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Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Vol. 10, No. 3. (Jul., 1951), pp. 156-183.

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INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE PALACE OF AMENHOTEP III

WILLIAM C. HAYES

II. THE JAR SEALINGS

WITH the fragments of inscribed jars discussed in the first two articles of this series²⁵⁹ were found ninety of the heavy mud stoppers of the same or similar jars bearing on their tops and sides big oval seal impressions of the types illustrated in Figures 24–29. The two stoppers shown in Figure 24 were purchased at Luxor in 1936;²⁶⁰ and that with sealing Type YY, now in the Brooklyn Museum,²⁶¹ is from Tytus' work in the "Palace of the King"²⁶² (see Fig. 1). Otherwise the sealings reproduced here are from the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art during the winters of 1910–20 and come from magazines and rubbish heaps widely distributed over the palace area.²⁶³ Duplicates and additional types occur among the fifty-three palace jar-sealings discovered by Daressy in 1888–89²⁶⁴ and now in the Cairo Museum (Nos. 11424–76),²⁶⁵ and close parallels will be found among the numerous more or less contemporary sealings from Tell el Amarna.²⁶⁶ Further compara-

tive material is provided by jar-sealings of the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV, of Amenhotep III himself, and of Tutankhamūn, Sethy I, and Ramesses II from tombs, temples, and village sites at Thebes and elsewhere.²⁶⁷ Seal impressions appear on the stoppers of amphorae shown in vintage scenes in decorated tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes;²⁶⁸ and in the tomb of Parennefer (No. 188)²⁶⁹ men are represented in the act of stamping jar-stoppers with the big seals used for this purpose.²⁷⁰

Gunn's detailed description of the

²⁵⁹ *JNES*, X, 35–56 and 82–111.

²⁶⁰ Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession Nos. 36.2.4–5.

²⁶¹ Unaccessioned. I am grateful to Mr. Cooney for permission to copy and publish this sealing.

²⁶² See above, n. 3.

²⁶³ See above, n. 1. After having been recorded and photographed, these sealings, most of which are fragmentary, were walled up in a tomb beneath the Museum's expedition house at Thebes.

²⁶⁴ *Ann. Serv.*, IV, 168–69; XXVI, 12. See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 185, 224.

²⁶⁵ Quibell, *Archaic Objects* (*Cat. gén. Mus. Caire*, Nos. 11001–12000, 14001–754), Nos. 11424–76, pp. 90–100, Pls. 16–18.

²⁶⁶ *Amarna*, p. 30, Pl. XXI; *City I*, pp. 161–64, Pl. LV; *City II*, pp. 107–8, Pl. LVII; Pendlebury, *JEA*, XVIII, 144; XIX, 117; XX, 135.

²⁶⁷ Bruyère, *Fouilles Inst. fr. Caire*, II, 79; IV, 53–54; V, 110; VI, 111; VIII, 17–18; XVI, 343; Carter, *Tomb of Tut.ankh. Amen*, III, 148–49, Pl. L; Carter and Newberry, *Tomb of Thoutmōsis IV* (*Cat. gén. Mus. Caire*, Nos. 46001–529), No. 46159, p. 44, Fig. 40; Chassinat, *Bull. Inst. fr. Caire*, X, 165–67; Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois* (*Cat. gén. Mus. Caire*, Nos. 24001–990), Nos. 11494–96 (a–c), pp. 277–79, Pl. XLVII; Kamal, *Ann. Serv.*, X, 117 (jar-stoppers, not bricks); Lansing and Hayes, *Bull. MMA*, January, 1937, Sec. II, pp. 30, 38–39, Fig. 39; Petrie, *Qurneh*, p. 13, Pl. XLVI; Quibell, *Archaic Objects*, p. 102, Nos. 11494–96, Pl. 18; *Ramesseum*, pp. 15–16, Pl. XI, Nos. 9–49; Randall-Maciver and Woolley, *Buhen*, p. 118, Pl. 43; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS*, LVIII, 25–26, 36; Steindorff, *Aniba*, II, 148–49; Weigall, *Ann. Serv.*, VII, 135, No. 27. Photographs and drawings of the Hatshepsut jar-sealings from the tomb of Ramose and Hatnufer (Lansing and Hayes, *loc. cit.*) are on file in the Metropolitan Museum, as are also photographs of unpublished sealings of Hatshepsut from Deir el Bahri and the sealings from the tomb of Tutankhamūn.

²⁶⁸ Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, Pl. XLV; *Tomb of Nakht*, Pls. XXII, XXIII, XXVI; *Tombs of Two Officials*, p. 32, Pl. XXX; *Tomb of Neferhotep I*, 37, Pl. XLVIII; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, Pls. 48 a, 178, 256, 286, 355. See also Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, Pls. XXI, XXIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV.

²⁶⁹ Davies, *JEA*, IX, 143, Pl. XXVIII, A and C.

²⁷⁰ Examples of these seals, or stamps, in both limestone and wood have been found at Thebes (Petrie, *Six Temples*, p. 21, Pl. III, No. 23; Bruyère, *Fouilles* . . . , VIII, 18), Amarna (*City II*, 24, 50, Pl. XXXII, 5, 6); and elsewhere. See Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, p. 69, Pl. LX.

Amarna jar-stoppers²⁷¹ applies almost in its entirety to those from the palace of Amenhotep III. As at Deir el Medineh, however, the forms of the stoppers vary according to the nature of the contents of the jars²⁷²—or, perhaps, according to the localities which produced the various commodities. The stoppers of the wine and ale (*srmt*) jars are molded cylinders with flat tops and slightly sloping sides.²⁷³ They average 22–25 cm. in height, 15–16 cm. in diameter at the top, and 16–18 cm. in diameter where the base of the stopper joins the shoulder of the jar. The type is illustrated in Figure 24, though the two examples shown there happen to be not from wine or *srmt* jars but bear seal impressions of Types FF and GG, respectively. Stoppers of this form usually carry one or two seal impressions on their flat upper surfaces and two to four others distributed evenly around the sides of the cylinders. After being stamped, many of the stoppers were whitewashed or painted blue with floral friezes or other ornamental designs in green, red, yellow, and white. In some instances the cartouches of the king or the ovals containing the name and provenance of the commodity were not stamped but painted in yellow on the tops or sides of the stoppers (Types EEE–GGG).²⁷⁴

The stoppers of the jars containing honey and ben oil (*b3k*) are also cylindrical but differ from the wine-jar stoppers in having a rounded, or domed, top and little or no slope to the sides.²⁷⁵ Those of the fat and meat jars are roughly spherical

in form and are not molded but shaped by hand. The single seal impressions which they carry on their curved upper surfaces were evidently applied with a rocking motion of the long stamps. The seal impression of Type PP occurs on a tall conical stopper, rounded at the top and curving in slightly at the base, its profile resembling that of the loaf-hieroglyph U .²⁷⁶

In Figures 25–29 the seal impressions, which range in size from 10.2 × 4 cm. (Type T) to 17.5 × 6 cm. (Type HH), are reproduced at a scale of 1:3 and are arranged by types according to the commodities to which they refer—wine, ale, fat, meat, honey, oil, etc. This order, which follows that of the jar-labels transcribed above in Figures 4–16, facilitates a comparison of the two closely related classes of inscriptions and enables us the more easily to associate sealing and label types from the same jars or series of jars. Unless otherwise specified in the notes which accompany the following translations each sealing type is represented by a single example only:

- A. "Very good wine for the *Sed*-festival" (3 examples).
- B. "Offering-wine²⁷⁷ for the *Sed*-festival."
- C. "Wine for the *Sed*-festivals" (2 examples).
- D. "Wine for the *Sed*-festival" (2 examples). Cf. Cairo 11450 (Quibell, *Archaic Objects*, Pl. 17).
- E, F, G. "Wine of the Western River²⁷⁸ of the House of 'Nebma'rē-(is-)the-Splendor-of-Aten.'" ²⁷⁹Cf. *City II*, Pl. LVII, F;

²⁷⁵ See Bruyère, *Fouilles* . . . , VIII, 17, where this type of stopper is described as having the form of "a convex meniscus"; Borchardt, *Mitt. Deutsch. Or.-Gesellsch.*, No. 52, p. 24, Fig. 7. Cf. Lansing and Hayes, *op. cit.*, Fig. 39; Schiaparelli, *Tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha*, Figs. 137, 142; Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, Pls. XXI, XXIII, LVI.

²⁷⁶ Cf. Bruyère, *Fouilles* . . . , IV, 54, Fig. 43.

²⁷⁷ $\text{Irp m}^3(w)$, "wine (for) offerings." See above, *JNES*, X, 89 and n. 105.

²⁷⁸ Itrw imnty . See above, p. 89 and n. 93.




²⁷⁹ $\text{Nb-m}^3t\text{-R}^c\text{-Thn}(w)\text{-Itn}$. This name is discussed above on pp. 97–98, n. 174, and below on pp. 178–79.

²⁷¹ *City I*, pp. 161–64. See also Carter, *loc. cit.*; Bruyère, *Fouilles* . . . , II, 79; XVI, 343; Lucas, *Materials* (3d ed.), pp. 26–27.

²⁷² Bruyère, *Fouilles* . . . , II, 79; IV, 53–54; V, 110; VIII, 17; XVI, 343.

²⁷³ Cf. *City I*, p. 161; Carter, *op. cit.*, Pl. L; Spiegelberg, *loc. cit.*; etc.

²⁷⁴ See Cairo 11424, 11429, 11433, 11438–39, 11441–45 (Quibell, *Archaic Objects*, Pls. 16–17). Similarly painted stoppers occur also at Amarna (Pendlebury, *JEA*, XX, 135).

Kamal, *Ann. Serv.*, X, 117. As frequently in the palace sealings (Figs. 30-33) and occasionally elsewhere²⁸⁰ the prenomen of Amenhotep III, here inclosed within the *ꜣ*Itn-disk, is written with a monogram composed of the seated figure of the king  (nb) holding the feather  (*m*³*c*t) and surmounted by the sun's disk  (*R*^c).

- H. "Very good wine (of) the Western River (of) the people²⁸¹ of Lower Egypt" (3 examples). Cf. *City I*, Pl. LV, A, p. 162, and the parallels cited there.
- I. "Wine of the Western River" (2 examples).
- J, K. "[Wine of] Tjel."²⁸² Cf. label Types 51, 52, 74-76 (Figs. 6, 7); and Berlin 7158 (Lepsius, *Denkmäler, Text*, III, 185). The latter is a jar-sealing from the palace bearing the legend "Wine of the Fortress."
- L. "Very good wine of the Oasis."²⁸³ Cf. label Types 19, 73 (Figs. 4, 7).
- M. "Wine of *ꜣ*Ir . . . of Bull-who-overthrows-the-Libyans-at-'Beginning-of-Earth'" (2 examples). The elaborate epithet, written semi-pictographically, evidently refers to Amenhotep III, who not infrequently in his inscriptions is described as a conquering bull (e.g., Newberry, *Scarabs*, Pl. XXXI, 12;

²⁸⁰ See especially Erman, *ZÄS*, XXIX, 125; XXXIV, 165; *Aeg. Inschr. Berlin*, II, 40, No. 2293. This monogram, or rebus, occurs also in a brick stamp from Deir el Medineh (Bruyère, *Fouilles . . .*, XVI, 26); on a gold ring and a carnelian plaque in the Metropolitan Museum; accession Nos. 26.7.767 (*Amarna*, Pl. XIV, 31) and 30.8.334; on a sealing from Buhen (Randall-Maciver and Woolley, *Buhen*, Pl. 43, No. 10903); and perhaps on a small sealing from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn (MMA neg. Nos. TAA 1373-75). See also Gardiner in *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, p. 33, n. 1, Pl. LXXIX; Sauneron and Yoyotte, *Revue d'Égyptologie*, VII, 10, n. 1.

²⁸¹ *Rh̄yt*. See Gard., *On.*, I, 100*-108*; II, 272*-73*. This sealing and Types VV and WW (Fig. 28) lend color to the view held by Gunn, Pirenne, and Scharff that "the Rekhēyet were originally the population of the Delta" (Gard., *On.*, II, 272*). On "Lower Egyptian wine" see Sethe, *ZÄS*, XLIV, 19.

²⁸² *T*³*rw*. See above, *JNES*, X, 89 and n. 94.

²⁸³ *W*^h*t*. See above, p. 89 and n. 96.

