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INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE PALACE OF AMENHOTEP III

WILLIAM C. HAYES

WE COME now to groups of objects which, unlike the jar-labels and the jar- and document-sealings dealt with in the earlier articles of this series,³⁹³ were made and inscribed in the workshops of the palace itself either for the use of its inmates or for the adornment of its buildings. In each category of objects we shall consider only those examples which bear "inscriptions" in the generally accepted sense of the word—texts, formulas, names, titles, epithets—leaving the numerous motto designs and decorative motifs to a future publication.

V. FAÏENCE FINGER RINGS

Among the more popular items of "costume jewelry" affected by the Egyptians of the late Eighteenth Dynasty were reproductions in glazed frit of the metal signet rings current at this period.³⁹⁴ Like their models, the faïence rings are provided with oval, lozenge-shaped, or rectangular bezels fused to or molded in one piece with the rings proper.³⁹⁵ In many cases the molds used for the faïence ring-bezels appear to have been taken directly from actual signet rings³⁹⁶—a fact which adds immeasurably to their interest and value. Cheaply and easily manufactured, the faïence rings were equally

easily broken; it is unlikely that they were intended as seals or even as real pieces of jewelry but rather that they were distributed as favors on the occasions of festivals, banquets, and the like and included among the funerary equipment buried in the tombs of the dead.³⁹⁷ Though almost always fragmentary, such rings have survived in enormous quantities and, since they frequently bear royal names and titles, often throw considerable light on the histories of the sites in which they occur.³⁹⁸ This is particularly true of the numerous rings found at Tell el Amarna³⁹⁹ and of the 490 inscribed examples recovered from the palace of Amenhotep III at Thebes.

The latter, of blue, green, purple, or violet faïence, exhibit a fairly limited number of types (Fig. 34, R 1-22). There are, however, numerous minor variations in size and style within the individual types, and it is clear that many different molds were used in producing each of the more common varieties of bezels illustrated.

R 1, comprising 356 examples, is by far the most common type. It is followed in order of frequency by R 11, with 34 examples, R 2, with 20 examples, R 13 (19 examples), R 10 (16 examples), and R 3 (12 examples). R 14 is represented by 5 ex-

³⁹³ *JNES*, X, 35-56, 82-111, 156-83.

³⁹⁴ See above, p. 166 and n. 332. Faïence rings with relief and openwork designs comprising all manner of amuletic and decorative devices were also common; but these do not concern the present discussion.

³⁹⁵ See *City I*, Pls. X 3, XI 3, XIII 1, 6; *City II*, Pls. XXIX 5, XLVI 3; Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, I, 273-81 *passim*; Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, Pls. XXXIV-XXXVII *passim*; *Objects of Daily Use*, Pl. XII, 56-64.

³⁹⁶ See *City II*, p. 114; and on ring molds in general, *Amarna*, p. 28.

³⁹⁷ One hundred and forty-three faïence finger rings were found in the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn (Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.*, XL, 161, n. 1). See also Bruyère, *Fouilles* . . . , XV, 68-69.

³⁹⁸ Their value as indexes of date is enhanced by the fact that they were usually broken and discarded a few months after their manufacture and did not, like scarabs and other more durable objects, survive from one reign to another.

³⁹⁹ See *Amarna*, p. 43; *City II*, pp. 2, 114.

amples; R 6 and 12⁴⁰⁰ by 4 examples each; R 8 by 3 examples; R 4,⁴⁰¹ 5, 9, 15, and 16 by 2 examples each; and R 7 and 17–22 by the single specimens shown in the drawings.

All told, there are 451 bezels bearing the names of Amenhotep III (“Nebma^crē^c” [396], “Nebma^crē^c, Image of Rē^c” [5], or “Amenhotep, Ruler of Thebes” [50]); 32 bearing the name of Queen Tiy; 2 with the name of Queen Sitamūn;⁴⁰² 1 with the name of Amenhotep IV (“Neferkheprurē^c Wa^cenrē^c”); 2 with the names of Smenkhkarē^c (“Ankhkheprurē^c” and “Ankhkheprurē^c, Beloved of Wa^cenrē^c”); and 1 each with the names of Tut^cankhamūn (“Nebkheprurē^c”) and Queen Ankhese^cnepaaten.

Types R 18–22 and 2 examples each of Types R 1, 3, 12, and 13 are from Tytus’ work in the “Palace of the King” (see Fig. 1)⁴⁰³ and are now in the Brooklyn Museum.⁴⁰⁴ The others are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,⁴⁰⁵ having come from the Museum’s excavations of 1910–20.⁴⁰⁶ The bulk of these are from the Palace of the King and its subsidiary buildings. The ruins of the South Palace produced 125 rings, including 6 of the 32 examples with the name of Queen Tiy.

⁴⁰⁰ The two examples of R 12 represented by the drawing of Fig. 34 are of purple faience with the inscription incrustated in pale-green glaze.

⁴⁰¹ In both examples of R 4 the bezel is an open-work design molded in apple-green faience. Here the prenomen of Amenhotep III is written with the *nb*-sign surmounted by a seated figure of the falcon-headed sun-god, R^c, holding the feather, *m^{sc}t* (Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, Pl. XXXIV, 118; *Historical Scarabs*, No. 1178. Cf. above, p. 158 and n. 280).

⁴⁰² R 17 and an example published by Newberry in *PSBA*, XXIV, 247.

⁴⁰³ See above, n. 3.

⁴⁰⁴ Accession Nos. 48.66.20, 21, 47, 48, and unaccessioned. My thanks are again extended to Mr. Cooney for drawing my attention to this material and permitting me to publish it.

⁴⁰⁵ Accession Nos. 11.215.69–76, 78–89, 124, and unaccessioned.

⁴⁰⁶ See above, n. 1. The rings and other small objects found by Daressy in the palace (*Ann. Serv.*, IV, 168) appear not to have been published.

The faience and glass factories⁴⁰⁷ of the South Village yielded 99 examples and those of the Village Area west of the North Palace 14 more. Thirty fragmentary rings were found in the southern rubbish mounds and one example (of Type R 6) in the Temple of Amūn.

The finding of sixteen rings with the name of Tiy as against every one with the name of Sitamūn is in direct contrast to the evidence of the jar-labels where the ratio is at least two to one in favor of the younger queen.⁴⁰⁸ This is perhaps attributable to the fact that the jar-labels in question all date from the last ten years of the reign, while the rings come without exception from the older buildings of the palace group and may therefore be supposed to reflect an earlier period in the history of the palace—a period when Tiy alone was the “King’s Great Wife” and Sitamūn was only a senior princess.

Taken in conjunction with the evidence of the jar-labels of Type 6,⁴⁰⁹ the document sealings of Types S 124 and 125,⁴¹⁰ and the Atenist erasures in the palace inscriptions,⁴¹¹ the ring-bezels R 18–22 certainly indicate that the palace of Amenhotep III was occupied during the reigns of Akhenaten, Smenkhkarē^c, and Tut^cankhamūn. To what extent it was occupied by these kings themselves is less certain. Akhenaten appears to have resided in it during the first five years of his coregency with his father⁴¹² and again—probably briefly—in the twelfth year of his reign.⁴¹³ Smenkhkarē^c was apparently

⁴⁰⁷ Tytus, *Preliminary Report* . . . , p. 25; Newberry, *JEA*, VI, 156; Winlock, *Bull. MMA*, 1912, pp. 185, 187; White, *Bull. MMA*, 1915, p. 254.

⁴⁰⁸ See above, p. 98.

⁴⁰⁹ See above, Fig. 4 and pp. 35, 88.

⁴¹⁰ See above, Fig. 33 and p. 177.

⁴¹¹ See above, p. 37, and below, pp. 236, 239. See also Tytus, *op. cit.*, p. 10, and Lansing, *Bull. MMA*, March, 1918, *Supplement*, p. 12.

⁴¹² See above, pp. 35, 37, 88.

⁴¹³ See above, p. 180.

buried at Thebes and may have lived there for a few months preceding his death.⁴¹⁴ It is not unlikely that Tutankhamūn occupied the Malkata palace upon his return to Thebes, though the evidence for this is admittedly slight. The name of his wife appears, as we have seen, on two small monuments from the palace: on a ring-bezel (R 22) in its earlier form, "Ankhesenpaaten," and on a document sealing (S 125) as "Ankhesenamūn." The latter name was adopted by the young queen following her husband's reversion to the worship of Amūn, an event which apparently took place sometime after the return of the royal couple to Thebes.⁴¹⁵

With the exceptions of R 4 and R 7, all the ring-bezels from the palace of Amenhotep III are duplicated or closely paralleled by examples found at Tell el Amarna.⁴¹⁶

VI. SCARABS, COWROIDS, PLAQUES, AMULETS, AND MOLDS

The lower half of Figure 34 (R 23-44) reproduces the inscriptions on forty-one assorted seals, amulets, and molds found for the most part in or near the Palace of the King either by Tytus in 1902⁴¹⁷ or by Winlock in 1910-11.⁴¹⁸ R 37 and 38 are from the southern rubbish mounds, and R 25, 42, and 43 form part of a string of amulets discovered in the complex of buildings east of the Palace of the King. Lansing's field notes for the season of 1917-18 record the finding of two examples of R 31 and a steatite scarab of Queen Tiye⁴¹⁹ in the Village Area west of the North Palace.

