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## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE PALACE OF AMENHOTEP III

WILLIAM C. HAYES

### I. THE JAR-LABELS—*Continued*<sup>47</sup>

UNLIKE those from Tell el Amarna<sup>48</sup> and other sites,<sup>49</sup> the jar-labels from the palace of Amenhotep III show considerable variation in the “formulae” employed, so that any general classification on this basis is impracticable. There are, however, eight distinct items of information concerning the contents of the jars, at least one of which is found in every label and most of which occur all together, in more or less fixed order, in the longest and most complete examples (e.g., Nos. 130, 131, 142, 143, 158–61). These items are: (a) the date on which the contents of the jar were prepared and packed, given usually only in terms of regnal years (*h3t-sp*)<sup>50</sup> of Amenhotep III, but in the cases of certain substances like animal fats and vegetable oils where freshness was of prime importance including also designations of the season, month, and day of the civil calendar (see Nos. 126, 138, 142, 143, 197, 219); (b) the name of the commodity contained in the jar

(*irp*, “wine”; *srmt*, “ale”; *ꜥd*, “fat”; *iwf*, “meat”; *sntr*, “incense”; and so on); (c) a modifying adjective or phrase indicating the quality, form, type, color, consistency, or other special characteristic of the contents of the jar—“very good” (wine), (wine) “for offerings,” “fresh” (fat), (fat) “of Meshwesh bulls” or “of goats,” “dressed” (meat), “sweet” (oil), “clear” or “red” (honey), “shelled” (beans); (d) in the case of a few liquids and granular substances, a statement of the quantity, or amount, expressed in pints (*hnw*), gallons (*hk3t*), *mn(w)*-measures, etc. (see Nos. 209, 86, 232–34, 60, 42); (e) a reference to the specific occasion, or purpose, for which the food or drink contained in the jar was prepared (e.g., “for the repetition of His Majesty’s *Sed*-festival,” “for the Feast of Opet”); (f) a designation of the source of supply, be it a foreign land, a district or township of Egypt, a royal or private estate, or a particular vineyard, stockyard, or shop; (g) the name and title of the official who contributed the jar and its contents, either as a private donor or in his capacity as the superintendent of a royal estate, the mayor of a town, or the commander of a border fortress; and, finally, (h) the name and title of the specialist (vintner, fat-purveyor, butcher, or herdsman) who prepared or directly supervised the preparation of the contents of the jar.

An inspection of the table of Figure 16 reveals the striking fact that, of the 845 dated jars<sup>51</sup> found in the palace ruins, 711 were sent thither in Years 30, 34, and 37. Of these, 649 are stated in their inscrip-

<sup>47</sup> The photographs, transcriptions, and much of the other material on which the following discussion is based will be found in Number 1 of the current volume of *JNES*, pp. 35–56, Figs. 1–16. For ease and clarity of reference the numbering of the illustrations will be made to run continuously through the four articles of this series, Figs. 1–16 occurring in the first article, Figs. 17–23 in the present article, and so on. Since it is planned to publish all four articles in this one volume of the *Journal* textual cross-references can be reduced to the simple form: “See above, p. . . .” (or “n. . . .”). The jar-labels will normally be referred to by their type numbers—the Arabic numerals 1–260 (see above, Figs. 4–16)—other forms of designation (Roman numerals, letters of the alphabet, etc.) being used for the sealings, brick-stamps, ring bezels, and monumental inscriptions.

<sup>48</sup> *Amarna*, 33; *City I*, 165; *City II*, 105. For the full titles of the works referred to here and most frequently hereinafter see above, p. 38.

<sup>49</sup> E.g., *ZÄS*, LVIII, 25–36.

<sup>50</sup> See Gardiner, *JNES*, VIII, 165–71.

<sup>51</sup> The number includes both those bearing actual year dates and those associated by their inscriptions with the first *Sed*-festival, known from many sources to have been celebrated in Year 30.

tions to be for the “*Sed*-festival(s) of His Majesty,” and it is reasonable to suppose that most of the other 62 examples were for the same purpose. For the remaining fourteen year dates we have only 134 jars, 84 of which are dated to the years immediately preceding and following those of the *Heb-sed*'s and were probably also, to a large extent, contributions to these festivals.<sup>52</sup> The resulting ratio of almost sixteen inscribed jars of supplies for the *Sed*-festivals as against every one for all other purposes and dates seems to be borne out by the 338 identified but undated jar-labels<sup>53</sup> and by the 217 unidentified fragments, a great number of which bear portions of the words “*Heb-sed*.” Although, as we go back further and further into the earlier years of the reign, we are prepared for a progressively rapid decrease in the number of jar-inscriptions which have survived to the present day, we cannot possibly account on this basis alone for the existence of only ten labels for Years 28 and 29 combined as against 229 for the immediately succeeding Year 30. Since it is obvious that hundreds of jars of food and drink were required every year by a vast establishment like the palace of Amenhotep III, we must conclude either that the ordinary palace supplies arrived for the most part in unlabeled containers or that the constant re-use of these containers caused them to be scattered and lost and their inscriptions obliterated, the festival jars being preserved

<sup>52</sup> Label Type No. 142, of which we possess two examples, is definite proof that contributions to the third *Heb-sed* of Year 37 were still being sent in late in the following regnal year; and the fragmentary labels, Nos. 157 and 128, though dated to Years 31 and 32, respectively, appear to have designated the supplies which they list as being for the first *Heb-sed* (of Year 30). See also Borchardt, *ZÄS*, LXXII, 53–55.

<sup>53</sup> It is probable, for example, that 85 jars of ale bearing undated labels of Type No. 101 were contributed to the first *Heb-sed*. The name of their donor, the King's Scribe, Amenmose, appears in several examples of the similar, but more specifically worded label Type No. 103 (cf. Figs. 8 and 9).

with their inscriptions intact because they were used only once and then broken and discarded within the confines of the palace area.<sup>54</sup>

The concentration in this area in Years 30, 34, and 37 of such huge quantities of festival supplies, sent in from many, often distant parts of the kingdom, leaves little room for doubt that it was at Thebes and while residing in the Malkāta palace that Amenhotep III celebrated his three *Sed*-festivals.

In the case of the first *Heb-sed* the evidence of the jar-labels is purely corroborative, for this festival is well documented as to both the locale and the date of its celebration from other sources—notably, in the king's temple at Soleb in Upper Nubia,<sup>55</sup> on blocks of relief from his mortuary temple at Kom el Ḥetān in western Thebes,<sup>56</sup> in an inscription from the adjoining temple of his great official, Amenhotep, the son of Hapu,<sup>57</sup> and in the Theban tombs of two other prominent dignitaries, the King's Scribe, Kheruef,<sup>58</sup> and the King's Scribe, Kha<sup>c</sup>-emḥēt.<sup>59</sup> In the tomb of Kheruef reference is made to “the *Sed*-festival (of Year 30) which he (the king) celebrated on the west of the City” (Thebes), and both here and at Soleb the building in which Amenhotep III and

<sup>54</sup> The fragments of almost 300 meat-jars used in the second *Sed*-festival, their labels still fresh and clear, were found in a dump in the southeast corner of the forecourt of the Amūn temple (Fig. 1. See Lansing, *Bull. MMA*, March, 1918, *Supplement*, pp. 8–10). No original labels referring to a *Sed*-festival were found on any of the fragments of re-used jars recovered from the palace ruins (see the list of these given above, on p. 39).

<sup>55</sup> *LD*, III, Pls. 83–86, *Text*, V, 234–39; Breasted, *AJSL*, XXV, 89–95, Figs. 50–51.

<sup>56</sup> Borchardt, *ZÄS*, LXI, 37–51. Portions of the festival are represented in the Luxor temple, Room G, east wall (Gayet, *Mém. Miss. fr. Caire*, XV, Pls. 71–72).

<sup>57</sup> Robichon and Varille, *Le Temple du Scribe royal Amenhotep*, Pl. 35; Helck, *Unters.*, XIV, 10.

<sup>58</sup> No. 192. Fakhry, *Ann. Serv.*, XLII, 491–95.

<sup>59</sup> No. 57. Brugsch, *Theaurus*, V, 1123; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, I, 89–90.

Queen Tiy sit or which they leave and re-enter "while performing [the ceremonies of] the first *Heb-sed* of His Majesty" is labeled "his palace of the House of Rejoicing," a name known from scores of brick-stamps and other inscriptions found in its ruins to have been that of the Malkata palace complex.<sup>60</sup> Small objects associated with the celebration of the first *Sed*-festival include a faience box-lid from Karnak and a group of carved bracelet plaques from the tomb of Amenhotep III in the western branch of the Bibān el Molūk.<sup>61</sup> All the dated monuments referred to above are unanimous in giving Regnal Year 30 as the year in which the first *Heb-sed* was celebrated, and a number of them also provide us with civil calendar dates of various stages in the progress of the festival. Thus, we know from the Soleb and Kheruef texts that rites connected with it were performed on Month 4 of Proyet, Day 26, on Month 2 of Shomu, Day 1, and on Month 2 of Shomu, Day 27, and from the inscription of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, that the concluding day of the feast was Month 3 of Shomu, Day 2—all in Regnal Year 30.<sup>62</sup> If Borchardt is correct in believing that the festival began on the first day of the regnal year—that is, on the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne (Month 3 of Akhet, Day 2)<sup>63</sup>—its celebration would have extended over a period of eight months,<sup>64</sup> with supplies, cult-statues, etc., being sent in prob-

<sup>60</sup> See Winlock, *Bull. MMA*, 1912, p. 186; Lansing, *Bull. MMA*, March, 1918, *Supplement*, p. 8; and above, p. 35, n. 2. These inscriptions will be reproduced and discussed in the third article of this series. In *LD*, III, Pl. 86 a, read  $\int$  for  $\int$  in the name of the palace.

<sup>61</sup> Hayes, *Bull. MMA*, 1948, pp. 272-79.

<sup>62</sup> See Borchardt, *ZÄS*, LXXII, 58-59. The concluding date (Month 3 of Shomu, Day 2) appears to be partially preserved also in the tomb of Kheruef (Fakhry, *op. cit.*, p. 495).

<sup>63</sup> *ZÄS*, LXXII, 54-55, 58-59. The traditional date, Month 1 of Proyet, Day 1, he regards, not as the opening day of the festival itself, but as the day on which the preparations for it were announced.

ably for several months preceding and following that period (see above, pp. 82-83).

Of the 200 jars of supplies found in the palace which are designated in their labels as being for the first *Heb-sed*, 75 are dated to Year 30; 2 fragmentary examples, Nos. 157 and 128, to Years 31 and 32, respectively; and 123 are undated. None bear civil calendar dates. Nearly all the jar-labels associated in one way or another with the first *Sed*-festival are from the older, southern quarter of the palace complex, that is, from the Palace of the King, the Middle Palace, the West Villas, the southern rubbish mounds, and the South Village (see Fig. 1). A score or so examples of Types 92 and 99 were found in the ruins of the North Palace, which had evidently been built and was in use by its royal occupant (the king's eldest daughter, Sitamün?)<sup>65</sup> as early as Regnal Year 30.

In contrast to the first *Heb-sed*, our knowledge of Amenhotep III's second *Sed*-festival in Year 34 rests entirely upon the evidence of the palace jar-labels. It is, however, a copious body of evidence, 380 of the 404 labels dated to Year 34 containing the phrase "for the repetition of the *Heb-sed* of His Majesty." Most of these 380 inscribed jar-fragments, to be sure, were found in or near the forecourt of the Amūn temple,<sup>66</sup> an area which was subjected to far less use and disturbance than the other portions of the palace complex; and their number probably represents a much larger percentage of the total con-

<sup>64</sup> Six months if we accept the alternative initial date referred to in the preceding footnote. The statement of Frankfort (*Kingship and the Gods*, p. 79) that the whole *Sed*-festival lasted only five days is puzzling, since we know that a single ceremony, the "Illuminating of the Thrones," required that length of time for its completion (see Wilson, *JAOs*, LVI, 294).

<sup>65</sup> See above, p. 36, n. 6.

<sup>66</sup> Two hundred and ninety in a dump in the south-east corner of the court, 41 in adjacent rubbish heaps, 31 in the vicinity of the North Palace, 15 in unrecorded locations, and 3 in the Middle Palace.

tributions to the festival than is the case with those recovered for the first and third *Heb-sed*'s. Although this and the curious absence of any reference to the second *Heb-sed* in contemporary tomb and temple inscriptions<sup>67</sup> should be borne in mind when estimating the relative importance of the three festivals, it is nevertheless obvious that the second *Sed*-festival was regarded as a noteworthy occasion and was celebrated on a grand scale. Other considerations aside, there seems to be little doubt that the palace's temple of Amūn, the courtyard in front of it, and the columned structures on the north of the court were constructed especially for the celebration of this particular festival and were not used to any very great extent thereafter. The peculiar nature of this group of buildings<sup>68</sup>—the relatively small temple proper, the exceptionally large and numerous storerooms, the prominent terrace, the tremendous courtyard, and the multipiered festival hall in its usual position on the right side of the processional way to the temple<sup>69</sup>—show clearly that the whole complex was designed for the celebration of a *Sed*-festival, as do also the inscribed offering tables, architectural elements, brick-stamps, jar-sealings, and other objects found in it. Not one dated object out of the hundreds found in this area bears any date save Year 34,<sup>70</sup> and it is reasonable to assume that this and perhaps part of the following

<sup>67</sup> It is not mentioned even in the tomb of Kheruef, the scenes and inscriptions in which deal in some detail with both the first and the third *Heb-sed*'s. Borchardt's suggestion (*Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, p. 25) that the second or third *Heb-sed* may have been represented in the much-damaged tomb of Amenemhet Surere (No. 48), though not improbable, is not susceptible of proof.

<sup>68</sup> See Fig. 1 and the more detailed plan and description of the group given by Lansing, *loc. cit.*

<sup>69</sup> Compare, for example, the position of the festival hall of Amenhotep II in relation to the southern processional way leading to the temple of Amūn at Karnak (Chevrier, *Ann. Serv.*, XXXVI, Pl. I). Label No. 163 actually refers to the "Hall ([w]sh[tl]) of the *Heb-sed* . . . of His Majesty."

year represented the sum total of the temple's period of full-scale activity—a conclusion borne out by its empty storerooms and by the heaps of rubbish from the festival left standing in its courtyard.

