

THE EGYPTIAN OBJECTS FROM TELL HIZZIN IN THE BEQA'A VALLEY (LEBANON): AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL REASSESSMENT

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I. Introduction

Among the finds from Tell Hizzin (Figs. 1–3), the fragments of two Egyptian statues stand out and have attracted scholarly attention ever since their discovery.² Interestingly, it was the fragment of the statue of Pharaoh Khaneferre Sobekhotep IV of the 13th Dynasty which actually brought Tell Hizzin to the attention of Maurice Chéhab.³ A dealer in antiquities showed Chéhab the fragment which was said to come from there.⁴ Archaeological excavations then undertaken at the site in 1949 and in 1950⁵ soon led to the discovery of fragments of yet another Egyptian statue, which in this case named the high ranking Middle Kingdom governor of Asyut (Siut) in Middle Egypt, Djefaihapi (Djefaihapi I) of the 12th Dynasty.⁶

Not long after their discovery, the Egyptian objects from Tell Hizzin were conceived of as an important contribution to the understanding of the northern Levant's relations with the Middle Kingdom of Egypt (i.e. the 12th and 13th Dynasties), and even led some scholars to postulate an Egyptian political domination or hegemony over the Beqa'a Valley during the Middle Bronze Age, while oth-

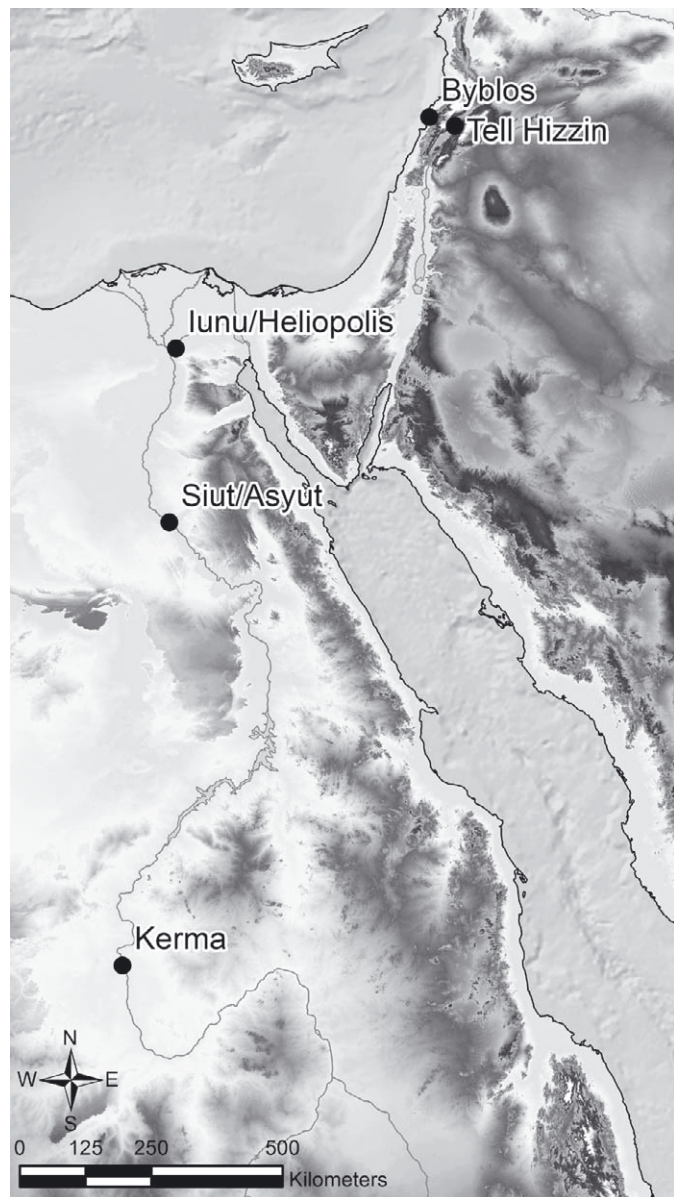


Fig. 1 Map showing sites mentioned in the text (map by A. Sollee, SRTM data courtesy of CGIAR Consortium for Spatial Information).

¹ German Archaeological Institute, Orient Department, Damascus Branch. I wish to thank Hermann Genz and Hélène Sader (American University of Beirut) for entrusting me with the reassessment and study of the Egyptian objects from Tell Hizzin as researcher at the Damascus Branch of the Orient Department of the German Archaeological Institute. I also want to thank Alexander E. Sollee, S. Borkowski and C. Steiner (University of Bern) for their help concerning the preparation of this paper. Emily Schalk (Berlin) kindly proofread the English manuscript.

² Regrettably, the present location of these two Egyptian statues is not known. Originally stored within the magazines of the National Museum of Antiquities Beirut, the objects now seem to have been lost in the course of the Lebanese Civil War (GENZ and SADER 2008, 185–186), see also FISK 1991.

³ CHÉHAB 1968, 4–5, pl. VIa; 1969, 28, pl. IV.2.

⁴ GALLING 1953, 88; CHÉHAB 1983, 167; GENZ and SADER 2008, 184; SADER 2010, 638.

⁵ The excavations at Tell Hizzin were conducted from April to September 1949 and from June to December 1950 under the direction of M. Chéhab, see SADER 2010, 639–640.

⁶ CHÉHAB 1968, 4–5, pl. IIIc; 1969, 22, pl. IV.1.

Fig. 2 Satellite image of Tell Hizzin (image taken in 1969, courtesy of the CORONA Atlas of the Middle East).

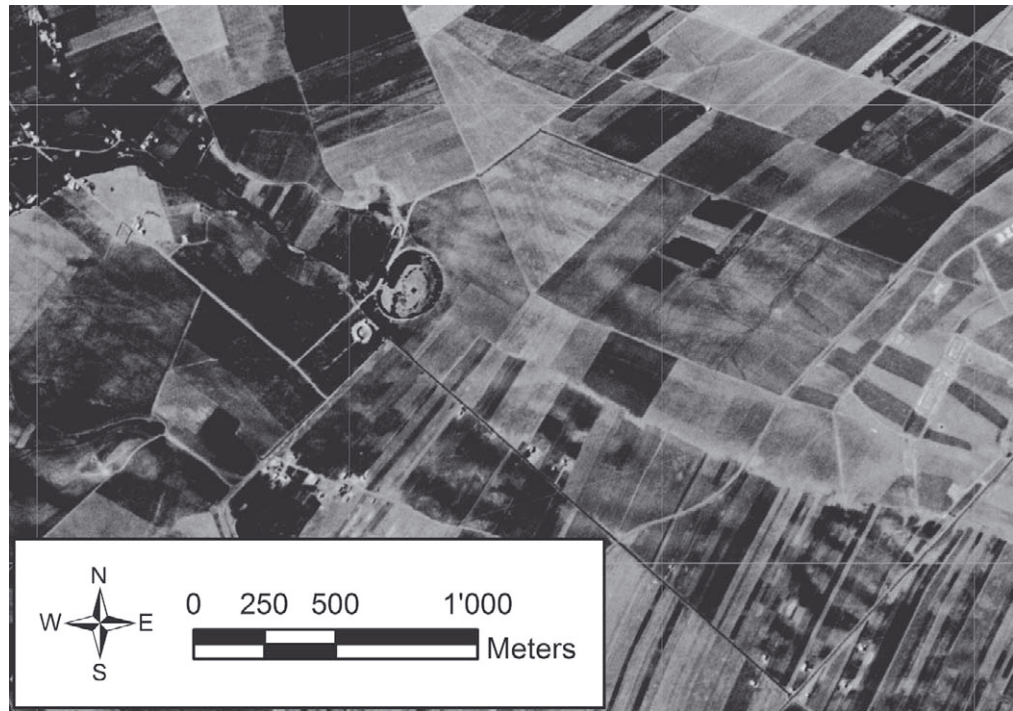


Fig. 3 The site of Tell Hizzin in the Beqa'a Valley, from north-east towards the Lebanon Mountains (photo by author, taken in 2010).

ers regarded the objects to reflect the remains of a gift exchange that took place between the Egyptian pharaohs and the rulers of the northern Levant during the second millennium BC.⁷

However, any historical or chronological implication pertaining to the statues' presence at Tell Hizzin was – and unfortunately still is – largely hampered by the fact that a more detailed stratigraphical and contextual description of the objects' find contexts apparently was not recorded and never established. Thus, the exact nature of

the context in which the statues were found remains, to a large degree, unknown.⁸ Hence, definite answers as to the statues' date of dispatch or their arrival at the site of Tell Hizzin demand caution and cannot easily be given with certainty.

The available archaeological and historical evidence pertaining to the Egyptian objects from Tell Hizzin will be reviewed here once again in order to gain a thorough and clearer perspective on the statues' possible date of dispatch from Egypt and their arrival at the site.

