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THE PLANTS OF JERICHO. THE EARLIEST CULTIVARS BETWEEN SYMBIOSIS AND DOMESTICATION

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ABSTRACT – Pre-Pottery Neolithic Jericho is the archaeological site in Palestine which provided the earliest archaeobotanical evidence of plant domestication. Together with an overview of finds and their historical-archaeological significance, this paper suggests considering the relationship between humans and plants at its earliest stage as a biunivocal one, as plants became an irreplaceable source of food for humans and domesticated plants could not have existed without humans.

Keywords: tell es-sultan; pre-pottery neolithic; archaeology; archaeobotany; domestication; food crops; fruit trees.

INTRODUCTION

The central core of this article is to testify through the exemplary case study, for antiquity and complexity, of Tell es-Sultan/ ancient Jericho in Palestine, how archaeology and archaeobotany can help us to understand the peculiar relationship developed between a human community and specific plants, the cultivation of which blossomed over the centuries. If we put emphasis on human initiative we talk about domestication, however if we want to have a look from the perspective of reciprocal adaptability of plants and humans we could perhaps speak of symbiosis. The excavations conducted for more than a century at Tell es-Sultan by four archaeological expeditions¹ have returned a large collection of archaeobotanical finds (Hopf, 1969; 1983; 2008; Moricca et al., 2021), that have been retrieved thanks to the abilities of the archaeologists, but above all thanks to the extraordinary climatic conditions of the site, that allowed to preserve them for millennia. This is due to the geological characteristics of the Jericho soil, to the morphology of the archaeological site, and to its paleoclimatic conditions (Mimi & Jamous, 2010; Ighbareyeh, 2019). However, this significant amount of botanical data has been only partially studied, focusing on specific periods of the ancient settlement. In the present contribution, I intend to offer a sketch summary of some salient historical-archaeological themes, with respect to which the archaeobotanical data known so far either provides curious and stimulating indications or suggests the need to further deepen the research. In this preliminary work, I focus on Pre-Pottery Neolithic, the period of the first great cultural flourish of Jericho, roughly between 11,000 and 6,000 BC, hoping that the readers of this journal will be inspired to study more in depth and extensively what the excavations of Jericho have made available, contributing to the knowledge of the site.

The first domesticated plants

That hunters and gatherers collected edible plants is quite evident although relatively difficult to prove archaeologically.



That some of these plants are the ones that would be cultivated first is instead certain, and the excavations at Jericho, although still far from having systematically collected and simultaneously studied the paleoenvironmental and archaeobotanical data, have well demonstrated it (Hopf, 1969; 1983; 2008; Moricca et al., 2021).

At the end of the Mesolithic in the Levant, during the Natufian, when the first sedentary hunters settle on the limestone spur overlooking the spring of 'Ain es-Sultan (Kenvon, 1981, 268, 271-274, pls. 144b-145, 299a; Nigro, 2014a, 57), several plant species are brought with them to sow. Eight of these are the first domesticated founder crops (Weiss & Zohari, 2011, 237; Zohary et al., 2012, 1-2). Three cereals: barley and two types of wheat, Triticum monococcum L.² and Triticum turgidum subsp. dicoccum (Schrank ex Schübl.) Thell. (einkorn and emmer); four pulses: lentil, chickpea, pea, bitter vetch, and flax. Although they belong to different species, are annuals, and are similarly harvested, dried and processed, - cleaning, milling, possible grinding, etc.-, (Weiss & Zohari, 2011, 237). These plants were selected throughout the foothills of Western Asia in what we call the Fertile Crescent by different human communities (Zohary & Hopf, 2000; Zohary et al., 2012), among which that of Jericho appears to be one of the most precocious in the domestication of the greatest number of different species (Zohary et al., 2012, Map 1). Nevertheless, the domestication process was polyphyletic with each community or regional area specializing on specific crops.