The scarabs (R 24-28, 31, 32, 35-39) are of blue or green glazed steatite or

more rarely of blue faience (R 24 and 3 examples of R 28); the cowroids (R 29) of blue faience; the plaques of blue faience (R 33 [1 example], 41), yellow faience (R 23), green glazed steatite (R 33 [4 examples]), or green paste (R 40); the frog-amulets (R 30, 34)⁴²⁰ of blue faience; the fish-amulets (R 42, 43)⁴²¹ of blue or green glazed steatite; and the molds (R 44) of hard, fine-grained, reddish-brown pottery.⁴²²

There are six examples of R 28; five examples of R 33; four examples each of R 31 and R 44; three examples of R 29; two examples each of R 30, 34, and 36; and one example of each of the other types. The pieces from Tytus' work (R 23, 26, 27, 39, 40, one example of R 28, and three examples of R 44) are now in the Brooklyn Museum.⁴²³ The rest are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁴²⁴

Duplicates or close parallels to R 24-42 will be found in Hall's *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*,⁴²⁵ in Newberry's *Scarabs*⁴²⁶

⁴¹⁹ 1.8 × 1.3 × 0.9 cm. Similar to Newberry, *Scarab-shaped Seals*, No. 36234, and Hall, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1929-30. According to *Chron. d'Ég.*, VII, 123, there is in the Kestner Museum in Hanover "un petit scaraboïde de Taya, provenant du palais d'Amenophis III."

⁴²⁰ See Reisner, *Amulets*, Nos. 12451-86, Pls. XXIII-XXIV; Petrie, *Amulets*, No. 18, Pl. II.

⁴²¹ See Reisner, *op. cit.*, Nos. 12488-90, Pl. XXIV; Lanzzone, *Dizionario*, p. 50, No. 12.

⁴²² See *Amarna*, p. 28. The molds with the impression of Type R 44 are roughly rectangular lumps of pottery averaging 3.4 cm. in length, 2.5 cm. in width, and 1.2 cm. in thickness. In addition to these, there are two molds (MMA. Acc. Nos. 11.215.699, 700) for producing faience ornaments in the form of a bunch of grapes (*Amarna*, Pl. XIX) with the prenomen-cartouche of Amenhotep III ("Nebma'rē") vertical in the center of the design (*Aeg. Inschr. Berlin*, II, 261, No. 9473). They were found in 1911 near the Palace of the King.

⁴²³ Accession Nos. 48.66.22, 23, and unaccessioned.

⁴²⁴ Accession Nos. 11.215.2-9, 18-22, 29, 37, 38, 52, 54, 55, 207, 216; 12.180.384; and unaccessioned.

⁴²⁵ Nos. 611-29 (R 24), 851-53 (R 25), 1003 (R 26), 1754-59 (R 29), 1760 (R 30), 1753, 2852 (R 31, 32), 1761 (R 34), 1796, 1797 (R 35), 1787-90 (R 36), 1814 (R 37), 1149 (R 38), 1623 (R 39), 637, 638 (R 42).

⁴²⁶ Pls. XXIX, 41 (R 24); XXX, 2 (R 38), 26 (R 29), 27 (R 28), 29 (R 36), 30 (R 37).

⁴¹⁴ Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.*, XL, 135, 137-39, 148 ff.; Pendlebury, *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 9, 28.

⁴¹⁵ Engelbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 ff.

⁴¹⁶ *Amarna*, Pl. XIV, 10-19, 21, 22, 24, 50-55; Pl. XV, 90, 91, 94-101, 108, 110.

⁴¹⁷ See above, n. 3.

⁴¹⁸ See above, n. 1.

a Scarab-shaped Seals,⁴²⁷ and in Petrie's *Historical Scarabs*⁴²⁸ and *Scarabs and Cylinders*.⁴²⁹ From the parallels occurring in these publications it would appear that R 39 is to be read "Nebma^crē^c, Lion of Rulers" (*m3i hḳ3[w]*).⁴³⁰ The roughly cut legend of the fish-amulet, R 43, is presumably the name of a divinity—possibly that of the Syrian god, Resheph (*Ršpw*). The inscription of the molds, R 44 ("Nebma^crē^c,⁴³¹ Lord of *Sed*-festival[s]"), may be compared with those of the document-sealings of Figures 31 and 32 (S 24–27, 59). The little cartouche-shaped plaque-pendant, R 23, contains the first part of the "didactic" name of the god Aten in its earlier form ("Rē^c lives, Harakhte, who rejoices [on the Horizon]")⁴³² and is paralleled by numerous examples found at Tell el Amarna.⁴³³

Little of historical value is to be derived from these small monuments. The scarabs of Thutmose III may have been made in the reign of Amenhotep III (see ZÄS, XLI, 70) or may have been heirlooms inherited by inmates of the palace from their grandparents or great-grandparents. By themselves they are certainly not evidence that the palace area was ever occupied by Thutmose III or his contemporaries. The molds of Type R 44

⁴²⁷ Nos. 36106 (R 24), 36209, 36220, 36222 (R 31, 32), 36211, 36224, 36225 (R 28), 36685 ff. (R 42).

⁴²⁸ Nos. 1171 (R 29), 1179 (R 30), 1183 (R 31–33), 1185 (R 28), 1239 (R 37), 1241 (R 38), 1245–47 (R 36), 1255 (R 39), 1275 (R 42), 1283–84 (R 33).

⁴²⁹ Pls. XXVI, 8, 9 (R 24); XXVII, 49 (R 26); XXVIII, 76–80 (R 24); XXXIII, 48–51 (R 28), 58 (R 39), 60 (R 36); XXXIV, 75–82 (R 30), 88, 89, 91 (R 29); XXXV, 126 (R 33), 139 (R 41). See also *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, Pl. XXIII, 1, 10, 11, 12, 81, 111; *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, Pl. XXIII, 9, 15, 17, 19.

⁴³⁰ See Varille, *Bull. Inst. fr. Caire*, XXXV, 167, n. 3; *Hierogl. Texts Brit. Mus.*, VIII (ed. Edwards), 14, Pl. XV. Cf. the personal name *m3l-n-hḳ3w* (Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 144, 7).

⁴³¹ For the writing of the name see above, p. 158 and n. 280.


⁴³² Sethe, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1921, p. 113; Gunn, *JEA*, IX, 168–76, esp. p. 173.

⁴³³ *Amarna*, Pl. XIV, 65 ff.

were probably used on the occasion of one of Amenhotep III's *Sed*-festivals to produce small faience plaques commemorating the event. The plaque with the name of the god Aten (R 23) tends to support the evidence already adduced that the palace was at one time occupied by an Atenist pharaoh or his followers.

VII. INSCRIBED FAÏENCE VASES, "KOHL"-TUBES, AND OTHER SMALL OBJECTS

Winlock's excavations of 1910–12 in the Palace of the King and the buildings to the east and west of it yielded the fragments of a quantity of small objects, chiefly of faience, which are perhaps more interesting for their variety than for the inscriptions which they bear. Most of these are in the Metropolitan Museum and are illustrated in Figure 35.⁴³⁴ Their dimensions may be determined from the centimeter scale at the bottom of the illustration.

Fragments (a) (Fig. 34, scale 1:2) and (b) are sections of model throw-sticks of blue faience, a type of amulet well known from tombs and temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty⁴³⁵ but rarely found in the dwellings of the living.⁴³⁶ Both pieces are inscribed in black with portions of the nomen-cartouche of Amenhotep III ("Amenhotep, Ruler of Thebes") in one case (a) surmounting a -symbol and accompanied by the *wd3t*-eye above

⁴³⁴ MMA Acc. Nos. 11.215.371, 495, 503, 504, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 518, 519, 520, 530, 717; 12.180.372 and 373 = Fig. 35, f, e, k, j, d, c, b, n, g, r, p, o, h, i; l and q, respectively. The fragmentary faience jar-lid (m), from Tytus' work, is among the unaccessioned material in the Brooklyn Museum. Cf. *Amarna*, Pl. XIII, 13–21.