The third *Heb-sed* is referred to in only 27 jar-labels, 25 of which are dated to Year 37<sup>71</sup> (Types 59, 164, 165) and 2 to Year 38 (Type 142). Even if it is assumed that the other 61 jars of Years 37 and 38 and all the 37 examples dated to Year 36 were intended for this festival, the decline in the quantity of supplies, as compared with those contributed to the first and second *Heb-sed*'s, is still a very abrupt one—too abrupt to be attributed to accidents of modern excavation or similar extraneous circumstances. It would appear, rather, to be one of the several indications which we possess that during the latter years of his reign the power once wielded by Amenhotep III had to a great extent passed into the hands of his youthful coregent, Akhenaten, who had now occupied the throne for almost a full decade and who, some four years prior to the date of his father's third *Sed*-festival, had transferred the seat of government and much of the court to Tell el Amarna.<sup>72</sup> The festival was accorded a prominent place in the decoration of the tomb of Kheruef chiefly because of the prominent role which Kheruef himself played in its celebra-

<sup>70</sup> A honey-jar found here, undated but probably of Year 34 (Label No. 209), bore a much-faded, earlier label of Year 9 (No. 1); but this can hardly be cited as an exception to the foregoing statement.

<sup>71</sup> In spite of the date given in the tomb of Kheruef, it is clear that this, not Year 36, was the year in which the festival was actually celebrated. See Borchardt, *ZÄS*, LXXII, 55 ff.

<sup>72</sup> See above, p. 37 and n. 14. There is no real basis for Borchardt's theory (*Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, pp. 23–29) that Akhenaten was elevated to the coregency on the occasion of his father's second or third *Sed*-festival and that the event is represented on a block of relief in the Ashmolean Museum (Griffith, *JEA*, IX, 61–63, Pl. VIII; Schäfer, *Sb. Berl. Ak.*, 1919, pp. 477–84). His article, however, contains much interesting material on the *Heb-sed*'s of Amenhotep III and on the history of the last years of his reign.

tion.<sup>73</sup> Its detailed representation here may also be regarded as an expression of loyalty—perhaps even as an act of conscious propaganda—promulgated by an official whose own career was closely bound to the fading fortunes of the old king and whose unco-operative attitude toward the new Atenist regime resulted in the mutilation of his tomb and the erasure of his figure and inscriptions from its walls.<sup>74</sup>

No new festival hall seems to have been prepared for the celebration of the third *Heb-sed*, and, like those contributed to the first *Sed*-festival, the inscribed jars associated with it were almost all found in the southern portions of the palace area—the Middle Palace, the West Villas, the southern rubbish mounds, and the South Village—with a few examples of Types 59 and 164 occurring also in the North Palace.

An additional indication of the general locale in which all three *Heb-sed*'s were celebrated is contained in an inscription on the base of a superb ebony statuette of Amenhotep III recently acquired by the Brooklyn Museum.<sup>75</sup> On this little monument, which may have come originally from the palace itself, the king's name is followed by the epithet "Lord of (*Sed*-)festivals in the House of Rejoicing."

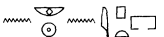
Before leaving the subject of the *Sed*-festivals mention should be made of a curious and interesting fact which emerges from a study of the table of Figure 16. Whereas over 81 per cent of the extant

jars associated with the first *Heb-sed* contained a beerlike beverage called *srmt* (here translated "ale"), no *srmt* at all appears to have been contributed to either the second or the third *Heb-sed*. Instead, we find that meat, only four jars of which have been recovered for the first *Sed*-festival, constituted more than 83 per cent<sup>76</sup> of the provisions for the second *Heb-sed*, and wine over 74 per cent of all the potted supplies sent in during Years 36–38 for the third occasion of the royal feast, the meat jars for these latter years totaling, in turn, only 16 examples. Although I cannot cite a parallel, the evidence points very strongly to the conclusion that in the time of Amenhotep III there was a particular type of offering which was prescribed for, regarded as peculiarly appropriate to, or traditionally associated with, each successive *Heb-sed*—beer with the first, meat with the second, wine with the third, and so on.<sup>77</sup>

The regular annual festivals of the Egyptian temple calendar do not figure prominently in the palace jar-labels; but we have inscribed fragments of six jars of wine, nine jars of fat, and one jar of meat which were contributed to the great Feast of Opet (Nos. 48,<sup>78</sup> 71, 138, 145, 146, and 168). Labels 48 and 138 are dated to Regnal Years 36 and 35, respectively; and No. 138 contains also the calendar date of the opening day of the feast: Month 2 of Akhet, Day 19.<sup>79</sup> Another feast—that of the goddess Wadjet (?)—is mentioned in No. 167; but this label, which was re-

<sup>76</sup> Ninety-three per cent if we class with it the 39 jars of animal fat, a meat by-product.

<sup>77</sup> As with our modern wedding anniversaries the value of the gifts seems to have increased with each succeeding festival.

<sup>78</sup> One example has the words  added to the end of the label as transcribed in Fig. 6.

<sup>79</sup> *Medinet Habu*, III (Univ. Chicago, "Or. Inst. Publ.," XXIII), Pl. 154, calendar l. 743; Pap. Harris I, 17 a. 5. In the time of Thutmose III the feast apparently began four days earlier (*Urk.* IV, 742, 824; see Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet*, p. 71).

<sup>73</sup> Fakhry, *op. cit.*, pp. 469–88, Pl. XXXIX. Possibly also, and for the same reason, in the tomb of Amenemhet Surere (No. 48). See Borchart, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, pp. 24–25, Pl. XI.

<sup>74</sup> Fakhry, *op. cit.*, pp. 452–53. Davies' views on this subject, as expressed in 1923 (*Bull. MMA*, December, 1923, Part II, p. 44; *JEA*, IX, 134), were based to a great extent on the erroneous belief that Kheruef possessed, in addition to Tomb No. 192, an earlier tomb which he abandoned in favor of the latter.

<sup>75</sup> Acc. No. 48.28. To be published in the near future.

placed on the same, much-used jar by Nos. 168 and 96, was partially erased, and only traces of the name of the festival are still visible. In addition to "Regnal Year 36," a wine-jar label, No. 42, appears to contain the curious and interesting date "Month 1 of Proyet, Day of the Lifting-up of the [Regnal ?] Year" (*wts h3t-sp ?*)—perhaps a variant form of the traditional date (Month 1 of Proyet, Day 1) for announcing the preparations for the *Sed*-festival.<sup>80</sup> Here again, however, the reading of the pertinent groups is extremely doubtful, for the inscription is not only much faded but partially covered by a later label (No. 62).<sup>81</sup>

No special significance seems to attach to any of the other civil calendar dates preserved in the jar-labels, the use of these dates being in general attributable simply to the extremely perishable nature of the products to which they refer—products which had to be used, not a few years, but a few days after they were prepared. Lacking an artificial preservative, "fresh (animal) fat," for example, would go rancid in a very short space of time, and it is not surprising to find most of the surviving calendar dates appearing on jars which once contained fat (Nos. 119, 138, 142 [2 examples], 143, 143 A). One jar of fat intended for use in the Feast of Opet was, as we have just seen, prepared and labeled on the first day of the feast itself (Label 138). A jar of vegetable oil (*b3k n th*) sealed in Regnal Year 8 and a jar of *sf[tl]*-oil are both dated to Month 3 of Proyet, Day 5 (Nos. 197, 199), and a jar of "shelled beans" is stated to have been a contribution "from the Treasury of the *Ka* (?) in Month 1 of Proyet, Day 16" (No. 219). The extant calendar dates are too few in number to provide dependable information on the seasonal occupations

<sup>80</sup> See above, n. 63.

<sup>81</sup> See *Chron. d'Ég.*, No. 47 (1949), Fig. 9 (opp. p. 96), C.

of the Egyptians of this era; but we may note in passing that the six jars of fat referred to above were all prepared between the end of the first month of Shomu and the end of the calendar year, a period which during the reign of Amenhotep III would have coincided approximately with our months of May, June, and July.<sup>82</sup> Inscriptions dated to the five epagomenal days are relatively rare before Ramesside times,<sup>83</sup> and Labels 143 and 143A, dated, respectively, to the Birth(day)s of Osiris and Horus, are interesting in supplying us with good Eighteenth Dynasty writings of these dates (see Figs. 3 and 11).

The evidence provided by the palace jar-labels for the addition of a 37th and 38th year to the reign of Amenhotep III is far more extensive than was implied in my note on the subject published two years ago in *Chronique d'Égypte* (1949), page 96. There are, as indicated in Figure 16, no less than 78 inscribed jar-fragments dated to Regnal Year 37<sup>84</sup> and 16 to Regnal Year 38,<sup>85</sup> with the likelihood of additional examples of both dates existing among the 217 unidentified small fragments. The fact that three types of labels (Nos. 142, 143, and 143A) are dated to what would correspond to the last three months of Regnal Year 38<sup>86</sup> suggests the

<sup>82</sup> See Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung*, p. 121; and Edgerton, *AJSL*, LIII, 196.

<sup>83</sup> See *Pyr.* 1961; Sethe, *Urk.* I, 25, 27; Griffith, *Siût*, I, 297, 305, 312; Chace, Bull, and Manning, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, No. 87, Pl. 108; Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt* (No. 82), pp. 96–98; Davies, *Tombs of Menkheperasonb*, etc., Pl. XXIX; and, for the Ramesside Period: Pap. Anastasi VI, 58 (Gardiner, *Bib. Aeg.*, VII); Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII vs., 11, 4 (Gardiner, *Hier. Pap. Brit. Mus.*, 3d Series); Ostr. Cairo 25515 (Černý, *Cat. gén. Mus. Caire*); Ostr. Deir el Medineh 44, 143, 145, 156, 158, 206, 209 (Černý, *Documents de fouilles Inst. fr. Caire*, Vols. 3–5); etc.

<sup>84</sup> Types 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 140, 141, 164, 165, 188, 220.

<sup>85</sup> Types 61, 62, 142, 143, 144.

<sup>86</sup> Assuming the regnal year to have begun on the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne—Month 3 of Akhet, Day 2 (Gardiner, *JEA*, XXXI, 27–28).

probability that Amenhotep III lived long enough to witness the beginning at least of his 39th year on the throne.

To the evidence of the well-known "Lake Scarabs" that Amenhotep III and Queen Tiy were in residence in the Malkata palace before the end of Regnal Year 11<sup>87</sup> we may now add that of three jar-labels, two of which are dated to Year 8 (Type 197) and one to Year 9 (Type 1). The labels of the 8th year occur on fragments of oil-jars found in the ruins of what was probably the earliest building of the royal group, the Palace of the King (see Fig. 1). That of Year 9 was written on the shoulder of a wine-jar re-used in Year 34 (?) to contain honey and found in the courtyard of the Amūn temple (No. 209). In view of the complete absence of inscribed jar-fragments dated to Years 2-7 and the extreme scarcity of those bearing dates earlier than Year 30 of Amenhotep III there can be little doubt that the date "Regnal Year 1" occurring on five examples of Label-type 6 refer, not to the reign of this king, but to that of his son and coregent, Akhenaten, who as Amenhotep IV appears to have been elevated to the throne in or about the 28th year of his father's reign.<sup>88</sup> Since all the labels of this type were found in the so-called Middle Palace, it has been assumed that this large and handsome building was the young pharaoh's residence before his departure to Tell el Amarna.<sup>89</sup>

The contents of the inscribed jars from the palace of Amenhotep III consisted for the most part of beverages, foodstuffs, and unguents of well-known and frequently discussed types.<sup>90</sup> Predominant among these were wine (285 jars), ale (298 jars),

fat (91 jars), and meat (375 jars), the other identified products (fowl, oil, milk, honey, fruit, and incense) amounting all together to only 134 jars.

The jars of wine, though less numerous than the ale and meat jars,<sup>91</sup> are more evenly distributed over the seventeen regnal years covered by the dated labels, two or more examples existing for every year of the last decade of the reign. *Ἰρρ*, a word normally denoting the fermented juice of grapes, is the only expression for "wine" occurring in the palace labels.<sup>92</sup> The superior vintages, imported into the Thebaid often from considerable distances, are usually accompanied by their dates and by the names of the districts from which they came, the latter serving also, as with our modern vintages, to identify the types of wine in question. Sixty-eight jars contained the highly prized "wine of the

<sup>87</sup> See the references given above, pp. 37-38. To these we may add Junker's detailed treatment of the Old Kingdom offering lists (*Giza II*, 69-96), Montet's *Scènes de la vie privée* ..., Hartmann's *L'Agriculture dans l'anc. Égypte*, Scharff's "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes ..." (*ZÄS*, LVII, 51-68), Stern's glossary to *Papyros Ebers* (Vol. II), Breasted's glossary to *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* (I, 511-76), Reisner's vocabulary of *The Hearst Medical Papyrus* (14-48), Gardiner's *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (*Bibl. Aeg.*, VII), Černý's publications of the Cairo and Deir el Medineh ostraka (*Cat. gén. Mus. Caïre*, Nos. 25501-25385, and *Documents de fouilles Inst. fr. Caïre*, Vols. 3-6), Erichsen's transcription of Papyrus Harris I (*Bibl. Aeg.*, V), and, of course, the five volumes of the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* with the *Belegstellen* for Vols. I and II. The indexes to Breasted's *Ancient Records* (Vol. V) are very helpful in controlling the numerous products named in tomb and temple lists of the Eighteenth Dynasty and later times.

<sup>91</sup> In sharp contrast to Amarna and other New Kingdom sites where the wine-jars constitute an overwhelming majority of all those found (*Amarna*, Pls. XXII-XXV; *City I*, Pls. LXIII-LXIV; *City II*, Pl. LVIII; *Ramesseum*, Pls. XIX-XXXVIII; *ZÄS*, LVIII, 25-36; etc.).

<sup>92</sup> I have found no examples of *šdh*, "new wine" (?), as at Tell el Amarna and elsewhere (*Amarna*, Nos. 63, 64; *City I*, No. 74; *City II*, Nos. 31, 32; Gard., *On.*, A 564; Lucas, *Materials*, p. 37 [*šdh* is the product which Lucas discusses under the heading "Grape Juice"]; etc.); nor of palm-wine, date-wine, or any of the other varieties known to the dynastic Egyptians (see Lucas, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33; Klebs, *Reliefs . . . des neuen Reiches*, p. 61).

