



DJEHUTIHOTEP AND MEGIDDO IN THE EARLY MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

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ABSTRACT

The fragment of an Egyptian statue of Djehutihotep found at Megiddo by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (OI) has been long known. It was found with three uninscribed Egyptian statue fragments reused in the foundations of Temple 2048, attributed to Stratum VII, which was dated by them to the Late Bronze Age IIB, 13th–12th century BCE. A recent reevaluation of the stratigraphy of the cultic area of Megiddo (OI: Area BB; TAU: Area J) based on new excavations, however, demonstrates that the foundation of Temple 2048 should be assigned to Stratum XII dated to the early Middle Bronze Age II. The new dating of the findspot of the Djehutihotep statue fragment narrows the window of time for the arrival of the statue at Megiddo to the lifetime of Djehutihotep, supports a high chronology for the Middle Bronze Age, and demonstrates direct contact between Egypt and Megiddo in the Middle Bronze Age I. This paper reviews the new data on the archaeological context and reevaluates the implications of Djehutihotep at Megiddo.

INTRODUCTION

The fragment of an Egyptian statue of Djehutihotep found at Megiddo by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (OI) has been long known.¹ It was found with three uninscribed Egyptian statue fragments reused in the foundations of Temple 2048, attributed by the excavators to Stratum VII, which was dated by them to the Late Bronze Age IIB, 13th–12th century BCE.² The statue fragments are all Middle Kingdom in style, and that of Djehutihotep can be dated more precisely to the reigns of Amenhotep II, Senwosret II, and Senwosret III, on the basis of inscriptions from his tomb at el-Bersheh, Egypt.³ Since the fragments were found in a significantly later context, their value for the chronology and character of Egyptian and Levantine interactions in the Middle Bronze Age has been perceived of as having little or no value.⁴

A recent reevaluation of the stratigraphy of the cultic area of Megiddo (OI: Area BB; TAU: Area J) by the author based on new excavations, however, demonstrates that the foundation of Temple 2048 should be assigned to Stratum XII, dated to the early Middle Bronze Age II.⁵ Consequently, the dating of the subsequent remodelings should be moved no

later than the LB I. The new dating of the findspot of the Djehutihotep statue fragment narrows the window of time for the arrival of the statue at Megiddo to the lifetime of Djehutihotep, supporting the High Chronology for the Middle Bronze Age, and demonstrates direct contact between Egypt and Megiddo in the Middle Bronze Age I. This paper reviews the new data on the archaeological context and reevaluates the implications of Djehutihotep at Megiddo.

STRATIGRAPHY OF MEGIDDO AREA BB (AREA J) IN THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

The stratigraphic sequence of the cultic area of Megiddo Area BB has been fairly well understood since the OI excavations (Table 1).⁶ As part of the renewed excavations by Tel Aviv University, several opportunities presented themselves to check and to refine the OI stratigraphy. Over three seasons (2006–2010), excavations were carried out in an annex to the main sector of Area J, known as Upper J, directly over the unexcavated portion of Stratum XV Temple 5269, where the entire sequence of Middle Bronze stratigraphy could be connected to the new Early Bronze Age sequence.⁷ Further, additional data



collected during the excavation of Area J including new observations of existing sections provided support for the re-stratification of

some Middle Bronze structures excavated by the OI.⁸ The current understanding of the Middle Bronze stratigraphy is presented in Table 1, and summarized here.

The earliest Middle Bronze I settlement at Megiddo was in Stratum XIV, with the establishment of a village upon the ruins of the abandoned Stratum XV triple temple complex (Temples 4040, 5192, and 5269) which dates to the Intermediate Bronze Age.⁹ Stratum XIV Area BB consisted primarily of structures, with part of Temple 4040 remodeled into a small shrine.¹⁰ Stratum XIII shows continuity with Stratum XIV, but increasing wealth, development in town planning, and larger construction efforts, including fortifications and a new cult space.¹¹

FIGURE 1: OI Stratum XII of Area BB. Note the empty space in the center, Square N/13 and around which is present in the plans of Stratum XII–IX (after Loud 1948, fig. 399 and Adams forthcoming). Solid black walls represent walls reconstructed from multiple plans.

