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## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE PALACE OF AMENHOTEP III

#### WILLIAM C. HAYES

GRATIFYING result of the excavations conducted in southwestern Thebes during the years 1910-20 by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art1 was the recovery from the ruins of the palace-city of Amenhotep III<sup>2</sup> of a considerable amount of inscribed material, much of it of a historical or semihistorical nature. Included among the finds now in New York are some fourteen hundred hieratic jar-labels, an interesting series of stamped jar-sealings and stamped mud bricks, many ring bezels and other small objects bearing royal and private names, and a few inscribed architectural elements—all dated or datable to the last three decades of the reign of Amenhotep III. While it is not feasible, nor perhaps even desirable, to publish this material in extenso, we may utilize the Journal's hospitable pages to record the principal types of inscriptions preserved to us from the palace ruins and to examine briefly the data which they contain on the life and history of the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

Figure 1, a much reduced and simplified version of Walter Hauser's master-plan of the palace area, made at the conclusion of the Museum's excavations in 1920, shows the distribution and outlines of the principal buildings and the locations of the other sites in which the inscribed pieces were found. The oldest and most important building, the palace of the

king,3 occupies the southeast quarter of the great complex and is adjoined on the east by its kitchens, offices, and storerooms, and by a smaller royal dwelling (the South Palace), perhaps at one time the residence of Queen Tiy.4 The rambling Middle Palace, with its big porticoed courtyard, was probably built for the pharaoh's eldest son, Akhenaten, and occupied by him previous to and during the first five years of his coregency with his father.<sup>5</sup> Adjoining this palace, which is listed in the Expedition's field notes as "Ho.2.W," are the great houses Ho.1.W and Ho.3.W, prepared presumably for two other members of Amenhotep III's extensive family. The three big West Villas (A, B, and C), grouped together in a separate enclosure of their own, are thought to have housed the three senior officials of the court; while the rows of small, fiveroom houses farther to the west were clearly provided for minor officials or palace attendants. Similar rows of small houses, or Servants' Quarters, run parallel to the great North Palace, which appears to have been the residence of an extremely

<sup>3</sup> This structure, often referred to by modern writers simply as "the Palace," was partially excavated by Daressy in 1888–89 (Ann. Serv., IV, 165–70; XXVI, 12), re-excavated by Tytus in January, 1902 (A Preliminary Report on . . . the Palace of Amenhetep III [New York, 1903]), and cleared by Winlock during the winter of 1910–11 (Bull. MMA, 1912, pp. 184–89).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bull. MMA, 1912, pp. 184-89; 1915, pp. 253-56; March, 1918, Supplement, pp. 8-14; December, 1920, Part II, p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Long known to the natives of modern Thebes as el Malkata ("the place where things are picked up"), the whole of the palace complex appears to have been called in antiquity  $Pr-h^cy$ , the House of Rejoicing.

<sup>4</sup> Of the earlier palace buildings this is the one most closely adjoining the Birket Habu, the great T-shaped lake or harbor which we are told was constructed expressly for the queen (Drioton, Ann. Serv., XLV, 89–91; Engelbach and Macaldin, Bull. Inst. d'Égypte, XX, 51–81; etc.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The date "Regnal Year 1" (almost certainly of Akhenaten) occurs only in inscriptions from the Middle Palace (Fig. 4, No. 6).

important royal lady, quite possibly Queen Sitamun.<sup>6</sup> The western end of this building is given over to magazines and workshops, and farther to the west are the remains of a workmen's village. North of the latter and probably at one time the northernmost building of the palace group is the royal Audience Pavilion, its floor elevated above the surrounding terrain, its northern façade provided with a balcony-like projection jutting out into a deep, colonnaded courtyard. Wilkinson's Topographical Survey of Thebes published in 1830 and the general map of Thebes drawn up by Lepsius in 1842–458 show portions of the outlines of both this courtyard and a much larger enclosure a hundred meters farther to the north. The last-named comprises the forecourt, terrace, halls, sanctuaries, and magazines of a building identified by scores of stamped bricks and other inscribed objects found in it as the "Temple (hwt) of Amūn in the House of Rejoicing."9 A Festival Hall, prepared for the celebration of Amenhotep III's second Sedfestival, rightly believed by Lansing<sup>10</sup> to