⁴³⁵ Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, Nos. 24337–47; Carter and Newberry, *The Tomb of Thutmose IV*, Nos. 46404–18; Daressy in Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Titi*, pp. 38–39, Pl. V, 2, 3, 4; Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, pp. 144–45.

⁴³⁶ No examples in faience seem to be recorded from the town sites at Gurob and Deir el Medineh, and a fine specimen from Amarna (British Museum 34213 [*Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms*, pp. 144–45]) may well be from a tomb or temple.

RINGS, SCARABS, ETC.

SCALE 1:1

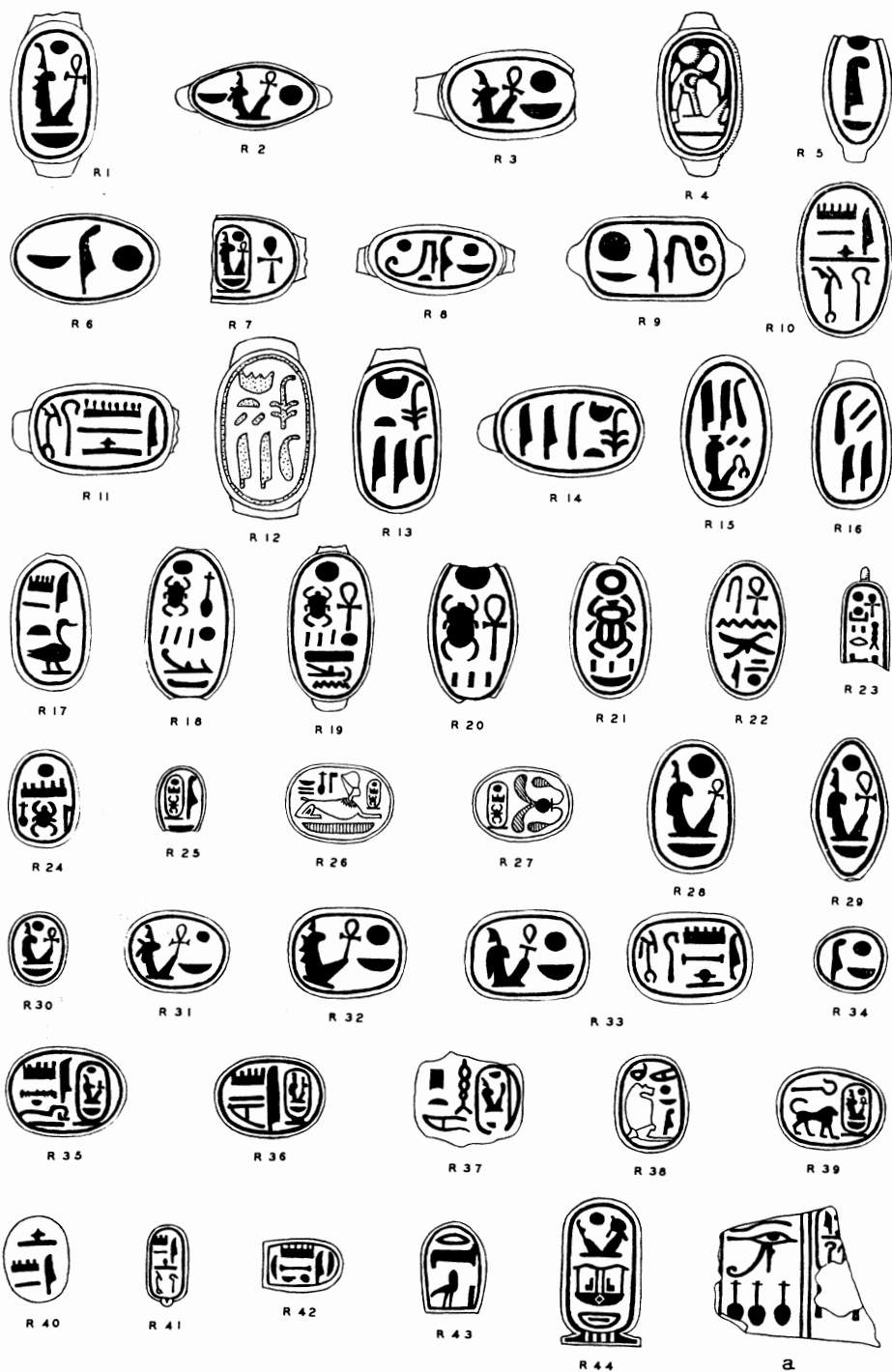


FIG. 34

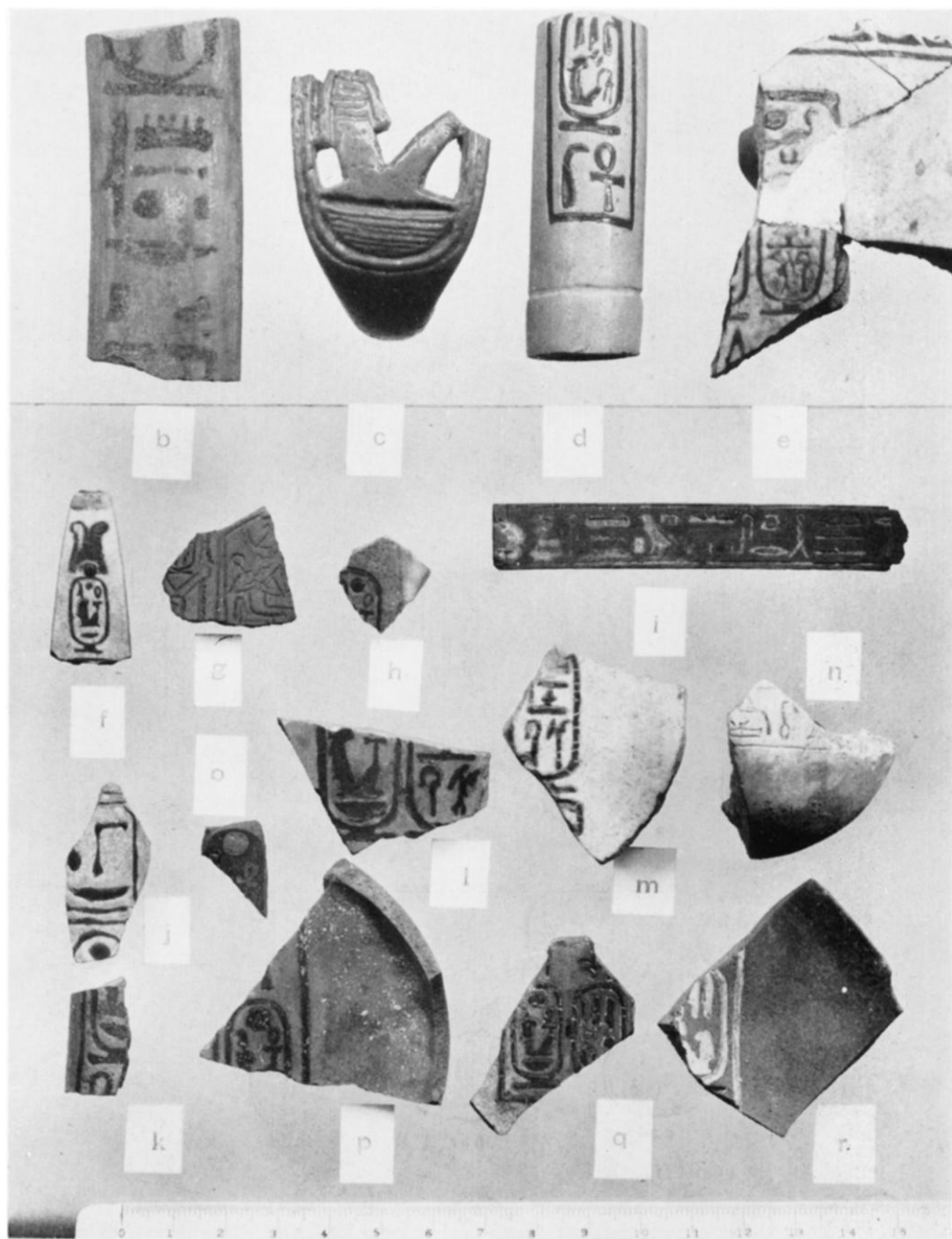


FIG. 35.—Inscribed small objects from the Palace of Amenhotep III

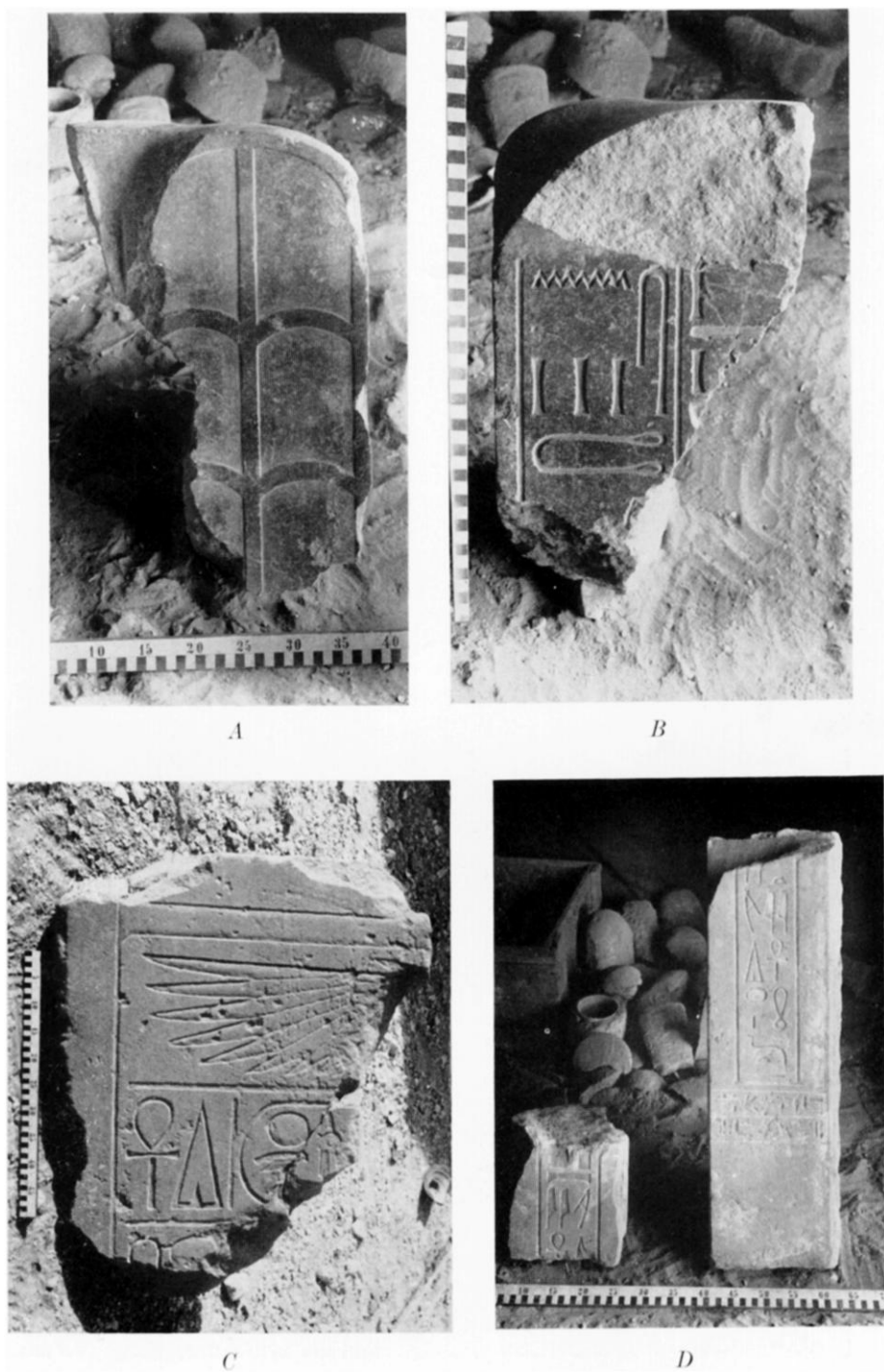


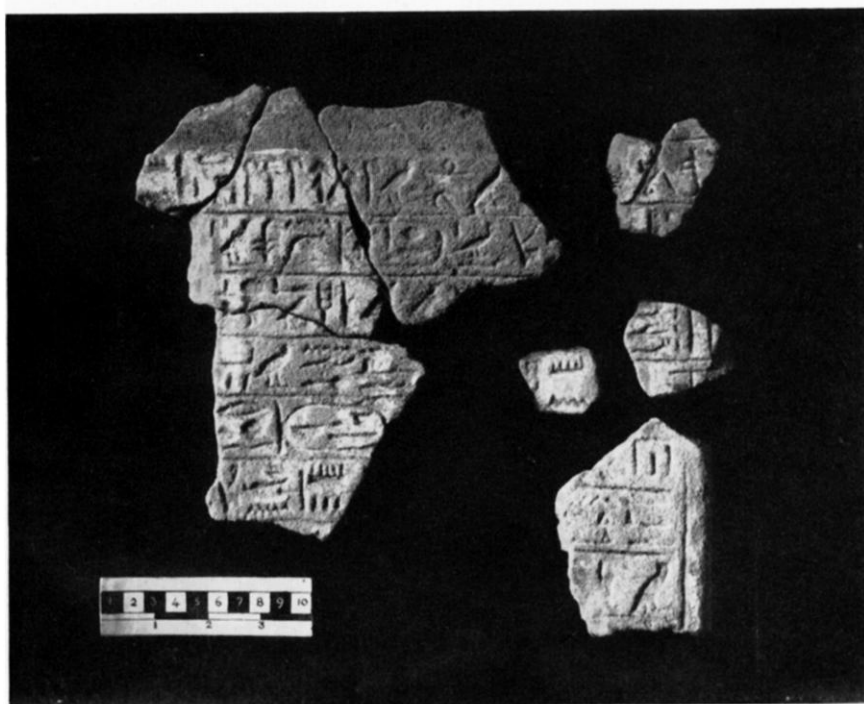
FIG. 36.—Statue and door-frame fragments from the Temple of Amūn in the Palace of Amenhotep III.



A



B



C

FIG. 37.—Inscribed fragments of plaster and sandstone from the Palace of Amenhotep III

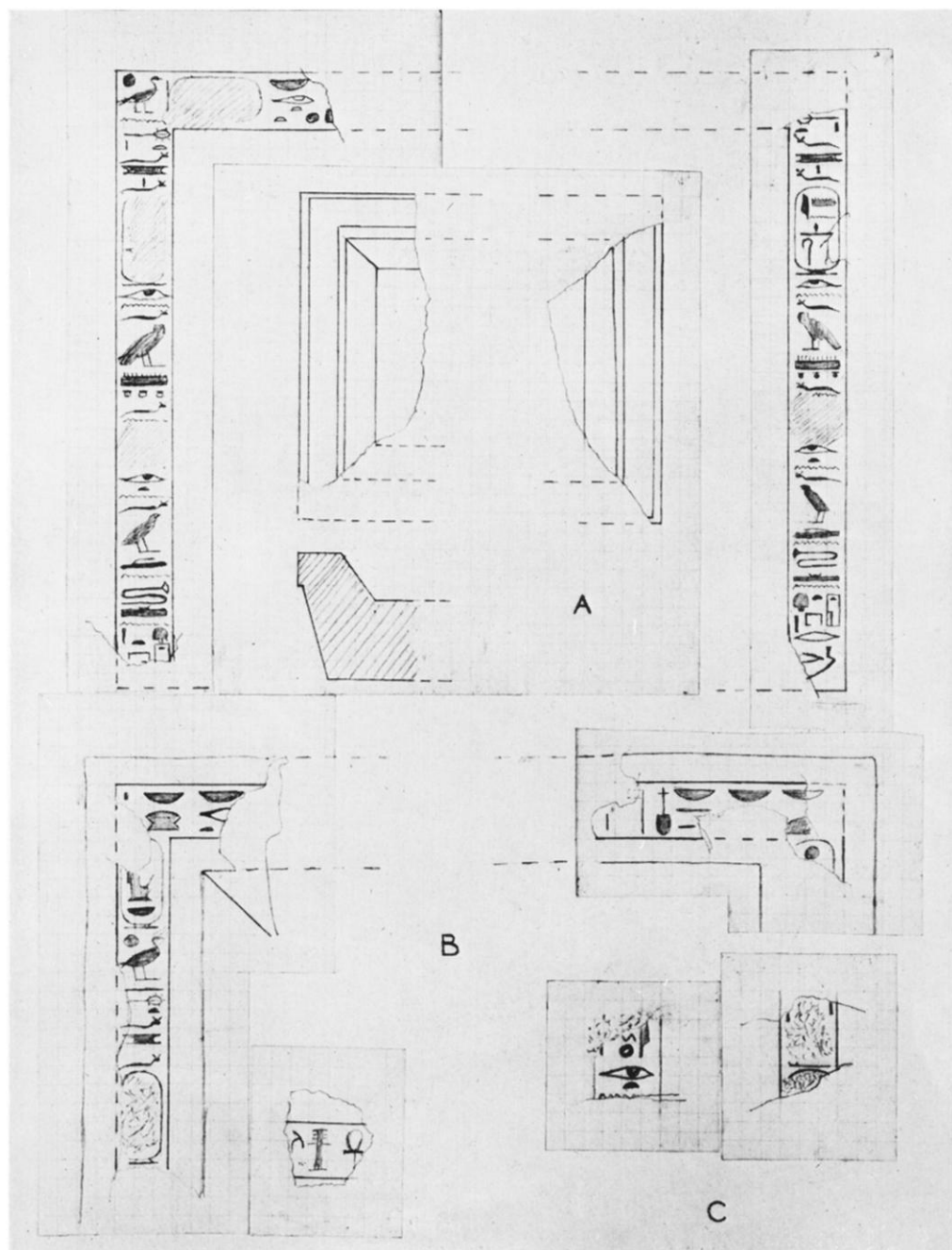
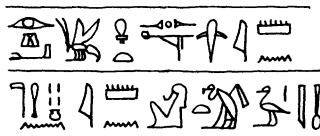
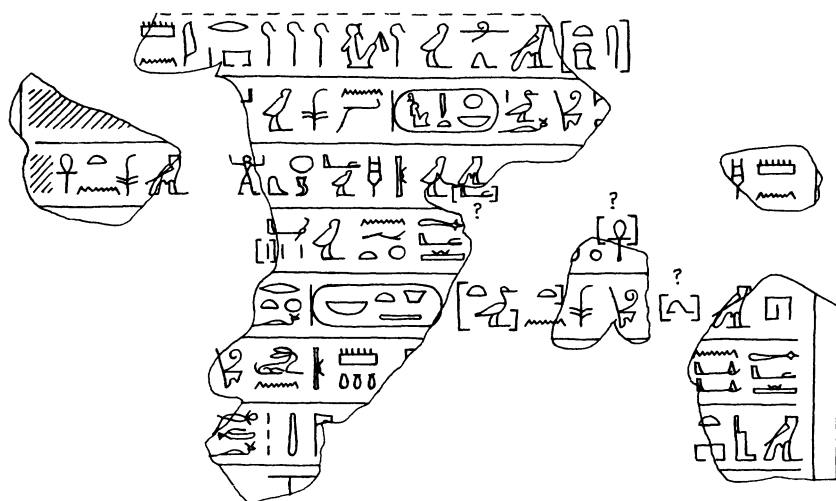


