



EGITTOLOGIA 6

# ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE SURROUNDING WORLD: CONTACT, TRADE AND INFLUENCE

STUDIES PRESENTED TO MARILINA BETRÒ

edited by Gianluca Miniaci, Christian Greco,  
Paolo Del Vesco, Mattia Mancini, Cristina Alù

PISA  
UNIVERSITY  
PRESS

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E-mail [press@unipi.it](mailto:press@unipi.it) · PEC [cidic@pec.unipi.it](mailto:cidic@pec.unipi.it)

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- 1° vers. = Primo Versamento [First Deposit]  
 2° vers. = Secondo Versamento [Second Deposit]  
 AA = Archäologische Anzeiger (Berlin)  
 ÄA = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)  
 AAA = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool)  
 AAE = Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy (online)  
 AAL Cl. Sc. mor. st. filol. = Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (Roma)  
 AASOR = Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)  
 ÄAT = Ägypten und Altes Testaments: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments (Münster)  
 ABoT = Balkan K., *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri*, Istanbul 1948  
 Acc. Sc. Torino - Memorie Sc. Mor. = Accademia delle Scienze di Torino – Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (Torino)  
 ACE Reports = Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports (Sydney)  
 ACE Studies = Australian Centre for Egyptology Studies (Sydney)  
 AcOr = Acta Orientalia; Societates Orientales Danica, Norregia, Svecica (Leiden-Copenhagen)  
 ADAIK = Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK). Ägyptologische Reihe (Glückstadt-Berlin)  
 ADAJ = Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (Amman)  
 Aeg = Aegyptus: Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia (Milano)  
 Aegaeum = Aegaeum. Annales d'archéologie égyptienne de l'Université de Liège (Leuven-Liège)  
 ÄF = Ägyptologische Forschungen (Glückstadt)  
 AegLeo = Aegyptiaca Leodiensia (Liège)  
 AegMonast = Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia (Aachen)  
 ÄgLev = Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete (Wien)  
 AERA = Ancient Egypt Research Associates (Brighton, MA)  
 AERAGram = AERA biannual newsletter (Boston)  
 ÄuAT => ÄAT  
 Aevum = Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche (Milano)  
 Africa = Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Roma)  
 ÄgAbh => ÄA  
 AH = Aegyptiaca Helvetica (Geneva-Basel)  
 AHAW = Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse (Heidelberg)  
 ÄHK = *siglum* of the letters between Egyptians and Hittites published by E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache, Band I: Umschriften und Übersetzungen*, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 77, Opladen 1994  
 AIIN = Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica (Roma)  
 AJA = American Journal of Archaeology (Chicago)  
 AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago) [after 1941: JNES]  
 AKB = Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt (Mainz)  
 Aldrovandiana = Aldrovandiana. Historical Studies in Natural History (Bologna)  
 Am Antiquity = American Antiquity (Cambridge)  
 AnAe = Analecta Aegyptiaca (Copenhagen)  
 Anal Bioanal Chem = Analytical and Bioanalytical Chemistry (Berlin-Heidelberg)

- AncEg = Ancient Egypt Magazine (London-New York)
- AncSoc = Ancient Society (Leuven)
- AnnHistScSoc = Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales (Aubervilliers-Cambridge)
- Annu Brit Sch Athens = Annual of the British School at Athens (Athens)
- ANPM = Annals of the Náprstek Museum (Prague)
- ANSMI = Associazione Nazionale per Soccorrere i Missionari Cattolici Italiani (Roma)
- Anthropol Forum = Anthropological Forum (online)
- Antiquity = Antiquity: quarterly journal of archaeological research (Cambridge)
- AntK = Antike Kunst (Basel)
- AO = Der Alte Orient (Berlin)
- AOAT = Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn-Münster)
- AOF = Altorientalische Forschungen (Bern)
- APAW = Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin) [after 1945: ADAW]
- ARAAFU = Association des Restaurateurs d'Art et d'Archéologie de Formation Universitaire (Paris)
- ARC = Archaeological Review from Cambridge. Univ. of Cambridge (Cambridge)
- ARCE Bulletin = Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt (San Antonio, TX)
- Archaeol Prospect = Archaeological Prospection (online)
- Archéo-Nil = Archéo-Nil: Bulletin de la société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil (Paris)
- ARM = Archives royales de Mari (Paris)
- ArtB = The Art Bulletin (online)
- ArOr = Archiv Orientální: Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies (Prague)
- ARWAW = Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Opladen)
- ASAE = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE) (Cairo)
- ASAtene = Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente (Roma)
- ASBR = Archivio Storico Generalizio del Centro Studi Storici PP. Barnabiti (Roma)
- ASOR = American Society of Overseas Research (Alexandria, VA)
- ASR = L'Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses (online)
- ASSic = Archivio Storico Siciliano. Soc. per la stor. patria (Palermo)
- ASTENE Bull. = Bulletin of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East: Notes and Queries (Durham-Cambridge)
- ASTo = Archivio di Stato, Torino
- Athenaeum = Athenaeum. Studi Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell'Antichità (Pavia)
- AttiAccTorino = Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino (Torino)
- Atti STSN = Atti della Società Toscana di Scienze Naturali (Pisa)
- AUB = American University of Beirut Archaeological Museum (Beirut)
- AUC = American University in Cairo (Cairo)
- AulaOr = Aula Orientalis. Revista de Estudios de Próximo Oriente Antiguo (Barcelona)
- AVDAIK = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo (Berlin-Mainz)
- B = Busta [Envelope]
- BA = Biblical Archaeologist [now: NEA] (Ann Arbor-New Haven)
- BAAL = Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises (Beirut)
- BACE = Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology (Sydney)
- BAEE = Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología (Madrid)
- BAEFE = Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger (online)
- BAH = Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique (Paris)
- BAJA = Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (Berlin)
- BaM = Baghdader Mitteilungen (Berlin)
- BAR IS = British Archaeological Reports International Series (London)
- BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)
- BASP = Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists (Ann Arbor)

- BBf = Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde (Berlin-Cairo-Zurich-Wiesbaden-Stuttgart)
- BCM = Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland)
- BdA = Bollettino d'Arte (Roma)
- BdE = Bibliothèque d'Étude (IFAO, Cairo)
- BdÉ, B d'E => BdE
- BE = Bibliothèque égyptologique (Paris-Cairo)
- BEHE SSR = Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des hautes études, Section des Sciences Religieuses (Paris)
- B Eng Geol Environ = Bulletin of Engineering Geology and the Environment (online)
- Berytus = Berytus: Archaeological Studies (Beirut)
- BES = Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar (Ann Arbor)
- Bessarione = Bessarione: Pubblicazione periodica di Studi Orientali (Roma)
- BESud = Brown Egyptological Studies (Providence)
- BEUMo = Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena
- BG = Bibliothèque Générale (IFAO) (Cairo)
- BiAeg = Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)
- Biblica = Biblica (Roma)
- BIE = Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte (Cairo)
- BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) (Cairo)
- BIN = J.B. Nies, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, Yale 1917
- BiOr = Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)
- BM = British Museum, London
- BMB = Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth (Paris)
- BME = British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt (London)
- BMFA = Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)
- BMH = Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts (Budapest)
- BMJ = British Medical Journal (London)
- BMMA = Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) (New York)
- BMonsMusPont = Bollettino dei Monumenti, Musei e gallerie Pontificie (Roma)
- BMPES = British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan (London)
- BMSAES = British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (London)
- BNCF = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
- BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
- Bo = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Boğazköy/Ḫattuša
- Boğazköy-Ḫattuša = Boğazköy-Ḫattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen (Darmstadt-Berlin-Wiesbaden-Erbenheim)
- Brit J Hist Sci = British Journal for the History of Science (London)
- BRM = A.T. Clay (ed.), *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Piermont Morgan* (New Haven), New York-New Heaven 1923
- BRT = Biblioteca Reale di Torino
- BSA => Annu Brit Sch Athens
- BSAE = British School of Archaeology in Egypt (London)
- BSAE/ERA = British School of Archaeology in Egypt / Egyptian Research Account (London)
- BSEG = Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève (Geneva)
- BSFE = Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie; Réunions trimestrielles, Communications archéologiques (Paris)
- BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London)
- BTMn = Biblioteca Teresiana di Mantova
- BUPi = Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa
- BzÄ = Beiträge zur Ägyptologie (Wien)
- C2RMF = Centre de Recherche et Restauration des Musées de France (Paris)
- CAA = Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum (Mainz)
- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 21 vols, Chicago 1956-2010
- CAENL = Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant. Acad. autrich. des sc. (Wien)
- CAJ = Cambridge Archaeological Journal (Cambridge)
- CAMS = Centro di Ateneo per i Musei Scientifici, Perugia
- CASAE = Cahiers supplémentaires des ASAE (Cairo)



- CC = *Clavis Coptica* o *Clavis Patrum Coptorum, unique identifier* attribuito a ciascuna opera copta nell'ambito del Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari
- CCdE = Les Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie (Martinique)
- CCE = Cahier de la céramique égyptienne (Cairo)
- CChEM = Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean (Wien)
- CdE = Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles (Bruxelles)
- CdÉ, CdEg => CdE
- CED = J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, Cambridge 1976.
- CGT = Catalogo Generale del Museo di Torino (serie)
- CENiM = Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne (online)
- CeROArt = Conservation, exposition, Restauration d'Objets d'Art (Liège)
- CHANE = Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden)
- CLES = Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture, Brooklyn Museum (New York)
- CLM = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascuna unità codicologica letteraria copta nell'ambito del progetto *PAThs* e del suo principale prodotto scientifico, *l'Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* (<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts>)
- CIQu = The Classical Quarterly (Cambridge)
- CMET = Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino (Torino)
- CNI => CNIANES
- CNIANES = Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications (Copenhagen)
- CNIP = Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications (Copenhagen)
- CNR = Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche
- CollHell = Collectanea Hellenistica (Bruxelles)
- Comp Stud Soc Hist = Comparative Studies in Society and History (Cambridge)
- CP = Classical Philology (Chicago)
- CRAI => CRAIBL
- CRAIBL = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres (Paris)
- CRBC = Conservation-Restauration des Biens Culturels (Sorbonne)
- CRIPEL = Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille (Paris-Lille)
- CRUI = Conferenza dei Rettori delle Università Italiane (Roma)
- CSEG = Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève (Geneva)
- CSIS = Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid)
- CSCT = Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition (Leiden-Boston)
- CTH = E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris 1971 (with Supplements in RHA XXX, 1972, 94–133 = CTH Suppl., and RHA XXXIII, 1973, 68–71 (<https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>))
- Curr Anthropol = Current Anthropology (Chicago)
- D3T = Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives
- DAAM = D. Schwemer, E. Rieken (eds), *Documenta Antiqua Asiae Minoris*, Wiesbaden
- DAIK = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo (Cairo)
- DAIK S = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, Sonderschrift (Cairo)
- DBH 46/2 = R. Akdoğan, *Hethitische Texte Bo 4658 – Bo 5000. Teil 2: Autographien*, Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 46/2, Wiesbaden 2016.
- DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (Roma)
- DDbDP = Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (<https://papyri.info>)
- DE = Discussions in Egyptology (Oxford)
- DELIC = W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1984
- DemStud = Demotische Studien (Leipzig-Sommerhausen)
- Der Antike Sudan = Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin (Berlin)
- DFIFAO = Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo)
- DGÖAW = Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)

- DPDP = Demotic Palaeographical Database Project (<http://129.206.5.162/beta/index.html>)
- DS = Detroit Statue
- EA = Egyptian Archaeology, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) (London)
- EAO = Égypte, Afrique et Oriente (Paris)
- EAT = *siglum* of the edition of the cuneiform tablets unearthed at Tell el-Amarna
- EDAL = Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives, Libraries (Milan)
- EtudTrav = Études et Travaux (Warsaw)
- EEF = (Publications of the) Egypt Exploration Fund => MEEF
- EEF Memoir => MEEF, EES EM
- E&G Quaternary Sci. J. = Eiszeitalter und Gegenwart Quaternary Science Journal (online)
- EES EM = EES Excavation Memoirs (London) [earlier names: MEEF/MEES]
- EES GRM = EES Graeco-Roman Memoirs (London)
- EES TM = EES Texts from Excavations, Memoirs (London)
- EgAT = O. Neugebauer, R.A. Parker, *Egyptian astronomical texts*, Providence (vol. 1) 1960, (vol. 2) 1966, (vol. 3) 1969
- EGE = Revista de Expresión Gráfica en la Edificación (Madrid)
- EgUit = Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden)
- EI = Eretz Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies (Jerusalem)
- Eidola = Eidola. International Journal of Ancient Art History (Pisa)
- EME = Études et Mémoires d'Égyptologie (Paris)
- Enchoria = Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie (Wiesbaden)
- ENiM = Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne (Montpellier)
- EPRO = Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain (Leiden) [later RGRW]
- EQÄ = Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie (Münster)
- ERA = Egyptian Research Account (London) [after 1906: BSAE]
- ERUV = S.H. Aufrère (ed.), *Encyclopédie Religieuse de l'Univers Végétal : Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne*, 4 vols, Montpellier 1999-2005
- EtudTrav => ET
- ET = Études et Travaux. Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences (Warsaw)
- EU => EgUit
- EVO = Egitto e Vicino Oriente (Pisa)
- [ExSaq] = Excavation at Saqqara (SAE, Cairo)
- FAT = Forschungen zum Alten Testament, 2<sup>nd</sup> series (Tübingen)
- FÄW = J. Kahl, *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 2002)
- FIFAO = Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire. Rapports préliminaires (Cairo)
- FoRa = Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt. Grabungen des Pelizaeus-Museums Hildesheim in Qantir – Pi-Ramesse (Mainz)
- FR => FoRa
- FuB = Forschungen und Berichte der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)
- Geol Survey Israel Rep No GSI = Geological Survey of Israel, Report No. G.S.I. (Jerusalem)
- GFA = Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft (online)
- GHE = Golden House Egyptology (London)
- GHP Egyptology = Golden House Publications Egyptology (London)
- GM = Göttinger Miscellen (Göttingen)
- GOF = Göttinger Orientforschungen (Wiesbaden)
- Greek Roman Byzantin = Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies (Durham)
- GrHL = H.A. Hoffner, H.C. Melchert, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar; Part 2: Tutorial*, Winona Lake, IN 2008.
- GRM => EES-GRM
- GSI = Geological Survey of Israel (Jerusalem)
- HÄB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim)
- HAT = *Handschriften des altägyptischen Totenbuches* (Wiesbaden)
- Hb Orient St Sect = Handbook of Oriental Studies Section (Leiden)
- HdO = Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abt. Bd. I: Ägyptologie (Leiden)