In Stratum XII, dated to the Middle Bronze II, a monumental palace was constructed in the western part of the area while well-organized elite houses were built in the east within the newly widened fortification wall.¹² Between the two, was large blank space as presented by the OI, which remains an unknown through Stratum IX (Fig. 1).¹³ This is a curious phenomenon since for a millennium before this period, this was the precise location of the primary temples of Megiddo (Early Bronze I–Intermediate Bronze Age) and was, again, the location of the main cult in the Late Bronze Age.¹⁴ This gap has led some scholars to suggest that the Middle Bronze Age inhabitants of Megiddo had a decentralized cult focused on private religious ritual relating to death, without a public temple.¹⁵

Claire Epstein suggested that the Temple 2048, assigned by the excavators to the Late Bronze Age

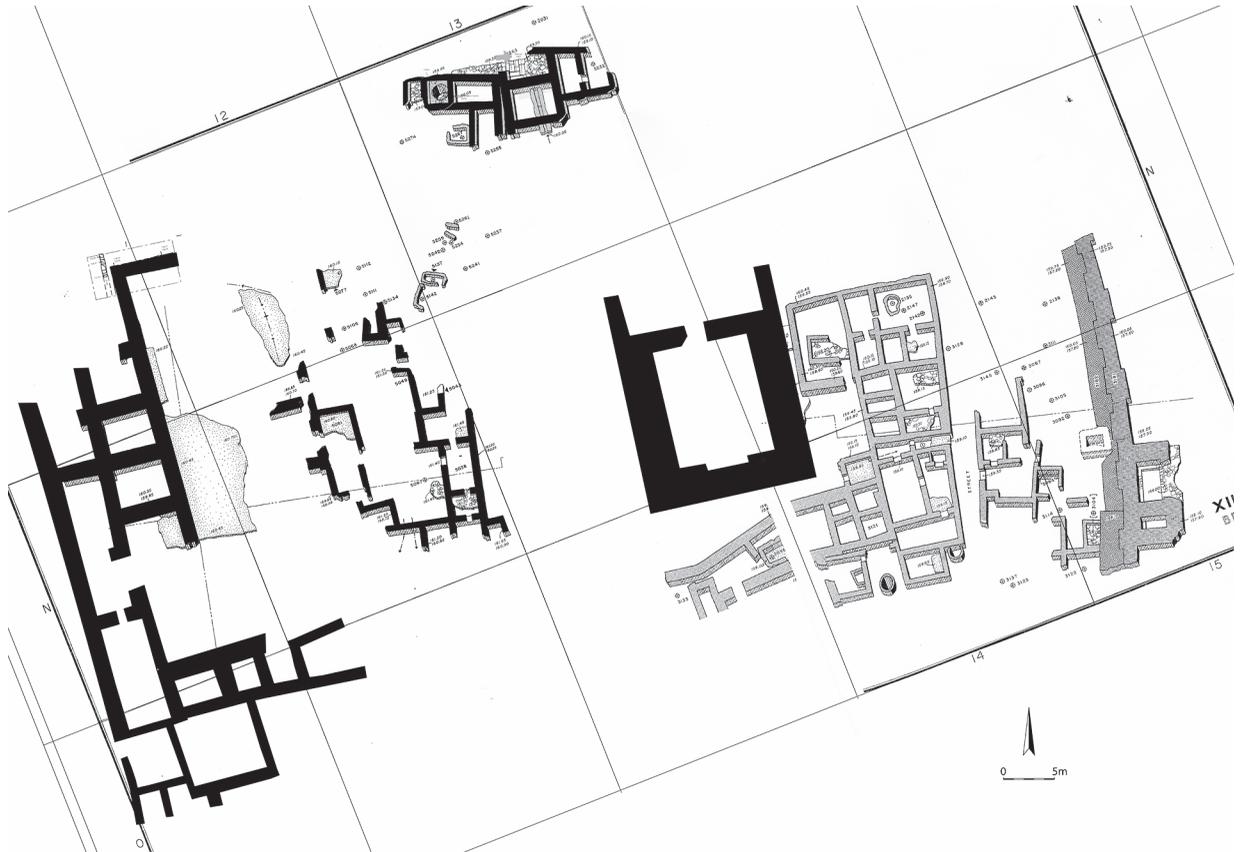


FIGURE 2: OI Stratum XII reconstructed with early phase of Temple 2048 showing the Middle Bronze II development of Area BB with palace (left), temple (center), elite houses and fortifications (right) (after Loud 1948, fig. 398 and Adams forthcoming).