- Pier, *AJSL*, XXIII, 91, No. 1349) or lion. Since the enemy trampled under the hoofs of the bull is clearly a Libyan, it is probable that *Wp(t)-t*³ refers here, as occasionally elsewhere,²⁸⁴ to the western or northwestern extremity of the Egyptian empire and that "*ꜣ*Ir . . ." was the name of a wine-producing locality or region in the western Delta. A reference to a perhaps imaginary subjugation of the Teḥenu Libyans by Amenhotep III appears in line 29 of his black granite stela from the temple of Merneptah at Thebes (Petrie, *Six Temples*, Pl. XII; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, § 892).
- N. "Wine (of) . . . 'Beginning-of-Earth.'" ²⁸⁵
- O. "Wine of the King's Great Wife." Cf. label Types 7 and 18 (Fig. 4). The queen referred to was presumably either Tiy or Sitamūn.
- P. "Offering-wine of. . ." Cf. *Amarna*, Pl. XXI, 7, 23; *City I*, Pl. LV, AA and BB, p. 162; Randall-Maciver and Woolley, *Buhen*, Pl. 43, No. 10929.
- Q. "Wine for a happy return (?)²⁸⁵ (of) Neb[ma'rēc], beloved of. . ." ²⁸⁶
- R. "Very good wine for tribute" (2 examples). *ꜣ*Inw is perhaps to be translated "gifts" rather than "tribute" (see Gard., *On.*, I, 181*).
- S. "Wine for tribute."
- T. "Wine" (2 examples).
- U. "Ale²⁸⁷ for tribute" (3 examples).
- V, W. "Ale (for) offerings"²⁸⁸ (2 examples of each type). Cf. Cairo 11466.
- X. "Fresh fat for the *Sed*-festival." Cf. label Types 120 ff. (Fig. 10) and Cairo 11469.
- Y. "Fresh fat of the cattle-pen (?) (of) H[*a*^cpy]." ²⁸⁹
- ²⁸⁴ Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, I, 195; Gardiner, *JEA*, V, 135; Maspero, *ZÄS*, XXI, 66; *Medinet Habu*, II ("OIP," Vol. IX), Pl. 70; Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, p. 62.
- ²⁸⁵ *ꜣ*Ir p n h³y nfr. See above, p. 89 and n. 104.
- ²⁸⁶ Cf. Cairo 11448 (Quibell, *Archaic Objects*, Pl. 17).
- ²⁸⁷ *Srmt*. See above, p. 90.
- ²⁸⁸ *Srmt dbḥw*. See above, p. 90.
- ²⁸⁹ *Pr-gs* (= *gs-pr* ?) *H*^c*py*. See *Wb.*, V, 198, 2, 16; Budge, *Dictionary*, p. 813 A. Probably not associated with the town, *Pr-H*^c*py* (Gard., *On.*, A 397).

- Z. "Sweet fat." Cf. label Types 150, 151, 153.
- AA. "Sweet . . . ? . . ." (2 examples).
- BB. "Dressed meat²⁹⁰ for (the) *Sed*-festival." Cf. label Types 155 ff. (Fig. 12) and Cairo 11476.
- CC. "Honey for the *Sed*-festival."
- DD. "Honey of the Fortress"²⁹¹ (2 examples).
- EE. "Fresh ben oil²⁹² of the Fortress" (3 examples).
- FF. "*Hdbt* of the House of Amenhotep" (2 examples) = Cairo 11424. Evidently a liquid, *hdbt* is probably to be equated with the Late Egyptian *hdb* (*Wb.*, III, 205, Belegst. 21), a beverage named together with beer (*hnkt*) "in unklaren Zusammenhang."
- GG. "Mutton fat²⁹³ of the Abode (*st*) brought (for) the festival" = Cairo 11471, 11474. Cf. Cairo 11457.
- HH. "Very good mutton fat of 'Splendor-of-Aten,' rich in *Sed*-festivals." *Tḥn(w)-ḥbn* and *ḥb(w)-sd* are both common epithets of Amenhotep III (see pp. 167, 179).
- II. "Nebma^crē^c, rich in *Sed*-festivals." Cf. Bruyère, *Fouilles* . . . , IV, 53-54, Fig. 43.
- JJ. "Provisions (*dfw*) (of) Nebma^c[rē^c], beloved of. . . ." Cf. Cairo 11434.
- KK. ". . . *dd* (of) the House of the real King's Son, Amenhotep." The King's Son, Amenhotep, referred to here was in all probability the future King Amenhotep IV before his elevation to the coregency, an event which is believed to have taken place in or about Year 28 of Amenhotep III (see above, *JNES*, X, 37). The adjective *m³c*, "real," was presumably added to the title of the royal prince to distinguish him from the Viceroy of Nubia, who also bore the title "King's Son."
- LL. "Good . . . ? . . . (of) Nebma^c[rē^c]."
- MM. "Fat (of) the shop (*w^cb*) (in) the slaughter-court (*shw*) of the House of A[me]nhotep." Cf. label Types 128, 135, 136, 140, 160.
- NN. "Fresh. . . ."
- OO. "Myrrh ([^c]ntyw). . . ."
- PP. "Pigment²⁹⁴ of Kush(?)." The star following *kš* is puzzling and disturbing but Kush seems a logical source for the Nubian pigment called *sty*.
- QQ. ". . . the Ḥarīm ([*pr-ḥnt* ?), rich in property. . . ." Cf. Bruyère, *Fouilles* . . . , VIII, 17 (left); Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 45.
- RR. "Amūn, rich in prop[erty] (?)." Cf. *City I*, Pl. LV, SS, p. 163; Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, Pl. LX, No. 164.
- SS. "Renenetet, Lady of Food, Mistress of Nourishment: Good (wine ?)." ²⁹⁵ Gunn (*City I*, pp. 162-63) tentatively identifies the cobra-goddess appearing on sealings of this type as Wadjet; but the epithets are those of Renenetet, goddess of the harvest and patroness of the vintage. ²⁹⁶
- TT. "Horus, Lord of Mesen in Lower Egypt." The *Msn* referred to was almost certainly the well-known cult-center of Horus situated in the immediate vicinity of the fortress-city of Tjel in the northeast corner of the Delta (Gard., *On.*, II, 203*; Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, III, 60). Wine seems to have been the principal export of this region (see above, *JNES*, X, 89), and it is probable that the present sealing is from a wine jar.

²⁹⁴ *Sty*. See Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, sign-list, under D 19 and Aa 32; Devaud, *Rec. trav.*, XXXIX, 22-24. Sealed jars of *sty* appear among the Nubian tribute in the tomb of Rekhmirē (Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, II, Pl. XVIII).

²⁹⁵ Cf. Cairo 11453; *City II*, Pl. XXXII, 6; Bruyère, *Fouilles* . . . , VIII, 17-18; Petrie, *Queneh*, Pl. 46, Nos. 15, 16; *Objects of Daily Use*, p. 69, Pl. LX, Nos. 162-63; *Aeg. Inschr. Berlin*, II, 522, No. 7391; and two jar-sealings from the tomb of Tut'ankh'amūn (MMA neg. No. TAA 1278).




²⁹⁶ Lanzzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, pp. 472-77, Pls. CLXXXIX-CLXXXX; Steindorff, *Aniba*, II, 34, Pl. 18; *Wb.*, II, 437; Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, I, Pl. LXIV. See especially the vintage scenes in the Theban tombs cited in n. 268.

²⁹⁰ *Iwf dr*. See above, p. 91.

²⁹¹ I.e., the Fortress of Tjel (see above, p. 89).

²⁹² *B³k*. See above, p. 93.

²⁹³ *Sr*. *Wb.*, III, 462, 8. Less likely to be *sr*-goose (*Wb.*, IV, 191-92).

- UU. This interesting sealing is perhaps to be read: "Bulti-fish (*int*) of Lower Egypt (*mhw*)." It was probably through his close association with Horus the Behdetite²⁹⁷ that the god personifying Lower Egypt is shown standing above the symbol () of Horus' adversary, the Ombite (Seth).²⁹⁸ The export of *bulti*-fish from Lower Egypt is attested by Pap. Anastasi IV, 15, 7 (Gardiner, *Bibl. Aeg.*, VII, 52), where fish of this type, split and cleaned, are listed as a product of Tjel. The drying of fish for use as food is adequately dealt with by Klebs (*Abh. Heidelberger Ak. Wiss.*, Abh. 9, p. 88); and a sealed amphora containing dried fish was found in the tomb of the architect, Kha^c, at Deir el Medineh (Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60, Fig. 142).
- VV. "All the people of Lower Egypt." Cf. sealing Type H (Fig. 25); Berlin 7802-4 (Lepsius, *Denkmäler, Text*, III, 224); *Amarna*, Pl. XXI, 36; and Quibell, *Ramesseum*, Pl. XI, 18.
- WW. "All the people of Lower Egypt: Very good (wine ?)." Cf. sealing Type H and Quibell, *Ramesseum*, Pl. XI, 27, 37.
- XX. "Wadjet, Lady of Lower Egypt." This particular form of the familiar emblem—with the tail of the uraeus coiled around the central stalk of the clump of papyrus plants—is fairly common from the late Eighteenth Dynasty²⁹⁹ down into Greco-Roman times³⁰⁰ but does not, so far as I can discover, occur before the reign of Thutmose IV.
- YY. "Renenet, Lady of Food: Good (wine ?)." The ()-sign below the cobra would seem to be used here in place of its homonym , *nb(t)*.³⁰¹
- ZZ. "God's Offering(s) of A[mū]n in the Temple (*hwt*) of Amūn." Cf. Weigall, *Ann. Serv.*, VII, 135, No. 27; Quibell, *Ramesseum*, Pl. XI, 15. In the Eighteenth Dynasty the *hwt-ntr*—the temple properties or glebe-lands³⁰²—of Amūn included vineyards in the northeast Delta,³⁰³ whence this jar-sealing may have come (cf. Cairo 11435). Though the sealing was found in the forecourt of the palace's temple of Amūn (see above, *JNES*, X, Fig. 1 and pp. 36, 85), here, as frequently, the expression *hwt*, "mansion," has perhaps the broader meaning of "temple foundation."
- AAA. "Lower Egypt (*mhw*)" (2 examples). See Sethe, *ZÄS*, XLIV, 10 ff.
- BBB. The papyrus plants of "Lower Egypt" knotted together in a symmetrical and conventionalized design found also on later jar-sealings³⁰⁴ and with numerous variations on scarabs of the Twelfth to Eighteenth dynasties.³⁰⁵
- CCC. Emblematic design composed of a gazelle (*Gazella dorcas*) standing upright on its hind legs and resting its forefeet upon a tree or large plant of stylized and probably composite type (4 examples).³⁰⁶ This design, which in its more complete versions represents a pair of animals face to face on either side of the tree, occurs with some frequency on jar-sealings and other ob-

³⁰¹ Cf. sealing Type SS (Fig. 28); document sealings S 21, 123 (Figs. 31, 33); and Hall, *Catalogue of . . . Scarabs . . . Brit. Mus.*, Nos. 1919-22. *Wb.*, II, 227, 232, records this substitution in the Greco-Roman Period. See, however, Gunn in *City I*, p. 163.

³⁰² *Wb.*, III, 185, II; Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, pp. 44-45; Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrè*, I, 81-82.

³⁰³ Davies, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXXI, XXXIII B.

³⁰⁴ Quibell, *Ramesseum*, Pl. XI, 17.

³⁰⁵ Petrie, *Bulions and Design Scarabs*, Pl. X; Newberry, *Scarabs*, Pl. XX; Ward, *The Sacred Beetle*, Pl. X.

³⁰⁶ The motif which is known throughout western Asia and in Egypt itself from the earliest times has been recently discussed in some detail by Keimer in *Bull. Inst. d'Égypte*, XXVIII, 126-31; by Leibovitch in *Ann. Serv.*, XLVIII, 245-58; and by Hélène Danthine in her two-volume work, *Le Palmier-dattier et les arbres sacrés dans l'Iconographie de l'Asie occidentale ancienne* (Paris, 1937).

²⁹⁷ Gardiner, *JEA*, XXX, 26, Pl. III, 2.

²⁹⁸ Cf. *Amarna*, Pl. XXI, 46; Gard., *On.*, II, 70*.

²⁹⁹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, Pl. 80 b, c; Gayet, *Temple de Louxor*, Pls. VIII, IX, XXX; Borchardt, *Mitt. Deutsch. Or.-Gesellschaft*, No. 55, Pl. 5; Leibovitch, *Ann. Serv.*, XLII, 94-100, Figs. 11-13.

³⁰⁰ Kamal, *Ann. Serv.*, IV, 233-34.

jects from the palace³⁰⁷ and is well represented at Tell el Amarna.³⁰⁸ On the jar-sealings it is certainly intended as an indication of the source or type of the contents of the jars (probably wine); and the undoubted Asiatic associations of the motif³⁰⁹ point either to Syro-Palestine or to the extreme north-eastern border region of Egypt as the source in question. The stoppers bearing this device are perhaps from the jars of "Syrian wine" (*irp n H3rw*) contributed by the commandant of the fortress-city of Tjel (label Type 77).

