

I HEARD IT ON THE GRAPEWINE

An examination of four texts in pAnastasi IV that contain references to wine

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SUMMARY

The investigation of the subject of wine in ancient Egypt has concentrated on an overview of wine's origin and its history in Egypt, including the technical details of its manufacture, the information recorded on the wine jar seals and labels, along with the analysis of the jars' contents, and its use in religion, rather than a discussion of its broader economic and social role and its position in society.

This thesis examines four texts from pAnastasi IV, which is dated to the reign of Seti II, and which contain references to wine, to show the importance and position of wine in Egyptian society of this period, outside its use in religion, and to examine the nature of the relationship between wine and the Egyptians. The four texts each involve a different aspect of wine and its use within society.

The study of these four texts will show that wine was an inherent part of the lives of many Egyptians. Through the study of these four texts a greater understanding of the social and economic position of wine within Egyptian society of the 19th Dynasty, at many levels of society, is gained and important aspects of the nature of the relationship between wine and the Egyptians of this period is revealed.

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ABBREVIATIONS

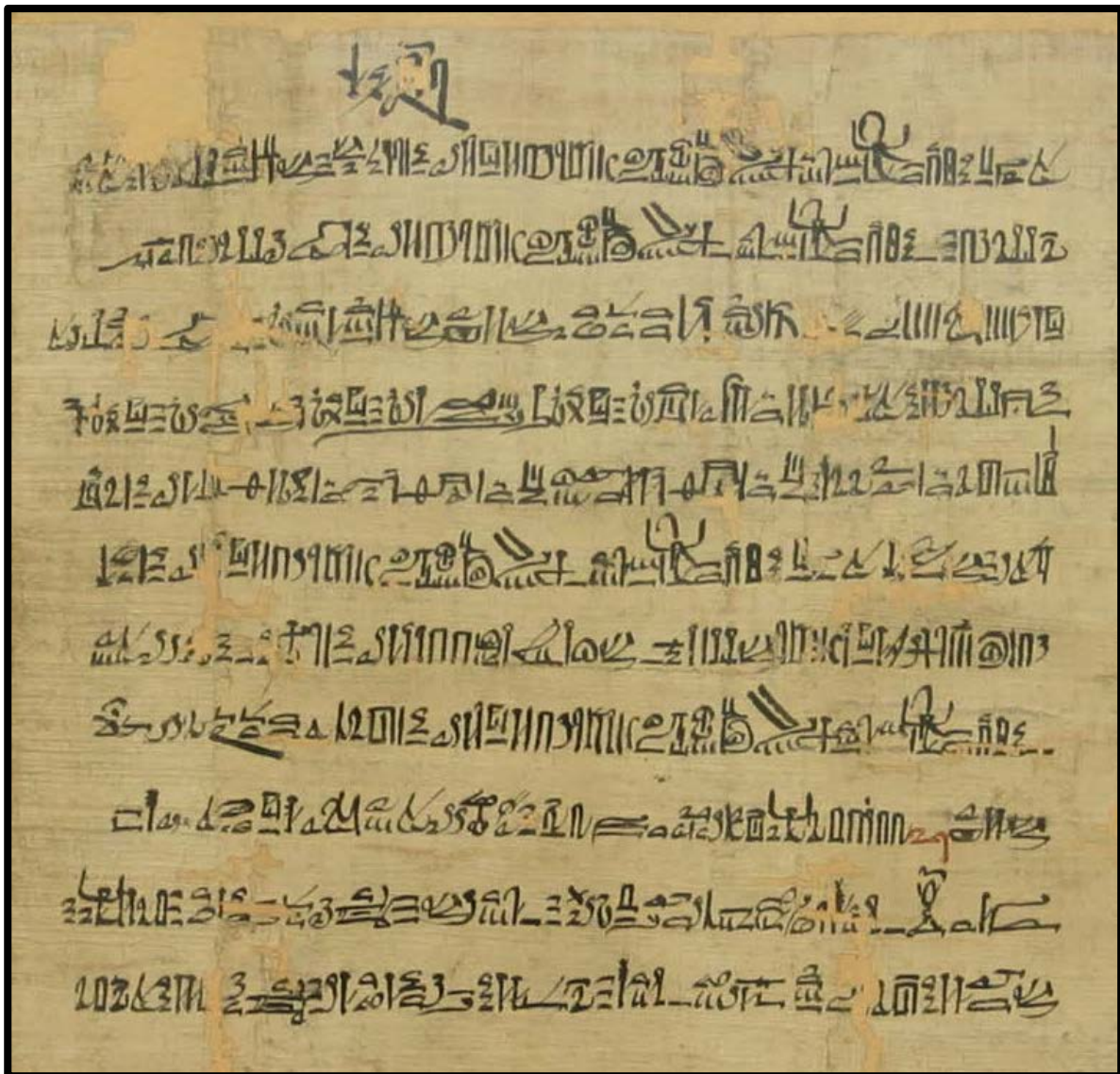
<i>A&L / E&L</i>	<i>Ägypten und Levante / Egypt and the Levant.</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire.</i>
BM	British Museum.
Caminos, <i>LEM</i>	Caminos, R.A., <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies</i> , (London, 1954).
COA I	Peet, T.E. & Woolley, C.L., <i>The City of Akhenaten. Part I: Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at El-'Amarnah</i> , (London, 1923).
COA II	Frankfort, H. & Pendlebury, J.D.S., <i>The City of Akhenaten. Part II: The North Suburb and the Desert Altars</i> , (London, 1933).
COA III:1	Pendlebury, J.D.S., <i>The City of Akhenaten. Part III: The Central City and the Official Quarters</i> , vol. 1, Text, (London, 1951).
COA III:2	Pendlebury, J.D.S., <i>City of Akhenaten. Part III: The Central City and the Official Quarters</i> , vol. 2, Plates, (London, 1951).
Gardiner, <i>AEO I</i>	Gardiner, A.H., <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> . Text, vol. I, (Oxford, 1947).
Gardiner, <i>AEO II</i>	Gardiner, A.H., <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> . Text, vol. II, (Oxford, 1947).
Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Texts</i>	Gardiner, A.H., <i>Egyptian Hieratic Texts. Series I: Literary Texts of the New Kingdom. Part 1: The Papyrus Anastasi I and the Papyrus Koller, together with the parallel texts</i> , (Leipzig, 1911).
Gardiner, <i>LEM</i>	Gardiner, A.H., <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies</i> , (Brussels, 1937).
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen.</i>
Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 1	Hayes, W.C., 'Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III', <i>JNES</i> , vol. 10, no. 1 (Jan., 1951), pp. 35-56.

Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2	Hayes, W.C., 'Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III', <i>JNES</i> , vol. 10, no. 2 (Apr., 1951), pp. 82-112.
Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 3	Hayes, W.C., 'Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III', <i>JNES</i> , vol. 10, no. 3 (Jul., 1951), pp. 156-183.
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.</i>
JAS	<i>Journal of Archaeological Science.</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i>
KRI I	Kitchen, K.A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> , vol. I: <i>Ramesses I, Sethos I and his Contemporaries</i> , (Oxford, 1975).
KRI II	Kitchen, K.A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> , vol. II: <i>Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions</i> , (Oxford, 1979).
KRI IV	Kitchen, K.A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> , vol. IV: <i>Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty</i> , (Oxford, 1982).
KRITA I	Kitchen, K.A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Translations I: Ramesses I, Sethos I and his Contemporaries</i> , (Oxford, 1993).
KRITA II	Kitchen, K.A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Translations II: Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions</i> , (Oxford, 1996).
KRITA IV	Kitchen, K.A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Translations IV: Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty</i> , (Oxford, 2003).
KRITA VII	Kitchen, K.A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Translations VII: Addenda</i> , (Oxford, 2014).
Lichtheim, AEL I	Lichtheim, M., <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings</i> . vol. I: <i>The Old and Middle Kingdoms</i> , (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1973).

Lichtheim, <i>AEL</i> II	Lichtheim, M., <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings</i> . vol. II: <i>The New Kingdom</i> , (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1976).
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> .
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum.
PM, I, 1	Porter, B. & Moss, R.L.B., <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I. The Theban Necropolis Part 1. Private Tombs</i> , 2 nd ed., (Oxford, 1970).
SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> .
Wreszinski, <i>Atlas</i> I	Wreszinski, W., <i>Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte</i> , vol. I, (Leipzig, 1923).
Wreszinski, <i>Atlas</i> II	Wreszinski, W., <i>Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte</i> , vol. II, (Leipzig, 1923).
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> .

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All words smell of a profession, a genre, a movement, a party, a particular origin, a particular individual, a generation, an age, a day and an hour. Every word smells of the context and contexts in which it lived its socially charged life, all words and forms are inhabited by intentionalities.

M. Bakhtin.¹

¹ M. Bakhtin, Слово в романе, in M. Bakhtin, Вопросы Литературы и эстетики ('Word in the Novel', in M. Bakhtin, *Questions of Literature and Aesthetics*), (Moscow, 1977), p. 106, cited in S. Quirke, *Egyptian Literature 1800 BC: questions and readings*, (London, 2004), p. 38.

INTRODUCTION

*Drink, drink then, and hold it a maxim divine
That there's virtue in truth, and there's truth in good wine.*
W. Thomas¹

Alcohol is one of humanity's oldest psychoactive drugs, and Egypt is one of its oldest civilisations.² These two came together from an early period, and, thus began a long relationship between wine and Egypt.³

Grape wine is thought to have been one of, if not the first, alcoholic beverage produced as a deliberate act, firstly, because the raw material, wild grapes, grew over a large range, although Egypt was not within this range,⁴ and secondly, because when the skin is broken, the fermentation of the sugars in the grapes to produce alcohol can occur naturally because of the yeasts on their skin.⁵ However, as the yield and taste of the grapes, and therefore of the wine, was variable, human intervention was needed to improve the quality of the wine.

¹ W. Thomas, (ed.), *A Collection of Catches, Canons, and Glees*, (London, 1762 -1793, Wilmington, Delaware, 1970 reprint).

² D.G. Mandelbaum, 'Alcohol and Culture', in *Current Anthropology*, vol. 6, no. 3 (Jun., 1965), p. 281; D.B. Heath, 'Anthropology and Alcohol Studies: Current Issues', in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 16 (1987), p. 99; P.E. McGovern, *Ancient Wine: the search for the origins of viniculture*, (Princeton, NJ, 2003), pp. 67, 68, 75, 76.

³ D. Cavalieri, *et al.*, 'Evidence for *S. cerevisiae* Fermentation in Ancient Wine', in *Journal of Molecular Evolution*, 57 (2003), pp. S226, S231; G. Dreyer, 'Recent discoveries at Abydos Cemetery U', in E.C.M. van den Brink, (ed.), *The Nile Delta in Transition: 4th-3rd Millennium B.C. Proceedings of the seminar held in Cairo, 21-24 October 1990, at the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies*, (Tel Aviv, 1992), pp. 295-298; G. Dreyer, 'Tomb U-j: A Royal Burial of Dynasty 0 at Abydos', in E. Teeter, (ed.), *Before the Pyramids*, (Chicago, 2011), pp. 128, 131-133; P.E. McGovern, 'Wine for Eternity', in *Archaeology*, vol. 51, no. 4 (July/August, 1998), pp. 28-31; McGovern, *Ancient Wine*, pp. 92-100.

⁴ D. Zohary, M. Hopf & E. Weiss, *Domestication of Plants in the Old World*, 4th edn, (Oxford, 2012), map 16, p. 123.

⁵ McGovern, *Ancient Wine*, pp. 8, 9. It is thought that making wine preceded the making of beer, because the fermentation process for wine is begun naturally by yeasts on the grapes and in the air, whereas the starches in the grain used to make beer needed to be broken down before fermentation could begin. Yeasts had also to be added, as grains do not have naturally occurring yeasts on their external surfaces to initiate the process of fermentation: P. McGovern, *Uncorking the Past*, (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 2009), p. 68; D. Samuel, 'Brewing and baking', in P.T. Nicholson & I. Shaw, (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, (Cambridge, 2000), fig. 22.2, p. 540, pp. 547-548.

Improving this involved the domestication of the wild grapevine, *Vitis Vinifera silvestris* L., which was achieved through introducing a change in its reproduction from a dioecious⁶ to an hermaphroditic plant, which could pollinate itself. It also included the introduction of vegetative propagation for cultivation of the grapevine, rather than using seeds, and this allowed the selection of superior plants and fruit, thereby providing a concomitant improvement in quality and consistency.⁷

The domestication of the wild grapevine, and its cultivation, probably occurred in the Transcaucasus region of modern Georgia and Armenia ca. 8,000-6,000 BC,⁸ following which the domesticated grape, and wine making, spread from the south Caucasus into the Zagros Mountains,⁹ and then along trade routes into the southern Levant.¹⁰ Eventually wine entered Egypt, via trade with this region through the Delta.¹¹ (Figure 1) The Egyptian

⁶ One that has both male and female plants.

⁷ N.F. Miller, 'Sweeter than Wine? The use of the grape in early western Asia', in *Antiquity*, 82 (2008), pp. 939, 940; P. This, T. Lacombe & M.R. Thomas, 'Historical origins and genetic diversity of wine grapes', in *Trends in Genetics*, vol. 22, no. 9 (2006), pp. 511, 516; E. Weiss, "'Beginnings of Fruit Growing in the Old World"- two generations later', in *Israel Journal of Plant Sciences*, vol. 62, nos 1-2 (2015), p. 78; D. Zohary, 'The Domestication of the Grapevine *Vitis Vinifera* L. in the Near East', in P.E. McGovern, S.F. Fleming & S.H. Katz, (eds), *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, (London & New York, 1996), p. 26; Zohary, Hopf & Weiss, *Domestication of Plants*, pp. 121, 122, 124.

⁸ McGovern, *Ancient Wine*, pp. 14-15, 19-24; S. Myles, *et al.*, 'Genetic structure and domestication of the grape', in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, no. 9 (March, 2011), pp. 3531-3533. This analysis of genetic data concerning the degree of relatedness of wild and domesticated grapes, suggests that grape domestication and cultivation occurred first in the South Caucasus; H.P. Olmo, 'The Origin and Domestication of the *Vinifera* Grape', in McGovern, Fleming & Katz, (eds), *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, p. 36.

⁹ P.E. McGovern, *et al.*, 'The Beginnings of Winemaking and Viniculture in the Ancient Near East and Egypt', in *Expedition*, vol. 39, no. 1 (1997), p. 18; McGovern, *Ancient Wine*, pp. 64, 65, 67, 68; Miller, 'Sweeter than Wine?', table 2, pp. 938, 941-943.

¹⁰ G.E. Areshian, *et al.*, 'The chalcolithic of the Near East and south-eastern Europe: discoveries and new perspectives from the cave complex Areni-1, Armenia', in *Antiquity*, vol. 86 (2012), table 1, p. 121, pp. 123, 124, fig. 7, p. 124; H. Barnard, *et al.*, 'Chemical evidence for wine production around 4000 BCE in the Late Chalcolithic Near Eastern highlands', in *JAS*, 38 (2011), pp. 977-979, 983; C.R. Cartwright, 'Grape and Grain: Dietary Evidence from an Early Bronze Age Store at Tell es-Sa'Idiyeh, Jordan', in *Palestine Expedition Quarterly*, 134, 2 (2002), pp. 98, 103-104; R. Gophna, 'Elusive Anchorage Points along the Israel Littoral and the Egyptian-Canaanite Maritime Route during the Early Bronze Age I', in E.C.M. van den Brink & T.E. Levy, (eds), *Egypt and the Levant: interrelations from the 4th through the early 3rd millennium BCE*, (London & New York, 2002), pp. 418, 420, fig. 25.1, p. 418, fig. 25.5, p. 420; K.M. Kenyon & T.A. Holland, *Excavations at Jericho*, (London, 1983), p. 587; S. Mark, *From Egypt to Mesopotamia: A Study of Predynastic Trade Routes*, (London, 1997), fig. 1, p. 4, pp. 4, 5, 14, 17-21, 123-125, 128-129; Miller, 'Sweeter than Wine?' p. 942.

¹¹ E. Braun, 'Early Interaction Between Peoples of the Nile Valley and the Southern Levant', in E. Teeter, (ed.), *Before the Pyramids*, pp. 105-112; M. Czarnowicz, 'Between Core and Periphery-Early Contacts between Egypt and the southern Levant in Light of Excavations at Tell el-Farkha, Eastern Nile Delta', in J. Mynářová,

kings, and the elite, were probably the first to have access to this import and took enthusiastically to this drink. They liked it so much that they wished to enjoy it even after death.

The earliest evidence of wine in Egypt comes from the tomb of Scorpion I at Abydos, dating to ca. 3200 BC, in which seven hundred jars had been deposited, which would have contained approximately 4,500 litres of wine.¹² Analysis of a representative sample of the seven hundred jars, and their contents,¹³ showed that they had been imported from the southern Levant.¹⁴ These had been placed in the tomb so that Scorpion could enjoy wine for eternity, but this volume of wine for a single burial speaks of a highly developed trade in wine at this period, not all of which would have been dedicated to a funerary use.¹⁵

The volume of wine needed by the elite ensured the development of a local wine making industry, with the workers, along with the grapes, needing to be brought in from the southern Levant. Whilst there is scant evidence regarding the establishment of the first

(ed.), *Egypt and the Near East- the Crossroads. Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1-3, 2010*, (Prague, 2011), pp. 118-125; T.P. Harrison, 'Economics with an Entrepreneurial Spirit', in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, vol. 56, no. 2 (Jun., 1993), pp. 81-91; U. Hartung, 'Imported Jars from Cemetery U at Abydos and the Relations between Egypt and Canaan in Predynastic Times', in van den Brink & Levy, (eds), *Egypt and the Levant: interrelations*, pp. 444-446; T.E. Levy & E.C.M van den Brink, 'Interaction Models, Egypt and the Levantine Periphery', in van den Brink & Levy, (eds), *Egypt and the Levant: interrelations*, pp. 18, 19, table 1.7, p. 18, table 1.8, p. 19; Mark, *From Egypt to Mesopotamia*, fig. 1, p. 4; P.E. McGovern, 'The Origins of the Tomb U-j Syro-Palestinian Type Jars as Determined by Neutron Activation Analysis', in U. Hartung, (ed.), *Umm el-Qaab II, Die Importkeramik aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab) und die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, (Mainz, 2001), pp. 407-416.