- HGV = Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens (<http://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/start>)
- Hist Reflections = Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques (New York)
- HKM = S. Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları 6/34, Ankara 1991
- HPBM = Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (London)
- HR = History of Religions (Chicago)
- HSCP = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology (Cambridge MA)
- HZL = Ch. Rüster, E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Bogazköy-Texten*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten Beiheft 2, Wiesbaden 1989
- IAMS = Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies (London)
- IAWA = International Association of Wood Anatomists (Leiden)
- IBAES = Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie (online)
- ICE = International Congress of Egyptologists
- IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal (Jerusalem)
- IFAO BG = Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque Générale (Cairo)
- IFROA = Institut Français de Restauration des Œuvres d'Art (Saint-Denis)
- IJNA = International Journal of Nautical Archaeology (online)
- ILC = Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo (Madrid)
- Info DaF = Information Deutsch als Fremdsprache (Göttingen-Bonn)
- Int As Sed = International Association of Sedimentologists Special Publication (Gent)
- IOS = Israel Oriental Studies (Leiden)
- Iran = Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies (London)
- ISIMU = ISIMU. Revista sobre Oriente Próximo y Egipto en la Antigüedad (Madrid)
- ISMEO = Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Roma)
- JAC = Journal of Ancient Civilizations (Changchun)
- JACF = Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum (online)
- JAEA = The Journal of Ancient Egyptian Architecture (online)
- JA EI = Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections (Tucson)
- JANER = Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions (Leiden)
- JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore-Boston-New Haven)
- JARCE = Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston-Princeton-New York-Cairo)
- J Archaeol Res = Journal of Archaeological Research (New York)
- JAS = Journal of Archaeological Science (Tucson)
- JbZMusMainz = Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz (Mainz)
- JCH = Journal of Cultural Heritage (online)
- JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies (Chicago-New Haven-Cambridge)
- JEA = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (EES, London)
- JEGH = Journal of Egyptian History (Swansea)
- JEMAHS = Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies (Philadelphia)
- JEOL = Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)
- JES = Journal of Egyptological Studies (Sofia)
- JESHO = Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden)
- JfAC = Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum (Münster)
- J Glass Stud = Journal of Glass Studies (New York)
- JHA = Journal for the History of Astronomy (Chalfont St. Giles)
- J Hist Collect = Journal of the History of Collections (Oxford)
- J Hist Ideas = Journal of the History of Ideas (Philadelphia)
- JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies (London)
- JJP = Journal of Juristic Papyrology (Warsaw)
- JMA = Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology (online)
- JMC = Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes (Saint-Germain-en-Laye)
- JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)
- JRAI = Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (London)

- JSAH = Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (Philadelphia)  
 J Soc Archaeol = Journal of Social Archaeology (online)  
 JSSEA = Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (SSEA) (Toronto)  
 JWCI = Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes (London)  
 JWP = Journal of World Prehistory (New York)  
 Kadmos = Kasmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik (Berlin-New York)  
 KARNAK = Les Cahiers de Karnak. Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (Cairo)  
 KAW = Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt (Mainz)  
 KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Berlin)  
 Kemi = Kêmi: Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptienne et coptes (Paris)  
 KMT = KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt (San Francisco)  
 KRI = K.A. Kitchen (ed.), *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, 7 vols, Oxford 1969-1990  
 KUB => KBo  
 Kush = Kush: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service / Journal of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) (Khartoum)  
 KuT = *siglum* of the tablets and fragments excavated at Kuşaklı/Şarişša.  
 LÄ = W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols, Wiesbaden 1972/5-  
 LACMA = Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles)  
 [LDA] = Les Dossiers d'Archéologie (Dijon)  
 LDAB = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascun manoscritto nell'ambito del *Leuven Database of Ancient Books*  
 LEAD = Late Egyptian Artefact Database (<https://lead.ifao.egnet.net/>)  
 LETIAM = Laboratoire d'Étude des Techniques et Instruments d'Analyse Moléculaire (Paris)  
 Levant = Levant. Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (Jerusalem)  
 Lexis = Lexis. Poetica, retorica e comunicazione nella tradizione classica (Abano Terme)  
 LGG = Chr. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, OLA 110-116, 7 vols, Leuven 2002.  
 LingAeg = Lingua Aegyptia. Journal of Egyptian Language Studies (Göttingen)  
 LingAeg SM => LinAeg – StudMon  
 LingAeg – StudMon = Linguae Aegyptia – Studia Monographica (Hamburg)  
 LNS = Late New Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1240-1180 BC)  
 LRMF = Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France  
 M = Mazzo [Bundle]  
 MA = Musée des Antiquités (Rouen)  
 MAAO = Münchener Abhandlungen zum Alten Orient (Gladbeck)  
 MACA = Mantova Collezioni Antiche (Mantova)  
 MAE = Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie (Torino)  
 MAECI = Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale (Roma)  
 MÄS = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien (Berlin-Munich-Mainz)  
 MÄSB = Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)  
 MAFTO = Mission Archéologique Française de Thèbe-Ouest  
 MAI = Missione Archeologica Italiana  
 MAM = Museo Archeologico, Milano  
 Mar Geol = Marine Geology (Amsterdam-New York)  
 Marmora = Marmora: International Journal for Archaeology, History and Archaeometry of Marbles and Stones (Pisa)  
 MASCA = Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology (Philadelphia)  
 MascaP = MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology (Philadelphia)  
 MBA-Dijon = Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon  
 MBA-Lyon = Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon  
 MDAI = Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran (Leiden-Paris)  
 MDAIK = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK) (Mainz-Cairo-Berlin-Wiesbaden)  
 MdS = Musées de Sens  
 MedA = Mediterranean Archaeology (online)

- MEEF = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund [later: MEES] (London)
- MEES = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society (London)
- MEFRA = Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Antiquité (Paris)
- MEFRM = Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Moyen Âge (Paris)
- MemAcInscr = Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Toulouse-Paris)
- Memnonia = Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde de Ramesseum (Cairo-Paris)
- [Mem.Phil.] = Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge (Philadelphia)
- MemPontAc = Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia. Memorie (Roma)
- MGC = Museo “Gaetano Chierici” di Paletnologia (Reggio Emilia)
- MH = Middle Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1500-1350)
- MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) du Caire (Berlin-Cairo)
- MIO = Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Berlin)
- MKS = Middle Kingdom Studies (London)
- MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
- MMAF = Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire (Paris) [later MIFAO]
- MMJ = Metropolitan Museum Journal (New York)
- MonAeg = Monumenta Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)
- MonPiot = Monument et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation Eugène Piot (Paris)
- MPER = Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek Erzherzog Rainer (Wien)
- MRE = Monographies Reine Élisabeth (Bruxelles-Turnhout)
- MS = Middle Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1500-1350 BC)
- MSAE = Materiali e Studi Archeologici di Ebla (Roma)
- Msk = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Meskene/Emar
- MUP = Musei dell'Università di Pisa (Pisa)
- Mus = Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales/Tijdschrift voor Orientalisme (Leuven)
- Muséon => Mus
- MUSJ = Mémoires/Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beirut)
- MVCAE = Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt (Atlanta)
- NARCE = Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) (New York-Cairo)
- Nat Sci Arc = Natural Science in Archaeology (New York)
- NEA = Near Eastern Archaeology [formerly: Biblical Archeologist (BA)] (Boston)
- NeHeT = NeHeT. Revue numérique d'Égyptologie (Paris-Bruxelles)
- NH = New Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1350-1180 BC)
- NML = National Museum, Liverpool
- NS = New Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1350-1240 BC)
- Numen = Numen: International Review for the History of Religions (Leiden)
- OBO = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg-Göttingen)
- Ocnus = Ocnus. Quaderni della Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici (Bologna)
- OH = Old Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1650-1500 BC)
- OIAR = Oriental Institute Annual Report (Chicago)
- OIP = Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
- OJA = Oxford Journal of Archaeology (Oxford)
- OLA = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven)
- OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Münster-Berlin-Leipzig)
- OMRO = Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
- Or = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Ortaköy/Şapinuwa
- ORA = Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient (Tübingen)
- OrAnt = Oriens Antiquus (Roma)
- OrArch = Orient-Archäologie, DAI (Berlin)
- OrChrPer = Orientalia Christiana Periodica (Roma)
- OREA = Oriental and European Archaeology (Wien)
- Orientalia => OrNS

- Orient Christ Analec = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* (Roma)
- OrMonsp = *Orientalia Monspeliensia* (Montpellier)
- OrNS = *Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii instituti biblici, Nova Series* (Roma)
- OS = *Old Script* (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1650-1500 BC)
- PÄ = *Probleme der Ägyptologie* (Leiden-Boston-Köln)
- PalHiéro => PH
- PALLAS = *Pallas. Revue d'études antiques* (Toulouse)
- PALMA = *Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, Egyptology* (Turnhout)
- PAM = *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* (Warsaw)
- P Am Philos Soc = *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia)
- Palamedes = *Palamedes: A Journal of Ancient History* (Warsaw)
- PalArch => PJAEE
- PBF = *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* (München-Stuttgart)
- PBSEA = *Publications of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology* (London)
- PEFQS = *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (London)
- PEQ = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (London)
- PH = *Paléographie Hiéroglyphique* (Cairo)
- Philippika = *Philippika: Marburger Altertumskundliche Abhandlungen* (Wiesbaden)
- PHRP = *The polychrome hieroglyph research project*, ed. by D. Nunn (<https://phrp.be/About.html>)
- PIA = *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology, UCL* (London)
- PIHANS = *Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul* (Istanbul)
- PJAEE = *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* (Leiden)
- Plant Biosyst = *Plant Biosystem - An International Journal Dealing with all Aspects of Plant Biology* (online)
- PLB = *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* (Leiden)
- PLOS ONE = *Public Library of Science* (online)
- PLup = *Papyrologica Lupiensia* (Lecce)
- PM = B. Porter, R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols, Oxford 1927-1951 (1960- )
- PMMA = *Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Egyptian Expedition)* (New York)
- PN = H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Glückstadt 1935-1977
- PSAS = *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* (Oxford)
- PSG = *Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Bonn Statue*
- PSI = *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto* (Firenze)
- PT = K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums, neu herausgegeben und erläutert*, 4 vols, Leipzig 1908-1922
- QuadTorino = *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte* (Torino)
- RANT = *Res Antiquae* (Bruxelles)
- Rass. Ita. pol. lett. art. = *Rassegna Italiana politica, letteraria e artistica* (Roma)
- RB = *Revue Biblique* (Jerusalem-Paris)
- RdE = *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris)
- RE = *Rites Égyptiens* (Bruxelles)
- REAC = *Ricerche di Egittologia e di Antichità Copte* (Imola-Bologna)
- REG = *Revue des Études Grecques* (Paris)
- RevEg = *Revue égyptologique* (Paris) [later: RdE]
- Rev Louvre = *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* (Paris)
- RGRW = *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden)
- RGTC VI = G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, TAVO Beihefte B 7, Wiesbaden 1978
- RGTC VI/2 = G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. Supplement*, TAVO Beihefte B 7, Wiesbaden 1992.
- RHA = *Revue Hittite et Asianique* (Paris)
- RHR = *Revue de l'Histoire de Religions* (Paris)
- Ric Stor Arte = *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* (Roma)

- RIDA = Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité (Bruxelles)
- RIMA = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods*
- RIME = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods*
- RiME = Rivista del Museo Egizio (Torino)
- RITA = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations*, Oxford 1993
- RITANC = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments*, Oxford 1993
- Riv. Mil. = Rivista Militare (Roma)
- RMO = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
- RoczMuzWarsz = Rocznik Muzeum narodowego w Warszawie (Warsaw)
- RSO = Rivista degli Studi Orientali (Roma)
- RT = Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris)
- RVO = Religion in Vorderen Orient (Wiesbaden)
- SAAB = State Archives of Assyria Bulletin (Padova)
- SAAC = Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization. Jagiellonian Univ. (Cracovia)
- SaarBeitr = Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde (Saarbrücken)
- Saeculum = Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte (Freiburg)
- SAGA = Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg)
- SAK = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg)
- SAK Bh = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur – Beihefte (Hamburg)
- SANER = Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Berlin-Boston)
- SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation (Chicago)
- SAT = Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch (Wiesbaden)
- SARS Newsletter = The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Newsletter (London)
- SBAW = Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abteilung (München)
- SBS = Stuttgarter Bibelstudien (Freudenstadt-Loßburg)
- ScAnt = Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia (Roma)
- SCO = Studi Classici e Orientali (Pisa)
- SDAW = Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Berlin)
- SEAP = Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche (Pisa)
- SEL = Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico (Roma)
- Serapis = Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology (Chicago)
- SGKAO = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients (Berlin)
- SHR = Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden)
- SIMA = Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology (Lund)
- SiMa = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- SiMuA = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- Sitzber K Preuss Aka = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Berlin)
- SMA = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- SMAAR = Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes (Roma)
- SMEA = Studi Mediterranei ed Egeo-Anatolici (Roma)
- SÖAW = Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Wien)
- SRaT = Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel (Dettelbach)
- SSR = Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion (Wiesbaden)
- StädelJb = Städel Jahrbuch (München)
- StBoT = Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten (Wiesbaden)
- StEgAntPun = Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche (Pisa)
- StMatStorRel = Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni (Roma)
- StudAeg = Studia Aegyptiaca (Budapest-Roma)
- StudPAP = Studia Papyrologica et Aegyptiaca Parisina (Paris)
- Stud Piemontesi = Studi Piemontesi (Torino)

- Sudan & Nubia = Sudan & Nubia: Bulletin of the Sudan Archaeological Research Society (London)
- StudDem = Studia Demotica (Leuven)
- StudGener = Studium Generale. Zeitschrift für die Einheit der Wissenschaften im Zusammenhang Ihrer Begriffsbildungen und Forschungsmethoden (Berlin-Heidelberg-New York)
- SVB = Studia Varia Bruxellensia (ad orbem graeco-latinum pertinentia) (Leuven)
- Symbolon = Symbolon. Jahrb. Für Symbolforsch (Cologne)
- Syria = Syria: Revue d'art orientale et d'archéologie (Paris)
- Talanta = TalAnta: Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society (Hoofddorp)
- TbT = Totenbuchttexte (Basel)
- T C S Peirce Soc = Transactions of the Charles S Peirce Society (Indianapolis)
- TdE = Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt (Puerto de la Cruz)
- TEL AVIV = TEL AVIV: the Journal of the Institute of Archaeology (Tel Aviv)
- THEBEN = Theben (Mainz)
- TLA = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de>, Web app version 2.0.2.1, 8/8/2023, ed. by T. S. Richter, D. A. Werning, H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, P. Dils
- TM = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascun manoscritto nell'ambito del database *Trismegistos. An interdisciplinary portal of the ancient world* (<https://www.trismegistos.org/>)
- TPOP = Turin Papyrus Online Platform (<https://collezionepapiri.museoegizio.it>; <https://papyri.museoegizio.it/Login.aspx>)
- TSL = Thot Sign List <http://thotsignlist.org>, ed. by Université de Liège and Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
- TTR = Tanis, travaux récents sur le Tell San El-Hagar (Paris)
- TUAT-NF = B. Janowski, G. Wilhelm (eds), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge*, vols 1-10, Gütersloh 2004
- TVAT = Testi del Vicino Oriente Antico (Brescia)
- UAVA = Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (Berlin)
- UC = University of California
- UCLA = University of California, Los Angeles
- UF = Ugarit-Forschungen: Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas (Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn-Münster)
- UGAÄ = Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens (Hildesheim-Leipzig-Berlin)
- UIT d'Orsay = Université Paris-Saclay
- UMAA = University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge)
- UMI = University of Michigan
- UPMJ = University Pennsylvania Museum Journal (Philadelphia)
- [UPMM] = University Pennsylvania Museum Monograph (Philadelphia)
- USE = Uppsala Studies in Egyptology (Uppsala)
- UZK = Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit der Ägyptischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)
- VA = Varia Aegyptiaca (San Antonio)
- VBoT = A. Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*, Marburg 1930
- VDI = Vestnik Drevnej Istorii [Revue d'Histoire ancienne] (Moscow-Leningrad)
- V&A = Victoria and Albert Museum (London)
- VIAÄ = Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien (Wien)
- VisRel = Visible Religion. Annual for Religious Iconography (Leiden)
- VO = Vicino Oriente (Roma)
- VRAMK = Voronezh Regional Art Museum of I.N. Kramskoy
- VT = Vetus Testamentum (Leiden)
- WA = Writings from the Ancient World, Society of Biblical Literature (Atlanta)
- Wb = A. Erman, H. Grapow (eds), *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Berlin 1926-1961
- WdO = Die Welt des Orients: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes (Göttingen-Wupoertal)
- WorldArch = World Archaeology (online)
- World Literature Tod = World Literature Today (online)
- WSEA = Wilbour Studies in Egyptology and Assyriology (New York)



WVDOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen  
der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft (Leipzig-  
Berlin-Saarbrücken-Saarwellingen)

WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des  
Morgenlandes (Wien)

YES = Yale Egyptological Studies (New Haven)

ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasia-  
tische Archäologie (Leipzig-Berlin)

ZÄS = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Al-  
tertumskunde (Berlin-Leipzig)

ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Ver-  
eins (Leipzig-Wiesbaden)

ZKF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und  
verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig)

## INTRODUCTION

GIANLUCA MINIACI, CHRISTIAN GRECO, PAOLO DEL VESCO, MATTIA MANCINI, CRISTINA ALÙ

As former students of Prof. Marilina Betrò, on the occasion of her retirement, we decided to gather contributions from colleagues and friends on the topics she has significantly contributed to during her academic career. The outcome of this collaborative effort is the creation of six volumes that celebrate and honour her scholarly achievements.

The first volume, *The Sacred and the Secular in the Theban Necropolis*, is a collection of 18 papers that explore various aspects of life in the Theban Necropolis on the western bank of the Nile at modern-day Luxor. These papers encompass religious, ritual, material, and profane elements. The Theban Necropolis has been a focal point of archaeological research carried out by Marilina Betrò, who first became acquainted with this site at the beginning of her career while working in the ‘Temple of Millions of Years’ of Thutmose IV under the supervision of Edda Bresciani. In 2003, Marilina Betrò initiated and directed an ongoing archaeological expedition to investigate the Ramesside tomb of Huy (TT 14), located in the northern sector of the Theban Necropolis (Dra Abu el-Naga). Subsequently, in 2004, the Italian mission at Dra Abu el-Naga (M.I.D.A.N.) discovered a previously unknown early Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb called M.I.D.A.N.05 and, in 2010, two other smaller tombs cut into the northern side of its courtyard. The archaeological fieldwork in Thebes has shaped the careers of many of her students and produced significant results, published in several scientific articles and a monograph titled *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu El-Naga* (2009).

The second volume, *A Matter of Religions: Gods and People in Ancient Egypt*, gathers 18 papers that explore the complex dimensions of Egyptian religions, fostering a dialogue between gods, landscapes, animals, and people. Marilina Betrò’s seminal work, *Saqqara III: I testi solari del portale di Pasherientaisu (BN 2)* (1989), represents an important milestone in the studies of ancient Egyptian religion. The entrance portal of Pasherientaisu, discovered in the Saqqara necropolis during archaeological fieldwork directed by Edda Bresciani, was inscribed with a version of the cult-theological treatise studied by Jan Assmann in his work *Der König als Sonnenpriester*. Before the discovery of Pasherientaisu’s portal, only half of this religious composition was known, which concerned the sunrise and the king’s knowledge of the ‘arcana’ of the sun’s course. The portal inscription preserves the other half of the composition, translated and commented by Betrò, which is dedicated to the night journey of the sun. This ancient Egyptian religious text, discovered by Professor Betrò, represents a bridge between the ‘esoteric’ hymns of the solar cult and the so-called underworld books and was later quoted and incorporated by Assmann in his volume *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom* (1995). Betrò later presented a synthesis and critique of the religious system of ancient Egypt in a chapter of “Egittologia” (2005), edited by Alessandro Roccati, which has influenced the latest generations of Italian students of Egyptology.

The third volume, *Digging for Ancient Egypt and Egyptology in the Archives*, contains 14 articles exploring previously unpublished letters, notes, diaries, and other documents from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These documents preserve a vast amount of information essential for reconstructing the history of ancient Egypt and the evolution of the discipline of Egyptology. Marilina Betrò has led several research projects on this subject, with a particular focus on the rich documentation of Egyptian monuments and sites produced by Champollion, Rosellini, and other members of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition to Egypt in 1828-29. This valuable documentation is now preserved in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa. She has directed an important national project called “Progetto Rosellini”, which led to the discovery in the National Archives in Prague of two lists of the antiquities Ippolito Rosellini brought to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, now part of the Museo Archeologico in Florence. The

project's objective was to digitize all the documents (drawings, manuscripts, notebooks, and diaries) of the members of the *Spedizione* held in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa. This culminated in an important publication on Egyptological archives titled *Talking along the Nile* (2013). As part of the project, she curated two exhibitions – one in Pisa and another in Cairo – of manuscripts and drawings of the *Spedizione*. The exhibition held in Cairo, 2009-2010, also facilitated the return of a selection of the original documents to Egypt, some 200 years after their composition in that country. Through her archival research, the powerful chief steward of Perunefer under Amenhotep II, Qenamun, owner of TT 93, was able to reclaim his material identity. His body and original coffin have since been reunited and are now part of the Collezioni Egittologiche 'Edda Bresciani' in Pisa (Betrò, *Kenamun: l'undicesima mummia*, 2014).

The fourth volume, *The Materiality of Ancient Egypt: Objects and Museums*, consists of 19 articles that explore the diverse stories hidden within museum objects and collection archives, fostering an ongoing dialogue between ancient materials, texts, and modern interpretation and methodologies. Professor Betrò has played a significant role in museum and object studies, introducing the first course in Egyptian Epigraphy in Pisa, utilising the material preserved in the National Archaeological Museum in Florence. She served as the director of the 'Sistema Museale di Ateneo' of the University of Pisa from 2012 to 2014, and since 2017, has been the head of the scientific committee of the Museo Egizio in Turin. She also organized two international conferences, both held in Pisa, focusing on the materiality of texts in ancient Egypt and other societies, resulting in a volume titled *The Ancient World Revisited: Material Dimensions of Written Artefacts* (2024). Additionally, Professor Betrò has played a vital role in advancing Egyptology by integrating new technologies into object studies. From 2005 to 2009, she led a research unit in the FIRB project *Tecnologie integrate di Robotica ed Ambienti Virtuali in Archeologia*.

The fifth volume, *Egypt in Ancient and Modern Tales, Travels and Explorations*, brings together 12 articles that explore Egypt not only as a land of wonders but also as a place that resonates with its ancient societies and their perspectives, captivating the imagination through its literature, tales, and accounts from both ancient and modern explorers. Professor Betrò's career has been shaped by her passion for travel, whether physical or intellectual. This passion has been applied to Egyptology with a project called "Egypt in India", exploring Egyptian antiquities beyond the traditional borders, culminating in the publication *Egypt in India: Egyptian antiquities in Indian museums* (2004), edited by Edda Bresciani and Marilina Betrò. In addition, she authored the monograph *Racconti di viaggio e di avventura dell'antico Egitto* (1994), presenting a collection of ancient Egyptian tales about travels and adventures. Her interest in the forms of expression of ancient Egyptian thought and narrative led to her co-editing the volume *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1500 BC)* (2017), an exploration of ancient Egypt through its images.

The sixth and final volume of this series, *Ancient Egypt and the Surrounding World: Contact, Trade, and Influence*, focuses on the complex cultural interactions in the Eastern Mediterranean, Western Asia, and North-East Africa, spanning from the 3rd millennium BC to Roman and Medieval times, encompassing regions from Mesopotamia to the Levant, from Anatolia to the Aegean, and from the Roman Empire to Syria. This theme has been a constant throughout Professor Betrò's academic career. The early part of her career as an Egyptologist was marked by significant publications of demotic texts on ostraca and papyri, such as contracts, accounts, and memos, which have made a major contribution to our understanding of daily life in Ptolemaic Egypt, where the Greek and Egyptian elements coexisted within society, such as "Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco. Comunicazioni d'affari e conti vari", *EVO* 2 (1979); "Due tavolette demotiche e il p.gr. Amherst II 31", *EVO* 7 (1984); "Il p.dem. Lille 119: un'offerta d'affitto con relativo contratto", in *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani* (1985). She also organised a conference in Pisa called 'Egitto e Vicino Oriente Antichi: Tra passato e futuro' that brought together Italian scholars of ancient Oriental Studies, fostering dialogue between different fields and disciplines, and which has now become a tradition in Italian studies (EVOA meetings). The resulting publication of the conference was *Egitto e Vicino Oriente antichi: tra passato e futuro. Studi e ricerche sull'Egitto e il Vicino Oriente in Italia*, I Convegno Nazionale, Pisa, 5-6 giugno 2017 (2018) edited by Marilina Betrò, Stefano De Martino, Gianluca Miniaci, and Frances Pinnock. In addition, she has been member of the *Consiglio Direttivo della Consulta Universitaria per gli Studi sull'Asia e Africa* (CUSTAA), demonstrating her commitment to integrating and connecting Egyptology with other neighbouring disciplines.

INTRODUCTION



# JERICHO AND EGYPT DURING THE EARLY BRONZE AGE: SOME EVIDENCE OF TRADE AND CULTURAL INTERACTION

LORENZO NIGRO\*

## **Abstract**

*Italian-Palestinian excavations at Tell es-Sultan have illustrated the growth of Jericho as a city in the Bronze Age, defended by impressive fortifications and the seat of a palace controlling a wide verdant oasis and international trade routes. Since the Early Bronze Age, Jericho established good relationships with Egypt, exchanging goods and importing precious items, often used as status symbols, as the most recent finds at Tell es-Sultan help to illustrate. Its location at an important crossroads of southern Palestine, its resemblance to other Egyptian oases, and the availability of agricultural products and raw materials from the Dead Sea made it a suitable target for Egyptian expeditions. Was it mentioned in Egyptian sources? Where? The paper offers some suggestions.*

## **1. JERICHO AND EGYPT**

Western Asia and, more specifically, Syria-Palestine, represent for Egypt not only a natural outlet for cultural contacts and exchanges at least since the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC but a sort of periphery, especially if we consider, from an Egyptian perspective, the Sinai and Southern Palestine as one of the immediate neighbors of the Nile Valley and the Delta. This was much true in the case of the Jericho oasis, which strongly resembles the Nilotic environment, thus attracting Egyptian interest since the remote past. On the other hand, from a Levantine perspective, Egypt was a tremendously vast and rich neighbor, a major opportunity for exchanges, and a power to fear. However, the different dimensions of the two poles of this relationship, and consequently their proportional imbalance, must always be kept in mind.

Egypt and Palestine were connected by land and sea routes (Fig. 1), from the Delta through the desert via the coastal route (called '*the Way(s) of*

*Horus*')<sup>1</sup> or directly from the Nile Valley, across the Egyptian Eastern Desert, the Red Sea, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Arabah Valley.<sup>2</sup>

From Palestine and Sinai to Egypt came copper, bitumen, salt, sulfur and, starting from the Late Chalcolithic,<sup>3</sup> also olive oil, precious resins, and wine transported in jars of different shapes and productions.<sup>4</sup> From Egypt to Palestine, several valuable products were imported: gold, precious and semi-precious stones, marble, ivory, mother-of-pearl, with which different types of status symbols were made: mace-heads, slate palettes, and vases made of various qualities of stone, marble, and pottery; flint knives; beads; figurines and amulets; cosmetics holders.<sup>5</sup> Besides these archaeologically documented items, one may add other goods not preserved in the archaeological record, such as textiles (predominantly linen), treated animal leather, wooden furniture, dyes, and essences.<sup>6</sup>

The diffusion of imported goods in the Levant and Egypt became systematic starting from the

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\* Lorenzo Nigro – University of Rome 'La Sapienza' - lorenzo.nigro@uniroma1.it.

<sup>1</sup> BRAUN 2011, 110, fig. 12.2.

<sup>2</sup> BEITH-ARIEH 1974; 1983; 2003, 201-4; BEN-TOR 1981; 1986; ESSE 1991; KAFABI 2011, 14-9; NIGRO 2014a, 39-40; OREN 1973, 204-5; WARD 1991.

<sup>3</sup> BRAUN 2011, 105-8; LOVELL 2008; MACZYŃKA 2008.

<sup>4</sup> BEN-TOR 1981; 1986, 9-10; BRAUN 2011, 112-22; NIGRO 2007, 9; 2010b, 325; 2014b, 33; 2014c, 69; 2017, 41; 2019a, 82-3, 97-8; 2019b, 140-2; 2020b, 183-4.

<sup>5</sup> BEN-TOR 1981; 1986, 9-10; BRAUN, VAN DEN BRINK 2008, 644-50; KLEMM, KLEMM 2008; NIGRO 2017; NIGRO *et al.* 2018; SALA 2012, 277; SOWADA 2000; 2009, 237-8.

<sup>6</sup> BEN-TOR 1986, 9-10; NIGRO 2019a, 82-3.