DDD. "Fat (of) the storeroom (*t*) of the House of the King. . . ." Cf. sealing Types X-Z and label Types 105 (var.) and 225. The only surviving seal impression of this type occurs on a mud brick from the palace structure. Its presence there is obviously due to a mistake on the part of the ancient brickmaker. That such a mistake could have been made indicates (*a*) that the seals used for stamping jar stoppers and those used for stamping bricks were so similar as to be easily confused one with the other; (*b*) that bricks and jar-stoppers were made in the same work areas, of the same material, and by the same groups of artisans; and (*c*) that some at least of the jars of animal fat found in the palace ruins were packed and sealed in or near the palace brick factory, that is, in the vicinity of Thebes itself.

EEE. "Wine" (6 examples).

FFF. "[Win]e of Tjel." Cf. sealing Types J and K (Fig. 25).

GGG. "House of (King) Amenhotep." See Fig. 24. Cf. Berlin 7802-4 (Lepsius, *Denkmäler, Text*, III, 224).

³⁰⁷ Cairo 11448, 11464, 11468 (Quibell, *Archaic Objects*, pp. 94, 97, 98, Pls. 17, 18); Winlock, *Bull. MMA*, VII, 184, 188, Fig. 1; Leibovitch, *op. cit.*, p. 246, Fig. 1. The tree (a date-palm?) occurs alone on another of the palace jar-sealings in Cairo: No. 11456 (Quibell, *op. cit.*, Pl. 17); and frequently in tomb paintings of the Eighteenth Dynasty (e.g., Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, Pls. LXVIII, LXIX; *Tomb of Ken-Amün*, Pl. XIV).

³⁰⁸ *Amarna*, Pls. XVI, 181 (see also 197-208), XXI, 58-59; *City II*, Pl. XLII, 5.

³⁰⁹ See the references cited in n. 306.

Of the ninety palace jar-sealings recorded above, thirty-seven (Types A-T, EEE, FFF) are certainly, and an additional nineteen (Types SS, TT, VV-CCC) are probably, from jars which had contained wine. This apparent ratio of fifty-six jars of wine as against thirty-four jars of all other types of commodities is contradicted by the much more dependable evidence of the 1,400 palace jar-labels, according to which the jars of wine constituted only about one-fifth of the total contributions and were outnumbered by both the ale jars and the meat jars (see Fig. 16). The fact that a far smaller percentage of the fragile mud sealings have survived to the present day than is the case with the fragments of inscribed pottery from the jars themselves does not, of course, explain the *type* discrepancies between the two classes of inscribed material; nor have we any evidence that the wine-jar stoppers were less exposed to destruction than any of the other types of sealings. It would seem, rather, that the stamped wine-jar sealings actually were far more numerous than those of any other type and that the use of inscribed sealings was a practice which was confined largely to jars containing wine. Reasons for this which suggest themselves are that wine not only was more valuable than other products but was normally transported over much greater distances and therefore required greater protection against being tampered with en route. This was particularly true of the wine supplied to Amenhotep III's palace at Thebes, most of which came from vineyards in the northern Delta. The palace's meat supply, on the other hand, appears to have been prepared in the vicinity of Thebes itself; and for 375 inscribed meat jars we have recovered from the palace ruins only one stamped jar-stopper (Type BB). For the other commodities represented among the

jar-labels we have six ale-jar sealings (Types U–W) as against 298 labels; four sealings from jars of fat (Types X–Z, MM, DDD) compared with 91 labels; and three sealings each (Types EE and CC, DD) for twenty-two and seven inscribed jars of ben oil and honey, respectively. Conversely, the sealings preserve the names of five products for which no labels happen to have been found: *hdbt*-beverage (sealing Type FF), mutton fat (*sr*: Types GG, HH), myrrh (*ntyw*: Type OO), *sty*-pigment (Type PP), and *bultifish* (*int*: Type UU). These we must add to our already extensive list of beverages, foodstuffs, and other goods supplied in bulk to the inmates of the palace.

Additions made by the sealings to the roster of royal estates and other sources of supply given above on pages 96–97 of this volume of the *Journal* include the estate of the King's Son, Amenhotep (Type KK), the estate (?) of the Inner Apartments, or royal Ḥarīm (Type QQ), the “*pr-gs of Ḥaꜥpy*” (Type Y), the temple properties (*hṯp-nṯr*) of Amūn (Type ZZ), a locality named ʿ*Ir* . . . apparently on the border of Libya (Type M), and the land of Kush (? Type PP), the last named being the only source south of Thebes mentioned in any of the extant palace jar-inscriptions.³¹⁰ The sealings with the image of the goddess Renenutet may well be from the Fayyum, a known but hitherto unlisted source of wine and many other products.³¹¹ Those referring in various ways to Lower Egypt, however, are probably from jars which contained the already copiously documented wine of the Western River (see Type H), and that bearing the name of Horus of Mesen is certainly from the neighborhood of the town of Tjel.

³¹⁰ See above, p. 103. An African source for the “myrrh” of sealing Type OO, however, seems likely.

³¹¹ Baedeker, *Egypt* (1929), pp. lxxviii, 202; Lucas, *Materials*, p. 29.

Aside from the names and epithets of the king (Types E–G, M, Q, HH–JJ, LL, MM, GGG), the title and name of the crown prince (Type KK), and the title of the queen (Type O), references to individual persons, royal or private, do not occur on the jar sealings.

Since in most cases they merely repeat small portions of the ink labels written on the shoulders of the jars, the inscriptions and designs stamped on the stoppers of the same jars may seem from our point of view somewhat superfluous. They had, however, functions of their own distinct from those of the labels and equally, if not more, important. The first of these functions, as already inferred, was to safeguard the contents of the jars by making it impossible to open them without noticeably damaging elaborate and not easily reproduced marks of royal or official authority. A second function of the big hieroglyphic or pictographic seal impressions was to enable the contents of the jars to be determined at a glance by persons with insufficient leisure or insufficient knowledge to read the small hieratic texts written on their shoulders—an obvious boon to porters, kitchen helpers, and other servants employed in the palace storerooms. Finally, the use of seals permitted the identities and/or origins of the contents of the jars to be inscribed on their exteriors with the utmost rapidity and clarity by men who need not necessarily have been able either to write or to read.³¹²

III. THE BRICK STAMPS


Though similar in appearance, size, and style to the jar-sealings and produced by seals of the same type, the impressions stamped on the sun-dried mud bricks of the palace buildings (Figs. 24, 30) belong


³¹² It was probably such a person who inadvertently applied the fat-jar sealing of Type DDD to a mud brick.

to an entirely different class of inscription. Unlike most of the jar-seals, the brick stamps must have been made and used at Thebes itself, in brickyards in or near the palace area. Since their purpose was to establish the ownership and occasionally the nature of the structures into which the bricks were to be incorporated, their inscriptions are designations, not of source, but of destination, and therein lies their principal interest.

Types I, II, and V, which are from the Palace of the King (see Fig. 1),³¹³ contain only Amenhotep III's throne-name, "Nebma^{sr̄}ē," and, in the first two instances, his personal name, "Amenhotep, Ruler of Thebes." Types III and IV, however, carry, in addition to the throne-name of the king, the name of Queen Tiy and, having been found in the ruins of the South Palace,³¹⁴ tend to strengthen the supposition (*JNES*, X, 35) that this building was Tiy's own personal residence. In Types VI and VII the king's name is followed by the phrase "in (or [of]) the House of Rejoicing (*Pr-h̄sy*)." Since Type VI is from the Palace of the King and Type VII from the Middle Palace,³¹⁵ it is evident that the House of Rejoicing was not a single structure but a complex which included both of these buildings. The extent of this complex is indicated by Types VIII and IX, both of which are from the Temple of Amūn at the northern end of the palace area.³¹⁶ Type IX, which reads "the Temple of Amūn in the House of Rejoicing," shows that Type VIII is to

be read "Nebma^{sr̄}ē in the Temple of Amūn in the House of Rejoicing," not ". . . in the House of Rejoicing in the Temple of Amūn," as the order of the groups might lead one to suppose. The fragmentary stamp of Type X was found in the ruins of what appears to have been a colonnaded festival hall on the north side of the temple courtyard (see above, p. 85) and is probably to be restored in part to read . . . [hb]w[-sd] ^ḥ wr(t), ". . . very many [*Sed*-festival]s."³¹⁷

To these ten types of palace brick stamps is to be added another published by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, III, Pl. 78 d) and described by him (*Text*, III, 185) as coming from "a little north" of "the southwestern corner" of the palace site, "opposite the church" (Deir el Mahārib)—that is, from the vicinity of the Middle Palace. This stamp is similar to Type I, but the cartouches are without the plumes and have below them two large signs, the second of which is , "Thebes."³¹⁸ Examples of Types III and VI³¹⁹ were also found by Lepsius (Pl. 78 c and *Text*, p. 185), the former "a good bit further south on the lake" (i.e., the Birket Habu), the latter "in the small (mounds) at the southwestern corner" of the site (the West Villas?). Bricks bearing impressions of Type I were discovered by Tytus dur-

³¹⁷ An expression found in the inscriptions of festival buildings at least as early as the Twelfth Dynasty (Bisson de la Roque, *Fouilles Inst. fr. Caire*, VIII, Pl. X; see also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, Pl. 74 a; cf. Breasted, *AJSL*, XXIII, 51, Fig. 34). Note that the central plural stroke at the top of our fragmentary stamp impression is evidently below the line of its mates, a fact which suggests the original presence above the strokes of a sign with a curved bottom, presumably . For the arrangement implied see jar-sealing Type C (Fig. 25).

³¹⁸ See also Berlin 1557-58, two stamped bricks picked up by Lepsius on the site of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kōm el Hētān (*Denkmäler*, *Text*, III, 147).

³¹⁹ The slight error made by Lepsius in his copy of this stamp is repeated by Gauthier in *Livre des rois*, II, 312, No. XXI; but is corrected by Sethe in *Denkmäler*, *Text*, III, 185.

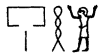


³¹³ Winlock, *Bull. MMA*, 1912, p. 186.

³¹⁴ Winlock, *loc. cit.* "The last period of construction" referred to by Winlock was confined largely to the South Palace. A number of examples of this type were found also in the South Village.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.* There is reason for believing that the Middle Palace was the residence of the king's eldest son and coregent, Amenhotep IV (see above, *JNES*, X, 35, 88).

³¹⁶ Lansing, *Bull. MMA*, March, 1918, *Supplement*, p. 8.

ing his excavations in the Palace of the King,³²⁰ and Daressy mentions finding bricks "stamped with the name of Amenophis III" in the ruins of the same building.³²¹ An example of Type I of unrecorded provenance is in the Berlin Museum,³²² where also are (or were) to be found most of the examples brought back by Lepsius.

Differences of detail in the versions of Type I illustrated in the photograph of Figure 24 and the facsimile drawing of Figure 30 show that at least two, slightly different, seals were used in producing the many examples of this type of stamp found. According to Winlock's field notes of 1910-11, this was also true of Types III, V, VI, and VII. Lansing in his notes (1916-17) gives a hand copy of a variant of Type IX in which *Pr-hcy* is written  instead of , as in the version of Figure 30. Other details worth noting are the corrections, made anciently on the stone or wooden seal, of the outlines of the plumes surmounting the cartouches of Type II and the careful differentiation, in Types III and IV, between the forms of the plumes above the cartouche of the king and those above the cartouche of the queen. The latter () worn as a headdress by Queen Tiy in most of her existing portraits,³²³ appear also on the head of her small figure inside the cartouches themselves. In Figure 30 the stamp impressions are reproduced at a scale of 1:3, the actual heights of the rectangular stamps ranging from 10.3 (Type IV) to 13 cm. (Type II) and their widths from 6.6 (Types I, II) to 8 cm.

³²⁰ *Preliminary Report* . . . , p. 12, Fig. 1.

³²¹ *Ann. Serv.*, IV, 168.

³²² No. 1556. *Aeg. Inschr. Berlin*, II, 390.

³²³ Borchardt, *Der Porträtkopf der Königin Teje*, Figs. 13, 21, 24, 26, 29, 30, 33, 38, 39, and Pl. 5; Carter, *Ann. Serv.*, IV, 177, Pl. II. Among the titles of Queen Mutemuya is *hḳꜣt ḳꜣ šwtj*, "the female ruler (whose) two plumes are high" (*Ann. Serv.*, VIII, 46).

(Type III); while the sizes of the oval stamps vary from 9.7×4.6 (Type V) to 13.3×5.6 cm. (Type IX).