Following the findings of the layers between Natufian/ Proto-Neolithic and Pre-Pottery Neolithic A, the first cultivated plants appear to be wild emmer (Triticum turgidum subsp. dicoccoides (Asch. & Graebn.) Thell.), wild einkorn (T. boeoticum Boiss.), and the small lentil (Vicia orientalis Beg. & Diratz.) (Hopf, 1983). Followed shortly afterwards by flax (Linum bienne Mill.) (Hopf, 1983 sub L. usitatissimum L. subsp. angustifolium (Huds.) Thell.) and barley (Hordeum spontaneum K.Koch) (Badr et al., 2000). They are crops that are practiced in relative extension, which therefore mark the definitive transition to agriculture. Within a millennium these species will be domesticated³ and will become T.monococcum (Hopf, 1983, 580) and T. turgidum subsp. dicoccum (Hopf, 1983, 582; Weide, 2015, 381-424), Hordeum vulgare L., V. lens Coss. & Germ. (Hopf, 1983, 584), and L. usitatissimum L. var. usitatissimum (Helbæk, 1959; Hopf 1983, 586) recognizable by more regular shapes and slightly larger sizes (Weiss & Zohari, 2011, 238).

Triticum monococcum and *T. turgidum* subsp. *dicoccum*, in addition to being resilient during cultivation, once harvested, and after the necessary dehusking to eliminate the glumes, could be stored for several seasons, before being consumed. These characteristics made them the main grains used to produce flour. Even though according to Maria Hopf (1983,

582), barley and wheat were brought to Jericho from Syria and Anatolia where domestication had already begun, the complete sequence of occupation in Jericho and the presence in the Natufian strata of the wild ancestor of emmer, *T. turgidum* subsp. *dicoccoides* seem to suggest that it was precisely the community settled in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A at Tell es-Sultan that carried out this domestication. It was a centuries-long process that took place during the eleventh millennium BC and involved barley and wheats (emmer and einkorn, the latter more widespread in Jericho).

Other than cereals, an essential role in increasing the variety of the diet of Jerichiotes with proteins is played by legumes. Next to the lentil (*Vicia lens*), progressively appears the chick-pea (*Cicer arietinum* L.), the field pea (*Lathyrus oleraceus* Lam.) and the bitter vetch (*Ervilia sativa* Link.) (Hopf, 1983); the latter probably introduced in connection with the beginning of breeding of goats as fodder.

Among the cultivated plants of the first Neolithic community of Jericho, one can hardly overlook the importance of flax (Linum usitatissimum), whose seeds were used to obtain the precious oil used for handicrafts and constructions, for the preparation of body ointments, perfumes and foods (Pengilly, 2003) and from whose stems a resistant and malleable fiber was produced for the making of ropes, mats, bags and wicks covered in wax, useful for lighting a fire, and, only later, fabrics and textiles (Allaby et al., 2005, 63; Geyer, 2012,1). The cultivation of flax plants, that can reach the height of 1.2 m (Orendi, 2020, 63), and the processing of their products (seeds and stems) required a lot of water and a considerable workforce (not particularly specialized), from the preparation of the fields for sowing and harvesting, to the maceration, extraction and straightening of the fibers of their woody stems for textile production (Karg, 2011, 507; Shamir, 2020). Therefore, to cultivate flax, fertile arable land and water for irrigation are needed, while the subsequent processing, demands more water and wellplastered tanks for soaking the fibers, and mastabas and platforms for hammering, drying and extract them (Karg, 2011, 507). In her recent study on cultivations, by examining Egyptian papyri of the mid-sixth century of our era, Isabelle Marthot-Santaniello (2020, 113-114) points out that given these conditions, the cultivation of flax could be favorably alternated with that of wheat. In Jericho, since the Pre-Pottery Neolithic, when the waters of the spring of 'Ain es-Sultan were regularized (Nigro, 2014b, 28), the most favorable environmental conditions for the cultivation of flax arose, and at the same time the exponential growth of the population provided the necessary workforce for agriculture (Nigro, 2020, 180). The production of fibers is not yet fully demonstrated by the archaeological record until the Bronze Age. As far as archaeological finds are concerned, the carefully plastered silos brought to light in the layers of the

Pre-Pottery Neolithic were indeed used to store the precious seeds of barley, wheats and flax, the first real wealth of the Neolithic community (Nigro, 2016, 6). Some of such silos, due to the hydro-repellent quality of their plaster may have been used to soak the flax stems.

Nonetheless, in the Neolithic society of Jericho, flax has a central position, equivalent to that of barley and wheat. From the interaction of the cultivation of cereals, legumes, and flax, the first agricultural society was born. The question is: is production carried out at a family, clan, or community level?

Fruit trees

In Neolithic Jericho, fruit trees represent a very important source of sustenance since the time of hunters and gatherers, as the intake of sugars was essential for the intense physical activity of humans at the time.