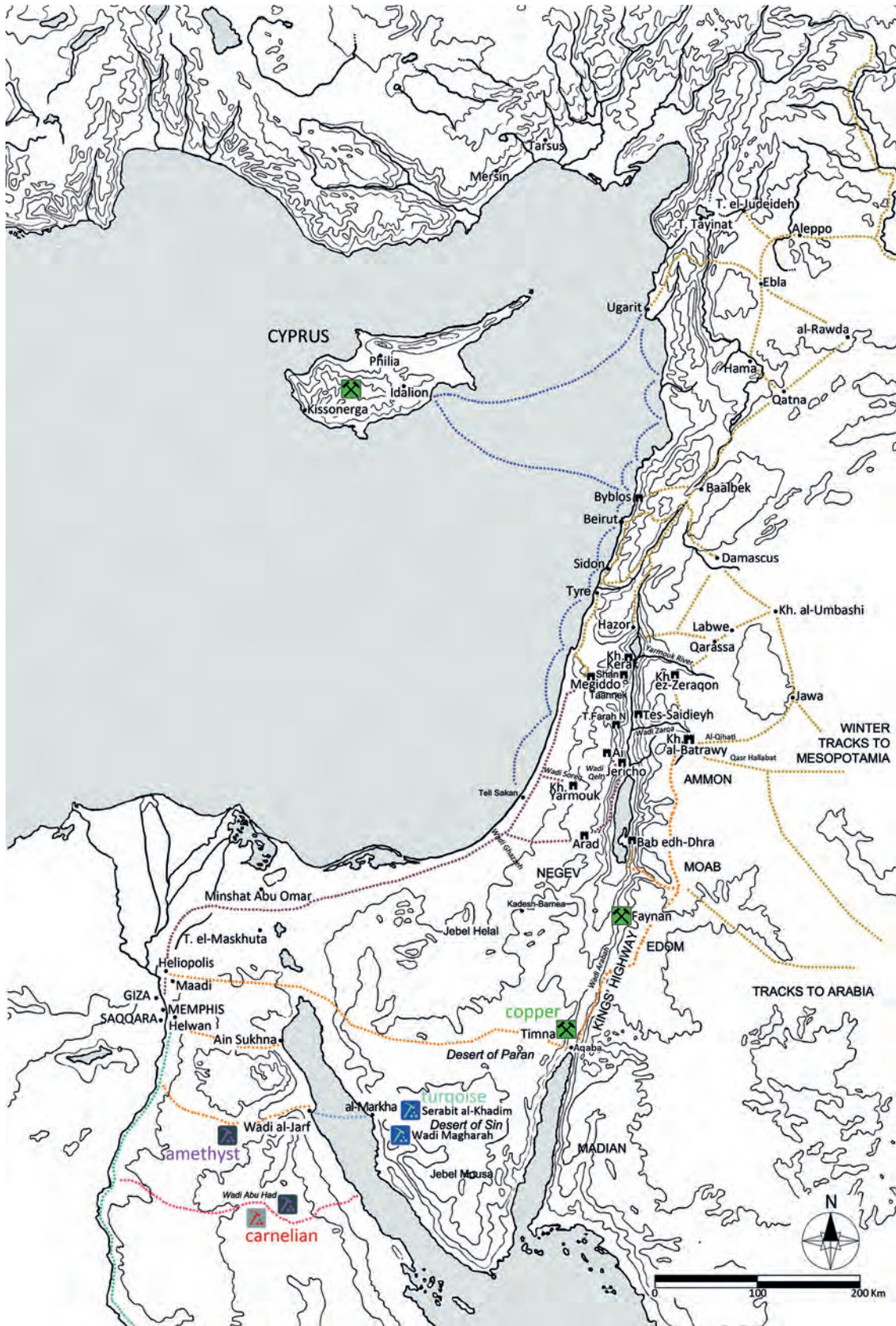


Fig. 1 - Trade routes and raw materials across Egypt and the Levant during the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC (after NIGRO 2014a, 57, fig. 1).

Early Bronze Age I (3500-3000 BC) and certainly had to do, from the Egyptian side, with the rise of the Pre and Protodynastic kingdoms and, from the Levantine one, with the progressive affirmation of the urban model, the accumulation of wealth, and the establishment of stable commercial relations thanks to the foundation of Egyptian outposts in the Levant (at 'En Besor, Tell es-Sakan, etc. in the south, and at Byblos in the north).<sup>7</sup> During this time span, Jericho witnessed the progressive transformation of a large village into a flourishing city-state ruling over the oasis and its surroundings up to the Dead Sea.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. EGYPTIAN FINDS IN JERICHO

Tell es-Sultan/ancient Jericho, excavated by four archaeological expeditions over more than a century,<sup>9</sup> has made it possible to study in depth the origins and characteristics of the urban model in the peculiar environment of the Jericho Oasis, an almost unique area extending from the western bank of the river Jordan to the slopes of the Jebel Quruntul (Mount of Temptations), and the northern shore of the Dead Sea. Jericho provides an example of a complex society, which, in all likelihood, owes much to cultural and commercial relations with Egypt, where, in the same centuries, a hierarchized state and a complex society had taken shape.<sup>10</sup> Due to its proximity to Egypt and the relationship with it, Jericho may illustrate how these developed over time and impacted the economy, political organization, ideology and society of one of the earliest cities of the Levant.

Egyptian and Egyptianizing items are a constant presence at Jericho in the different archaeological contexts (public buildings, houses,

workshops, walls, tombs) of the first city of the Early Bronze Age (Sultan IIIa-c, EB I-III, 3500-2300 BC), suggesting a durable interconnection exchanging products, ideas, and people from the Pre- and Early Dynastic Periods to the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.1. Early Bronze I

The earliest Egyptian finds come from the Sultan IIIa (Early Bronze I, 3500-3000 BC) strata and consist of four palettes,<sup>12</sup> and twelve mace-heads made of marble and calcite (Fig. 2),<sup>13</sup> and two locally made 'lotus vases' of ceramics.<sup>14</sup> Three palettes and six mace-heads were truly Egyptian; the fourth palette, the other six mace-heads and the two 'lotus vases' were locally manufactured, showing nonetheless the pervasiveness of Egyptian influence, especially during Sultan IIIa2 (EB IB, 3200-3000 BC).

The earliest Egyptian palette has an elongated shape, with signs of re-working and a hole for hanging (Fig. 3); the underlying incised lines may be those of a graffito or an inscription (a serekh?);<sup>15</sup> the two other Egyptian schist palettes belong to the finer type with double-grooved frames.

Mace-heads made of calcite or marble are deemed Egyptian and belong to the spherical and pear-shaped types.<sup>16</sup> They were found inside two tombs (Garstang's Tomb A, Kenyon's K2), where they accompanied burials as indicators of rank, like in the case of inhumation n. 24 in Garstang's Tomb A, who possibly was a leader or a priest.<sup>17</sup> On the site, two other possible Egyptian mace-heads were found near Shrine 420.<sup>18</sup>

These imported items were basically status indicators connected with the symbology of pow-

<sup>7</sup> BEN-TOR 1981, 450; BRAUN 2011, 108-10; BRAUN, VAN DER BRINK 2008, 651-9; DAVIES 1981; GOPHNA 1990; DE MIROSCHEDEJI 2002, 40-5; DE MIROSCHEDEJI *et al.* 2001; NIGRO 2007, 9-10, 32-3, 37-8; PRAG 1986; SALA 2012; SOWADA 2009.

<sup>8</sup> NIGRO 2005; 2006a; 2007, 18-20; 2008; 2009a; 2010b; 2014b, 31-6; 2014c; 2019b; 2020b, 183.

<sup>9</sup> For a comprehensive summary GALLO 2019; NIGRO 1999; 2005; 2006a; 2006b; 2008; 2009a; 2010a; 2010b; 2014b; 2014c; 2014d; 2016b; 2019a; 2019b; 2019d; 2020a; 2020b; 2023; NIGRO, MARCHETTI 1998, 2000; NIGRO, TAHA 2006; NIGRO *et al.* 2011; 2018.

<sup>10</sup> KÖHLER 2017, 343-4.

<sup>11</sup> NIGRO 2005; NIGRO 2008; SALA 2012.

<sup>12</sup> DORRELL 1983, 559, fig. 230:13, Reg. 1874; GARSTANG 1936, pl. XXXVI:26; HOLLAND 1982, 559, fig. 226:16, Reg. 1955; NIGRO 2005, 12, 34, figs 2.8, 3.28; SALA 2012, 281-2, figs 2-3; SELLIN, WATZINGER 1913, fig. 107.

<sup>13</sup> GARSTANG 1932, pl. VII:5; GARSTANG 1936, pl. XXXVI:24-5 (No. 3677, 4112); HOLLAND 1983, 804-6, figs 365:1-2, 6 (Reg. 684, 685, 1827, 1959.22, 1959.30, 3383); KENYON 1965, 8-27; NIGRO 2005, 16-8, 34, fig. 3.28, NIGRO 2008, 649-50; SALA 2012, 282; SELLIN, WATZINGER 1913, fig. 109.

<sup>14</sup> KENYON 1960, fig. 17:23; 1965, fig. 12:6; NIGRO 2009a, 177; SALA 2005a, 178; 2012, 283.

<sup>15</sup> The specimen was retrieved by SELLIN, WATZINGER 1913, fig. 107; NIGRO 2005, 12, fig. 2.8.

<sup>16</sup> SALA 2012, 282.

<sup>17</sup> NIGRO 2008, 652; POLCARO 2005, 59-64, fig. 3.50; 2007.

<sup>18</sup> GARSTANG 1936, pl. XXXVI:24-25 (Nos 3677, 4112); NIGRO 2005, 16-8, 34, fig. 3.28; 2008, 649-50; SALA 2005b.

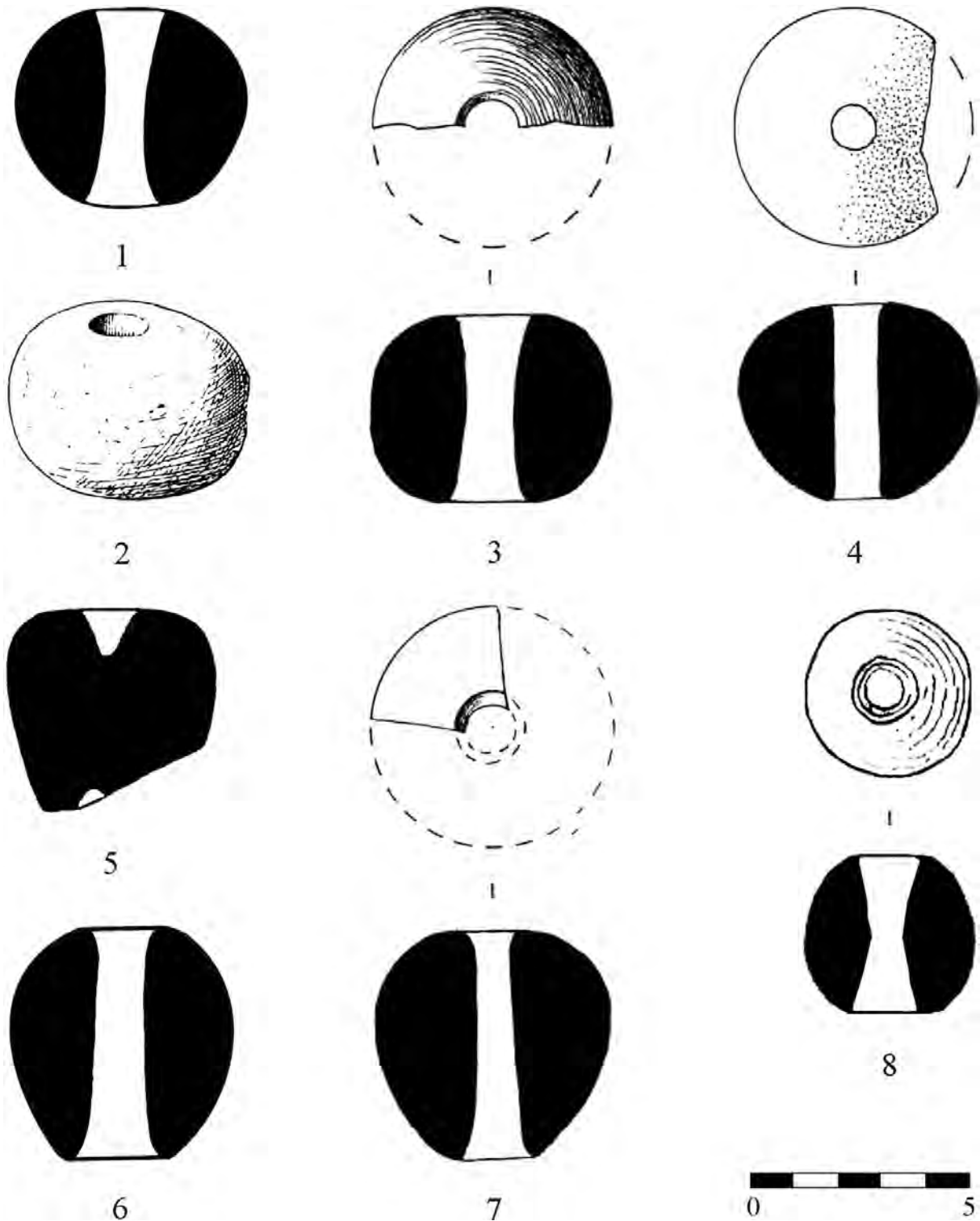


Fig. 2 - Mace-heads from EB I contexts at Tell es-Sultan (after SALA 2012, 299, fig. 4). 1. mace-head from Garstang's North-Eastern Trench (GARSTANG 1936, pl. XXXVI:25); 2. mace-head from Sellin and Watzinger's excavation (SELLIN, WATZINGER 1913, fig. 109); 3. mace-head from Kenyon's Square MI (HOLLAND 1983, 804, fig. 365:6); 4. mace-head from Kenyon's Trench III (HOLLAND 1983, 804, fig. 365:1); 5. mace-head from Garstang's North-Eastern Trench (GARSTANG 1936, pl. XXXVI:24); 6. mace-head from Garstang's Tomb A (GARSTANG 1932, pl. VII:5); 7. mace-head from Kenyon's Square MI (HOLLAND 1983, 804, fig. 365:2); 8. mace-head from Kenyon's Tomb K2 (after KENYON 1965, 19, fig. 5:8).





Fig. 3 - EB I Egyptian palette from Sellin and Watzinger's excavations (after SELLIN, WATZINGER 1913, fig. 107).

er (scepters, wands, containers for eye makeup), that originated in Egypt<sup>19</sup> but were also common in coeval Syro-Palestinian and Mesopotamian cultures. Their reception was, thus, quite natural, as they were useful to the self-representation of leaders and emerging ruling elites. In any case, they soundly testify to the establishment of an active trade route to and from Egypt from the Early Bronze I/Predynastic Period involving the emerging upper class of the Levantine society.<sup>20</sup>

The identification of other goods different from mace-heads, schist palettes, precious stone beads, and nacreous shells is difficult; in particular it should be taken into account the import of linen textiles and wooden furniture from Egypt to Palestine, while the exportation of wine, resins and olive oil from Jericho to Egypt in distinctive pottery vessels is suggested by ceramic finds like those of the Abydos necropolis.<sup>21</sup>

## 2.2. Early Bronze Age II

On the eve of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, Jericho became a city defended by an impressive city wall.<sup>22</sup> The main gate is at the south-east, leading to the spring area, which was included within the fortification line (Fig. 4).<sup>23</sup> Freshwater gushed out into a pool (5000 liters per minute), delimited by a dam with four main streams feeding the oasis.<sup>24</sup> This was the beating heart of the earliest city.