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn White, its excavator, has pointed out that this palace is without the usual harem accommodations and must therefore have been built for and occupied by either a woman or a young boy (Bull. MMA, 1915, p. 256).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Davies, ZÄS, LX, 50-56; The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose, p. 32, Pl. XXXIII; Hölscher, ZÄS, LXVII, 43-51.

have formed part of this group of structures, is probably one of the big colonnaded buildings which extend along the northern side of the temple forecourt. Vast rubbish mounds in the open areas west of the palace buildings and along the embankments of the Birket Habu yielded quantities of inscribed jar fragments, as did also the South Village, a group of small factories and workmen's houses 250 meters south of the main palace enclosure. 11 The double line labeled "Causeway" in Figure 1 is, in fact, a broad roadway embankment leading southward, apparently from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el Ḥetān, behind Medinet Habu and past the palace to a small sun-temple near Deir esh Shelwīt.<sup>12</sup> It was probably joined by a driveway from the West Gate of the palace enclosure and perhaps by another from the rear of the Amūn temple.

Although the inscribed material from the palace covers a period of time extending from the eighth to the thirty-eighth regnal years of Amenhotep III, the vast majority of the dated inscriptions (chiefly jar-labels) belong to the last ten years of the reign, with the heaviest concentrations of inscriptions falling, naturally enough, in Years 30, 34, and 37, the dates of the king's three *Sed*-festivals (see Fig. 16).<sup>13</sup> As it now appears that Akh-

<sup>8</sup> Denkmaeler, I, Pl. 73.

 $<sup>^9</sup>$  See Lansing, Bull. MMA, March, 1918, Supplement, pp. 8, 9. The inscriptions referred to will be reproduced in a subsequent article. Hölscher was apparently unaware of their existence and of the nature and equipment of the building when he suggested  $(Z\ddot{A}S, LXVII, 47)$  that it was nothing more than a group of magazines surrounding a suite of administrative offices.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Op. cit., p. 10. The existence of such a hall in the near vicinity was indicated by the presence in these ruins of fragments of a sandstone door-frame with inscriptions referring to the king's Sed-festival and by the concentration in the temple forecourt of hundreds of jars for meat and other commodities dated to Regnal Year 34 and designated as being "for the repetition of the Heb-Sed" (see Figs. 5, 10–12).

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$  The South Village was excavated in 1902 by Tytus (op. cit., pp. 8, 25) and cleared and planned by Winlock in 1911 (Bull. MMA, 1912, p. 185). The fragments of inscribed jars mentioned by Daressy (Ann. Serv., IV, 168–69) appear to have been found in the same general area.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Tytus, op. cit., p. 8. The ruins of the little temple at the southern end of the roadway appear to be unpublished but include a small courtyard surrounding the base of a solar obelisk. They are some distance from the well-known temple of Isis at Deir esh Shelwit (Porter-Moss, Top. Bibl., II, 197).

 $<sup>^{13}</sup>$  Borchardt's contention ( $Z\ddot{A}S$ , LXXII, 55) that the third Heb-Sed was celebrated not in Year 36, but in Year 37, is supported by the palace jar-labels (see Nos. 59, 142, 164, and the table of Fig. 16).