Some wild fruits were fundamental for the subsistence of the first inhabitants of Tell es-Sultan. The most widespread was probably the carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua* L.), whose bacilliform fruits, the carob pods, also called bread of St. John⁴, are edible and sweet (Zohary, 2002). The dried carob seeds (*qarat* in Arabic, the 'carats'), are so light that they were later used as a unit of measurement for precious powders (spices and colors), gold and precious stones. Carob fruits are rich in sugar and give a lot of energy but are overly sweet; they are also good for animals and are easily preserved when dried.

Very similar to the carob tree is the jujube (*Ziziphus spina-christi* (L.) Willd.) (Zohary, 1973, 380-383), a shrub that to defend itself from goats has developed thorns 6-8 cm long and whose fruits, the jujube dates, were one of the favorite sweets of the first inhabitants of Jericho⁵.

Other edible fruit plants available in the Jericho area are the wild pumpkin (*Citrullus colocynthis* (L.) Schrad.), the Egyptian caper (*Capparis spinosa* L. var. *aegyptia* (Lam.) Boiss.), and, while it is very common and known, the "Sodom apple" (*Calotropis procera* (Aiton.) W.T. Aiton), however, it has got lethal properties and it is not edible (but provides a fiber possibly used to make containers or fabrics) (Zohary, 1962).

Different is the case of the pistachio (*Pistacia vera* L.), a plant that was selected and grafted to eat the tasty dried fruits, and also the terebinth (*P. terebinthus* L. subsp. *palaestina* (Boiss.) Engl.) (Liphschitz & Bigger, 1990; Zohary, 1973, 135), the lentisk (*P. lentiscus* L.) and the mastic tree (*P. atlantica* Desf.) (Hopf, 1983, 588), which were exploited for the fruits, the wood and the fragrant resin (Golan-Goldhirsh, 2009, 69-70). In the steppe and around the spring, it is also widespread the *Tamarix nilotica* (Ehrenb.) Bunge., a bushy plant with disinfectant and anti-inflammatory properties (Hopf, 1983, 577).

Much more significant is the contribution provided by fruit trees that are cultivated for the first time to ensure their productivity and quality of their fruits, and where human intervention is necessary (Zohary & Spiegel-Roy, 1975; Weiss, 2015).

The first one, the fig (*Ficus carica* L.) (Goor, 1965; Hopf, 1983, 587; Lev-Yadun, 2022), is of the utmost importance, and in order to increase its productivity the inhabitants of Jericho practiced pollination and learnt the gender of individual plants. Archaeobotanical remains show that its domestication has produced local varieties since Pre-Pottery Neolithic A. The fig was a source of sugar and a reserve of yeast, essential to trigger the fermentation of fruit juices and thus enabling their preservation (Nigro & Rinaldi, 2020, 186).

The second fruit plant attested in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A is the pomegranate (*Punica granatum* L.) (Hopf, 1983, 587; Spagnoli, 2019). The wild species, the *P. protopunica* Balf. f., characterized by marked vertical ridges and overall small dimensions, in Jericho was transformed into the 'apple of paradise'⁶. A golden red apple, with 613 seeds, a symbolic prime number for the Bible; a fruit with healing, antiseptic, anti-inflammatory and aphrodisiac properties, whose astringent juice could be used in the precipitation of milk rennet and in the fermentation of fruit as well as to produce wine, symbolic of life and fertility⁷. The pomegranate (*P. granatum*) – perhaps as early as the Pre-Pottery Neolithic – is in fact a symbol of fertility and beauty (Abram, 2009).

The third fruit tree cultivated in Jericho since the Neolithic is the date palm (Phoenix dactylifera L.) (Goor, 1967; Hopf, 1983, 589), which represented another significant source of extremely precious energy for all those who ventured in the desert, where dried dates, that could be kept for a long time (Chao & Krueger, 2007, 1080), could support travelers and be planted in oases, - the actual palm needs water (Longo, 2001, 617). But the secret was to have understood the mechanism of pollination and to have the flowers available, which in the climate of Jericho was more than easy. The date palm with its very long leaves (up to 5 m) with their long stems with sharp, hard and pointed ends and its fibrous but resistant wood also offered a useful building material, suitable to cover the first huts of the Neolithic village and to innervate the adobe walls. It is curious that this palm, P. dactylifera, was given the name of those who marketed it in the first millennium BC, the Phoenicians, just like the other great tree-symbol domesticated in Jericho in the Neolithic, the pomegranate (Punica granatum) (Nigro & Spagnoli, 2018, 59).