The inhabited area is terraced and divided into quarters by a main street crossing it north-south.<sup>25</sup> On the central hill overlooking the spring are a temple and a public building,<sup>26</sup> both carefully built with mud-bricks on robust stone foundations.

<sup>19</sup> O'CONNOR 2011, 150, with previous bibliography.

<sup>20</sup> SALA 2012, 286-7; SOWADA 2009.

<sup>21</sup> HARTUNG *et al.* 2015; MÜLLER 2014. Important evidence of perishable goods, difficult to find in the archaeological record, is provided by the Predynastic and Protodynastic necropolises of Egypt (BRUNTON 1927, 41, 62-3; PRAG 1986, 71-2).

<sup>22</sup> NIGRO 2006a, 4-7; 2006b, 355-61; 2010a, 461-3; 2010b, 11-38. The Austro-German Expedition first uncovered the EB II city wall in square D5, and the structure was labelled as 'Massiv' (SELLIN, WATZINGER 1913, 20-33, pl. 1). J. Garstang brought to light a stretch of the EB II city wall in trench 'k' (point 'k.e'), at the north-eastern corner of the site, underneath the EB IIIA Main Inner Wall, and attributed such structures to 'City A' (GARSTANG 1930, 130, pl. 1; 1931, 189, pl. 1; 1932, 8-9, fig. 3, pl. 9; GARSTANG, DROOP, CROWFOOT 1935, 151-2, pl. L:c). K.M. Kenyon clearly identified the EB II city wall along the western crest of the site in Trench I, distinguishing two juxtaposed structures ('Wall A'+'Wall B'), both part of the earliest (Sultan IIIb1/EB IIA) city wall, (KENYON 1981, 97, pls 79a-b, 80a, 229b), subsequently repaired ('Wall C') and thickened ('Wall D') in Sultan IIIb2/EB IIB (KENYON 1981, 97-8, pls 230, 236, 240d). The same stratigraphic sequence of the EB II city wall was recognized by K.M. Kenyon in Square M1 (KENYON 1981, 258-61, pls 289-90, 295-6, 298e, f), where the archaeologist distinguished the Sultan IIIb1 and IIIb2 fortification line (respectively 'Town Wall I' and 'Town Wall II').

<sup>23</sup> NIGRO 2010b, 57-61; 2014b, 33; 2016b, 8, fig. 6; 2019a, 82; 2020b, 186-7.

<sup>24</sup> NIGRO 2014b; 2020b, 184.

<sup>25</sup> A wide portion of the EB II dwelling quarters was excavated on the northern plateau (GALLO 2019), in Kenyon's Trench III, on the eastern flank and at the foot of the Spring Hill (NIGRO 2010a, 464-6; 2010b, 51-61, 75-109).

<sup>26</sup> Since the EB II, and for the whole urban period (see below), the top of the hill facing the Spring of 'Ain es-Sultan – the so-called Spring Hill – was chosen as the seat of a building hosting public functions, probably a palace (NIGRO 2010b, 51,

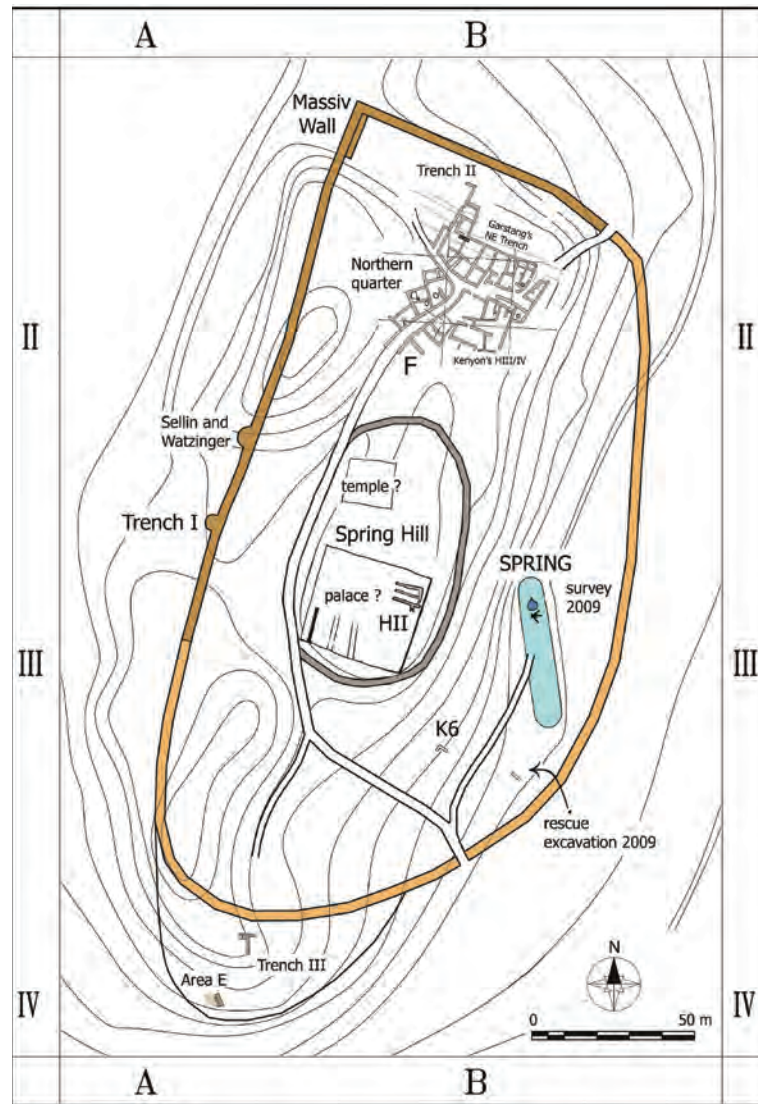


Fig. 4 - Reconstructive map of Sultan IIIb/EB II (3000-2700 BC) city of Jericho (after NIGRO 2016b, 8, fig. 6).

The earliest monumental architecture is, thus, characterized by the wide use of sun-dried dune-yellow mud-bricks held together by abundant layers of grayish mortar (which marks a difference from coeval Egypt).<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, such huge buildings made of mud-bricks – including the 650-meter-long city walls (Fig. 5), towers, and public buildings – presuppose geometric, static

and mathematical knowledge that the inhabitants of Jericho may have learned from the Egyptians (which used very similar mud-bricks in their mastabas).<sup>28</sup> Moreover, their construction implied previous planning, including drawing and writing, all fields mastered by contemporary Egyptians.<sup>29</sup>

The Sultan IIIb transformations were accompanied by substantial economic and demographic

54), while the western side of the mound perhaps hosted a sacred compound, identified in the area excavated by the Austro-German Expedition (SELLIN, WATZINGER 1913, figs 19-20; NIGRO 2010b, 51-2).

<sup>27</sup> NIGRO 2005, 201-2; 2006a, 4-7; 2009a, 180; 2019a, 80.

<sup>28</sup> This can be seen in the use of a system of measures of length based on a cubit similar to that of Egypt (DE MIROSCHEJ 2001, 470); NIGRO 2006a, 4-7; 2006b, 355-61; 2010a, 461-3; 2010b, 11-38; 2019a, 80; RIPEPI 2020, 221.

<sup>29</sup> The inspiration to Egyptian building techniques was recalled for later resurgence of palaces in the region based on Tel Yarmuth/Khirbet Yarmouk and Tell el-Mutesellim/Megiddo (DE MIROSCHEJ 2001; 2012, 279).

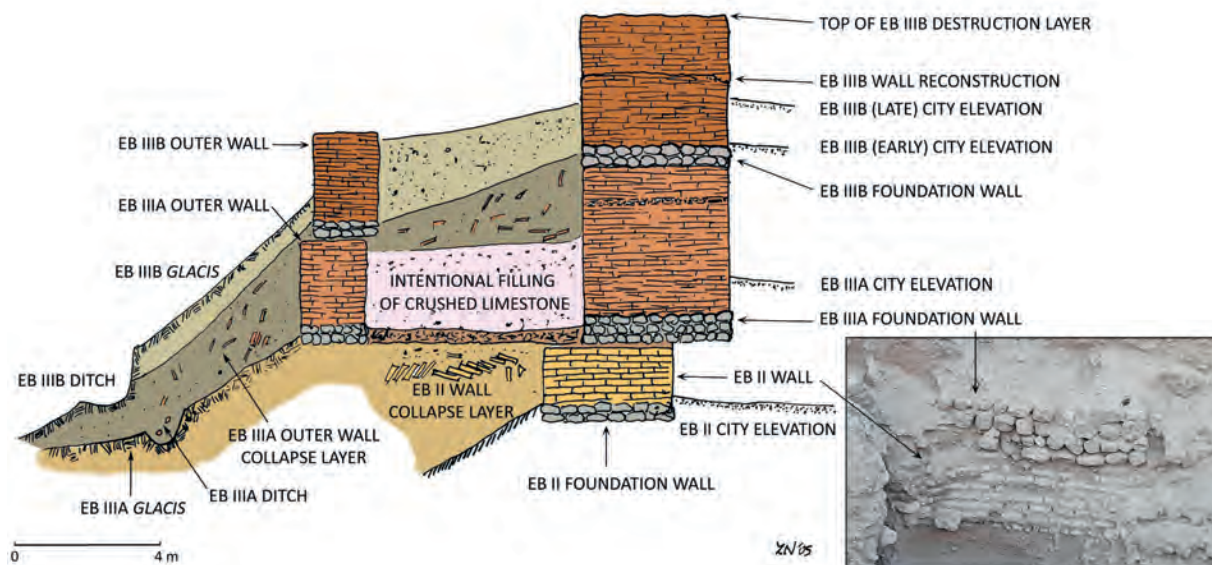


Fig. 5 - Reconstructive section of Sultan IIIb-c/EB II-III (3000-2300 BC) fortification system at Tell es-Sultan/Jericho, with a detail of the characteristic yellowish mud-bricks of the EB II city-wall still visible in the Western Section of Kenyon's Square M1 (in the inset) (after NIGRO 2019a, 80, fig. 2).

growth, with the accumulation of food surplus, and by a notable development of material culture, appreciable in pottery production, and the emergence of copper tools and weapons,<sup>30</sup> the diffusion of which again points to the activeness of the 'copper route' south of the Dead Sea and along the Wadi 'Arabah.<sup>31</sup>

The new-born city inaugurated a new economic model based upon intensive agricultural exploitation of the oasis (flax, barley, emmer, wheat, legumes, and especially fruits), cattle breeding used as workforce in agriculture, seasonal employment of large squads of workers, labor specialization that included potters, smiths, merchants, warriors, and city administrators forming what might be

called an urban elite.<sup>32</sup> The society, thus, became more complex and stratified, as well as the ideology supporting such an organizational model.<sup>33</sup>

This is also reflected in funerary customs attested in the necropolis. Tombs of EB II are characterized by the presence of several precious items associated with burials, such as personal ornaments, rank indicators (metal or Egyptianizing objects), power insignia (mace-heads) and ritual tools (bone flutes).<sup>34</sup> The symbolic role attributed to pottery in funerary equipment also seems to have increased, perhaps linked to the ideology of the funerary consumption as attested by burnished plates, red polished jugs with high stump bases, and metallic and painted jars.<sup>35</sup> During Sultan

<sup>30</sup> NIGRO 2014c, 71; 2019a, 82; 2020b, 184.

<sup>31</sup> Manganese dioxide is often found in association with copper and it is this metal that marks, together with the contact with the nascent Egyptian state, the progressive transformation of the society of the Southern Levant from the Chalcolithic to the Bronze Age up to the creation of an urban model. Extraction, processing, import and production of finished copper objects are all activities that engage the Levantine company on a commercial route, that of the Valley of 'Arabah, where both the Wadi Feinan and Timna mines are located. The Valley of 'Arabah, which connected the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Aqaba, *i.e.* Jericho and Egypt along the so-called 'Copper Route', at the time was a valid alternative to the road which, running along the shore of the Mediterranean, entered Palestine from Wadi el-Arish and Wadi Gazzah (KAUFMAN 2013; NIGRO 2014a, 41-2, fig. 1; 2020b, 184; NIGRO *et al.* 2018, 118-20).

<sup>32</sup> NIGRO 2010b, 325-6; 2019a, 82; NIGRO *et al.* 2018, 120, fig. 1; PHILIP 2003, 105-9.

<sup>33</sup> NIGRO 2019a, 82.

<sup>34</sup> Six tombs were excavated in the necropolis from this period. Two were excavated by J. Garstang (Tomb A and Tomb 24; GARSTANG 1932, 18-22, 41-3, 38-41) and four by M.K. Kenyon (Tombs A108, A127, A122, D12; KENYON 1960, 82-5, fig. 23, pls VB:2-VI; 85-93, figs 24-9, pl. VII:1; 93-4, figs 30-1; 94-126, figs 32-41) (NIGRO 2010a, 466, 469). See also POLCARO 2005; 2007, 101-3; NIGRO 2019a, 82.

<sup>35</sup> NIGRO 2010b, 209-28; 2019a, 82.

IIIb (EB II, 3000-2700 BC), items imported from Egypt primarily belong to two categories of status symbols: mace-heads and make-up palettes made of schist or siltstone (Fig. 6).<sup>36</sup> Both objects refer to the symbolism of power: the maces were depicted in numerous scenes in the hands of sovereigns during ritual actions, or held by triumphant kings to strike the enemies down,<sup>37</sup> while the palettes and cosmetic holders for makeup showed that they belonged to the elite that governed the city, the first ruling class in history.<sup>38</sup>

To the large repertoire of mace-heads and palettes, it was possible to add in 2017 a set of five Nilotic shells (*Chambardia rubens* = *Aspatharia Nilotica*; Fig. 7) found in a workshop dated approximately at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC (II Dynasty, c. 2950-2800 BC).<sup>39</sup> The nacreous shells of scalar dimensions were found stacked on top of each other and arranged in a cache. Two still contained remnants of manganese dioxide, a pulverized mineral used as the main component of kohl eye makeup.<sup>40</sup> These were, therefore, luxury cosmetic containers.<sup>41</sup> The makeup came from the Sinai, where the Egyptians had exploited manganese dioxide veins since the Thinite era.<sup>42</sup> Thus, these kinds of imports to Jericho reflect the interests of an urban elite that considered the privileged access to Egyptian luxury goods as an indicator of

a high rank and used eye makeup as a distinctive element.<sup>43</sup>

In the opposite direction, the numerous Palestinian jars found in the royal tombs of Abydos in the Thinite period clearly illustrate which goods were imported into Egypt: oils, resins and wine, which were traded in small to medium-sized pottery, transported by mule and in ships.<sup>44</sup> Jericho was one of the production centers of these commodities, including essential oils derived from the plants of the oasis, which were extremely expensive.<sup>45</sup>

### 2.3. Early Bronze III

Sultan IIIc is characterized by the appearance of the palace (Fig. 8), a major building erected on three terraces on the top of the eastern flank of the Spring Hill.<sup>46</sup> The palace was divided into three main wings: a central reception unit, a residential quarter, a workshop area, and several store-rooms.<sup>47</sup> Most Egyptian finds were retrieved there, consisting of marble, calcite or fine limestone mace-heads of various types, including the elongated pear-shaped ones.<sup>48</sup> A copper axe was also found in the palace, pointing to the connection between this institution and the procurement of copper and the development of metallurgy.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>36</sup> NIGRO 2008; 2010b; SALA 2012; SOWADA 2000; 2009.