enaten was elevated to the throne as coregent in or about Year 28 of Amenhotep III<sup>14</sup> and transferred his residence to Tell el Amarna in or about Year 33, this means that the bulk of the dated inscriptions from the palace at Thebes are contemporary with those found at Amarna. We can, indeed, establish a close correspondence in date, year by year, between the two groups of inscriptions, based on the equations: Year 28 of A. III = Year 1 of A. IV, Year 33 of A. III = Year 6 of A. IV, Year 38 of A. III = Year 11 of A. IV, etc.<sup>15</sup> There is nothing either surprising or significant in the fact that very few of our dated inscriptions are earlier than Year 30 of Amenhotep III and none earlier than Year 8. On the contrary, considering the kind of inscriptions in question (temporary ink labels on pottery jars containing perishable commodities), it is remarkable that any have survived save those written during the last few years of the palace occupation. That this occupation continued for some time after the death of Amenhotep III in Year 38 or early in Year 39 is indicated by the Atenist erasures of the name of Amūn from most of the hieroglyphic inscriptions throughout the palace—a step which probably would not have been taken during the lifetime of the old king—and by the presence in the palace ruins of objects inscribed with the cartouches of

Akhenaten, Smenkhkarē<sup>c</sup>, Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamūn, <sup>c</sup>Ankhesenpaaten, and Horemheb. <sup>16</sup>

### I. THE JAR-LABELS

The hundreds of hieratic labels written in black ink on the shoulders of the pottery jars in which supplies of wine, ale, meat, fat, honey, oil, and other commodities were brought to the palace of Amenhotep III have received little more than passing comment from the excavators and students of the site.<sup>17</sup> Inscriptions of this class, however, are well known from tombs, temples, and other palace and town sites of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties and have been published in varying degrees of detail and from various points of view by Bruyère, 18 Carter, 19 Černý,<sup>20</sup> Dawson,<sup>21</sup> Engelbach,<sup>22</sup> Fairman,23 Gardiner,24 Griffith,25 Gunn,26 Hamza,<sup>27</sup> Hayes,<sup>28</sup> Maspero,<sup>29</sup> Nagel,<sup>30</sup>

<sup>16</sup> On the probable absence of any widespread persecution of Amūn during Amenhotep III's lifetime see Engelbach, Ann. Serv., XL, 144.

- <sup>17</sup> See the references cited in nn. 1 and 3, above; and Hayes, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 1949, p. 96, Fig. 9.
  - 18 Fouilles Inst. fr. Caire, VI, 11, 12.
- 19 The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen, III, 104, 147-49, Pl. L. Photographs of the Tut ankhamūn wine-jars and labels taken by Harry Burton are on file in the Metropolitan Museum (Negatives TAA 831, 1023-32, 1095, 1180, 1185-88, 1190-95, 1199, 1200, 1274).
- <sup>20</sup> In Nagel, *loc. cit.* (n. 30). Professor Černý has also made transcriptions of the jar-labels from the tomb of Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamūn (see Engelbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–64).
- <sup>23</sup> In Frankfort and Pendlebury, The City of Akhenaten, II, 103-8, Pl. LVIII.
- <sup>24</sup> JEA, V, 195, 198, 244, 257, 259-60; X, 93; XIX, 128; Onomastica, II, 173\*f., etc.; Wilbour Papyrus, II, 110; and in Steindorff, loc. cit. (n. 38).
- <sup>25</sup> In Petrie, Tell el Amarna, pp. 32-34, Pls. XXII-XXV.
- <sup>26</sup> In Peet and Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, I, **164–68**, Pls. LXIII, LXIV; and in Steindorff, *loc. cit.* (n. 38).
  - <sup>27</sup> Ann. Serv., XXX, 43-45.
- <sup>28</sup> Bull. MMA, January, 1937, Sec. II, pp. 30, 37-39; Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Senmut, Nos. 121-23, 125-29.
- $^{29}\,\mathrm{In}\,$  Davis and Maspero,  $\mathit{Tomb}\,$  of  $\mathit{Siphtah},\,$  pp. xxvi, xxvii.
- $^{30}$  Documents de Fouilles Inst. fr. Caire, X, 15, 18, 22, 50–51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> He is assigned a coregency of eleven years by Pendlebury (JEA, XXII, 198; see also  $Tell\ el-Amarna,$  p. 12), of more than nine years and probably eleven or twelve years by Engelbach  $(Ann.\ Serv., XL, 134-35, 137)$ , and of "scarcely less than a dozen years" by Steindorff and Seele  $(When\ Egypt\ Ruled\ the\ East,\ pp.\ 201,\ 275)$ .

