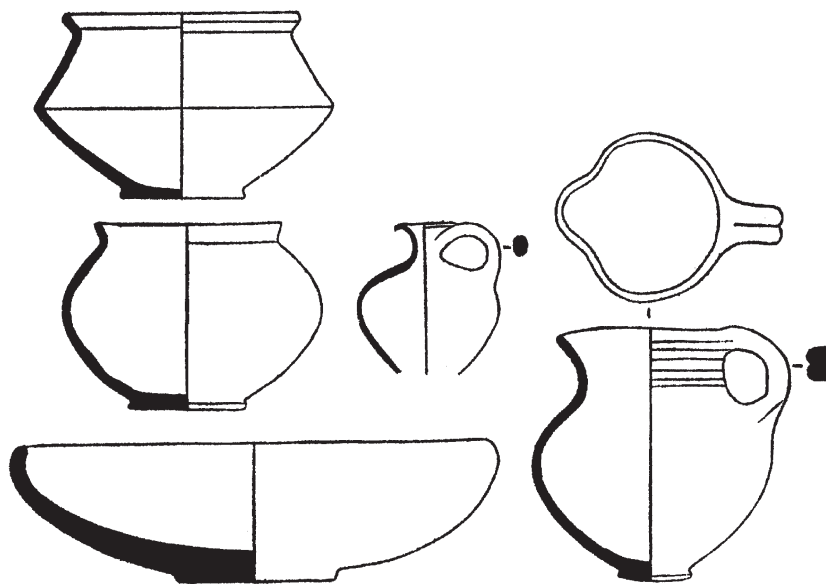


Fig. 8 Burial equipment of T9 (KENYON 1981: 389, fig. 13:10–14)

⁴¹ GARSTANG 1932a: 17.

⁴² BECK 1975: 59, fig. 6:5.

⁴³ KENYON 1965: 205, fig. 93:7–8.

⁴⁴ KENYON 1965: 205, fig. 93:14; KENYON 1981: 389, fig. 13:4, 8.

⁴⁵ GONEN 2001: 71, fig. 48:3.

⁴⁶ GARSTANG 1934: 119.

⁴⁷ KENYON 1981: 348.



Fig. 9 T10 in square HIII
(KENYON 1981: pl. 187b)

comparable with specimens coming from phase 2 at Ras el-*c*Ain/Aphek⁴⁸ or with a similar specimen found in T12/D.641, excavated by the Italian-Palestinian Expedition, an S-profiled bowl with traces of burnish, a red burnished carinated bowl, a trefoil-mouthed jug and a red burnished piriform juglet (Fig. 8). The trefoil-mouthed jug is a feature which appears late in the MB I, the oldest specimen at Tell el-Mutesellim being a vessel from Tomb 3109,⁴⁹ while a similar jug comes from T11/HAR, situated near the burial under discussion.

In the western corner of square HIII, another burial was excavated, T10: two adults were lying in a flexed position with heads to south (Fig. 9). The burial was lined on the east side with some mudbricks, but no traces of roofing were documented.

The dead had a provision of meat between their heads, represented by parts of an ovine, and four vessels in the same position: three burnished S-profiled bowls of different size and an ovoid jug, with slightly convex base and moulded rim (Fig. 10). The jug is similar to that retrieved in T8 excavated by Garstang and is again comparable with vessels from Tomb K 3 (see note 40 above), from Cave 11 at Efrata and has a precise replica in T11 (see below). The position of the bodies resembles that of the skeletons in T12, although the orientation is different, but in both depositions the bodies were laid one after the other and the funerary equipment was set near the heads of the dead together with some meat provisions.

In square HII Kenyon excavated T11,⁵⁰ which has the peculiarity of being a mudbrick built tomb, with a vaulted ceiling. It had an opening on the southern short wall, blocked with a stone and approached by a stepped entrance (Fig. 11). Unfortunately, it was not possible to understand to which surface the tomb was related.⁵¹ Several bones were found piled along the walls of the tomb, in particular at the rear of the chamber, as it will be usual in the *extra moenia* shaft tombs of the succeeding period, while six skeletons, nearly intact, were placed in the central part of the chamber with heads to south or to north.

The funerary equipment was composed of only five vessels, all datable to MB I: an S-profiled bowl and a carinated bowl, both with traces of slip, a dipper, a black-burnished trefoil-mouthed jug and a jug with moulded rim similar to those found in the already described burials (Fig. 12). The scanty number of vessels is unusual in respect of that of the buried corpses and of the several scattered bones: however, it is probable that the tomb was cleared from older funerary gifts in order to make room for the last inhumations, as it is normal in the later tombs of the necropolis.

It has to be remarked that the architecture of the tomb finds comparison only in tombs excavated at Tell el-Dab^a.⁵² Although the poor conditions of preservation of T11 do not allow precise parallels, the rectangular shape of the chamber and the possibly vaulted roofing, in addition to the use of mudbricks, nonetheless make this tomb unique at Tell es-Sultan and in Middle Bronze Palestine in general: it

⁴⁸ KOCHAVI and YADIN 2002: 198.

⁴⁹ GERSTENBLITH 1983: 82.

⁵⁰ KENYON 1981: pl. 328a.

⁵¹ KENYON 1981: 349.

⁵² VAN DEN BRINK 1982: 21.