FIG. 38.—Offering tables

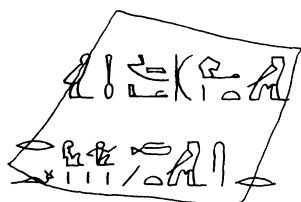
1



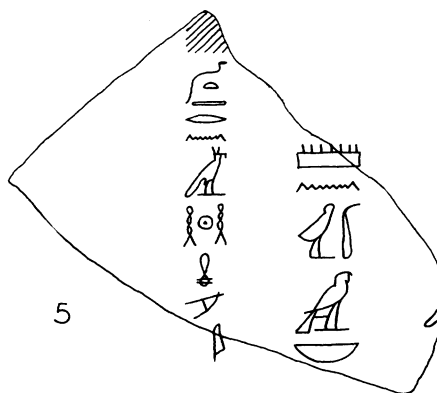
2



3



4



5

FIG. 39

three *nfr*-signs;⁴³⁷ in the other (*b*), followed by the epithet "[beloved of] Amen-Rē, Lord of Heaven."

The prenomen of Amenhotep III ("Nebma[rē]") appears in the openwork design of a handsome, but unfortunately fragmentary, bracelet of bright-blue faïence (*c*).

The lower part of a *kohl*-tube of yellow faïence with the inscriptions encrusted in deep-purplish-blue glaze (*d*) bears the cartouche of Queen Tiy and the wish "May she live!" Fragments of two similar tubes in white faïence (*j*) and pale-green faïence (*k*) were inscribed, also in dark blue, with the titles and name of the king: "The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebma[rē], [given] life."⁴³⁸

A white faïence lotus-petal pendant (*f*)⁴³⁹ is tipped with a blob of yellow glaze and adorned in dark-blue glaze with the prenomen-cartouche of Amenhotep III surmounted by the solar disk (red) and double plume. Part of the same cartouche without the plumes appears in dark blue on a fragment of a molded lotus-flower ornament of pale green and white faïence (*h*).⁴⁴⁰

The most interesting of the vase fragments is a small piece from the side of a blue faïence goblet (*g*) engraved on the exterior with part of a *Sed*-festival scene.⁴⁴¹ At the right the king appears seated in a pavillion, wearing the Crown of Lower Egypt and holding in his hands the crook and "flail." At the left, above

an arm holding the symbol of "many years" and having suspended from it one or more related symbols, can be made out the lower part of the cartouche with the name "[Amen]hotep, Ruler of Thebes."

A fragmentary vase of white faïence (*e*) and another of yellow faïence (not shown),⁴⁴² both decorated and inscribed in dark blue, preserve on their sides parts of a rectangular panel with the names and titles of the king: "The Good God, Nebma[rē], the Son of Rē, Amenhotep, Ruler of Thebes, given [life] forever"; and portions of the king's cartouches appear on fragments of three blue faïence dishes (*l*, *o*,⁴⁴³ and *p*) and on a segment of a white faïence jar-lid (*m*). Pieces of a jar of blue faïence (*q*) and a saucer of gray faïence (*r*)⁴⁴⁴ carry the cartouche of Queen Tiy, in the first instance accompanying that of the king. A small globular vase of pale-green paste, represented by the fragment (*n*), had around its middle an incised band of hieroglyphs of which there remain only the words "... stability, well-being, and jo[y]..."—obviously from a long royal titulary. In addition, there are fragments of two little vases of purple and turquoise-blue glass⁴⁴⁵ with engraved panels of inscription similar to that of the faïence vase (*e*).

The remaining item shown in Figure 35 (*i*) is a thin strip of ebony inlay, probably from a box or a piece of furniture. Its incised inscription, once filled with yellow paint, comprises the *nbtj*-name of

⁴³⁷ Cf. Hall, *op. cit.*, No. 2880; Daressy, *Fouilles*, No. 24298, 4; Petrie, *Six Temples*, Pl. V, 11. The *wđt*-eye alone appears on most of the examples cited above, in n. 435. The design shown in Fig. 34 is repeated on the other side of the throw-stick, in this case, however, with the throne-name of the king ("Nebma[rē]"). The fragment was found by Lansing during the season of 1917-18 in a house south of the Temple of Amūn.

⁴³⁸ A third example in green faïence (MMA Acc. No. 11.215.493) preserves a minute portion of the same inscription.

⁴³⁹ Cf. *Amarna*, Pl. XX; *City II*, Pl. XXXVI, 1, 2.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. *Amarna*, Pl. XIX; *City II*, Pl. XXXVI, 1, 2.

⁴⁴¹ I have found no exact parallel to the composition seen here, but the elements occur in numerous representations of this stage of the *Sed*-festival, e.g.: Gayet, *Temple de Louxor*, Pl. LXXXI, Fig. 177 (= *LD*, III, Pl. 74, d); Winlock, *JEA*, IV, Pl. IV; Chevrier, *Ann. Serv.*, XLVII, 170, Pl. XXVI; Bisson de la Roque, *Fouilles Inst. fr. Caire*, VIII, Pl. VIII. See also Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, chap. vi.

⁴⁴² MMA Acc. No. 11.215.494.

⁴⁴³ Dark-blue faïence with light-blue hieroglyphs.

⁴⁴⁴ The inscription of (*q*) is dark blue; that of (*r*) is white.

⁴⁴⁵ MMA Acc. Nos. 11.215.505 and 507.

Amenhotep III ("the Two-Goddesses, Establisher-of-Laws-(and-)Pacifier-of-the-Two-Lands")⁴⁴⁶ followed by the title, "the Good God," which normally precedes the throne-name of the king.

VIII. MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS

Probably never very numerous, the inscriptions of this class which have been recovered from the scanty and thoroughly plundered ruins of the palace buildings are few in number and for the most part extremely fragmentary. The majority of them come from the Temple of Amūn, which, though built of brick like the rest of the palace, was provided with inscribed doorframes, offering tables, stelae, and statues of stone, and included several rooms, the walls of which were adorned with moldings, ornamental patterns, and inscriptions of gilded wood and plaster inlaid with blue faïence tiles.

Since all but one of the pieces of stone, plaster, and tilework bearing these inscriptions were reburied at Thebes before the conclusion of the Museum's excavations in 1920, our knowledge of them is derived almost entirely from photographs, sketches, hand copies, and notes made in the field by Winlock, White, and Lansing; and it is these records, now in New York, which have provided the illustrations of Figures 36-39 and which form the basis of the discussion to follow. Never, for example, having seen the fragments of inscribed offering tables from the palace's Temple of Amūn, I have in Figure 38 simply reproduced a photograph of Lansing's original pencil sketches of these fragments, rearranged and relabeled, but otherwise untouched.