<sup>87</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 4. To the references cited there add Steindorff, *ZÄS*, XXXIX, 62-65; Roeder, *Aeg. Inschr. Berlin*, II, No. 19600; Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, Pl. XXXI, 8; Lansing, *Bull. MMA*, 1936, pp. 12-14.

<sup>88</sup> See above, p. 37 and n. 14.

<sup>89</sup> See above, p. 35 and n. 5.




Western River," a product of the famous vineyards located in the northwest Delta along the lower reaches of the ancient Canopic arm of the Nile<sup>93</sup> (Nos. 10, 11, 20, 21, 33, 46, 47, 54, 55, 57, 61, 66); and fifteen others, "wine of Tjel" (*T<sup>3</sup>rw*), from the region adjoining the well-known border fortress on the site of modern Tell Abu Šēfah in the extreme northeast corner of the Delta<sup>94</sup> (Nos. 5, 51, 52, 74, 75, 76). "Wine of Khor" (Syria)<sup>95</sup> was represented by 8 jars (No. 77), "wine of the Oases"<sup>96</sup> by 3 jars (Nos. 19, 73), "wine of Per-wesekh" (a locality in the oasis of Kharga ?)<sup>97</sup> by 2 jars (No. 49), and "wine of Per-ḥebyt" (the modern Behbēt el Ḥagar in the central Delta)<sup>98</sup> by 3 jars (No. 41). Vineyards in the neighborhood of the great city of Memphis contributed at least 7 jars of wine (Nos. 3, 17, 25, 58) and probably more.<sup>99</sup> Individual labels list "wine of the New Land" (*ḥ m<sup>3</sup>wt*:<sup>100</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Gard., *On.*, A 405-6; *JEA*, XXXIV, 19-22.

<sup>94</sup> Gard., *On.*, A 419; *JEA*, V, 242 ff.; VI, 99 ff. The rare tree- or place-name, *p<sup>3</sup> nḡbw*, occurring in both examples of Label No. 52, is found also in a wine-jar label from the *Ramesseum* (Pl. XXI, No. 167) and perhaps on an ostrakon from the Dira Abul Naga, now in Brussels (Speleers, *Rec. Inscr.*, No. 187).

<sup>95</sup> Gard., *On.*, A 567.

<sup>96</sup> Gard., *On.*, A 568. See also under A 564; *Amarna*, No. 94; *City I*, Pl. LXIII, K; *City II*, Nos. 29, 37; Pap. Boulaḳ 18, XXXIII, 6, 7 (Scharff, *ZÄS*, LVII, 54); Pap. Harris I, 7, 10; Pap. Anastasi IV, ro., 14, 7; Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re*<sup>c</sup>, Pl. XLIX; *Tomb of Puyemrē*, Pl. XXXI; *Tombs of Menkheperasonb*, . . . , pp. 8-9, Pls. VI, VIII; Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis*, pp. 14-15; Sethe, *ZÄS*, LVI, 44-54. It is not clear which, if any, particular oasis or group of oases is referred to here. Kharga or Baharia would seem to be the most likely.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, II, 73; I, 206; Golénischeff, *Rec. trav.*, XV, 87-88. The puzzling final determinative  is clear in both examples of this label.

<sup>98</sup> Gauthier, *op. cit.*, II, 110-11.


<sup>99</sup> I.e., those on which Memphis is not specifically mentioned, but which were contributed by well-known Memphite foundations or officials (e.g., Nos. 34, 35, 59, 79). Cf. *Amarna*, Pl. XXV, No. 93; *City I*, Pl. LV, S.

<sup>100</sup> Gard., *On.*, A 60; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS*, LVIII, 30; Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, p. 34. Ramesside jar-labels from Ḳantir in the Delta list "wine . . . from the New Land on the west of Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-mi-Amūn" (Hamza, *Ann. Serv.*, XXX, 43-45).




No. 69), "wine of the abode (*st*) of <sup>2</sup>*I* . . ." (No. 26), "wine of the Place" (*p<sup>3</sup> bw(t)*:<sup>101</sup> No. 72), and "wine of the orchard (<sup>ct</sup> *Ḥt*) of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>" (No. 60);<sup>102</sup> and in many examples the wine is designated as coming from a royal or private estate (*pr*), a temple foundation (*Ḥwt*), or a particular vineyard (*k<sup>3</sup>mw*). Since the estates and foundations produced other commodities besides wine, they are more advantageously considered in a later section dealing with sources in general (below, pp. 96 ff.).

Together with or in lieu of a designation of source, the nature, purpose, or quality of a wine is often indicated by an adjective or adjectival phrase. Nineteen slender, one-handled jugs of Syrian (?) type<sup>103</sup> contained "blended (?) wine" (*ḥrp sm<sup>3</sup>*: No. 85); two jars, dated respectively to Years 24 and 28, "wine for a happy return" (?) (*ḥrp n ḥ<sup>3</sup>y nfr*:<sup>104</sup> Nos. 2, 4); another, of Year 33, "wine for (lit. of) taxes" (*ḥrp n ḥtr(w)*: No. 29); and nine examples, all probably of Year 38, "wine (for) offerings" (*ḥrp m<sup>3</sup>(w)*:<sup>105</sup> Nos. 62, 63). In twelve cases the wine is described as "good" (*nfr*) and in twenty instances as "very good" (*nfr-nfr*), these notations of

<sup>101</sup> *Wb.*, I, 450 ff. Cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, II, 19, 33-34.

<sup>102</sup> In a second example of this label the word <sup>ct</sup> has its usual determinative, . Cf. Hayes, *op. cit.*, No. 129; and for writings of <sup>ct</sup> *Ḥt* without the genitival adjective, Pap. Anastasi III, ro., 2, 5; 2, 12; Pap. Rainer, 53, 6.

<sup>103</sup> *City I*, Pl. LI, Type XLI, p. 139; Schiaparelli, *Tomba . . . dell'architetto Cha*, Fig. 124; Carter, *Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen*, III, 149, Pl. L, C; Lucas, *Materials*, p. 28, n. 4. The label in every case is written on the shoulder of the jug at the base of the handle. The three jars containing "wine of the Oases" (Nos. 19, 73) were also of this type.

<sup>104</sup> "Wine for a good going-down" or possibly "wine which goes down well." This curious, though by no means unique, expression is discussed by Peet in *JEA*, XIV, 182. In three of the five occurrences of the phrase known to me (which include one on a wine-jar sealing from the palace and the incomplete example of Label No. 2) the verb *h<sup>3</sup>* (or *h<sup>3</sup>y*) has as its determinative the walking legs . On the use of   with the meaning "return (to Egypt)" see my note in *JEA*, XXXV, 48 (h).


<sup>105</sup> *City I*, 162, n. 8; *City II*, 105, Pl. LVIII (17).

quality or grade being applied for the most part to otherwise unidentified vintages (Nos. 28, 86, 87, 88) or to wines donated by private individuals (Nos. 15, 53, 78). Twenty-six jars bearing on their shoulders the single word *irp* presumably contained wine of inferior quality, coming perhaps from local vineyards in the neighborhood of Thebes itself.

The absence of inscribed jars of ordinary beer (*hnkt*) is almost certainly attributable to the fact that this common beverage, undoubtedly consumed in quantity by the inmates of the palace, was produced day by day in breweries attached to the palace itself, making the labeling of the vessels containing it not only unnecessary but absurd.<sup>106</sup> Conversely, we may suppose that another type of brew, *srmt*, for which we possess the fragments of almost three hundred elaborately labeled jars (Nos. 90–117), was not a local but an imported product, made perhaps of ingredients which were not obtainable in the neighborhood of Thebes. One jar of *srmt* (Label 103 var.) was contributed by the mayor (*h3ty-*) of Tjebu, capital of the Xth Nome of Upper Egypt (modern Qau el Kebir: Gard., *On.*, A 461). Otherwise we have no definite indications of the geographical locations of the various royal and private estates which furnished *srmt*, and can only note that a number of the donating officials—the Vizier Huy, the Steward of Memphis Huy, the Priest and Steward Meryuptah<sup>107</sup>—held office and probably resided in northern Egypt. Among the chief sources of *srmt* were the estates of the queens (see Nos. 94–98, 112),<sup>108</sup> a fact which may indicate that the beverage was

<sup>106</sup> The same seems to have held true elsewhere, neither Tell el Amarna nor any of the other sites referred to in nn. 18–39 having yielded a single inscribed jar of *hnkt*-beer.

<sup>107</sup> Nos. 103, 92 and 101 (2 examples of each donated by the Steward Huy), 109. See below, pp. 100–101.

one particularly favored by women. To distinguish it from “beer” (*hnkt*), with which it was obviously closely related (though occasionally stored and served in a semisolid state),<sup>109</sup> I have adopted the arbitrary translation “ale.” In the palace jar-labels the word *srmt* is always determined by the jar  $\bar{\theta}$  and is always followed immediately by the word *dbhw*, clearly a direct genitive rather than an adjective or a participle, since in no case does it agree in gender with *srmt*, known from other sources to be a feminine noun. I take the construction to be similar to that of *irp m3(w)*, “wine (for) offerings,” and suggest the translation “ale (for) offerings,” or perhaps “ale (as) required offerings,” giving *dbhw* some of its basic meaning.<sup>110</sup> The expression *srmt dbhw* occurs in two labels from Tell el Amarna,<sup>111</sup> and in Papyrus Ebers (43, 17) we find the phrase *hnkt ndmt nt dbh(w)*, which is not translated in full by Ebbell,<sup>112</sup> but which apparently means “sweet beer of (the type prescribed for) offerings.” The very frequent use of  $\bar{\theta}$  as the determinative of *dbhw* as well as of *srmt* must be an example of what Gardiner in dealing with a comparable use of the word *dbhw* has termed the “attraction of determinatives.”<sup>113</sup> In one example of Label 105 (Fig. 9) the *srmt* is listed as coming from a building or chamber called  $\beta \bar{\beta}t$ , a word otherwise unknown to me,<sup>114</sup> but obviously equivalent to , “the store-room,” which replaces it in two other examples of the same label.

<sup>108</sup> Sixty examples in all. See also *Amarna*, Nos. 70, 98.

<sup>109</sup> Gard., *On.*, A 563; Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, pp. 213–14.

<sup>110</sup> See *Wb.*, V, 440–41, especially p. 441, Belegst. 9.

<sup>111</sup> *Amarna*, Nos. 69, 70. Griffith (p. 34) does not translate *dbhw*.

<sup>112</sup> *The Ebers Papyrus*, 55.

<sup>113</sup> *JE A*, XIII, 77.

<sup>114</sup> See, however, *City I*, No. 20.

The frequent mention of "beer (*hnkt*) of Kedy" in documents of the New Kingdom<sup>115</sup> has perhaps unduly influenced my restoration of the first word of Label 118. This, too, may have been *srmt*, an example of *srmt* of Kedy occurring in Ostrakon Deir el Medineh 273.<sup>116</sup> Since "the Overseer of the Fortress" referred to in our label was almost certainly the commandant of the northeast border station and customs house at Tjel (see Nos. 76-77 and below, p. 101) it is probable that the beverage in this case was actually imported from the land of Kedy and was not merely a drink of Kedian type. On the land itself, situated to the north of Syria, see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, A 251.

Ninety-one of the inscribed jars from the palace had contained animal fat (*ḥd*)<sup>117</sup> which, to judge from the invariable determinative  $\overline{\text{D}}$ , had been poured into them in a liquid state, probably while still hot from the rendering, and which in almost every case is described as "fresh" (*w<sup>3</sup>d*) or, more rarely, as "sweet" (*ndm*: Nos. 150, 151, 153).<sup>118</sup> Label 143 lists "fat of prime meat of the cattle stable" and Label 148 "fresh fat of goats (of) the cattle stable of the Scribe Huy." Most interesting are fifteen labels of Regnal Year 34 (Types 130 and 132) wherein the fat is specified as being that of "Meshwesh bulls" (*k<sup>3</sup>(w)*

*n Mšwš*). Since in every example the fat is stated to be from the stockyard (*šht*) of one of Amenhotep III's officials, the reference is clearly to a breed or type of cattle rather than to a direct importation of beef-fat from the land of the Meshwesh. Nevertheless, this well-dated group of inscriptions constitutes the earliest recorded reference to relations between the Egyptians and this particular Libyan people, antedating by a century the mention of the Meshwesh in Papyrus Anastasi I.<sup>119</sup> Papyrus Harris I (10, 8) lists 971 Meshwesh attached to a herd of cattle called "Usermaḥrē-mi-Amūn (l.p.h.)-is-the-conqueror-of-the-Meshwesh-at-the-Waters-of-Perē"; and the activities of the Libyans as cattle-breeders are attested from an early period.<sup>120</sup>

The expression *iwf dr* occurring on fragments of 375 jars (Labels 155-69) is probably best translated "dressed meat," that is, meat "removed" (*dr*) from the bones<sup>121</sup> and cut into thin strips or slices which before potting must have been hung in the sun and thoroughly dried in the manner of the Peruvian *charqui*, or "jerked" meat, of more recent times.<sup>122</sup> This method of preservation is suggested, first, because it is simple and particularly effective in a hot, dry climate like that of Egypt, and, second, because there is no

<sup>115</sup> Pap. Anastasi III, 3, 6; III A, 5; IV, 12, 11; 16, 1; 16, 4; V, 4, 1 (Gardiner, *Bibl. Aeg.*, VII).

<sup>116</sup> L. 2. Černý, *Documents de fouilles Inst. fr. Caire*, VI, Pl. IX.

<sup>117</sup> *Wb.*, I, 239 (8-12). To the references cited there add: *Amarna*, p. 34, Pl. XXIV, Nos. 71-73; Breasted, *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, Glossary, p. 521; Chace, Bull, and Manning, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, Probl. 66, Pl. LXXXVIII; Cairo Stela 34183 (Lacau, *Stèles*); Pap. Sallier IV verso, 2, 8 (Gardiner, *Bibl. Aeg.*, VII); Pap. Ch. Beatty VI recto, 5, 4; IX recto, 7, 8 (Gardiner, *Hier. Pap. B.M.*, 3d Series); Ostr. Cairo 25602 recto, 3 (Černý, *Cat. gén. Mus. Caire*); Ostr. Deir el Medineh 46 verso, 10; 195 recto, 5; 204 verso, 3; etc. (Černý, *Doc. Fouilles Inst. fr. Caire*, III-VI); Gard., *On.*, A 574 (?); Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 382-83, 390.


<sup>118</sup> On the close dating of some of the jars of fat see above, p. 87.