<sup>37</sup> The motif of the 'smiting of the enemy' is well known to the art history of pharaonic culture as it is preserved in hundreds of examples and variations (HALL 1986; KÖHLER 2002, 501), such as the well-known case of the Narmer Palette (MILLET 1990; LEEMAN 2019, 9).

<sup>38</sup> KÖHLER 2002; LEEMAN 2019, 10; SOWADA 2000, 2009.

<sup>39</sup> NIGRO 2017; 2019a, 82; NIGRO *et al.* 2018, 119-20.

<sup>40</sup> NIGRO *et al.* 2018, 118, 120-1.

<sup>41</sup> BAR-YOSEF MAYER 2002, 129-31. An alternative view is that such caches of Nilotic shells were considered hoards of accumulated wealth (MILEVSKI 2011).

<sup>42</sup> BEYTH, SEGEV, GINAT 2013; HAUPTMANN 2007, 62; NIGRO *et al.* 2018, 120; SEGEV, BEYTH, BAR-MATTHEWS 1992. The mines in Sinai are Umm Bogma and Serabit el-Khadim (EL SHARKAWI, AL AREF, ABDEL MOTELIB 1990).

<sup>43</sup> GREENBERG, WENGROW, PAZ 2010; NIGRO *et al.* 2018, 120.

<sup>44</sup> HARTUNG *et al.* 2015. Generally associated with the wine trade (JOFFE 1998, 301; GENZ 2003, 67) and indicators of economic relations with Egypt (BEN-TOR 1981; 1986, 16; HELCK 1979, 28-42; HENNESSY 1967, 49; MÜLLER 2014).

<sup>45</sup> NIGRO 2023.

<sup>46</sup> Palace G was excavated by all four expeditions working on the Spring Hill (SELLIN, WATZINGER 1913, 39-42, figs 18-20; GARSTANG 1932, 17-8; KENYON 1981, 344-6; MARCHETTI 2003, 300-2). This public building was last investigated by the Italian-Palestinian Expedition, which finally clarified its stratigraphy and reconstructed its plan, taking into account the information provided by all the previous expeditions (NIGRO 2016a, 159-62; 2016b, 10, figs 1, 9; 2019a, 91; 2020a, 203-4; NIGRO *et al.* 2011, 586-92, figs 16, 10).

<sup>47</sup> NIGRO 2020a, 204.

<sup>48</sup> SALA 2012, 285-6. Ten mace-heads come from the tell (Reg. 311, 444, 611, 710, 1048, 1116, 1593, 1781, 2922, 3194; WHEELER 1982, 630, fig. 256:1; HOLLAND 1983, 804-6, figs 365:3-5, 7, 10-1, 13) and one from the necropolis (Reg. 151, KENYON 1960, 171, fig. 66:4); all were retrieved during Kenyon's excavations, while one pear-shaped mace-head comes from the Austro-German excavations (SELLIN, WATZINGER 1913, fig. 110).

<sup>49</sup> The copper axe was found by K.M. Kenyon (KENYON 1981, fig. 15:4), while the Italian mission discovered a copper dagger with part of the wooden and leather handle still preserved (TS.11.G.63; NIGRO 2016b, 13, figs 8.12, 11; NIGRO *et al.* 2011, 592). Copper weapons were also found in the necropolis: a magnificent crescent axe with two knobs from Tomb A114 (KEN-

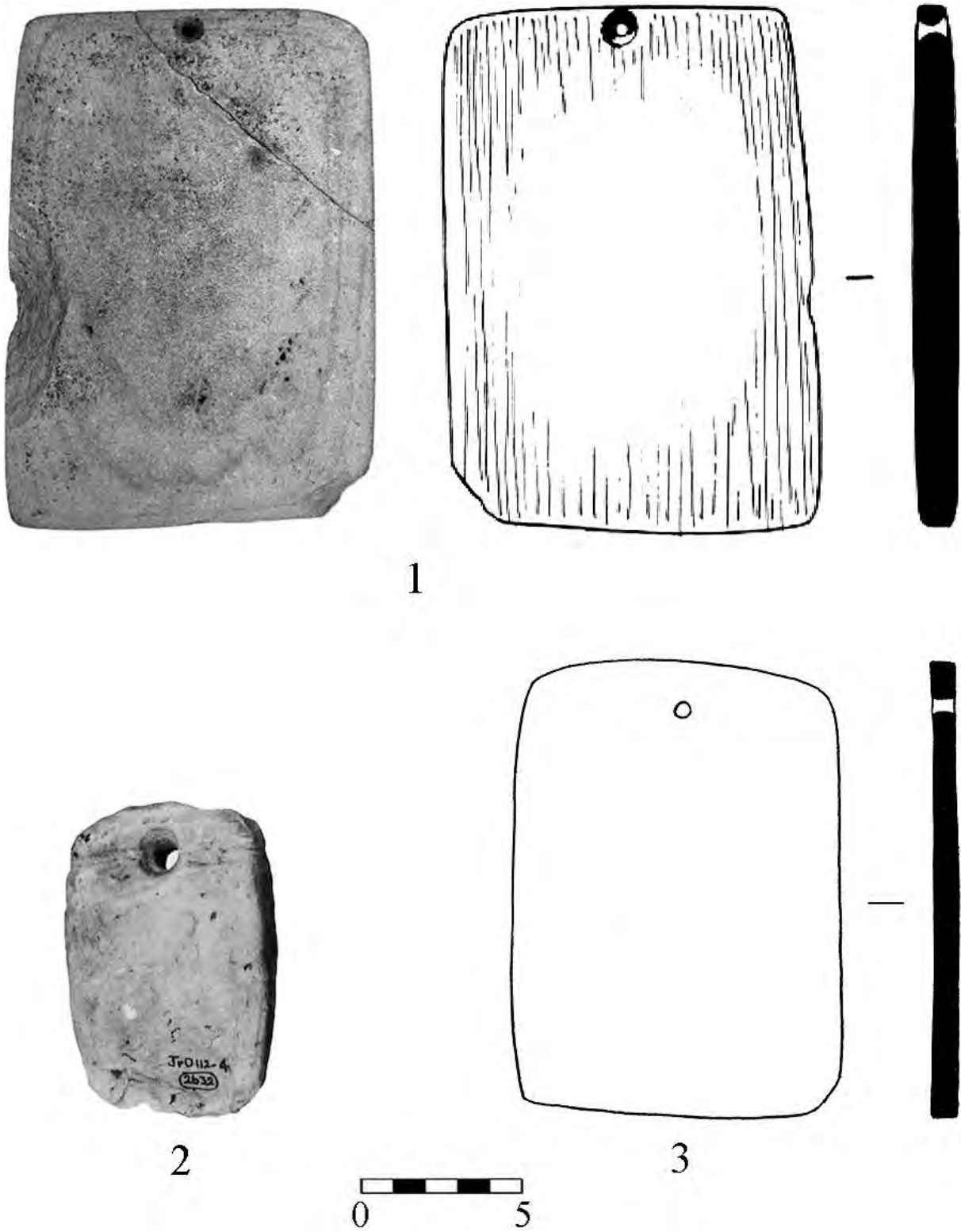


Fig. 6 - EB II Egyptianizing palettes (after SALA 2012, 300, fig. 6). 1. palette from Kenyon's Squares EIII-IV (DORRELL 1983, 555, fig. 230:12); 2. palette from Kenyon's Trench II (DORRELL 1983, 559, pl. 21:c); 3. palette from Kenyon's Tomb D12 (KENYON 1960, 124, fig. 40:3).



Fig. 7 - The restored five 'Chambardia rubens' shells discovered at Tell es-Sultan during the 2017 season of excavations by the Italian-Palestinian Expedition (after NIGRO *et al.* 2018, 112, fig. 2).

Twelve stone mace-heads (Figs 9-10) and one slate palette were found in Sultan IIIc (EB III) contexts,<sup>50</sup> while numerous beads made of precious stones from Egypt (amethyst, carnelian) were found in tombs of this phase.<sup>51</sup> However, these findings cannot paint a picture of the relations with Egypt established by the city of Jericho during its 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC apogee.<sup>52</sup>

Jericho, at that time controlled the raw materials from the Dead Sea (salt, sulfur and bitumen),<sup>53</sup> imported copper from the Wadi Feinan,<sup>54</sup> and traded spices and valuable resins from Arabia,<sup>55</sup> while

wine, figs, honey and wax, barley, wheat, legumes – lentils and chickpeas – fruits, vegetables, and flax were abundantly produced in the oasis with wool from the semi-nomadic pastoralists living in the surrounding steppe and desert.<sup>56</sup> Hence, Jericho was a manufacturing center for food supplies, textiles, copper weapons and tools, baskets, mats and carpets, and produced fine pottery (Line Painted, Red Polished, Metallic Ware, Pattern Combed, local Khirbet Kerak Ware),<sup>57</sup> all goods exported along the trade routes which crossed the Jordan Valley.

During this flourishing period, the most visible Egyptian finds are still luxury items and symbols of power, which had become standard indicators of the upper class in the Jerichoan society.<sup>58</sup> Investigating other kinds of goods imported from the land of the pharaohs is instead difficult. The traditional historical reconstruction sees Egypt progressively abandoning the overland route to the Southern Levant during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties when the pharaonic kingdom's commercial activities would have been concentrated towards the Northern Levant, pivoting on the port city of Byblos for the procurement of cedar timber<sup>59</sup> and as a point of contact and exchange also with Syria and Mesopotamia.<sup>60</sup> However, studies in recent decades have shown that the overland route into Southern Palestine and through Sinai and Wadi 'Arabah remained active.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, Jericho also shows during Sultan IIIc (EB III) a northern cultural influx, which is a general phenomenon affecting Palestine possibly connected to the affirmation of the palatial society (as well exemplified by the appearance of cylinder

YON 1955; 1960, 179, fig. 66:1; MONTANARI 2015, 68; NIGRO 2016a, fig. 15) and a dagger from Tomb F5 (KENYON 1960, 174, fig. 66:3; NIGRO 2020a, 203).

<sup>50</sup> This item was found in an EB III context in Site H (Reg. 3267; DORRELL 1983, 559).

<sup>51</sup> KENYON 1960, 155-6, fig. 55, 172-3, fig. 65.

<sup>52</sup> This is because it is difficult to ascertain if mace-heads were either Egyptian imports or Egyptianizing, since material is often unrecorded; it is also possible that raw materials were imported from Egypt and locally processed (SALA 2012, 286).

<sup>53</sup> NIGRO 2005, 4; 2007, 9; 2010b, 4, 325; 2014c, 69; 2017, 41; 2019b, 140-2; 2020b, 184.

<sup>54</sup> HAUPTMANN *et al.* 1992; LEVY *et al.* 2002; NIGRO 2014a.

<sup>55</sup> SOWADA 2009, 199-200.

<sup>56</sup> NIGRO 2009a, 184; 2014c, fig. 1; 2019a, 97; 2023.

<sup>57</sup> The local manufacture is suggested by the firing using a slightly lower temperature, which results in a dark grey or orange surface colour, instead of black and red, and by a prevalence of small open shapes such as slightly carinated bowls (SALA 2008; NIGRO 2009b, 70-5; 2019a, 98).

<sup>58</sup> SALA 2012.

<sup>59</sup> HEPPER 2001; LIPSHITZ, BIGER 1991; REICH 1992, 8; SOWADA 2009, 249; ZOHARY 1982, 104, 107. The importation of this wood species is also testified in the Bible (I Book of Kings, 5:10-11; II Book of Chronicles 2:3, 8) where Hiram, King of Tyre, sends cedar, cypress and juniper wood to Solomon for the construction of the Temple.

<sup>60</sup> SOWADA 2009, 250-1.

<sup>61</sup> NIGRO 2014a, 41; SOWADA 2009, 249-51; TALLET, MAURAD 2012.

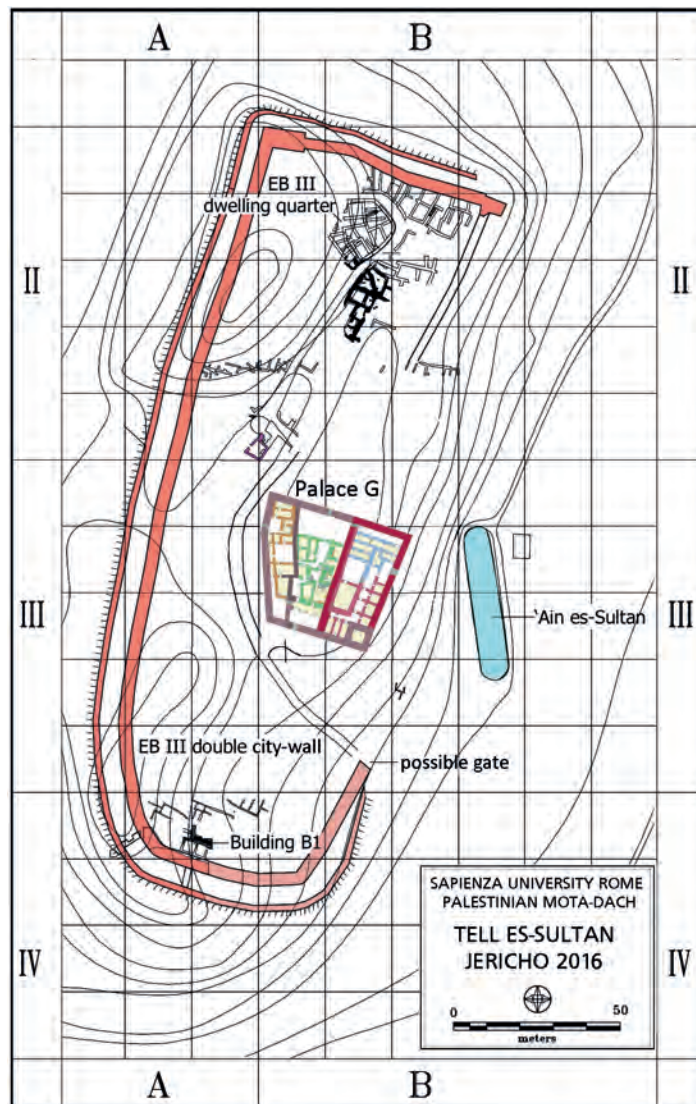


Fig. 8 - Reconstructive map of Sultan IIIc/EB III (2700-2300 BC) city of Jericho (after NIGRO 2016b, 10, fig. 8).

seals and other computing systems connected to the administrative practices),<sup>62</sup> which nonetheless testifies to the role of this center as a hub between north and south.