In the Palace of the King the painted plaster ceiling of the pharaoh's bedchamber had been decorated down its middle with a succession of great spread vultures⁴⁴⁷ under the wings of each of which

were painted in large, detailed hieroglyphs the titles and names of Amenhotep III. Enough fragments of fallen plaster were found on the floor of the ruined chamber to restore one pair of the inscriptions, and a hand copy of these (taken from Winlock's notes for February 1, 1911) is given at the top of Figure 39 (1). On the right, under the left wing of the vulture, one read: "The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebma^crē^c, Chosen of Rē^c, given life"; and on the left, separated from the foregoing by the legs and tail of the bird: "The Son of Rē^c, Amenhotep, Ruler of Thebes, given life." The nomen-cartouche in the latter inscription had been painted over with whitewash—evidently by followers of the Aten desirous of obliterating the name of Amūn wherever it occurred.⁴⁴⁸ These appear to have been the only monumental inscriptions found by the Museum's expedition anywhere in the palace area outside of the inclosure of the Temple of Amūn.⁴⁴⁹

One of the most interesting pieces of stone discovered in the temple was part of the tip of the plumed headdress of a colossal statue of the god Amūn in dark-gray porphyritic diorite⁴⁵⁰ (Fig. 36, *top*). The width of the remaining plume (23 cm.) compared with the corresponding measurement on the well-known group of Amūn and Tut^cankhamūn in the Louvre⁴⁵¹ indicates that the Malkata

⁴⁴⁷ Winlock, *Bull. MMA*, 1912, p. 186. See also Tytus, *Preliminary Report*, pp. 18, 20; and cf. Capart, *L'Art égyptien*, I, Pl. 147; Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'art égyptien*, *Atlas*, I, *Architecture*, Pl. [35].

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. Tytus, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴⁴⁹ See, however, *ibid.*, pp. 10, 25.

⁴⁵⁰ A stone often and (I am told) incorrectly described as "black granite." The fragment, which is 46 cm. in height and 30 cm. in width, was found by Lansing during the season of 1916-17 "near" the central portion of the temple proper. Pieces of probably the same statue (described as "unimportant fragments of a black granite statue") were found by White during the preceding season in the same general locality.

⁴⁵¹ Bénédite, *Monuments Piot*, XXIV, 47-68. See also *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, I: *Le Musée du Louvre*, pp. 78-79.

⁴⁴⁶ Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, II, 306 ff.

statue when complete was 4.40 meters, or about fourteen and a half feet, in height. As in the Louvre group, the god was probably represented seated on a throne with, perhaps, a smaller figure of the king standing or kneeling before him.⁴⁵² Admirably carved and beautifully finished, the statue may have been the temple's principal cult image, though its huge size tends to militate against this.⁴⁵³ Its back pilaster carried three vertical columns of incised hieroglyphic inscriptions of which are preserved the groups [𓆎] ? | [𓆎] | 𓆎 and 𓆎 | 𓆎 | 𓆎 at the tops of the second and third columns, respectively (Fig. 36, *upper right*).

A fragment of sandstone door-lintel (Fig. 36, *lower left*), found lying on the surface of the ground inside the temple inclosure,⁴⁵⁴ was photographed by Evelyn White during the season of 1914-15. The piece measures 70 cm. in length and 83 cm. in height, the lintel having been originally about 107 cm. high—a sizable block of stone. Its decoration, lightly incised and somewhat carelessly executed, was wholly conventional: a winged sun's disk and, below it, two horizontal lines of inscription with the titles and names of Amenhotep III.⁴⁵⁵ The king's prenomen, "[Neb]-ma^c[rē^c]," with the epithet "Heir of Rē^c" (*iw^ct R^c*) included in the cartouche, is fairly common,⁴⁵⁶ occurring, for example, on a piece of re-used(?) sandstone relief found in the temple of Eye and Horemheb,⁴⁵⁷ which lies about a kilometer to the north of the palace area. The tops of the signs 𓆎 | 𓆎 at its extreme left end are all

that remain of the second line of inscription.

A pair of fragmentary sandstone door-jambs (Fig. 36, *lower right*), though similar in style, are smaller in scale than the lintel, measuring only 20 cm. in width, the right jamb being preserved to a height of 70 cm. They are from Lansing's excavations of 1916-17 in the temple area. Each evidently bore one of the names of Amenhotep III followed by the expressions "beloved of" such-and-such a divinity and "given life, like Rē^c, forever." We may guess that on the left jamb the deity referred to was Amen-Rē^c, "[Lord of] Heaven"; and what remains of the signs at the top of the fragment of the right jamb suggests the name of the goddess Shesmet (*Šsmṯt*).⁴⁵⁸ Much more interesting than the principal inscriptions are the two small lines of text written near the bottom of the right jamb and given in hand copy in Figure 39, 2. These inform us that the doorway or the structure to which it belonged was "made under the direction of the Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Stolist⁴⁵⁹ of Min-Amūn, the Fourth Prophet of Amūn, Simūt, the justified."

A prominent member of the hierarchy of Amūn, Simūt is named as Fourth Prophet of the god in a statue inscription in Brussels together with his three superiors, the First Prophet, Meryptah, the Second Prophet (and brother-in-law of the king), Anen, and the Third Prophet, Amenemhet.⁴⁶⁰ Since the inscription referred to is dated to Year 20 of Amenhotep III and the chapel of Amūn in the Malkata palace was probably built for the celebration of the king's second *Sed*-

⁴⁵² See Varille, *Karnak*, I, 8-9, Pl. XV.

⁴⁵³ See Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu*, III, 26.

⁴⁵⁴ White, *Bull. MMA*, 1915, p. 256; Lansing, *Bull. MMA*, March, 1918, *Supplement*, p. 8.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Varille, *Karnak*, I, Pl. XII, 17.

⁴⁵⁶ Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, II, 316, XXIX; 317, XXX; 318, XXXIV.

⁴⁵⁷ Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II, 101, Pl. 43 n.

⁴⁵⁸ Wb., IV, 538; Budge, *Dictionary*, p. 753; Gard., *On.*, II, 125*.

⁴⁵⁹ Sm³. See Grdseloff, *Ann. Serv.*, XLIII, 357 ff. The title "Stolist of Min-Amūn" was borne in the Nineteenth Dynasty by Kha'emwast, a son of the High Priest of Amūn, Wepwawetmose (Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon*, p. 246).

⁴⁶⁰ Capart and Spiegelberg, *Ann. Soc. d'Arch. de Bruxelles*, XVI, 167, Fig. 2.

festival in Year 34,⁴⁶¹ it would appear that Simūt held the rank of Fourth Prophet for about fourteen years.⁴⁶² Before the end of his career he was elevated to the grade of Second Prophet of Amūn and is so referred to on two statues⁴⁶³ and two *shawabty*-figures⁴⁶⁴ in the Cairo Museum. He appears in the reliefs of the temple at Soleb participating in the celebration of Amenhotep III's first *Heb-sed*,⁴⁶⁵ and was the owner of a decorated tomb on the Dira abul Naga at Thebes.⁴⁶⁶ On one of his statues in Cairo⁴⁶⁷ he bears the title "First King's Son of Amūn," and the presence of his name on a doorway of one of the king's temples suggests that, like Anen, he was related to Amenhotep III either by blood or by marriage. The fact that he was evidently in charge of what during the reign of Amenhotep III must have been the fourth most important of the Theban temples of Amūn further suggests that there was some sort of nominal division of responsibility between the four prophets of the god—the High Priest presiding at Karnak and delegating the immediate supervision of the Luxor temple, the king's mortuary temple, and the Malkata

temple to the Second, Third, and Fourth Prophets, respectively.

Simūt may also have been the owner of a rough little sandstone stela, a few battered fragments of which were recovered by Lansing from the ruins of the temple proper and are shown in the photograph at the bottom of Figure 37. A rectangular slab, something over 4.5 cm. in thickness, the stela was once painted white, with blue hieroglyphs and red dividing lines, the latter spaced, on the average, 3 cm. apart. Preserved are parts of a seven-line inscription surmounting an incised design of indeterminate nature and comprising portions of the autobiography of a priest or temple official of Amūn. With the aid of Lansing's hand copy, a revised version of which is given in Figure 39 (3), we can make out the following phrases:

- (1) . . . the Prince of Princes⁴⁶⁸ [intro]duced me into the House of Amūn. . . .
- (2) . . . for his⁴⁶⁹ son, Nebmaꜣrēc, who belongs to
- (3) . . . -m[ꜣw(?) a long lifetime . . . as king, living
- (4) . . . life(?) . . . great of victories
- (5) Went [down] the King's [Daughter], Henettoneb,⁴⁷⁰ in front of
- (6) great . . . of him who causes . . . monument which is
- (7) in the place . . . the god's words which he recited

Mention has already been made of the tile and gilded plaster decoration of a row

⁴⁶¹ See above, p. 85.