<sup>119</sup> 17, 4 (Gardiner, *Eg. Hier. Texts*, Part 1). In his discussion of the Meshwesh, Gardiner (*On.*, A 240) rejects Hölscher's identification of them (*Äg. Forsch.*, IV, 60, 70) with the *Mšw* of the time of Thutmose III (*Urk.*, IV, 792, No. 282), and our present Eighteenth Dynasty writing of the name shows that he is right in doing so. For further references see also Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, III, 19.

<sup>120</sup> Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 93-96; Breasted, *History*, p. 47; Capart, *Memphis*, p. 210.

<sup>121</sup> Gunn in *City I*, p. 167.

<sup>122</sup> Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1917), pp. 373, 1160. See also the paragraphs on meat preservation in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), X, 613; and, for ancient representations of pieces of meat hung on lines to dry (?): Klebs, *Heidelberger Ak. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 3te Abh., p. 79; 6te Abh., p. 104; 9te Abh., p. 91; Winlock, *Bull. MMA*, Dec., 1920, Part 2, p. 26, Fig. 10.


indication in any of our labels that the meat was salted, pickled, or subjected to any other type of preservative process. It may also be noted in passing that in these inscriptions *iwf* (det. ) probably means, not simply "meat," but "pieces," or "cuts," "of meat." In no case are we told from what type of animal the meat was obtained,<sup>123</sup> and in only two instances is *iwf dr* followed by a qualifying expression: "good" (*nfr*) in Label 162 and "(as) tribute of the heart (?)"<sup>124</sup> (*m3(w) ib*) in Label 166. That, as at Tell el Amarna,<sup>125</sup> most of the meat was prepared locally is indicated by the fact that the donors were, without exception, either chamberlains (*imy-hnt*) of the palace itself or other officials known to have held office at Thebes. One label (No. 168) mentions a butcher attached to the estate of the king; but otherwise all the inscribed jars of meat found in the palace inclosure came from the stockyards (*3ht*) of private individuals.

Lansing's translation of   (the   of the Amarna labels<sup>126</sup>) as "stock-yard"<sup>127</sup> is confirmed, first, by the fact that it is mentioned in the palace jar-labels as the source of only two products—meat and animal fat; and, second, by the fact that over forty of these labels (Types 135, 136, 140, 160)

<sup>123</sup> Probably chiefly beef-cattle. See *Amarna*, Nos. 44, 45; *City I*, Nos. 75–84; *City II*, No. 33.




<sup>124</sup> I.e., as a voluntary gift from a loyal subject. I cannot cite another instance of this expression, which is, however, clearly legible in the present label.

<sup>125</sup> *City I*, p. 167.

<sup>126</sup> *Amarna*, 33, Nos. 44–57 *passim*; *City I*, 167, Nos. 75–84; *City II*, 106, Nos. 32–33. In the present writing the sign  is apparently used purely phonetically. In view of its frequent occurrence in these inscriptions it is difficult to agree with Griffith (*Amarna*, p. 33) that *3h(y)t* was "a name chosen for its alliteration with Akhenaten, Akhetaten, etc." It is perhaps related to the word *3ht*, "fertile land," of *Wb.*, I, 18 (9), or to two late words, *3h*, "slaughter" (?), and *3ht*, "knife" (*loc. cit.*, Belegst. 14, 15).

<sup>127</sup> *Bull. MMA*, March, 1918, *Supplement*, p. 10.

show it to have been a fairly extensive enclosure or complex capable of containing within itself, not only a "(butcher-)shop" (*w<sup>c</sup>b*, or *w<sup>c</sup>bt*),<sup>128</sup> but also a "(slaughter-)court" (*shw*).<sup>129</sup> Three of the seven examples of Label 136 substitute *t3 st*, "the place," for *t3 3ht*, "the stockyard"; and in Label 161 (4 examples) the *iwf dr* from the *3ht* of the King's Scribe Kha<sup>c</sup> is further described as "a meat-offering-purified (?)" by (lit. of) the High Priest" (*w<sup>c</sup>byt*<sup>130</sup> *n p3 hm-ntr tpy*).




A scene frequently represented in private tombs of the New Kingdom shows waterfowl, chiefly geese, being plucked, cleaned, cut into sections, and dried, preparatory to being packed into big pottery amphorae.<sup>131</sup> Fragments of seventeen such amphorae found in the ruins of the palace bear labels (Nos. 170–81) describing the contents of the jars as ,<sup>132</sup> which is apparently to be read *3pd mr*, "channel-bird," "pondfowl,"<sup>133</sup> and understood to mean also "(meat of) pondfowl." The latter meaning is indicated by Labels 171–73, where the group is determined by  or  and demanded by Labels 177–80, where in each case it is followed by the genitival adjective *n(y)*,

<sup>128</sup> *Wb.*, I, 284. See also Labels 128, 141, 166.

<sup>129</sup> *Wb.*, IV, 229. See also Label 128.

<sup>130</sup> *Wb.*, I, 284 (11, 14). In this context *w<sup>c</sup>byt* can hardly be regarded as a variant writing of *w<sup>c</sup>bt*, "shop"; and the supposition that cuts of meat intended as festival offerings were sometimes consecrated by the high priest (of Amün?) seems a plausible one. An objection is the masculine form of the genitival adjective *n(y)*.



<sup>131</sup> Klebs, *op. cit.*, 9te Abh., pp. 79–80; Davies, *Tomb of Nakht*, p. 70, Pl. 26; *Two Ramesside Tombs*, p. 62, Pl. 30.

<sup>132</sup> The occasional substitution of  for  I take to be a scribal error. The bird should perhaps have been transcribed  (Gardiner, *JEA*, XV, 52); but in these labels there is usually no tick over the back of the hieratic sign.

<sup>133</sup> Compare the common *3pdw n mw*, "waterfowl" (Pap. Harris I, *passim*). For the exact meaning of *mr* see Gardiner, *JEA*, XXIX, 43–44.

the name of a type of bird, and in several cases by a number. Thus, Label 177 would read: "Very good pondfowl-meat of *msyt*-birds"; Label 179: "Good pondfowl-meat of *srt*-geese"; and so on. The fact that jars, presumably of the same size, would contain 30 *s(3)t*-geese (No. 180) and 70 *msyt* (No. 178) suggests that the latter, not identified in *Wb.* (II, 143), was a relatively small bird—probably a small duck. In several instances the pondfowl is specified as "butchered" (*sft*),<sup>134</sup> and in four cases a royal estate or donating official is named (Nos. 171, 172, 174, 175). Label 176 lists "pondfowl of the tax(-collectors: *htr*[*w*]?)",<sup>135</sup> . . . , 100; pondfowl, 100; . . ."; and Label 182, "*r*-goose . . . (of) the butcher. . ."

Among the vegetable oils *b3k*, characterized as "sweet," "fresh," or "best," and represented by 22 jar-inscriptions of Types 183–96, is by far the most common. Once thought to have been olive oil, this product has been convincingly identified by Loret and Keimer as Ben oil, that is, oil made from the seeds, or nuts, of the moringa tree (*Moringa arabica*, syn. *aptera*).<sup>136</sup> Although *b3k*-trees were grown in western Thebes,<sup>137</sup> all indications point to northern Egypt as the source of most of the oil of this type. The Lake of the Bird (§ *3pd* ?) referred to in Label 186 is otherwise unknown to me,<sup>138</sup> but all the

<sup>134</sup> Three unpublished jar-labels from Deir el Bahri, in the Metropolitan Museum, list  and  (2 examples).

<sup>135</sup> *Wb.*, III, 201 (19). Compare the expression . . . *3pd(w) n dbh-htp 5 . . . w3h m htr r tnw rnpt* (*Urk.*, IV, 770), and Pap. Harris I, 12 b, 6.

<sup>136</sup> Loret, *Rec. trav.*, VII, 101–6; Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen*, pp. 30, 93; *Kémi*, II, 92–94. See also Gardiner, *Hier. Papyri B. M.*, 3d Series, p. 49, n. 3; Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 107, 384.

<sup>137</sup> *Urk.*, IV, 73, No. 10; Pliny xii. 46.

<sup>138</sup> Possibly a variant writing of § *khh*, "the Lake of the Waterfowl," a body of water in or near Heliopolis (Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, V, 128; VI, 153; Spiegelberg, *ZÁS*, LXIV, 81), though *khh*, "waterfowl," so far as I know, is never written with the sign of the bird alone.

officials named in this group of inscriptions were associated either with Memphis or, in the case of the King's Scribe Huy, with Athribis in the Delta.<sup>139</sup> Looking ahead to Label 215 (Fig. 15), we find Memphis named as the location of an orchard of *b3kt*-trees; and a jar-sealing from the palace (to be reproduced in a later article) bears the legend "*B3k*-oil of the Fortress" (i.e., Tjel in the northeast Delta).<sup>140</sup>

"Oil of *th(w)*" (No. 197, 2 examples) is not documented elsewhere, but *thw* itself is known to have been an aromatic plant, the seeds of which were used in the manufacture of perfume.<sup>141</sup> The close dating of both jars containing this oil suggests that, like animal fat (p. 87), it was a substance which would not keep for a long period of time. The common *nhh* (No. 200), two jars of which were contributed to the king's second *Sed*-festival in Year 34, appears to have been sesame oil.<sup>142</sup> *Sft*, "resin" (Nos. 198, 199), *hknw*, "perfume" (?), "spice" (?) (No. 201), and *mrht*, "grease," "ointment" (No. 202), are included among the so-called Seven Sacred Oils and have been the subjects of considerable discussion.<sup>143</sup> One jar of *sft* dated to Regnal Year 30 (No. 198) was prepared (presumably for the first *Heb-sed*) by "the inhabitants of the City," that is, by the townspeople of Thebes.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>139</sup> Helck, *Unters.*, XIV, 3–4. On the other officials (the Vizier Huy, the Steward Meryuptah, the King's Herald Amenemonet) see below, pp. 100–101.

<sup>140</sup> See pp. 88–89, 101.

<sup>141</sup> *Wb.*, V, 325 (10–14); Loret, *Rec. trav.*, XVI, 141.

<sup>142</sup> Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen*, pp. 18–20, 86–87, 134–35. In stating that *nhh* "is encountered first in Dyn. XIX," Keimer (p. 19) was apparently unaware of the series of inscribed *nhh*-jars found at Tell el Amarna (*Amarna*, p. 33, Nos. 32–42; *City I*, 168, n. 2).

<sup>143</sup> *Wb.*, II, 111; III, 180; IV, 118; Gard., *On.*, p. 8, n. 1; Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, pp. 146 ff.; Moret, *Rituel de culte divin*, pp. 190–200; etc.

<sup>144</sup> The fact that the second jar of *sft* (No. 199) bears the same calendar date (Month 3 of Proyet, Day 5) as the jars of *th(w)*-oil (No. 197) is probably a coincidence.

Milk (*irtt*), too perishable to store and readily obtainable locally, is represented by only two inscribed jars (Labels 203-4), one of which was contributed by the well-known official (Amenemhet) Surere.

Of seven jars of honey (*bīt*),<sup>145</sup> six (Labels 205-8) were found together in the great house "Ho.3.W" (see Fig. 1). The seventh (Label 209), previously used as a wine-jar (Label 1), is from the forecourt of the Amūn temple. All probably date to Regnal Year 34.<sup>146</sup> The specification "clear" (*stf*) applied to the honey of Label 205 requires no explanation, paleness and translucency having always been the marks of the finer grades of this product. "Red honey," as in Labels 206-8, is more difficult to explain unless we assume that the adjective *dšrt* is used here, as not infrequently, to describe a substance which was actually yellow or golden in color.<sup>147</sup> We have, in any case, to do with two types of honey, one light, one somewhat darker, but both presumably of the best quality. The title *hw(y)* occurring twice in Label 209 is probably to be translated literally as "drover," or "herdsman," and not regarded as the equivalent of *bity*, "beekeeper"; for honey is one of the chief by-products of flowery pasturelands and therefore a logical contribution of men in charge of herds of cattle and sheep.<sup>148</sup> The

<sup>145</sup> *Wb.*, I, 434 (6-12). See Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 35-37; Klebs, *op. cit.*, 9te Abh., pp. 61-62; and cf. *Amarna*, p. 34, Nos. 58-62; *City II*, 106, Nos. 38-40; Nagel, *Fouilles Inst. fr. Caire*, X, 18, Nos. 28, 30; *Ramesseum*, No. 319. To the treatises on apiculture in ancient Egypt by Fraser, Hartmann, and others must be added Kuény's interesting article in *JNES*, IX, 84-93.

<sup>146</sup> The date of No. 205 is painted in large red hieroglyphs on the shoulder of the jar with the hieratic label written in black ink above and to the left of the painted rectangle as indicated in Fig. 14.

<sup>147</sup> See Lefebvre, *JEA*, XXXV, 72-76. A rose-colored honey, produced by artificial feeding, is known; but honey by nature dark enough to be described as "red" is usually of inferior quality and in some cases even poisonous.

<sup>148</sup> This item and the information incorporated in the preceding footnote I owe to the excellent article on "Honey" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XIII, 653 ff.

Greatest of Seers Amenemhet, who contributed five of our seven jars of honey, is otherwise unknown, but the prominence of honey in the Heliopolitan section of Papyrus Harris I makes it probable, though by no means certain, that he was high priest of Rē-Atum at Heliopolis.<sup>149</sup>

The incense (*sntr*) used by the dynastic Egyptians was composed of gums and resins which were for the most part imported either from western Asia or from central Africa.<sup>150</sup> It is therefore not surprising to find that four of six jars of incense (Labels 211, 213-14) were furnished by a ship's captain in command of a transport (*mnšw*)<sup>151</sup> plying the eastern Mediterranean or the Red Sea in the pharaoh's service. The contents of two of these jars was "purified" (*swb*) by a Chief of Embalmers (š *wt[w]* ?) whose name is lost. Label 212 lists incense from the hall, or court ([*s*] *hw*), of Thutmose,<sup>152</sup> which, like that of No. 210, was apparently contributed to the first *Sed*-festival. Some of the incense itself still adheres in a thick brown resinous crust to the inner surfaces of the jar-fragments.

Under the heading "Fruits and Cereals" (Fig. 15) are grouped the inscribed fragments of sixteen jars which once contained seeds, or pods, of the moringa tree (*prt bškt*).<sup>153</sup> Nos. 215-16), dates (*bnr*).<sup>154</sup> Nos.