TABLE 1: Middle Bronze Stratigraphy of Area J.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO STRATUM	TAU LEVEL	DESCRIPTION	PERIOD
XV	J-7	Temples 4040, 5192, and 5269.	IB
XIVB/A	J-8-9	Primarily domestic. Reuse of Temple 4040.	MB I
XIIIB/A	J-10	Increasing prosperity. New cult space. Fortifications.	MB I
XII	J-11	Palace, Temple 2048, elite houses.	MB II
XI	J-12	Palace rebuilt and Temple 2048, elite houses.	MB II
X	J-13	Palace rebuilt and Temple 2048, elite houses.	MB III-LB I
IX	J-14, 15, 16	Temple 2048.	LB I
VIII		Temple 2048.	LB II
VII		Temple 2048.	LB II

Stratum VIII,¹⁶ originated in an earlier Stratum and argued for a Stratum XII precursor—which she considered to be Temple 2048 Phase I, lasting throughout the Middle Bronze Strata, XII, XI, and X.¹⁷ She based her conclusion on a wide variety of convincing evidence from the unpublished field notes, stratigraphy, finds, and enigmatic layers of rubble beneath the existing part of the temple. The rubble in question is a series of alternating layers of small-sized-stone “pavements”¹⁸ with compact earth between. Epstein notes that while the reporting of these layers in the final report is inconsistent, the Field Diary record from 24 November 1935 gives the fullest explanation, citing “no less than eight stone floors about 30 cm apart... ending at the base of the foundation [of Temple 2048].”¹⁹ Epstein interpreted these layers as detritus from the dismantling of the Stratum XII–X edifice, which was nearly identical in plan to Temple 2048.

This author’s reassessment of the stratigraphy of Temple 2048 demonstrated that the sequence of stone layers was, in fact, a foundation technique that is known elsewhere in Stratum XII.²⁰ In all cases, it appears that this type of foundation was intended to support particularly monumental construction in topographically precarious situations, near edges of terraces, for example.²¹ Thus, in combination with other factors, such as the arrangement and orientation of buildings, this author argued for a Stratum XII origin for Temple 2048, which lasted until Stratum VII (Fig. 2). While it is clear that there were alterations to the temple over time, these phases cannot be coordinated with particular strata, though Epstein argued for a Stratum IX date for the second phase (dated by the excavators to Stratum VIIB), Late Bronze I.²²

After Stratum XIII, for the remainder of the Middle Bronze Age, Stratum XI (Middle Bronze II) and X (Middle Bronze III) in Area BB follow the same use of space, generally: a palatial center adjacent to a *migdol*-temple in the western part of the area, with elite housing on the east.²³ With Stratum IX (Late Bronze I), the character of Area BB shifts somewhat. The Middle Bronze palaces are abandoned and relocated to Area AA, while the *migdol*-temple continues to function for the remainder of the Late Bronze Age.

DJEHUTIHOTEP AND HIS STATUE

The Djehutihotep statue was found by the OI along with three other uninscribed fragments in the foundations of the Temple 2048 in Area BB.²⁴ “Three

of these pieces, including the one under discussion were incorporated into the rubble of which the temple platform was built.”²⁵ The platform in question is part of Epstein’s Phase 2, which dates to Stratum IX (Late Bronze I) or earlier.²⁶ The statue, therefore, must have arrived at Megiddo sometime in the Middle Bronze Age.²⁷

The owner of the statue is Djehutihotep, son of Kai (Fig. 6, ln. 4) and Sat[kheperka] (Fig. 4, ln. 4), whose tomb at Deir el-Bersheh in Middle Egypt is well known.²⁸ The tomb has been known since the 1817 but was published only in 1894, having been exposed to visitors and the elements for nearly a century.²⁹ A few key inscriptions from the tomb provide a timeframe for Djehutihotep’s life and career.

The jambs on the façade of his tomb contain four vertical inscriptions each headed by the Horus name of a king under whom Djehutihotep lived (Fig. 3): Hekenma’at (Amenemhet II), Seshemtawy (Senwosret II),³⁰ and Netjerkheperw (Senwosret III).³¹ The inside of the right jamb further indicates that he was a Royal Child (*hrd nswt*)³² under [Nebkau]re (Amenemhet II),³³ and the exterior of the same jamb indicates that he was a Sole Friend (*smr w’ty*) of Haikheperre (Senwosret II). Djehutihotep, therefore, was born and educated as a child in the court of Amenemhet II, perhaps very roughly the same age as Senwosret II, and died sometime in the reign of Senwosret III.

Several of Djehutihotep’s titles from his tomb indicate that he was a close confidant of the king, performing functions in the upper echelons of the court while also being the Nomarch of the 15th Nome (the “Hare” Nome; centered on Hermopolis), which he inherited from his grandfather (Neheri II).³⁴ While most of the references to titles in the tomb relate to his esteemed role as Nomarch, one title appears only once (at least that is preserved), “Gate/Door of Every Foreign Land” (*ꜥ n hꜣst nb*)³⁵ (or, perhaps “Gatekeeper,” [*iry*]^ꜥ), and is, as far as I can judge, unique.