¹² G. Dreyer, *Umm el Qaab I. Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1998), pp 92, 96, 97-103, Abb. 60-66, taf. 7 a-c, taf. 8 b-d, taf. 24; G. Dreyer, 'Tomb U-j: A Royal Burial of Dynasty 0 at Abydos', in Teeter, (ed.), *Before the Pyramids*, pp. 131-133, fig. 14.7, p. 131; A.H. Joffe, 'Alcohol and Social Complexity in Ancient Western Asia', in *Current Anthropology*, vol. 39, no. 3 (June, 1998), pp. 300-302; McGovern, *et al.*, 'Beginnings of Winemaking', pp. 10-12.

¹³ D. Cavalieri, *et al.*, 'Evidence for *S. cerevisiae* fermentation in ancient wine', in *Journal of Molecular Evolution*, vol. 57 (2003), pp. S226-S232; McGovern *et al.*, 'Beginnings of Winemaking', pp. 9-11; McGovern, *Ancient Wine*, pp. 93-94.

¹⁴ P.E. McGovern, 'The Origins of the Tomb U-j Syro-Palestinian Type Jars as Determined by Neutron Activation Analysis', pp. 407-416.

¹⁵ M. Chlodnicki, 'Trade and Exchange in the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Period in the Eastern Nile Delta', in B. Midant-Reynes & Y. Tristant, (eds), *Egypt at its Origins 2: proceedings of the international conference "Origin of the State, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Toulouse (France), 5th-8th September 2005, (Leuven, 2008), pp. 489-492; D. Wengrow, *The Archaeology of Early Egypt*, (Cambridge, 2006), fig. 7.1, pp. 136-138.

vineyards, seal impressions from the 1st Dynasty indicate that local vineyards, and a wine making industry, had been established by the end of this dynasty.¹⁶ Seal impressions from the 2nd¹⁷ and 3rd Dynasties, and the discovery of grape seeds underneath the Step Pyramid, show the continued establishment of vineyards.¹⁸ Yet the first textual evidence of local production is from ca. 2613 BC in an inscription from the tomb of Metjen at Saqqara that describes his vineyard, and its wine production, which had been established as a part of his funerary estates in the Delta.¹⁹ Thus, from an early period in Egyptian civilisation wine was important, at least to the elite, and this did not diminish as pharaonic civilisation advanced.²⁰

Wine was used in religion as an offering, and there are texts, as well as scenes in temples and tombs, which attest to the religious aspect of the use of wine, both in divine

¹⁶ A fragment of an inscribed storage vessel from the tomb of Qa'a at Abydos, OIM E5899, in Teeter, *Before the Pyramids*, p. 226; A wine jar from Abydos with an inscription giving the name of a royal vineyard, from the tomb of Semerkhet, BM EA32684, <<http://www.britishmuseum.org>>, accessed 16th May, 2014; P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 3, (Wiesbaden, 1963), seal of Den: pl. 7, figs. 238, 239, seal of Adjib: pl. 59, fig. 213, seals of Semerkhet: pl. 58, fig. 210, pl. 68, fig. 243; T.G.H. James, 'The Earliest History of Wine in Ancient Egypt', in McGovern, Fleming & Katz, (eds), *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, pp. 198, 200, 202. For a discussion about Den's seal, see P. Tallet, *Le vin en Égypte à l'époque pharaonique*, PhD thesis, University of Paris-Sorbonne, (1998), p. 14, <<http://www.paris-sorbonne.academia.edu/PierreTallet>>, accessed 17th October, 2016.

¹⁷ Kaplony, *Die Inschriften*, nos 309-312, pls 82, 83; W.M.F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty. Part I*, (London, 1900), no. 68, pl. XXVII; W.M.F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties. Part II*, (London, 1901), nos 191, 193, pl. XXIII, nos 202, 204, pl. XXIV.

¹⁸ Kaplony, *Die Inschriften*, pl. 84, figs 316-318; J-P. Lauer, V. Laurent-Täckholm & E. Äberg, 'Les plantes découvertes dans les souterrains de l'enceinte du roi Zoser à Saqqara (IIIe dyn.)', in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 32 (1950), p. 133, pl. V, no. 19.

¹⁹ K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs I*, (Leipzig, 1903), I, 4-5; N.C. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, (Atlanta, 2005), no. 108, p. 193. The mastaba of Nefermaat and Atet, dating to the middle of the reign of Sneferu (2613-2589 BC) has a remnant of a scene that shows what may have been a wine press: W.M.F. Petrie, *Medum*, (London, 1892), pp. 14, 26-27, pl. XXV; N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders*, (London, 1985), no. 86, pp. 110-111.

²⁰ W.B. Emery, *A Funerary Repast in an Egyptian Tomb of the Archaic Period*, (Leiden 1962), pp. 13, 20, pl. 3; James, 'Earliest History of Wine in Ancient Egypt' p. 198, fig. 13.5, p. 203; N. Kanawati & A. Woods, *Beni Hassan. Art and Daily Life in an Egyptian Province*, (Cairo, 2010), nos 148-150; L. Lesko 'Egyptian Wine Production during the New Kingdom', in McGovern, Fleming & Katz, (eds), *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, pp. 215-219; T. Säve-Söderburgh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, (Oxford, 1957), pls XIV, XV.

cults²¹ and in funerary rituals.²² Yet, this was not its exclusive use within Egyptian society, for outside this religious context it was used by, and for, the living, both as a drink for pleasure²³ and as an ingredient in prescriptions in medicine,²⁴ and these uses can be found in some of the non-religious writings that have survived the millennia.

Yet, to what degree do these texts provide information about the 'secular' importance and position of wine in Egyptian society and can they show to what extent wine was embedded within the fabric of that society, outside its use in a religious context? Additionally, can they give an indication of the nature of the relationship between wine and the Egyptian elite?

²¹ For example: J.P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 2nd edition, (Atlanta, 2015), nos 47, 48, 54, p. 23, nos. 153-157, p. 29; Horus receiving wine from Horemheb, The tomb of Horemheb, <<http://www.osirisnet.net>>, accessed 25th Sept., 2015; 'Ramesses III offering wine before Amun-Re and Mut', in The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu-Volume 5. The Temple Proper. Part 1*, (Chicago, 1957), pl. 311A; M-C. Poo, *Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1995), pp. 29-30, 39-85; E. Teeter, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 46-48.

²² For example: The coffin of Djehutynakht, MFA, no. 20.1822, <<http://www.mfa.org/collection>>, accessed 3rd March, 2016; The funerary stele of princess Neferetiabet from the reign of Khufu, Louvre E15591, <<http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre>>, accessed 3rd May, 2016; Emery, *A Funerary Repast*, pl. 3A; R.F.A. Paget & A.A. Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-Hetep*, (London, 1898), pls. XXXV, XXXVIII, XLI; M-C. Poo, *Wine and Wine Offering*, pp. 29-30; W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 3rd edition, (New Haven and London, 1998), nos. 31, 32, p. 22.

²³ For example: pAnastasi IV, 11,8.7 - 12,5.3 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 47-48; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182; pAnastasi IV, 3,2.9 - 4,1.7 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 37-38; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 137-138; pLansing, 1,2.1 - 2, 3.15 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 100; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 373-374; pLansing, 12,1 - 13a,7 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 110-112; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 412-413; Akhenaten and Nefertiti drinking with Queen Tiye: N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna*, Part III, *The Tombs of Huy and Ahmes*, (London, 1905), pl. VI; G.T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamun. I. The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*, (London, 1989), p. 38, pl. 31, scenes 19, 20, pl. 33, scenes 19, 20. This appears to show the celebration of an important event.

²⁴ For example: W. Wreszinski, *Der Londoner medizinische papyrus (Brit. Museum nr. 10059) und der papyrus Hearst in transkription*, (Leipzig, 1912), Hearst nos. 20, 44, 208; W. Wreszinski, *Der Papyrus Ebers*, (Leipzig, 1913), nos. 12, 80, 156, 183, 208, 214, 287, 327, 329, 804; T. Bordinet, *Les papyrus médicaux de l'Égypte pharaonique: traduction intégrale et commentaire*, (Paris, 1995), Ebers 327 and 329, p. 301; P. Ghalioungui, *The Ebers Papyrus*, (Cairo, 1987), nos. 1-3, pp. 9-12, no. 12, p. 13; L. Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, (Austin, 1989), pp. 86, 92, 97, 111, 123, 156; E. Strouhal, B. Vachala & H. Vymazalová, *The Medicine of the Ancient Egyptians*, trans., M.S.M. Miller & K. Millerová, (Cairo & New York, 2014), pp. 90, 91, 119, 122, 125, 175.

AIMS OF THE THESIS

Alcohol, and by extrapolation, wine, is valued as a ritual and societal artefact,²⁵ and Dietler noted that it is a form of embodied material culture: that is, something that is incorporated into a society, and is an integral part of it.²⁶

The aim of this thesis is to use four texts that are contained in pAnastasi IV that have a reference to wine, to show the importance and position of wine in Egyptian society at the time that this papyrus was written, outside its use in a religious context, and to present and discuss evidence that wine was embedded within the fabric of this society. Furthermore, these texts will be drawn on to elucidate the nature of the relationship between wine and the Egyptians. It aims to show the importance of wine within many levels of Egyptian society, not only at the level of the elite, who were the ones who drank it and who owned the vineyards that produced it, but also for lower levels of society such as those who tended the vineyards and made the wine. To society it had both a social and an economic value.

SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

The material to be examined dates from the 19th Dynasty, and is from the reign of Seti II (1200-1194 BC).²⁷ The texts being studied are from pAnastasi IV recto (pBM EA 10249), a manuscript written by the scribe Inena, supposedly copied from one compiled for him by his master, Kagebu.²⁸ These are published as part of Gardiner's *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, and translated, along with a philological commentary, by Caminos in his *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*.²⁹ This work is comprised of a collection of manuscripts, each of

²⁵ Mandelbaum, 'Alcohol and Culture', p. 281.

²⁶ M. Dietler, 'Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives', in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 35 (2006), pp. 229, 231-232.

²⁷ The chronology used is that in I. Shaw & P. Nicholson, (eds), *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, revised edn, (London, 2008), p. 351.

²⁸ Gardiner, *LEM*, p. XV, no. 1, p. 34.

²⁹ pAnastasi IV, 3,2 - 4,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 37-38; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 137-143; pAnastasi IV, 6,10 - 7,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 41-42; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 155-159; pAnastasi IV, 11,8 - 12,5 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 47-48; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 182-188; pAnastasi IV, 13,8 - 17,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 49-54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 198-219.

which contain compilations of various types of texts from the 19th and 20th Dynasties, of which the consensus is that they were training exercises for apprentice scribes advanced in their studies,³⁰ and, as Hagen has pointed out, they have been largely ignored.³¹

Notwithstanding the possibility that one of their functions may have been their use as a training exercise, the texts in Gardiner's *Miscellanies* contain that which relates to the everyday life of the scribal class of Egypt, and they reflect the thoughts and the concerns of those who wrote or copied them. While there are other texts within the *Miscellanies* that have a reference to wine, they were not used because their themes are similar to some of those in pAnastasi IV, and as a group they are not as diverse as those in this manuscript.³² The texts from pAnastasi IV were chosen for this study because each of them that contains a reference to wine encapsulates a different aspect of wine's use. These show the economic and social aspects of wine in Egypt at this period, outside a religious context.³³

Because the word 'wine', in itself, has no meaning in isolation from the other elements of the text in which it occurs, it needs to be examined within the context of all of the elements that make up a particular text. The reference to wine in each text is examined in terms of the content and context of the whole text, and the conditions of the period in which it was written or copied, and in the following order. The transliteration and translation of the segment that contains the reference to wine, and its immediate context,

³⁰ A. Erman, *Die Ägyptische Schülerhandschriften*, (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 5-25; F. Hagen, 'Literature, Transmission, and the Late Egyptian Miscellanies', in R. Dann, (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2004: Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium, University of Durham 2004*, (Oxford, 2006), pp. 84-86; Gardiner, *LEM*, p. IX; T.G.H. James, *Pharaoh's People. Scenes from Life in Imperial Egypt*, (London, 1984), pp. 143-145.

³¹ Hagen, 'Literature, Transmission', pp. 86, 97.

³² Other manuscripts in Gardiner's publication that contain texts having a reference to wine are: pAnastasi III, 1,11 - 3,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 21-23; Caminos; pp. 73-82; pAnastasi IIIA = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 33 (= pAnastasi IV, 15,11 - 16,7); Caminos, pp. 117-122; pAnastasi V, 1b,1 - 1b,2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 56 (= fragments duplicating part of pAnastasi IV, 12,1); Caminos, *LEM*, p. 225; pLansing, 1,2 - 2,3 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 100; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 373-377; pLansing, 12,1 - 13a,7 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 110-112; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 412-418; pLeiden 348, 9,6 - 10,8 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 136-137; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 497-501, this refers to a wine taster.

³³ That is, they do not refer to offerings to the gods or the dead, or are prayers.

a summary of the text, a discussion of the historical and/or social context of the text,³⁴ a discussion of the separate elements of the whole text, concluding with a general discussion concerning the significance of wine within the text and other conclusions to be drawn from the examination.

As this is not a literary study of the texts they have not been placed into genres. Rather they are being treated as sources of information about society and local conditions, which are contained within a structure of a communication from one scribe to another. Neither is it a linguistic study of the texts, and so it was not considered necessary to transliterate and retranslate them in their entirety.³⁵

TERMINOLOGY

There were three types of grape wine produced by the Egyptians of the New Kingdom, irep (*irp*), shedeh (*šdh*), and pawer (*p3wr*). The most common type was that referred to as irep, and the others were rare. Where specificity is required the types will be mentioned by name, but otherwise, the word 'wine' is used in this thesis as a broad term to include all grape wines.

As references to the Levant will be made in this thesis it is necessary to define this area. The southern Levant encompasses modern Israel, the Palestinian occupied territories and Jordan, and the northern Levant, modern Lebanon, and western Syria. (Figure 2) The term Khor (*h3rw*) is also used. This is a broad term that the Egyptians used to denote the area immediately to the north-east of Egypt, (the Syria/Palestine region), up to Amurru. It is translated as Syria.³⁶

³⁴ A discussion on the historical and/or social context of the text will be included where it is possible, as not all of the texts need this discussion.

³⁵ The translation used is that of Caminos, *LEM*. Refer to Appendices 1-4 for the full translations.

³⁶ For a full discussion on the area termed Khor, see Gardiner, *AEO* I, no. 567, pp. 180*-186*; see also R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch: Die Sprache der Pharaonen*, (2800-950 v. Chr.), (Mainz, 1995), map 19.

PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

This thesis sits within the broader study of the topic of wine during the pharaonic period of ancient Egypt. The investigation of the subject of wine in this period has been dominated by questions regarding viniculture: its history in Egypt, how wine was made and the types of wine produced, and where it was produced, as well as its use in religion. This has led to the focus of scholarship being concentrated on a few areas: an overview of wine's origin and its history in Egypt, including its probable method of manufacture,³⁷ the information recorded on the jar seals and wine jar labels,³⁸ along with the analysis of the jars' contents,³⁹ and its use in religion,⁴⁰ rather than a discussion of its broader social role.

As no treatise on wine making from the pharaonic period has been found, the publications describing grape growing, grape picking and wine making, are based on an amalgamation of the artistic records in the tombs that contain such scenes, with the

³⁷ For example: James, 'Earliest History of Wine in Ancient Egypt', pp. 197-213; A. Lerstrup, 'The Making of Wine in Egypt', in *GM*, 129 (1992), pp. 61-82; Lesko, 'Egyptian Wine Production During the New Kingdom', pp. 215-230; P. Montet, 'La fabrication du vin dans les tombeaux antérieurs au Nouvel Empire', in *Extrait du Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, vol. XXXV (1913), pp. 1-8; M.A. Murray, 'Wine Production and Consumption in Pharaonic Egypt', in M. van der Veen, (ed.), *The Exploitation of Plant Resources in Ancient Africa*, (New York & London, 1999), pp. 149-169; M.A. Murray, 'Viticulture and wine production', in Nicholson & Shaw, (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, pp. 577-599, 602-608.

³⁸ For example: Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 1, pp. 35-56; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, pp. 81-112; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 3, pp. 156-183; P. Tallet, 'Les "étiquettes" de jarres à vin du Nouvel Empire', in C.J. Eyre, (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, (Leuven, 1998), pp. 1125-1133; E-L. Wahlberg, *The Wine Jars Speak. A text study*, MA thesis, Uppsala University, (Uppsala, 2012), <<http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:528049/FULLTEXT01.pdf>>, accessed 12th May, 2014.

³⁹ For example: N. Boulton & C. Heron, 'The chemical detection of ancient wine', in M.A. Murray, 'Viticulture and wine production', in Nicholson & Shaw, (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, pp. 599-602; M.R. Guasch-Jané *et al.*, 'Liquid Chromatography with Mass Spectrometry in Tandem Mode Applied for the Identification of Wine Markers in Residues from Ancient Egyptian Vessels', in *Analytical Chemistry*, 76 (2004), pp. 1672-1677; M.R. Guasch-Jané *et al.*, 'The origin of the ancient Egyptian drink *Shedeh* revealed using LC/MS/MS', in *JAS*, 33 (2006), pp. 98-101; M.R. Guasch-Jané *et al.*, 'First evidence of white wine from ancient Egypt in Tutankhamun's tomb', in *JAS*, 33 (2006), pp. 1075-1080; P.E. McGovern & R.H. Michel, 'The Analytical Challenge of Detecting Ancient Wine: Two Case Studies from the Ancient Near East', in McGovern, Fleming & Katz, (eds), *Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, pp. 57-65.