<sup>15</sup> Not an exact correspondence unless we assume that Akhenaten was made coregent on the anniversary of his father's accession. According to Borchardt (Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung..., pp. 83, 87, 121), there was a difference of three months and six days between the civil calendar dates of the accession of Amenhotep III (2, iii) and that of Akhenaten (8, vi?).

206, 207, 211, 215, 219, 226, 247, 256.....

Newberry, 31 Peet, 32 Quibell, 33 Sandman, 34 Schiaparelli, 35 Speleers, 36 Spiegelberg, 37 Steindorff,<sup>38</sup> Wiedemann,<sup>39</sup> and others. The jars illustrated and described in a number of these publications are closely similar to those from Amenhotep III's palace; and good general discussions of the uses, contents, forms, materials, methods of sealing, stamping, and labeling of such jars will be found in Bruyère's reports on his excavations at Deir el Medineh, 40 in Carter's description of the wine jars found in the tomb of Tutcankhamūn,41 and in the third edition of Lucas' Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries. 42 The works which we shall have occasion to cite most frequently in this series of articles are Petrie's Tell el Amarna; Peet and Woolley's The City of Akhenaten, Part I; Frankfort and Pendlebury's The City of Akhenaten, Part II; Spiegelberg's Hieratic Ostraka . . . in the Ramesseum and his remarks on the Ramesseum and other jar-labels in Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache, Volume LVIII; and Gardiner's Ancient Egyptian Onomastica. These will be referred to hereinafter simply as Amarna, City I, City II, Ramesseum, ZÄS LVIII, and Gard. On.

With the exception of six examples in Cairo<sup>43</sup> and two in the Brooklyn Museum<sup>44</sup> the jar-labels dealt with here are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. 45 The table of Figure 16 gives the distribution of the labels by date and subject matter and contains in itself a good deal of information on the palace supplies and activities during seventeen of Amenhotep III's last thirty years on the throne. Needless to say, the vast majority of the individual inscriptions are fragmentary and the 217 examples listed under "?" in the next to the last column of the table are so fragmentary as not to be certainly identifiable. The remaining 1,183 labels fall into 260 more or less distinct types, hieroglyphic transcriptions of which appear in Figures 4–16. Some of the types are represented by one example only. Aside from these the distribution of the labels by types is as follows:

Types

Types

8, 16, 18, 29, 30, 31, 49, 52, 57, 58, 66, 67, 70, 73, 80, 106, 107, 110, 111, 117, 132, 135, 140, 142, 143, 147, 151, 154, 155, 156, 166, 169, 173, 176, 181, 191, 192, 193, 196, 197, 200,

<sup>31</sup> PSBA, XXV, 137–38. <sup>32</sup> JEA, XIV, 182.

though Daressy mentions having found a number in 1888 (Ann. Serv., IV, 169–70), and some from the Metropolitan Museum's excavations of 1910–20 were retained by the Cairo Museum in the yearly divisions of finds. A quantity of jar-sealings and other objects apparently from Daressy's work in the palace are published by Quibell, Archaic Objects (Cat. gén. Mus. Caire, Nos. 11001–12000, 14001–14754), Nos. 11424–11493, pp. 90–102, Pls. XVI–XVIII.

2

<sup>44</sup> One example of Type 16 and one example of Type 73 (Accession No. 48.66). Both are from Tytus' excavations in the Palace of the King and are apparently the two "ostraka" mentioned by him on p. 10 of his *Preliminary Report* (see n. 3, above). I am grateful to Mr. Cooney for permission to include these two interesting labels in the present corpus.