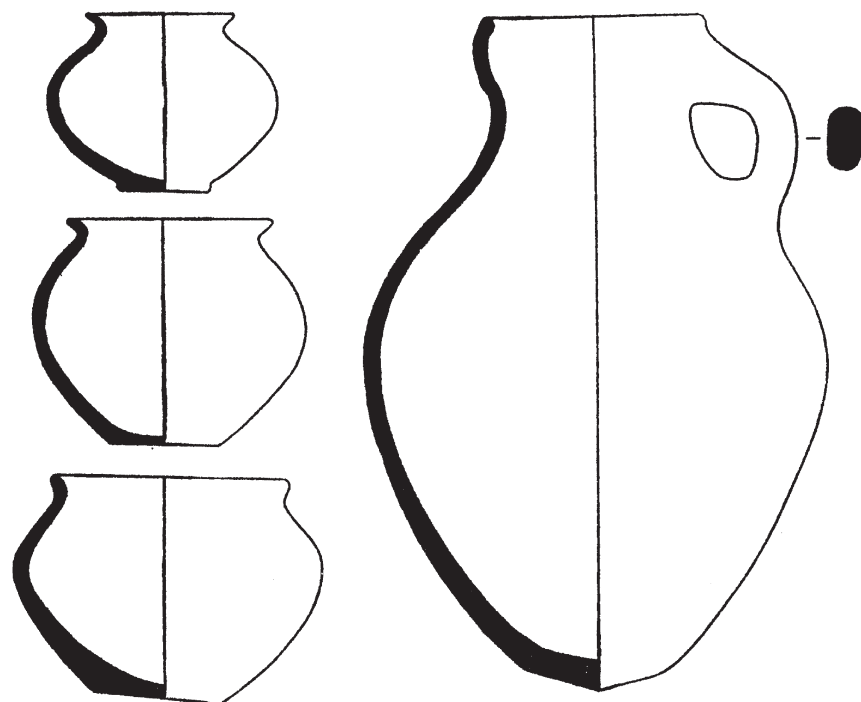


Fig. 10 Burial equipment of T10 (KENYON 1981: 389, fig. 13:1-4)

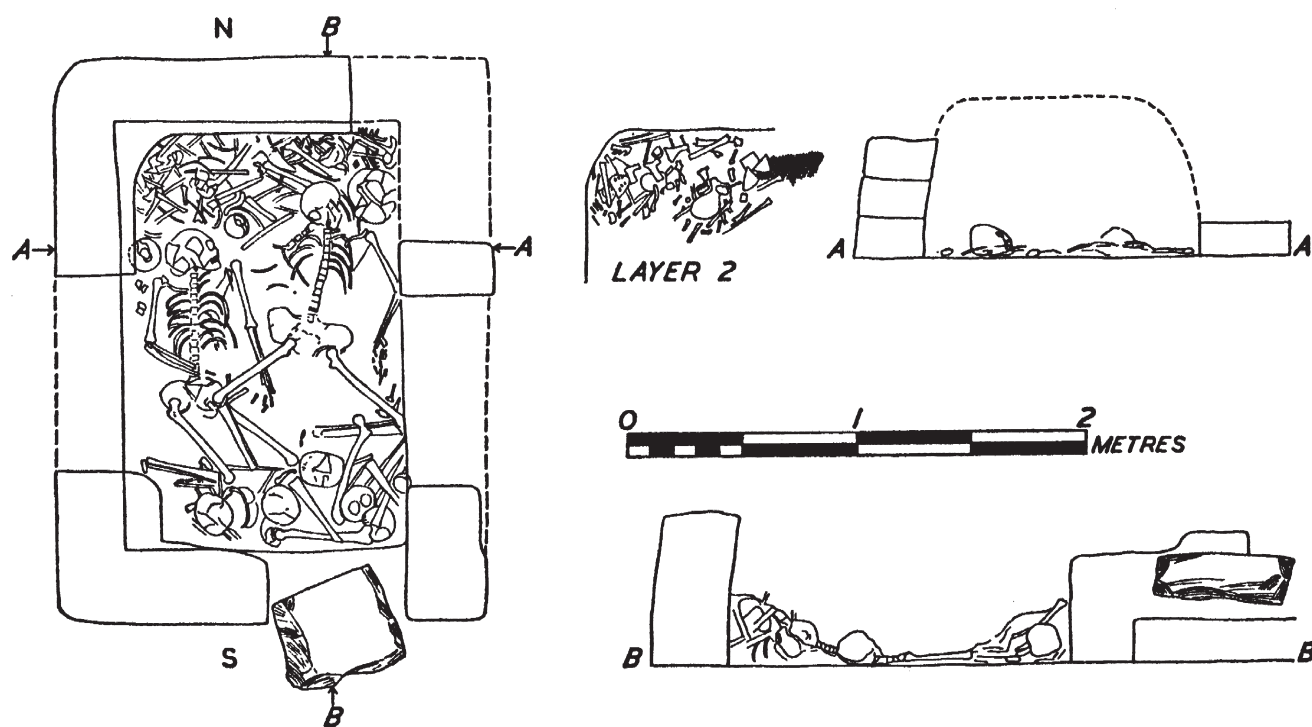


Fig. 11 Plan and section of T11 (KENYON 1981: 349, fig. 5)