<sup>149</sup> The title *wr mšw* occurs also at this period at Hermonthis, Thebes, This, and Amarna. On the meaning of the title see Gard., *On.*, A 118; II, 267\*.

<sup>150</sup> Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 110-19.


<sup>151</sup> *Wb.*, II, 89 (7-10). See *City II*, 106, Nos. 34-36; *Ramesseum*, Nos. 305, 316; an unpublished jar-label in the Metropolitan Museum (Field No. 23001.165); and cf. the oil-jar labels from Petrie's excavations at Tell el Amarna (*Amarna*, p. 33, Nos. 38-42).


<sup>152</sup> Probably the chamberlain (*imy-hnt*) of that name. See Fig. 22.

<sup>153</sup> See above, p. 93 and nn. 136 ff. The existence at this period of a word for moringa-oil (*bškt*) and the obvious lack of a single word for the fruit of the tree show clearly that the moringa was used almost exclusively as a source of oil. Later the word *bškt* with the determinative *o* is used also to mean moringa-pods (Pap. Ch. Beatty V, rt. 8, 10).

<sup>154</sup> *Wb.*, I, 461 (12 ff.); Gard., *On.*, R 257; A 505; II, 223\* ff.


217-18), shelled beans (*iwryt hf*:<sup>155</sup> No. 219), and *bš3*-grain<sup>156</sup> (Nos. 220-22). With the exception of the beans, these products are listed with others of related types in two successive lines of Papyrus Chester Beatty V<sup>157</sup> and occur with some frequency in other documents of the Rameside period and the earlier New Kingdom. Labels 217 and 219, written on coarse, thick-walled jars roughly cylindrical in shape, depart from the usual form for such docketts. The heading "contents:" (*nty im.f*) occurring in No. 217 is normally found, not on jars, but on the lids of boxes, as frequently in the tomb of Tutankhamun. The first line of this label (*hp*, "prescription" ?), though clearly written, is to me incomprehensible, and I am puzzled as to whether the "cakes (*šh*),<sup>158</sup> 6" of the third line refers to the form in which the dates were prepared or constitutes a completely new entry.

Its determinatives indicate that *šr* (Label 223) is a variant of the common *ššr(t)*, *išr(t)*, "roast (of meat)."<sup>159</sup> *Šbbt* (Label 224) is defined in *Wb.*, IV, 439 (10), as "mash (of barley) from which beer was made." It occurs, following *irp*, "wine," in a list of comestibles on Ostrakon Cairo 25611, vs., 4. The Storeroom of Pharaoh (No. 225) is probably the building referred to simply as *β ct* in the variants of Label 105 (p. 99).  (No. 226) is a known Eighteenth Dynasty writing of *hrt*, meaning "necessary supplies," "dues," "ra-

tions," or the like (*Wb.*, III, 390-91; Gard., *Gramm.*, § 117); and the sign  appearing alone on three jar-fragments is perhaps an abbreviated form of the word *k3*, "food" (*Wb.*, V, 91). *Nfr-nfr*, "very good" (No. 228), requires no comment; and the three single signs of Labels 229-31 were probably simply identifying marks of no general significance.

Only six jars bear notations of quantity: 2, 6, and 50 "pints" (*hnw*:<sup>160</sup> Nos. 232, 86, 233), 29 "gallons" (*hk3t*:<sup>161</sup> No. 234), 6 *mn*-measures<sup>162</sup> (No. 60), and 9 *gnw* (No. 42). The last, a wine-measure appearing also in two hieroglyphic jar-labels from the palace, is perhaps identical with the *gnw* of *Wb.*, V, 174 (6), a word normally used to describe a tall stand for supporting a bowl or a combined bowl and stand.<sup>163</sup> The unnamed product measured in *hk3t* (Label 234) was probably a grain or granular substance; but otherwise the statements of amount are confined to jars which contained or may have contained wine. The numerical evidence is too scanty and too erratic to permit any conclusions regarding the capacities of the jars from which these inscribed fragments came or (especially in the cases of the "2 pints" and "29 gallons") even to justify the assumption that the notations had any direct bearing on the capacities of the jars.

A word about the jars themselves.<sup>164</sup> These were chiefly big amphorae of the

<sup>155</sup> *Wb.*, I, 56 (14); II, 489 (14); Jéquier, *Bull. Inst. fr. Caire*, XIX, 155-56; Drioton, *Ann. Serv.*, XLII, 174; Pap. Anastasi III A, 1; Pap. Harris I, 39, 13 (Heliopolis); 55 b, 7 (Memphis). In the second example of Label 219 the verb *hf* has its more common determinatives .

<sup>156</sup> *Wb.*, I, 478 (10 f.); Gard., *On.*, R 256; A 504; p. 14; II, 225\* ff.

<sup>157</sup> *Recto*, 8, 9-11 (Gardiner, *Hier. Pap. Brit. Mus.*, 3d ser., 49, Pl. 26).

<sup>158</sup> *Wb.*, I, 12 (10 ff.); Jéquier, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68; Gard., *On.*, R 267, p. 15, n. 2.

<sup>159</sup> *Wb.*, I, 21 (8); Jéquier, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. *Amarna*, No. 77; *City II*, Nos. 18 (wine), 50; *Ramesseum*, Nos. 307 (wine), 319 (honey), 320 and 322 (*nkh*-oil); etc. The *hnw* (hin) was equivalent to 0.46-0.503 liter. See *Wb.*, II, 493; Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 266, 1, and the references cited there; Lucas and Rowe, *Ann. Serv.*, XL, 69-92.

<sup>161</sup> The *hk3t*, primarily a grain measure, equaled 10 *hnw*, or 4.6-5.03 liters. See *Wb.*, III, 174; Gardiner, *loc. cit.*; Lucas and Rowe, *loc. cit.*

<sup>162</sup> *Wb.*, II, 66; Gardiner, *loc. cit.*

<sup>163</sup> Jéquier, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Kuentz, *Bibl. d'étude*, X (Amada Stela, l. 14); etc. See also the word *gnt* (*Wb.*, V, 173 [2]), "a vessel for wine."

<sup>164</sup> See the references cited above, pp. 37-38, nn. 18-42.

types found in the tombs of Kha<sup>c</sup> and Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamūn;<sup>165</sup> but included also large and medium-sized jars with wide mouths and no handles, carinated jars with or without handles, rough cylindrical jars of very coarse, thick pottery, relatively small drop-shaped jars of smooth red ware, and slender one-handed jugs with tall, thin necks.<sup>166</sup> The wine-jars (amphorae) from the Delta vineyards, light and thin-walled, were made of a drab pottery, rough and striated on the outside, smooth and dull reddish-brown in color on the interior surface. Those from the oases and the neighborhood of Memphis were heavier with a glossy outer surface which ranges in color from a deep pink to a pale green depending on the amount of heat to which the vessels had been exposed in the course of firing. The same ware was used for the *srmt*, fat, meat, fowl, and honey jars, the *srmt* jars being heavy and usually green in color, the fat and meat jars of medium weight and either pink or buff. A hard, very pale green pottery similar to the modern *kulleh* ware is found among the jars which had contained oil and fruit and a soft, coarse tan ware among those which had contained incense. Some of the wine, meat, and incense jars were adorned with painted bands—chiefly floral patterns—and bore painted hieroglyphic labels, mere scraps of which have been recovered.<sup>167</sup> Only one stamped cartouche<sup>168</sup> was found—a small oval deeply impressed into the handle of an amphora before firing and unfortunately quite illegible. A pale brownish residue

<sup>165</sup> Schiaparelli, *Tomba ... dell'architetto Cha*, Figs. 122, 137, 141–42; Carter, *Tomb of Tut.ankh. Amen*, III, Pl. 50.

<sup>166</sup> *City I*, Pls. 48–54, Types XIX, XX, XXIII, XXV, XLI, XLIII, XLIV, LXXVI, LXXVIII, LXXXVI; *City II*, Pls. 51–53, Types XIII 12, XIV 1, XV 13, XVIII 1; Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, Figs. 121, 123–24.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, Figs. 123–24, 141–42; Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, Pl. 5.

<sup>168</sup> See Bruyère, *Fouilles Inst. fr. Caïre*, XVI, 343.

is preserved on the interior surfaces of some of the wine jars and a glossy brown crust on those of the incense and resin jars; but most of the sherds were clean on the inside, and in no case is there evidence that a jar was intentionally lined with a resinous coating to render it impermeable.<sup>169</sup>

The royal or temple estates, or parts thereof, which furnished the palace with jars of wine, ale, meat, fat, fowl, honey, or beans are as follows:

- a) The House of Menkheprurē<sup>c</sup> (Thutmose IV) (Wine: Nos. 31, 32, 45—9 examples)
- b) [The House of the King's] Mother, Mute-muya (may she live!) (Wine: No. 64—1 example)
- c) The House of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup> (l.p.h.) (Wine: Nos. 1, 10, 20, 30, 42, 67; ale: Nos. 91, 114; fat: No. 127—50 examples)
- d) The House of Amenhotep (l.p.h.) (Wine: Nos. 43, 44; ale: No. 111; fat: Nos. 121, 122, 126, 133; meat: No. 168—15 examples)
- e) The House of "Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>(l.p.h.)-(is-)the-Splendor-of-Aten" (Wine: Nos. 9, 11, 21, 54, 55; ale: No. 99; fat: No. 145—25 examples)
- f) The House of "Amenhotep(l.p.h.)-(is-)the-Splendor-of-Aten" (Wine: No. 54 var.—1 example)
- g) The House of "Splendor-of-Aten" (Wine: No. 21; ale: No. 108—15 examples)
- h) [The House of the King's] Great [Wife], Tiy (may she live!) (Ale[?]: No. 98—1 example)
- i) The House of the King's Daughter, Sitamūn (may she live!) (Ale: Nos. 94 var., 96, 97, 112, 113; fat: Nos. 125, 137, 139; No. 258—21 examples)
- j) The House of the King's Daughter and King's Great Wife, Sitamūn (may she live!) (Ale: No. 95—30 examples)
- k) The House of the King's Wife (may she live!) (Wine: Nos. 7, 18; ale: No. 94; fat: Nos. 129, 147; fowl: No. 172; honey: No. 207—26 examples)

<sup>169</sup> See Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 27–29.



- l) The House of the Treasurer (Wine: No. 48; meat: No. 157—7 examples)
- m) The House of Amūn (Wine: Nos. 66, 71—7 examples)
- n) The House of Rē<sup>c</sup> (Wine: No. 84—3 examples)
- o) The Mansion of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup> (Wine: No. 6—4 examples)
- p) The Mansion of Pharaoh (l.p.h.) (Wine: Nos. 23, 34, 47, 51, 59—15 examples)
- q) The Mansion of [Pharaoh]<sup>170</sup> (l.p.h.) in Memphis (Wine: Nos. 3, 58—3 examples)
- r) The Mansion (Wine: Nos. 24, 35, 36, 70—7 examples)
- s) The Storeroom of Pharaoh (No. 225—1 example)
- t) The Storeroom (Ale: No. 105—4 examples)
- u) The Orchard of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup> (Wine: No. 60—3 examples)
- v) The (Slaughter-)Court of Hetep-ib (Fat: No. 128—1 example)
- w) The Treasury of the *Ka* (Beans: No. 219—2 examples)

In (a)–(n) of the foregoing list the word □ |, translated literally as “house,” has the obvious meaning of “estate,”<sup>171</sup> not as applied to a particular, geographically definable domain, but in the broader sense of the whole “property,” or “properties,” regardless of type or location, assigned to and controlled by an individual or an institution. Thus, the *Pr Hmt-nsu* (k) would have included the fields, gardens, vineyards, shops, boats, animals, serfs, and other possessions, whatever and wherever they might be, allocated to the queen as her personal property and distinct from the similar properties appropriated by the king for his own use (a, c, d) or assigned by him to other members of the royal family (b, i, j), to the support of a particular royal establishment (e–g), to the national treasury (l), or to the

<sup>170</sup> Or [Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>]. The length of the lacunae permits either.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. *City I*, 167; Gardiner, *On.*, A 422; *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 25, n. 1, 111, 172; *JEA*, V, 132; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, II, § 871, n. c; Carter, *Tomb of Tut.ankh. Amen*, III, 147; Erman, *ZÄS*, XXXI, 125.

temples of the gods (m, n). “The House of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>” described in Label No. 1 as being “in” such-and-such a complex or locality<sup>172</sup> may refer to a specific building or domain or simply to that portion of the king’s “property” located in a particular place. This, in any case, is the sole example among the hundreds of extant labels in which *pr* is qualified by a designation of locality. In Labels 10, 11, 54, and 66 it is of course the wine, not the “house,” which is said to be of “the Western River,” these inscriptions merely representing an inversion of the normal order of the phrases as preserved in Labels 20, 21, 47, and 55.

Turning to the estates themselves and their royal owners we note at the outset (a) that certain properties which had belonged to the deceased Thutmose IV were still functioning under his name as late as the thirty-sixth year of his son’s reign (Label 45).<sup>173</sup> The [King’s] Mother, Mute-muya (b), whose name is accompanied in Label 64 by the wish “May she live!” was undoubtedly still alive at the time the label was written, the inscription itself being much worn and faded and evidently one of the earliest of the lot. “The House of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>” (c) and “the House of Amenhotep” (d) were apparently alternate names for the same royal estate. This must have been true also of (e), (f), and (g), though here the properties involved belonged, not to the person of the king, but to an establishment named, in his honor, “Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>-(is)-the-Splendor-of-Aten”—in all probability the palace it-


<sup>172</sup> Cf. Dawson, *JEA*, X, 133 (No. 6).