⁷ See also CHÉHAB 1949–50, 109; GALLING 1953, 88–90; MONTET 1954, 76; KUSCHKE 1954, 107, note 9; KUSCHKE 1958, 84–86, 89; CHÉHAB 1968, 4–5, pls. IIIc and VIa (the photograph of the statue of Djefaihapi was mistakenly published upside down here); 1969, 22, 28, pls. IV1–2; HELCK 1971, 70–71; 1976; CHÉHAB 1975, 12–14; 1983, 167;

GUBEL 1985; TEISSIER 1990, 69; REDFORD 1992, 81, note 64 (mistakenly referred to as a statue of “Sobekhotep VI from Baalbek” here); DOUMET-SERHAL 1996, 97; MARFOE 1998, 165, note 27; FORSTNER-MÜLLER et al. 2002, 162; VERBOVSEK 2004, 213; SIEVERTSEN 2006, 51.

⁸ GENZ and SADER 2008, 184; SADER 2010, 638–639.

II. The Statue of Sobekhotep IV

Although known to the scholarly community for a long time,⁹ actual photographs of the fragment of the statue of Sobekhotep IV (ca. 1738–1731? BC)¹⁰ were published by Maurice Chéhab for the first time in 1968 and then shortly afterwards again in 1969.¹¹ The hieroglyphic inscription on the base of the statue, however, was already published as a line drawing by the French Egyptologist Pierre Montet in a short note as early as 1954.¹²

Nothing is known about the actual size of the statue and the material used. Montet refers to the fragments of the statue as “d’une statue de petit format”,¹³ probably leading Egyptologist Anthony J. Spalinger, in his entry for “Sobekhotep IV” in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, to mention “a small statue of S. IV (which) was later brought to Tell Hizzin near Baalbek”.¹⁴ The actual size of the statue would not have exceeded 30–50 cm in total (given the execution of the hieroglyphic inscription),¹⁵ although larger and even smaller examples of this type of statue are attested in Egypt. Judging on the basis of the photographs, diorite,¹⁶ anorthosite gneiss¹⁷ or schist would be the material most likely used for the statue, although this is without definite proof (Figs. 4–6).

The actual fragment – the lower part of the former statue (lower legs and pedestal) – shows that it once represented the king in the customary royal striding position, his left leg put forward with his feet and legs bare. It can be surmised that the complete statue once showed the king dressed in a short kilt (the lower part of the kilt is still partly visible at the upper part of the right leg, see Fig. 5), bare chested and – most probably – wearing the *nemes* headdress.

The inscription on the base of the statue is framed by a rectangular square. It is well preserved and consists of three vertical lines (Figs. 6–8):

¹ *ntr nfr nb t3.wj* (*H^c-nfr-R^c*)

“The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Khaneferre”



Fig. 4 Fragment of statue of Sobekhotep IV (front view, image courtesy of the DGA Liban).



Fig. 5 Fragment of statue of Sobekhotep IV (side view, image courtesy of the DGA Liban).

⁹ CHÉHAB 1949–50; GALLING 1953, 88–90; LECLANT 1954, 78; 1955, 315–316.

¹⁰ Reigns of Egyptian kings are given according to KITCHEN (2000, 49).

¹¹ CHÉHAB 1968, pl. VI.a; CHÉHAB 1969, pl. IV.2. The photographs of figures 1, 2 and 4 of the present article have not been published before and are presented here for the first time.

¹² MONTET 1954, 76. Interestingly, according to M. CHÉHAB (1969, 28) the French Egyptologist Jacques Vandier apparently also read and translated the inscription. Whether

Vandier or Montet translated the inscription first is not known. It is interesting to note that MONTET (1954, 76) does not give a transcription or translation of the inscription (although clearly referring to the inscription and discussing its content), while CHÉHAB (1969, 28) credits Vandier for the translation he presents.

¹³ MONTET 1954, 76.

¹⁴ SPALINGER 1984, 1043.

¹⁵ QUIRKE 2010, 64, VI.27/7 (“Tell Hizzin, size unclear”).

¹⁶ GALLING 1953, 89.

¹⁷ QUIRKE 2010, 64.

² s3 R^c mry=f(Sbk-ḥtp)
 “Son of Ra, his Beloved, Sobekhotep”

³ mry R^c-Ḥr-3ḥ.tj
 “Beloved of Ra-Horakhty”

While of scant historical value and not explicitly giving any details pertaining to the function of the statue or its place of origin, the inscription clearly points to the original emplacement of the statue at Heliopolis (Egyptian *Jwnw*; Biblical *On*) by mentioning Ra-Horakhty (literally “Re-Horus of the two horizons”), the main and most important deity of ancient Heliopolis.¹⁸ It is highly likely that the statue of Sobekhotep IV originally derives from there¹⁹ and probably stood in the one of the



Fig. 6 Fragment of statue of Sobekhotep IV with hieroglyphic inscription on the base (image courtesy of the DGA Liban).



Fig. 7 Cast of the hieroglyphic inscription of Sobekhotep IV (image courtesy of the DGA Liban).

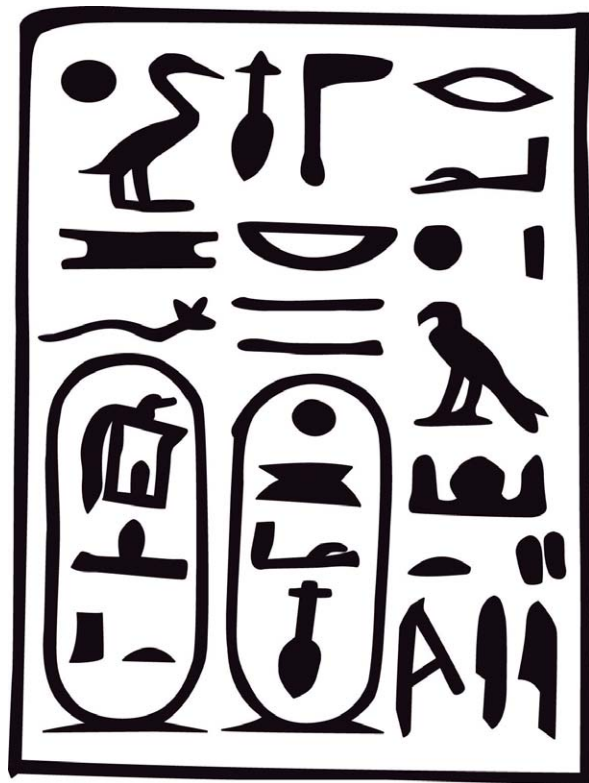


Fig. 8 Inscription of statue of Sobekhotep IV (not to scale, drawing by A. Gubisch).

¹⁸ MONTET 1954, 76.

¹⁹ For recent archaeological work at the site and its temple precinct, also yielding monuments of the Middle Kingdom

and exposing levels of the Second Intermediate Period, see RAUE 2006; 2007; ABD EL-GELIL et al. 2008, 4; MAHMUD et al. 2008, 189.

city's temples or sanctuaries dedicated to the god Ra-Horakhty, before it reached Tell Hizzin only later.²⁰

One of the better known and apparently more important pharaohs of the 13th Dynasty, Sobekhotep IV's reign in Egypt is – considering the general dearth of historical sources relating to the 13th Dynasty – relatively well attested.²¹

Born in Thebes in Upper Egypt, Sobekhotep IV is believed to have reigned at least ten years (although the highest regnal year is eight),²² during which at least one military campaign in Nubia seems to have taken place.²³ Monuments carrying his name are known throughout Egypt, with building activities primarily attested at Memphis, Abydos and Karnak. Rock inscriptions bearing his name in the Wadi Hammamat and Wadi el-Huli (Eastern Desert) relate to expeditions to obtain raw materials.²⁴ It is still unclear whether or not his successor Sobekhotep V was a son of Sobekhotep IV.²⁵ Shortly after his reign – probably during the reign of Merneferre Aya (ca. 1717–1694 BC) –, the Egyptian central authority fell into disarray, with the later kings of the 13th Dynasty being only ephemeral monarchs in fragmented political units.²⁶

A cartouche with the prenomen and nomen of his predecessor (and brother) Neferhotep I Khasekhemre (ca. 1749–1738 BC) is featured on the well-known relief found at Byblos, also depicting the enthroned ruler of Byblos 'Entin/Yantin (i.e. Yantin-'Ammu),²⁷ which traditionally serves as a basis for synchronisms between Egypt, the Levant and Babylonia in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC.²⁸ Yet, the nature and actual extent of the relations between Egypt and the northern Levant during the reign of Sobekhotep IV remain mostly unknown,²⁹ although the reigns of Pharaohs Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV are generally considered to be a period of a short-lived political stabilization during the 13th Dynasty.³⁰

Trade in cedar during the reign of Sobekhotep IV, however, is actually attested in an inscription on a stela from Karnak (Cairo JE 51911, lines 10–12), which mentions two set of doors being erected in the temple of Amun,³¹ indicating (direct?) ongoing commercial contacts with the ports of the Levantine littoral, primarily Byblos, before the collapse of the Middle Kingdom during the later part of the 13th Dynasty.³² Indeed, so far the latest Egyptian import found at Byblos prior to the New Kingdom apparently seems to be a royal-

²⁰ Montet's idea of a possible conceptional connection between the Egyptian Heliopolis (=Jwnw) and the Heliopolis in the Beqa'a Valley (=Baalbek), however, does not seem plausible. The idea expressed in the title ("D'Héliopolis d'Égypte a Héliopolis de Syrie") and in the note itself ("Il est donc permis de penser que ce n'est pas par hasard que son monument a été trouvé si près d'un site voué sans doute de toute antiquité au culte du soleil") would seem to ignore the archaeological and historical evidence of the 2nd millennium BC (MONTET 1954, 76).