As expected, several of the titles on the Megiddo statue are the same those from the Djehutihotep’s tomb. On the left side, he is the “Nomarch, Controller of the Two Thrones, Overseer of Priests, Chief of Five, Royal Intimate, He Who Sees the Secrets of the King’s [House(?)] and Sanctifies the Courtiers, The Great One of [the Hare Nome], [...]”³⁶ Djehutihotep born of Sat[kheperka].” On the right, he is the “Nomarch, Controller of the Two Thrones, Overseer of Priests, Magistrate and Administrator at

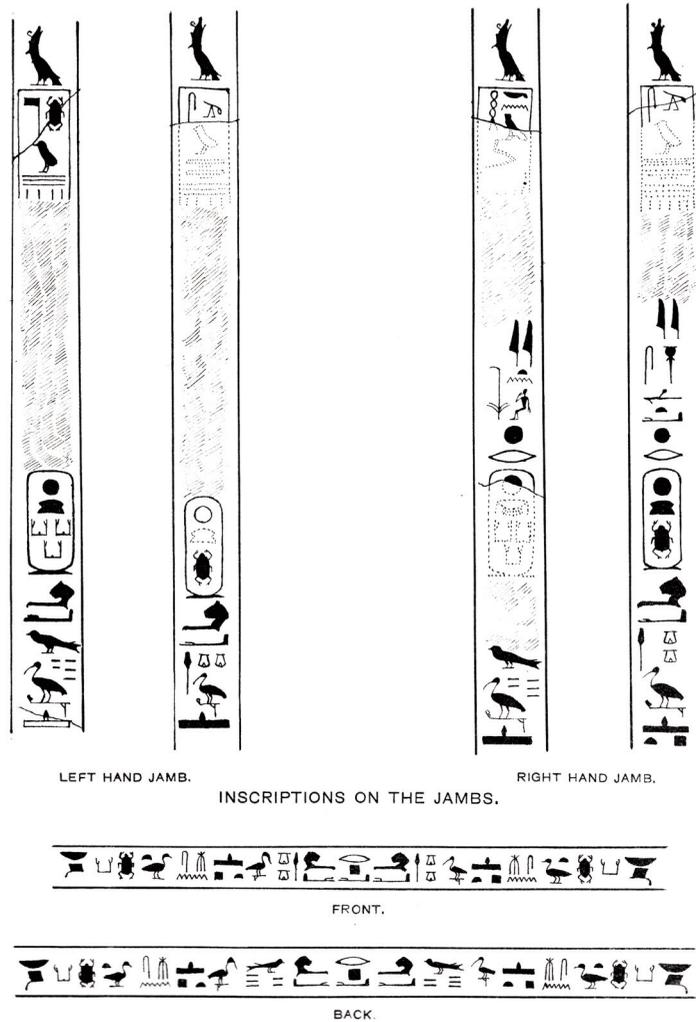


FIGURE 3: Architrave and Door Jamb inscriptions from the façade of the tomb of Djehutihotep at Deir el-Bersheh (from Newberry 1894, pl. V).

Buto, [...],³⁷ High Priest of Djehuti, [...] Kai's son, Djehutihotep."

There are titles attested in his tomb that are not on the statue, which is not surprising. However, several titles on the statue do not appear in the tomb at all. These include most of titles that are in partial lacunae (above),³⁸ but they also include the curious title on the back pillar of the statue (Figs. 5, 7). The text on the back is broken with the statue at the waist, and is about half the original length: "[... Chief of Five] in Per-Djehuti,³⁹ ..., Kai's son, Djehutihotep." The signs of one or possibly two titles before the name of Kai *are* legible, but their meaning is uncertain and the group is not otherwise attested

(Fig. 7).⁴⁰ Wilson struggled to make sense of the title here without much confidence in his suggestions.⁴¹ What is clear is that the title begins with *wr*, "Great One" or "Chief," and ends with *m pr hnm*, "in the temple of Khnum." The sign after *wr* almost certainly has to be the *gm*-bird, as suggested by Wilson. What follows is a tall sign with a bulbous top, which seems most likely to be the *hq3*-staff. This is followed by two clear *fh*-strings.⁴² The *fh*-string is used as a determinative in words associated with string or binding.⁴³ It is also used as a determinative in the ethnonym, *Fnhw*, "Fenkheh," referring to the people of the Phoenician coast.⁴⁴ If the Fenkheh are meant, one potential translation of the title might be, "Great One Who Finds the Ruler/Scepter of the two(?) Fenkhu in the temple of Khnum." While the meaning of this reconstruction is just as opaque as Wilson's suggestions, the advantage of reading Fenkheh is that the statue was found in a Levantine context.