<sup>173</sup> “Fields . . . of the House of Menkheprurē<sup>c</sup>” are referred to in an edict of the reign of Ay (Daressy, *Rec. trav.*, XVI, 123, CVIII); and a “domain (*rmnyt*) of the House of Menkheprurē<sup>c</sup> . . .” is mentioned in a Ramesside papyrus in the Griffith Institute (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 70, 6). Another royal estate of the Eighteenth Dynasty which retained its identity long after the death of its owner was that of Thutmose I (see Daressy, *loc. cit.*; Bennett, *JEA*, XXV, 9, 12, n. 25).

self.<sup>174</sup> We are, I think, justified in assuming that Queen Tiy was the "King's Wife" referred to in (*k*). Otherwise we should be faced with the surprising fact that this great lady is mentioned on only one of fourteen hundred inscribed jars found in her husband's palace (No. 98 = *h*). Even with the addition of the (*k*)-labels Tiy's contributions would have amounted to only half of those provided by the estates of Amenhotep III's other queen, Sitamūn (*i*, *j*). The interpretation of this evidence which suggests itself is not that Tiy had lost favor with the king, for we know that this never occurred, but that from Year 30 onward—the period covered by the labels in question—her own interest was shifting gradually from her husband to her son Akhenaten and, after Year 33, from the palace at Thebes to the new palace at Tell el Amarna. The view that Sitamūn was Amenhotep III's daughter as well as his wife<sup>175</sup> is borne out by the 21 labels listed under (*i*), where she is referred to only as "the King's Daughter," a title obviously intended to describe her relationship to the reigning pharaoh, not to one of his predecessors.<sup>176</sup> The *Pr imy-r sḏwt* (*l*) comprised properties owned by the state and administered

by the High Treasurer of Upper or Lower Egypt in his capacity as sectional chief of the fiscal branch of the national government. Though subject to the king in his official status as head of the government, they were distinct from his personal estates and those of his family. The properties of this class referred to in the jar-labels were apparently those controlled by the Treasurer of Upper Egypt, who in 22 examples of Label 100 is identified by name as a Theban official, Ptahmose.<sup>177</sup> The estates of Amūn and Rē<sup>c</sup> (*m* and *n*), which included vineyards in the Delta, belonged presumably to the principal temples of the two gods, at Karnak and Heliopolis, respectively.

Unlike □ with its broad and somewhat indefinite range of meaning, □, "mansion," is almost invariably used during the New Kingdom to describe a particular temple—usually a mortuary temple.<sup>178</sup> In the present inscriptions the term evidently refers, not only to the building itself, but also to the "domain," or "foundation," on which the temple depended for its support.<sup>179</sup> Labels 3 and 58 (*q*) tell us that the domain in question was that of the temple [of Amenhotep III] at Memphis;<sup>180</sup> and a statue-inscription of the Priest and Steward Meryuptah in Leiden indicates clearly that "the Man-

<sup>174</sup> In the jar-labels the name *Nb-m<sup>3</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>-ḥn(w)-<sup>2</sup>Itn* is always determined by the sign □, clearly written and by no stretch of the imagination interpretable as . *Ḥn(w)-<sup>2</sup>Itn* (Labels 21, 108), often transcribed elsewhere <sup>2</sup>*Itn-ḥn*, is clearly an elliptical writing of the full name, which makes no sense if translated "Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>-Aten-gleams" and is unlikely to have meant "Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>-(is-)the-Shining-Aten."

Nefersokheru, the owner of Tomb 107 at Thebes, was Steward of the House of *Nb-m<sup>3</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>-ḥn(w)-<sup>2</sup>Itn* (*LD, Text*, III, 252)—presumably the same estate referred to here.

A discussion of the various names associated in one way or another with the Malkata palace I should like to reserve for the next article when the important evidence of the jar-sealings and brick-stamps will be available.

<sup>175</sup> See Newberry, *PSBA*, XXIV, 24; Helck, *Unters.*, XIV, 11, 31-32; Varille, *Ann. Serv.*, XL, 651-57; Hayes, *Bull. MMA*, 1948, pp. 272-79; and, for a contrary opinion, Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.*, XL, 153-57.

<sup>176</sup> Had she, as Engelbach suggests, been the daughter of Thutmose IV, her relationship to Amenhotep III would have been that of King's Sister, a title which she never bears. The theory that Amenhotep III was not the son of Thutmose IV, but his brother, was long ago disposed of by Wolf (*ZÄS*, LXV, 98-100).

<sup>177</sup> Anthes, *ZÄS*, LXXII, 63, No. 7.

<sup>178</sup> *Wb.*, III, 2; Gardiner, *JEA*, V, 132; *apud* Petrie and others, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, 35-36; *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 11, 34, 66, 73, 135.

<sup>179</sup> Compare the use of the word *ḥwt* in royal temple decrees of the late Old Kingdom (Hayes, *JEA*, XXXII, 5, 9, and the references cited there).

<sup>180</sup> *BAR*, II, § 880, n. a; Gardiner, *apud* Petrie and others, *loc. cit.* See also Petrie and others, *Meydum and Memphis (III)*, 39, Pl. 29; *Amarna*, p. 23, Pl. 13, No. 15; p. 30, Pl. 21, No. 1; Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, II, 320, L.

sion of Pharaoh" (*p*) was simply another name for this temple.<sup>181</sup> In the labels listed under (*r*) the same temple is referred to in abbreviated fashion as  $\beta$  *Hwt*, "the Mansion,"<sup>182</sup> and apparently again, in Label 6 (*o*), as "the Mansion of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>."

The word *ct* ("chamber," "department")<sup>183</sup> not infrequently, as in Label 105 (*t*), has the meaning of "store," "storeroom," especially one used for beverages such as wine and beer.<sup>184</sup> We are not told what type of product came from "the Storeroom of Pharaoh" of Label 225 (*s*), but this too may have been wine or *srmt*. "The Orchard (*ct ht*) of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>" (*u*) was perhaps situated near "the Orchard of <sup>c</sup>Akheperkarē<sup>c</sup>" (Thutmose I) on a branch of the Nile (*nhr*) which flowed through a wine-growing district of the Delta.<sup>185</sup> As to the royal owner of the "(Slaughter-)Court of Hetep-ib" (*v*), there can be little doubt that *Htp-ib* was an epithet of Amenhotep III himself. We are reminded of the names *Sehetep-Rē<sup>c</sup>* and *Sehetep-Aten* used as "perhaps heretical designations" of the same king in three jar-labels from Tell el

<sup>181</sup> Boeser, *Beschreibung*, VI, No. 27, Pl. 15; Anthes, *ZÄS*, LXXII, 65. Meryuptah was steward of a temple-domain which in this inscription is called "the Mansion of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>" and in Labels 34 and 59, "the Mansion of Pharaoh."

<sup>182</sup> A comparison of Labels 35 and 215 proves beyond a doubt that the temple (of Amenhotep III) called  $\beta$  *Hwt* was located at Memphis. Two jar-sealings from Deir el Medineh and *Ḳurnet Murai* list respectively, "wine of *Hikuptah*" (Memphis) and "wine of the Mansion" (Bruyère, *Fouilles Inst. fr. Caïre*, II, 79).

<sup>183</sup> Gard., *On.*, A 423, A 79. To the examples cited by Gardiner may be added the title *s'uty n ct hnkyt n Thn(w)-Itn* (Cairo Stela 34087), meaning perhaps, not "the Guardian of the Bedchamber . . ." as it is usually translated, but "the Keeper of the Storeroom of Donations" in the palace of Amenhotep III (cf. *ct hnkt*: Gard., *On.*, I, p. 22\*).

<sup>184</sup> *Wb.*, I, 160 (10-11); Cairo Stela 34069 (Lacau, *Cat. Caïre*); Pap. Anastasi I, 9, 9 (Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, I); *Urk.*, IV, 1178, 6.

<sup>185</sup> Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, p. 37, No. 129. The final group of this jar-inscription should have been transcribed  $\overline{\text{xx}}$   $\overline{\text{nn}}$  not  $\overline{\text{xx}}$   $\overline{\text{nn}}$ .

Amarna.<sup>186</sup> By analogy with *hwt-k3*, "tomb chapel," "funerary chapel" (Gard., *On.*, A 435), *pr-hd-k3*, "treasury of the *ka*" (*w*), might be taken to mean the treasury of the (king's) funerary foundation; or, assuming *k3* to be the familiar word for "food" (*Wb.*, V, 91), might be translated "the Treasury of Food." Of these two possibilities, the first would seem to be the more likely.

Following the death of Amenhotep III in the eleventh or twelfth regnal year of Akhenaten<sup>187</sup> the produce of some of the estates listed above was diverted from Thebes to Tell el Amarna. Thus, we find at Amarna jars of wine dated to Year 14 from the House of "Splendor-of-Aten" (*g*)<sup>188</sup> and the House of Tiy (*h*),<sup>189</sup> and another, of Year 15, from the House of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup> (*c*).<sup>190</sup> Among the undated wine-jars at Amarna is one from the House of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup><sup>191</sup> and one from the House of Amenhotep (*d*).<sup>192</sup> Two labels of Year 17 listing "wine of the House of the King's Wife"<sup>193</sup> probably refer to the estates of Nefertiti rather than to those of Tiy or Sitamūn, but form good parallels to our (*k*)-labels; and "the House of the King's Daughter, Meryt[aten]" (*City I*, Label R), may be compared with our "House of the King's Daughter, Sitamūn" (*i*). Corresponding to Label 64 (*b*) is a wine-jar inscription from Amarna mentioning the House of the King's Mother . . .,<sup>194</sup> who in this case was presumably Tiy. "[The House of] 'Splendor-of-Aten,' " "the House of the Treasurer," and "the Mansion of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>" occur also on the sealings of wine-jars from Tell el Amarna.<sup>195</sup>

<sup>186</sup> *Amarna*, p. 34, Nos. 5, 21, 22.

<sup>187</sup> See above, p. 37 and n. 14.

<sup>188</sup> *City II*, No. 15.

<sup>189</sup> *Amarna*, No. 14.

<sup>191</sup> *Amarna*, No. 7.

<sup>190</sup> *Amarna*, No. 4.

<sup>192</sup> *City I*, No. 22.

<sup>193</sup> *City I*, Labels G and K. See also *Amarna*, Nos. 11, 90.

<sup>194</sup> Dawson, *JEA*, X, 133.

<sup>195</sup> *Amarna*, Pl. XXI, 1, 2, 24, 53; *City II*, Pl. LVII, F.

For ease of reference the names and/or titles of the 170 persons mentioned in the palace jar-jabels are listed alphabetically in Figures 17–23.<sup>196</sup> The last two columns of these tables indicate the frequency with which each name (or title) occurs among the labels and the dates of these occurrences expressed in terms of regnal years of Amenhotep III. Since it is reasonably certain that the private individuals referred to were alive when the jars bearing their names were inscribed, the dates provide evidence on the periods of activity of the persons concerned which, in the case of the king's great officials, is occasionally of some historical interest. The jar-labels show, for example, that Amenhotep, son of Hapu ("the King's Scribe, Huy"), was already in charge of the estates of Queen Sitamūn at the time of the first *Sed*-festival in Year 30 (Label 95) and that he was still active in Year 34 when he contributed ten jars of wine, fat, and meat to the second *Heb-sed* (variants of Labels 39, 130, 158, 160).

In addition to this important dignity,<sup>197</sup> whose name and title appear on 86 jars from the palace, we have no difficulty in recognizing among the distinguished private donors: the southern Vizier, Ramose (4 jars. Year 30),<sup>198</sup> the northern Vizier, Amenhotep ("Huy." 3 jars. Year [30]),<sup>199</sup> the Chief Steward of Memphis, Amenhotep ("Huy." 10 jars. Years 30, 31),<sup>200</sup> the Chief Steward (of Thebes), Amenemhet Surere ("the King's Scribe, Surere." 2 jars. Year [30]),<sup>201</sup> the

King's Scribe, Kha<sup>c</sup>emhet ("Kha<sup>c</sup>." 20 jars. Years 34, 37),<sup>202</sup> and the King's Scribe, Kheruef (3 jars. Years 30, 34).<sup>203</sup> Other prominent officials, less well documented than the foregoing, include the High Treasurer, Ptahmose (23 jars),<sup>204</sup> the King's Scribe, Ptahmose (Year 30),<sup>205</sup> the Greatest of Seers, Amenemhet,<sup>206</sup> the Priest and Steward of the Mansion of Pharaoh, Meryuptah (25 jars),<sup>207</sup> the King's Scribe, Amenmose (83 jars),<sup>208</sup> the King's Scribe, Ipy,<sup>209</sup> the King's Scribe, Roy,<sup>210</sup> the Overseer of the Audience Chamber, Tjaia<sup>c</sup>n,<sup>211</sup> the King's Herald, Amenemonet,<sup>212</sup> the Steward, Userhet,<sup>213</sup> and the [Ste]ward of the Mansion of Pharaoh, Nakhtmin.<sup>214</sup> The obviously important, but somewhat noncommittal title "King's Scribe" is borne in the jar-labels by seven other men, none of whom is readily identifiable: Amenhotep,<sup>215</sup>

<sup>196</sup> Porter–Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, I, 89–90, Tomb 57; Petrie, *History*, IV, 199–200.

<sup>197</sup> Porter–Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 152, Tomb 192; Davies, *JE A*, IX, 134–36; Fakhry, *Ann. Serv.*, XLII, 447–508.

<sup>198</sup> Anthes, *ZÄS*, LXXII, 63, No. 7.

<sup>199</sup> Borchardt, *MDOG*, No. 55 (December, 1914), pp. 16 ff. This official, who was Steward of the House of Nebma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>, subsequently moved to Tell el Amarna and changed his name to Ramose.

<sup>200</sup> Otherwise unknown to me. Presumably the high priest of Rē<sup>c</sup> at Heliopolis (see above, p. 94 and n. 149).

<sup>201</sup> Anthes, *ZÄS*, LXXII, 65–66. See above, n. 181.

<sup>202</sup> Probably the Steward Amenmose, the owner of Tomb 89 at Thebes. Porter–Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>203</sup> Probably the son of the Steward of Memphis, Amenhotep, who later succeeded to his father's office. Hayes, *JE A*, XXIV, 24; Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>204</sup> Perhaps the King's Scribe, Roy, who survived into the reign of Horemheb and who was the owner of Tomb 255 at Thebes. Porter–Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>205</sup> This Memphite official is otherwise unknown to me.

<sup>206</sup> A Memphite of this name became King's First Herald and General of the Army under Horemheb (?). Ranke, *ZÄS*, LXVII, 78–82.

<sup>207</sup> The owner of Tomb 47 at Thebes? Porter–Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>208</sup> Possibly the Nakhtmin of Louvre C.203 who was a Scribe of the Army and Steward of Queen Tiy. Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>209</sup> Probably not the son of Hapu, who is invariably in these inscriptions called Huy.

<sup>196</sup> In many cases the names and titles occur in examples of the label-types not selected for transcription in Figs. 4–16.

<sup>197</sup> Helck, *Unters.*, XIV, 2–13.

<sup>198</sup> Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*.

<sup>199</sup> Weil, *Veziere*, 85–86, § 12; *Hierogl. Texts B. M.*, VII, 11, No. 1068; Wolf, *ZÄS*, LIX, 118, n. 1.