²¹ SPALINGER 1984; RYHOLT 1997; QUIRKE 2010.

²² KITCHEN (2000, 49) ascribes only seven years to Sobekhotep IV.

²³ SPALINGER 1984, 1043; RYHOLT 1997, 92; KUBISCH 2008, 108–109.

²⁴ VON BECKERATH 1964, 57–58, 246–250; SPALINGER 1984, 1043; RYHOLT 1997.

²⁵ RYHOLT 1997, file 13/31; RYHOLT 1998a, 31.

²⁶ BOURRIAU 2000, 185; QUIRKE 2004, 171; BEN-TOR 2007a, 181; see now MARÉE 2010, XIII–XIV. The Middle Kingdom generally believed to comprise the 12th and early 13th Dynasties until the reign of Merneferre Aya, the late 13th Dynasty thus considered a part of the Second Intermediate Period. Recent research claims that the Second Intermediate Period did not start earlier than the very end of the 13th Dynasty (MARÉE 2010, XIII–XIV).

²⁷ The inscribed fragment of a stone vessel in hieroglyphic script, apparently naming the same Yantin, led Albright to believe that Yantin-'Ammu was the person interred in Tomb IV of the royal tombs at Byblos (ALBRIGHT 1964, 38–43).

²⁸ DUNAND 1939, 197–198, pls. XXX and CCVII; ALBRIGHT 1945; 1964; 1965; 1966, 29–30; RYHOLT 1997, 87; contra SCHNEIDER 2006, 179–180.

²⁹ KUBISCH 2008, 104–105.

³⁰ Altogether these two kings ruled for approximately twenty years, not taking into account the reign of the ephemeral king Sahathor, who seems to have reigned little more than a few months between Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV.

³¹ HELCK 1969, 194–200; RYHOLT 1997, 89; BEN-TOR 2007a, 182.

³² In this case, the relief featuring the cartouche of Neferhotep I from Byblos and the statue of Sobekhotep IV from Tell Hizzin might be seen as indirect proof of the existing Egypto-Levantine contacts, especially with Byblos, during their reigns. Thus, it would not seem too far-fetched to believe that Sobekhotep's statue from Tell Hizzin actually reached the site via Byblos. Needless to say, this cannot be proven on the basis of archaeological and historical evidence at hand, but see DURAND 1999, 159. For clay sealings featuring the throne names of Sobekhotep III and Neferhotep I found in a Hyksos palace of the 15th Dynasty at Tell el-Dab'a in the eastern Nile Delta, see SARTORI 2009, 284–285.

name scarab of Ibiaw Wahibre, who followed Sobekhotep V on the throne of Egypt and was in turn succeeded by Merneferre Aya.³³

The fragment of the statue from Tell Hizzin is hitherto the only monument found in the Levant that bears the name of Sobekhotep IV Khaneferre. Apart from this statue found in the Levant, a headless statue of Sobekhotep IV was found on the island of Argo, north of modern Dongola in Nubia.³⁴ Additionally, the fragmented statues of two further kings of the 13th Dynasty that name Sobekhotep I and Sobekhotep V (VI?) respectively, were found inside Tumulus X at Kerma in Upper Nubia.³⁵ It is highly probable that these two monuments were brought to Nubia in the Second Intermediate Period during which the Kingdom of Kush is now attested to have penetrated deep into Egyptian territory.³⁶ Likewise, also Egyptian temples located in the Delta and the Memphite region apparently seem to have been pillaged during the rule of the Hyksos.³⁷ As the temple of Ra-Horakhty at Heliopolis was most probably affected by these violations too – though this is without definite archaeological proof – it could well be that the statue of Sobekhotep IV was taken from one of the site's sanctuaries at that time, i.e. the Second Intermediate Period.³⁸

Apart from the fragment of the statue of Sobekhotep IV from Tell Hizzin and the relief naming Neferhotep I from Byblos, the only other

object found in the northern Levant³⁹ dating to the 13th Dynasty is a ceremonial mace of Pharaoh Hotepibre Harnedjheritef (ca. 1770/50 BC), which was found in the late Middle Bronze Age “Tomb of the Lord of the Goats” at Tell Mardikh/Ebla.⁴⁰

III. The Statue of Djefaihapi

The fragments of the second statue from Tell Hizzin, belonging to the 12th Dynasty provincial governor (“nomarch”) Djefaihapi, were published along with the statue of Sobekhotep IV by M. Chéhab in 1968 and 1969.⁴¹ While the fragments of the statue were found in the course of excavations carried out at the site, little is known about their actual archaeological context.⁴² Apparently, the fragments of the statue apparently were all discovered relatively close to each other,⁴³ though a more detailed description of the context is not provided by Chéhab.⁴⁴

Again, nothing is known about the size of the fragments or the material used. While M. Chéhab refers to the material simply as “pierre grise”,⁴⁵ diorite, greywacke or granite would seem to be the best options for the stone utilized. The specific size of the fragments (and therefore the overall size of the statue as well) are difficult to determine on the basis of the photographs still existing today, but the statue appears not to have been taller than approximately 40–50 cm in total (again based

³³ RYHOLT 1997, 89–90, n. 287.

³⁴ VON BECKERATH 1964, 247, no. 6.

³⁵ REISNER 1923a, 276–277; 1923b, 516–517, fig. 343; BONNET 1996, 116 [no. 128]; RYHOLT 1998a.

³⁶ For the inscription of the statue of Sobekhotep V (VI) referring to “Satis, Lady of Elephantine,” see HELCK 1976; RYHOLT 1998a, 31; VON FALCK 2004, 214–215; also DAVIES 2003a; 2003b.

³⁷ RYHOLT 1997, 139, note 500, 143–149; VERBOVSEK 2004, 213.

³⁸ AHRENS 2011b; see also below. Several colossi and statues of Sobekhotep IV have also been found at Tanis in the eastern Nile Delta, see QUIRKE 2010, 64, VI.27.1–4. The statues found at Tanis may have been removed from the region of Tell el-Dab’a at the end of the Ramesside Period. Originally, the statues were then probably first moved to Tell el-Dab’a/Avaris from their original locations in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period (15th Dynasty) and only later removed to Tanis. Some of this statuary also seems to have been dispatched to the Levant during the Second Intermediate Period, see AHRENS 2011b.

³⁹ Not taking into account scarabs dating to the 13th Dynasty, see RYHOLT 1997, 85–86. The scarabs attested in the

Levant bear the names of several officials and kings; for scarabs of the 13th Dynasty in the Levant, see also TUFNELL 1984, 154–159; BEN-TOR 2007b.

⁴⁰ SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1979; 1997; LILYQUIST 1993; RYHOLT 1998b; NIGRO 2002, 304, 314–316. Note, however, that RYHOLT (1997, 84–85, note 245) clearly dismisses the mace as evidence for direct political contacts between Egypt and Ebla during the 13th Dynasty. Instead, RYHOLT (1998b, 5) along with LILYQUIST (1993, 46) believes that the mace may actually be of Levantine manufacture or the result of a secondary mounting of the hieroglyphic signs on an object of local Levantine manufacture. NIGRO (2002, 304) regards the mace as of genuine Egyptian origin.

⁴¹ CHÉHAB 1968, pl. IIIc; 1969, pl. IV.1. The photographs of the fragments in figures 5 and 6 in the present article have not been published before and are presented here for the first time.

⁴² GENZ and SADER 2008, 185.

⁴³ CHÉHAB (1969, 22) writes, “Un sondage, fait à l’endroit présumé de la découverte, m’a permis de retrouver d’autres fragments de la même statuette.”

⁴⁴ CHÉHAB 1969, 22.