⁴⁰ M-C. Poo, *Wine and Wine Offering*.

methods being akin to those observed and described by Wansleben, a traveller in Egypt in 1672, even to the type of seal used.⁴¹

Early works on the processes of wine production were written by Montet and Lutz. Montet based his 1913 overview of wine making before the New Kingdom, on the depictions of vintaging scenes in Old and Middle Kingdom tombs.⁴² He enlarged this description in his later publication on daily life in the Old Kingdom, in which he gave a detailed and technical portrayal of wine making.⁴³ Yet, neither of these publications did anything other than describe the processes of viniculture as represented in these tombs.

Lutz went further than this, with a work that provides a history and description of wine and beer making in the ancient Orient, up to the introduction of Islam, as well as a commentary on their use in daily life and religion.⁴⁴ However, wine in Egypt is a small part of the whole work,⁴⁵ with his discussion of wine in religion being confined to a brief reference to Osiris being linked with wine.⁴⁶ He contributed no analysis in terms of wine's importance to Egyptian society other than asserting that the Egyptians consumed a lot of wine and beer, and did so because of an undeveloped moral sense in regard to excessive drinking and intoxication, although, in this respect they later improved themselves.⁴⁷

Newer studies include that of Annette Lerstrup, which covers the period from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period. It is both a survey and a description of all the stages of wine making that are shown in tombs, ranging from the examination of the varieties of trellis used for growing the grapes, through to the sealing of the jars.⁴⁸ This is an important

⁴¹ J.M. Wansleben, *Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Égypte en 1672 et 1673*, (Paris, 1677, facsimile reprint, Whitefish, Montana, 2009), pp. 255-256.

⁴² Montet, 'La fabrication du vin', (1913), pp. 1-8.

⁴³ P. Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privées dans les tombeaux des égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, (Strasbourg, 1925), pp. 265-273.

⁴⁴ H.F. Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing in the Ancient Orient*, (Leipzig, 1922).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-21, 46-60, 97-114.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 107.

⁴⁸ Lerstrup, 'The Making of Wine in Egypt', pp. 61-82.

study for information about the technical aspects of wine making in ancient Egypt. Nonetheless, there is no analysis of the whole in relation to the importance attached by a tomb owner to the significance of the scenes that were chosen to be represented, for ensuring a supply of wine in the afterlife.⁴⁹

Murray's contribution to the topic of wine in ancient Egypt⁵⁰ makes extensive use of Lerstrup's work in describing the technical processes of wine making,⁵¹ but she adds to the technical details of the work by giving a good general history of wine in Egypt.⁵² She also has a section on the analysis of jar residues⁵³ and includes material about wine jar labels.⁵⁴ While this is another valuable study, it lacks a discussion about wine's importance in Egyptian society.

Not only does Lesko describe wine production during the New Kingdom, in his chapter in a publication on the origins and history of wine,⁵⁵ he also discusses the importance of the information on wine jar labels and seals for our understanding of wine production during the New Kingdom. These give the location and ownership of vineyards, the year of a vintage in terms of the reigning king, although his name is absent, the location and ownership of vineyards, the name of the vineyard, and that of the person responsible for making the wine, and they tell us also that the Egyptians graded their wines as to quality.⁵⁶

These jar labels and seals have been discussed by Hayes, who examined the jar labels that had been found in the excavations of the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata.⁵⁷

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Murray, 'Viticulture and wine production', pp. 577-599, 602-608.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 583-591.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 581-582.

⁵³ Boulton & Heron, 'The chemical detection of ancient wine', pp. 599-602.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 596-599.

⁵⁵ Lesko, 'Egyptian Wine Production During the New Kingdom', pp. 215-230.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 220-222, 224-227.

⁵⁷ Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 1, pp. 35-56; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, pp. 81-112; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 3, pp. 156-183.

He observed the diverse nature and quality of the sources of wine that had been received for the king's Sed festivals, noting also that among the many types of commodities supplied in jars there were more stamped wine jar sealings than any other type of seals, possibly to stop theft.⁵⁸ Kitchen, in his article, concentrated on the jars found at the Ramesseum,⁵⁹ and he showed that although there was a wide geographical spread of vineyards in the 19th dynasty, the major wine providing areas in this period were in the eastern Delta. This contrasts with the 18th Dynasty, when the major source of wine was from vineyards on the western side, with this change in the location of the major production centres probably having occurred because the site of the new royal residence of Piramesse, was in the eastern Delta.⁶⁰

Lesko discusses wine jar labels from Malkata, Amarna, Tutankhamun's tomb and those from the Ramesseum, in respect to the information about the quality of the wine and the locations of the vineyards,⁶¹ and the information they provide that can enable the length of a king's reign to be fixed.⁶² Tallet's many publications containing information about jar labels have included those found at Amarna, Deir el- Medina, and in Tutankhamun's tomb.⁶³ Tallet has used the information on labels to track the movement

⁵⁸ Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 1, p. 89; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 3, p. 161.

⁵⁹ K. Kitchen, 'The Vintages of the Ramesseum', in A.B. Lloyd, (ed.), *Studies in Religion and Society in Honour of Gwyn Griffiths*, (London, 1992), pp. 115-123.

⁶⁰ Kitchen, 'Vintages', pp. 116-118, fig. 1, p. 119.

⁶¹ L. Lesko, *King Tut's Wine Cellar*, (Berkeley, California, 1977), pp. 22-33

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁶³ P. Tallet, 'Une jarre de l'an 31 et une jarre de l'an 10 dans la cave de Toutânkhamon', *BIFAO*, 96 (1996), pp. 369-383; Tallet, 'Les "étiquettes" de jarres à vin du Nouvel Empire', pp. 1125-1133; P. Tallet, 'Quelques aspects de l'économie du vin en Égypte ancienne au Nouvel Empire', in N. Grimal & B. Menu, (eds), *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*, (Cairo, 1998), pp. 241-267; P. Tallet, 'Les circuits économiques selon les étiquettes de jarres de Deir el-Médineh', in G. Andreu, (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois: la vie en Égypte au temps des pharaons du Nouvel Empire; actes du colloque organisé par le Musée du Louvre, les 3 et 4 Mai, 2002*, (Paris, 2003), pp. 253-278; P. Tallet, 'New Jar Labels from Deir al-Medina', in Z. Hawass & L. Pinch Brock, (eds), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, (Cairo & New York, 2003), pp. 495-498; P. Tallet, 'Une boisson destinée aux élites: le vin en Égypte ancienne', in J. Leclant, A. Vauchez & M. Sartre, (eds), *Colloque Pratiques et discours alimentaires en Méditerranée de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*, (Paris, 2008), pp. 39-51.

of wine,⁶⁴ to hypothesise the administrative organisation of vineyards,⁶⁵ and to discuss transactions involving wine,⁶⁶ although he thinks that jars were only labelled for the administrative benefit of the institutions owning the vineyards.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, these publications have given us information about the ownership⁶⁸ and location⁶⁹ of the vineyards. Through showing the grading of the wines, they give evidence of the sophistication of wine manufacturing, and of the possession of discerning palates amongst wine drinkers of the later New Kingdom.⁷⁰

Although McGovern and Guasch Jané discuss wine production and its history in their publications,⁷¹ they have concentrated on the identification of residues in the jars,⁷² while McGovern has also identified the jars' origins.⁷³ Because of the work of Guasch Jané, the question of wine types has been answered, and we now know that the Egyptians were able to choose between various grades of red and white wines, and a special, and scarce, red grape wine called shedeh,⁷⁴ which some had long believed to have been pomegranate wine.⁷⁵

⁶⁴ Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', pp. 247-250.

⁶⁵ Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', pp. 252-255; Tallet, 'New Jar Labels from Deir al-Medina', p. 496.

⁶⁶ Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', pp. 255-259.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 261-262.

⁶⁸ Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, pp. 96-97; Kitchen, 'Vintages', table I, pp. 120-121; Lesko, *King Tut's Wine Cellar*, pp. 28, 29.

⁶⁹ Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, p. 89; Kitchen, 'Vintages', pp. 116-118, fig. 1, p. 119, table II, pp. 121-122; Lesko, *King Tut's Wine Cellar*, pp. 23, 28, 29; Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', pp. 248-250; Tallet, 'New Jar Labels from Deir al-Medina', p. 496; Tallet, 'Une boisson destinée aux élites', pp. 44-45.

⁷⁰ Lesko, *King Tut's Wine Cellar*, p. 27; Tallet, 'Une boisson destinée aux élites', p. 44.

⁷¹ M.R. Guasch Jané, *Wine in Ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 2008); McGovern, *Ancient Wine*, pp. 85-147.

⁷² Guasch Jané *et al.*, 'Liquid Chromatography with Mass Spectrometry', pp. 1672-1677; P.E. McGovern, 'Wine for Eternity', pp. 29-30.

⁷³ McGovern, *et al.*, 'The Beginnings of Winemaking', pp. 10-12; P.E. McGovern, 'Wine of Egypt's Golden Age: An Archaeochemical Perspective', in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 3 (1997), pp. 73-84, 97-100, 102-108; P.E. McGovern, *The Foreign Relations of the 'Hyksos': A Neutron Activation Study of the Middle Bronze Age Pottery from Tell el-Dab'a*, (Oxford, 2000); McGovern, 'The Origins of the Tomb U-j Syro-Palestinian Type Jars as Determined by Neutron Activation Analysis', pp. 407-416.

⁷⁴ M.R. Guasch Jané *et al.*, 'Liquid Chromatography with Mass Spectrometry', pp. 1672-1677; M.R. Guasch Jané *et al.*, 'The origin of *Shedeh*', pp. 98-101; M.R. Guasch Jané *et al.*, 'First evidence of white wine', pp. 1075-1080M; Guasch Jané, *Wine in Ancient Egypt*.

⁷⁵ Tallet, 'Le shedeh: étude d'un procédé de vinification en Égypte ancienne', in *BIFAO*, 9 (1995), pp. 459-460.

There are peripheral references to the 'secular' uses of wine in some publications, although only in relation to the wider topic which was being discussed. Mu-Chou Poo, in his extensive study of the use of wine in religion, briefly mentions wine's use as a drink for pleasure and its use in medicine.⁷⁶ Publications on Egyptian medicine, such as those of Nunn, and of Strouhal, mention wine as an ingredient in prescriptions, but they do not concentrate on it, as the books are general discussions on aspects of medicine in ancient Egypt and the diseases that were prevalent in antiquity.⁷⁷ Manniche gives examples of the use of wine in medicine in her book on the Egyptian use of plants, citing the plant ingredients that are used with wine, but her main purpose is to discuss the plants used in Egypt,⁷⁸ and Lucia, in his book about wine as therapy, confines his discussion on ancient Egypt to listing examples of those prescriptions in the Ebers and Hearst Papyri that contain wine.⁷⁹

In publications on banquets, wine is invariably mentioned because it is portrayed in tomb representations of banquets and spoken of in captions on the walls.⁸⁰ Although wine is not the subject of Baines's discussion of banqueting in Egypt, which deals with iconographic rather than written sources, he sees the drinking of wine as depicted in representations of banquets in tombs as reflecting the reality of Egyptian non-mortuary entertainments, with wine being able to bring enjoyment to this type of activity.⁸¹

⁷⁶ M-C. Poo, *Wine and Wine Offering*, pp. 30-37.

⁷⁷ J.F. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, (Norman, 1996), pp. 13, 18, 72, 140, 148, 158, 161, 195; Strouhal, Vachala & Vymazalová, *Medicine of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 90, 91, 119, 122, 125, 175.

⁷⁸ Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, pp. 74, 76, 86, 92, 97, 111, 123, 155-56.

⁷⁹ S.P. Lucia, *A History of Wine as Therapy*, (Philadelphia & Montreal, 1963), pp. 9-15.

⁸⁰ For example: J. Baines 'Not only with the dead: banqueting in ancient Egypt', in *Studia Universitatis "Babeş-Bolyai"*, *Historia*, vol. 59, no. 1 (December 2014), pp. 7-9; N. Harrington, 'The Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian banquet: ideals and realities', in C.M. Draycott & M. Stamatopoulou, (eds), *Dining and Death. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the 'Funerary Banquet' in Art, Burial and Belief*, (Leuven, Paris & Bristol, CT, 2016), pp. 133, 147, 148, 154, 155, 19; Tallet, 'Une boisson destinée aux élites', p. 46.

⁸¹ Baines, 'Not only with the dead', pp. 6, 8, 9, 18.

While he does not refer to any of the texts in pAnastasi IV to form this opinion, there are references to some of the texts from this manuscript scattered throughout various publications, but they are only included in passing as part of the discussion of a broader subject.⁸² Notwithstanding these brief references amongst publications, no work has combined the texts in a single study and examined the elements containing a reference to wine, to investigate the position and importance of wine within Egyptian society outside its use in religion.

This thesis will address the lack of such a study. It aims to use these texts to demonstrate that wine had a social and economic importance and was deeply embedded within Egyptian society of the later 19th Dynasty, outside a religious context. In doing so it will show that the nature of the relationship between wine and Egyptian society was complex and conditioned by the context in which drinking wine occurred.

In order to achieve these aims, these texts will not be discussed in the order in which they were written, since there appears to have been no apparent reason for the order in which they appear in the manuscript.⁸³ Rather, the information that they give has determined the order of their discussion in this thesis, and allows the flow from wine being just an item in a list, through to how it can be part of a reward for pleasing Amun.

⁸² For example: pAnastasi IV, 3,2 – 4,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 37-38 ; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 137-143: this is used when describing the good life of a high official, and a banquet, by P. Montet, *Everyday Life in Egypt in the Days of Ramesses the Great*, trans. A.R. Maxwell-Hyslop & M.S. Drower, (Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 91-96; pAnastasi IV, 6,10 - 7,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 49-54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 155-159: this is used in discussions about vineyards and wine production by: Lesko, 'Egyptian wine Production', p. 227; also by D. Meeks, 'Oléiculture et viticulture dans l'Égypte pharaonique', in M-C. Amouretti & J-P. Brun, (eds), *La production du vin et de l'huile en Méditerranée/ Oil and Wine Production in the Mediterranean Area: actes du symposium international, organisé par le Centre Camille Jullian (Université de Provence-C.N.R.S.) et le Centre archéologique du Var, Aix-en-Provence et Toulon, 20-22 novembre 1991*, (Athens, 1993), p. 30; also by Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', p. 245; pAnastasi IV, 11,8 – 12,5 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 47, 48; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182 : this is used when discussing shedeh, by Tallet, 'Le shedeh', p. 479; pAnastasi IV, 13,8 – 17,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 49-54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 198-219: this is used when describing pharaoh's travelling and rest houses by: B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilisation*, 2nd ed., (New York, 2006), p. 281.

⁸³ Following Gardiner's numbering of the texts in pAnastasi IV, in the 'Contents section' of Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. v, vi, the order of discussion is: nos. 20, 18, 11, 5.

Chapter 1 will discuss the text that consists of a list of all that must be ready for the arrival of a pharaoh. It lists a low-quality variety of wine for the servants, and a high-quality wine for pharaoh and his court, but pharaoh's wine was from Khor, even though Egypt had a thriving wine industry. This leads to Chapter 2, which deals with the text that shows this industry and the volume of different types of wine produced by one estate. Chapter 3 shows what happens when wine, such as that produced by the vineyard in Chapter 2, is misused and how a young scribe can go astray through drinking it, while Chapter 4 shows that drinking wine can be viewed as a part of the reward for high status and pleasing Amun. This will lead to the Conclusion about wine's position near the end of the 19th Dynasty.

LIMITATIONS OF THE EVIDENCE

There are limitations on the textual evidence available about wine that are imposed by the antiquity of the texts themselves and the fact that chance is a determinant in their survival. Therefore, it will be necessary to refer to evidence from other periods in the New Kingdom, mainly from the tombs of the later 18th Dynasty and occasionally texts from the 20th Dynasty. However, as Egypt was a conservative society, it is likely that technical details of wine making, behaviours, and attitudes may not have changed markedly over that timeframe. Yet care must always be taken when interpreting evidence in the light of a practice that was used later, or earlier, than the period being discussed.

CHAPTER 1: WINE IN A LIST

Wine is life.

Petronius¹

EXTRACT FROM THE TEXT

pAnastasi IV, 13,8 – 17,9²

hn̄ dd ih̄ dī=k hr=k r dī.t grg=tw r-h̄z.t (13.9) pr-ʿz ʿnh(.w) wd̄z(.w) snb(.w) p̄zy=k nb nfr
(13.10) ...*r rdī.t rh̄=k p̄z nty nb iw=k r dī.t grg tw=f...* (16.1) ...*mn.(w)t n p̄zwr n n̄z sd̄my.w,*
hn̄kt K̄dy irp n(.y) H̄zrw izrr.t m ddm.t...

Further, pay attention to cause that one is ready before the coming of (13,9) Pharaoh (l.p.h) your good lord... (13.10) ... list of all that you shall have cause to be ready... (16,1) 'Menet jugs of pauer³ for the servants, beer of Qedy and wine of Khor, and grapes in heaps...⁴

THE LATE-EGYPTIAN MISCELLANIES

In 1937 Alan Gardiner published a collection of manuscripts that contained a mixture of texts. This collection of papyri and fragments of papyri, dates from the Ramesside period, with the majority dating from the 19th Dynasty, although the 20th and 21st Dynasties are represented.⁵ The compositions in this collection are a diverse mix of administrative letters,⁶ hymns and prayers,⁷ eulogies of the king,⁸ and texts praising cities.⁹ As well as these writings, many of the texts specifically extol the virtue and superiority of

¹ Petronius, *Satyricon*, 34, < <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc> >, accessed 7th March, 2017.

² pAnastasi IV, 13,8 – 17,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 49-54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 198-219. See Appendix 1 for a complete translation of this text.

³ Pauer was a low-quality wine. See Gardiner, *p̄zwr*, *AEO* II, no. 573 p. 236*. L.H. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol. I, (Providence, RI, 2002), p. 146, defines it as 'unmellowed wine'. For a discussion on pauer see chapter 2, pp. 42, 43.