Each brick bears a single stamp on its broad upper side (Fig. 24), and a number carry also the footprints of dogs and goats which had run over them as they lay drying in rows in the open brickyards.³²⁴ The sand and gravel adhering to the bottoms of the bricks is characteristic of the desert surface in the immediate neighborhood of the palace buildings. The bricks maintain throughout a ratio of approximately $3:1\frac{1}{2}:1$ between their lengths, widths, and thicknesses, but range in size from $28 \times 14.5 \times 9$ cm. to $39 \times 18.5 \times 12$ cm., the average for all the palace structures (including the South Village) being $33 \times 16 \times 10$ cm. As a general rule the bricks from the later buildings tend to be somewhat larger than those from the earlier stages of construction. Thus, the brick size most frequently encountered in the Palace of the King (with stamp Type I) is $32 \times 14.5 \times 8$ cm.; while that found in the Temple of Amūn (with stamp Type IX) is $38 \times 18 \times 12$ cm. A very similar range in brick sizes occurs at Tell el Amarna.³²⁵

In addition to an interesting series of stamped bricks from the buildings of Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē at Amarna,³²⁶ there are scores of royal and private brick stamps of many different types from western Thebes and other sites dating from the reigns of Amenhotep I and his successors down through the Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties and into Late Dynastic times.³²⁷

³²⁴ For descriptions of the material and method of manufacture of bricks of this type see Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, pp. 207 ff.; Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 62-63.

³²⁵ *City II*, p. 98 and n. 1; Pendlebury, *Tell el Amarna*, p. 65.

³²⁶ *City I*, p. 164; Fairman, *JEA*, XXI, 137-39.

³²⁷ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, Pls. 4 b, 7 f, 25 bis h-k, 26 3-6, 39 f-k, 62 e-f, 69 b; *Text*, III, 88, 126, 138-39,

IV. THE DOCUMENT SEALINGS


In West Villa "B," in the outbuildings of the Palace of the King, and in the southern rubbish mounds (Fig. 1) were found fragments of over eleven hundred small mud sealings from rolls of papyrus, each bearing one or more seal impressions of the types shown in Figures 31-33. All are from Winlock's excavations during the seasons of 1910-11 and 1911-12³²⁸ and

number of examples of each type found. Where no parenthesis accompanies a type-number, the type is represented by one example only. In listing the provenances, I have retained the term "magazine" used by the Museum's expedition to designate the rooms in which many of the sealings were found, though "offices" or "archives" would seem to be more accurate descriptions of these chambers.

TYPES	PROVENANCE
S 1 (3), 4, 6 (2), 8 (2), 9, 12, 17 (15), 18 (9), 19 (2), 23, 27, 29 (2), 30, 31, 32, 33 (14), 34 (2), 36 (4), 37, 39, 40 (2), 41, 45 (6), 46, 47 (4), 50, 51, 52, 54, 56 (2), 57 (4), 58, 59 (8), 60, 62 (2), 63, 65, 66 (2), 69 (3), 72 (8), 74 (2), 76 (16), 77, 81 (7), 83 (2), 85 (2), 86, 87, 88 (2), 90, 91 (2), 92, 93 (2), 95, 96 (2), 97, 100 (2), 104, 105 (3), 110, 111, 112, 115, 124, 125.....	West Villa "B"
S 113 (2).....	West Villa "A"
S 101.....	West Servants' Houses
S 20, 22 (2), 73 (2), 84.....	Middle Palace
S 35, 103.....	Palace of the King, North Side
S 10, 14 (3), 15 (5), 17 (12), 25, 26 (4), 35 (9), 45, 58, 61, 64, 66 (2), 71, 73 (630), 80 (18), 106, 107 (100), 108 (5), 109 (2), 114 (3), 119 (2), 123 (56).....	Palace of the King, West Magazine
S 7 (6), 49 (2), 117, 118.....	Palace of the King, East Magazine
S 25 (3), 36 (2), 44, 68, 79, 120, 121 (2), 122 (2).....	Palace of the King, East Slope
S 2, 3 (2), 5, 11 (2), 13, 16 (2), 17 (10), 24, 28 (2), 36 (3), 42, 43, 55, 56, 62 (2), 67, 75, 78 (2), 94 (2), 98 (2), 102, 116 (3).....	Southern Rubbish Mounds

are now included among the unaccessioned study material in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The list which follows gives the exact provenances of the 125 types of seal impressions and, in the parentheses, the

The sealings themselves were small oval mounds of refined Nile alluvium ranging in color from medium gray to black. They averaged 4.5 cm. in length, 3.2 cm. in width, and their rounded tops projected 1.3-1.5 cm. from the cylindrical surfaces of the papyrus rolls in precisely the manner represented in the familiar hieroglyph . The clear imprint of the papyrus, with the fibers running longitudinally from end to end of the roll,³²⁹ appears on

139-40, 250, 301, 308; Bruyère, *Fouilles* . . . , V, 110; VIII, 18; IX, 89; XIV, 26; XV, 18; XVI, 24-26; Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 40; Quibell, *Ramesseum*, p. 15, Pl. XI, 1-8; Weigall, *Ann. Serv.*, VII, 121, 128-29; Chassinat, *Bull. Inst. fr. Caire*, X, 167; Gauthier, *Bull. Inst. fr. Caire*, VI, 142; Anthes, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, XII, 15; [Capart?], *Chron. d'Ég.*, XI, 51; XII, 172; Pillet, *Ann. Serv.*, XXII, 63.

³²⁸ *Bull. MMA*, 1912, pp. 184-89.

³²⁹ Before the papyri were rolled these were, of course, the vertical fibers on the backs, or versos, of the sheets.

the underside of each sealing, as do also the deeply imprinted marks of a stout, three-ply cord which had been wrapped four times around the middle of the roll and tied with a square knot under the center of the sealing. The rough edges of the sealings extended in many cases well down around the papyrus rolls, which appear to have been uniformly between 2.5 and 3 cm. in diameter.

The backs, or tops, of the sealings, when complete, carried, on the average, eight small seal impressions, crowded together and frequently overlapping one another. In most instances all eight impressions appear to have been of one type, but it is not uncommon to find two, and occasionally as many as four, different types of impressions on the fragment of a single sealing.³³⁰ A number of the impressions were probably made by scarabs (S 2-6, 103-4, 125) or rectangular plaques (S 1, 9, 119)³³¹—perhaps of glazed steatite—but the vast majority were evidently produced by gold, silver, or bronze signet rings of the massive, fixed-bezel type developed during the Eighteenth Dynasty and common from the reign of Amenhotep III onward.³³² This is indicated by the shapes of the impressions, which for the most part are long and perfectly symmetrical ovals, and by the elegance of the designs, the intricacy of the details, and the metallic clarity of the outlines of the forms. The very striking uniformity in style, quality, size, and

shape displayed by the impressions and the absence from their inscriptions of all personal names save only that of the king further indicate that the rings which produced them were standardized seals of royal authority issued by the pharaonic government for the use of its officials³³³ and that the documents sealed with these rings were of an official nature.

In Figures 31-33 the seal impressions are reproduced at a scale of 4:3, or somewhat over life-size. The largest impression (S 33) measures in actuality 2.3×1.5 cm.; the smallest (S 125), 1.1×0.8 cm.

The first five impressions of our series, bearing the throne-names of Thutmose III (S 1, 2), Amenhotep II (S 3), and Thutmose IV (S 4, 5), are of well-known types, S 2 and 3 being paralleled almost exactly by scarabs in the British Museum and the Art Institute of Chicago, respectively.³³⁴ The papyri carrying these seal impressions were perhaps accounts sent in by the stewards of estates which had belonged to the deceased pharaohs and which were still operating under their names.³³⁵

With the exceptions of S 12 and 84 and the possible exceptions of S 32 and 93, all the next eighty-nine types of impressions (S 6-94, inclusive) contain Amenhotep III's prenomen, "Nebma^crē," written in

³³⁰ Impressions occurring together on the same sealings are: S 3 and 49; 11 and 36; 11 and 102; 17, 33, and 76 (4 examples); 18 and 43; 18 and 62; 20 and 37; 25 and 44; 29 and 49; 34 and 64; 42, 43, and 98; 68, 79, 83, and 121; 70, 72, and 97; 120 and 121.



³³¹ It should be noted, however, that the metal signet rings of this period not infrequently have rectangular or scarab-shaped bezels also of metal (Williams, *Gold and Silver Jewelry*, pp. 89-92, Pl. VIII, 25, 26; Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries* (Cat. gén. Mus. Caire, Nos. 52001-53855), Nos. 52163, 52207; Newberry, *Scarabs*, p. 166, Pl. XXX, 16, 18; Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum*, Nos. 2656, 2657).

³³² See Winlock, *Bull. MMA*, XVII, 172.

³³³ Hall, *op. cit.*, No. 757; Pier, *AJSL*, XXIII, 90, No. 1334. With S 1 and 4 we may compare Hall's Nos. 994 and 33.

³³⁵ See above, jar-labels 31, 32, 45 (Figs. 5, 6); *JNES*, X, 97 and n. 173.

³³² *Amarna*, p. 28, Pl. XIV, 25-32; *City I*, Pl. XI; *City II*, Pl. XLVI, 1; Pendlebury, *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 144-45; Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-97, Pls. VIII-X; Vernier, *Bull. Inst. fr. Caire*, VI, 187-89; Newberry, *Scarabs*, pp. 93-94, 167-68, Pl. XXXI, 15, 25, 30, 31, 34; Carter, *Tomb of Tut.ankh. Amen*, I, 138, Pls. XXX, XLVII A; II, 127, 130, Pl. LXXXV; Schäfer, *Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten*, pp. 50-53, Pl. 13, Nos. 75-84; Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-78; Mace, *The Murch Collection*, pp. 16-17 (12 rings of Akhenaten in gold, electrum, bronze, and copper: MMA acc. Nos. 10.130.916-27); Winlock, *Bull. MMA*, XVII, 172, Fig. 2; Lansing, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry* ("MMA Picture Book"), Pl. 12; Bruyère, *Fouilles . . .*, XIV, 105.

a variety of ways, but chiefly with the monogram discussed above in connection with jar-sealings E and F (Fig. 25). The headdress worn by the seated figure of the king (the element *nb* in the name) is in most cases the royal wig-cover, *h3t* (see especially S 11), but occasionally this is replaced by the White Crown (S 20, 28, 64), the Blue Crown (S 52), or the Double Crown (S 56, 80, 91). Even in this sportive writing of the name the complete figure of the goddess *M3t* sometimes takes the place of the feather held in the king's hand (S 56, 59, 76); and in S 55 the feather is held, not by the king, but by the accompanying figure of the tutelary god (Ptah?).³³⁶ An unusually interesting writing of *Nb-m3t-Rc* appears in Type S 21, where the *Rc*-element in the name has been expanded into a kneeling figure of the falcon-headed sun-god (doing double duty as the genius of "Millions-of-years") and the sign  is used in place of .³³⁷ Type S 99 is probably also a writing of the king's prenomen, the lion being read as *nb*, the feather as *m3t*, and the circle formed by the tail of the animal as *Rc*.

In S 13-18 the name of the king is flanked by protective figures of familiar types³³⁸—crowned or winged uraei, hovering falcons and vultures, and standing falcons with "flails"; and in S 19-88 *passim* is preceded occasionally by the titles "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" (S 19, 27, 28, 59, 71) or "Good God" (S 29) and followed by a great variety of often elaborate epithets and good wishes. Among these may be noted "Ruler of Thebes" (S 70, also S 12), "Lord of

hundreds of thousands of years" (S 22; cf. S 21 and 57), "Preserved for (?) millions of years" (S 23), "Lord of *Sed*-festival(s)" (S 24-26, 59), "Hundreds of thousands of *Sed*-festivals" (S 72), "Lord of festivals" (S 27, 47), "Rich in festivals" (S 28), "Rich in *Sed*-festivals in the House of Amūn" (S 64), "Rich in favors" (S 25, 26), "Rich in property" (S 76), "Stability and well-being" (S 20), "Stability and protection" (S 45), "(All) life and well-being" (S 48, 62, 84), "Life" (S 44, 70), "Splendor-of-Aten (S 30, 31) who shines (upon) every country" (S 30), "Great lion (S 35, 36), Lord of strength" (S 36, 37 ?), and "Adored by all the people" (S 88). S 33 apparently is to be read "Nebmaꜣꜣ who floods Lower Egypt with his work(s)" and S 34, "Nebmaꜣꜣ, the ichneumon³³⁹ (victorious) over (his) enemies." These two sealings and some of the others are certainly to be classed with the "minor historical" or "semihistorical" scarabs discussed by Wiedemann, Drioton, Keimer, and others.³⁴⁰

The commonest form of legend occurring in the document sealings is that in which the king is affiliated to, described as "beloved of," or otherwise associated with a god or goddess (S 29, 38-58, 60-63, 65-75, 77-96). The divinities referred to are: *Rē* (S 29, 62, 73, 80, 85), *Rē*-Harakhte (S 58), Aten (S 30, 31), Seth (S 38, 93, 95), Anubis (S 39, 88, 89), Maꜣet (S 40), On(uris) (S 41), Harshef (S 42, 80), Thōt (S 43, 44, 65-67, 71-75),

³³⁹ Strange as the identification of the victorious king with this animal may seem, the form clearly preserved on two examples of this seal impression is certainly that of an ichneumon, an otter, or a ratel, with every probability favoring the ichneumon. See Keimer, *Études d'Égyptologie*, Fasc. IV, pp. 1-14; Roeder, *Egyptian Religion*, IV, 1-48.