⁴⁵ CHÉHAB 1969, 22.

upon the execution of the hieroglyphic inscription).⁴⁶

Altogether four fragments of the statue are preserved. These form the lower part of an Egyptian private statue with a long kilt and the upper part of the legs preserved. This dress is characteristic of officials and dignitaries of the Middle Kingdom. Traces of the right arm are still visible on the left side of the statue. The upper part of the statue had apparently already been broken off in antiquity, although it is not clear whether this happened in Egypt or at a later date in the Levant or at Tell Hizzin. Other fragments that belong to the statue, however, were apparently not discovered at Tell Hizzin (Figs. 9–11).

The hieroglyphic inscription consists of a single column, engraved on the front of the kilt. Due to the fragmentary state of the statue, several parts of the inscription that lie within the fractured areas are not preserved, but they can be reconstructed with reasonable certainty.⁴⁷ Thus, the complete inscription of the statue – including the areas reconstructed – thus most probably is to be read as follows (Figs. 11–12):

¹ *ḥtp dj nsw Wsjr nb t3-^cnḥ ḥsj<=f> mrj=f
ḥ3.tj-^c H(^c)pj <-Df3(j) nb jm3ḥ.w/m3^c-ḥrw>
“A royal offering of Osiris, Lord of the ‘Land of Life,’ may he (Osiris) praise (or: bless) and (may he) love him,⁴⁸ the Hereditary Prince, Djefai-
hapi, possessor of honor/justified>”*

The inscription states that the well-known 12th Dynasty provincial governor Djefaihapi (Djefaihapi I)⁴⁹ of the town of Asyut (Siut; 13th Upper Egyptian nome, “*Lycopolis*,” Egyptian: *S3wty*) in Middle Egypt (dating to the reign of Sesostri I, ca.

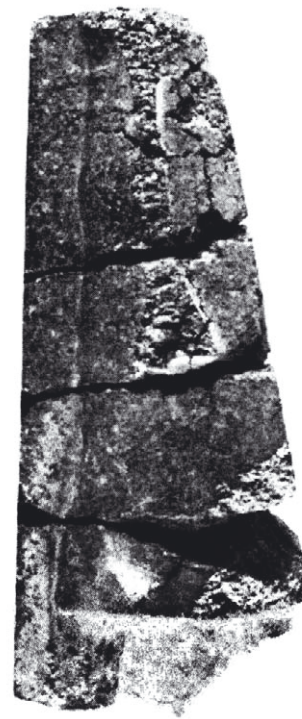


Fig. 9 Fragment of statue of Djefaihapi (side view, courtesy of the DGA Liban).



Fig. 10 Fragment of statue of Djefaihapi (side view, courtesy of the DGA Liban).

⁴⁶ A rather small size of the statue may be supported by CHÉHAB's (1968, 4; 1969, 22; 1983, 167) designation of the object as a “statuette” (rather than a “statue”).

⁴⁷ Although M. Chéhab linked the statue to Djefaihapi as early as 1968 (CHÉHAB 1968, 4), a translation or transcription of the hieroglyphic inscription was never published. It appears that Chéhab planned to publish the inscription in a separate article with the French Egyptologist Georges Posener, who is also likely to have read the inscription first (CHÉHAB 1969, 22, “nous nous proposons, le Professeur Posener et moi, de publier les fragments de cette statuette inédite”).

⁴⁸ For this specific construction and the omission of the suffix pronoun (“gespaltene Kolumne”), see also the tomb inscriptions of Djefaihapi I (Tomb I), especially GRIFFITH

1889, pl. 4, where the same construction is used. This very distinctive feature may, thus, further link the statue to governor Djefaihapi I and his tomb at Asyut.

⁴⁹ Older readings of the name include “Hept’efa” (GRIFFITH 1889), “Hepzefa” (REISNER 1918; 1923) and “Hapidjefai” (CHÉHAB 1968; 1969). For the hieroglyphic writing of the name, see GRIFFITH 1889, pls. 4–6; BECKER 2006.

1953–1908 BC) was the person for whom the statue was made.⁵⁰ Although his name is not completely preserved on the statue, it can be reconstructed with certainty. The reference relating to “Osiris,⁵¹ the Lord of the ‘Land of Life’” additionally proves that the statue must have originally been set-up at Asyut where Djefaihapi I had his tomb built (Siut Tomb I),⁵² as *t3-ꜥnh* (the ‘Land of Life’) is to be identified as one of the Egyptian names of the town’s necropolis.⁵³ Later, in the 18th Dynasty, Djefaihapi I was even deified in this region.⁵⁴

The general composition of the inscription as well as the *htp-dj-nsw* formula (or: offering formula)⁵⁵ at the beginning also clearly show that the



Fig. 11 Fragment of statue of Djefaihapi with hieroglyphic inscription (front view, courtesy of the DGA Liban).

⁵⁰ GRIFFITH 1889; BEINLICH 1975a; BECKER 2006. It is important to note here, that – apart from Djefaihapi I (Siut Tomb I, Sesostri I) – three further governors named Djefaihapi are attested at Asyut, i.e. Djefaihapi II (Tomb II at Asyut, now Tomb O13.1, dating to the reign of Amenemhet I or early in the reign of Sesostri I) and Djefaihapi III (dating to the later part of the Middle Kingdom, probably to the reign of Amenemhat II; Tomb VII at Asyut, i.e. the so-called “Salakhana-Tomb”), and Djefaihapi IV (Tomb VI, reign of Amenemhat II or later); for the alleged chronology of the governors, see recently KAHL 2012, 163–188, esp. 170, fig. 5; for the tombs, see GRIFFITH 1889, 10; MOSS 1933, 33; DOXEY 1998, 12; 2009; also KAHL 2007, 17, fig. 8, 85–93, 130–132; ZITMAN 2010, 11–44, esp. 38–43 (here even listing at least two more Djefaihapis with the same titles, i.e. Tombs VI and XVI, not taking into account a further Djefaihapi without titles). Recently, KAHL (2007, 85–93; 2012) also proposed a new chronological order of the governors called Djefaihapi and attested at Asyut, placing Djefaihapi II *before* Djefaihapi I (based on typological and chronological considerations of the tombs’ layout). According to this order, governor Djefaihapi II would date before the reign of Sesostri I (probably to the reign of Amenemhat I), governor Djefaihapi I to the reign of Sesostri I, and governor Djefaihapi III to the reign of Amenemhat II or Sesostri II. Recently, ZITMAN (2010, 14–43) has presented another appraisal concerning the number and chronology of the nomarchs of Asyut named Djefaihapi. With regard to the origin of the statue from Tell Hizzin, ZITMAN (2010, 38, note 249) remarks, “The inscription visible in the publication does not exclude that the statue may have belonged to another Djefaihapi (Tombs II, VII or XVI?).”

⁵¹ The name of the god Osiris written here with signs D 4 (“parts of the human body”), Q 1 (“Domestic and funerary furniture”) and A 40 (“man and his occupation”), see GARDINER 1957, 544–546.

⁵² Djefaihapi’s tomb being the largest nonroyal rock-cut tomb of the entire Middle Kingdom (Siut Tomb I); for the history of research at the site, see KAHL 2007; ZITMAN 2010,

28–38, 45–69. Also P. Montet, the excavator of Byblos and Tanis, made several hand copies of inscriptions of some of the tombs in 1911, which were only subsequently published by him; see MONTET 1930–35; MONTET 1936. Only recently archaeological work at Asyut has resumed, for the results of the new archaeological work at Asyut by a joint Egyptian-German mission (since 2003), see KAHL et al. 2005; KAHL et al. 2006; KAHL et al. 2007; KAHL et al. 2008; KAHL et al. 2009; KAHL et al. 2010; KAHL et al. 2011; KAHL et al. 2014; KAHL 2007; EL-KHADRAGY 2007; ENGEL and KAHL 2009; recently KAHL et al. 2012a; KAHL et al. 2012b. The renewed work at the site has also proven the existence of a temple dedicated to one of the nomarchs named Djefaihapi, since visitors’ graffiti dating to the Second Intermediate Period or early New Kingdom found in one of the tombs at Asyut (Tomb N13.1) refer to such a building. The temple of Djefaihapi seems to have been located in the Nile valley and was probably connected to the tomb by a passageway (KAHL 2007, 57–58, fig. 32).

⁵³ SATZINGER 1968, 160–161; HELCK 1976, 106–107; BEINLICH 1975b; BEINLICH 1984, 149; LEITZ 2002, 769; KAHL 2007, 110.

⁵⁴ KAHL 2012.

⁵⁵ For the offering formula, its chronology, cultic implications and divergent readings, see SMITHER 1939; BENNETT 1941; BARTA 1968; ALLEN 2000, 357–359 (§ 24.10); FRANKE 2003.