⁴ Gardiner, *LEM*, 13,8 - 13,10, 16,1, pp. 49-50, 52; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 198, 200.

⁵ Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. XIII-XXI; Hagen, 'Literature, Transmission', fig. 1, p. 85.

⁶ For example: pAnastasi IV, 7,9.10 - 8,7.7 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 42, 43; pAnastasi V, 18,6 - 19,2.9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 66.

⁷ For example: pAnastasi IV, 10,1.6 - 10,8.2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 45, 46.

⁸ For example: pAnastasi II, 2,5.5 - 4,4.8, = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 13, 14.

⁹ For example: pAnastasi II, 1,1 - 2,5.4 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 12, 13; pAnastasi III, 1, 11.10 – 3,9.12 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 21-23.

the scribal profession over all others, whilst also encouraging the trainee scribe to work hard, and not be led astray.¹⁰ Gardiner called this collection *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*.¹¹

The texts in the *Miscellanies* have come to be viewed, by many, as copies by senior apprentice scribes of exercises that were originally compiled by their masters to help guide their apprentices in the correct manner of writing, spelling and grammar.¹² Some do have titles indicating a training function,¹³ and there is some duplication of texts amongst the manuscripts,¹⁴ but, while some texts may have been used for training, the manuscripts may also have had other purposes.¹⁵ Some of the texts in them may have been either written or collected and kept by the scribe as being good examples of their type, and used as reference works.¹⁶ Gardiner had previously pointed out that some of the corrections to the texts on the manuscript in pChester Beatty V, were made in the same hand that had written

¹⁰ For example: pBologna 1094, 3,5 – 4,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 3-4; pAnastasi II, 6,7 – 8,5 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 16-17; pAnastasi III, 3,9- 4,4 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 23; pAnastasi IV, 2,4 – 3,2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 36-37; pAnastasi IV, 9,4 – 10,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 43-44; pAnastasi IV, 11,8 – 12,5 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 47-48; pAnastasi V, 6,1 – 9,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 58-60; pAnastasi V, 10,3 – 11,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 60-61; pAnastasi V, 15,6 - 18,5 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 63-66; pAnastasi V, 22,6 – 23,7 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 68-69; pSallier I, 3, - 3,10 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 79-80; pSallier I, 5,4 - 8,2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 82-85; pSallier I, 9,9 – 9,11 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 88; pLansing, 1,2 - 10,10 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 100-108; pKoller, 2,2 – 3,3 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 117-118; pTurin A, 1,55 – 2,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 122-123; pTurin C, 1,1 – 2,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 128. See also Hagen, 'Literature, Transmission', pp. 95-96, a-e.

¹¹ Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. IX, X, wrote that he had omitted pChester Beatty IV and V, as he had already published them in 1935 and that he also omitted publishing a large number of ostraca, as they were to be published later. Neither did he include pBM EA 10085+10105, which has been published by C. Leitz, in *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*, (London, 1999), pp. 88-92. In addition to this collection there are other texts from this period that are classified under this term and which are published elsewhere. These *Miscellanies* are listed in Hagen, 'Literature, Transmission', fig. 1, p. 85.

¹² A. Erman, *Die Ägyptische Schülerhandschriften*, (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 5-25; A. Erman, *Ancient Egyptian Poetry and Prose*, trans., A.M. Blackman, (New York, 1995), p. 205; Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. XV, XVII, XVIII; Hagen, 'Literature, Transmission', pp. 84-86, 96, 97; A. McDowell, 'Teachers and Students at Deir el-Medina', in R.J. Demarée & A. Egberts, (eds), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, (Leiden, 2000), pp. 217-333.

¹³ pLansing, 1,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 99; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 373; pAnastasi IV, 1a,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 34; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 125; pSallier I, 3,4 - 3,5,6 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 79; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 303.

¹⁴ For example: pAnastasi III (pBM EA10246), I, 11 - 3,1 = pRainer 53, I,12 - 2,7; pAnastasi IIIA (pBM EA 10246/6) = pAnastasi IV, 15,11 - 16,7; pAnastasi IV, 11,8-12 = pSallier I, 9,9 = pAnastasi V, 1b,1-2; pAnastasi IV 13,8 - 11 = pKoller 5,5 - 5,8; pAnastasi IV, 2,4 -2,9 = pKoller, 2,2 -2,3 = pAnastasi V, 5,1; See Gardiner, *LEM*, 'Contents', pp. V-VII, for all of the texts that have duplicates, or part thereof.

¹⁵ Hagen, 'Literature, Transmission', pp. 91, 93, 96, 97; O. Goelet Jr., 'The Literary Environment of the Age of Ramesses III', in E.H. Cline & D. O'Connor, (eds), *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt's Last Hero*, (Ann Arbor, 2013), pp. 344-346.

¹⁶ Hagen, 'Literature, Transmission', pp. 84, 96, 97; Goelet Jr., 'The Literary Environment of the Age of Ramesses III', pp. 344-346.

them,¹⁷ and he himself expressed doubt that all the writings in the *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* were necessarily training exercises.¹⁸ He is not alone in this view and Hagen, for one, has stated that he believes the manuscripts to have had multiple uses,¹⁹ while Iverson sees them to be sophisticated literary compositions that may have been used to teach, grammar, composition and style.²⁰

Yet, whatever their original purpose, either as training aids or reference manuals, this does not mean that the texts in these manuscripts did not reflect the reality of life, and work, within the scribal class of Ramesside society. Therefore, these documents can be exploited as a source of information about this society and its culture, particularly regarding the references to wine and the clues that such references provide regarding the position of wine in society.

The title of pAnastasi IV tells us that its contents are letters,²¹ which usually, but not always, began with formulaic greetings and blessings that reflected the relationship and status of the correspondents.²² After these initial words they moved on to the main subject matter.²³ Different sections of a letter may be introduced by repeating the introduction, before moving on to the subject under discussion.²⁴ Yet, although a letter was a written communication, its style was oral in nature and the address to the receiver was usually direct. Letters were used to communicate messages, orders, questions and answers, as well

¹⁷ Gardiner, *LEM*, p. XV; A.H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum: Third Series Chester Beatty Gift*, vol. 1, (London, 1935), p. 45.

¹⁸ Gardiner, *LEM*, p. XV.

¹⁹ Hagen, 'Literature, Transmission', pp. 84, 86-89, 91, 93, 95-97; S. Quirke, 'Archive', in A. Loprieno, (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature, History and Forms*, (Leiden, 1996), pp. 382-383.

²⁰ E. Iverson, 'Anastasi IV, 2.4 - 2.9 = Koller, 2.2 - 2.3 = Anastasi V, 5.1', in G. Englund & P.J. Frandsen, (eds), *Crossroad: Chaos or the beginning of a new paradigm. Papers from the Conference on Egyptian Grammar, Helsingør, 28-30 May 1986*, (Copenhagen, 1986), pp. 181-184.

²¹ pAnastasi IV, 1a,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 34 ; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 125.

²² C. Eyre, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, (Oxford, 2013), pp. 94-95; D. Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue: Pragmatic Factors in Late Ramesside Letter Writing*, (Wiesbaden, 2001), pp. 16-17.

²³ Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, p. 21.

²⁴ Eyre, *Use of Documents*, p. 97.

as reports.²⁵ They were used to transmit instructions, or requests, and they read as though the correspondents were conducting a dialogue in person, with each party knowing what the other meant, and for this reason they sometimes seem obscure to us.²⁶

SUMMARY OF THE TEXT

This is an administrative letter, albeit without greetings, from one scribe to another, presumably his subordinate. It orders him to ensure that everything was in readiness for the arrival of the pharaoh, who may have been travelling to Piramesse, although this is not stated. The letter has three separate lists of what was required at each stop, which, for the most part, was food.

The first instruction refers to the necessity of ensuring the availability of the listed supplies for the feeding of the pharaoh and his retinue, which would be required at the various ports at which he would be stopping on his journey.²⁷ However, that these supplies relate to the equipping of the ports is not mentioned until the end of the list, when the scribe who wrote the letter, suddenly remembered extra supplies that were required and inserted a second instruction, in which he refers directly to the equipping of the ports.²⁸ The second list includes not only food from every region of Egypt, with many types of birds and fish listed, and their origin being named,²⁹ but it also lists different types of oil from foreign states. These oils are to be used for anointing the army and chariotry, which appear

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97.

²⁷ Gardiner, *LEM*, 13,9 - 14,8, pp. 49-50; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 198-199.

²⁸ Gardiner, *LEM*, 14,9 - 14,10, p. 51; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 199-200. While the Annals of Tuthmosis III, speak of equipping the ports in the Levant (Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. 2, *The Eighteenth Dynasty*, (Chicago, 1906), no. 472, p. 200, no. 510, p. 210), this text in pAnastasi IV is more likely to be referring to a journey along the Nile, because of the wide variety of local fresh foods named.

²⁹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 14,11 - 16,1, pp. 51-52; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 200.

to have been travelling with the king.³⁰ Wine is included in this section of the list, both pauer, which was for the servants, and wine of Khor.³¹

Following this section, there are items, with many foreign names in the list, that include precious metals, servants and slaves, chariots and weapons.³² These are needed for what is to be a ceremonial occasion, when pharaoh stands in the Window of Appearances receiving gifts from foreign peoples whose envoys will parade beneath the window. In a brief description of their presentation, it names the gifts that are being brought by the envoys as oil, copper, horses, and cattle.³³

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

The pharaoh often had to travel through Egypt for official purposes, such as inspection tours, or to appear at religious festivals, such as the Opet festival in Thebes, and so did not necessarily reside in one place all year.³⁴ There were probably many residences used by the king on his travels along the Nile,³⁵ and these were called the 'Mooring places

³⁰ Gardiner, *LEM*, 15,1 - 15,5, p. 51; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 200. These oils were from Alasia (Cyprus), Khatti (the land of the Hittites), Sangar (Babylonia), Naharin, Takhsy and Amor.

³¹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 16,1; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 200; The status of the servants who were the recipients of pauer is not known.

³² Gardiner, *LEM*, 16,2 - 17,6, pp. 52-54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 200-201.

³³ Gardiner, *LEM*, 17,7 - 17,9, pp. 52-54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 201; Pharaoh rewarding followers from the Window of Appearances was a popular theme in Amarna tombs: for example: N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna, Part I. The Tomb of Meryre*, (London, 1903), pl. XXIX; Davies, *Amarna III*, pls XVI, XVII; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna, Part IV. The Tombs of Penthu, Mahu, and Others*, (London, 1906), pl. VIII; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna, Part V. Smaller Tombs and Boundary Stelae*, (London, 1908), pl. V; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna, Part VI. The Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu, and Ay*, (London, 1908), pls IV, XIX, XXIX; Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXVII; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 275, 276, 287.

³⁴ P. Grandet, 'The Ramesside State', in J.C. Moreno García, (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, (Leiden & Boston, 2013), pp. 855, 856; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 275, 281; W.J. Murnane, *United with Eternity: a concise guide to the monuments of Medinet Habu*, (Chicago & Cairo, 1980), p. 70; W.J. Murnane, 'Reform of the Provisioning of Royal Progresses', in *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, (Atlanta, Georgia, 1995), pp. 237-238; D.B. O'Connor, 'Beloved of Maat, the Horizon of Re: The Royal Palace in New Kingdom Egypt', in D. O'Connor & D.P. Silverman, (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, (Leiden, New York & Köln, 1995), p. 279.

³⁵ K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie IV*, vols 13-16, (Leipzig, 1909), IV, 976.13: an inscription about Amenhotep II at Tjeny, presumably he was stopping while journeying along the Nile (Tjeny is thought to be Thinis, which was north of Abydos: O'Connor, 'Beloved of Maat', p. 269); Lacovera, *The New Kingdom Royal City*, p. 32; P. Lacovera, 'The Riddle of Egypt's Ancient Settlements', in *Archaeology*, vol. 41, no. 4 (July/August, 1988), pp. 62-63, 66; B. Manley, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, (Harmondsworth, 1996), pp. 76, 77; O'Connor, 'Beloved of Maat', p. 269.

of Pharaoh'.³⁶ The ports to be provisioned for his arrival were likely to have been these rest houses situated at towns along the river, where he and his entourage stayed overnight on their journeys.³⁷ (Figure 3) It was important to ensure that everything that was needed for his comfort, and that of his court, was supplied wherever he stopped, and so the instructions given in the letter would have had to have been passed on to the officials in the various towns at which the pharaoh halted on his progress.

These towns would not all have had elaborate constructions for mooring boats. Some may have had a pier on the river bank at which the ships could tie up, others only the river bank itself, where ships drew to the edge of river and hammered in stakes to moor the ship.³⁸ A larger town would more likely have had harbours and quays at which ships could tie up and unload cargo, and cities such as Thebes, Memphis and Piramesse would certainly have had several areas where ships could dock and the pharaoh could move with ease to his residence.³⁹

There was an official palace in the major cities,⁴⁰ but in Thebes, at least, there were also small palaces in the 'mansions of millions of years'⁴¹ of the kings on the west bank

³⁶ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 281.

³⁷ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 281; Manley, *Atlas*, pp. 76, 77.

³⁸ B. Kemp & D. O'Connor, 'An Ancient Nile Harbour. University Museum Excavations at the "Birket Habu"', in *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 3:1 (1974), p. 103. An example of ships moored to a river bank can be seen in Nina de G. Davies & A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamun (No. 40)*, (London, 1926), pls XVIII, XXI, XXXIII.

³⁹ For example: Armana: 'The Tomb of May', in Davies, *Amarna*, V. pp. 3, 4, pl. V; Memphis: B. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, (New York, 1970), ships shown unloading in an unnamed tomb, no. 389, p. 134, ships shown unloading in the tomb of Iniua, no. 403, p. 138. Thebes: N. de G. Davies & R.O. Faulkner, 'A Syrian Trading Venture to Egypt', in *JEA*, vol. 33 (Dec., 1947), pl. VIII; G. Daressy, 'Une Flottille Phénicienne d'après une Peinture Égyptienne', in *Revue Archéologique*, Troisième Série, T.27 (Juillet -Aout, 1895), pls XIV, XV; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, taf. 199, Tomb of Khaemhet, a scene of ships unloading at the quay; Piramesse: M. Bietak, 'Perunefer: The Principal New Kingdom Naval Base', in *Egyptian Archaeology*, 34 (2009), p. 17; M. Bietak & I. Forstner-Müller, 'The Topography of New Kingdom Avaris and Per-Ramesses', in M. Collier & S. Snape, (eds), *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen*, (Bolton, 2011), fig. 2, p. 25.

⁴⁰ Seti I and Merenptah are both known to have had a palace at Memphis. For Seti I see: *KRITA I*, no. 112, 'Palace Accounts, Memphis, years 2 & 3, pp. 207-230; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 288, 289. For Merenptah, Lacovera, *New Kingdom Royal City*, pp. 28-29, fig. 23, p. 116, fig. 29b, p. 122; O'Connor, 'Beloved of Maat, pp. 269, 270, figs 7.6, 7.7, p. 300.

⁴¹ For a detailed discussion on these temples see, M. Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit. Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren*, (Wiesbaden, 2002).

where it was thought that the pharaoh and the court might be able to reside temporarily while a festival was in progress.⁴² However, Stadelman makes a case for the probability that they were designed for the use of the dead king, and so would not have been used by a living one.⁴³ He considers that the pharaohs of the 19th Dynasty would have been more likely to have used one of the older residential palaces still standing on the west bank,⁴⁴ such as that in Amenhotep III's large complex at Malkata.⁴⁵

Yet, a pharaoh may have stayed in a smaller town and the size of the residence in such places is unknown, and may have varied with the site.⁴⁶ They would not necessarily have been very small structures as they were needed to accommodate the king and his entourage, although not his chariotry and army. These residences can perhaps be compared with the King's house⁴⁷ and the large villas at Amarna,⁴⁸ or the villa which was situated near the Sphinx at Giza,⁴⁹ or else they may have had the same design, but with modifications to reflect the needs of the living, of the small palaces that were attached to the memorial temples, such as that at the Ramesseum.⁵⁰

⁴² Grandet, 'Ramesside State', p. 856; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, fig. 94, p. 259, pl. 7, p. 276.

⁴³ These palaces were inside the sacred area, and lacked facilities for the living: R. Stadelmann, 'Tempel palast und Erscheinungsfenster in Thebanischen Totentempeln, in *MDAIK*, 29 (1973), pp. 221-224; R. Stadelmann, 'Royal Palaces of the Late New Kingdom in Thebes', in B.M. Brian & D. Lorton, (eds), *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, (San Antonio, Texas, 1994), pp. 311-312; O'Connor, 'Beloved of Maat', p. 280. See also M. Ullmann, 'The Temples of Millions of Years at Western Thebes', in R.H. Wilkinson & K.R. Weeks, *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings*, (Oxford, 2015), pp. 428, 429.

⁴⁴ Stadelman, 'Royal Palaces', p. 314.

⁴⁵ Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 1, fig. 1, p. 41; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 277, 279, 280, fig. 101, p. 278; Lacovera, *New Kingdom Royal City*, pp. 25-27, figs. 20, 21, pp. 113, 114, fig. 28b, p. 121; Stadelman, 'Royal Palaces', p. 314.

⁴⁶ Manley, *Atlas*, p. 76

⁴⁷ COA III:1, pp. 86-88; COA III:2, pl. XLVI, 1-4; Kemp thinks that this was the 'house of the vizier', which was a combination of offices and a residence: B. Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. Amarna and its People*, (London, 2012), pp. 131-134, no. 4.8, p. 132, Pl. XXV; Lacovera, *New Kingdom Royal City*, fig. 25, p. 118.