Another part of the statue inscription, also mentioning Khnum, has a difficult group. The invocation of Khnum on the left side inscription: "An offering which the king gives (to) Khnum, Lord of ..." (Fig. 4). Once again, the signs *are* legible, but the untranslatable toponym is

nowhere else attested. The group is composed of three signs: what appears to be a *ntr*, followed by the ideogram *h3st*, and the city determinative. Wilson translated, "Lord of the Foreign-Country-of-the-God," which was otherwise unknown to him and remains unknown outside this inscription.⁴⁵ He hesitatingly suggested that this may be a reference the town of Megiddo.⁴⁶ If this is the case, it would suggest that the statue was inscribed with the intention of depositing the statue in the temple at Megiddo, and that the Egyptians had assimilated the deity of Megiddo to Khnum.

Private statues set up in temples is a known phenomenon in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom onwards, and allowed for the deceased individual to witness and participate in temple cult. The two well-known 18th Dynasty sculptures of Amenhotep son of Hapu illustrate well this phenomenon,⁴⁷ and the more than 700 stone sculptures from the "Karnak

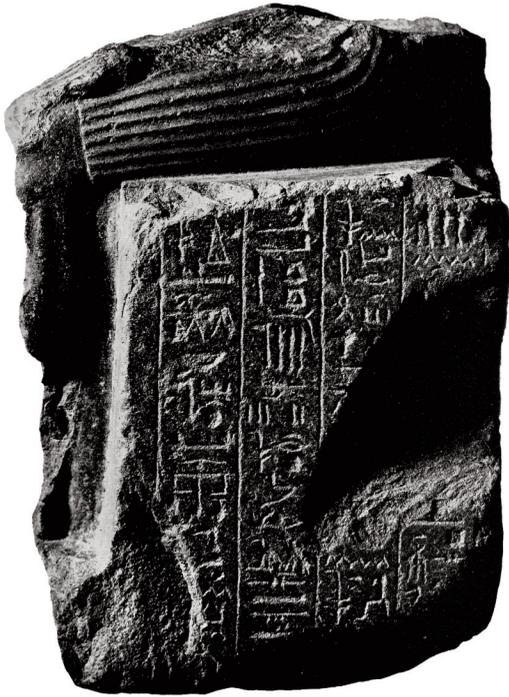


FIGURE 4: Left side of statue of Djehutihotep from Megiddo. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.



FIGURE 5: Rear of statue of Djehutihotep from Megiddo. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.



FIGURE 6: Right side of statue of Djehutihotep from Megiddo. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Cachette," which represent a Ptolemaic-era cleanup of the temple, attest to similar private statuary as far back as the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁸

In addition to the unique "Gatekeeper of Every Foreign Land" title attested in his tomb, there are other possible allusions to Djehutihotep's experience in foreign lands. A unique hunting scene from Djehutihotep's tomb shows him in a unique fully wrapped robe, "observing the trapping of the wild game (*wt h3st*)."⁴⁹ The latter phrase is known also from Sinuhe for the wild game brought regularly to him as a guest and son-in-law of Ammunenshi in Upper Retenu.⁵⁰ In the accompanying hunting scene, his sons and assistants, including an Asiatic individual ensnare an assortment of wild animals. Tree-topped hills that abound in the background of all registers exclude the likelihood of an Egyptian locale for the scene. While it is tempting to see an Asiatic locale, particularly with many of these animals, the diversity of game might indicate a more idealized scene of game from the known world.

Another scene shows an accounting of various types cattle.⁵¹ Over one section of cattle is a caption that Aylward Blackman has taken as *k3w Rtnw*, "the

cattle of Retjenu."⁵² Retjenu, however, lacks the foreign-land determinative, which allows for the understanding *k3w r-tnw*, "cattle for the purpose of counting."⁵³ Considering the fragmentary text, it remains difficult to choose one interpretation over another.

In sum, Djehutihotep, Nomarch of the 15th Nome of Upper Egypt appears to have had some experience with foreign lands. He held a unique title, "Gatekeeper of Every Foreign Land," and there are some vague allusions to foreign themes in his tomb. His statue bears additional titles not attested in his tomb, all of which are challenging to decipher. While the statue is, by all measures, of Egyptian make, one cannot help but wonder if the scribe was challenged to translate foreign titles into Egyptian. The unattested toponym related to Khnum also suggests a foreign place with either the ideogram or determinative *h3st*, whether the place is a reference to Megiddo or not. Finally, the title on the back of the statue may refer to the Fenkheh, a regional ethnonym that is used in conjunction with Megiddo later in the Karnak Room III annals inscription of Thutmose III.⁵⁴