Fig. 12 Inscription of statue of Djefaihapi (not to scale, drawing by A. Gubisch).

statue was conceived to be used in a cultic context. Egyptian officials of the Middle Kingdom continued to equip their tombs and connected chapels with statues to provide a focal point for the offering cult. Additionally, south of Djefaihapi's tomb, a large wooden statue was discovered suggesting that more statues were in use inside the tomb and its vicinity.⁵⁶ It is therefore likely that Djefaihapi's statue was set-up in his tomb at Asyut or the associated court or cultic chapel connected to the tomb.⁵⁷

When trying to define a date for the dispatch of the statue to Tell Hizzin, archaeological evidence from Upper Nubia (Sudan) may give reasonable answers. Between the years 1913–1916, the American Egyptologist George A. Reisner conducted archaeological excavations in the vast cemetery of Kerma (consisting of low circular mounds termed “tumuli”), just south of the 3rd Cataract. Some of the larger tumuli excavated by Reisner contained an abundance of various Egyptian luxury goods, including Egyptian statuary.⁵⁸ As Reisner was convinced that the people buried in these larger tumuli were Egyptians, he labelled the southern part of the cemetery the “Egyptian Cemetery.” The largest of these tumuli (named K III) contained a fragmentary statue of Djefaihapi and another one of his wife, Sennuwi, amid the bodies of the hundreds of sacrificial victims. The inscription on the statue of Djefaihapi found within K III mentions “Wepwawet, Lord of Siut (=Asyut),” while the statue of his wife evocates, among other gods, “Anubis, Lord of *R3-qrr.t*, (Ra-qereret; literally meaning “the mouth, i.e. opening of the cave”),”

Ra-qereret being another name of Asyut's necropolis.⁵⁹ As Djefaihapi's tomb at Asyut was already known at this time,⁶⁰ Reisner concluded that Djefaihapi had left his tomb at Asyut unused and had moved to Kerma sometime during his lifetime.⁶¹ Furthermore, Reisner hypothesized that upon his death at Kerma, Djefaihapi then was buried in tumulus K III.⁶² Since Djefaihapi lived during the reign Sesostris I, Reisner assigned tumulus K III to the time of his reign.⁶³

Not long after Reisner's discoveries, however, his interpretations were refuted by many scholars. In 1941, the Swedish Egyptologist T. Säve-Söderbergh published a seminal work on the Kerma material, showing that tumulus K III also contained several fragments of other Egyptian statues dating to the 13th Dynasty as well as scarabs and sealings dating even to the Hyksos Period. Säve-Söderbergh was thus able to convincingly demonstrate that the tombs were actually much later in date, indeed contemporary with the Second Intermediate Period in Egypt.⁶⁴

Following Säve-Söderbergh's chronological conclusions, a subsequent study by the German Egyptologist F. Hintze in 1964 made clear that the tumuli at Kerma were to be seen as the tombs of the rulers of the independent Kingdom of Kush, already known from Egyptian sources, before the Egyptian conquest of the territory in the reign of Tuthmosis I at the beginning of the New Kingdom (i.e. the early 18th Dynasty).

Thus, the statues and other inscribed Egyptian objects found in the Kerma tombs thus must have come from elsewhere and were apparently just brought to Kerma at a later date, most probably during the Second Intermediate Period, when the Kingdom of Kush had close political relations with the Kingdom of the Hyksos in the north of Egypt.⁶⁵ Thus, an alternative view on the presence of these statues at Kerma was that looted objects from tombs in Egypt were given to the Kerma rulers as gifts by the Hyksos. In analogy to the evidence from Kerma, the German Egyptologist W. Helck suggested that Djefaihapi's statue at Tell Hizzin

⁵⁶ For the statue, see DELANGE 1987, 76–77; ZITMAN 2010, 27, 38 (Louvre E 26915, without titles however).

⁵⁷ EL-KHADRAGY 2007; KAHL 2007, 10–11, pls. 6–8.

⁵⁸ REISNER 1923b, 22–104.

⁵⁹ REISNER 1923a, 135–139, pl. 7; 1923b, 34, nos 27 and 32, pl. 31; HELCK 1976, 102; BEINLICH 1984, 149; also BONNET 1996, 114–115; KAHL 2007, 110.

⁶⁰ GRIFFITH 1889.

⁶¹ REISNER 1918.

⁶² REISNER 1918; 1923b, 513–516.

⁶³ REISNER 1923a, 138, 145. REISNER 1923a (138): “this (...) leaves no doubt that K III is the tomb of Prince Hepzefa.”

⁶⁴ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH 1941, 103–116; HELCK 1976, 103–104; LACOVARA 1991, 118–120.

⁶⁵ HINTZE 1964; HELCK 1976, 101–104; KENDALL 1997, 30–31; 72–73; BONNET and VALBELLE 2010.

was most probably robbed out of his tomb at Asyut and then sent to the Levant during the Hyksos Period, as seems to be the case with most of the Middle Kingdom statuary found in the Levant.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the presence of a statue of Djefaihapi's wife Sennuwi, born of Idy-'aat, within tumulus K III at Kerma – found together with a statue of Djefaihapi – seems to argue additionally for a joint pillage of these two objects from Asyut (and a subsequent deposition within the tumulus at Kerma), and, therefore makes it also likely that the statue from Tell Hizzin originally belonged to Djefaihapi I.⁶⁷

Evidence to support this view was just recently discovered in Egypt. A newly discovered inscription in the tomb of the governor Sobeknakht (17th Dynasty, existing parallel to the “Hyksos” in the north and the Kingdom of Kush in the south) at Elkab in Middle Egypt (ancient Nekheb) relates to a historic event that took place during Sobeknakht's lifetime.⁶⁸ In the inscription, it appears that the town of Nekheb was threatened by a Kushite army, which eventually entered and pillaged the town on its way north.⁶⁹ The incursions of the Kushite troops, it seems, may have reached as far north as Asyut, if not Memphis. In the inscription, Kushite troops are also referred to as “looters”.⁷⁰

Interestingly, a vessel inscribed for a “governor, Sobeknakht” was also found in the aforementioned Kerma Tumulus III, maybe linking the objects found in these tumuli with the historic events described in the inscription in the tomb of Sobeknakht.⁷¹

Summarizing the evidence – and given the close connections of the Kingdom of Kush with the Hyksos rulers in the north of Egypt via the

“oasis road” (comprising the oases of Dakhlah, Khargah, and Bahriyah) – one may indeed speculate whether some of these “trophies” carried away from Egypt by the armies of Kush were actually sometime later given to the Hyksos, with some of these monuments then – without knowing the exact mechanisms of exchange – finally ending up in the Levant. Although no more than mere conjecture, as there is no evidence to prove this argument at the moment, this reasoning should not be discarded straight away.

IV. A Middle Bronze Age Scarab of the “Anra Group”

Among the small finds recovered from Tell Hizzin, a scarab belonging to the so-called “anra group” could be identified (Figs. 13–14).⁷² The exact findspot of the scarab is not known. However, taking into account the general distribution of scarabs at other contemporary sites,⁷³ it seems probable that originally it was part of a tomb assemblage. Several tombs, apparently dating to the later part of the Middle Bronze Age, as well as a necropolis at the foot of the tell also yielding Middle Bronze Age material, were discovered at the site by M. Chéhab.⁷⁴

Since only one photograph of the scarab's base is known today, a more detailed typological analysis is not possible. As can be discerned from the photograph, the scarab is perforated lengthwise for threading. The actual dimensions of the scarab are not known, although it can be surmised that they do not exceed the general proportions of scarabs known of this type.⁷⁵ The scarab is probably made

⁶⁶ HELCK 1971, 70–71; 1976; see also GILL and PADGHAM 2005, 51–53, 57. Such a scenario may also hold true for the statue of Tuthhotep (also: Djehutihotep), the nomarch of the Hare nome in Middle Egypt under the reign of Senwosret III, which was found at Megiddo on northern Palestine (WILSON 1941, 225–230, pls. 1–2; HARIF 1978, 29–30). The statue may ultimately stem from his tomb complex at el-Bersheh/Deir al-Barsha (NEWBERRY 1895). Second Intermediate Period material is indeed present at the site of el-Bersheh; a reuse of most of the tombs during this period is also attested archaeologically (WILLEMS et al. 2004; BOURRIAU et al. 2005).

⁶⁷ REVEZ 2002.

⁶⁸ DAVIES 2003a; 2003b; 2006, 49–50; 2010.

⁶⁹ DAVIES 2003a, 52; 2006, 50.

⁷⁰ DAVIES 2003a, 54; 2006, 50.

⁷¹ DAVIES 2003b, 6; DAVIES 2004. Since at least three governors of Elkab with the name of Sobeknakht are attested, it is difficult to connect this specific vessel with the governor Sobeknakht in whose tomb the historical inscription is attested; for the genealogy of Sobeknakht, see DAVIES 2010, 229–230.

⁷² The scarab is published here for the first time. The present location of the scarab is unknown.

⁷³ See, for example, the scarabs found in the Middle Bronze Age tombs at Sidon (LOFFET 2003; DOUMET-SERHAL 2004; TAYLOR 2004; MLINAR 2004a; 2004b). Additionally, RICHARDS' site analysis (2001, 136–137) has shown that the majority of anra scarabs were actually found in tomb deposits.