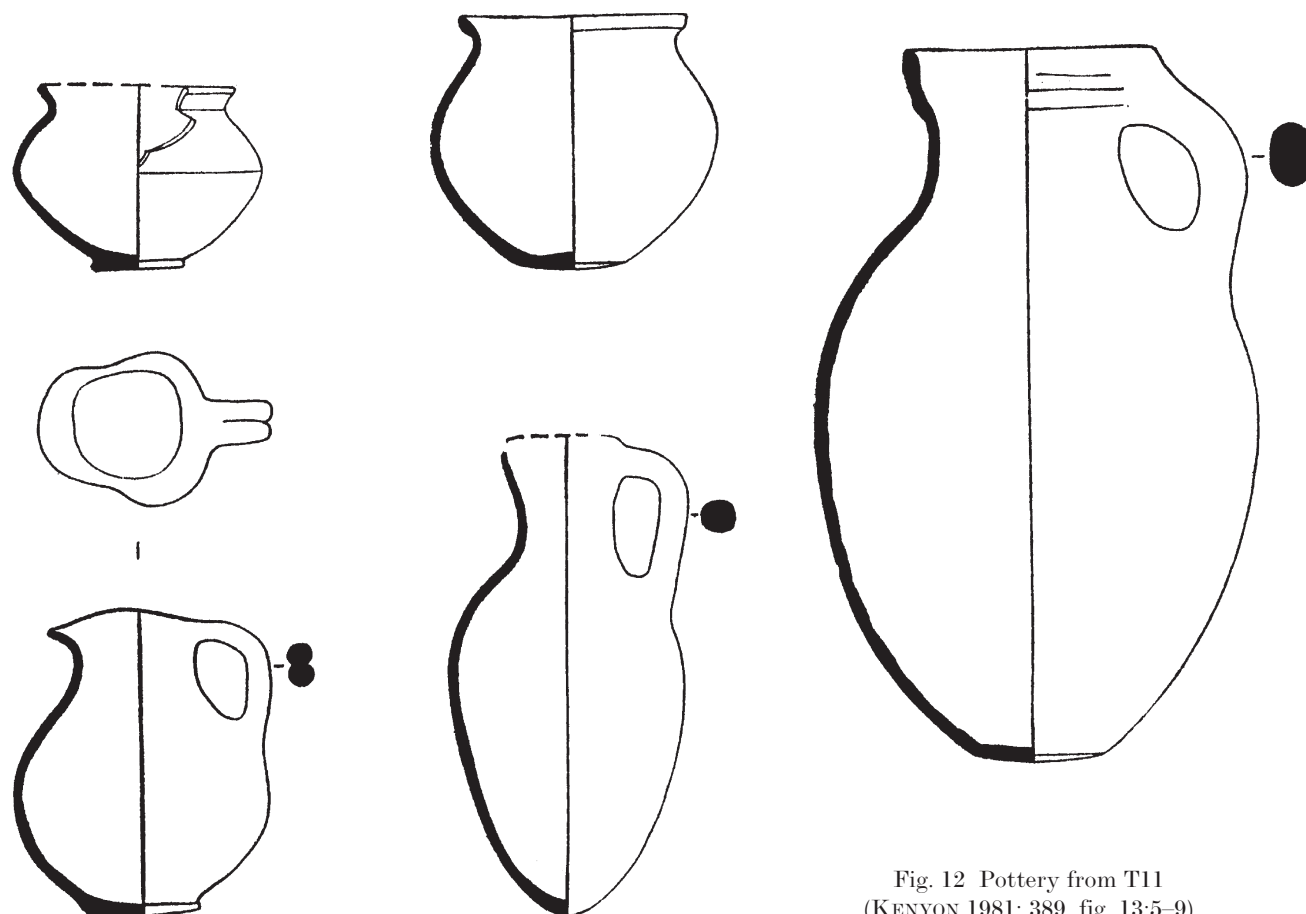


Fig. 12 Pottery from T11
(KENYON 1981: 389, fig. 13:5–9)

can be only compared to stone chambers found in northern Palestine,⁵³ as regards the general plan.

The joint Italian-Palestinian Expedition excavated a burial, T12/D.641, in Area G, located on the Spring Hill south-west of Kenyon's squares HII–HIII–HVI. The tomb, square in shape, built of mudbricks and with a mudbrick covering too, contained two bodies: one of an adult and the other of a young girl, apparently twelve-fourteen years old,⁵⁴ lying on the left side, with heads to the east (Fig. 13), in a position similar to that noted in burial T10 in Square HIII, which was lined with mudbricks too. The building technique of this tomb is unusual and reminds of the tombs retrieved in Tell el-Dab'a⁵⁵ because of the mudbrick lining and roofing, even if in T 12 it was rather a covering.

The burial set was richer than those described until now, for it had some personal ornaments such as: bronze earrings, a bronze ring, two steatite scarabs,⁵⁶ a bronze pin, near the left shoulder of the young girl, and many stone and frit beads, in addition to meat offerings and vessels. The pottery assemblage includes fine pieces such as a red slipped bowl with three-loop feet, a shoulder handled jug with a ring base,⁵⁷ a black burnished piriform juglet, an open bowl with a painted red band on the rim, which is comparable with specimens from Palace II phase at Ras el-ʿAin/Aphek,⁵⁸ and two S-profiled bowls of different sizes, the largest one pattern burnished, and the smaller red slipped (Fig. 14).

T12 is different from the other MB I burials of Tell es-Sultan for the richness of its funerary equip-

⁵³ The most famous specimens come from Tell el-Mutesellim (LOUD 1948) and Tell el-Qadi (ILAN 1996).

⁵⁴ MARCHETTI 2003a: 9.

⁵⁵ VAN DEN BRINK 1982: 20.

⁵⁶ For an analysis of the scarabs from Tomb T12/D.641 see MARCHETTI 2003a.