The Djehutihotep statue at Megiddo was found reused in the fill of the platform at the back of the second phase of the temple. The date for this phase of the temple is Stratum IX, Late Bronze I at the latest. Considering the unique titles and the reference to foreign lands in various ways on the statue, it is most likely that the statue was created specifically for use abroad during the lifetime of Djehutihotep and *not* robbed from his tomb in el-Bersheh after his death to be given as a prestige item to a royal of Megiddo. The function of the statue, as paralleled elsewhere, therefore, would have been to give Djehutihotep a permanent presence in the temple of Megiddo. Finally, that the reuse of the statue was in the Stratum IX, Late Bronze I, indicates that its original arrival of the statue at Megiddo must have been during the Middle Bronze Age, and that it was most likely deposited in the first phase of the temple, which was built in Stratum XII, the early Middle Bronze II.⁵⁵



FIGURE 7: Close-up of the central title on rear of Djehutihotep statue. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

DJEHUTIHOTEP AND THE HIGH AND LOW CHRONOLOGIES OF THE MB IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT

Djehutihotep was active during the reigns of Amenemhet II, Senwosret II, and Senwosret III. Since no earlier king than Amenemhet II and no later king than Senwosret III is attested in his tomb,

it is safe to conclude that his life is wholly contained in these reigns. Considering that Amenemhet II had an approximately 3-year co-regency with his predecessor, Senwosret I,⁵⁶ we can suppose that Djehutihotep was born no earlier than Amenemhet II's Year 4. Amenemhet II had about 30 years of sole rule before his co-regency with Senwosret II. Senwosret II ruled 8 years. Senwosret III had 19 years of sole rule before his coregency with Amenemhet III.⁵⁷ According to the latest radiocarbon



FIGURE 8: Close-up of the toponym on left side of Djehutihotep statue. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

assessment of Egyptian chronology, the accession date of Amenemhet II is between 1928 and 1878 BCE, Senwosret II is between 1895 and 1844 BCE, and Senwosret III is between 1889 and 1836 BCE (95% Modeled hpd ranges).⁵⁸ Djehutihotep's life must be contained within the 57 years between the beginning of Amenemhet's 3rd year and Senwosret III's 20th year; using the maximum ranges of the accession dates, between 1925 BCE and 1817 BCE.

With regard to the Levantine chronology, the key date is the transition from the Middle Bronze I to the Middle Bronze II. According to the Traditional Chronology the transition occurred within the 18th century BCE, tied particularly with the transition from the 12th to the 13th Dynasty.⁵⁹ The Low Chronology would put this transition right around 1700 BCE. The High Radiocarbon Chronology puts this transition at approximately in the second half of the 19th century BCE—1850/1800 BCE.

Considering that the statue was most likely placed in the Stratum XII temple, which is early Middle Bronze II, during his lifetime, only the High Radiocarbon Chronology transition date of 1850/1800 BCE fits this scenario—i.e., the Middle Bronze II must have started during his lifetime, the reigns of Amenemhet II, Senwosret II, Senwosret III, and within the maximal radiocarbon range for his life limited by the inscriptional evidence from his tomb, between 1925 BCE and 1817 BCE.

In addition to the chronological implications of this discussion, the statue of Djehutihotep emerges as a concrete example from southern Levantine contexts of direct Egyptian and Canaanite interaction during the 12th Dynasty.

Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Eric Cline, "The 2004–2008 Seasons," in Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Eric Cline (eds.), *Megiddo V: The 2004–2008 Seasons*, Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 31 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2013); Michael B. Toffolo, Eran Arie, Mario A. S. Martin, Elisabetta Boaretto, and Israel Finkelstein, "Absolute Chronology of Megiddo, Israel, in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages: High-Resolution Radiocarbon Dating," *Radiocarbon* 56.1 (2014): 221–244.

³ Percy E. Newberry, *El Bersheh, Part I (The Tomb of Tehuti-Hetep)*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt 3 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1894).

⁴ Cohen 2002, 53; Anna-Latifa Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the Early Second Intermediate Period*, *Archeopress Egyptology* 11 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2015), 264.

⁵ Matthew J. Adams, "The Cult Spaces of Megiddo in the Middle Bronze Age: New Data and New Hypotheses," in untitled festschrift for [name suppressed], *Ägypten und Altes Testament* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, forthcoming a).

⁶ Loud 1948, 78–102.