Last of the series of fruit trees is the almond tree (*Prunus dulcis* (Mill.) D.A. Webb) (Zohary & Hopf, 1993) which also appears among the most common and essential plants for the diet of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic. Domestication, in this case, counteracted the presence of hydrogen cyanide in

the seed. The drupes are not edible, but the seed is, although in some cases it can develop amygdalin, which is toxic. Almonds could provide an important protein intake, but to consume them without harm, they needed to be roasted first. Since the plant is not self-fertilizing, domestication indicates the acquisition of practical knowledge that was certainly sophisticated for the Neolithic. The retrieval of 1 mm thick shells may not be sufficient to tell whether these were already domesticated specimens, but the presence of almonds in the archaeological record of Neolithic Jericho is nonetheless significant.

Finally, the vine (Goor, 1966a; Zohary, 1995) and the olive tree (Goor, 1966b; Eitam & Heltzer, 1996; Barazani et al., 2023), whose cultivation must take place on a large scale to produce a significant economic effect, were instead the result of the first urban society of the Bronze Age and, therefore go beyond the scope of the present study, and require a dedicated one. Nevertheless, grapes and olives have been found in the archaeological contexts of Neolithic Jericho.

AROMATIC AND MEDICINAL PLANTS

A separate chapter is that of aromatic and medicinal plants very common and already known from the Paleolithic and that grew abundantly in the region of Jericho: mallow (*Malva sylvestris* L.), marjoram (*Origanum majorana* L.), oregano (*Origanum vulgare* L.), sage (*Salvia* L.), rosemary (*S. rosmarinus* Spenn.) and finally the so-called "rose of Jericho" (*Anastatica hierochuntica* L.). Other useful herbs, such as calendula (*Calendula officinalis* L.), oat (*Avena sativa* L.), borage (*Borago officinalis* L.), poppy (*Papaver somniferum* L.) and rose, special for pollinating insects, are witnessed in pollen residues (Hopf, 1983, 591).

Another plant certainly exploited at least since the Neolithic that grows abundantly in the Jericho area is henna (*Lawsonia inermis* L.) and a purple flower (*Crocus sativus* L.) with whose dried stigmas a spice is produced, the first that men have cultivated, as well as harvested and imported: saffron. The coloring property of this plant added a symbolic component (Martinez, 2022, 19).

TUBERS

Tubers and roots, which were the result of the experience of the Natufian gatherers, are equally present as the carrot (*Daucus carota* L.) and the beetroot (*Beta vulgaris* L.) (Zohary, 1962), while the onion will be selected in Egypt later. This kind of plant remains are very rare to be found and the possibility of properly defining their contribution to the Neolithic diet of the Jericho inhabitants is scarce.

TIMBER TREES

Firewood or construction timber is a very rare material in the Jericho region. Several shrubs that grow in the steppe surrounding the oasis (that during the Neolithic it's irrigated only minimally), can take on an arboreal appearance (Fahn et al., 1986). In addition to the different species of *Pistacia* that are endemic and the other fruit trees already mentioned, the wood available to the inhabitants of Jericho came exclusively from the poplars (*Populus* L.) that grew along the Jordan River (Zohary, 1962, 165), from tamarisks (*Tamarix tetragyna* Ehrenb.) (Hopf, 1983, 577; Western, 1971), and from acacias (Red Acacia, *Vachellia seyal* (Delile) P.J.H.Hurter)⁸ that could reach a maximum height of 10 m, with beams no longer than 4-5 m.

It is evident that these plants were exploited, but they were also fully integrated into the daily life of the inhabitants of Jericho.

Conclusions

The results of the excavations at Tell es-Sultan/ancient Jericho show how the first definitively settled community in Pre-Pottery Neolithic A found numerous sources of subsistence in plants and began to cultivate them intensively. The archaeobotanical data and the specificity of domesticated plants and their cultivation lead one to ask some basic questions: were there farmers who specialized in the primary production of grains and legumes and others who devoted themselves to fruits and aromatic and medicinal plants? Are there plants (particularly tubers and vegetables) that escape the archaeological record – such as cauliflowers, which sources would like to have originated in Cyprus (Maggioni, 2015, 51), but which may also have originated in the alluvial valleys of the great rivers of the Near East -? What may be the indicators of domestication of fruit trees?