Indeed, relations and trade with Egypt continued to flourish during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, a period for which Egyptian sources provide two extraordinary documents, the autobiographies of Uni and Iny, two high Egyptian officials who

led campaigns to the Levant.<sup>63</sup> These documents show that the dimension of war was another central component of the international relationships at the time.

<sup>62</sup> These connections with the north are highlighted by the jar sealings found in the palace, three by the Austro-German Expedition (SELLIN, WATZINGER 1913, 97-8, fig. 66; NIGRO 2016b, fig. 13) and one by the Italian-Palestinian Expedition, and the diffusion of imported and locally manufactured Khirbet Kerak Ware (NIGRO 2009b, 70; SALA 2008, 119). The recurrent subject of the lion catching a gazelle on the jar sealing from Jericho is inserted in a glyptic tradition affirmed in the Northern Levantine coastal cities of Byblos, Sidon, Tell Fadous and Tell Arqa (NIGRO 2019a, 97; DOUMET-SERHAL 2006, 259-60; THALMANN 2013).

<sup>63</sup> SOWADA 2009, 251-5.

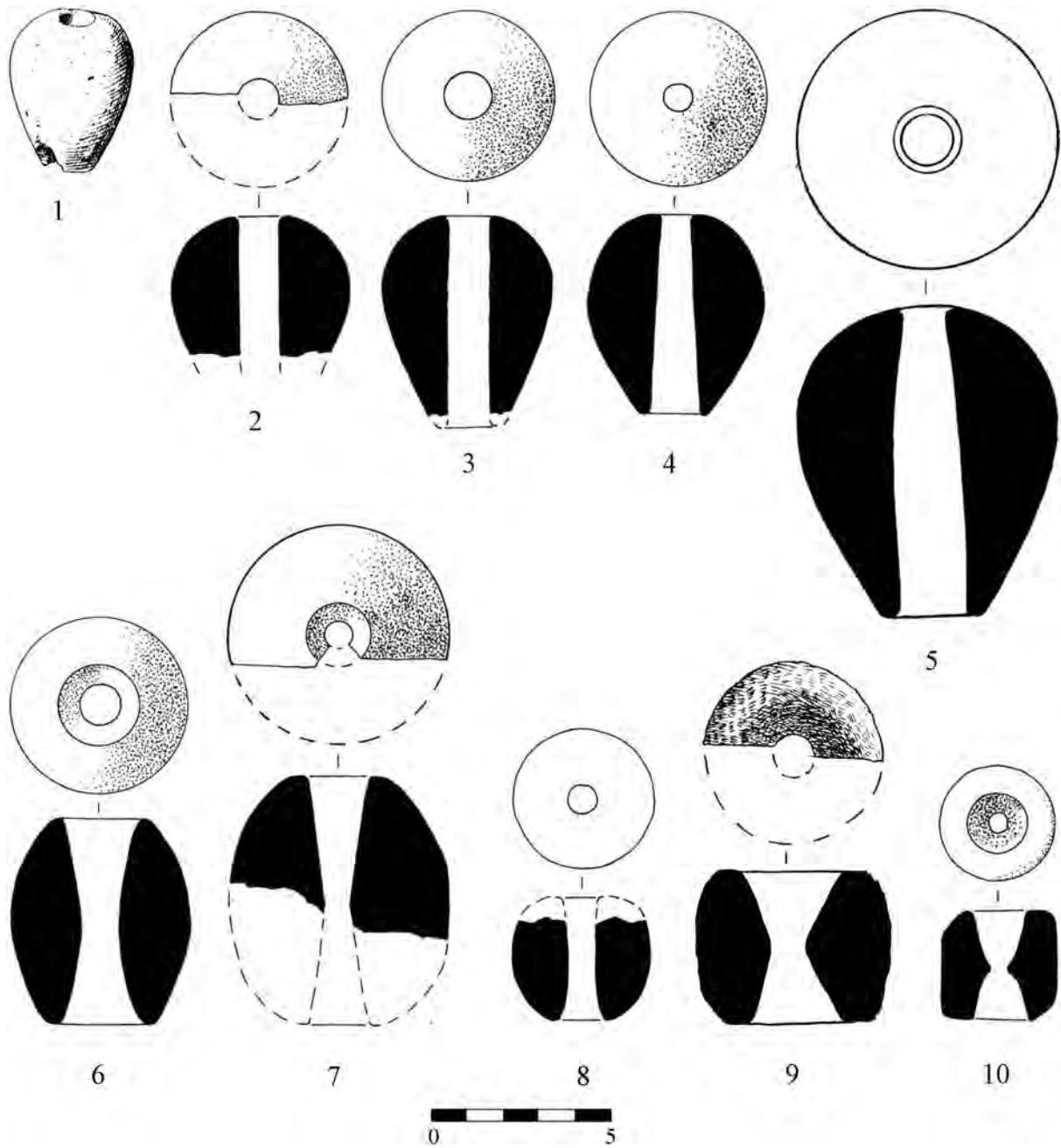


Fig. 9 - Mace-heads from EB III contexts (after SALA 2012, 301, fig. 9). 1. mace-head from Sellin and Watzinger's excavation (SELLIN, WATZINGER 1913, fig. 110); 2. mace-head from Kenyon's Trench II (HOLLAND 1983, 805, fig. 365:3); 3. mace-head from Kenyon's Trench I (HOLLAND 1983, 805, fig. 365:4); 4. mace-head from Kenyon's Site H (HOLLAND 1983, 805, fig. 365:5); 5. mace-head from Kenyon's Tomb F2 (KENYON 1960, 171, fig. 66:4); 6. mace-head from Kenyon's Squares EIII-IV (HOLLAND 1983, 805, fig. 365:10); 7. mace-head from Kenyon's Squares EIII-IV (HOLLAND 1983, 805, fig. 365:11); 8. mace-head from Kenyon's Trench I (HOLLAND 1983, 805, fig. 365:7); 9. mace-head from Kenyon's Trench I (WHEELER 1982, fig. 256:1); 10. mace-head from Kenyon's Trench I (HOLLAND 1983, 805, fig. 365:13).



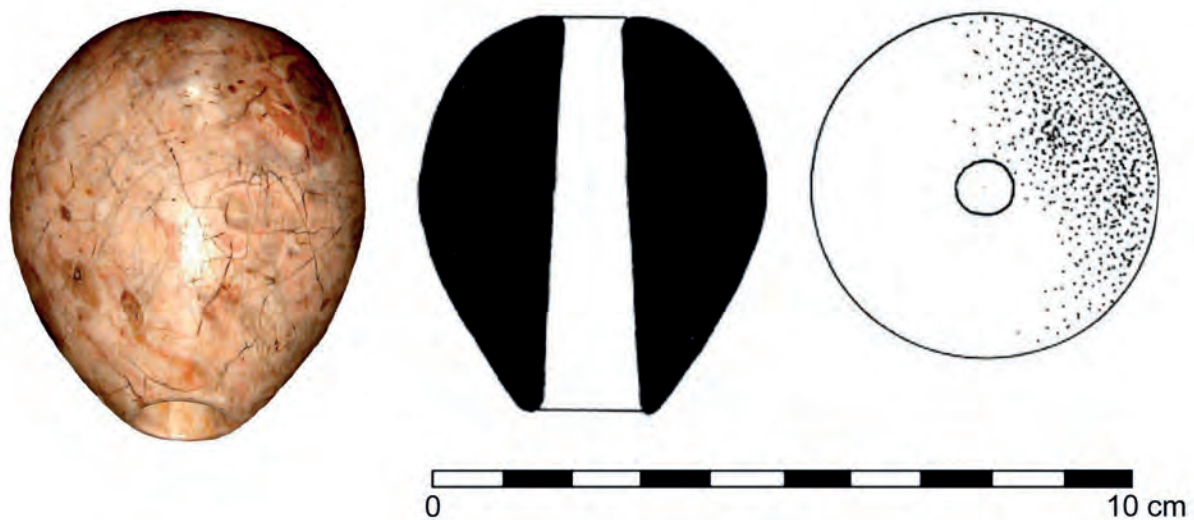


Fig. 10 - Pink marble mace-head 2922 from Kenyon's Site H (HOLLAND 1983, 805, fig. 365:5).

### 3. JERICHO AND THE AUTOBIOGRAPHERS OF UNI AND INY

The two renowned inscriptions of Uni and Iny have been used to reconstruct the historical picture of Syria-Palestine during the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. They summarize the enterprises of two officials: Uni, who was a governor of Upper Egypt during the reigns of Teti (2345-2333 BC), Userkare (2333-2333 BC), Pepi I (2332-2283 BC) and Merenre (2283-2278 BC) and Iny, who served under Pepi I, Merenre and Pepi II (2278-2183 BC).<sup>64</sup> Uni conducted six campaigns in Asia, leading pharaonic troops against the *Amu Heryu-sha*, 'the Asiatics, those who are upon the sand',<sup>65</sup> an allusion that refers, according to most scholars, to the inhabitants of Southern Palestine: from

Sinai to the Desert of Judah, from the coast of the Gaza region to the Dead Sea,<sup>66</sup> or, more generally, to the recalcitrant (*bt*) inhabitants of Palestine.<sup>67</sup>

The *Heryu-sha* actually lived in fortified settlements (*wenet*),<sup>68</sup> which were those targeted by Egyptian military campaigns, as illustrated, for instance, by Inti's tomb reliefs at Deshasheh, dating from the early Sixth Dynasty (Pepi I).<sup>69</sup> According to Uni's inscription, the Asiatics cultivated vines and figs in the *Heryu-sha* land settlements.<sup>70</sup> This well depicts many sites in the Southern Levant, like Jericho, which may be considered the earliest cities in the region. As noticed by several scholars, the representation of such enclosures, with protruding towers or crenellations, fits very well with the typical fortifications of Southern Palestinian

<sup>64</sup> These dates follow the consensus chronology of Shaw (2000, 482-3). For a slightly higher chronology based on radiocarbon dating, see RAMSEY *et al.* 2010 (DE MIROSCHEJJI 2012, 266).

<sup>65</sup> Another suggestion is that the name *Heryu-sha* originally referred to nomads from the Sinai, but that from the Sixth Dynasty onwards, the Egyptians "called all the inhabitants of Syria-Canaan 'sand dwellers' as a sign of disdain" and that "sand dwellers" became "a purely pejorative term in these contexts" (RAINEY 2006, 278; see also RAINEY, NOTLEY 2006, 46b; WILSON 1969, 227, no. 3). Similarly, Helck (1971, 18) thought that these 'Bedouins' had become sedentary from the Sixth Dynasty onwards.

<sup>66</sup> According to de Miroschedji (2012, 270), the term refers to the Asian population that lived along the southernmost coast of Southern Palestine, characterized by large sand dunes, in opposition with the Shasu, the inhabitants of the Sinai and by extension of inland Palestine, see also HELCK 1971, 21 and GIVEON 1971.

<sup>67</sup> "Rebels" (PIACENTINI 1990, 18; WRIGHT 1988, 154b) or "marauders" (LICHTHEIM 1973, 20) according to the Egypto-centric perspective (DE MIROSCHEJJI 2012, 272).

<sup>68</sup> This word is written with the determinative for foreign lands and a hieroglyph representing a fortification wall with protruding towers. Hence, in Uni's inscription, *wenet* designates fortified settlements situated in a foreign land (DE MIROSCHEJJI 2012, 271).

<sup>69</sup> PETRIE 1898, pl. 4; PIACENTINI 1987, 10-1; SOWADA 2009, 11, no. 8; WRIGHT 1988, 155.

<sup>70</sup> DE MIROSCHEJJI 2012, 270.

sites during the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, such as Arad, Jericho, Bab edh-Dhra', etc.<sup>71</sup>

In the second half of the 24<sup>th</sup> century BC, Jericho was abruptly set on fire and destroyed by an unknown enemy. The destruction was so systematic that the city did not recover. The palace was sacked, dismantled, and burnt, as well as the double city walls with their inner blind rooms, which were dramatically burnt.<sup>72</sup> The conflagration must have reached very high temperatures, as the calcined bricks and plasters of the structures testify to.

The extent and violence of the destruction suggest that it was brought about by a well-organized army, and the ascription to the Egyptians is more than a possibility.<sup>73</sup> A broken copper dagger found in the destruction layer is compatible with Egyptian types.<sup>74</sup> Radiocarbon dating points to 2350 BC,<sup>75</sup> which would fit well with a scenario similar to that described in the autobiography of Uni.

A further, perhaps closer insight into the Sixth Dynasty activities in Southern Palestine concerning Jericho has been more recently offered by the inscriptions from the funerary monument of Iny at Abydos (unfortunately plundered and appeared on the antique market, Fig. 11), an official serving the first three pharaohs of the dynasty. Here, the as-yet-unidentified city of *Ruhat* is the departure point and return base for the expedition to Byblos.<sup>76</sup> Marcolin (2010, 65) has convincingly proposed to locate it in the eastern Nile Delta, on the eastern branch of the river, near its mouth (also based upon a possible etymology of the toponym), a location authoritatively confirmed by Roccati.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, one cannot fail to note that the to-

ponym strongly resembles that proposed for the Middle Kingdom Egyptian/Canaanite name of Jericho (*Ruha*), as known from a hieroglyphic inscription on a scarab found in a princely tomb at Tell es-Sultan dating to the Middle Bronze IB / Amenemhat III (c. 1800 BC).<sup>78</sup> Moreover, the Egyptian etymology of the name *Ruhat*, 'beginning' or 'mouth of the river'<sup>79</sup>, would also be consistent with the spring of 'Ain es-Sultan, which, with its 5000 liters per minute, is the heart of the city of Jericho.<sup>80</sup> It may thus be the Egyptian name for the city. In addition, it may be recalled that one of the materials imported by Iny during his expedition was bitumen, that was traded from Jericho, which controlled the spontaneous sources of this hydrocarbon on the shores of the Dead Sea.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, Early Bronze II and III seal impressions from Jericho find their most direct comparisons in Byblos, thus testifying to the strict relationships between the two cities.<sup>82</sup>

Whatever the case, Jericho and its oasis, so resembling of the Nilotic environment, certainly attracted Egyptian trading expeditions and remained an irreplaceable central stop on the overland route across the Levant along its internal axis, which connected some of the major early Palestinian and Transjordanian urban centers from the Dead Sea and the Ghôr (Arad, Bab edh-Dhra', Tell Hammam) up to Lake Tiberias and beyond (Tell Waqqas/Hazor), reaching Khirbet Kerak (where a very important Egyptian testimony was also found, perhaps witnessing the presence of a real Egyptian commercial outpost)<sup>83</sup> to Megiddo, from Tabahat el-Fahl (Pella), Khirbet al-Batrawy and

<sup>71</sup> SOWADA 2009, 11-3. For Arad see AMIRAN 1978, pls 173-4; AMIRAN, ILAN 1996, 19-23; for Jericho see the towers found by E. Sellin and C. Watzinger (SELLIN, WATZINGER 1913, 30, pl. 19), J. Garstang (GARSTANG 1930, 129-30, pl. 1; 1931, pl. 1) and K.M. Kenyon (KENYON 1981, 97, pls 236, 295-6b, 229b) and see also NIGRO 2010a, 462. For Bab edh-Dhra' see: LAPP 1966, 1968; RAST, SCHAUB 2003, 6, 166-71, 253-321.