⁷ Matthew J. Adams, "Area J, Part I: Introduction," in Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Eric Cline (eds.), *Megiddo V: The 2004–2008 Seasons*, Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 31 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2013a), 21–27; Matthew J. Adams, "Area J, Part III: The Main Sector of Area J," in Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Eric Cline (eds.), *Megiddo V: The 2004–2008 Seasons*, Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 31 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2013b), 47–118; Matthew J. Adams and James M. Bos, "Area J, Part IV: Sub-Area Upper J," in Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Eric Cline (eds.), *Megiddo V: The 2004–2008 Seasons*, Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 31 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2013), 111–133; M. Cradic and Matthew J. Adams, "Middle Bronze Age Burials from Areas J," in Israel Finkelstein, Eric Cline, Matthew J. Adams and Mario Martin (eds.), *Megiddo VI: The 2010–2014 Seasons*, Sonia and Marco Nadler

¹ John A. Wilson, "The Egyptian Middle Kingdom at Megiddo," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 58 (1941): 225–236; Gordon Loud, *Megiddo II: Seasons of 1935–39*. Oriental Institute Publications 62 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), pl. 265; Susan L. Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections: The Relationship of Middle Bronze IIA Canaan to Middle Kingdom Egypt*, *Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant* 3 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 9.

² Wilson 1941, 226, citing the field director Gordon Loud. For the fragments, see Loud 1948, pls. 265–267. For dating of the strata, see Israel

- Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, forthcoming).
- ⁸ Adams forthcoming a.
- ⁹ Loud 1948, 78–84; Adams 2013b; Matthew J. Adams, “Response: Egypt and the Levant in the Early/Middle Bronze Age Transition,” in Felix Höflmayer (ed.), *The Late Third Millennium BC in the Ancient Near East: Chronology, C14, and Climate Change*, Oriental Institute Seminars 11 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2017), 447–469; Matthew J. Adams, “Stratigraphy of the Egyptianizing Pottery Cache from Area J,” in Israel Finkelstein, Eric H. Cline, Matthew J. Adams, and Mario M. A. Martin (eds.), *Megiddo VI: The 2010–2014 Seasons*, Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, forthcoming b); Matthew J. Adams, “The Three Temples in Antis at Megiddo,” in Suzanne Richard (ed.), *New Horizons in the Study of the Early Bronze III and Early Bronze IV in the Levant* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming c).
- ¹⁰ Loud 1948, 84; Adams and Bos 2013, 120–125.
- ¹¹ Loud 1948, 84–87; Adams and Bos 2013, 125–128; Adams forthcoming a.
- ¹² Loud 1948, 87–92; Adams and Bos 2013, 128–132.
- ¹³ Loud 1948, figs. 397–400.
- ¹⁴ Claire Epstein, “An Interpretation of the Megiddo Sacred Area During the Middle Bronze II,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 15 (1965): 204–221.
- ¹⁵ Rachel S. Hallote, “Tombs, Cult and Chronology: A Reexamination of the Middle Bronze Age Strata of Megiddo,” in Samuel R. Wolff (ed.), *Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and Neighboring Lands in Memory of Douglas L. Esse*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations 59 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2001), 199–214.
- ¹⁶ Loud 1948, 102–105.
- ¹⁷ Epstein 1965. See also similar dating sentiments by George Ernest Wright, “The Second Campaign at Tell Balâtah (Shechem),” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 148 (1957): 11–28, n. 4. Dunayevsky and Kempinski also argued for earlier dates and suggested that the layers of rubble were a construction element: Immanuel Dunayevsky and Aharon Kempinski, “The Megiddo Temples,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 89 (1973): 161–187; Aharon Kempinski, *Megiddo: A City-State and Royal Centre in North Israel*, Materialien zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie 40 (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989), 181–186. For a detailed historiography on the subject, see Adams forthcoming a.
- ¹⁸ Loud 1948, 102; Epstein 1965, 217.
- ¹⁹ Epstein 1965, 205.
- ²⁰ Adams forthcoming a.
- ²¹ Adams forthcoming a. See also the similar phenomenon at Pella.
- ²² Loud 1948, fig. 247; Epstein 1965, 215.
- ²³ Loud 1948, 92–102; Adams and Bos 2013, 128–132.
- ²⁴ Field No. A 1199; OI Registration Number: A 18622; Wilson 1941; Loud 1948, pl. 265; The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago collections, <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/#D/MC/54561/H/1485957288045>.
- ²⁵ Wilson 1941, 226, citing Field Director, Gordon Loud.
- ²⁶ Epstein 1965, 214–216; Adams forthcoming b.
- ²⁷ The original excavator’s stratification of the middle phase of the temple to Stratum VIIB allowed for a Late Bronze Age date for the arrival of the statue. Interpretations of this statues as well as other Middle Kingdom material in the Levant have been understood as exports from Egypt by Hyksos rulers as exotic items or as gift exchange between New Kingdom pharaohs and their imperial subjects, the Middle Kingdom objects having been robbed from tombs in Egypt; Alexander Ahrens, “Strangers in a Strange Land? The Function and Social Significance of Egyptian Imports in the Northern Levant During the 2nd Millennium BC,” in Kim Duistermaat (ed.), *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, 25th to 29th October 2008*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 202 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 285–307.
- ²⁸ Newberry 1894.
- ²⁹ Newberry 1894, 3.
- ³⁰ Senwosret II heads two of the four columns, presumably since most of Djehutihotep’s career was spent under his reign.