⁴⁸ H. Frankfort, 'Report on the Excavations at el-'Amarnah, 1928-9, in *JEA*, vol. 15, no. 3/4 (Nov., 1929), pp. 143-149, pls XXIII, XXIV, XXV; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, fig. 109, p. 312, fig. 115, p. 328; Kemp, *City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, fig. 5.20, p. 182; S. Lloyd, 'Model of a Tel el-'Amarnah House,' in *JEA*, vol. 19, no. 1/2 (May, 1933), pp. 1-7, pls I-III; J.D.S. Pendlebury, 'Preliminary Report of Excavations at el-'Amarnah, 1930-31', in *JEA*, vol. 17, 3/4 (Nov., 1931), pp. 233-244, pls LXIX, LXXIV, LXXVI.

⁴⁹ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 282, fig. 102, pp. 282-283.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, fig. 94, p. 259.

A pharaoh would not travel without a large entourage, including, as this text shows, a military escort.⁵¹ These journeys would have taken some time. A journey along the Nile in 1814, in a 12-14t boat with 6 crew, took 22 days from Qus⁵² to Cairo, with a trip from Luxor adding 2 days extra travelling time,⁵³ so a journey of the royal court from Thebes to Memphis, if the pharaoh was not hurrying, may have taken at least this long, and longer to Piramesse, depending on the time of year. Travelling downstream could add another 3-5 days to the journey.⁵⁴ A trading journey along the Nile from Thebes to Memphis took the ship mentioned in pTurin 2008+2016, just over two months, although this may have included travelling time plus the time they were moored at Memphis.⁵⁵ A shorter journey in both directions would be possible if a boat was rowed and there were no delays, in the form of adverse winds, currents or sandbanks.⁵⁶ Yet, whether a pharaoh took two months, or 22 days or fewer, many supplies would have been needed at each stopping place.⁵⁷ Although the kings' estates, and other institutions, probably provided some of what was needed, from the reign of Tuthmosis III (1479-1425 BC), up to the reign of Horemheb (1323-1295 BC), the local mayors of the town were forced to provide supplies, but Horemheb's

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁵² Qus is between Thebes and Dendera: J.P. Cooper, *The Medieval Nile*, (Cairo & New York, 2014), fig. 10.2, p. 158.

⁵³ Cooper, *The Medieval Nile*, fig. 10.1, p. 157, fig. 10.2, p. 158, table 10.1, p. 159, p. 160, fig. 10.3, p. 161.

⁵⁴ All travel times assume that the ships did not travel at night. These travel times were dependent on the conditions on the river, the time of year, and the prevailing winds at the period in which the journey was undertaken, as well as other unforeseen circumstances that may have occurred. For all of the variables affecting navigation on the Nile, see Cooper, *Medieval Nile*, pp. 125-166.

⁵⁵ J.J. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs. Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008+2016*, (Leiden, 1961), pp. 67, 68. The river flows at an average of 1.85km per hour, and 7.5 kms per hour during inundation, but there were often sandbanks and other impediments to navigation, so two months might be about the average time required for this journey, if travel time was restricted to daylight hours and stops were made along the way: R. Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1996), pp. 5, 6.

⁵⁶ Cooper, *The Medieval Nile*, pp. 155, 156, 260; J. Degas, 'Navigation sur le Nil au Nouvel Empire', in B. Menu, (ed.) *Les problèmes institutionnels de l'eau en Égypte ancienne et dans l'antiquité méditerranéenne*, (Cairo, 1994), pp. 143-145, figs 1-7, pp. 147-152; A.B. Edwards, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, 2nd edn, (London, 1890), pp. 71, 72, 74-75.

⁵⁷ 2,000 to 5,000 loaves of bread every few days were required for the residents at the permanent palace of Seti I at Thebes: KRITA I, pp. 208- 219 (ii-iv), 223- 224 (vii), 230 (xiv); Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 289.

edict banned this behaviour, although without elaborating on its replacement.⁵⁸ A method of ensuring supplies for the supply of the king and his entourage may then have been made by allocating farmland to these establishments, although the records are silent on this matter until the Wilbour Papyrus lists examples of land that was apportioned to establishments such as these.⁵⁹

The lists of provisions in the first two sections of this text, including wine, can be seen to be related to provisioning many of the stopping places of the pharaoh along the river, as well as at the end of his journey, which in this instance would likely have been Piramesse. Yet, the third section of this letter seems to be related to a ceremonial occasion, again, probably at the end of the journey.⁶⁰ Scenes in 18th Dynasty tombs depict such occasions. In these, processions of slaves and foreign envoys are shown bringing tribute or taxes,⁶¹ while scenes in other tombs show the king rewarding his followers from the window of appearances.⁶² Such lavishness as is described in the third section of this text would have been a part of such occasions, which would likely have occurred in the capital, and wine would certainly be served at such an event.

The wine to be provided for the king and, presumably his court, was not Egyptian wine, but wine of Khor (*irp ḥꜣrw*), which was from a region that had long been known for the abundance of its wine and the skill of its vintners.⁶³ Indeed, wine of Khor had been

⁵⁸ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 281-282, 305-306; Murnane, 'Edict from Karnak' (Horemheb's Edict), in *Texts from the Amarna Period*, no. 108, pp. 237-238.

⁵⁹ The Wilbour Papyrus dates to the Twentieth Dynasty, but the method of supplying provisions for these ports, by allocating agricultural land on which to grow food for the establishment was possibly in use earlier: A.H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, vol. II. Commentary, (Oxford, 1948), p. 18; A.H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, vol. III. Translation, (Oxford, 1948), §37, p. 19, §84, p. 37, §85, p. 38, §86, pp. 38-39, §154, pp. 63-64, §156, p. 64, §241, pp. 94-95, §242, p. 95; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 281.

⁶⁰ Gardiner, *LEM*, 16,1 - 17,7, pp. 52-54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 200, 201.

⁶¹ For example: N. De G. Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' at Thebes*, (New York, 1935), pls X-XII; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' at Thebes*, vol. I, (New York, 1943), pls XXI, XXII, XXIII.

⁶² For example: Davies, *Amarna I* pl. XXIX; Davies, *Amarna III*, pls XVI, XVII; Davies, *Amarna IV*, pl. VIII; Davies, *Amarna V*, pl. V; Davies, *Amarna VI*, pls IV, XIX, XXIX.

⁶³ 'The Story of Sinuhe', in J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature. Eight Literary Works of the Middle Kingdom*, (Cambridge, 2015), B 81-82, p. 91, B 87-88, p. 93; J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. 2, *The*

served at the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata for his Sed festivals.⁶⁴ That it was regarded as being of high quality is also shown by the contrast made between it and *pawer*, which is listed in the same part of the text, with *pawer* being designated as a variety of wine fit only for servants who waited upon the king and his retinue.⁶⁵ *Pawer* was also served at Malkata for one of Amenhotep II's Sed festivals, presumably for the servants.⁶⁶ The Syrian wine would likely be served with the 'fine, white bread fit for grandees', along with other delicacies⁶⁷ unlike the *pawer*, which, as it was for the lower classes, would have been accompanied by ordinary bread, such as was served to the army.⁶⁸ The contrasts highlight the difference in what was expected for the elite, compared to that for the lower level of society.

However, wine was not the only thing from Khor that was to be present, as slaves, specifically from Canaan, along with those from Cush, were also to be in attendance.⁶⁹ The reference to these two areas at opposite ends of Egyptian influence and power were often used together in the same sentence, as a stock phrase, to contrast these two extremities, and signify the broad spread of Egyptian power.⁷⁰ Furthermore, it showed a reader of the text the sources of imported goods.

Eighteenth Dynasty, (Chicago, 1906), no. 461, no. 462, p. 196: on this campaign Tuthmosis III took 6,428 jars of wine as booty; L. Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose, and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital*, (Glückstadt, 1972), pp. 36, 49; A.J. Koh, A. Yasur-Landau & E.H. Cline, 'Characterizing a Middle Bronze Age Palatial Wine Cellar from tel Kabri, Israel', in *PLOS ONE*, vol. 9, Issue 8 (2014), pp. 1-15, <[doi:10.1371/journal.pone.016406](https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.016406)>, accessed 4th Jan., 2016; Lesko, 'Egyptian Wine Production', p. 223; many chief vintners had 'Asiatic' names and may have come from the Levant: Tallet, *Le vin en Égypte*, pp. 91, 92, 102-106.

⁶⁴ Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, p. 89.

⁶⁵ Gardiner, *LEM*, 16,1, p. 52; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 200.

⁶⁶ Two jar seals of *pawer* were found at Malkata, one labelled as *pawer* for the Sed festival, one as *pawer* for the wine revenue. M.A. Leahy, *Excavations at Malkata and the Birket Habu 1971-1974. The Inscriptions*, vol. IV, (Warminster, 1978), LXII (Sed festival), LXIII (wine revenue), p. 37.

⁶⁷ Gardiner, *LEM*, 17,6, p. 54; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 201.

⁶⁸ Gardiner, *LEM*, 17,6, p. 54; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 201.

⁶⁹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 16,4, 16,5, p. 52; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 200.

⁷⁰ Gardiner, *AEO I*, p. 181*; P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I*, vol. 1, (Cairo, 1994), 11,11, p. 236; Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, pBM EA 10085, Section IV, III, 1,2, p. 90.

Trade with the Levant, and the broader region, provided many luxuries.⁷¹ The many foreign items listed in this text point to Egypt's continuing relationship and trade with its regional neighbours in the 19th Dynasty, and not only with those in the Levant and in its immediate sphere of influence.⁷² Along with wine, other goods such as horses, lapis lazuli, copper, silver, and many different types of oil, were imported into Egypt and there are many scenes in the 18th dynasty tombs of Thebes that show the arrival of people from the Mediterranean and Syria who are bearing a variety of goods.⁷³ However, in the Egyptian worldview, as presented in art, there was no trade, only goods coming into Egypt as tribute, taxes or gifts.⁷⁴

The wine of Khor named in this catalogue of supplies to be ready for the pharaoh's pleasure was not the only product of foreign origin. Other goods are designated as coming from different states within the eastern Mediterranean and the Levant; Amor,⁷⁵ Takhsy,⁷⁶

⁷¹ pAnastasi IV, 15,2 - 15,4.13, 16,1.10, 17,7 - 17,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 51, 52, 54; Caminos pp. 200, 201; Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, pls. II-V, IX-XII; Davies & Faulkner, 'Syrian Trading Venture', pl. VIII; Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, pBM EA 10085, Section IV, II, 10, p. 89-90, III, 1, 2, p. 90, and note 52, p. 90.

⁷² Along with goods from Cyprus, goods from Babylon and Khatti are also noted in this text: Gardiner, *LEM*, 15,2 - 15,4.13, 17,7 - 17,9, pp. 51, 53, 54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 200, 201; Manley, *Atlas*, p. 75.

⁷³ For example: Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pl. XIX; Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, pls. II, III, IV, V, IX, X, XI, XII, with III, V and XII showing men carrying copper ingots on their shoulders; Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, vol. II, (New York, 1943), the upper registers in pls XVIII-XXIII, these plates show, among other items, horses, pl. XXIII and a chariot, pl. XXII; Säve-Söderburgh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XXIII, this is the tomb of the chief physician, Nebamun, who is being consulted by a Syrian, who is bringing gifts of wine and metal ingots. See Porter & Moss, *I*, 1, 7a, p. 464, for a list of these tombs.

⁷⁴ E. Bleiberg, 'The King's Privy Purse During the New Kingdom: An Examination of INW', in *JARCE*, vol. 21 (1984), pp. 155-167; A.H. Gordon, *The Context and Meaning of the Ancient Egyptian Word INW from the Proto-dynastic Period to the End of the New Kingdom*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, (1983), pp. 29-31, 386-390, <<http://search.proquest.com/simsrad.net.ocs>>, accessed 10th August, 2016. Compare this view also with the story of Wenamun, who when stranded in Byblos with no money with which to pay for timber, appeared to think that in the past the timber had been supplied for the love of Amun, rather than it being a trade transaction with gold, silver and other items being used to pay for the timber. He was soon disabused of this notion by the ruler of Byblos, who demanded payment for timber, as had always been the case. H. Goedicke, *The Report of Wenamun*, (Baltimore & London, 1975), XV, pp. 152-153, XVI, p. 153.

⁷⁵ Gardiner, *LEM*, 15,3, p. 51, 16,6, p. 53; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 200-201; Gardiner, *AEO I*, no. 571, pp. 187*-190*.

⁷⁶ Gardiner, *LEM*, 15,4, p. 51; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 200; Gardiner, *AEO I*, pp. 150*-152.

Naharin,⁷⁷ Sangar,⁷⁸ Khatti,⁷⁹ Kedy⁸⁰ and Alasia⁸¹ are named separately.⁸² The naming of items from these regions establishes that, to the Egyptians, these states had a separate identity, but not all of these places were in the sphere of Egyptian influence. Khor was, and Takhsy and Amor may also have come into this category,⁸³ and so some goods in the list may have been received as taxes, tribute or gifts, yet it is probable that the majority of the large commodities were acquired through trade.

While most of the foreign items listed in the letter were small, there were some that were not. Cows and copper from Alasia were to be paraded before the king under the window of appearances, with the metals being named as gifts for the king.⁸⁴ Although Egypt mined copper in the eastern Sinai it needed more than could be supplied from this region, and Cyprus had large copper deposits, which were of a very high purity, and thus good for making weapons.⁸⁵ However, it was independent of Egypt, and so trade would have been the most likely way of obtaining it.⁸⁶ Horses from Babylonia and Khatti were also

⁷⁷ Gardiner, *LEM*, 15,4, p. 51; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 200, Gardiner, *AEO I*, no. 260, pp. 171*-190*.

⁷⁸ Gardiner, *LEM*, 15,3, p. 51, 17,9, p. 54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 200, 201; Gardiner, *AEO I*, pp. 209*-212*.

⁷⁹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 15,3, p. 51, 17,9, p. 54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 200, 201; Gardiner, *AEO I*, no. 245, p. 127*.

⁸⁰ Gardiner, *LEM*, 16,7, 17,2, p. 53; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 200, 201; Gardiner, *AEO I*, no. 257, pp. 134*-136*.

⁸¹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 15,2, p. 51, 17,8, 17,9, p. 54; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 201; Alasia is not listed as a separate item, but it is mentioned in Gardiner, *AEO I*, p. 131*.

⁸² A locality called Iren is also named but Caminos calls it an unknown geographical name of doubtful reading: Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 201, 219.

⁸³ Gardiner, *AEO I*, map p. 133*; Manley, *Atlas*, pp. 75, 97.

⁸⁴ Gardiner, *LEM*, 17,7 - 17, 8; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 201.

⁸⁵ Manley, *Atlas*, p. 19; J. Ogden, 'Metals', in Nicholson & Shaw, (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, pp. 149-151; Z.A. Stos-Gale, 'Patterns of Trade in Cypriot Copper in the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean Revealed Using Data from Oxford Archaeological Lead Isotope Database', (OXALID), in K. Rosińska-Balik, et.al., *Copper and Trade in the South-Eastern Mediterranean. Trade Routes of the Near East in Antiquity*, (London, 2015), p. 121; M. van der Mierop, *The Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of Ramesses II*, (Chichester, 2010), pp. 168, 169.

⁸⁶ This trade was probably under royal control. EA 37, p. 110, in the Amarna letters deals with correspondence between Cyprus (Alasiya) and pharaoh. Copper and horses from Cyprus are being sent to Egypt, with silver being expected from Egypt in return, although both are being referred to as gifts. Similarly, EA 35, p. 107, 10-15, copper is sent from Cyprus, 19-22, silver is requested in return for the copper, 27-29, asks the king for payment, in silver, for timber that was sent to him from Cyprus: W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, (Baltimore & London, 1992); K.A. Kitchen, 'Alas(h)i(y)a (Irs) and Asiya (Isy), in Ancient Egyptian Sources', in D. Michaelides, V. Kassianidou & R. Merillees, (eds), *Egypt and Cyprus in Antiquity*, (Oxford, 2009), pp. 4-6.

to be paraded.⁸⁷ Egypt traded grain to the Hittites, and probably the Hittite *ḫdwr* oil and horses, and no doubt other items, were traded in return as payment.⁸⁸

A trade route from the Far East, and hence the supply of items such as lapis lazuli, and perhaps tin,⁸⁹ came through Babylon.⁹⁰ From there the goods moved along the Euphrates and to the ports of Ugarit and Byblos on the northern Levantine coast, and thence into Egypt, either by land or sea.⁹¹ (Figure 4) Apart from the goods that came through Babylon from further east, Babylonian horses were in demand, and in return, the Egyptians would have paid for them in gold.⁹² In official terms the Egyptians appeared reluctant to acknowledge that foreign trade existed, but it did so,⁹³ and in all likelihood, the wine of Khor was simply one of many items in this list that had been received in trade, although pawer was a product of Egypt.

⁸⁷ Gardiner, *LEM*, 17,9, p. 54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 200, 201.

⁸⁸ Gardiner, *LEM*, 15,2 - 15,3.10, 17,9, pp. 51, 54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 200, 201; J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. 3, *The Nineteenth Dynasty*, (Chicago, 1906), no. 580, p. 244; T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, (Oxford, 2005), pp. 322, 331; Manley, *Atlas*, p. 75.

⁸⁹ Lapis lazuli came from Badakhshan in modern Afghanistan: G. Herrmann, 'Lapis Lazuli: The Early Phases of its Trade', *Iraq*, vol. 30, no. 1 (1968), pp. 21-24, pls XIII, XIV, XV; J.C. Payne, 'Lapis Lazuli in Early Egypt', *Iraq*, vol. 30, no. 1 (1968), pp. 58-61; Tin, which is used in making bronze, is thought also to have come from Afghanistan: van de Mieroop, *Eastern Mediterranean*, pp. 169-170. From the Ramesside period onwards, tin was the metal present in most copper alloys: Ogden, 'Metals', p. 153. For a map showing the raw material found in different regions, see J. Aruz, K. Benzel & J.M. Evans, (eds), *Beyond Babylon. Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, (New York, 2008), map pp. xxii - xxiii.