Other plants, small in size, are not attested: but is this sufficient to say that they were not used by the inhabitants of Jericho? Sesame (*Sesamum indicum* L.), for example, native to Africa (Mehra, 2000), may have reached the Jordan Valley as early as the Neolithic period.

The process of domestication represents an extraordinary phenomenon particularly for those species whose modifications we are able to describe: the eight Neolithic founder crops represent the abilities of the human community of Jericho to select seeds, store them and pass them on through generations (at least 40 for 1,000 years). Territory, human community, and cultivar became increasingly integrated, not only as an anthropological and botanical process, but a cultural phenomenon. The culture of the seed that needs to be harvested, preserved, sown and allowed to blossom and grow becomes – for the first time in history – a conceptual and cultural palimpsest on which to build the development of the human community. Thus, humans can be said to be "botanizing," desiring to resemble plants and nature in order to seize and develop their fruitfulness, resilience and generosity. That is why I believe we can speak of symbiosis, of living together.

Even if many points remain obscure, and I do not think that this brief note has helped to clarify them all, I hope that readers more experienced than I will be interested in the issues discussed above and will further develop the research.

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Notes

- 1 The Austro-German mission (1907-1909) directed by Ernst Sellin and Carl Watzinger (Sellin & Watzinger, 1913); the first British mission (1930-1936) directed by John Garstang (Garstang, 1927; 1930; 1931;1932ab; 1933; 1934; Garstang et al., 1935; 1936; Garstang & Garstang, 1948); the second British mission (1952-1958) directed by Kathleen M. Kenyon (Kenyon, 1951; 1957; 1960; 1965; 1981; Kenyon & Holland, 1982; 1983); and the Italian-Palestinian mission (1997-2022) (Nigro, in press); [major excavation reports have been published: ROSAPAT 1,2,4,5,7,13 and more than 100 articles on refereed journals (for the latest see Nigro, 2023); for the complete and updated bibliography of «La Sapienza» Expeditions to Palestine & Jordan see https://sites. google.com/uniroma1.it/sapienzatojericho].
- 2 The nomenclature of the species follows the *International Plant Names Index* (IPNI; https://www.ipni.org/) and

the accepted taxa agree with *Plants of the World Online* (POWO; https://powo.science.kew.org/)

- 3 Features of domestication can be summarized as following: ear shattering in cereals, pod's indehiscence in legumes and indehiscence of capsules in flax. In all cases, the seeds are retained by their containers in the cultivated plants. Another distinctive element of cultivated plants compared to wild ones are the size of the seeds (Weiss & Zohari, 2011, 238).
- 4 St. John the Baptist, a hermit in the wilderness of Judah (near Jericho), evidently ate it (Matt. 3:11, 11:1-11; 14:1-12 and synoptics).
- 5 Some authors suggest that the fermented jujube juice was the drink usually consumed by the Lotophagi, the inhabitants, according to some, of the island of Djerba, narrated in Book IX of the Odyssey. The jujube broth, or jujube, is sweet and cloying: "andare in brodo di giuggiole", in Italian, lit. "getting into jujube broth", means to gloat out of vanity.
- 6 One of the hypotheses is in fact that the "apple" of Genesis 1 that Eve picks from the tree of the knowledge and offers to Adam, is not really an apple, but a *malon* known from the Greek version of the Septuagint, that means simply "the fruit". It could therefore also be a pomegranate, among the first domesticated apple-shaped fruits in the Near East.
- 7 (Nigro & Spagnoli, 2018, 49) This same apple embellished with a seven- or nine-pointed crown was chosen by the ancient kings of the Levant as the finial of their ivory and gold sceptres. A plant that for Pharaoh Tuthmosis III, who conquered Palestine and Syria on behalf of his mother, Queen Hatshepsut, was the most beautiful of his "Syrian garden" that he had represented carved in Karnak, in front of Thebes, Egypt.
- 8 Otherwise known as *Faidherbia albida* (Delile) A.Chev., in Hebrew *shittah* or plural *shitthim*, with whose wood the Ark of the Covenant it is said to be made of in the Exodus (Ex. 37:1: "Bezalel made the ark of acacia wood—two and a half cubits long, a cubit and a half wide, and a cubit and a half high").