⁷⁴ GENZ and SADER 2008, 185; SADER 2010, 641–643.

⁷⁵ The general proportions and main dimensions of the scarab would approximately be 15–20 mm in length, 10–15 mm in width and 5–10 mm in height.



Fig. 13 Late Middle Bronze Age scarab of the “Anra-Group” (courtesy of the DGA Liban).



Fig. 14 Late Middle Bronze Age scarab of the “Anra-Group” (not to scale, drawing by A. Gubisch).

of steatite (most probably heated steatite, also referred to as enstatite),⁷⁶ commonly used for the manufacture of scarab seals.⁷⁷ A chronological and typological analysis of the scarab will, therefore, depend entirely upon the scarab’s base design and, thus, can only be assessed in general terms.

Fortunately though, the base design of the scarab can be classified without any problem. The base design consists of several hieroglyphic signs that are surrounded by three pairs of oblong, hooked scroll borders,⁷⁸ the whole composition itself being framed by a single oval line. The vertically arranged hieroglyphic signs include (from top to bottom): *r* (Gardiner sign list D 21),⁷⁹ *ḥ* (S 34,

twice), *ḥ* (D 36), *n* (N 35) and a further *ḥ*. The combination of the specific signs used as well as the scroll borders securely assign the scarab to the “anra group,” which is generally dated to the later part of the Middle Bronze Age (MB IIB/C) in the Levant or the Second Intermediate Period/Hyksos Period (late 13th–15th Dynasties) in Egyptian terminology.⁸⁰ Commonly, the anra (*ḥnrḥ*) scarab is defined by a sequence of hieroglyphic signs on the base which always include the letters *ḥ*, *n* and *r* (the so-called “anra formula”, hence the name “anra scarabs”), although there are a number of intrusive and additional signs used as well.⁸¹

⁷⁶ The material steatite being a species of talc (soapstone), consisting of hydrated magnesium silicate; see TUFNELL 1984, 42. Traces of a former glaze are not discernible on the photograph, but are likely to have existed.

⁷⁷ KEEL 1995a, 153, § 406; RICHARDS 2001, 6.

⁷⁸ Tufnell’s design class 7, “Scroll borders,” here specifically design class 7B3(ii)a, “Paired scrolls, top loop – three pairs, oblong, hooked” (TUFNELL 1984, 129, 320–321, pl. XXXI); Richards’ type D(ii), “Paired Scroll Borders” (RICHARDS 2001, 81–85); KEEL 1995, 187 (§ 508); see also BEN-TOR 2007b, 143 (§ IIIA 7b3), pl. 61, 27–32 (Ben-Tor’s “Early Palestinian Series”); 172–173 (§ IVA 7b3), pl. 92, 28, 32, 33, 37, 46 (Ben-Tor’s “Late Palestinian Series”). This specific base design constitutes the most common type of scroll border in Egypt during the late Middle Kingdom (13th Dynasty); see BEN-TOR 2007b, 29, pls. 17, 1–32 (“Private name scarabs”), 23, 2 (“Sobekhotep group scarabs”). The earliest example, however, is a scarab dated to

the reign of Amenemhat III of the 12th Dynasty (BEN-TOR 2007b, 29). These Egyptian examples, thus, clearly indicate the Egyptian origin of this scroll border design during the Middle Kingdom.

⁷⁹ Sign references according to GARDINER 1957.

⁸⁰ TUFNELL 1984, 121; KEEL 1995a, 175, § 469; RICHARDS 2001, 163; BEN-TOR 2007b, 143, 172–173; 2009, 85–87. It must be stated that scarabs with these specific features occasionally appear before and after the Second Intermediate Period (Hyksos Period) as well. However, the bulk of material from stratigraphically well-defined contexts apparently exclusively dates to this period, see BEN-TOR 2007b, 143 (§ IIIA 7b3), 172–173 (§ IVA 7b3).

⁸¹ TUFNELL 1984, 121, pl. XVI; BEN-TOR 2007b, 133–134, pls. 55–56, 165–166, pls. 82–84; 2009, 86. The many permutations of the anra sequence referred to as “formulae” by Tufnell (TUFNELL 1984, 121, pl. XVI, “design class 3C”).

There have been a number of different interpretations with regard to the meaning of the sequence of hieroglyphs found on anra scarabs. While some scholars have actually tried to read the different sequences attested on the scarabs and give meaning to them,⁸² others have rejected this idea completely and regard the sequences of hieroglyphs as meaningless.⁸³

Most probably, although without definite proof, the different permutations of the anra sequence are indeed to be seen as an emulation of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing by the local Levantine workshops adapted merely for emblematic and representational purposes.⁸⁴ Not surprisingly, apart from the hieroglyphs of the basic anra sequence, supplementary signs connected and associated with the Egyptian royal sphere are also often used on the scarabs' base design.

Of the over four hundred anra scarabs found in the entire eastern Mediterranean (spanning Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt and Nubia), eighty percent are found in the Levant alone.⁸⁵ Considering that the first appearance of this type of scarab is typologically and archaeologically connected to the region of the southern Levant, the anra scarab is clearly to be seen as a Levantine "invention".⁸⁶

Supporting this argument are various other groups of locally manufactured Levantine scarabs, assigned to the region on the basis of style and iconography, which also seem to have existed.⁸⁷ The anra sequence is also found on cylinder seals and plaques in both Syria and Palestine, thus an additional argument for the Levantine origin of this specific type of scarab.⁸⁸

The two ankh signs (*ḥn*) on the scarab's base are not part of the basic anra sequence, but should be seen as supplementary signs. As exemplified by the two hieroglyphic signs on the scarab from Tell Hizzin, these supplementary signs are sometimes placed within or at the end of the anra sequence.⁸⁹ Generally, the prominent ankh sign is frequently featured in the iconographic repertoire of both scarabs and Egyptianizing cylinder seals in the Levant.⁹⁰

A Levantine manufacture may be additionally supported by one of the hieroglyphs on the scarab, as the writing of the hieroglyph for the letter *n* is found only on a relatively small number of scarabs, apparently exclusively confined to the Levant.⁹¹ Interestingly, exact parallels for the characteristic representation of this hieroglyph are also found on a small number of contemporary northern Levantine cylinder seals.⁹² Altogether, a Levantine origin of the scarab from Tell Hizzin is therefore highly likely. Thus, while the majority of the scarabs belonging to the anra group seem rather confined to the southern Levant, the scarab from Tell Hizzin is a remarkable exception to this and adds to the small number of scarabs of this type hitherto attested in the northern Levant.⁹³ Concerning the date of the scarab, a manufacture during the Second Intermediate Period (late 13th Dynasty–15th Dynasty/"Hyksos" period, late Middle Bronze Age) seems most likely in view of the typological features of the base design and its motifs, although a slightly earlier date (i.e. early 13th Dynasty/late Middle Kingdom) would also seem possible and generally cannot be excluded on the basis of the

⁸² RICHARDS 2001, 29–32, 150.

⁸³ TUFNELL 1984, 121; KEEL 1995a, 175–176, § 470; BEN-TOR 1997, 171, 174–177; 2007, 133–134, 165–166; 2009, 85–87.

⁸⁴ Ben-Tor argues that the anra sequence on Levantine scarabs partially derives from formulae attested on Egyptian scarabs of the Middle Kingdom, see BEN-TOR 1997, 171, 174–177, figs. 5–7.

⁸⁵ RICHARDS 2001, 11; BEN-TOR 2007b, 133–134, 165–166; 2009, 86.

⁸⁶ RICHARDS 2001, 6–12; BEN-TOR 1997, 171–175; 2007, 165–166.

⁸⁷ WOOLLEY 1955, pl. LXI: 20; KEEL 1989; 1995a; 1995b; RICHARDS 2001, 6–12; AHRENS 2003; SCANDONE MATTHIAE 2004; BEN-TOR 2007b.

⁸⁸ WARD 1965; AMIET 1992, 186, no. 448; COLLON 1986; 2001; SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1996; 2004, 197–198, fig. 3; RICHARDS 2001, 93.

⁸⁹ See the examples given by BEN-TOR 2007b, pls. 83: 33; 84: 3, 5, 7, 21, 23, 29. Also note the striking parallel from Tel

Batash (Timnah) in southern Palestine, dating to the end of the Middle Bronze Age, see BRANDL 2006, 217–218, fig. 22 (no. 4), pl. 20: 22.

⁹⁰ COLLON 1986, figs. 1–6, 11, 13, 23, 24; TEISSIER 1995; EDER 1995; RICHARDS 2001, 95–98; ELSÉN-NOVÁK 2002; ELSÉN-NOVÁK *apud* NOVÁK and PFÄLZNER 2003, 152–155, fig. 16; BEN-TOR 2007b; 2009.