⁹⁰ Even though it is from an earlier period, EA 8 in the Amarna Letters gives evidence of trade through this region: Moran, *Amarna Letters*, EA 8 p. 16, in which the king of Babylon complains to the Egyptian king about the abduction and murder of one of his, the king of Babylon's, merchants in Canaan, and the possible disruption of caravans, and contact with Egypt that would result if the king of Egypt did not resolve this. With his complaint, the king of Babylon sent lapis lazuli, as a gift.

⁹¹ Manley, *Atlas*, p. 75; J. Vidal, 'Ugarit and the Southern Levantine Sea-Ports', in *JESHO*, vol. 49, no. 3 (2006), pp. 269, 270.

⁹² J. Evans, 'Kassite Babylon', in Aruz, Benzel & Evans, (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, pp. xxii, 202. In EA 9 in the Amarna letters, the king of Babylon asks for gold and in return he will send whatever the Egyptians need from his country: Moran, *Amarna Letters*, EA 9, p. 18.

⁹³ In a passage in a letter in pBologna 1094, a scribe asks whether a merchant has yet returned from Khor: pBologna 1094 5,5.8 - 5,6.8 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 5; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 16; pAnastasi IV, 3,10 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 38; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 138; B.G. Davies, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, (Jonsered, 1997), 'Seti I, The Abydos Decree at Nauri', pp. 280, 291, where *šwty.w ḫ3s.t* (foreign traders) are named; Davies & Faulkner, 'Syrian Trading Voyage', pl. VIII; Goedicke, *Wenamun*, XV, pp. 152-153, XVI, p. 153; Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, pBM EA 10085, Section IV, II, 10, III, 1, 2, pp. 89, 90; Moran, *Amarna Letters*, EA 8, pp. 16-17, EA 35, p. 107, EA 37, p. 110, EA 39 p. 112; Bringing cedar from Lebanon, which was paid for with 'gifts' to the goddess of Byblos, in N. Strudwick, (ed.) *The Tomb of Pharaoh's Chancellor, Senneferi at Thebes (TT99)*, vol. I: The New Kingdom, (Oxford, 2016), Text 4.2, pp. 101-102, pl. 29, colour pls 16A, 17A.

SIGNIFICANCE OF WINE IN THE TEXT

Lists are not uncommon in Egyptian manuscripts of this period. They catalogue the names of different objects, types of food, and places, and were probably used to familiarise the writer, and reader, with these names.⁹⁴ In this text wine and pawa are items contained in a long list of the requirements that appear to be indispensable to ensure the comfort of the pharaoh and his retinue when they arrive at each stop on their journey along the river. Yet the pharaoh would not have been given inferior wine and the fact that it was 'wine of Khor', perhaps demonstrates 'snobbery' on the part of those providing the supplies for the king, especially when it is contrasted with pawa, which was the beverage reserved for the servants.

Gardiner, quite aptly, labelled this type of text, a 'turgid class of composition', and this letter is no exception.⁹⁵ Yet it does show that the servants were not forgotten in the distribution of beverages, as a low-quality local variety of wine was available specifically for their consumption. However, foreign wine was still valued and was being imported from the Levant, and it was this wine of Khor that would be consumed by the pharaoh and the elite, even though Egypt had a thriving wine industry, which can be seen in the next chapter.

⁹⁴ For example: Gardiner, *Hieratic Texts*. 'The equipping of a Syrian expedition', pp. 36*-38*, 'A letter concerning Nubian tribute, pp. 40*- 42*'; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift*, p. 44, no. 7, pp. 48-49, no. 8, p. 49.

⁹⁵ Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift*, p. 44.

CHAPTER 2: WINE FROM THE DELTA

I don't care where the water goes if it doesn't get into the wine.

G.K. Chesterton¹

EXTRACT FROM THE TEXT

pAnastasi IV, 6,10 - 7,9 ²

*Ky hr swd3-ib n p3y=i nb r-nty tw=i {hr} spr.kwi (6,11) <r> Ncy.w (Rc.w-msw-mry-
Imn.w) nh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w) sp3.t Ptri...(7,1) ...Tw=i hr shw.t p3 hc n k3my.wt (7,2) n
<n3> k3m.w n t3 hw.t n.t hh.w n rnp.wt n(.t) nsw bi.ty (Wsr-hpr.w-Rc.w Stp-n-Rc.w)
nh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w) m pr.w <Imn.w> Tw=i hr gmi k3my.w s 7 (7,3) mn4 4 wr 4 nds
6 dm4 tp.w 21 r rdi.t rh p3y=i nb p3 hc n irp gmi=i dbc.w (7,4) m-c hry-k3m.yw t3tiry irp
mn.t 1500, šdh mn.t 50 p3wr mn.t 50 (7,5) inhrm3 pdr 50 izrr.t pdr 50 krh.t 60...*

Another message to my lord. I have arrived (6,11) at Nay Ramesses-Meryamun (l.p.h.) on the edge of the Peteri waters... (7,1) ... I have gathered together all of the vineyard keepers (7,2) of the vineyards of the temple of millions of years of Userkheperure-Setepenre, (l.p.h.), in the House <of Amun>. I found that the vineyard keepers were, 7 men, (7,3) 4 youths, 4 old men, 6 children, total 21 persons. For my lord's information, the whole of the wine which I found sealed (7,4) with the master of vineyard keepers, Tjatiry, is 1,500 menet jars of irep, 50 menet jars of shedeh, 50 menet jars of pawer, (7,5) 50 sacks of pomegranates, 50 sacks and 60 baskets of grapes...³

SUMMARY OF THE TEXT

The text is an administrative letter written by a scribe to a superior, in which he details his actions in respect to the enumeration of the staff and the organisation and transport of the yield of an unspecified number of vineyards belonging to the funerary temple of Seti II. These were in the Delta at Nay-Ramesses-Meryamun on the edge of the Peteri Waters. He collected 1500 menet jars of irep, 50 menet jars of shedeh and 50 menet

¹ G.K. Chesterton, 'Wine and Water', in *Wine, Water and Song*, 3rd edn, (London, 1915), p. 11.

² pAnastasi IV, 6,10 - 7,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 41-42; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 155-159. See Appendix 2 for a full translation of this text.

³ Gardiner, *LEM*, 6,11, 7,1-7,5, pp. 41-42; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 155.

jars of pauer. Along with this wine the scribe was also transporting pomegranates and grapes, which had been grown in the vineyard. He then conveyed these items by water to the administrators of the temple.

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

An insight into how such estates were organised, the types of wine produced and their yield, and how their products were transported, is given by this text. It provides information about the operation of the vineyards and wine making facilities of the domain of a temple of the late 19th Dynasty, which were situated together in one area of the eastern Delta. The wine making operation was probably centralised, as they had only one master winemaker, and, like modern vineyards, this establishment had some vineyards that only grew the grapes and then conveyed them from where they were grown to where they were processed. (Figure 5)

During the 18th dynasty the major area of wine production had been in the western Delta,⁴ but after the Amarna period much of the wine production moved from the western to the eastern side, although there were still vineyards in the western region, and elsewhere,⁵ with the majority of estates, as they were in the 18th dynasty,⁶ still being

⁴ J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn*, (Oxford, 1965), pp. 1-4; C.A. Hope, 'The Jar Sealings', in J. Baines, (ed.), *Stone Vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn*, (Oxford, 1993), no. XIV, p. 103; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, p. 89; KRITA VII 8:1/5, 8:10, 59:1, 59:10; Leahy, *Malkata*, no. 57, p. 13, no. 66, p. 14; M.A. Leahy, 'The Hieratic Labels, 1979-1982', in B.J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports II*, (London, 1985), nos. 13, 17, 20, 26, 29, 32, 34, 42, 45, 47, 57, 71, 92, 97, 114, 116, 120, pp. 67-73; COA III:1, pp. 165-167; N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, (London, 1990), p. 203; P. Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', p. 249.

⁵ For example: eastern Delta: KRITA VII, 49:15, 50:5, 50:10, 5:15, 56:2/5/7/9, 60:5, 61:10, 63:10, western Delta: 50:10, 56:15, 57:1, 57:10, 60:5, 61:5, 62:10, elsewhere: 67:10, 67:15, pp. 38-41; A.S. Abdel Rahman, *Hieratic Ostraca of the Ramesside Period in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo*, (London, 2010), p. 44; Kitchen, 'Vintages', p. 117, fig. 1, p. 119, Eastern Delta: table II: A, E, F, G, I: no. 3, elsewhere: table II: B, C, D, H, I, no. 1, 2, J, K, pp. 121, 122; Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', p. 249; Tallet, *Le vin en Égypte*, p. 264.

⁶ For example the 18th Dynasty: Royalty and temples: Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, pp. 1-4; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, a-g, j-r, pp. 96-97, c, d, g, h, i, p. 99; Kitchen, 'Vintages', table 1: F, no. 1 p. 121; KRITA VII, 58: 1/5, 58:10, 58:15, 59:1, 59:10, p. 39; Leahy, *Malkata*, no. 64, p. 14; Leahy, 'Hieratic Labels', nos 2, 11, 16, 17, 19, 21, 26, 32, 39, 42, 45, 66, pp. 66-69, 71; Officials: Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, no. 26, p. 4; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, p. 100; Leahy, *Malkata*, no. 57, p. 13, no. 62, no. 66, p. 14; Pendlebury, COA III:1, p. 148.

owned by royalty and temples.⁷ The Delta was productive, it was the best location for viticulture and, although there were vineyards elsewhere in Egypt,⁸ it was the region from which much Egyptian wine came.⁹ (Figure 6)

Vineyards were not treated as were agricultural fields, whose crops needed to be replanted every year. Rather, as they were akin to the gardens that produced fruits, vegetables and flowers, they were cultivated and treated as such.¹⁰ This was necessary as grapevines are perennials that require constant tending during their growing season to control weeds, pests and disease.¹¹ They grow best in soils that are well drained, but they are adaptable, and although they require at least 400mm of rainfall per year, they can be grown in a dry climate.¹² The Delta had well drained, alluvial soil,¹³ but, as Egypt's rainfall was low, all vines in Egypt required irrigation.¹⁴

⁷ For example: the 19th dynasty: KRITA VII, 55:15, 56:2/5/7/9, 61:10, 60:5, 60:10, 61:15, 62:10, 62:5, 63:1, 63:5, 63:10, 63:15, 64:5; pp. 39-40; W.M.F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, (London, 1897), nos 5, 6, 9, 10, pl. XIX, no. 13, pl. XX; Kitchen, 'Vintage', fig. 1, p. 119, table I: pp. 120-121.

⁸ For example: **the Oases**: H.W. Fairman, in COA III:1, no. 2, p. 166; Gardiner, AEO II, no. 568, p. 236*; L.L. Giddy, 'Some Exports from the Oases of the Libyan Desert into the Nile Valley - Tomb 131 at Thebes', in *Livre du Centenaire, 1880-1980: Institut français archéologie orientale du Caire*, (Cairo, 1980), p. 122, 123, fig. 1; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. 1, 7,10, p. 231; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 1, no. 19, fig. 4, no. 49, fig.6, no. 73, fig. 7; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, p. 89; COA, III: 1, p. 166; Tallet, *Le vin en Égypte*, pp. 32-40, 246; Säve-Söderburgh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, p. 15, pls XIIb, XIII; C.C. van Siclen III, *Wall Scenes from the Tomb of Amenhotep (Huy) Governor of Bahria Oasis*, (San Antonio, 1981), pp. 8-10, pl. I. **Meidum**: KRITA VII, Formula LXX A-C, p. 41. **Memphis**: Fairman, in COA, III, 1, no. 4, p. 166; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 1, nos 3, 17, fig. 4, nos 25, 28, fig. 5; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, p. 89; Kitchen, 'Vintage', fig. 1, p. 119, table II, K. See also Meeks, 'Oléiculture et viniculture', fig. 2, p. 13- les principaux vignobles de la vallée du Nile.

⁹ pAnastasi III, 1,11 - 3,9 = Gardiner, LEM, pp. 21-23; Caminos, LEM, pp. 73-82; A.H. Gardiner, 'The Stele of Bilgai', in ZAS, 50 (1912), pp. 49-51; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, pp. 88, 89; Kitchen, 'Vintage', fig. 1, p. 119, table II, pp. 121, 122; COA, III: 1, pp. 165-167; Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', p. 249; Tallet, *Le vin en Égypte*, p. 246.

¹⁰ C.J. Eyre, 'The Water Regime for Orchards and Plantations in Pharaonic Egypt', in JEA, vol. 80 (1994), pp. 57-60; Lerstrup, 'The Making of Wine', pp. 63-64.

¹¹ Murray, 'Viticulture and wine production', pp. 584-585; T. Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, (London & New York, 1996), pp. 33, 34.

¹² Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, pp. 42, 43.

¹³ H. Hamdi & S. Abdelhafez, 'Agriculture and soil survey in Egypt', in P. Zdruli, P. Steduto, C. Lacirignola & L. Montanarella, (eds), *Soil resources of Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries*, (Bari, 2001), pp. 111, 112, <<http://www.om.cihea.org/article.php?DPDF=1002089>>, accessed 7th July, 2016; McGovern, *Uncorking the Past*, p. 182.

¹⁴ The wettest part of Egypt is along the Mediterranean coast at modern Alexandria, which has a rainfall of 165 mm per year. World Meteorological Organisation, <<http://worldweather.wmo.int/en/city.html?cityId=1268>>, accessed 7th July, 2016. See K.W. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt*, (Chicago & London, 1976), pp. 26, 27, for a discussion about the climate in ancient Egypt; Eyre, 'Water Regime', p. 58

Watering the vines is rarely shown in New Kingdom tombs, but there are some surviving depictions of this procedure. In Khaemweset's tomb (TT261) the grape vine is being watered by a man pouring water from one of the two jugs that were suspended on pole across his shoulders,¹⁵ and in Neferhotep's tomb (TT49), a *shaduf* is used to draw water from a pool to water the vines and his garden.¹⁶ Fortunately, Cailliaud sketched a scene in TT A5 in one of the now 'lost tombs' of Thebes, which showed a gardener watering the grape arbour with a single jug.¹⁷ This type of watering was necessary, as it had to be directed to the individual vines that were planted in pits, which retained the water,¹⁸ and it needed to be carried out frequently.¹⁹ Even though it was hard work, such manual watering was necessary for vines.²⁰ (Figure 7) Seasonal inundation would have damaged them because waterlogging restricts the root and soil microbial activity, and leads to poor nutrition.²¹

Inundation of the land would have also damaged any trees planted with them, such as the pomegranate trees that were grown in association with the grapes in the establishment in this text.²² Fruit trees and grapes could be cultivated together, with the trees shielding the vines against the wind,²³ but a wall also performed this function and

¹⁵ E. Mackay, 'Note on a New Tomb (No. 260) at Drah Abu'l Naga, Thebes', in *JEA*, vol. 3, no. 2/3 (Apr. - Jul., 1916), pp. 125-126. See also T.G.H. James, *Egyptian Painting and Drawing in the British Museum*, (London, 1985), fig. 11, p. 15, which was first published in N.M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, vol. I, (Chicago, 1936), pl. XXVIII.

¹⁶ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes*, vol. II, (New York, 1933), pl. III.

¹⁷ F. Cailliaud, *The Lost Manuscript of Frédéric Cailliaud: arts and crafts of the ancient Egyptians, Nubians, and Ethiopians*, trans. and ed. E.J. Bednarski, (Cairo & New York, 2014), p. 69, pl. 35; J-C. Hugonot, *Le jardin dans l'Égypte ancienne*, (Frankfort am Main, 1989), fig. 236, p. 254, shows a jug used for watering plants.

¹⁸ M. Bietak, 'Ein altägyptischen Weingarten in Tempelbezirk', in *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 122, (1985), p. 274, pls IIb, III; Eyre, 'Water Regime', p. 63.

¹⁹ Eyre, 'Water Regime', pp. 58, 63.

²⁰ 'The Satire of the Trades', in W.K. Simpson, (ed.,) *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, (Cairo, 2013), no. 12, p. 434.

²¹ Eyre, 'Water Regime', pp. 58, 59; J. Robinson, 'Drainage', in *The Oxford Companion to Wine*, 4th ed., (Oxford, 2015), p. 242.

²² Gardiner, *LEM*, 7,5, p. 42; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 155; Eyre, 'Water Regime', p. 59.

²³ Meeks, 'Oléiculture et viticulture', p. 19.

some vineyards were surrounded by a wall for added protection.²⁴ The vineyard in a temple at Tell el Dab'a had an area of 150 square metres, which was enclosed by the temple walls,²⁵ and a structure attached to the palace at Amarna, which is believed to have been a vineyard, was also surrounded by a wall.²⁶ When Ramesses III renewed and enlarged the vineyard of Kankemet, which was in the Delta near Piramesse, he claimed to have surrounded it with an enclosure wall, but whether other large vineyards in the Delta were surrounded by walls is unknown.²⁷

As the vineyards in this text had only had one master winemaker, Tjatiry, they would have been grouped closely together for ease of supervision and the transport of grapes to the processing area.²⁸ They were situated at Nay Ramesses-Meriamun, on the Peteri Waters in the eastern Delta,²⁹ a channel which is thought to have been in the vicinity of Piramesse, possibly south of the city, although its exact location is unknown.³⁰ Nay Ramesses may have been one of many villages on the Peteri Waters, an area which is mentioned on wine jar labels from the Ramesseum³¹ and on some labels that have been

²⁴ This can be seen in some tomb representations. For example: The garden in the tomb of Sennefer, <<http://www.osirisnet.net>>, accessed 5th July, 2016 has both trees and a wall surrounding it. This garden is also represented in J.G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. 2, (London, 1837, republished New York, 2013), p. 143; the tomb of Ineni: E. Dziobek, *Das Grab des Ineni, Theban Nr. 81*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1992), taf. 15; The Old Kingdom vineyard of Metjen was enclosed by a wall: Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1, I, 4-5; Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, no. 108, p. 193; Hugonot, *Le jardin*, p. 157.

²⁵ Bietak, 'Ein altägyptischen Weingarten', pp. 268-278; Bietak & Forstner-Müller, 'The topography of New Kingdom Avaris and Per-Ramesses', fig. 2, p. 25; Meeks, 'Oléiculture et viniculture', p. 31; A. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1998), p. 28.