⁵⁷ This element usually denotes a late stage in MB I, since it is not well attested among similar jugs from Ras el-ʿAin (KOCHAVI and YADIN 2002: 210), while a shallow ring base is more widespread at Tell el-Mutesellim (LOUD 1948: pls. 10:12; 19:21, 23:2).

⁵⁸ KOCHAVI and YADIN 2002: 210.



Fig. 13 T12/D.641 seen from the west



Fig. 14 Pottery from T12/D.641



Fig. 15 Pottery from T15 in House A (SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: pl. 28)

ment, characterised – besides meat provisions in open bowls – also by personal ornaments and by the first appearance of steatite scarabs, well attested in the later tombs of the necropolis. These features make this burial comparable with the *extra moenia* tombs, in particular with Tomb B 35, which yields a similar tree loop footed bowl⁵⁹ and piriform black burnished juglets⁶⁰ or with Tomb D 9 with similar shoulder handled jugs.⁶¹

The considerations about the funerary equipment, and the parallels established with the necropolis suggest a date for T12 late in MB I, probably in MB IB, Period IVa2 of the site.⁶²

2.2. MB II–III burials

The number of burials on the tell dating to MB II and MB III is smaller, although remains from those periods were better preserved.⁶³ This circumstance seems to be connected to the use of the *extra moenia* necropolis and is comparable with the general situation in Palestine: moreover, all the MB II–III *intra moenia* graves were jar burials for infants, with a

funerary set usually composed of a single juglet put inside or nearby the jar used as a container, broken at the neck or at the bottom for facilitating the insertion of the corpse.

As regards the eight burials discovered by Sellin on the Spring Hill, only two can be assigned to MB II: while T14 with only a dipper as grave good, is difficult to date, it is T13 which offers the best evidence. It is a jar burial of an infant, with the typical funerary equipment composed of a dipper, two brown burnished juglets, one with double handle (which can be compared with specimens from the necropolis),⁶⁴ and an S-profiled bowl.

In the northern part of the mound, the German expedition excavated a domestic quarter, identifying a group of five houses,⁶⁵ under the floors of which were found some child burials. Under the floor of House A, a jar burial, T15, with an infant inside, was retrieved, accompanied by an ovoid handleless jar and a piriform juglet (Fig. 15), a pottery assemblage which fits the MB II period. Under the floor of House B, west of the previous one, another jar burial, T16,

⁵⁹ KENYON 1960: 372, fig. 148:7.

⁶⁰ KENYON 1960: 377, fig. 150:22–23.

⁶¹ KENYON 1965: 284, fig. 136:1–2.

⁶² MARCHETTI 2003b: 306.

⁶³ About the domestic remains on the Spring Hill see MARCHETTI 2003b: 310–316 with bibliography.

⁶⁴ The funerary set is not illustrated, but the information given by Sellin and Watzinger (SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 70) points out to vessels similar to, for example, KENYON 1960: 377, fig. 150:18.

⁶⁵ SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 62, pl. III.



Fig. 16 Juglet from T16 in House B
(SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: pl. 22)

was found, with a painted “Chocolate-on-White” piriform juglet nearby,⁶⁶ which is datable towards the end of MB III⁶⁷ (Fig. 16).

West of the preceding domestic quarter, in Square C 6,⁶⁸ Sellin found other domestic structures heavily eroded away,⁶⁹ under the floors of which two more child burials were excavated. The first burial, T17, yielded a small double handled jar with yellowish slip, a carinated bowl with ring base and flaring rim and a black burnished juglet with ring base,

which is comparable to materials found in the Tell es-Sultan necropolis⁷⁰ (Fig. 17); the second one, T18, excavated near the city wall, has a funerary set constituted by a jug with ring base and pinched mouth, similar to the jug retrieved by Kenyon in Tomb H 11⁷¹ or to a specimen found in room 40 of Garstang’s “Palace storerooms”,⁷² and a cylindrical juglet with double handle with button (Fig. 18), comparable with specimens from the *extra moenia* necropolis,⁷³ besides a copper ring. The comparisons mentioned for these vessels suggest a date for these burials late in MB III.

In square C 5 another jar burial, T19, belonging to an eroded domestic building, was found, with a black burnished cylindrical juglet nearby (Fig. 19), similar to those retrieved in tombs of the necropolis,⁷⁴ and which is therefore datable to MB II. T20 was excavated by Garstang in Square I.6 and it is datable to MB II, too. It was a jar burial, with a funerary equipment composed of a piriform juglet and a cylindrical Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglet (Fig. 20). Garstang hints at another child burial, T21, of which he publishes only a jar:⁷⁵ it seems significant that it comes from the “Palace storerooms”, which were, indeed, a domestic quarter.⁷⁶ The jar, broken at the bottom, as customary, was buried under the floor of room 31, so that it is possible to date this vessel to late MB II or MB III for its stratigraphic position and for the comparison with jars from the *extra moenia* tombs.⁷⁷

2.3. Comparison with the new excavations and the Necropolis

As seen in the preceding paragraphs, many of the *intra moenia* burials of Tell es-Sultan belong to MB I, a period not well represented in the renewed joint excavations of Rome University “La Sapienza” and the Palestinian Department of Antiquities, which, on the other hand, retrieved useful materials for comparisons with burials dating to MB II and III, especially because of the possible parallels with the *extra moenia* necropolis, unbound of course to any stratigraphic evidence.⁷⁸ The excavations conducted

⁶⁶ SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 63.

⁶⁷ AMIRAN 1969: 159.

⁶⁸ SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: pl. III.

⁶⁹ SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 64–65.

⁷⁰ See, for example, KENYON 1960: 399, fig. 161:3.