- ³¹ Newberry 1894, pl. V.
- ³² That is, educated in the Royal Harem.
- ³³ Newberry 1894, pl. V. For traces of and reconstruction of the royal name, see Newberry 1894, 12.
- ³⁴ Newberry 1894, 6–8.
- ³⁵ Newberry 1894, pl. X.
- ³⁶ See various notes by Wilson 1941, 228–229.
- ³⁷ See various notes by Wilson 1941, 228–229.
- ³⁸ See notes by Wilson 1941 who was unable to reconstruct these based on titles from the tomb.
- ³⁹ A reference to the temple of Djehuti at Hermopolis—or to Hermopolis itself.
- ⁴⁰ See suggestions by Wilson 1941, 230.
- ⁴¹ Wilson 1941, 230–231.
- ⁴² Gardiner sign V12 (Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. [Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957]).
- ⁴³ James. P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 445.
- ⁴⁴ Robert Eisler, “Ägyptisch *Fnh.w*, Griechisch Φοίνιχες,” in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 80 (1926): 154–160; Kenneth A. Kitchen, “Sinuhe’s Foreign Friends, and Papyri (Coptic) Greenhill 1–4,” in Christopher Eyre, Anthony Leahy, and Lisa Montagnò Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1994), 161–169; Donald B. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 131, n. 129.
- ⁴⁵ Wilson 1941, 227.
- ⁴⁶ Wilson 1941, 227–228.
- ⁴⁷ JE 44861; A. Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l’architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou* (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1968), 31, pl. IV. JE 44862; Varille 1968, 24–25, pl. III. Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers I* (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1906), 78–80; José M. Galán, “Amenhotep Son of Hapu as Intermediary between the People and God,” in Zahi Hawass and Lyla Pinch Brock (eds.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000* (Cairo and New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2003), 221–229; Jonathan David and Matthew J. Adams, “A Mouse in Memphis: Herodotus 2.141 and an Egyptian Sculptural Motif,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (forthcoming).
- ⁴⁸ See the online database of the cachette:Karnak Cachette and G. Legrain’s “K” Numbers, <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/>. It is noteworthy that the excavation was never completed, and it remains unknown how much more is buried at Karnak. A similar but smaller cache was found in the late 1980s at the Luxor Temple.
- ⁴⁹ Newberry 1894, 13–14, pl. VII; Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 39.
- ⁵⁰ Roland Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* 17 (Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1990), B89.
- ⁵¹ Newberry 1894, pl. XVIII.
- ⁵² Aylward Blackman, “An Indirect Reference to Sesostri III’s Syrian Campaign in the Tomb-Chapel of ‘*Dḥwty-htp*’ at El-Bersheh,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 2 (1915): 13–14.
- ⁵³ See similar observation by Mourad 2015, 93.
- ⁵⁴ Redford 2003, 207. However, it should be kept in mind that the reference to the Fenkheh here is part of a later development of and embellishment on the Battle of Megiddo tradition.
- ⁵⁵ In theory, the statue’s original placement could have been in a pre-Stratum XII context, i.e., Middle Bronze I. However, this would be most unlikely, since, by the time it was reused in the second phase of the temple by Stratum IX, Stratum XIV/XIII material will have been well-buried beneath the stratigraphic buildup of Stratum XII, XI, and X. Further, no other residual Middle Bronze I material of notable size appears to have come from the location of the statue’s discovery, as one would expect if the builders of Phase II plundered some exposed Middle Bronze I context to find fill for the platform.

- ⁵⁶ Thomas Schneider, "The Relative Chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Periods (Dyns. 12–17)," in Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss, and David A. Warburton (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 168–196.
- ⁵⁷ Schneider 2006.
- ⁵⁸ Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Michael W. Dee, Joanne M. Rowland, Thomas F. G. Higham, Stephen A. Harris, Fiona Brock, Anita Quiles, Eva M. Wild, Ezra S. Marcus, Andrew J. Shortland, "Radiocarbon-Based Chronology for Dynastic Egypt," *Science* 328 (2010): 1554–1557.
- ⁵⁹ For detailed review and discussion, see Höflmayer, this volume.