²⁶ This part of the structure was originally labelled as the coronation hall: COA: III, 2, pls XIIIc, XIV; C. Traunecker & F. Traunecker, 'Sur la salle dite "du couronnement" à Tell el-Amarna', in *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève*, no. 9-10 (1984-85), p. 288.

²⁷ pHarris I (pBM EA 9999) in J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. 4, *The Twentieth to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasties*, (Chicago, 1906), no. 216, p. 122; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. 1, (8,5), p. 231.

²⁸ Gardiner, *LEM*, 7,4, p. 42; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 155.

²⁹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 6,11, p. 41; Caminos, *LEM*, , p. 155.

³⁰ Kitchen, 'Vintages', p. 117, fig. 1, p. 119.

³¹ KRI II, 689:15,16, (Peteri waters) 690:2,3 (Nay Ramesses); KRITA II, Formula XXIV, p. 457 (Nay Ramesses); W. Spiegelberg, *Hieratic Ostraca and Papyri Papyri found by J. E. Quibell in the Ramesseum 1895-1896*, (London, 1898), pl. XIXA, no. 145 (Nay Ramesses), pl. XXIA, no. 168 (Peteri waters); W. Spiegelberg, 'Bemerkungen zu den hieratischen Amphoreninschriften des Ramesseums', in *ZAS*, 58 (1923), B III, p. 30 (Nay Ramesses); Kitchen, 'Vintages', pp. 117-118, fig. 1, p. 119, table II, G, 1-3 (Peteri waters), I, 3 (Nay Ramesses), pp. 121-122.

found at Deir el-Medina.³² This was a well-established wine producing region and, as can be seen in this text, its importance had not diminished.

Tending vineyards and making the wine was time consuming, and it required many workers. One of the commissions of the scribe appeared to have been to establish the number of people working in the vineyards, and along with the list of its produce that he was sending to the temple he also sent the numbers and ages of those working there, probably for administrative purposes. Excluding Tjatiry, they numbered twenty-one, and of these workers there were seven men, presumably in their prime, four youths, who would have been learning the trade, four elderly men who may have been assigned lighter duties, and six children, who were probably the offspring of the workers, whose wives would have lived in the village.³³ These workers were under the control of the master winemaker, Tjatiry.³⁴

Men such as Tjatiry carried a great responsibility, as upon them rested the success or failure of the vintage.³⁵ Nonetheless, while they were important within their milieu, their status may not have been high outside their local environment, as there are no personal funerary records found from this group. The only monument left to them as individuals, is their name written on wine jar labels.³⁶ Tjatiry is named in this text as the master of the vineyard workers, and although his name is of Semitic origin³⁷ this does not necessarily

³² KRI VII, 63:9-12 (Peteri waters); KRITA VII, Formula XXV, p. 39 (Nay Ramesses), 63:10, p. 40 (Peteri waters); Y. Koenig, *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres hiéroglyphiques de Deir el-Medineh II, Nos 6242-6497*, (Cairo, 1980), nos 6318, 6329, 6335, 6373, 6392, 6415, 6416, 6453, 6467; A.H. Gardiner, 'The Delta Residence of the Ramessides', in *JEA*, vol. 5, no. 3 (Jul., 1918), p. 189; Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', p. 245.

³³ Gardiner, *LEM*, 7,2, 7,3, p. 41; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 155.

³⁴ Gardiner, *LEM*, 7,4, p. 42; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 155.

³⁵ In the 18th dynasty tomb of Intef (TT155), the chief winemaker is depicted tasting the grapes as they are picked, and after the wine has been made he is shown tasting the wine and giving it his approval before it is taken to the storeroom: Säve-Söderburgh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pls. XIV, XV.

³⁶ For example: Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, nos 1-23, pp. 1-3; F.L. Griffith, 'The Jar Inscriptions', in W.M.F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, (London, 1894), p. 33; Tallet, *Le vin en Égypte*, pp. 100-103, 105-106.

³⁷ T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, (Göttingen, 1992), no. 556 p. 258.

mean that he was from the Levant, although his immediate forbears may have been. There was a long history of wine making in this region, and of Levantine peoples contributing to the wine making industry in Egypt,³⁸ with its wine having been imported into Egypt from an early period.³⁹ The winemakers and the wine of the Levant were prized, and from the reign of Hatshepsut to the 20th dynasty there are 45 wine jar labels that bear the names of a chief winemaker with a Levantine name.⁴⁰

Tjatiry would have controlled and supervised the whole process of the vintage, with the number of workers he controlled probably reflecting the number of those working in vineyards of the same size. Under his direction, they would have carried out the weeding, pruning and watering of the grapevines, and the picking and pressing of the grapes. He would have controlled the fermentation, and overseen the workers sealing the jars, and he would then have been named on the jar label.⁴¹ (Figure 8)

The depictions of vintaging scenes in the Theban tombs of the 18th Dynasty are the sources of information about the processes of wine making in the New Kingdom.⁴² Between them they show the operations that would be common to all vineyards. While artistic representations of the grape harvest in New Kingdom tombs invariably show only

³⁸ Habachi, *Second Stela of Kamose*, pp. 36, 49; Koh, Yasur-Landau & Cline, 'Characterizing a Middle Bronze Age Palatial Wine Cellar', p. 4; McGovern *et al.*, 'Beginnings of Winemaking and Viniculture', p. 10.

³⁹ McGovern, 'The Origins of the Tomb U-j Syro-Palestinian Type Jars', pp. 407-416; McGovern, *The Foreign Relations of the 'Hyksos': A Neutron Activation Study of the Middle Bronze Pottery from Tell el-Dab'a*, pp. 74-76, 81-83; McGovern, *Ancient Wine*, map 4, p. 113, pp. 113-114. There were eight jar labels from Malkata, for the Sed festival of Amenhotep III, which were labelled 'wine of Khor', Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, p. 89.

⁴⁰ Lesko, 'Egyptian Wine Production', pp. 223-224; Tallet, *Le vin en Égypte*, pp. 100-103, 105-06.

⁴¹ Säve-Söderburgh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, p. 16, pls XIV, XV.

⁴² No documentary evidence has been found that describes the process of making wine. There are 49 New Kingdom tombs in the Theban area, and 1 at El Kab, but not all have been published. <<http://www.wineofancientegypt.com>>, accessed 14th July, 2016. There is one 19th Dynasty tomb that has a vintaging scene, the tomb of Ipy (TT217): N. de G. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, (New York, 1927), pls XXX, XXXVI; Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, vol. II, (Chicago, 1936), pl. XCVIII.

men involved in this process,⁴³ there are exceptions. In the tombs of Paheri,⁴⁴ Nehemaway (TT165)⁴⁵ and Neferhotep (TTA5),⁴⁶ women are among the grape pickers, (Figure 9) while the tomb of Khaemweset (TT261) shows a child, or a youth, holding a basket for pickers.⁴⁷ However, while women and children are rarely shown participating in aspects of the harvest, all available staff, and possibly their wives, may have picked the grapes at harvest time,⁴⁸ which was usually in late summer.⁴⁹ Amongst the personnel listed in this text were six children whose task during the harvest may have included the scaring away of birds from the ripe grapes.⁵⁰ However, they would have also been learning other tasks in the vineyard, as from an early age children were introduced to the duties they would have to carry out as an adult.⁵¹ Nevertheless, it is unlikely they would have pressed the grapes, as this is a physically demanding activity.⁵²

The primary method of macerating grapes to extract the must, which is shown in New Kingdom tombs, involved treading them, with the number of persons shown

⁴³ For example: the tomb of Parennefer (TT188), in N. de G. Davies, 'Akhenaten at Thebes', *JEA*, vol. 9, no. 3/4 (Oct., 1923), pl. XXVI; N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis IV (Nos 75 and 90)*, (London, 1923), pl. XXX; the tomb of Ipy, in Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pls. XXX, XXXIII.

⁴⁴ Tomb of Paheri, no. 5, The wine harvest, <<http://www.osirisnet.net>>, accessed 11th July, 2016; J.J. Tylor & F.L. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, (London, 1894), pl. IV. The vintaging scene in the tomb of Wensu, no. A4 at Thebes, now destroyed, but described by Manniche from the many drawings made of its scenes by early travellers, appears to have been a copy of that of Paheri at El Kab, and so the vintaging scene, which was not drawn, may also have contained a woman picking the grapes: L. Manniche, *Lost Tombs. A Study of Certain Eighteenth Dynasty Monuments in the Theban Necropolis*, (London & New York, 1988), pp. 63-87; P & M, I, 1, tomb A4, pp. 445, 446.

⁴⁵ N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, (London, 1913), p. 41. Davies recorded that in this tomb (TT165) there was a drawing of girls picking grapes from a trellis, which was near the rough sketch of a wine press. However, he only catalogued the scenes, as it was a very small tomb.

⁴⁶ Cailliaud, *Lost Manuscript*, p. 69, pl. 35. This is TTA5, which is now lost. See Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, pp. 43-47, pl. 1, no. 2.

⁴⁷ James, *Egyptian Painting*, no. 11, p. 15.

⁴⁸ The number of those shown picking the grapes ranges from two in the tomb of Ipy: Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pls. XXX, XXXIII, to seven in the tomb of Parennefer: Davies, 'Akhenaten at Thebes', pl. XXVI.

⁴⁹ Murray, 'Viticulture and wine production', p. 585.

⁵⁰ Manniche, 'Tomb No. A24', in *Lost Tombs*, p. 97; P & M, I, 1, A24, p. 454; Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, vol. 2, no. 136, p. 149, has a drawing of grape vines, with a boy scaring away birds, which Manniche, and Porter and Moss describe as having been in this tomb.

⁵¹ R.M. Janssen & J.J. Janssen, *Growing up and Getting Old in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2007), pp. 42-45.

⁵² This consists of treading a thick mass of semi-liquefied grapes, in a large vat, at knee height, for two to three hours at a time. See fig. 11 in this thesis.

performing this task varying from three to eight.⁵³ This establishment had seven adult men who would have been available for the pressing of the grapes, as well as the adolescents, who probably helped the adults in this activity, as treading scenes in two Theban tombs do depict an adolescent amongst the treaders.⁵⁴ (Figure 10)

A small wine pressing vat, and its associated vineyard, was excavated at Tell el-Dab'a in 1985.⁵⁵ It was made of plastered stone and measured approximately 1.2 x 0.62m, with an unknown depth, and had a bifurcated sloping limestone trough through which the must was drained into another tank.⁵⁶ The establishment written of in this text, for the yield recorded,⁵⁷ would have required a larger vat than this, and probably more than one of them, depending on the length of the harvest and the yield of grapes during a season.⁵⁸ (Figure 11) However, they would have resembled the one excavated, and those depicted in tombs.⁵⁹ The grapes were placed in the vat and macerated by foot, possibly over a period of two to three days, before the must was drained into another tank, from where it was taken and placed in jars for further fermentation. The adolescents and the older men would

⁵³ For example: There are four men treading the grapes in the tomb of Intef: Säve-Söderburgh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XIVb, and the number of treaders varies from 3 in the tomb of Ipy: Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXXIII, to 8 in the tomb of Parennefer: Davies, 'Akhenaten at Thebes', pl. XXVI.

⁵⁴ C. Beinlich-Seeber & A.G. Shedid, *Das Grab des Userhat (TT56)*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1987), taf. 13; Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, vol. I, pl. XLVIII. This scene is also described and shown in Cailliaud, *Lost Manuscript*, p. 69, pl. 34.

⁵⁵ Bietak, 'Ein altägyptischen Weingarten', pp. 267-278. A study of the plaster surface showed that the material that had been in the vat was grape juice: McGovern, *Ancient Wine*, p. 120.

⁵⁶ Bietak, 'Ein altägyptischen Weingarten', pp. 274-275, Abb. 9, 10.

⁵⁷ Gardiner, *LEM*, 7,4, p. 42; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 155.

⁵⁸ Vintaging scenes in tombs give no idea of the length of time taken for any of the operations, or the volumes involved. The practice of treading grapes by foot is still carried out in some modern vineyards, primarily in Portugal, for certain qualities of red wine, and port. The grapes are crushed for a period of two to three hours over two to three days by two to three people per vat, depending on the size of the vat. The wine begins to ferment during this period in the treading vat. The must is then drained, before undergoing further fermentation in tanks. Information and observation from Casa de Mateus and Quinta Dona Maria in Portugal, obtained during a visit in September, 2016. See also Robinson, 'Port winemaking', in *Oxford Wine Companion*, pp. 570-571.

⁵⁹ For example, the vat in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT49) has two spouts from which the must ran into another trough from which it was removed and placed in jars: Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, vol. 1, pl. XLVIII. See also Cailliaud, *Lost Manuscript*, pl. 34, which is an earlier drawing of the scene, and is a better depiction than that in the tomb report, as a third spout has been added to the drawing in Neferhotep's tomb at a later period.

have filled the jars with the must,⁶⁰ with the fermentation of the wine proceeding in the jars,⁶¹ (Figure 12) which had been made elsewhere and shipped to the Delta. Because of its porosity, the Delta clay was unsuitable for making vessels that would store wine, and Memphis, because of its proximity to the Delta, is thought to have been the likely source of the wine amphorae.⁶²

Making and 'bottling' the wine would have been carried out over a period of time, with the fermentation time varying between jars,⁶³ and although the fermentation of both red and white wines would usually have been completed within four to seven days, this may not always have been the case.⁶⁴ Once the fermentation in each jar was completed the jar needed to be sealed, and the whole vintage was then stored together, before shipping. Although not as large as the storerooms of the Ramesseum,⁶⁵ this establishment would have needed a large storage area for its wine, and it would have resembled these facilities and other enclosed storerooms, like those of Amun, which are shown in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT100),⁶⁶ and in other 18th Dynasty tombs.⁶⁷ Such storerooms would have been built of mud brick, which would have helped to keep the wine at an even temperature.

⁶⁰ Examples of this are shown in: Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, vol. I, pl. XLVIII; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes*, vol. II, (New York, 1943), pl. XLV; Davies, 'Akhenaten at Thebes', pl. XXVI.

⁶¹ Fermentation can be seen occurring in jars in the tombs of Amenemhet and Nebamun. The tomb of Amenemhet: Nina de G. Davies & A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt* (No. 82), (London, 1915), pl. XXVI; the tomb of Nebamun: Davies, *Two Officials*, pl. XXX.

⁶² J. Bourriau, 'The Beginnings of Amphora Production in Egypt', in J. Bourriau & J. Phillips, (eds), *Invention and Innovations: The Social Context of Technological Change. 2, Egypt, the Aegean and the Near East 1650-1150 BC*, (Oxford, 2004), pp. 85-88; J. Bourriau, P. Nicholson & P. Rose, 'Pottery', in Nicholson, & Shaw, (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, p. 132.

⁶³ Scenes in the tombs of Amenemhet and Nebamun show wine jars with the wine at various stages of the fermentation process. Amenemhet's shows some jars being filled, while some wine is fermenting, (Davies & Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, pl. XXVI) and Nebamun's shows fermentation occurring in some jars, while others have been sealed (Davies, *Two Officials*, pl. XXX).

⁶⁴ Robinson, 'fermentation', *Oxford Wine Companion*, p. 277. The only real means of controlling the temperature of fermentation that the Egyptians had was shade, and the small size of the amphorae in which the fermentation occurred, which allowed the heat of fermentation to be dispersed easily.

⁶⁵ Lesko, 'Egyptian Wine Production', fig. 14.8, p. 227.

⁶⁶ Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, pls XLVIII, XLIX.

⁶⁷ The royal storeroom in the tomb of Parennefer: Davies, *Amarna VI*, pl. IV; Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, vol. I, pl. XLV; The tomb of Menkheperresonb (TT86) in Nina de G. Davies & N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose and Another*, (London, 1933), pl. VIII; the tomb of Kenamun (TT162) in Nina de G. Davies, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs (nos 38, 66, 162, with excerpts from 81)*, (Oxford, 1963), pl.

The scribe sent to transport the wine would have found the whole vintage in the storeroom, as it had already been sealed.⁶⁸ The only surviving depiction of this process is in the tomb of Khaemwaset.⁶⁹ (Figure 13) It involved placing a stopper made of reeds or leaves, or an inverted pottery saucer into the neck of the jar, the opening of which was then covered with a layer of clay to seal it, and then sealing the whole neck of the jar with a large outer sealing made of clay, which then had a rush binding tied just below the top.⁷⁰ (Figure 14)

When the clay was still soft it was imprinted with a stamp⁷¹ that gave information about the jars' origins and contents, which enabled them to be readily identifiable to those preparing it for serving.⁷² While it was important to know this, seals and stamps on wine were also able to prevent the possibility of theft from the jar of what was an expensive commodity,⁷³ and one that had to be transported over a long distance to where it was consumed.⁷⁴

XIXb; The tomb of Intef, in Säve-Söderburgh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, p. 18, pl. XV; van Siclen III, *Wall Scenes from the Tomb of Amenhotep*, pp. 8-10, 33-34, fig. 5, p. 9, pl. I.

⁶⁸ Gardiner, *LEM*, 7,4, p. 42; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 155.

⁶⁹ Mackay, 'Note on a New Tomb', pl. XIV; James, *Egyptian Painting*, no. 11 p. 15. A vintaging scene in lost tomb A5 includes what may be either the sealing or possibly the stamping of the seals. It is difficult to tell from the drawing, but Cailliaud wrote that they were being sealed: Cailliaud, *Lost Manuscript*, p. 69, pl. 35.

⁷⁰ C. Hope, *Excavations at Malkata and the Birket Habu 1971-1974: Jar Sealings and Amphorae of the 18th Dynasty: A Technological Study*, vol. 5, (Warminster, 1978), pp. 6-7, pls I-IV; Hope, 'The Jar Sealings', pp. 91-96, fig. 1a: p. 92. This process was also observed and described by a traveller to Egypt in 1672: Wansleben, *Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage*, pp. 255-256.