³⁴⁰ Weidemann, *PSBA*, XXXIV, 252-59; Keimer, *Ann. Serv.*, XXXIX, 112-20; Drioton, *Egyptian Religion*, I, 39-44. Cf. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, Pls. XXXI-XXXII. None of the inscriptions seem, on the other hand, to be intentionally cryptographic like those dealt with by Drioton in *Ann. Serv.*, XLIV, 27-32, and Rowe in *Chron. d'Ég.*, XVIII, 251 ff.

³³⁶ An analogy to this is found in writings of the prenomen of King *H3-m3t-Rc stp-n-Imn* (Ramesses IV) where the *m3t* feather is held in the hand of the figure of the god Amūn (Christophe, *Bull. Inst. fr. Caire*, XLVIII, 40, 42, 53, 54).

³³⁷ Cf. Hall, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1919-22; and above, jar-sealing YY (Fig. 29).

³³⁸ See Hall, *op. cit.*, and Newberry, *Scarab-shaped Seals (Cat. Caire)*, *passim*.

Thōt, Lord of Shmūn (S 46, 47), Horus (S 48–51, 60, 61, 69, 79, 81, 92), Horus, Lord of He-nesu (*Hwt-nsu*: S 77, 78),³⁴¹ Isis (S 61, 78), Amūn (S 52–54, 60, 65, 66, 69, 70), Amen-Rē^c (S 67, 68, 75, 95, 96), Ptah (S 55, 73, 82–84), Khepri (S 56), Nekhbet (S 57),³⁴² Sobk-Rē^c (S 63), Wadjet (S 81, 94), a lion-god, “Lord of Per-kheper (?)”³⁴³ (S 86), Mūt (S 87), Hathor (?) (S 87), “[the Lady of ?] Rejoicing” = Hathor (S 91), and Neit (S 90). Possibly significant combinations of divinities include: Amūn and Horus (S 60, 69), Amūn and Thōt (S 65–67, 75), Amūn and Ptah (S 82), Amūn and Seth (S 95), Isis and Horus (S 61, 78), Rē^c and Harshef (S 80), and Mūt and Hathor (S 87). In Type S 73, 630 examples of which were found in the West Magazine of the Palace of the King, Ptah, Rē^c, and Thōt appear together as patrons of the king. In addition to the groupings of gods within the individual impressions, the following combinations result from the juxtaposition of several different impressions on the same sealings (see above, n. 330): Amūn and Horus; Amūn, Thōt, and Khepri; Amen-Rē^c, Horus, Ptah, and Wadjet; Horus and Rē^c (twice); and Rē^c, Thōt, Hathor, and Harshef.

Following S 98, in which Rē^c and either the queen or a goddess appear together in a papyrus barque,³⁴⁴ we find in S 100, 101, and 103 the king represented as a lion (“Lord of strength”), as a sphinx holding a figure of the god Rē^c or the

goddess Maet,³⁴⁵ and as a sphinx confronted by the symbol of “life” and accompanied by the words “beloved of Atūm.”³⁴⁶ The winged female sphinx of S 102, shown adoring the heraldic plants of Lower Egypt, undoubtedly represents Queen Tiy, who appears in this form on several other monuments.³⁴⁷

S 104–19 are apparently temple sealings and contain the names, figures, and epithets of divinities only, without mention of the king. In S 104–6 the scarab beetle of the sun-god Khepri is seen flanked by uraei³⁴⁸ or winged and trundling before it the sun’s disk. Amenhotep III’s devotion to Amen-Rē^c is reflected by the number of sealings bearing the name of this god, who is described in S 107, 108, and 111 as the “Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt,” in S 112 as the “Lord of the sweet breath of life,” and in S 113 and 114 as the “Creator of Right.”³⁴⁹ The second of the two sealings devoted to Ptah (S 116) may represent the form of the god known as *Hry-b3kf*, “He who is under his moringa tree.”³⁵⁰ Horus and Seth, each wearing the Double Crown, appear in a pair of sealings identical in size and design (S 117, 118). The rectangular impression with the falcon-head of Montu (S 119) is of a well-known type.³⁵¹ The motto-design of S 121–23, though less common, occurs on a bronze signet ring of the reign of Amenhotep III from Gurob.³⁵²

³⁴⁵ Hall, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1857–63; Newberry, *Timmins Coll.*, Pl. XVI, 13, 14. Cf. Leibovitch, *Bull. Inst. d’Égypte*, XXV, 258, Fig. 17.

³⁴⁶ Newberry, *Scarab-shaped Seals*, Pl. VII, No. 36526; Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, Pl. XXIII, 78. These parallels show that the bent lines over the back of the sphinx are a degeneration of the sign 𓆎 in the name of the god Atūm.

³⁴⁷ Gardiner, *JEA*, III, 74, Pl. XI; Leibovitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 250 ff. Cf. *Ann. Serv.*, XLII, 93–105.

³⁴⁸ Newberry, *Scarab-shaped Seals*, Pl. VII, Nos. 36727, 37127; *Timmins Coll.*, Pl. XXI, 9.

³⁴⁹ *Wb.*, II, 173, Belegst. 16.

³⁵⁰ Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, pp. 147–50.

³⁵¹ *City II*, Pl. XXIX, 1; Hall, *op. cit.*, No. 1878.

³⁵² Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, p. 36, Pl. XXIII, 77.

³⁴¹ Modern Kōm el Aḥmar Sawaris, just south of Sharunah in Middle Egypt: Gard., *On.*, A 387, Vol. II, pp. 99*, 106*–8*; Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, IV, 86. The earliest mention of *Hwt-nsu* recorded by Gardiner and Gauthier occurs in a statue inscription of Horemheb.

³⁴² The identification is, of course, not certain; but the *3f*-crown appears to be worn by Nekhbet more often than by any other Egyptian goddess. See Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, pp. 1018–26, Pls. CCCXLVIII, CCCXLIX; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, Pl. 80 c; Capart, *Chron. d’Ég.*, XV, 30.

³⁴³ Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, II, 119–20 (?).

³⁴⁴ Cf. Newberry, *Timmins Collection*, Pl. XV, 26.