<sup>45</sup> I.e., 1,392 examples. Only sixteen of these (of Types 24, 48, 59, 80, 96, 130, 138, 143, 158, 184, 206, 207, 211, 219, and 239; see Figs. 2, 3) have been accessioned (Nos. 17.10.2–16, 18); but all have been copied, sorted, and arranged in filing cabinets where they are readily available to students.

<sup>33</sup> Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu (Cat. gén. Mus. Caire, Nos. 51001-51191), p. vi.

<sup>34</sup> Bibl. Aeg., VIII, 180-83.

<sup>35</sup> La Tomba ... dell'architetto Cha, 153-54, Fig. 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Rec. des Inscr. ég. des Musées Royaux...à Bruxelles, Nos. 185, 187, 188, 206-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Hieratic Ostraka and Papyri . . . in the Ramesseum, Pls. XIX-XXXVIII, Nos. 138-325; ZÄS, LVIII, 25-36, cf. 51-52; in Petrie, Six Temples at Thebes, pp. 21, 29, Pls. V, XIX; and in Quibell, loc. cit.

<sup>38</sup> Aniba, II, 151-52, Pl. C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> ZÄS, XXI, 33-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> See especially the report for 1934-35 (Fouilles Inst. fr. Caire, Vol. XVI), pp. 342-43.

<sup>41</sup> See n. 19, above.

<sup>42</sup> See especially pp. 23-33.

 $<sup>^{43}</sup>$  All of Type 85. There appears to be no publication of other jar-labels from the palace in Cairo, al-

Types		CAMPLES OF EACH
9, 17, 21, 23, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 60, 79, 84, 88, 104, 112, 115, 129, 134, 1	162, 165,	
170, 190, 218, 227, 252		3
6, 10, 14, 45, 63, 76, 78, 105, 109, 127, 153, 159, 161, 188		4
15, 62, 71, 93, 121, 133, 221		5
20, 39, 48, 59, 74, 131, 136, 145, 239		6-7
54, 55, 56, 77, 94, 96, 99, 108, 130, 163, 164		8 - 15
85, 89, 91, 92, 95, 100, 103, 160		19 – 38
Type 101	example	es

The inscribed jar fragments were found, in the midst of thousands of uninscribed pieces of the same jars, in the ruined magazines attached to the various palace buildings, in the much disturbed rubbish mounds adjacent to these buildings, and in the houses of the workmen's villages. Since the exact provenances of the vari-

ous types of labels are frequently of some significance to our knowledge of the history of the palace and its occupants, it seems desirable to list the types once more—this time according to the parts of the palace complex in which they were found (refer to Fig. 1):

Types	PROVENANCE
7, 10, 15, 16, 17, 26, 39, 49, 55, 60, 64, 71, 73, 77, 78, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 119,	
124, 150, 153, 189, 195, 197, 219, 221, 227, 259	Palace of the King
89	Ho.1.W
4, 6, 23, 34, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 62, 63, 65, 66,	
69, 72, 80, 85, 86, 101, 127, 147, 158, 164, 178, 182, 225, 228, 240	Middle Palace
38, 57, 89, 143, 151, 205, 206, 207, 208, 212, 213, 214, 251	Ho.3.W
40, 54, 55, 75, 77, 85, 91, 96, 101, 148, 164, 176, 180, 190, 201, 218	West Villa B
9, 11, 34, 56, 59, 85, 91, 92, 99, 130, 131, 132, 134, 158, 163, 164	North Palace
1, 37, 89, 158 (290 examples), 209	Temple of Amūn
12, 14, 24, 54, 59, 79, 85, 88, 92, 95, 96, 98, 100, 141, 146, 147, 153, 183, 187,	
211, 221, 232, 244, 249, 253	South Village
10, 18, 22, 25, 29, 30, 32, 36, 56, 67, 70, 77, 78, 79, 81, 85, 89, 95, 97, 101, 105,	
108, 110, 112, 113, 125, 133, 137, 139, 145, 154, 157, 160, 162, 164, 166,	
176, 185, 200, 202, 217, 218, 219, 237, 239, 252, 258	Rubbish Mounds