<sup>200</sup> Hayes, *JE A*, XXIV, 9–24; Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 47 ff.; Davies, *op. cit.*, 1–3.

<sup>201</sup> Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 46 and n. 5.

Ahmose,<sup>216</sup> Penammenfer, Mey,<sup>217</sup> Huy, son of Mey, Huy, son of Hatiay,<sup>218</sup> and Tja. . . . The same is true of a dozen or so officials of lower rank: the Commander of Garrison Troops,<sup>219</sup> Ineny, the Deputies,<sup>220</sup> Amenwahu and Reḥi, the Overseer of Cattle, Wadjmose, the Scribe of the Treasury, Panehesy, the Scribe of the House of Amūn, Khaḥemwast, the Cadet,<sup>221</sup> Kemy, and the Scribes, Nebamūn, Nebsu . . . ,<sup>222</sup> Romaḥ, Huy, Khaḥ, and Tjay. An exception is the Overseer of the Treasury, Sobkmose, who is known from a number of monuments including his tomb-chamber from Rizeikat, now in New York.<sup>223</sup> A hundred and thirteen jars of animal fat and meat were contributed to the king's *Sed*-festivals by the palace Chamberlains (*imy-hnt*),<sup>224</sup> Amenmose, Pay, Penamūn, Meryamūn, Hatiay, Ken-

amūn, Thutmose,<sup>225</sup> and others whose names are lost (Fig. 23),<sup>226</sup> and the participation of officials of this class in the celebration of the festivals themselves is well attested.<sup>227</sup> Thutmose, the commander of the Fortress at Tjel, is an interesting addition to the roster of officials of the reign of Amenhotep III and to the succession of "overseers" of this key border-station, very few of whose names appear to be known.<sup>228</sup> His name is preserved in eight examples of Label 77. In Nos. 76 and 118 he is identified simply by his title, "The Commander of the Fortress" (*p3 imy-r htm*). The Mayor of Tjebu,<sup>229</sup> Wosretneb, another "mayor" (*h3ty-*) and an official named Paser, of the "Lake of the Bird" (*š3pd ?*),<sup>230</sup> are the only provincial dignitaries mentioned in the jar-labels. A miscellaneous group of minor officials, craftsmen, and farmhands includes the Coppersmith(?),<sup>231</sup> Amenpanef, the Storekeeper (*iry ḥt*), Mer- . . . , the Chief of Embalmers (*3 w[?]*), . . . , the Transport Captain (*hry mnšw*), Yay, and the Herdsmen (*hw[y]*), Bakamūn, Menena, and Huy.

The names of 25 vineyard-masters (*hry k3mw*) or master-vintners (*hry k3myw*) are preserved in the wine-jar labels. That some of these foremen of the Delta vine-

<sup>216</sup> Referred to in Label 104 as "the King's Scribe of the Harim" (*š3 nsw n pr-hnt*). Probably not "the Scribe of the Cattle . . . of the House of the Treasurer" of Cairo Stela 34049 (Lacau, *Cat. Caïre*).

<sup>217</sup> Possibly the owner of Tomb 14 at Tell el Amarna (Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 16) or perhaps the King's Scribe, Meya, who served under Horemheb (*Ann. Serv.*, IV, 213). Other officials of this name and period include a King's Envoy to Foreign Countries (*Hierogl. Texts B.M.*, VIII, No. 1210), an Overseer of the Magazines of Perunefer (Cairo Stela 34050), and a Commander of Cavalry (Davies, *Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, p. 13, Pl. VIII).

<sup>218</sup> The fathers' names are added obviously to distinguish these two men from the great "King's Scribe, Huy." See also the untitled Huy, son of Ka (Fig. 21, third entry).

<sup>219</sup> *Imy-r iwḥyt*. On the title see Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 39, n. 8; and further on the *iwḥyt*-troops, *Wb.*, I, 51 (11); *Rec. trav.*, XXVII, 204-5; Pap. Anastasi III, vs., 2, 8; 3, 6; etc.

<sup>220</sup> *Idnw*. *Wb.*, I, 155 (6-9). Cf. Gard., *On.*, A 89, A 95, A 105. For examples of the title used alone, as here, see Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Cairo Stela 34037, 9.

<sup>221</sup> *Hrd (n) k3p*. See Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

<sup>222</sup> A Scribe, Nebsu, was the owner of a New Kingdom stela in Cairo (No. 34029). The name Nebsu-menu, though common in the Middle Kingdom, appears to be rare in the New Kingdom before the Ramesside Period (Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 186).

<sup>223</sup> Hayes, *Burial Chamber of the Treasurer Sobkmose* (*MMA Papers*, No. 9).

<sup>224</sup> On the title see Gard., *On.*, under A 83; Jéquier, *Bull. Inst. fr. Caïre*, XIX, 177; Scharff, *ZÄS*, LVII, 60; Daressy, *Ostraca (Cat. gén. Mus. Caïre*, Nos. 25001-25385), Index III, p. 110.

<sup>225</sup> Seven jars of beef-fat and 46 jars of meat were provided by the Chamberlain, Thutmose, alone—a fact which suggests that he may have been identical with the Overseer of Cattle, Thutmose, who appears in the tomb of Ramose (Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 25, Pl. XXVII). See also *Hierogl. Texts B.M.*, VIII, No. 1642.


<sup>226</sup> Including probably the *Imy-hnt*, Amenhotep (son of the *Imy-hnt*, Yuty), whose tomb at Thebes is published by Loret, *Mém. Miss. fr. Caïre*, I, 23-32, Pls. I-III.

<sup>227</sup> Borchardt, *ZÄS*, LXI, 39, 40, 47; Fakhry, *Ann. Serv.*, XLII, 491.

<sup>228</sup> Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25. On Tjel see above, p. 89 and n. 94.

<sup>229</sup> See above, p. 90.

<sup>230</sup> See above, p. 93 and n. 138.

<sup>231</sup> *Hmw m b3 (?)*: Label 159. The reading  is extremely doubtful.

yards were Asiatics is shown by such names as Khoru(y), "the Syrian," and Nahariny, "the Naharinian."<sup>232</sup> Otherwise the names are of common Egyptian type: Pau, Perē, Ptahmey, Ptahnefer, Ma<sup>c</sup>, Nebu, Nefermenu, Nakhte, Hat, Hatiay, Hori, Shemsu, Thut[mose], etc. Of these names none occurs with certainty on the Amarna wine-jars<sup>233</sup> and only one (Nakhte) on those from the tomb of Tutankhamūn.<sup>234</sup>

Many of the butchers (*sft*) who prepared the contents of the meat-jars can be assigned on the evidence of the labels to the stockyards of particular officials. Thus, the Butchers Kaya (48 jars) and Hori worked exclusively for the Chamberlain, Thutmose; Nefer, Hotpe, and Simūt for the King's Scribe, Huy (Amenhotep, son of Hapu); Penya, Mey, Ka, and Kebeb for the King's Scribe, Kha<sup>c</sup>(emhet); Paa<sup>n</sup> for the Chamberlain, Amenmose; Any for the Chamberlain, Hatiay; Ptahmey for the King's Scribe, Roy; Hat for the Chamberlain, Kenamūn; Amennefer for the Chamberlain, Penamūn; Menena for the King's Scribe, Mey; and Henu for the Priest and Steward, Meryuptah. The "unidentified" butchers include Wosrethotep, Pair, Payotef, Pahu, Ma<sup>c</sup>huy, Merymery, Ha<sup>c</sup>py, Semen, and Sennefer.

The title of the specialists who prepared the animal fat of Labels 130 ff. is probably to be read *hrp-c-d* and translated "purveyor of fat," or "controller of fat," although the hieratic form of the first sign of the title requires the transcription  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  (or  $\overline{\text{𓆏}}$  ?), rather than  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  (see Figs. 2, 3, Nos. 130, 143). The verb *hrp*, "bring," "present," "purvey," is used in the tomb of

Puyemrē<sup>c</sup> of butchers who are not actually carrying, but preparing cuts of meat (*stp*),<sup>235</sup> and in a jar-label from Tell el Amarna we find a comparable title: *imy-r iw*f, "Overseer of Meat."<sup>236</sup> The title *hrp-c-d* occurs fifteen times in the palace labels (Nos. 130-31, 134, 136, 142-43) and the names of six of the men who bore it are preserved: Yuamūn, Yuenamenref (?), Wosrethotep, Nefermenu, Huy, and Tjai-nefer.

Though unaccompanied by names, some of the titles listed in Figures 22-23 are interesting and significant in themselves. "The First Prophet" (*p<sup>3</sup> hm-ntr tpy*) and the "Greatest of Seers" (*wr m<sup>3</sup>w*) were, as already noted, the titles of the high priests of Amūn and Rē<sup>c</sup>, respectively, while the title "Overseer of Prophets" (*imy-r hmw-ntr*) was regularly borne by the senior priests of Monthu, Sekhmet, and other more or less local divinities.<sup>237</sup> The high priest of Amūn from the 20th year of Amenhotep III onward was Meryuptah,<sup>238</sup> and it is probably he to whom the expression *p<sup>3</sup> hm-ntr tpy* refers. In addition to the frequently cited "Overseer of Treasures" (*imy-r sd<sup>3</sup>wt*), we find in Label 47 an "Overseer of Treasures in the Mansion of Pharaoh," that is, the chief treasurer of Amenhotep III's temple foundation at Memphis. Label 116 appears to preserve part of the puzzling, though fairly common, title "Overseer of the Gate" (*imy-r rwy*t),<sup>239</sup> and a single mention of the "Chief of the Ergastulum" (*hry šn<sup>c</sup>*)<sup>240</sup> occurs in Label 211. "Doorkeeper of the House of Sitamūn" (Label

<sup>235</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrē*, II, Pl. LII.

<sup>236</sup> *City II*, 106, No. 32.

<sup>237</sup> E.g., Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 (No. 18), 47 (l. 3). See Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, pp. 245 ff.

<sup>238</sup> Anthes, *ZÄS*, LXXII, 68; Lefebvre, *Histoire des Grands Prêtres*, pp. 240-41, § 12.


<sup>239</sup> Hayes, *Ann. Serv.*, XXXIII, 12; Virey, *Rec. trav.*, VII, 32 ff.

<sup>240</sup> On the meaning of *šn<sup>c</sup>* see Gard., *On.*, A 430; Hayes, *JEA*, XXXII, 9.

<sup>232</sup> Cf. *City I*, 167 (J); *ZÄS*, LVIII, 32-34.

<sup>233</sup> The names Pa and Hati . . . of the Amarna labels (*City I*, Label L; *City II*, No. 8) are possibly to be equated with our Pau and Hatiay.

<sup>234</sup> See above, nn. 19 and 20. The name Pay is also found in the Tutankhamūn labels (No. 523).

258) is written with the group  which Gardiner<sup>241</sup> has recently proposed to read *wn*, rather than *iry* 3.

Of the twenty-four personal names which have come down to us without titles, six (Amenmose, Irery, Mey, Nefermenu, Hatiay, and Thutmose) probably belonged to dignitaries and craftsmen discussed in the preceding paragraphs. Five of the remaining names (Bes, Panedjem, Meryrē<sup>c</sup>, Huy [son of Ka], and Tepuy) were evidently those of more or less important officials.<sup>242</sup> Most of these I cannot identify; but Meryrē<sup>c</sup> may well have been the steward of Amenhotep III known from a stela in Vienna and suggested by Davies<sup>243</sup> as the owner of Tomb 226 at Thebes. A man named Hatiy (cf. Label 249) functioned during the reign of Thutmose IV as "Steward of the God's Wife" and was the owner of Tomb 151;<sup>244</sup> and the unusual name Kēnemsau (Label 29) is borne by one of the "dutiful barbers" represented in the tomb of the Vizier Ramose.<sup>245</sup> Among the other names Amenemkhenyt ("Amūn-in-the-Crew-of-Rowers" ? Label 250) is known only from a fragmentary example of Middle Kingdom date,<sup>246</sup> and names like Sethmose (Label 253)—compounded with that of the god Seth—are not common before the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Numerous as the officials named in the palace jar-labels are, we search among them in vain for the names of some of the prominent men of the period: the Viceroy

<sup>241</sup> *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 91.

<sup>242</sup> As indicated by their positions as the names of donors in the jar-inscriptions in which they occur. The names Bes, Meryrē<sup>c</sup>, and Tepuy alternate in Label-types 92 and 101 with those of the King's Scribes, Huy and Amenmose, the Vizier Ramose, and the Chief Steward Huy.

<sup>243</sup> *Tombs of Menkheperasonb . . .*, p. 37, Pl. XLIV.

<sup>244</sup> Porter-Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Hermann, *Mit. deutschen Inst. Kairo*, VI, 36.

<sup>245</sup> (Davies), Pl. XXVI.

<sup>246</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 28 (18).

of Nubia, Merymose,<sup>247</sup> the King's Scribe, Horemheb (Tomb 78), the Stewards Siiset and Nefersekeru,<sup>248</sup> the Police Captain, Nebamūn (Tomb 90), and the Sculptors, Huy (Tomb 54), Nebamūn, and Ipuky (Tomb 181).

Before concluding this rapid survey of the palace jar-inscriptions we may note briefly a series of short hieratic labels written on the insides of some two score model bowls (∇) and dishes of brown and red pottery found in a single deposit in one of the foundation trenches of the North Palace. Altogether similar model vessels, similarly inscribed, were discovered by Theodore Davis in a shallow pit near the tomb of Tut-ankhamūn and are published, with photographs, drawings, copies and transcriptions of the texts, by Winlock in his *Materials Used at the Embalming of King Tut-ankh-Amun*.<sup>249</sup> The inscription in every case is simply the name of an item of food or drink which the model vessel—or its full size counterpart—was in theory supposed to have contained. The items themselves appear to have been derived largely from the traditional list, or table, of offerings handed down from the Old Kingdom.<sup>250</sup>

The extant labels of this class from the North Palace are of twenty-five different types (Fig. 23), six of which occur in duplicate.<sup>251</sup> Taking them in alphabetical

<sup>247</sup> Varille, *Ann. Serv.*, XL, 567-70; XLV, 1-15, 33-34.


<sup>248</sup> Hermann, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 32.

<sup>249</sup> The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Papers*, No. 10, p. 14, Pls. IV, VII, X.