⁴⁶² Possibly less. Simūt may have received his appointment as Fourth Prophet in Year 20 itself, and the Malkata temple may have been built and inscribed a year or two before the celebration of the second *Heb-sed*. During the reigns of Sethy I and Ramesses II, Bakenkhonsu, who eventually became High Priest of Amūn, served twelve years as a Father of the God, fifteen years as Third Prophet, and twelve years as Second Prophet (Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres*, p. 128).

⁴⁶³ Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, III, 161, No. 932; IV, 60, No. 1107.

⁴⁶⁴ Mariette, *Cat. gén. des monuments d'Abydos*, Nos. 389 and 390; incorrectly dated by Mariette (and Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, p. 24, No. 1) to the late Middle Kingdom. The two Simūt's listed by Lefebvre (*loc. cit.*, Nos. 1 and 9) are clearly one and the same man.

⁴⁶⁵ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, Pl. 84, b.


⁴⁶⁶ Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, I, 187, 1; Varille, *Ann. Serv.*, XL, 642, n. 3.



⁴⁶⁷ No. 1107. See above, n. 463.

⁴⁶⁸ Probably Amenhotep III (see Varille, *Ann. Serv.*, XXXIII, 93–94; XXXIV, 13–16; Capart, *Chron. d'Ég.*, X, 322–24; Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, II, 315, XXV; 316, XXVIII), though the epithet *ḥḥꜣ* was current before his time, being borne, for example, by Amenhotep II on his great quartzite stela from Sakḥāreh (l. 34; Badawi, *Ann. Serv.*, XLII, 23, Pl. I).

⁴⁶⁹ Amūn's. There is, however, a bare possibility that the pronoun and the epithet "Prince of Princes" in the preceding line refer to Thutmose IV.

⁴⁷⁰ Amenhotep III's second eldest daughter and the senior princess following Sitamūn's elevation to the status of queen. See Gauthier, *op. cit.*, II, 341–42; Hayes, *Bull. M.M.A.*, 1948, pp. 272, 275–78.

of long, narrow rooms which formed part of the southern wing of the temple structure.⁴⁷¹ Among the elements included in the decoration of the walls or doorways of these rooms were cartouches of Amenhotep III, each represented as resting on a -sign and surmounted by the sun's disk and double plume. The plaster plumes, *nb*-signs, cartouche-outlines, and hieroglyphs, modeled in relief and covered with thin gold foil, had in most instances been damaged almost beyond recognition by dampness and breakage. One more or less intact cartouche containing the king's prenomen, "Nebma^crē^c," was brought back by Lansing to New York⁴⁷² and is shown, as it was found, in the upper left-hand photograph of Figure 37. The cartouche proper, exclusive of the plumes and *nb*-sign, measures 24.5 × 12 cm. and consists of a molded plaster frame into which is set a flat oval tile of bright-blue faïence, its surface provided with appropriately shaped hollows to take the backs of the gilded plaster hieroglyphs composing the king's name.

The fragment of a massive sandstone doorjamb shown in Figure 37 (*upper right*) is also from Lansing's work in the palace's temple of Amūn. Its chief interest lies in the fact that on it is preserved the lower third of the nomen-cartouche of Horemheb—the legs and tail of the falcon  and, below this, the two signs .

There is no record of the exact size of the fragment, but it is evidently a big piece of stone and is unlikely to have come from

the temple of Horemheb, which, as already noted, lies a good kilometer to the north of the palace area. The interior of the cartouche appears to have been cut back and recarved and may originally have contained the personal name of Amenhotep III, hacked out by the Atenists and replaced by Horemheb with his his own name.

Fragments of three small limestone offering tables, or, perhaps better, basins⁴⁷⁴ (Fig. 38), were found scattered throughout the vestibule and columned halls of the temple.⁴⁷⁵ The three tables when complete appear to have been uniformly 14 cm. in height, 44 cm. in width from front to back, and perhaps half again as long as they were wide. The bands of hieroglyphs engraved on the upper surfaces of their flat rims range in width from 2.7 (Tables B and C) to 3 cm. (Table A). One and the same inscription, with minor variations, seems not only to have been used on all three of the little monuments but to have been duplicated on each of them. Taking advantage of this fact and restoring a few groups at the beginning and end of the text, we arrive at the following fairly complete reading:

[Long live the Horus, Strong Bull, Kha^cem-ma^cet], the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Rites, Lord of Crowns, Nebma^crē^c, the Son of Rē^c, of his body, whom he loves, Amenhotep, Ruler of Thebes, who made (it) as his monument to Amen-Rē^c,⁴⁷⁶ making for him an "Offering-of-the-Roof" in the sight of [Rē^c when he rises on the


⁴⁷⁴ For the probable form of these monuments see Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, p. 71, Nos. 23086 and 23087; Lepsius, *Denkmäler, Text*, III, 250 [33]. For another possible form see Kamal, *op. cit.*, Nos. 23056, 23062, and 23064.

⁴⁷⁵ Rooms A, B, and C on the plan (Lansing, *op. cit.*, p. 9).

⁴⁷⁶ The name of the god, erased on Table A, is almost completely preserved in the left-hand inscription of Table C. There is no space in the erased areas of Table A for the customary phrase *n t(f.f)*, "for his father,"

⁴⁷¹ Lansing, *Bull. MMA*, March, 1918, *Supplement*, pp. 12–13. The rooms referred to are marked "T" on Lansing's plan of the temple (p. 9). Similar decoration in the Palace of the King is described by Tytus on p. 25 of his *Preliminary Report*.

⁴⁷² MMA Acc. No. 17.10.1 C.

⁴⁷³ The diamond-shaped mark in the -sign is here replaced by three vertical bands.

horizon.⁴⁷⁷ May he be given⁴⁷⁸ life, stability, and well-being [forever]!

The expression "Offering-of-the-Roof" (*wdn n tp-ht*) leaves little room for doubt that these small stone basins formed part of the furnishings of an elevated, open-air sanctuary of the type dedicated to the worship of the sun-god, "Rē^c of the Roof,"⁴⁷⁹ and known from texts of the Twentieth Dynasty and later times to have been called "the House of Rē^c of the Roof of the House of Amūn."⁴⁸⁰ Such a sanctuary existed in the great temple at Karnak as early as the reign of Thutmose III;⁴⁸¹ and the presence of one in so small and unimportant a temple as that of the Malkata palace indicates how prevalent shrines of this type must have been in the Amūn temples of the period.

Since the function of our offering tables was presumably to receive libations and gifts of food presented to the sun-god, it seems frivolous to suggest that they would also have been useful for catching the "fresh myrrh" and "fresh incense" which Heaven, in two Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions, is said to rain down upon the roofs of royal temples.⁴⁸²

A glance at the plan of the northernmost quarter of the palace published by Lansing⁴⁸³ in 1918 shows that the Temple

⁴⁷⁷ *R-m³(w) [(n) R^c wbn.f m 3ht]*. Cf. *Aeg. Inschr. Berlin*, II, 182, No. 7290. For "Rē^c" we might perhaps substitute "Aten" (the disk of the sun, not the god of Amarna) as in Berlin 7274 and 7271 (*Aeg. Inschr.*, II, 154 and 195).

⁴⁷⁸ [*Ir.f dt*] *cnh*, etc. Cf. Cairo 23040, 23073 (Kamal, *op. cit.*).

⁴⁷⁹ *R^c tp-ht* or *R^c m tp-ht* ("Rē^c in the Roof"), a form of the god worshiped as early as the reign of King Sahurē^c of the Fifth Dynasty and referred to in two places on the Palermo Stone (verso, 3, 1 and 4, 3; Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, pp. 36 and 39).

⁴⁸⁰ *Pr-R^c tp-ht Pr-Imn*. See the references given in Gard., *On.*, II, 216*, under A 462; and in Kees, *Orientalia*, XVIII, 436-39.

⁴⁸¹ Kees, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-42.

⁴⁸² Spiegelberg, *ZÄS*, LIII, 99.