The photographs of Figures 2 and 3 show specimens of most of the principal classes of jar-labels and give some idea of the variety of individual handwritings found in these inscriptions. 46 Many of the

46 See also Chron. d'Éq., 1949, Fig. 9 (opp. p. 96), wherein are illustrated fragmentary examples of Types 60 (A), 62 (D, C, F), 143 (E), and 165 (B); and Lansing, op. cit., p. 8, Fig. 3 (Type 158). Cf. Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, Pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX (Möller, Paläographie, II, Pl. III and Col. 3); Amarna, Pls. XXII-XXV; City I, Pl. LXIII; etc. The labels illustrated in Figs. 2 and 3 are in several cases variants of those selected for transcription in Figs. 4-16, which, though more complete and more characteristic of their types, are not always clear enough for good photographic reproduction.

inscribed jar fragments bear, in addition to a relatively fresh label, the faded or partially erased remains of one or more earlier labels, showing that the jars when empty were often sent back for refilling, resealing, and relabeling—though not necessarily to the same vineyards, breweries, or stock-farms from which they had come originally. Among the labels found side by side or one above the other on the same pieces of pottery are Nos. 1 and 209, 9 and 33, 10 and 138 (see Fig. 2), 22 and 33, 42 and 62, 68 and 63, 77 and 188, 101

and 108, 110 and 112, and 96, 167, 168, and 169. Since two or more parallels exist for almost every phrase found in the labels, the reading of individual hieratic signs or groups is rarely open to question; and it was felt that facsimile copies or photographs of all save a few of the inscriptions could be dispensed with. A paleographic study of this large corpus of well-dated hieratic texts would undoubtedly repay the effort involved. For the time being, however, we are concerned chiefly with the contents of the inscriptions, and in the second article of this series we will consider briefly the sig-

nificance of their dates, the references to the Sed-festivals and other feasts for which the contents of the jars were prepared, the nature of the products listed, the names and locations of the royal estates and other sources of supply, and, above all, the names and titles of the many persons, both royal and private, whose activities during the reign of Amenhotep III are reflected in these inscriptions.

[To be continued]

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART NEW YORK

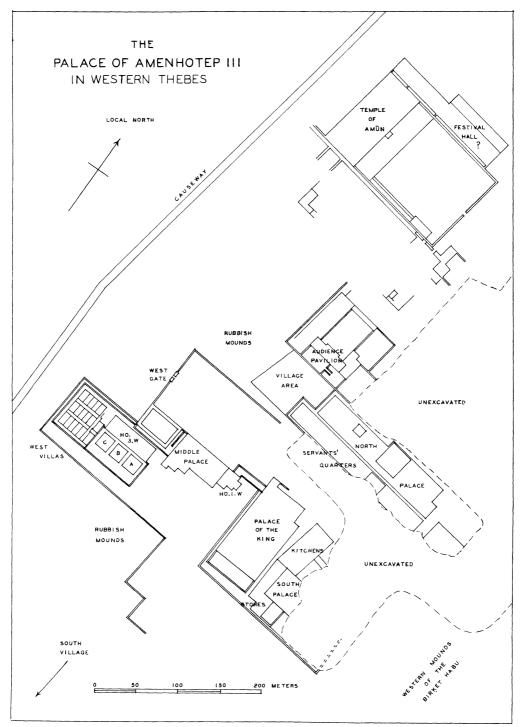
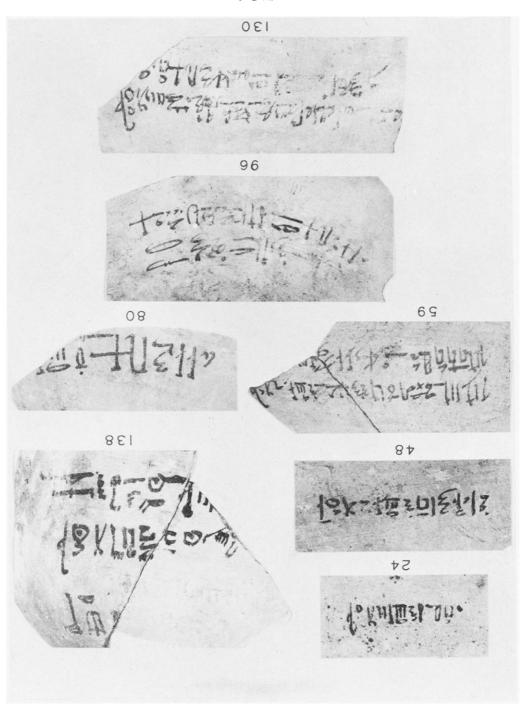