<sup>250</sup> *Pyr.* 10 ff.; Junker, *Giza II*, 69-96; Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, IV, Pls. XIC, CX, CXII, CXIII; Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, VI, 321-405; Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt (No. 82)*, pp. 75 ff.; Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, VI, Pt. II (1948), etc. Note that the little bowls (*hnt*) are of the type represented in the offering tables.

<sup>251</sup> Namely: *irp m<sup>3c</sup>(w)*, *irp n hprw*, *ʿw<sup>3</sup>w*, *mw 7*, *mw 14*, and *mw nw mmy*.

order we read: *iwf w3d*, "fresh meat"; *irp m3(w)*, "wine (for) offerings"; *irp n hprw*, "wine of becoming" (i.e., new wine still in the process of fermentation);<sup>252</sup> *[i]rpf*, "wine"; "*cw3w*-bread" (*Wb.*, I, 172 [7]); "*p3wt*-cakes" (*Wb.*, I, 495 [6 ff.]); *p3wt n Sty*, "*p3wt*-cakes of the Nubian" (?); *mw 7*, "water, 7 (bowls?)"; *mw 14*, "water, 14 (bowls?)";<sup>253</sup> *mw nw mmy*, "juice of *mmy*-fruit";<sup>254</sup> *rmw drt.sn*, "fish (and) their fins(?)"; *rnpyt*, "green vegetables" (*Wb.*, II, 435 [2-8]); *hntkt igft*, "beer, *igft*-jars (?)"; *hntkt*, "offering-cake" (*Wb.*, III, 118 [9-15]); *hpnt*<sup>255</sup> *nt hntkt*, "jugs of beer"; "*hnfw*-cake" (*Wb.*, III, 291 [12]); *stf*, "hot drink" (*Wb.*, IV, 196 [16]); *stw*,

"wheat-cakes";<sup>256</sup> *33 . . .*, "*33[w]*-plants (?)" (*Wb.*, IV, 400 [11 ff.]); *tyrt* (= *t-wr* ?)<sup>257</sup> *s3p*, "light bread" (*Wb.*, V, 209 [11-12], 255; IV, 282 [10]); *dkr w3d*, "fresh fruit"; *hnt dsrw irt*, "bowl (of) eye-wash (?)"<sup>258</sup> and *dsrt* (a beverage, perhaps a kind of milk: *Wb.*, V, 616 [7-12]). The last two labels, both fragmentary, were evidently the names of a plant () and some kind of fruit or grain (○).

With the foregoing were found two fragments of red pottery dishes inscribed in one case with the cartouche of the king ("[Amenhot]ep, l.p.h.") and in the other with the personal name "Hatiay."

[To be continued]

<sup>252</sup> Cf. *hpr n bit*, *hpr n bnr*: *Wb.*, III, 261 (11).

<sup>253</sup> As elsewhere, the number 7 and its multiples were sacred in dynastic Egypt. See Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten*, pp. 33-37.

<sup>254</sup> Described as a "granular fruit" by Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen*, p. 149.

<sup>255</sup> Apparently a variant writing of *3pnt*, "jug" (for beer; *Wb.*, IV, 445 [2]). See *Wb.*, III, 260.

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<sup>256</sup> *Stw* is evidently a variant or miswriting of *swt* (*Wb.*, III, 426 [12 ff.]; Gard., *On.*, R 259, R 263). See Gard., *On.*, A 503.

<sup>257</sup> See Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, p. 40.

<sup>258</sup> On *dsr*, "clear" (a road), see *Wb.*, V, 609 (a. I), and with the meaning "purify," *Wb.*, V, 615 (13 ff.).



PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE PALACE JAR-LABELS

NAME	TITLE(S)	LABEL TYPES	EXX.	YEARS
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎	158	5	34
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎	213, 214	2	—
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎... (𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎)	104, 143	5	(30)*, 38
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎-----𠄎	134	3	34
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎	143	2	38
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎	130	2	34
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	239, 240	7	—
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	103	4	(30)
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎	159	1	34
𠄎𠄎𠄎	_____	247	2	—
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎	191, 260	3	—
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎	33	3	34
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	206, 207, 208	5	—
𠄎𠄎𠄎	_____	250	1	—
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	101, 103, 132, 220, 237	83	(30), 37
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎	158	13	34
𠄎𠄎𠄎	_____	82	1	—
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	158	1	34
(𠄎𠄎𠄎)	_____	44, 111, 121, 122, 128, 133, 168	16	30, 32, 34, 36
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	158	1	34
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	1	1	9
𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	55	1	37
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	56	1	37
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	103	3	(30)
𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	56	1	37
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	55	2	37

\* "THE FIRST HEB-SED"

FIG. 17

PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE PALACE JAR-LABELS				
NAME	TITLE(S)	LABEL TYPES	EXX.	YEARS
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	_____	251	1	_____
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	4	1	28
𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	54	1	37
𠄎	𠄎𠄎	92	1	30
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	236	1	_____
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎... 𠄎	103	1	(30)
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	[𠄎𠄎] 𠄎	125	1	_____
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎	158, 164	2	34, 37
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	_____	75	1	_____
𠄎𠄎𠄎	_____	235	1	33
𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	209	1	_____
𠄎𠄎	_____	92	1	30
𠄎𠄎𠄎	[𠄎𠄎] 𠄎𠄎 𠄎	163	5	_____
𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	158	1	34
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	167	1	_____
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	158	13	34
𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	66	2	_____
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	56	2	37
𠄎𠄎𠄎	_____	252	3	_____
𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	160, 164	11	34, 37
𠄎𠄎	[𠄎𠄎] 𠄎𠄎 𠄎	158, 164	5	34, 37
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	92	1	30
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	_____	257	1	_____
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	92	3	30
𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	56	2	37
𠄎𠄎	_____	166	2	_____

FIG. 18

PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE PALACE JAR-LABELS

NAME	TITLE(S)	LABEL TYPES	EXX.	YEARS
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎	168	1	—
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎-----𠄎	95	1	(30)
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎-----𠄎... 𠄎𠄎	186	1	(30)
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎. 𠄎. 𠄎. 𠄎	25, 55, 56	6	[3]2, 37
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎	158	1	34
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	100	23	(30)
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎	93, 106	6	30
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	56	1	37
𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	43	1	36
𠄎𠄎	𠄎	80, 130, 158, 238	6	34
𠄎𠄎	𠄎	158	2	34
𠄎𠄎	_____	143 A	1	38
𠄎𠄎	𠄎	164	1	37
(𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎)	[𠄎] 𠄎	64	1	—
𠄎	𠄎	158	1	34
𠄎	𠄎	248	1	—
(𠄎 𠄎 𠄎)	_____	31, 32, 45	9	34, 36
𠄎	_____	256	2	—
𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	163	3	—
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 (𠄎 𠄎 𠄎)	34, 38, 59, 103, 109, 158, 189, 241	24	(30), 32, 34, 37
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎	158	1	34
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎-----𠄎	92	1	30
𠄎	𠄎 𠄎	37	1	34
𠄎	_____	244	1	—
𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	54	1	37
(𠄎 𠄎), (𠄎), (𠄎 𠄎)	_____	1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 20, 30, 42, 54, 55, 91, 127	75	9, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37

FIG. 19

PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE PALACE JAR-LABELS				
NAME	TITLE(S)	LABEL TYPES	EXX.	YEARS
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	_____	83	1	_____
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎	246	1	_____
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	160	2	34
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	55	3	37
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	130	2	34
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	_____	242	1	_____
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	54	1	37
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	54	1	37
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	51	1	_____
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	39, 136, 149, 158, 160	10	34
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎	92	2	30
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	243	1	_____
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	92, 103	4	30
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	12	1	30
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	158	4	34
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	158	5	34
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	56	1	37
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	_____	142, 254	3	38
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	249	1	_____
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	158	1	34
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	15, 25, 39, 78, 93, 96, 101, 103, 130, 158, 160, 184, 192, 240	86	(30), [3]2, 34
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	103, 185	3	(30)
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 (𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎)	17, 79, 92, 101	10	30, 31
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎	148	1	_____
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	131, 134	4	34
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	209	1	_____

FIG. 20

PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE PALACE JAR-LABELS				
NAME	TITLE(S)	LABEL TYPES	EXX.	YEARS
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	143 A	1	38
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	142	2	38
𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	_____	102	1	26
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	158	2	34
𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	70	2	_____
𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	158	3	34
𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	158	1	34
(𠄎𠄎)	_____	128	1	32
𠄎𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	55	1	37
𠄎	𠄎	136, 140, 158, 160, 161	20	34, 37
𠄎	𠄎	101	1	_____
𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	27, 71	6	32
𠄎𠄎	𠄎	39, 121	3	30, 34
𠄎	𠄎	160	6	34
(𠄎𠄎)	𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	94, 95, 96, 97, 112, 113, 137, 139	51	(30), [34], 36
𠄎	𠄎	103, 203	2	(30)
𠄎𠄎	𠄎𠄎	16	2	(30)
𠄎	𠄎	158	2	34
𠄎	𠄎	158	1	34
𠄎	_____	253	1	_____
𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	56	1	37
𠄎	_____	259	1	_____
𠄎	𠄎	158	2	34
𠄎	𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎	158	4	34
𠄎𠄎	_____	29	2	33
𠄎	𠄎	161	1	34

FIG. 21

PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE PALACE JAR-LABELS

NAME	TITLE(S)	LABEL TYPES	EXX.	YEARS
<td></td> <td>158</td> <td>48</td> <td>34</td>		158	48	34
	54	1	37	
	81	1	_____	
	98	1	_____	
<td></td> <td>35, 215</td> <td>4</td> <td>32, [34]</td>		35, 215	4	32, [34]
	245	1	_____	
	130	4	34	
	139	1	36	
	169	1	_____	
<td></td> <td>77</td> <td>8</td> <td>_____</td>		77	8	_____
	131, 158	54	34	
<td></td> <td>54</td> <td>1</td> <td>37</td>		54	1	37
	109	1	32	
	97	1	(30)	
_____		258	1	_____
		211	1	35
_____		92, 108	12	30, 32
_____		116	1	_____
_____		115	3	_____
_____		76, 118	5	_____
_____		48, 167, 205	8	34, 36
_____		47	3	36

FIG. 22



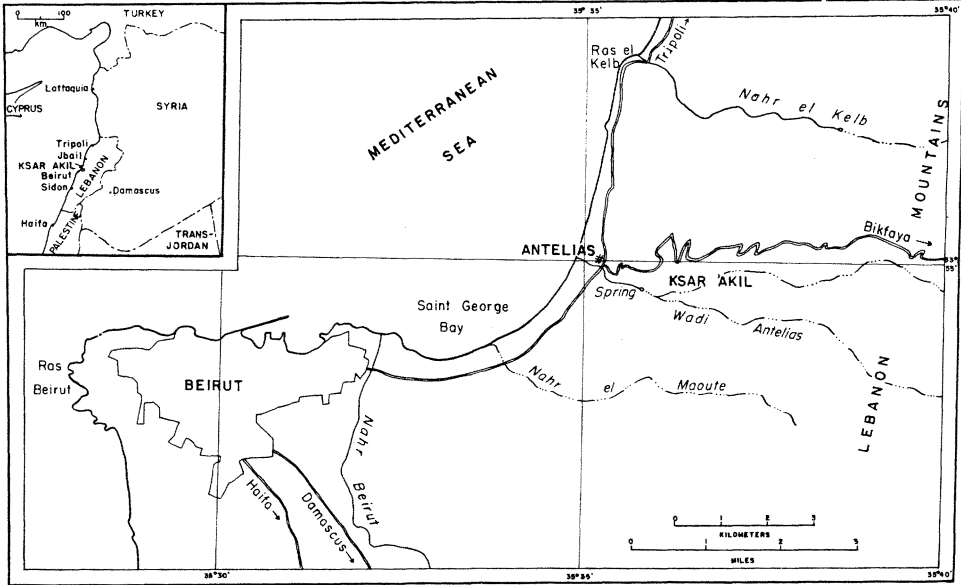


FIG. 1.—Index map of Beirut-Antelias area, showing location of Ksar 'Akil

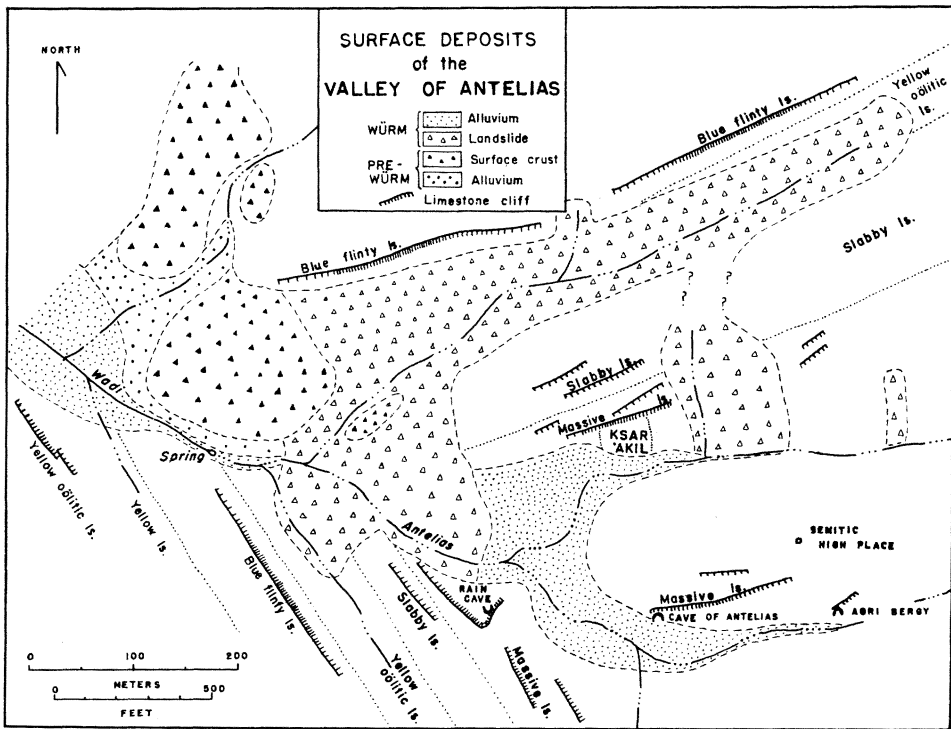


FIG. 2.—The Valley of Antelias, showing distribution of surface deposits in relation to Ksar 'Akil



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<sup>82</sup> **On the Chronology of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep I to Thutmose III)**

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