⁷¹ KENYON 1960: 474, fig. 205:6.

⁷² GARSTANG 1934: pl. XXII:16. For a recent re-evaluation of Garstang’s “Palace storerooms” see MARCHETTI 2003b: 312–316.

⁷³ KENYON 1965: 443, fig. 231:3.

⁷⁴ For example KENYON 1960: 336, fig. 131:15.

⁷⁵ GARSTANG 1934: pl. XXI:14.

⁷⁶ BIENKOWSKI 1986: 126; MARCHETTI 2003b: 312.

⁷⁷ For example KENYON 1960: 508, fig. 220:1–3.

⁷⁸ Moreover the great amount of piled objects inside the shaft tombs makes difficult the right chronological distinction of the vessels, which in fact has been based on pottery features (KENYON 1960: 264, 268.)

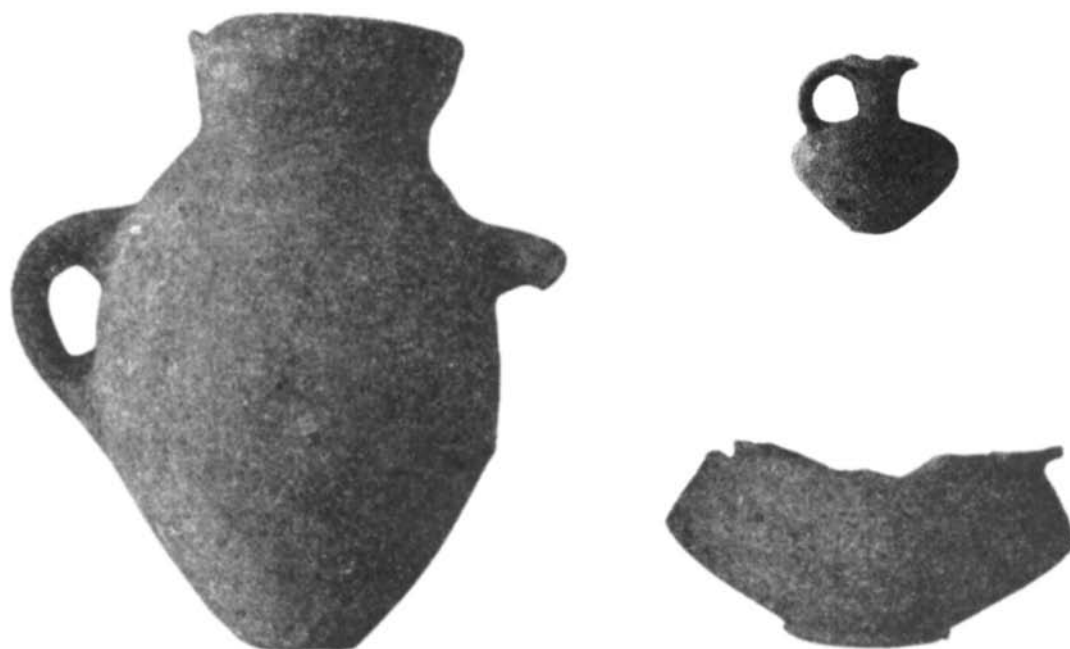


Fig. 17 Funerary set of T17 in Square C 6 (SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 64, fig. 36)



Fig. 18 Funerary set of T18 the city wall (SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 64, fig. 37)

by the joint Italian-Palestinian Expedition at Tell es-Sultan, besides the discovery of Tomb T12/D.641, investigated in Area A a tower along a fortification wall and a residential quarter, located in the Lower Town, which yielded good stratified materials dating to MB II and comparable in some

cases with the pottery from the burials described above.

In the houses of Area A many sherds of jars and simple ware vessels were found. In particular a two handled jar,⁷⁹ nearly intact, is a good comparison for vessels used for infant burials during MB II, while

⁷⁹ MARCHETTI and NIGRO 2000a: 261, fig. 5:48.2.



Fig. 19 A cylindrical juglet from T19
(SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: pl. 29)

some rims of jars⁸⁰ retrieved in Building A1⁸¹ resemble that of the handleless jar found as burial furnishing by Sellin in T15. Even a fragmentary carinated bowl⁸² found in the same building is useful to establish a correct chronology for T17, as it seems the case for the small double handled jar of the same burial, the rim of which is similar to a fragmentary rim retrieved again in Building A1.⁸³ In Building A2, a domestic unit in the southern Lower Town,⁸⁴ the base of a cylindrical black burnished juglet⁸⁵ was retrieved, which is a useful comparison for the juglet retrieved in T19.

Comparison of the *intra moenia* burials with the outer Necropolis shows that they were not contemporary, but the former preceded the latter, as it is the case also in other Palestinian sites, as at Tell el-Fârâh north,⁸⁶ where the *intra moenia* tombs were frequent during MB I, and diminished in the following period, when the *extra moenia* cemetery was more used. Moreover, the presence of Tomb K 3 in the necropolis indicated that the latter was not unknown during MB I, so it seems to have been a conscious decision not to reuse the *extra moenia* cemetery, but to bury the dead on the tell. This fact was noted by