FIG. I



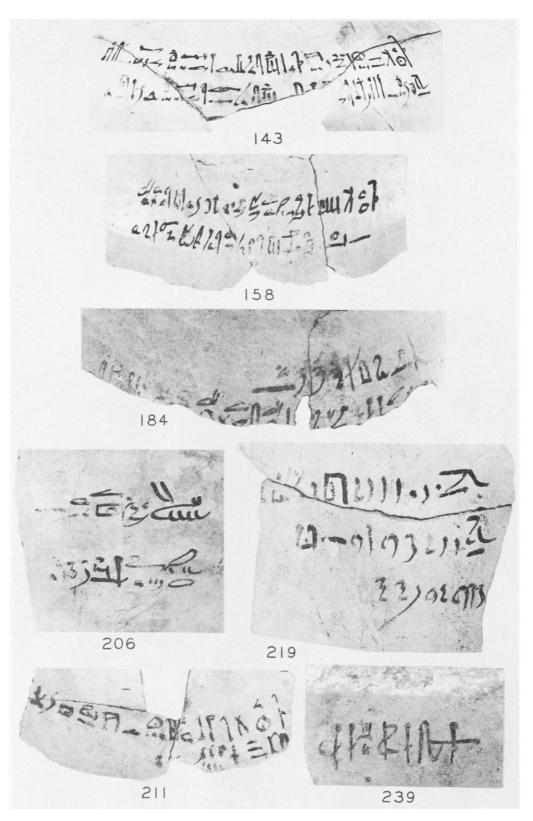


FIG. 3

WINE JAR-LABELS

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VARIOUS OILS 101 # III 0 200. 1117 7018 もられる202. 1119001201. 11111111111 MILK 204. **\$ 10 9 \$ 10 \$ 203.** HONEY (中)口风点[A] 207. & Co A I Ramio \* P = R 9 R \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ 209. III & STORE A STORE IN THE STORE OF THE STOR INCENSE 212. " ] [ 210. 211. 00) 211. ? ! ? ! ...... [7] ° 7 1 = 1 P 213. # APA P 214. #11A1429 --

FIG. 14

FRUITS AND CEREALS PORTAL A ALLE DILLO 215. 2140[1/90 E & & & E & A & E A 218. 1118 160000 型】 221. Y \_\_ O O A ON A 11:9 A U 221 A. ## A A L 222. ※の川本一の松玉 VARIOUS 225. [ 224. A 223. ■ 231. 点 230. 於 229. 廿 228. 廿 227. ▲ 226. MEASURES 111 0 0 232. 11 古 9 四 回 NAMES AND TITLES III 235. & MAR ₩ | | A | \ 238. 金川州二月 新 € 237. 如月月晚日初年 239.

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<sup>\*</sup> INCLUDING 5 EXAMPLES DATED TO "YEAR I" (OF AKHENATEN ?).