⁹¹ LALKIN 2009, 455–457, no. 18; BEN-TOR 2007b, pl. 83: 22, 27, 28, 42; pl. 84: 29; 2009, fig. 12: 1, 4, 5, 6, 9; fig. 14, 1, 5, 6, 10.

⁹² COLLON 1986, figs. 1, 2, 4; 2001; RICHARDS 2001, 95. A notable exception being a scarab from Tell el-'Ajjul in southern Palestine; see PETRIE 1934, pls. XI: 477, XXI, 213; KEEL 1997: 452–453, cat. no. 1028; RICHARDS 2001, 275; SPARKS 2007, 92, cat. no. 82.

⁹³ In the northern Levant, the anra scarab is hitherto confined to the coastal sites of Byblos and Ras Shamra/Ugarit (comprising a meagre five specimens altogether!); see RICHARDS 2001, 239–249.

scarab's base design alone.⁹⁴ It should also be stressed here, however, that scarabs of the anra group are occasionally found in Late Bronze Age contexts too, probably implying a long-term use or even later re-use of these small finds.⁹⁵

V. Contextualizing the Objects from Tell Hizzin

Unfortunately, the archaeological contexts from which the two Egyptian statues at Tell Hizzin stem are not known.⁹⁶ Therefore, a secure chronological date for the statues' dispatch from Egypt and their arrival at the site of Tell Hizzin cannot be given with certainty. Fortunately, however, historical sources and archaeological evidence in Egypt and

Nubia – as presented above – rather point to a later date for their arrival in the Levant compared to their date of manufacture.

The geographical region of the Beqa'a Valley in the 2nd millennium was, according to the historical sources, divided into several independent chiefdoms. Tell Hizzin, ancient *Hazi*,⁹⁷ probably is to be seen as the main political centre of the region commonly referred to in textual sources as Amqi/Amqu.⁹⁸ A possible, albeit highly disputed identification of the site with the toponym *hšswm*⁹⁹ mentioned in the Egyptian "Execration Texts" of the late Middle Kingdom found at Saqqara,¹⁰⁰ would then provide an even earlier attestation of the site.¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ The typological features (according to TUFNELL 1984) consist of three pairs of oblong, hooked scroll borders (design class 7B3iia) and the anra sequence ("Formulae," design class 3C). Both features are apparently most common in the southern Levant during the 15th Dynasty or Hyksos Period, although these features are, to a lesser degree, already present in the Levant during the 13th Dynasty; see KEEL 1995a, 175–176 (§ 469–470), 187 (§ 508); BEN-TOR 2007b, 143 ("Early Palestinian Series"), 172–173 ("Late Palestinian Series"). An exact date of the scarab from Tell Hizzin could only be determined through the available typological features of the side, head and back designs.

⁹⁵ PULAK 1988, 28, fig. 34; WEINSTEIN *apud* BASS et al. 1989, 17–29; SMOGORZEWSKA 2006, 76–77: fig. 7.3; LALKIN 2009, 255–257, fig. 14.5: no. 3.

⁹⁶ SADER 2010, 638–639.

⁹⁷ KUSCHKE 1958, 106; HELCK 1971, 130.

⁹⁸ SADER and VAN ESS 1998, 255. See already DUSSAUD 1927, 506–507.

⁹⁹ GALLING 1953, 90–91; KUSCHKE 1958, 85–86, 89; SADER 2010, 636–637.

¹⁰⁰ POSENER 1940, 96, F 6; REDFORD 1992, 87–93; BEN-TOR 2006.

¹⁰¹ contra HELCK 1971, 61: *e*; DUSSAUD 1940, 178. Note that, contrary to GALLING (1953, 91) and KUSCHKE (1958, 86), neither POSENER (1940) nor DUSSAUD (1940) equate the toponym *hšswm* with the Late Bronze Age *Hazi* of the Amarna letters. Altogether, the interpretation of the historical and political significance of the Execration Texts has varied considerably. It must be stressed here that the toponym *hšswm* given in the Execration Texts is not determined as a city or place name, but rather seems to refer to a "region" or "district," see already GERSTENBLITH 1983, 18–21; REDFORD 1992, 87–93. The ambiguous nature of the Execration Texts from Saqqara (now in Brussels, hence the name "Brussels group") is also exemplified by the fact that in his treatment of the texts DUSSAUD (1940) – in contrast to the identifications given in the *editio princeps* by POSENER (1940) – comes to completely different conclusions regarding the reading and the localization of some of the topo-

nymys mentioned; on the Execration Texts in general also see ALBRIGHT 1941. Furthermore, in a recent re-evaluation of the corpus, M. Weippert equates *hšswm* with the city of Haššum, probably located in northern Syria (WEIPPERT 2010, 44–45). Additionally, at least parts of the Beqa'a Valley may have belonged to the region or political entity called "Apum" during the Middle Bronze Age. The region of Apum also seems to be mentioned in the Execration Texts from Saqqara with an enigmatic double entry (i.e. "southern Apum" and "northern Apum;" POSENER 1940, 81, entries E 33/E 34); also see ALBRIGHT 1941. ZIEGLER (2007, 314–315, 3.8, see also CHARPIN 1998) cites an Old Babylonian cuneiform document from the Mari archives which refers to a town called "Rakhizum," located in "Apum." The town Rakhizum is most likely to be identified with the Late Bronze Age town of "Rukhizzi," known from the Amarna letters and to be located somewhere in the Beqa'a Valley. Therefore, Kuschke's identification of the toponym "Beqa'a (Valley)" in the Execration Texts (KUSCHKE 1958, 85–86, 89), i.e. Posener's "*Bk'tm*" (E 20), merits at least some caution in this light. As the Beqa'a Valley is known to have been fragmented into several smaller political units, such as Amki/Amka, Tachsi, Upe/Ubi (=Apum) during the Late Bronze Age, it is extremely unlikely that during the preceding Middle Bronze Age these units (or at least some) – of which "Apum" (the Late Bronze Age Upi) is now attested to have included parts of the Beqa'a Valley – would not have been mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts (see also THEIS 2012). In this regard it should also be mentioned that the proposed identification of the toponym *hšswm* (Posener's entry F 6) given in the Execration Texts with Tell Hizzin mainly rests on the questionable identification of Posener's toponym E 20 "Beqa'a (Valley);" see KUSCHKE 1958, 85–86; GALLING 1953. Since these two toponyms are not even listed together, an alleged connection is additionally weakened. The identification of Tell Hizzin with Late Bronze Age *Hazi*, however, rests upon the specific geographical references given in the topographical list of Tuthmose III's first campaign in Asia at Karnak (GALLING 1953, 91; KUSCHKE

Still, the reconstruction of Egypto-Levantine contacts during the first half of the second millennium BC is largely hampered by the fragmentary historical and archaeological evidence available. While there is increasing new historical and archaeological evidence for maritime Egyptian relations with sites along the Levantine littoral during the Middle Bronze Age (12th and 13th Dynasties), e.g. with sites like Ullaza (Khan al-Abd  or Tell et-Taal  near Tripoli?),¹⁰² and Byblos,¹⁰³ Sidon¹⁰⁴ and – farther south – Tel Ifshar,¹⁰⁵ there is yet little evidence, if any, to support direct Egyptian interaction with the regions located farther inland from the coast during the Middle Bronze Age.¹⁰⁶

Up to now,¹⁰⁷ Egyptian or Egyptian-inspired objects found in the northern Levant include various finds at the major harbour cities along the coast, most prominent among them Byblos/Gubla¹⁰⁸ and Ras-Shamra/Ugarit.¹⁰⁹ Egyptian objects – apart from the statues from Tell Hizzin discussed here – were also discovered farther inland in the Beqa'a Valley at K mid el-L z, ancient Kumidi.¹¹⁰

Other Egyptian or Egyptianizing objects from the northern Levant and inland Syria that are of interest here are the late Middle Bronze Age Egyptianizing wall paintings at Tell Sakka, 17 km south-east of Damascus,¹¹¹ the ceremonial mace of Pharaoh Hotepibre Harnedjheritef of the 13th Dynasty from the “Tomb of the Lord of the Goats” at Tell Mardikh/Ebla, also dating to the late Middle Bronze Age,¹¹² a small diorite sphinx of Amenemhat III (12th Dynasty, ca. 1853–1808 BC) in the Archaeological Museum of Aleppo¹¹³ and several objects from Tell Mišrife/Qatna, including – among others – the sphinx of Ita, a princess of the late Middle Kingdom, and stone vessels inscribed

with the names of Sesostris I, Amenemhat III, a further princess called Itakayet (all 12th Dynasty), and Queen Ahmes-Nefertari of the early 18th Dynasty.¹¹⁴ While most of these Egyptian finds from the Royal Palace and its associated tombs (Royal Tomb and Tomb VII) at Tell Mišrife/Qatna date to the Middle Kingdom, their archaeological find-spots are exclusively confined to late Middle Bronze Age (MB IIB/C) or Late Bronze Age contexts.¹¹⁵ The important trading port of Byblos seems to have always held a unique position in relation to Egypt throughout the entire 2nd millennium BC.¹¹⁶ Hence, there is a good possibility that at least some, if not most, of the Egyptian objects found at other sites in the northern Levant, especially those farther inland, may actually have arrived there via Byblos.¹¹⁷