FF



GG



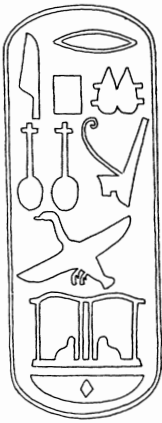
I



VII

FIG. 24.—Jar sealings and stamped bricks from the Palace of Amenhotep III

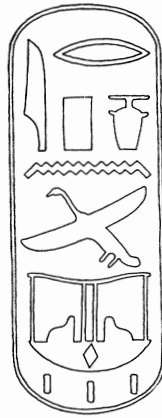
JAR SEALINGS



A



B



C



D



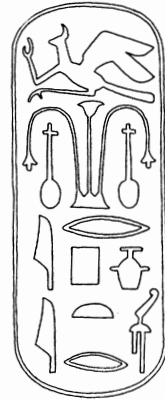
E



F



G



H



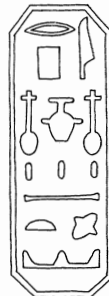
I



J



K



L



M

FIG. 25

JAR SEALINGS

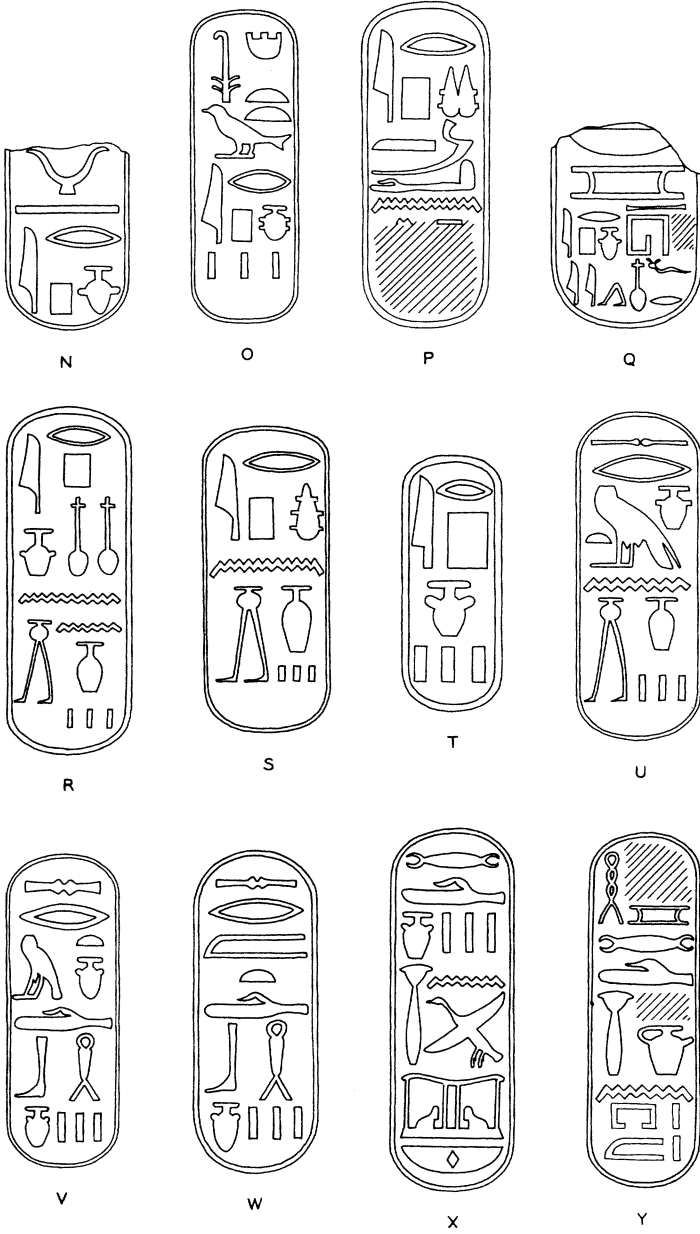


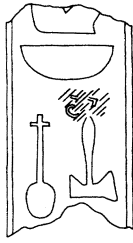
FIG. 26

JAR SEALINGS

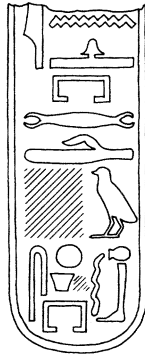


FIG. 27

JAR SEALINGS



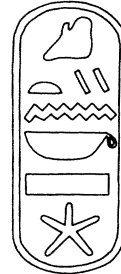
LL



MM



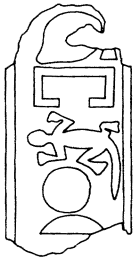
NN



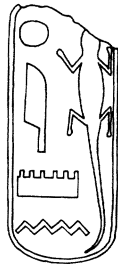
PP



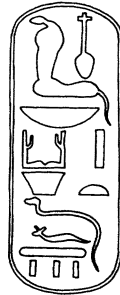
OO



QQ



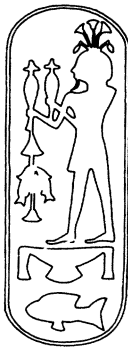
RR



SS



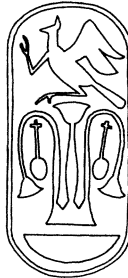
TT



UU



VV



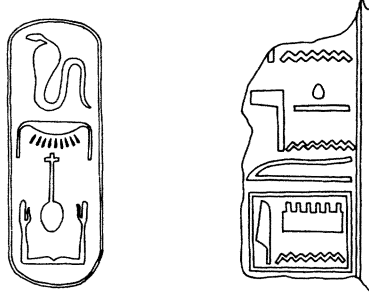
WW



XX

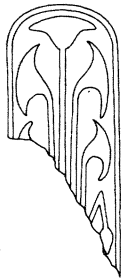
FIG. 28

JAR SEALINGS

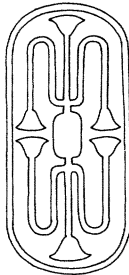


YY

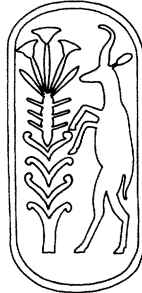
ZZ



AAA



BBB

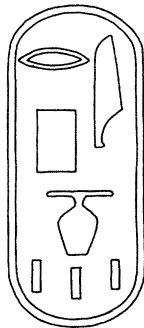


CCC



DDD

PAINTED JAR SEALINGS



EEE



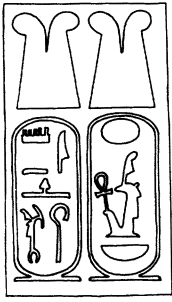
FFF



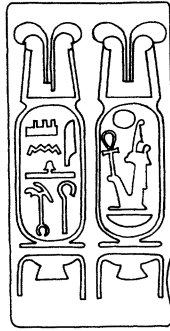
GGG

FIG. 29

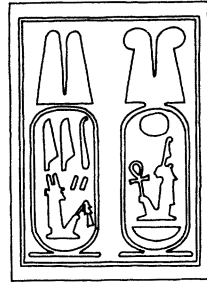
BRICK STAMPS



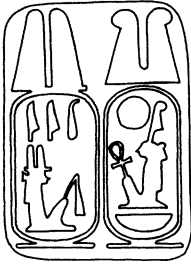
I



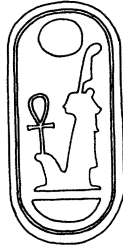
II



III



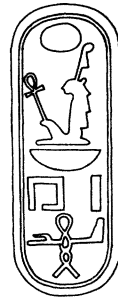
IV



V



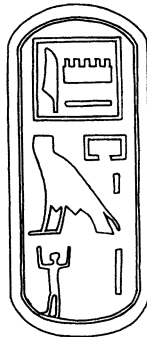
VI



VII



VIII



IX



X

FIG. 30

DOCUMENT SEALINGS

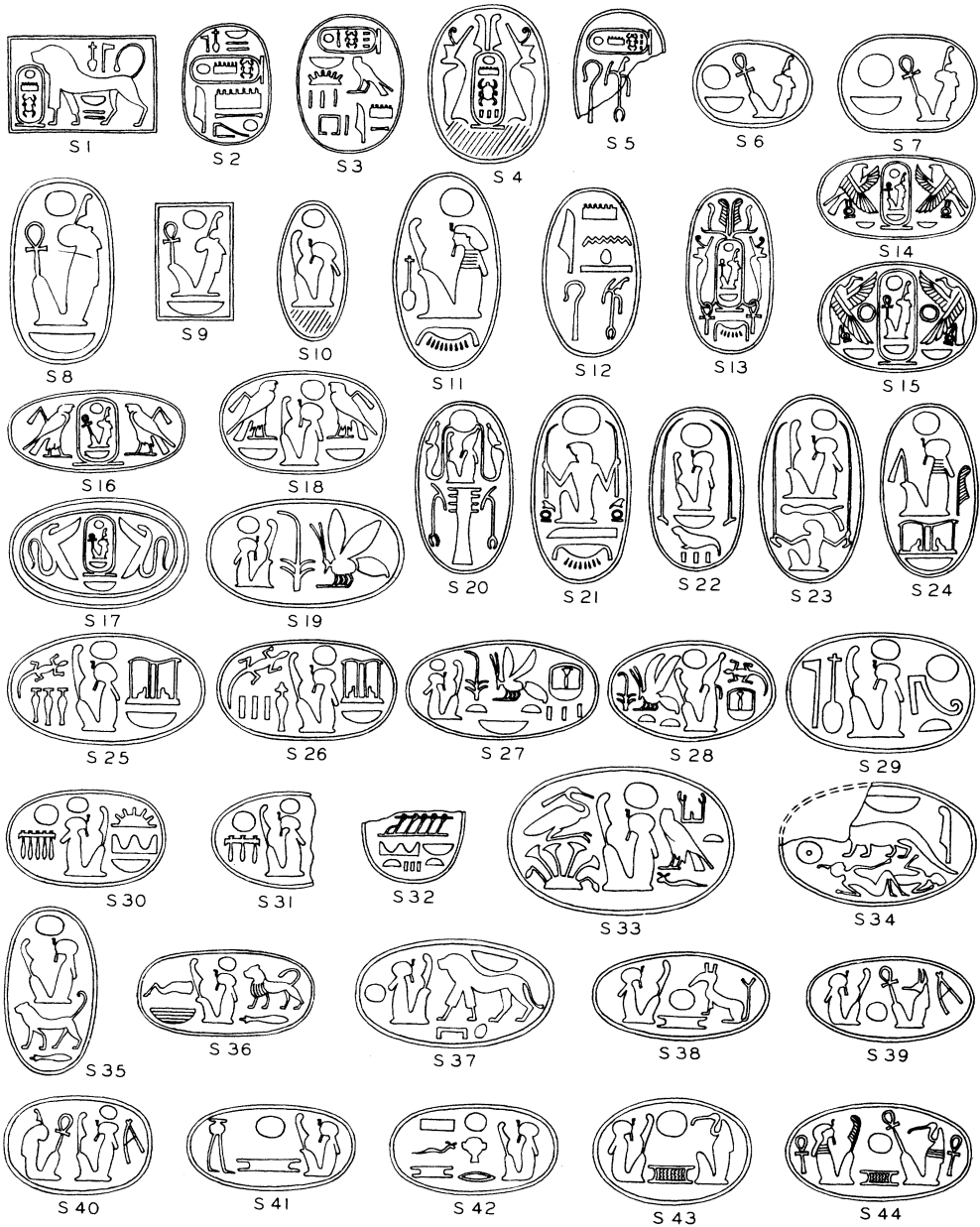


FIG. 31

DOCUMENT SEALINGS

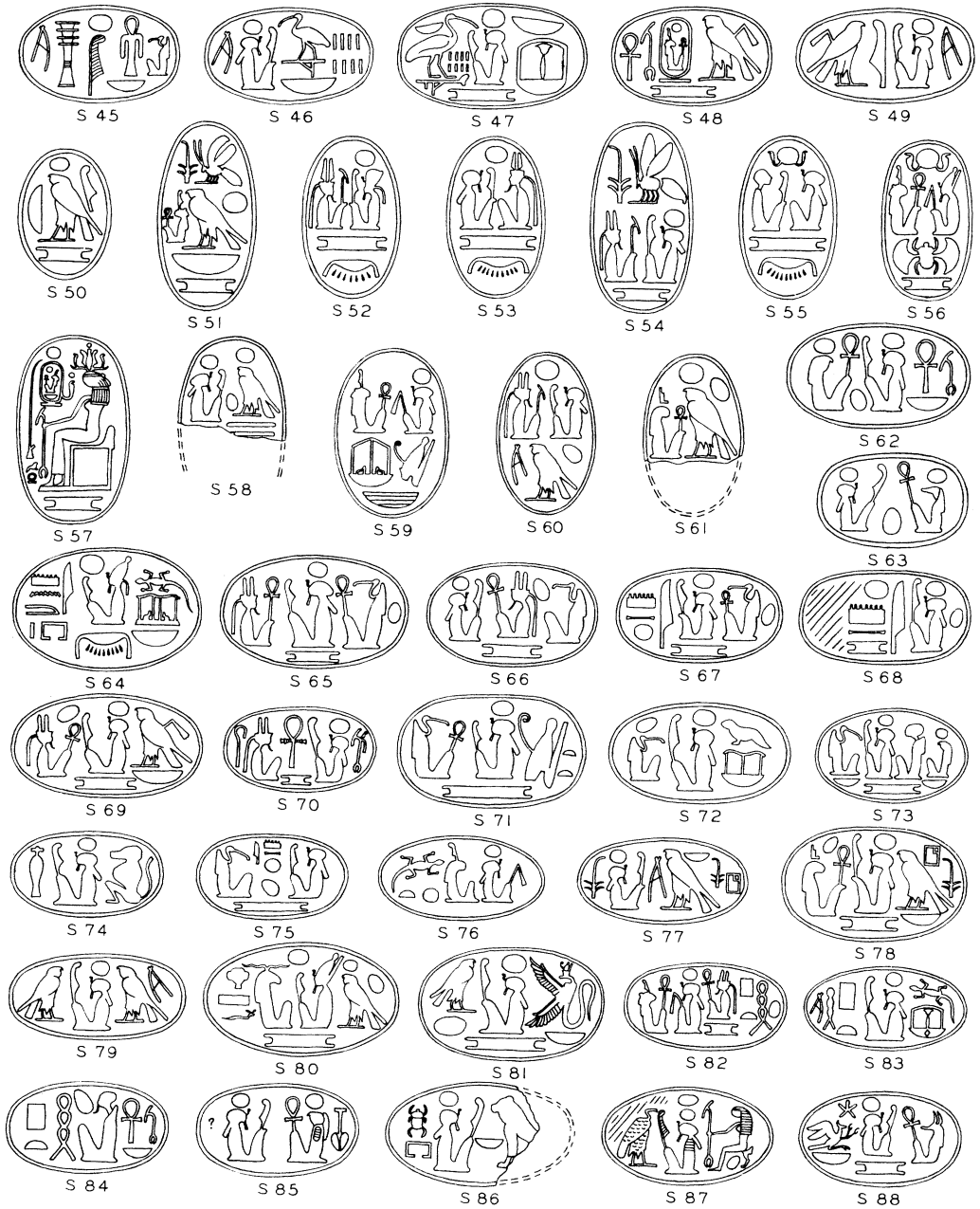


FIG. 32

DOCUMENT SEALINGS

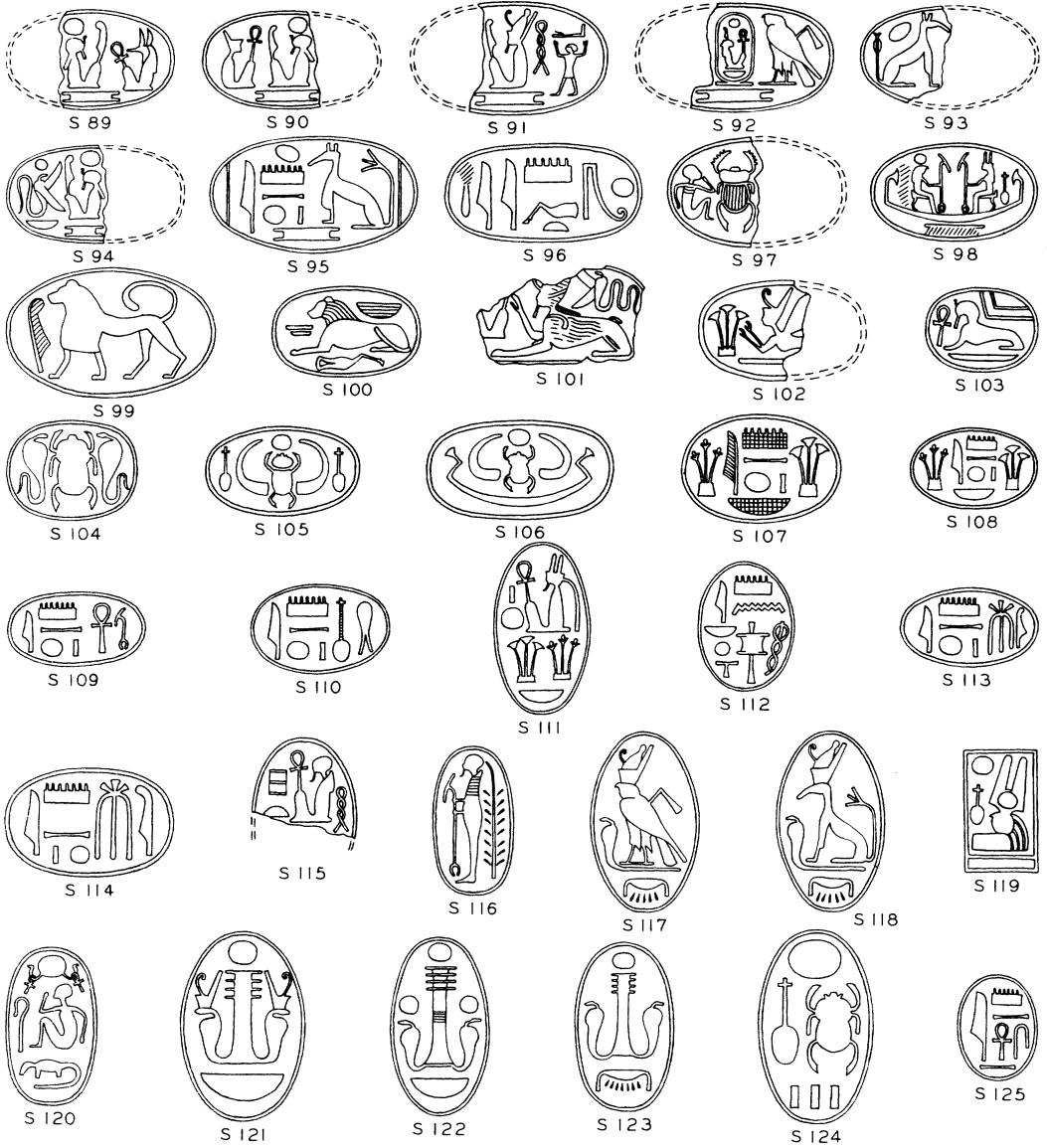


FIG. 33

The sealing with the throne-name of Amenhotep IV, "Neferkheprurē" (S 124), and the fragmentary impression, S 97, with what may well be part of the same name, are both from West Villa "B." The curious squatting figure (of the king ?) appearing in S 97 and in seals and sealings of Amenhotep IV from other sites³⁵³ is found also in the somewhat puzzling inscription of Type S 120. Here, as on a sandstone stela from Amada,³⁵⁴ the king referred to simply as "the Ruler" (*ḥk3*) would seem, again, to be Amenhotep IV. For the accompanying epithet (*s3k* ʔ*Itn* ?) I can devise no reasonable translation.