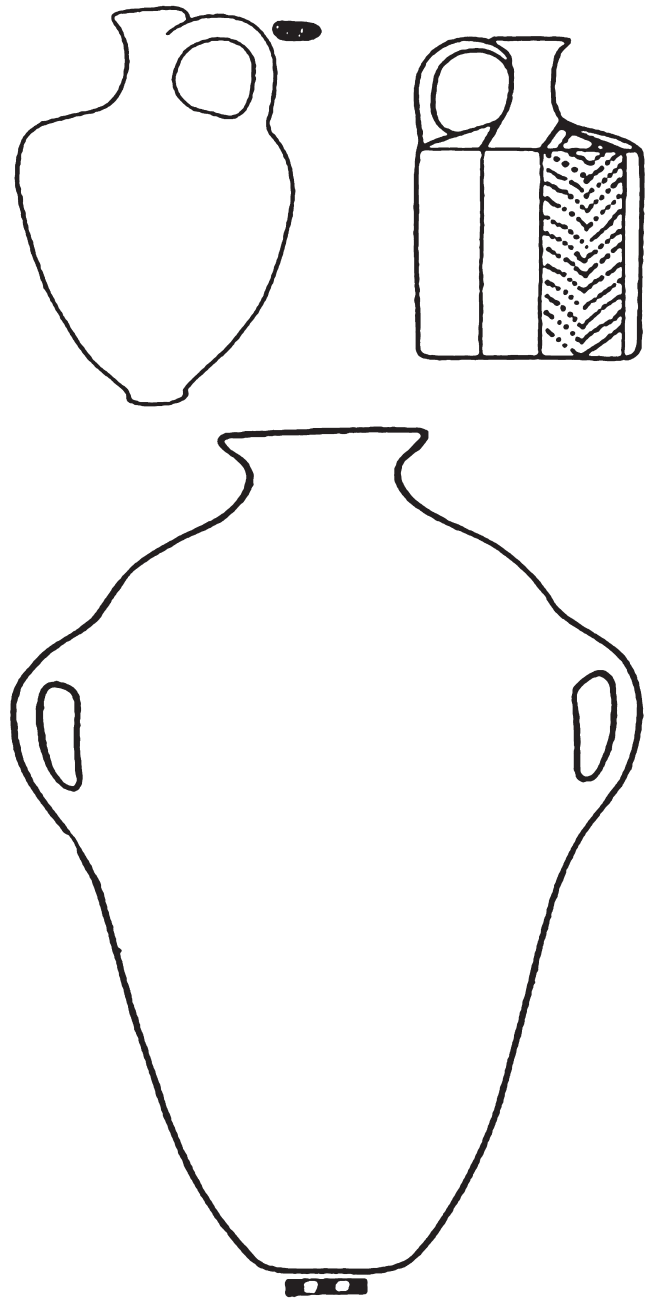


Fig. 20 Pottery from T20 in Square I.6
(GARSTANG 1934: 119, pl. XVII:13, 18–20)

Sellin and by Kenyon,⁸⁷ who attributed it to the fear of desecration of burials by enemies. In this respect it is important to note that MB I *intra moenia* burials

⁸⁰ MARCHETTI and NIGRO 2000a: 257, fig. 5:46.4–5.

⁸¹ For the description of this building see MARCHETTI and NIGRO 1998: 124–135; MARCHETTI and NIGRO 2000a: 199–207 and recently MARCHETTI 2003b: 310–311.

⁸² MARCHETTI and NIGRO 1998: 179: 4:25.1.

⁸³ MARCHETTI and NIGRO 1998: 179, fig. 4:25.6.

⁸⁴ About this building see MARCHETTI and NIGRO 2000a: 207–214.

⁸⁵ MARCHETTI and NIGRO 2000a: 265, fig. 5:50.7.

⁸⁶ MALLET 1973: 97–98.

⁸⁷ KENYON 1993: 679 and KENYON 1971: 17, where the archaeologist suggests that during MB I the tell was not crowded with houses and there was enough space to build *intra moenia* burials.

were not restricted to children, as it is usually the case during MB II and III, but they were used also for adults, which were usually buried in simple pits or in tombs built or lined with mudbricks.

2.4. Tomb typologies and burial equipment

The analysis of the *intra moenia* burials shows differences in burial customs during the Middle Bronze Age, affecting tomb typologies and burial equipments.

During MB I, in fact, two kinds of burials were present on the tell: simple graves, for children and for adults, and built-up tombs. In the latter category, all the burials having parts built of mudbricks are comprised, but each of them differs from the other in its building technique. The first is T10, the burial of two adults found by Kenyon in square HIII, which was lined with mudbrick just on one side; the second is T12/D.641, which was lined with mudbricks on its four sides and covered with mudbricks, too, and the third is T11/HAR, completely built of mudbricks and with a vaulted ceiling. T11 is comparable with some tombs excavated at Tell el-Dab^a, concerning the appearance and the building technique, but it is different for the burial equipment and for the number of skeletons inside.⁸⁸ The other two tombs are comparable for the position of the bodies, but they differ very much as the grave goods are concerned. In fact, while T11 and T10 yielded similar grave goods, composed of S-profiled bowls and jugs with moulded rim, T12 had a completely different set of pottery and displayed also personal ornaments. Despite the differences in building technique and burial equipment, these tombs are comparable because occupied by adults and by more than one body, antedating the burial custom of the following period.

The other MB I single graves, both for children and for adults, had a homogeneous burial equipment, made of one or two S-profiled or carinated bowls, a piriform juglet and sometimes a jug. Despite this

homogeneity, it has to be stressed the complete absence of jars in adult burials on the tell:⁸⁹ since these vessels are the main characteristic throughout the entire Middle Bronze Age for infant burials, they seem to have had a more elaborate significance than a simple funerary gift, as it seems instead the case in the funerary equipments retrieved in the *extra moenia* tombs. In fact jars, since they constitute the shelter of the infant after the death, may allude to the womb,⁹⁰ shelter of the infant before the birth, an hypothesis which may shed some light on the funerary belief in Middle Bronze Age Palestine.