<sup>72</sup> GALLO 2014, 158-60; NIGRO 2009a, 187-8, figs 13-4; 2014b, 36; 2014c, 77-80, figs 20-2; 2016a, 164-5; NIGRO *et al.* 2011, 201-6.

<sup>73</sup> This possibility was also suggested by CALLAWAY (1993, 44) and CALLAWAY, ELLINGER (1972, 306-7), who support the theory of a series of military expeditions conducted by the Fifth or Sixth Dynasty of Egypt.

<sup>74</sup> TS.11.G.63 (NIGRO 2016b, 13, figs 8.12, 11; NIGRO *et al.* 2011, 592).

<sup>75</sup> NIGRO 2019c, 2019d, 25.

<sup>76</sup> ROCCATI (2015, 157-9) equates it to *Dugurasu* of the Ebla texts (BIGA 2014, 2016, 707-11, 2017, 55; BIGA, ROCCATI 2012, 24-6).

<sup>77</sup> ROCCATI 2011; 2015.

<sup>78</sup> TS.99.G.500; NIGRO 2009c, 371-3; 2020b, 199-200.

<sup>79</sup> MARCOLIN 2006; 2022; MARCOLIN, DIEGO ESPINEL 2011, 602; ROCCATI 2015, 157-9.

<sup>80</sup> NIGRO 2014b; 2020b, 184.

<sup>81</sup> NIGRO 2005, 4; 2007, 9; 2010b, 4, 325; 2014b, 33; 2014c, 69; 2019b, 140-2; 2020b, 184.

<sup>82</sup> NIGRO 2020a, 203-4, fig. 10.12.

<sup>83</sup> GEENBERG, ISERLIS 2012; 2020; GREENBERG, WENGROW, PAZ 2010.

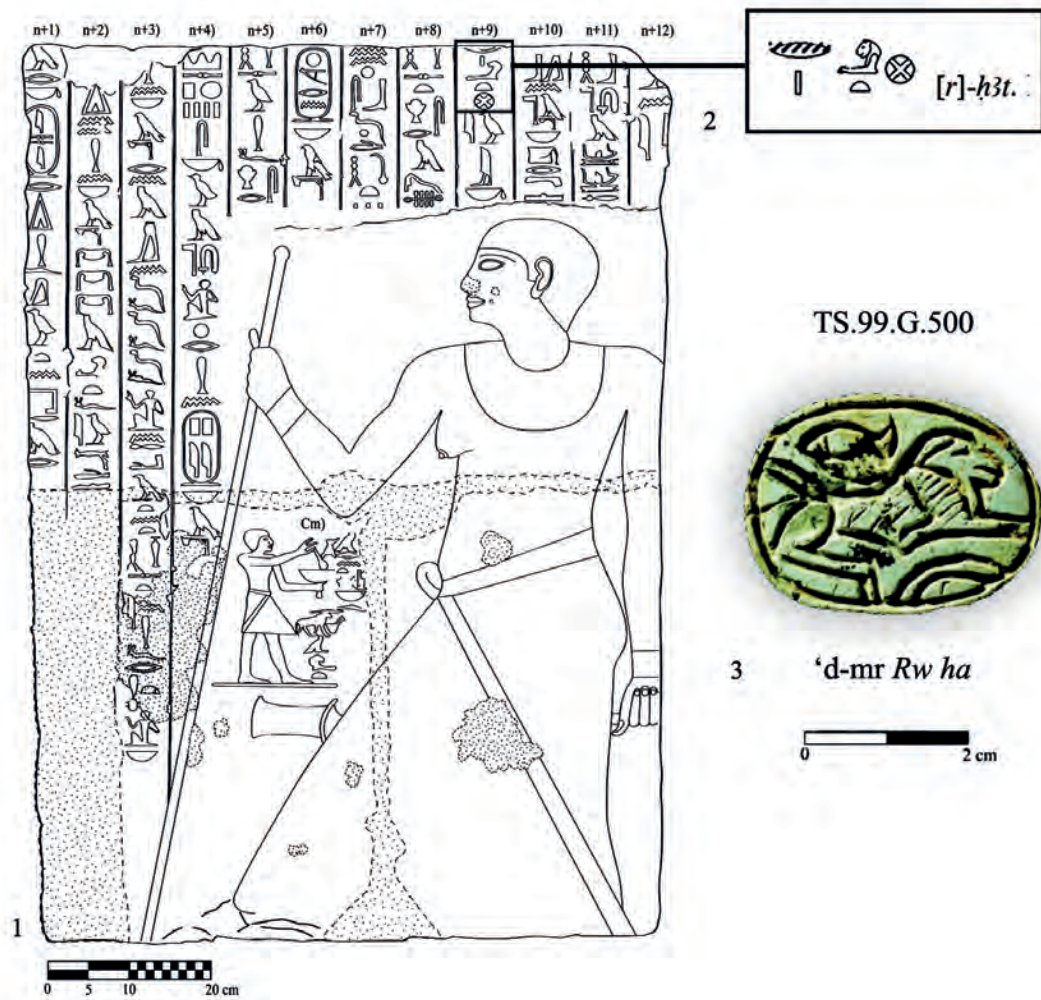


Fig. 11 - Hieroglyphic inscription of toponym *Ruhat* in Iny's biographic inscription, compared with the inscription on the Jericho signet-scarab. 1. The 'large' bibliographic fragment preserved at Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, Tokyo, with the biographic inscription of Iny (MARCOLIN 2006, 289-90, fig. 3); 2. Detail of the hieroglyphic inscription and its transliterated toponym "*Ruhat*" (MARCOLIN 2006, 298:h); 3. Scarab found in a Middle Bronze IB (c. 1800 BC) princely tomb at Jericho with an inscription proposed to be the Middle Kingdom Egyptian/Canaanite name of Jericho *Ruha* (after NIGRO 2020b, 199-200, fig. 23).

Khirbet Zeraqon in Transjordan up to Labwe in the Syrian Julian.<sup>84</sup> Jericho and the Ghôr, the last wide and green stretch of the Jordan Valley before it flows into the Dead Sea, are located precisely in the center of this ancient caravan route.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS: JERICHO AND EGYPT IN A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Archaeology and historical sources show that during the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, ancient Jericho grew and developed into an urban form while it

had trade and perhaps also political relations with the rising Egyptian kingdom. It is, therefore, legitimate to try to answer the question we posed at the beginning of this study: what was the impact of trade and cultural relations with Egypt on the development of Jericho's urban model? Were the management of the oasis and irrigation, the socio-political organization, the management of raw materials, the education and transmission of knowledge, and the religious and funerary ideology of the inhabitants of Jericho influenced by the flourishing and articulate Egyptian culture of the

<sup>84</sup> See n. 1.

Old Kingdom? Furthermore, did the commercial contact with a literate and artistic culture, widely adopting hieroglyphic writing, influence the cultural growth and political self-awareness of Jericho society?

In the beginning, during the Early Bronze I, the diffusion of Egyptian items and status symbols reflected the extraordinary emergence of the Egyptian state in its propulsive momentum.<sup>85</sup> This, unavoidably prompted the trans-egalitarian society of the Early Bronze IA to differentiate, creating a hierarchy of roles and economic capacities during the ‘incipient urban phase’ (Kenyon’s ‘Proto-Urban’) of Early Bronze IB (3200-3000 BC). This process is visible – at a basic level – in pottery production with the differentiation of production and styles of decoration, and with the introduction of primary burials of distinguished individuals in the necropolis.<sup>86</sup>

Trade with Egypt, initially with the supply of products such as wine, oil and resins, and later of spices and raw materials from the Dead Sea, certainly pushed the local elite to extend control over these goods and to regulate them, while the ideological scaffolding that necessarily accompanied official Egyptian trade stimulated the hierarchical organization of the Jericho society, with a leader, a council of elders (landowners, shepherds, merchants, artisans, warriors), a religious system autonomous from the Egyptian one, but equally linked to the figures who held control over goods and means of production (land, water, salt, sulfur, bitumen and copper) and – as already established from the Neolithic – over nature and its divine manifestations and hypostases.<sup>87</sup>

These movements ended with the erection at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC of massive and imposing city walls, which for their building technique and dimensions were surely made under the influence of the coeval Egyptian architectural knowledge.<sup>88</sup> With the establishment of the city, also the spring and the canals feeding the oasis were regularized, another initiative which might have benefited from Egyptian advice.<sup>89</sup>

The activeness of trade with Egypt during this initial urban stage, Sultan IIIb, Early Bronze II, corresponding to the First and Second Dynasties, is illustrated by the retrieval of the makeup containers set consisting of five nacreous Nile shells found in a workshop in Area F.<sup>90</sup> It also shows how the local elite had adopted the Egyptian custom to distinguish their status.

In the following Sultan IIIc stage (Early Bronze III, 2700-2300 BC), Jericho reaches its apogee and extends its commercial activities to the north (Syria), the coast (Byblos), and across the desert to southern Mesopotamia<sup>91</sup> and the Arabian Peninsula.<sup>92</sup> It consolidates its territorial organization and is part of a system of fortified centers which, with a very imprecise definition,<sup>93</sup> might be called ‘city-states’, which represent the southern Levantine outcome of the early urban phenomenon to which Egypt contributed to the rise. As a corollary of the birth of the city and of contrasting interest in land and natural resources exploitation, war became a structural phenomenon in the Early Bronze Age society of the Levant, with specialized warriors recruited from nomads and established in the city for the protection of its wealth.<sup>94</sup> Weapons production and city defense, also by means of building activities, became central polit-

<sup>85</sup> NIGRO 2005; 2008, 649-50; 2020b, 183; SALA 2012.

<sup>86</sup> NIGRO 2008, 652-3; POLCARO 2005; 2007; SALA 2005a, 177-8.

<sup>87</sup> ESSE 1991; HARTUNG 1998; DE MIROSCHEJJI 2002; NIGRO 2005, 199-200; 2006a, 13-7; 2010a, 464, 468; 2010b, 325-6; 2014a; 2014c, 76; 2019a, 82; 2020b, 184; NIGRO *et al.* 2018, 120; PHILIP 2003; SALA 2012.

<sup>88</sup> DE MIROSCHEJJI 2001, 2012; NIGRO 2006b, 355-61; 2010b, 11-36; 2014c, 70; 2020b, 187. This is evident not only for the use of the sun-dried mud-bricks, but in the manner with which they were put in place, in the dimensional scale of the structures and in the acquired ability to produce millions of bricks, made possible in Jericho by the presence of an inexhaustible source of water similar to a river.

<sup>89</sup> NIGRO 2006a, 4-7; 2006b, 355-61; 2010a, 461-2; 2014b, 33.

<sup>90</sup> NIGRO 2017; 2019a; NIGRO *et al.* 2018.

<sup>91</sup> Garstang rightly pointed out that the only artistic examples available from this stage, the carved and inlaid bull heads made of limestone, ivory, or terracotta, recall a typical Mesopotamian Early Dynastic iconography (GARSTANG 1932, 17-9, pl. XX:a; GARSTANG, GARSTANG 1948, 77-8, pl. XIV:b; DE MIROSCHEJJI 1993, 34, fig. 4, 2009; SALA 2010). The Syro-Mesopotamian origin is also stressed by Ben-Tor (1972, 27-9) and Rast, Schaub (1989, 458), through comparison with Mari/Tell Hariri (PARROT 1967, 192, 194, figs 239-40, pl. 74) and Ebla/Tell Mardikh (MATTHIAE, PINNOCK, SCANDONE-MATTHIAE 1995, 318, no. 96).

<sup>92</sup> A rare dwarf palm from Arabia was cultivated in the palace: MORICCA *et al.* 2020.

<sup>93</sup> NIGRO 2024.

<sup>94</sup> NIGRO 2009a, 188; 2014a, 42.

ical and social issues, with the final outcome being the confrontation with neighbors and, eventually, with the expanding Egyptian power. It is clear that this resumption of military activities and the associated necessary armament had to give further impetus to the mining and procuring of copper (and tin), which pushed the Egyptians not only into the Sinai and the Arabah Valley, but as far as Anatolia and perhaps beyond.<sup>95</sup> The annihilation of Jericho towards the end of the 24<sup>th</sup> century BC, if it was not the outcome of a clash with neighboring cities (e.g. et-Tell [‘Ai], Tell el-Far’ah North), might have been due to the expansionistic policy towards Asia of the pharaohs of the Sixth Dynasty. Jericho did not recover, but also Old Kingdom Egypt, had commenced its decline.

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The stark contrast of the desert, mountains, seas, and cataracts surrounding the fertile river valley creates a dramatic separation between Egypt and the rest of the world. Despite this physical – often pretended – barrier, Egypt has historically been deeply connected to the cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean, Western Asia, and Northeast Africa. These interactions have led to a complex intermingling of culture, materials, religions, ideas, and iconography, resulting in the emergence of new forms of cultural identity. The papers of this volume, presented to prof. Marilina Betrò, aim to explore various aspects of these interactions, spanning from the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC to Roman and Medieval times, encompassing regions from Mesopotamia to the Levant, from Anatolia to the Aegean, and from the Roman Empire to Syria.

**Gianluca Miniaci** is Associate Professor in Egyptology at the University of Pisa. He is currently co-director of the archaeological mission at Zawyet Sultan (Minya, Egypt), director of the Queen Ahhotep and Clay Figurines projects, and editor-in-chief for several international journals and series. He is the author of 6 monographs, more than 100 scientific papers, and editor of 15 research volumes.

**Christian Greco** has been the director of the Museo Egizio since 2014. He curated many exhibitions in several countries. He is also teaching courses of Material Culture of Ancient Egypt and Museology at many national universities and at the New York University in Abu Dhabi. He has been co-director of the Italian-Dutch archaeological mission at Saqqara since 2011.

**Paolo Del Vesco** is a curator and archaeologist at the Museo Egizio, with excavation experience in Italy, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the Sudan. Since 2015, he has been involved in the museum's archaeological missions in Saqqara and Deir el-Medina, in addition to contributing to the design of gallery displays and the development of temporary exhibitions.

**Mattia Mancini** is currently a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Pisa dealing with archival research, the history of Egyptology and the formation of Egyptian collections. He is a member of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Dra Abu el-Naga and the Ahhotep Project. He is also managing editor of the journal *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*.

**Cristina Alù** has obtained her joint PhD degree with the University of Pisa-Universität zu Köln and is currently a post-doctoral fellow at the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale and the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo, focusing on mining sites in the Egyptian Eastern Desert. She is also a member of the Wadi el-Hudi Expedition.



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