The last sealing of the series, with the name of Queen ʔAnkhesenamūn (S 125), is interesting as showing that at least as late as the reign of Tutʔankhamūn official documents were still being sent to the Malkata palace.

In some instances the geographic sources of the sealings can be surmised from the names of the divinities which they bear (e.g., Harshef of Herakleopolis; Thōt, Lord of Shmūn; Horus, Lord of He-nesu). In general, however, this type of evidence is too inconclusive to be of much value. By the late Eighteenth Dynasty most of the divinities named had temples in numerous, often widely separated, places; and the combinations noted above of two to four divine names on individual sealings are usually more confusing from a geographic point of view than they are helpful.

On the other hand, the concentration in West Villa "B" of more than half of all the types of document sealings found is certainly of considerable significance, for

³⁵³ *Amarna*, Pl. XIV, 32; *City II*, Pl. L, 274; Hall, *op. cit.*, No. 2688; Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, No. 1331.

³⁵⁴ Gauthier, *Ann. Serv.*, X, 122-23; *Livre des rois*, II, 348, No. XIII.

it points very strongly to this building's having been the administrative center of the palace—and, hence, of the kingdom—in other words, the office of the southern vizier.³⁵⁵ The similar great houses on either side of it (West Villas "A" and "C") we may tentatively identify as the offices of the vizier's two most important collaborators, the Chief Treasurer and the King's Chief Steward.³⁵⁶

Here it seems desirable to pause for a moment from the task of recording the inscriptions recovered from the palace of Amenhotep III and attempt to clarify and correlate the various names associated in these and contemporary inscriptions with the palace itself or with the area occupied by it.

The stamped bricks show clearly that during one phase of its history the entire complex, from the Palace of the King on the south to the Temple of Amūn on the north, was called *Pr-ḥcy*, "the House of Rejoicing." It is probable that this name was originally applied to a single building (the Palace of the King or the Middle Palace) and subsequently extended to include the other and perhaps later structures of the palace group. It would further appear that the use of *Pr-ḥcy* as a name for the palace was confined to the last eight or nine years of the reign of Amenhotep III. This is indicated by the facts that in the Palace of the King and in the Middle Palace the name occurs only on bricks from relatively late additions to these buildings; that it occurs throughout

³⁵⁵ On the office of the vizier as the clearinghouse and depository of all official documents see Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, p. 443; Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, p. 189; Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, pp. 88, 90, 91, 93; etc.

³⁵⁶ See above, *JNES*, X, 35. Plans and photographs of these buildings are available in the Metropolitan Museum, together with a file of field notes concerning them.

an entire building only in the Temple of Amūn, which we have reason to suppose was constructed for the celebration of the king's second *Sed*-festival in Regnal Year 34,³⁵⁷ and that its earliest datable appearance is in the inscriptions in the temple at Soleb and in the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes, in both cases in association with the celebration of the first *Sed*-festival in Year 30.³⁵⁸ The inference that the palace was renamed *Pr-h^cy* in honor of the first *H^eb-sed* is a plausible one, though I strongly suspect that the *Wörterbuch*'s definition of *Pr-h^cy* as "the name of a building in which the celebration of the Hebsed took place"³⁵⁹ is derived mainly from the Soleb and Kheruef reliefs and from Griffith's interpretation of the Gayer Anderson relief.³⁶⁰ The fullest writing of the name known to me occurs on the base of an ebony statuette of Amenhotep III in the Brooklyn Museum, believed to have come originally from the palace itself.³⁶¹ Here the king's name is followed by the epithets "Lord of food, Rich in provisions, and Lord of festivals in



At Tell el Amarna Akhenaten's "official" palace appears also to have been called *Pr-h^cy*, the name being applied as at Thebes to a group of buildings (*Wbn-^oItn*, *Wsh^t-^oItn*, etc.) each of which is described as being "in," or forming part of, the "House of Rejoicing of the Aten."³⁶² The fact that the *Pr-h^cy n p^o-^oItn* was it-

³⁵⁷ See above, p. 85.

³⁵⁸ See above, pp. 83–84 and nn. 55, 58, and 60. It is worth noting that the building shown in the Soleb and Kheruef reliefs is in both cases called *h.f n Pr-h^cy*, "his palace of the House of Rejoicing."

³⁵⁹ *Wb.*, III, 40, Belegst. 7. I have been unable to locate the Middle Kingdom example of the name, the existence of which is implied by the notation "Seit MR."

³⁶⁰ *JE A*, V, 61–63, Pl. VIII.

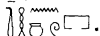
³⁶¹ See above, p. 86 and n. 75.

³⁶² Fairman, *JE A*, XXI, 138.

self said to be "in the Temple of Aten" seems to contrast strongly with the situation at Thebes, where the *Pr-h^cy* included a "Temple of Amūn." In the first instance, however, the "temple" in question was the principal "house," or "estate" (*pr*), of the god at Akhetaten; in the second, merely a "mansion," or "chapel" (*hwt*), of Amūn built within the palace grounds for the celebration of the king's second *Sed*-festival. Besides the official palace at Amarna a curious structure added later in the reign of Akhenaten to the western end of the temple proper was also given the name *Pr-h^cy*, and both *Pr-h^cy*'s are mentioned in the king's boundary stelae.³⁶³

Another and apparently earlier name of the palace of Amenhotep III at Thebes was *Pr-Nb-m^o-t-R^c-T^hn(w)-^oItn*, "House of Nebma^orē-(is-)the-Splendor-of-Aten,"³⁶⁴ usually shortened by ellipsis to *Pr-T^hn(w)-^oItn*, "House of Splendor-of-Aten,"³⁶⁵ or to simply *T^hn(w)-^oItn*, "Splendor-of-Aten."³⁶⁶ The element *pr*, "house (of)," in one instance replaced by *nⁱw^t*, "town (of),"³⁶⁷ was evidently not an essential part of the name of the palace

³⁶³ Fairman, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–38; Pendlebury, *JE A*, XIX, 114. See also Griffith, *JE A*, V, 62–63; Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, III, 150–51. For later occurrences of the name see Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Daressy, *Rec. trav.*, XIX, 22.

³⁶⁴ Wolf, *ZÄS*, LIX, 110–11; Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, II, 92. A variant of jar-label Type 54 (Fig. 6) gives the name as *Pr-^oI^mn-h^tp-T^hn(w)-^oItn*, "House of Amenhotep-(is-)the-Splendor-of-Aten." In jar-label Type 108 (Fig. 9) and in several labels too fragmentary to be classified the word *T^hnw* in the name of the palace is written out in full: 

³⁶⁵ Wolf, *loc. cit.*; Gauthier, *op. cit.*, II, 61; Legrain, *Ann. Serv.*, IV, 145, Nos. 9, 11; X, 109; *Amarna*, Pl. XXI, 24 (read □ for ○).

³⁶⁶ Legrain, *Ann. Serv.*, IV, 145, Nos. 12, 14; *City II*, Pl. LVII F, LVIII 15; Kamal, *Ann. Serv.*, X, 117. See also jar-label Types 21 and 108 (Figs. 5 and 9) and jar-sealing Type HH (Fig. 27).

³⁶⁷ Legrain, *loc. cit.*, No. 10. Almost certainly not a name for the city of Thebes as suggested by Legrain, *op. cit.*, p. 147; *Rec. trav.*, XXVII, 184.

and in the jar-labels, where the name proper is determined by the sign \square , is certainly to be understood to mean the "Estate" (of the palace called) "Nebma^c-rē^c-(is-)the-Splendor-of-Aten."³⁶⁸ Although the phrase $\overline{T}hn(w)\rightarrow Itn$ was primarily an epithet of Amenhotep III himself,³⁶⁹ its use in the texts which have come down to us is confined almost exclusively to designations of the palace, its personnel, and equipment. Inscriptions of the reign of Amenhotep III preserve the titles and names of a Guardian ($s3wtj$) of $\overline{T}hn(w)\rightarrow Itn$,³⁷⁰ a Guardian of the Storeroom of Donations of $\overline{T}hn(w)\rightarrow Itn$,³⁷¹ a Scribe of $\overline{T}hn(w)\rightarrow Itn$,³⁷² and a Steward of the Estate of $Nb-m3^c t-R^c\overline{T}hn(w)\rightarrow Itn$.³⁷³ The king's ship "Splendor-of-Aten," we know, was attached to the service of the palace,³⁷⁴ and the same must have been true of "the Regiment ($p3 s3$) of $Nb-m3^c t-R^c\overline{T}hn(w)\rightarrow Itn$,"³⁷⁵ presumably the palace guard.

The "Lake Scarabs" of Amenhotep III show that the ship just referred to had received its name by the beginning of Regnal Year 12 when the king "rowed" in it on the palace lake, or harbor;³⁷⁶ and it was probably at this time or very shortly before that the Palace of the King—

³⁶⁸ Jar-label Types 9, 11, 21, 54, 55, 99, 108, 145 (41 examples in all). See above, Figs. 4–6, 8, 9, 11. See also jar-sealing Types E–F (Fig. 25).

³⁶⁹ Gayet, *Temple de Louxor*, p. 15. See also document sealings S 30, 31 (Fig. 31).

³⁷⁰ Cairo 34055 (Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*).

³⁷¹ Cairo 34087 (Lacau, *op. cit.*). For the translation of the title see above, *JNES*, X, 99, n. 183.

³⁷² Cairo 34068 (Lacau, *op. cit.*).

³⁷³ Nefersekeru, the owner of Tomb 107 at Thebes. See Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, I, 136; Hermann, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, VI, 38; Helck, *Unters.*, XIV, 10 and n. 2; Wolf, *loc. cit.*

³⁷⁴ See the "Lake Scarabs" of Amenhotep III (Drioton, *Ann. Serv.*, XLV, 89–91; etc.) and further on the ship and its personnel, Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, pp. 80, 81, n. 3; Wolf, *loc. cit.*

³⁷⁵ Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, p. 81 and n. 3; Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37; Wolf, *loc. cit.*

the only building of the Malkata group then in existence—also was named $\overline{T}hn(w)\rightarrow Itn$. The name may have been confined to this particular structure throughout the entire reign, though the variant form, $Niwt\overline{T}hn(w)\rightarrow Itn$, "Town of Splendor-of-Aten," suggests that it was extended to include the whole complex. We have no way of knowing whether " $\overline{T}hn(w)\rightarrow Itn$ " was abandoned in Regnal Year 30 in favor of " $Pr-h^cy$ " or whether the two names existed thenceforward side by side.³⁷⁷ Whatever usage may have prevailed at Thebes itself, it is certain that the palace estates in the Delta and elsewhere continued to function under the name $Pr-Nb-m3^c t-R^c\overline{T}hn(w)\rightarrow Itn$ as late as the fourteenth year of Akhenaten.³⁷⁸

Unlike " $Pr-h^cy$," the name $\overline{T}hn(w)\rightarrow Itn$ has not been found on any portion of the palace structure or in any inscription known to have been written within the palace area; and its association with the palace, though generally accepted by present-day scholars,³⁷⁹ rests on no very concrete evidence.

As late as the end of Regnal Year 11 the site of the palace lake was called Dja^crukha. Read either as $D^c r-w h3$ or as $D^c r w-h3 w y$, the name may be translated "Searcher-of-the-Evening"³⁸⁰ or something of the sort and refers presumably

³⁷⁶ See above, nn. 4, 87, 374. Though begun late in Year 11, the lake was not ready for use until "Month 3 of Akhet, Day 16," the fourteenth day of Regnal Year 12. For Amenhotep III's accession date see Gardiner, *JEA*, XXXI, 27–28.

³⁷⁷ The concurrent use of two or more names for a large and important architectural complex (city, temple, pyramid, etc.), far from being exceptional, seems to have been a usual practice in dynastic Egypt.

³⁷⁸ *City II*, Pl. LVIII, No. 15.

³⁷⁹ To the references cited in the preceding notes may be added Borchardt, *Mitt. Deutsch. Or.-Gesellsch.*, No. 57, p. 25; Doresse, *Jour. Asiatique*, CCXXXIII, 192–96; and many others.