During MB II there seems to take place a major change, because adult burials are no more found on the tell, while jar burials continued to be realised under the floors of the dwellings. Also the funerary equipment for jar burials becomes slightly different, as it is usually composed of one or two juglets put inside the jar or near it, without any other vessel or object; only rarely it is found also a second jar, in this case perhaps intended as gift.

Apart from the findings of two shells and a grindstone in the burials investigated by Sellin near the Spring Hill, there were no objects in *intra moenia* burials, the only tomb which had some objects being T12. This situation, compared to the tombs of the necropolis, seems very unusual and calls for an explanation: it seems possible that we are dealing with poorer inhabitants of Tell es-Sultan, the dead buried in T12 representing perhaps a different class.

We cannot say much about the position of the skeletons, but the comparison between T9 (Fig. 7), T10 (Fig. 9) and T12 (Fig. 13), shows that the flexed position on a side (whether left or right it seems to have been unimportant) was adopted, while the orientation of the bodies does not seem to have been fixed, as it is the case in the tombs of the necropolis and as customary in Palestine during the Middle Bronze Age in general.

	MB I		MB II	MB III
	Child burials	Adult burials	Child burials	Child burials
SELLIN-WATZINGER	/	6 (T1–6)	4 (T13–15, 19)	3 (T16–18)
GARSTANG	2 (T7–8)	/	2 (T20–21)	/
KENYON	1 (T9)	2 (T10–11)	/	/
University of Rome “La Sapienza”, Dept. of Antiquities of Palestine	/	1 (T12)	/	/
Total	3	9	6	3

⁸⁸ BIETAK 1991.

⁸⁹ Only the burial of an adult, T3, contained as single gift a handleless small jar, which is, anyway, very different from the types associated with infant burials.

⁹⁰ ILAN 1995: 135.

2.5. *Intra moenia* burials and urban plan

The presence of *intra moenia* burials on Tell es-Sultan allows some reflections about the development of the town during the Middle Bronze Age, which unfortunately is very difficult to reconstruct due to the poor preservation of the structures: notwithstanding this situation, it is possible to obtain some useful information by studying the location of the burials.

As regards the distribution of MB I burials, it seems that they were concentrated only on the Spring Hill, in an area isolated from other buildings, but both Sellin⁹¹ and Garstang⁹² referred to the burials that they excavated, as dug under the floors of some badly eroded houses. This hypothesis seems reasonable because of the vicinity of the spring, which makes this area the most suitable for a residential quarter,⁹³ as it is demonstrated by the attribution to the MB I of a little domestic structure excavated by Kenyon in the same area of the graves⁹⁴ and the successive densely built domestic quarter dating from MB II and MB III. The situation of Tell es-Sultan in this period is similar to other Palestinian sites, for example at Tell el-Fârâh north, where houses, later destroyed by the successive building of the rampart,⁹⁵ had graves either for adults or for children under the floors or in their nearby.⁹⁶

The analysis of the pottery inventory shows that most of the *intra moenia* burials at Tell es-Sultan date to a final stage of MB I, as shown by comparable materials from Ras el-ʿAin, dating to phase 3 or 4,⁹⁷ from Tell el-Mutesellim, from Efrata and from part of the assemblage of Tomb 1181 at Hazor; so that it is possible to ascribe the renaissance of urban life at Tell es-Sultan in this period or slightly before, when the settlement was probably confined to a restricted area and the necropolis was not yet in use, except for Tomb K 3.

In the following period, MB II, the area on the Spring Hill becomes densely built and the new domestic quarter follows in part the older building

plans,⁹⁸ but funerary customs changed: on the site only infants were buried, the *extra moenia* necropolis became again the burial place for adults. Moreover, the settled area expanded to the northern part of the tell, too, where some houses were found by Sellin, with jar burials sunk under the floors.

In MB III,⁹⁹ characterized by the introduction of new wares, such as Chocolate-on-White (see for example the piriform juglet retrieved by Sellin in T16), by a refurbishing of the fortification and by a rebuilding of the domestic quarter on the Spring Hill, the burial customs remained unchanged: jar burials for infants on the tell and *extra moenia* shaft tombs for adults.

Unfortunately, the strong erosion of Middle Bronze Age remains and the lack of some data on the burials in older publications prevent us from more precise conclusions about this subject: only more excavations will give new elements on *intra moenia* burials at ancient Jericho.

2.6. Unpublished MB I–III burials

Since this paper was written, the author had the chance to examine the original archives from Garstang and Kenyon's excavations,¹⁰⁰ discovering the existence of further *intra moenia* burials unearthed on the Spring Hill and finding out more details about the yet described inhumations. Regarding the latter, more information was collected about the position of the skeletons excavated by Kenyon near the city wall in square H VI¹⁰¹ and dated to MB I. Both of them were crouched, the child on the right side and the other dead¹⁰² on the left side, with hands bent near the chin, while the orientation was different: the child with head to east and the second burial with head to north. This information confirms the preference for the crouched position noted in other MB I burials at Tell es-Sultan, T9–10 and 12, and the carelessness for the orientation of the burial.

An analysis of the original documents from

⁹¹ SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 71.

⁹² GARSTANG 1934: 119.

⁹³ The very long stratigraphic sequence detected on the Spring Hill seems to confirm this opinion (see MARCHETTI: 2003b: 295).