The statues of Sobekhotep IV and Djefaihapi from Tell Hizzin, thus, fit well into the overall corpus of Egyptian monuments attested in the northern Levant, which generally can be divided into private and royal statuary. Most of the Middle Kingdom Egyptian objects found in the Levant carry inscriptions, which show that they were originally used in an Egyptian context. Additionally, the majority of the objects seem to stem from funerary or cultic contexts, i.e. chapels, tombs and temples.¹¹⁸ However, their date of dispatch to the Levant is hard to define with certainty. Some scholars have, therefore, rejected the idea of viewing the presence of these objects in the Levant as evidence of a mutual gift exchange or direct political relations between the Middle Kingdom Egyptian pharaohs (i.e. the 12th and 13th Dynasty) and the rulers of the eastern Mediterranean. Instead, the objects were believed to have reached the

1958, 106; HELCK 1971, 130, 155) and within the corpus of the Amarna letters from *Hazi* (EA 175, 185–186) or dealing with the Beqa'a Valley and its vicinity (MORAN 1992); hence, it is generally a lot more reliable.

¹⁰² BARTL 2002, pl. 3; GUBEL 2009, 227, fig. 1.

¹⁰³ MARCUS 2007; ALLEN 2008; 2009.

¹⁰⁴ BADER 2003; FORSTNER-M LLER and KOPETZKY 2006; FORSTNER-M LLER et al. 2006; FORSTNER-M LLER and KOPETZKY 2009.

¹⁰⁵ MARCUS et al. 2008a; 2008b.

¹⁰⁶ Contra NIGRO 2009; GRIMAL 2009. An apparent distinction between the material culture of the coastal regions of the northern Levant and that of the inland regions during the Middle Bronze Age is apparently reflected in the ceramic repertoire of these regions too (SIEVERTSEN 2006).

¹⁰⁷ The list given here is not exhaustive.

¹⁰⁸ MONTET 1928; DUNAND 1939; 1954.

¹⁰⁹ SCHAEFFER 1939; 1949; 1956; 1962; WARD 1979; 1994; SINGER 1999.

¹¹⁰ EDEL 1986; HACHMANN 1996; LILYQUIST 1996.

¹¹¹ TARAQJI 1999; BIETAK 2007.

¹¹² SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1979; 1997; LILYQUIST 1993; RYHOLT 1998b; NIGRO 2002, 30: note 48, 314–316.

¹¹³ SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1989. The sphinx is kept in the Archaeological Museum of Aleppo. Although often credited as having been found at Neirab, according to SCANDONE MATTHIAE (1989, 125–126), the actual findspot of the monument seems more likely to be Aleppo.

¹¹⁴ DU MESNIL DU BUISSON 1928, 10–12, 17, pls. XII, XIX.1; 1935; ROCCATI 2002; AHRENS 2006; 2010; 2011a.

¹¹⁵ AHRENS 2003; 2006; 2010; 2011a; forthcoming.

¹¹⁶ KLENGEL 1992, 41–43.

¹¹⁷ BIETAK 1998, 166; 2010; DURAND 1999, 159.

¹¹⁸ see also GILL and PADGHAM 2005, 53, table 1.

Levant only at a later date, most probably during the later part of the Middle Bronze Age, i.e. Second Intermediate Period or “Hyksos Period”,¹¹⁹ or sometimes even the Late Bronze Age.¹²⁰

A differentiation between royal and non-royal statuary also does not seem to be helpful with regard to the function (or better: social significance and appropriation) of these monuments in the Levant, as both have been found together at many sites in the northern Levant.¹²¹ This might also be the case with the two statues found at Tell Hizzin, which comprise one royal (Sobekhotep IV) and one private statue (Djefaihapi), although it is not clear whether the statues were actually found close to each other or not. However, even if the statues were not found together, they might still belong to or originate from one stratigraphical unit or building complex.

This is not to say that the Egyptian objects in question did not reach the northern Levant as gifts, yet it is difficult to precisely date their arrival at the sites in question. Given the functional and historical implications of the inscriptions on some of these monuments – the objects’ “biographies” –, it is highly likely that they reached the Levant only sometime after their manufacture and initial use in Egypt. Given the general appropriation of all things Egyptian by the northern Levantine rulers during the 2nd millennium, it is not surprising to find Egyptian objects at important sites in the northern Levant.¹²² Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about the findspot of the two statues from Tell Hizzin, although one would generally expect them to originate from an elite or palatial context.¹²³

¹¹⁹ HELCK 1971, 68–71; 1976, 104–106; BIETAK 1998; 2010; AHRENS 2011b; contra SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1984; WARD 1979.

¹²⁰ FORSTNER-MÜLLER et al. 2002.

¹²¹ THALMANN 1999, 109–113; AHRENS 2011a; forthcoming.

¹²² AHRENS 2011a; forthcoming.

¹²³ In this respect, Chéhab’s mention of a “palace-like structure” is certainly appealing. Yet, at least the statue of Djefaihapi seems to have been found in a level below this structure (CHÉHAB 1983, 167, “Dans des couches plus profondes, nous avons recueilli aussi des fragments d’une statuette égyptienne au nom du fameux Hapi-Djéfa, gouverneur de Nubie”). Also, as there is no absolute date of this specific structure given by Chéhab, the relation of the statues to the building and the date of their actual findspots remain equally unclear.

¹²⁴ There is, however, a passage in a Hittite cuneiform tablet from Boğazköy (KBo II 11 rev. 11–14) sent by King Hat-

VI. Conclusion

Summing up, a possible date for the statues’ arrival in the northern Levant – in direct analogy to the evidence from Kerma in Nubia – would therefore be sometime during the Second Intermediate Period (late 13th–15th Dynasties), most probably not earlier. In this respect, it is interesting to note here once again that statues of Djefaihapi were found both at Kerma and Tell Hizzin, thus perhaps implying the same historical background for their dispatch to these two sites. The same may also hold true for the statue of Sobekhotep IV, although at Kerma only 13th Dynasty Pharaohs Sobekhotep I and V (VI) are attested inside the tumuli (among many others dating to the Middle Kingdom), though one may wonder whether the statue of Sobekhotep IV found on the island of Argos is not to be seen as also belonging to this corpus of “stolen antiquities.” It could well be that the statues reached the site via Byblos, although it is impossible to state exactly when, given the scanty archaeological and historical evidence of such inter-regional “peer to peer” relations and land-based local networks.¹²⁴

Additionally, an even later date for the dispatch of the statues would, though less likely, nevertheless also seem plausible, since it is well known that Hazi (most probably to be identified with Tell Hizzin) belonged to the Egyptian sphere of influence during the 18th Dynasty – a period during which it is also known from textual sources that many Egyptian objects were sent to various places in the Levant.¹²⁵ The seat of the Egyptian *Rabisū* at nearby Kumidi (Kāmid el-Lōz),¹²⁶ attempting to assert Egyptian control over the territory during the

tusili II to an unknown king, which refers to exactly such a gift exchange. The passage reads: “Now, then, I have taken a rhyton of silver and a rhyton of pure gold from the gift of the king of Egypt and I have sent them to you;” see CLINE 1995, 145. See now also FLAMMINI 2010.

¹²⁵ MORAN 1992, EA 175, 185 and 186; FORSTNER-MÜLLER et al. 2002. Unfortunately, there is little – if any – reference made to “statues” or the like in the large corpus of the Amarna letters or in other lists dealing with objects sent to the Levant, see FORSTNER-MÜLLER et al. 2002.

¹²⁶ Underneath the Late Bronze Age palace, another palace dating to the Middle Bronze Age has been excavated by a team from the University of Freiburg/Breisgau (Germany). The results and the finds associated with this building complex may shed new light on the city’s function and influence in the Beqa’a Valley during the Middle Bronze Age, see also HEINZ et al. 2010, 153–180.

Amarna Period, may thus well account for the presence of the statues at Tell Hizzin too.¹²⁷ In this case, the statues – regardless of their actual age

and content of their inscriptions – could also be seen as gifts given to the local rulers by the Egyptian governor.¹²⁸

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¹²⁷ HACHMANN 1982.

¹²⁸ Besides the many Egyptian imports and Egyptianizing objects found in the "Schatzhaus", the communal tomb of the local rulers of Kumidi, the fragment of an Egyptian

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