³⁸⁰ Steindorff, *ZÄS*, XXXIX, 62–65; Breasted, *ZÄS*, XXXIX, 65–66; Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, VI, 112.

to the location of the site on the extreme west of Thebes, close under the cliffs where the sun sets and the shadows of night first appear. Although Dja^crukha is described as a "town," or "habitation" (*dmī*), of Queen Tiy, there is nothing inherent in the name itself which suggests the existence of a royal dwelling. We may suppose, therefore, that the name antedated the construction of Tiy's villa (?) and the palace which developed out of it. The fact that in Year 11 the palace area was still being designated by this ancient name suggests that "*T̄hm(w)-Itn*" had at that time not yet come into general usage, though portions of the palace itself must have already been in existence for several years.³⁸¹

Immediately following the death of Amenhotep III the name of his palace appears to have been changed by his son from *Pr-ḥcy* to *p³-Bḥn-Ḥcy-m-ḥt*, "the Castle of 'Rejoicer-on-the-Horizon,'" *Ḥcy-m-ḥt* being a well-known epithet of the god Aten.³⁸² It was in a Theban palace of that name, in any case, that Akhenaten was residing when he received the first of a series of letters written to him by King Tushratta of Mitanni;³⁸³ and it seems absurd to suppose that this palace was other than the great royal residence south of Medinet Habu, where Akhenaten had resided before his removal to Amarna and which he evidently occupied, however briefly, after the death of his father.³⁸⁴ The hieratic docket recording the receipt of the letter is dated to a regnal year of Akhenaten which ends with the numeral ". . . 2" and which is probably to be re-

³⁸¹ See above, p. 88. See also Engelbach and Macaldin, *Bull. Inst. d'Égypte*, XX, 59.

³⁸² Sethe, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1921, p. 109; Gunn, *JE A*, IX, 174, 176.

³⁸³ Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln*, I, No. 27, pp. 229-41; Erman, *ZÄS*, XXVII, 63.

³⁸⁴ See above, pp. 35, 37.

stored as "[1]2."³⁸⁵ Year 12 of Akhenaten (= Year 39 of Amenhotep III) was in all probability the date of the old king's death,³⁸⁶ and it was this event which must have been the occasion of Akhenaten's visit to Thebes—the only event important enough to require his deserting Akhetaten for the detested purlieu of the ancient capital.

Today the site of the palace, usually referred to by writers and travelers simply as "the Malkata," is in actuality called "el Malkat el Ba'irat," Ba'irat being the rather unsavory modern village which lies about a kilometer to the northeast of the palace ruins.³⁸⁷ The form "malkata" apparently resulted from the dropping-off of "Ba'irat" and the attachment of the definite article "el" (or "e'") which preceded it as a spurious *a*-sound to the end of the word "malkat." "Malkat" itself is not a proper name but a generic expression meaning "a place where things are picked up" or "sought for,"³⁸⁸ and there are, naturally enough, a number of ancient sites in Egypt and elsewhere which are so named. Aside from the palace area, the "malkata" which concerns us most is the one which lies diagonally across the river, outside the northwest corner of the main temple inclosure at Karnak, objects from this site being not infrequently assigned by modern writers

³⁸⁵ "Vor der Zwei dürfte ein Zehner stehn" (Erman, *loc. cit.*).

³⁸⁶ See above, *JNES*, X, 37, 86-88, 99. The date of the hieratic docket on Tushratta's letter indicates that Amenhotep III died before "Month 1 of Pröyet, Day" in Year [1]2 of Akhenaten—thus, either at the end of his own 38th year or during the first three months of his 39th year on the throne (see above, pp. 37, 87, nn. 15, 86).

³⁸⁷ I am indebted to Ambrose Lansing for this information and for advice on the root meaning of the word *malkat*.

³⁸⁸ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Book I, Part 7, p. 2670: *مَلَكَات*. Cf. Robichon and Varille, *Le Temple du scribe royale Amenhotep*, p. 10 and n. 6.

to the maḳata south of Medinet Habu. As recently as 1947, for example, Chévrier, working in the Karnak maḳata, strengthened the foundations of a group of large granite columns which he identified as belonging to a temple "of the New Empire,"³⁸⁹ but which were described in the *Chronique d'Égypte* of the following year as "des vestiges de colonnes du palais d'Aménophis III."³⁹⁰ More serious because of the historical implications involved was Borchardt's error in asserting that inscriptions mentioning a temple of the Aten at Hermonthis, discovered by Legrain³⁹¹ in the maḳata at Karnak, were found "beim Palast Amenophis' III. südlich von Medinet Habu."³⁹²

ADDENDA

Some weeks after the foregoing article was submitted for publication J. D. S. Pendlebury's *City of Akhenaten, Part III* (London, 1951), made its long-awaited appearance; and through the courtesy of Mrs. Riefstahl and Mr. Cooney of the Brooklyn Museum I was enabled to study the Wilbour Library's newly acquired copy of this important work. Far richer in inscribed material than the other portions of the site, the Central City at Tell el Amarna, with which the new volume is chiefly concerned, yielded during the seasons of 1931-36 two thousand jar-labels, four hundred jar-sealings, an interesting series of stamped bricks, and thirty-nine different types of small (document ?) sealings. To these are devoted twenty of the book's one hundred and twelve plates and a long and extremely valuable chapter contributed by Professor H. W. Fairman.

In *City III* (as the new volume will hereinafter be referred to), Fairman discusses (pp. 152-60) the chronology of the Amarna Period and is inclined, on the basis of the available

evidence, to place Akhenaten's elevation to the throne in Regnal Year 30 of Amenhotep III and to assign to the two kings a coregency of approximately nine years, making Amenhotep III's last documented year (38) coincide with the ninth year of his son's reign. If we accept this reconstruction, we must adjust by two years the equations given above on page 37 of this volume of the *Journal* and referred to occasionally in the succeeding pages of the present articles.


Among the ninety-nine wine-jar labels published in *City III* (pp. 163-69, Pls. LXXXIV ff.) are a number of new parallels to our Nos. 1-89 (Figs. 4-8), including examples listing *irp n ḥ3y(t) nfr(t)* as in our Nos. 2 and 4 (see above, p. 89, and *City III*, p. 163). In addition to the "House of Nebmaṛēc," the "House of Tiy," the "House of the Treasurer," the "House of Amūn," and the "Mansion of Nebmaṛēc" (see above, *JNES*, X, 96-97, c, h, l, m, and o), we find mention in *City III* (p. 164, No. 16) of a "House of Nebmaṛēc in the Barque" (*Pr Nb-m3ṯ-Rṯ m w3*)—a name which not only suggests a restoration for our jar-label No. 1 (. . . *Pr Nb-m3ṯ-Rṯ nty m p3 [w3 ?]*) but throws an interesting light on jar-sealing Types E and F (Fig. 25). Other sources of wine listed by Fairman (pp. 165-66) include the Western River, Tjel (*T3rw*), Memphis, Behbēt el Ḥagar (*Pr-ḥbyṯ*), and "Beginning-of-Earth" (*Wp[t-ḫ]*) (see above, *JNES*, X, 88-89 and 158). A series of labels from jars which had contained animal fat (*ḳ*) and meat (*iwf dr*) (*City III*, pp. 169-75) provides additional parallels to our Nos. 119-54 and 155-69 (Figs. 10-12, above) and includes meat of "oxen of Kush" and "oxen of the South," meat of *srt*-geese (cf. our No. 179), and *gnn* (suet?), which may be the word appearing in two hieroglyphic labels from the palace mentioned above on page 95. We learn also from these labels that potted meat was occasionally prepared in the *šnṯ*, "ergastulum," as well as in the *ḫ(y)t*, which Fairman translates (I believe inaccurately) as "still-room." As at Thebes, the chamberlains of the palace (*imy-ḫnt*) and the king's scribes (*sš nsw*) were prominent among

³⁸⁹ Chévrier, *Ann. Serv.*, XLVI, 157, Pl. XLVII.

³⁹⁰ *Chron. d'Ég.*, XXIII, 46.

³⁹¹ *Rec. trav.*, XXIII, 62, VI.

³⁹² Borchardt, *Mitt. Deutsch. Or.-Gesellschaft.*, No. 57, pp. 26-27.

the donors of the meat jars, many of which, as Fairman points out (p. 170), were evidently packed at Amarna itself. Two jars of meat (p. 174) were prepared for a "Festival of Eternity," , which is perhaps the proper reading of the much-obliterated feast name appearing in our meat-label No. 167. Among the "miscellaneous products" listed in the new Amarna jar-labels are (pp. 175-76): honey (*bit*) described as *stf* or *gmgm*, which Fairman translates, respectively, "liquid" and "viscous" (cf. Fig. 14, 205-9); *b3k*-oil (cf. Fig. 13, 183-96); *n3h*-oil (cf. Fig. 14, 200); "unguent" (*mrht*; cf. Fig. 14, 202); incense (*sntr*; cf. Fig. 14, 210-14); "dates" (*bnr*; cf. Fig. 15, 217, 218); and *šbt* (cf. Fig. 15, 224). *Srmt* (ale[?]; see above, *JNES*, X, 90) is listed in only two labels, in one as *srmt dbhw*, which Fairman does not translate (p. 175). A few of the persons mentioned in the palace jar-labels (see above, Figs. 17-22) may be referred to also in the *City III* inscriptions (pp. 176-79), e.g., the King's Scribe, Ahmose, and the vintners Nakhte and Hatiay. Such common late Eighteenth Dynasty names as Any, Mey, Mahu, Nefermenu, and Huy occur, naturally enough, in both groups of inscriptions with, however, either different titles or no titles at all.

In the fine series of jar-sealings published in *City III* (pp. 143-50, Pls. LXXXI-LXXXIII) are to be found exact or close parallels to our sealing Types E-G, O, P, VV, WW, YY, BBB, and CCC (Figs. 25-29); and in addition, impressions listing wine of the Mansion of Nebma^crē^c (No. 15), of Nebma^crē^c in the Barque (Nos. 74-78), and of (Queen) Tiy (No. 17). Preceding his translations of the impressions (pp. 147-50) Fairman discusses (pp. 143-46) the various types of jar-stoppers found (cylindrical, conical, and spherical) and describes and illustrates the painted decoration occurring on a number of examples. He follows Gunn (*City I*) in identifying the cobra appearing in some of the wine-jar sealings (cf. our Types SS and YY) as the goddess Wadjet (Edjō) of Lower Egypt, but he rejects Gunn's

translation of *irp m3cw* as "wine (for) offerings" and renders the expression as "genuine wine" (see also p. 163). There is, naturally, no duplication between the brick stamps found at Amarna (pp. 150-51, Pl. LXXXIII) and those from Thebes (Fig. 30) and very little similarity between the legends appearing in the small sealings from the two sites. With our sealing Types S 97 and 120 (Fig. 33) we may, however, compare *City III*, Plate C, Nos. 11, 27, and 28.

To the references cited above in notes 362 and 363 we must now add Fairman's detailed discussion in *City III* (pp. 193-97) of the *Pr-hcy* at Amarna. On pages 199-200 he lists and comments briefly on the "buildings" connected with Amenophis III and his family mentioned in the Amarna inscriptions. These include: the House of Nebma^crē^c, the House of Nebma^crē^c in the Barque, the Mansion of Nebma^crē^c, the House of *T3hn-Itn*, the House of Tiy, and the House of (the Princess) Baketaten.

On page 172 Fairman refers to a series of as yet unpublished jar-labels from Deir el Medineh; and he cites (p. 163) a wine-jar label of Year 32 found, apparently with numerous others, by Robichon and Varille in the temple of Amen-hotep, the son of Hapu, at Kōm el Ḥetān. The jar-labels and other inscriptions from this temple must be very closely related to those from the palace of Amen-hotep III, and Professor Černý's publication of them will undoubtedly add much of interest to the material discussed in the present series of articles.

Through an oversight I have failed so far in these articles to refer to the important material and discussions contained in Professor Uvo Hölscher's *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, Volume II: *The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty* ("OIP," Vol. LXI). In this publication (see esp. p. 110) Hölscher makes a good case for the existence of a great "Town of Amenhotep III" which extended southward from the king's mortuary temple at Kōm el Ḥetān and included, in addition to the whole of the palace area, groups of royal and private buildings in the vicinity of Medinet Habu (see

also *Morgenland*, Heft 24, pp. 37 ff.). Massive walls built of mud bricks bearing stamp impressions of our Type V (Fig. 30) were found both at Medinet Habu (Hölscher, p. 33) and at the eastern end of the temenos of the temple of Eye and Horemheb (Hölscher, p. 69); and small brick dwellings at Medinet Habu and in the precinct of the Eye temple yielded vases, scarabs, and faïence rings with the names of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiy (pp. 46, 71, 83) and a wine-jar label dated to "Regnal Year 32" (p. 83). Bricks from the palace of Amenhotep III bearing a variant of our stamp-impression Type VI were re-used at Medinet

Habu in the time of Ramesses III (see Hölscher, p. 7, Fig. 6 g, and *Excavation of Medinet Habu*, III, 54, n. 50). Jar-sealings of Horemheb (p. 109) and brick stamps of Eye (p. 80) were discovered in the temple of these kings; and in the foundation deposits of this temple were found seventy-five small inscribed pottery bowls (pp. 92-98, Pl. 55) exactly like those discussed above on page 103 of this volume of the *Journal*.

[*To be concluded*]

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³¹⁷ **Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago. First Preliminary Report of the Egyptian Expedition**

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³³⁴ **Historical Scarab Seals from the Art Institute Collection, Chicago**

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