⁹⁴ MARCHETTI 2003b: 305, fig. 7; see also the eroded wall east of T12/D.641 in Area G.

⁹⁵ MALLETT 1973: 93.

⁹⁶ MALLETT 1973: 97.

⁹⁷ KOCHAVI and YADIN 2002: 210–218.

⁹⁸ MARCHETTI 2003b: 310.

⁹⁹ For the distinction between MB II and MB III, see DEVER 1992.

¹⁰⁰ I would like to thank R. Chapman and F. Cobbing of the Palestine Exploration Fund for the help they gave me with Garstang's archive and R. Boast, curator of World Archaeology of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of Cambridge, and A. Taylor for letting me examine Kenyon's original documents.

¹⁰¹ See § 2.1.

¹⁰² This skeleton is said to be in very bad condition, therefore its age is not obtainable.

Garstang's excavation led to recover four more jar burials located on the Spring Hill. Two of them, both containing a piriform juglet,¹⁰³ were dug in square K.6 and are dated to MB II, while the remaining two, one with a piriform¹⁰⁴ and the other with a cylindrical juglet, were sunk under the floors of the "Palace storerooms" (room 18 and 46) and are therefore datable to MB III. The existence of these unpublished jar burials adds another piece of evidence to the diffusion of this funerary custom in MB II and III Jericho, strengthening the evidence that these were the only *intra moenia* burials allowed on the tell at that time.

CATALOGUE

T1

Excavation register: "Grab 1"

Type: Simple grave

Dating: Late MB I

Localization: Spring Hill, Sellin's square G 5 (i.e. BaIII4, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 70

T2

Excavation register: "Grab 2"

Type: Simple grave

Dating: Late MB I

Localization: Spring Hill, Sellin's square G 5 (i.e. BaIII4, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 70

T3

Excavation register: "Grab 4"

Type: Simple grave

Dating: Late MB I

Localization: Spring Hill, Sellin's square G 5 (i.e. BaIII4, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 70

T4

Excavation register: "Grab 6"

Type: Simple grave

Dating: Late MB I

Localization: Spring Hill, Sellin's square G 5 (i.e. BaIII4, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 70

T5

Excavation register: "Grab 7"

Type: Simple grave

Dating: Late MB I

Localization: Spring Hill, Sellin's square G 5 (i.e. BaIII4, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 71

T6

Excavation register: "Grab 8"

Type: Simple grave

Dating: Late MB I

Localization: Spring Hill, Sellin's square G 5 (i.e. BaIII4, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 71

T7

Excavation register: Burial 1

Type: Simple grave

Dating: Late MB I

Localization: Spring Hill, Garstang's square K.6 (i.e. BfIII14, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: GARSTANG 1934:119, pl. XVII:13–14

T8

Excavation register: Burial 2

Type: Simple grave

Dating: Late MB I

Localization: Spring Hill, Garstang's square K.6 (i.e. BfIII14, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: GARSTANG 1934: 119, pl. XVII:15–17

T9

Excavation register: /

Type: Simple grave

Dating: Late MB I

Localization: Spring Hill, Kenyon's square HIII (i.e. BhIII7, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: KENYON 1981: 356

T10

Excavation register: /

Type: Built-up tomb

Dating: Late MB I

Localization: Spring Hill, Kenyon's square HIII (i.e. BgIII5, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: KENYON 1981: 349

T11

Excavation register: Tomb HAR

Type: Built-up tomb

Dating: Late MB I

Localization: Spring Hill, Kenyon's square HII (i.e. BfIII6, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: KENYON 1981: 350, pl. 328a

T12

Excavation register: Tomb D.641

Type: Built-up tomb

Dating: Late MB I

Localization: Spring Hill, Area G (i.e. BbIII8, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: MARCHETTI 2003a: 9

¹⁰³ GARSTANG 1934: pl. XVII: 6, 10. The vessels were published as coming from the Tower area, without more specific details.

¹⁰⁴ GARSTANG 1934: pl. XIX: 17.

T13

Excavation register: “Grab 5”

Type: Jar burial

Dating: MB II

Localization: Spring Hill, square G 5 (i.e. BaIII4, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 70

T14

Excavation register: “Grab 3”

Type: Simple grave

Dating: undatable

Localization: Spring Hill, Sellin’s square G 5 (i.e. BaIII4, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 8)

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 70

T15

Excavation register: /

Type: Jar burial

Dating: MB II

Localization: Northern part of the tell, House A

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 63

T16

Excavation register: /

Type: Jar burial

Dating: Late MB III

Localization: Northern part of the tell

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 63

T17

Excavation register: /

Type: Child burial

Dating: Late MB III

Localization: Northern part of the tell, Sellin’s square C 6

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 64

T18

Excavation register: /

Type: Child burial

Dating: Late MB III

Localization: Northern part of the tell, Sellin’s square C 6

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 64

T19

Excavation register: /

Type: Jar burial

Dating: MB II

Localization: Northern part of the tell, Sellin’s square C 5

Bibliography: SELLIN and WATZINGER 1913: 64

T20

Excavation register: Burial 3

Type: Jar burial

Dating: MB II

Localization: Spring Hill, Garstang’s square I.6 (i.e. BgIII12, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 10)

Bibliography: GARSTANG 1934: 119, pl. XVII:18–20

T21

Excavation register: /

Type: Jar burial

Dating: MB II

Localization: Spring Hill, “Palace storerooms”, room 31 (i.e. BeIII9, MARCHETTI 2003b:fig. 11)

Bibliography: GARSTANG 1934: pl. XXI,14

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