⁴⁸³ *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

of Amūn, properly speaking, occupied only the central section of a long building extending across the terraced west end of a vast walled inclosure (see also Fig. 1, above). The northern wing of this building appears to have been given over to offices and magazines—probably for the contributions to the king's second *Heb-sed*—but the richly decorated rooms at its southern end were certainly intended for some less utilitarian purpose, and its southeast corner was taken up by a luxuriously appointed dwelling house, or small palace. On the north side of the main inclosure are the remains of a large, multipiered building which is believed to have been the king's *Sed*-festival Hall,⁴⁸⁴ and, adjoining this on the west, a succession of courts and smaller buildings. To the south and east of the inclosure are the ruins of other structures including several large and handsome "villas." There is every probability that the inclosure once contained a big rectangular pool of water⁴⁸⁵ fed perhaps from the principal palace lake, the present-day Birket Habu.

Some distance south of the main city at Tell el Amarna there is a generally similar architectural layout consisting of two big rectangular inclosures lying side by side and containing, in addition to pools, villas, magazines, and other buildings, a small temple. This temple was presumably dedicated to the Aten, and the whole complex was called the *m3rw*, or "pleasure-precinct(?)," of the Aten—usually referred to by modern writers simply as "Maru-Aten."⁴⁸⁶

Like "*Pr-hcy*," the name which he used


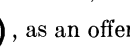
⁴⁸⁴ See above, p. 85.

⁴⁸⁵ A usual feature of the larger ancient Egyptian courtyards and one which would explain the complete absence of building remains in the central portion of this inclosure.

⁴⁸⁶ *City I*, chap. v, Pls. XXIX ff. The name "Maru-Aten" and the word *m3rw* are discussed by Gunn on pp. 156-58.

for his principal palace at Amarna,⁴⁸⁷ the term "*m3rw*" was probably derived by Akhenaten from some portion of his father's palace at Thebes, where, however, the full name would in all likelihood have been "the *m3rw* of Amūn." Granted that a part of the Theban palace was so named, we can hardly doubt that the part in question was the isolated northern quarter with the temple and inclosure of Amūn.

Fortunately there is inscriptional evidence to show that Amenhotep III actually did build a "Maru-Amūn" across the river from Luxor, in the general locality occupied by the Malkata temple inclosure. This evidence is found in lines 12-14 of the king's well-known granite stela in Cairo,⁴⁸⁸ where, following descriptions of the mortuary temple in western Thebes and the temple at Luxor, there appears the following account of a hitherto unidentified structure:

Another monument which His Majesty made for his father Amūn, making for him a *m3rw* ()₁ ()₂, as an offering to the god, opposite⁴⁸⁹ Southern Opet,⁴⁹⁰ a place of amusement for my Father in his goodly festival(s). In it I erected a great temple⁴⁹¹ (which is) like the Sun (*R*^c) when it appears in glory on the horizon and which is planted with all (kinds of) flowers. Fair is the Primaeval Water (*Nnw*) which is in its lake at every season⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁷ See above, pp. 178 and 182.

⁴⁸⁸ No. 34025. See Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, Pl. XVI. The text as restored by Sethy I contains a number of miswritings which are emended by Spiegelberg in *Rec. trav.*, XX, 40-43 (see esp. p. 41, nn. 5-9).

⁴⁸⁹ *Hft-hr-n*, "before the face of," "facing"—here, I believe, in the sense of "directly across (the Nile) from. . . ." Compare the common expression for western Thebes: *Hft-hr nb.s*, "Opposite-her-Lord" (*Wb.*, III, 276, b).

⁴⁹⁰ The temple of Luxor. On a map of Thebes a line drawn from the sanctuary of the Luxor temple and projected westward at right angles to the course of the river passes just to the north of the palace area.

⁴⁹¹ *Ht-ntr* ^c*st*, a stock expression, not really indicative of the actual size of the temple, which in this case happens to have been relatively small.

and its wine is (even) more plentiful⁴⁹³ than (its) water—like the pouring forth of the Inundation (*H^cpy*)⁴⁹⁴ created by the Lord of Eternity. Numerous are the possessions of the place. The taxes of every country are received and plentiful tribute is brought before my Father, being the presentations of all lands.

Aside from the comments made in the footnotes there seems to be nothing which needs to be added to this description of what would appear to have been the northern quarter of the Malkata palace, except to note that for an inscription of its type and period it is unusually accurate and complete.

IX. MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

Among the few inscribed objects found in the ruins of the palace which do not belong to one of the eight categories already discussed were two fragments of a "name-stone" of Hatshepsut⁴⁹⁵ picked up by Lansing in November, 1917, in the village area to the west of the North Palace. There can be little doubt that the stone came originally from the temple of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III at Medinet Habu, where numerous examples of the same type have been found;⁴⁹⁶ and that it had wandered thence into the palace area at a relatively recent date.

Mixed in with the fragments of inscribed jars from the Palace of the King were two potsherds with portions of Eighteenth Dynasty hieratic copies of two famous literary texts: the Instruction of Amenemhet I (Fig. 39, 4)⁴⁹⁷ and a well-

⁴⁹² Thanks, we may suppose, to the channel connecting the Birket Habu with the Nile (see Engelbach and Macaldin, *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte*, XX, 52).

⁴⁹³ See the second column of the table of Fig. 16, above.

⁴⁹⁴ See De Buck, "On the Meaning of the Name *H^cpy*," *Orientalia Neerlandica*, 1949, pp. 1-22.

⁴⁹⁵ On stones of this type see my *Ostraka and Name-Stones*, pp. 45-46.

⁴⁹⁶ See, e.g., Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II, 32, Figs. 27, 28.

⁴⁹⁷ Small portions of the beginning of the text (Pap. Sallier II, 1-2) are preserved.

known model letter of the earlier Middle Kingdom (Fig. 39, 5).⁴⁹⁸

With the exception of some pieces of inscribed alabaster vases from the store-rooms of the Temple of Amūn,⁴⁹⁹ of which unhappily I can find no copies or photographs, this completes the corpus of Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions recovered from the palace by the Metropolitan Museum's expedition. A few Late Dynastic burials with inscribed coffins, some Demotic ostraka, and half a dozen inscribed amphorae of the Greco-Roman Period were also found; but these have no bearing on the history of the Malkata as

a royal residence—a history which seems to have ended abruptly with the rise of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Exclusive of Amenhotep III himself, thirteen royal persons are mentioned on inscribed objects found within the confines of the Malkata palace. Though the names of some of these persons appear on objects or in contexts of no particular historical significance, it seems desirable, nevertheless, to list them all in chronological order accompanied by indications of the types and quantities of the inscriptions in which they occur:

Hatshepsut.....	1	"name-stone," probably from Medinet Habu
Thutmose III.....	4	document-sealings (Types S 1, 2: Fig. 31); 4 scarabs (Types R 24-27: Fig. 34)
Amenhotep II.....	2	document-sealings (Type S 3: Fig. 31)
Thutmose IV.....	9	jar-labels (Types 31, 32, 45: Figs. 5, 6); 2 document-sealings (Types S 4, 5: Fig. 31)
Queen Mutemuya.....	1	jar-label (Type 64: Fig. 7)
Queen Tiy.....	1	jar-label (Type 98: Fig. 8); numerous brick stamps (Types III, IV: Fig. 30); 32 ring bezels (Types R 12-16: Fig. 34); 2 scarabs (p. 233 and n. 419); 1 <i>kohl</i> -tube and 2 vase fragments (Fig. 35, <i>d, q, r</i>)
"The King's (Great) Wife" (=Tiy ?).....	26	jar-labels (Types 7, 18, 94, 129, 147, 172, 207: Figs. 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14); 1 jar-sealing (Type O: Fig. 26)
Queen Sitamūn.....	51	jar-labels (Types 94-97, 112, 113, 137, 139: Figs. 8, 9, 11); 2 ring bezels (Type R 17: Fig. 34)
Princess Henettoneb.....		Mentioned on a sandstone stela (Figs. 37, <i>bottom</i> ; 39, 3)
Prince Amenhotep (=Amenhotep IV ?).....	1	jar-sealing (Type KK: Fig. 27)
Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten).....	3	document-sealings (Types S 97, 120, 124: Fig. 33); 1 ring bezel (Type R 18: Fig. 34)
Smenkhkarē.....	2	ring bezels (Types R 19, 20: Fig. 34)
Tut'ankhamūn.....	1	ring bezel (Type R 21: Fig. 34)
Queen 'Ankhesenamūn ('Ankhesenpaaten)...	1	document-sealing (Type S 125: Fig. 33); 1 ring bezel (Type R 22: Fig. 34)
Horemheb.....	1	fragment of sandstone doorjamb (Fig. 37, <i>upper right</i>)

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⁴⁹⁸ Hayes, *JNES*, VII, 1-10 (see Pl. I, ll. 1 and 3); Posener, in van de Walle, *La Transmission des textes littéraires égyptiens*, pp. 41-50.

⁴⁹⁹ Lansing, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

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⁴⁹⁸ **A Much-Copied Letter of the Early Middle Kingdom**

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