⁷¹ A scene showing this process is in the tomb of Parennefer at Thebes: Gardiner, 'Akhenaten at Thebes', pl. XXVIII, A, C; Such a stamp was found at Amarna: COA II, pl. XXXII 6a, 6b; Hope, 'The Jar Sealings', pp. 96, 97.

⁷² For example: Seal from a jar stamped with the names of Amenhotep III, from the palace of Malkata, MMA 36.2.4, <<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection>>, accessed 20th November, 2016; Wine jar seal from Tutankhamun's tomb, Griffith Institute, no. 432, photo p1711; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 3, pp. 157-158, fig. 25: A-M, fig. 26: N-T, fig. 29: EEE; Hope, 'The Jar Sealings', fig. 3, p. 98, fig. 4, p. 100, fig. 5: XXIV-XXVII, p. 107, pp. 99, 101-106, 108; Petrie, *Six Temples*, pl. III: 23; W.M.F. Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, (London, 1927), pl. LX: 165; Reeves, *Complete Tutankhamun*, p. 202.

⁷³ J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period. An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes*, (Leiden, 1975), pp. 350-352.

⁷⁴ For example: H.S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions*, (London, 1976), type 20, p. 167, type 36, p. 169, type 47, p. 171, types 53, 54, 55, p. 171, type 63, p. 172, table III, pp. 184-185; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 3, p. 162.

In his letter, the scribe listed the number of jars of wine that had to be transported, with this count having been carried out by scribes attached to the vineyard, who would also have registered the jars as they were sealed. Possibly only the number of vineyard workers had to be counted, and so no scribes were mentioned as part of the staff, although there would have been at least one or two assigned to such an establishment. As well as registering the numbers of jars⁷⁵ and the volume of wine produced, for taxation purposes⁷⁶ and for the temple's records, the scribes would have labelled the wine jars with ink. This label included the regnal year of the vintage,⁷⁷ the type of wine, the quality of the wine (good, very good), if applicable, the name of the vineyard and its location, and the name of the master winemaker.⁷⁸

The total quantity of wine was composed of 1,500 menet jars of irep, 50 menet jars of shedeh and 50 menet jars of pawer,⁷⁹ which was a low quality grape wine.⁸⁰ The smoothest wine comes from the first pressing, which in an Egyptian vineyard was carried out by treading the grapes. However, this technique could not extract all the juice, and while a sack press can be used as a secondary means of extraction, and is shown in vintaging scenes in Old and Middle Kingdom tombs,⁸¹ it is rarely depicted in New Kingdom tombs.⁸² (Figure 15) Nevertheless, its relative absence in the visual record does not mean that vineyards did not use it, with the must extracted being added to the wine from the first

⁷⁵ The registration process can be seen in: Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid, *Das Grab des Userhat*, taf. 13; Cailliaud, *Lost Manuscript*, pl. 35 (TT A5); N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemre at Thebes*, vol. I, (New York, 1922), pl. XIA; E. Mackay, 'Note on a New Tomb', pl. XIV; Tylor & Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, pl. IV.

⁷⁶ The Bilgai stela refers to wine paid as tax: A.H. Gardiner, 'The Stele of Bilgai', in ZAS, 50 (1912), p. 51.

⁷⁷ The king's name was not mentioned.

⁷⁸ Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, nos 1-26, pp. 1-4; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, p. 82; Tallet, 'Les "étiquettes" de jarres à vin', p. 1125.

⁷⁹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 7,4, p. 42, Caminos, *LEM*, p. 155.

⁸⁰ It is listed as being for the servants in pAnastasi IV, 16,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 52, line 9; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 200; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 236*.

⁸¹ Lerstrup, 'Making of Wine', p. 65, no. 6.

⁸² It is shown in: Dziobek, *Ineni*, pl. 9; Davies, *Puyemre*, vol. II, pl. XII; the tomb of Intef in Säve-Söderburgh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XV; the tomb of Parennefer in Davies, 'Akhenaten at Thebes', pl. XXVI.

pressing. Pawan was probably the beverage that resulted from a third pressing of the grapes, after the pomace had been mixed with water and left to steep before pressing it again.⁸³ This resulted in a low yield of a low-quality wine that was not thought good enough to be classified as *irep*, and so it was given to the servants of the establishment owning the vineyards at which it was produced.

A jar label from Deir el-Medina and two seals from Malkata have been found with the name of pawan on them, *p3wr n p3 hb-sd* and *p3wr n inw*, the latter also bearing a seal impression *irp n inw* (wine for revenue),⁸⁴ and there are attestations of it in the literature in which it is invariably linked with *irep*.⁸⁵ In this text, it is listed as being part of the produce of a vineyard, it is being shipped in the same type of container as were *irep* and *shedeh*, and it is included in the tally of the grape wines.⁸⁶ It should, therefore be considered a variety of grape wine, and so it has been included within the calculations of the total output of wine from this establishment.⁸⁷

⁸³ Pomace is the solid remaining after the pressing, and it can contain some alcohol and sugar: Robinson, *Oxford Wine Companion*, p. 568. The Greeks and Romans were known to mix water with the pomace and press it again to yield a low-quality wine that was served to low paid workers and slaves: 'Vinification', p. 339, 'piquette', p. 565, in Robinson, *Oxford Companion to Wine*.

⁸⁴ Leahy, *Malkata*, nos LXII (*p3wr n p3 hb-sd*), LXIII, (*p3wr n inw*), p. 37. LXIII also bears the stamp impression *irp n inw* (wine revenue), *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 32, 37; Tallet, *Le vin en Égypte*, Document 1, p. 501, docs 2 & 3 p. 502.

⁸⁵ Pawan is mentioned together with *shedeh* in: pAnastasi I = Gardiner, *Hieratic Texts*, 5,2, 5,3, p. 20, p. 9*; pAnastasi IIIA, 2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 33, lines 2,3; pAnastasi IV,16,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 52, line 9; pAnastasi IV, 7,4 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 42, line 2. There are 5 attestations of pawan in the medical papyri, which have dates that fall within the scope of this thesis: **pBerlin** 3038, 11,1 (no. 126), 16,7 (no. 163h) = W. Wreszinski, *Der grosse medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums (Pap. Berl. 3038): in Facsimile und Umschrift mit Übersetzung, Kommentar und Glossar*, (Leipzig, 1909) = Bordinet: *Les papyrus médicaux*, pp. 424, 430: no. 126 is mentioned in conjunction with wine of Djahy (*irp n d3hy*), although the others are not linked with wine; **pHearst**, 11,6 (no. 161), 1,7 (no. 236) = Wreszinski, *Der Londoner medizinische papyrus (Brit. Museum nr. 10059) und der papyrus Hearst in transkription* = Bordinet, *Les papyrus médicaux*, pp. 396, 405; **pLondon**, 3,5 (no.6) = Wreszinski, *Der Londoner medizinische papyrus* = Bordinet, *Les papyrus médicaux*, p. 484. It is not to be expected that the prescriptions in the medical papyri would always mix pawan with the more expensive wines.

⁸⁶ Gardiner, *LEM*, 7,4, p. 42; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 155.

⁸⁷ That it is invariably linked with other varieties of wine indicates that the Egyptians considered it to be grape wine or they would not have done so. Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol. 1, p. 146, lists it as 'unmellowed wine'; Tallet considers it to have been grape wine: Tallet, *Le vin en Égypte*, pp. 500-503; Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', p. 245.

The wine was contained in menet jars, with this type of jar containing either 10, 20 or 30 *hin* (*ḥnw*), which could be either 5, 10 or 15 litres.⁸⁸ Based on the dimensions of New Kingdom wine jars, first Meeks, and later Tallet, calculated the volume contained in these jars, and concluded that the average volume in a menet jar, at this time, was approximately 10 litres (20 *hin*).⁸⁹ This being the case the 1500 jars of irep, 50 jars of shedeh and 50 jars of pawer being shipped, contained a total of 16,000 litres of wine of varying quality, for this particular year.

This volume of wine may not have been produced annually, due to yearly variations in local conditions. It is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the yield per hectare of ancient vineyards because of variables that involve local conditions about which we now know very little. Modern vineyards can produce a yield of 2,700 to 13,500 litres per hectare, depending on the terrain, the weather, and the grape and soil types, not to mention the use of modern technology.⁹⁰ A vineyard in the Delta in New Kingdom Egypt, especially one under the control of an expert, may have yielded 2,700 litres per hectare, or even more. If the minimum figure is taken, then in order to produce 16,000 litres, the combined area of the vineyards belonging to this establishment would have been, at its smallest, approximately 6 hectares, but this area may have been larger because the yield would have varied from year to year. Additionally, the spacing between the rows and the plants would have to be taken into consideration when estimating the area under cultivation.

⁸⁸ P. Grandet, 'Weights and Measures' in D.B. Redford, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, para. 4, <<http://www.oxfordreference.com>>, accessed 25th November, 2016; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 330, 340. Jars found at the fortress at Buhen and containing more than 30 *hin* generally did not contain wine: H.S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions*, (London, 1976), no. 405, p. 191.

⁸⁹ Meeks, 'Oléiculture et viniculture', pp. 30-31; Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', p. 246.

⁹⁰ Robinson, 'yield', *Oxford Wine Companion*, pp. 830-831; Wine Spectator, <<http://www.winespectator.com/drvinny/show/id/5350>>, accessed 16th July, 2016.

The 1.26 hectares of the vineyard at Amarna was thought to have been able to produce about 2300 litres of wine.⁹¹ If this were to be the yield of the vineyards in this text, then a total area of approximately 8.8 hectares would be required, which is close to the figure calculated by Meeks and Tallet.⁹² The vineyard at Amarna occupied 1.26 hectares and had approximately 1630 plants, with 1.35 m between them, which is 1,293 vines per hectare.⁹³ If the text's establishment had this spacing for the plants, assuming an area of six hectares, and a yield of 2,700 litres, then it would have had approximately 7,700 plants to tend. If a figure of 8.8 hectares and a lower yield is assumed, with the same spacing, then there would have been about 11,000 plants.⁹⁴ Yet, whatever the number of plants it had, and whether its area was six or eight hectares, this was a large establishment, which would probably have been typical of the size of Delta estates belonging to temples and royalty, and perhaps to some of the high elite, although the only real point of comparison is with the Armana vineyard, as no vineyards from the Ramesside period have been found.⁹⁵

The yield from this establishment was 16,000 litres of wine, 500 litres of which was shedeh. Tallet has studied the records relating to the number of the remaining wine jar labels and seals from wine jars. Of these approximately 3,000 documented labels and seals from the New Kingdom from various sites, only twenty-seven are from jars of shedeh and of these, seventeen are jar labels and ten are stamped seals from jars.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Traunecker & Traunecker, 'Sur la salle', p. 304.

⁹² Meeks, 'Oléiculture et viniculture', p. 31 (8.33 ha); Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', p. 246 (8.5 ha).

⁹³ Meeks, 'Oléiculture et viniculture', p. 31; Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', pp. 244-245; Traunecker & Traunecker, 'Sur le salle', p. 304.

⁹⁴ Such estimates have limitations as they cannot take into account variables such as the grape varieties used, the density of the planting, the size of the area under cultivation, and the pests that attacked the vines.

⁹⁵ Traunecker & Traunecker, in 'Sur le salle', note 68 p. 304, speak of the difficulty in gleaning information about vineyard sizes from pHarris I, because of its global nature. The grandiose character of the language also prevents an estimation of the number and sizes of vineyards. For example: Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. 1, 7,10, p. 231, 45,3, p. 286. The volume of wine given to the god is also difficult to estimate, as it is listed as different types of jars, the capacities of which are not known: *Ibid.*, 18a, 12, p. 248.

⁹⁶ Tallet, *Le vin en Égypte*, pp. 455-462.

Shedeh appears to have been an exclusive type of red wine, which was generally classified as good or very good.⁹⁷ Yet, the remaining labels from jars of shedeh may not provide a representative sample of the level of production of this beverage, as chance would have played a large role in their survival. A comparison of the number of jars of shedeh to those of irep produced by the establishment in this text gives a ratio of 1 to 30, which is almost identical to that seen in the Amarna labels, which is 1 to 31.⁹⁸ By extrapolating this ratio to overall wine production during the 18th and 19th Dynasties, shedeh can be seen to be a relatively rare commodity, and probably one that was expensive and prized, as it was only about 3% of wine production in this period.⁹⁹

Shedeh was perhaps difficult and time consuming to make, and it is not certain how it was made, although a papyrus from the Ptolemaic period (pSalt 825) appears to describe part of its manufacture as involving filtration and heating.¹⁰⁰ Wahlberg thinks that the must was filtered, and then heated to reduce the volume of liquid. After another filtration the liquid was added to fermented wine, and the sugar content of the concentrated grape juice started a secondary fermentation, which resulted in a wine with a higher alcohol content than was originally present, and perhaps increased its sweetness.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, table, p. 463.

⁹⁸ Tallet, 'Le shedeh', p. 475.

⁹⁹ Tallet, 'Le shedeh', p. 476. This increased to about 6% during the reign of Ramesses III, Grandet, *Papyrus Harris*, 218a, p-12, p. 248.

¹⁰⁰ P. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt (BM 10051): rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1965), vol. I, II, 1, p. 137, no. 10, p. 148, vol. II, pl. I,1 - II.2, p. 1*; Tallet, 'Le shedeh', p. 482; E-L. Wahlberg, 'The mysterious beverage called shedeh', in *GM*, 230 (2011), p. 75.

¹⁰¹ Tallet, 'Le shedeh', p. 479; Wahlberg, *The Wine Jars Speak*, pp. 28-29; Wahlberg, 'Mysterious beverage', pp. 77-80. There is a scene in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Baqet III at Beni Hasan, which is next to a sac press and which shows liquid being heated and then strained: P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan, Part II*, (London, 1894), pl. VI. Wahlberg, in 'Mysterious beverage', (pp. 79, 80) thinks that this shows the making of shedeh. Yet, it could also represent the making of perfumed oil, which also needed to be heated. See N.M. Davies & N. de G. Davies, 'The Tomb of Amenmosé (No. 89) at Thebes', in *JEA*, vol. 26 (Feb., 1941), p. 133, pl. XXII, which shows the preparation of scented products; M. Serpico, 'Resins, amber and bitumen', in Nicholson & Shaw, (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, p. 462.

Yet, there are two other possibilities for its manufacture which do not necessarily involve heat. The grapes may have been allowed to remain on the vine until they were very ripe and sweet, before they were picked and processed,¹⁰² or the wine may have been made from partially raisined grapes, which had either been left on the vine to dry, or picked and then dried.¹⁰³ The must is concentrated when the latter technique is used, and so fermentation is slowed and sometimes needs heat to start it,¹⁰⁴ and possibly this could be the heating referred to in the manuscript that mentions shedeh. The extra sugar in the grapes, in both methods, allows a longer fermentation, which automatically stops when the alcohol content reaches about 15%, depending on the yeast involved in the fermentation.¹⁰⁵ Eventually, the alcohol produced by the yeast inhibits the glycolytic pathway, and it is unable to continue to grow and produce more alcohol.¹⁰⁶ Both of these processes give a sweet wine with a high alcohol content, which is more stable than those with a lower one and, consequently, it has a longer life. Either type of these procedures, or that described in pSalt 825, may have accounted for the relative rarity of shedeh compared to ordinary wine, while its higher alcohol content possibly accounts for the warnings given to young scribes about the perils of drinking it.¹⁰⁷

Yet, drinking shedeh was obviously an enjoyable experience, as the resulting intoxication was considered by some to be as pleasurable as being in love. The description of its taste and the pleasure gained in drinking it can perhaps be found in the love poetry,

¹⁰² Robinson, 'late harvest', in *Oxford Wine Companion*, p. 412.

¹⁰³ Robinson, 'dried-grape wines', in *Oxford Wine Companion*, pp. 243-245. Robinson writes that this method was used in antiquity because of problems of wine conservation. See also Tallet, 'Le shedeh', p. 483.

¹⁰⁴ Robinson, 'dried-grape wines', in *Oxford Wine Companion*, pp. 243-245.

¹⁰⁵ The yeast *Saccharomyces bayanus*, can withstand high temperatures and an alcohol strength of more than 16%, and this yeast can be found in the atmosphere in some areas: Robinson, 'Modern production techniques', in *Oxford Wine Companion*, p. 245.

¹⁰⁶ I.S. Hornsey, *Alcohol and its Role in the Evolution of Human Society*, (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 113-122.

¹⁰⁷ pAnastasi IV, 11,8 - 12,5 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 47-48; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182; pLansing, 2,2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 100; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 374.

where there are references to both shedeh and irep.¹⁰⁸ Being in love was akin to being mildly intoxicated, and was sweet and pleasurable, like shedeh.¹⁰⁹ A lover's voice could be to the ears as the taste of shedeh was to the palate, soft, sweet and smooth.¹¹⁰ The sight and sound of the beloved could replace something as prized as shedeh.¹¹¹ These poems deem the pleasure gained from drinking shedeh as comparable to that of being with one's beloved, thereby indicating its desirability.

The high quality of shedeh is emphasised when it is contrasted to pauer in pAnastasi I, where a scribe denigrates his colleague's writing as being even worse than a mixture of smooth shedeh with the rough, second rate wine, pauer, which produced something inconsequential, like the scribe's writing. He did not know the difference between bad and good, rough and smooth.¹¹² The smoothness, desirability and rarity of shedeh would have given it prestige and made it something that could be used as a reward for good service. It, as well as irep, were included as part of the provisions given by Seti I to his overseer of the workers at the quarry of Silsila, and although the ordinary workers who were cutting the sandstone for monuments were treated generously, wine of any type was absent from the provisions given to them.¹¹³

Shedeh was apparently prized, yet we cannot know with certainty how it was made. All that can be said of it is that it was red wine, which was probably sweet, as evidenced by a sherd found in the tomb of Maya at Saqqara that was labelled as *šdh nḏm*, and references

¹⁰⁸ R. Landgráfová & H. Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess I*, (Prague, 2009): shedeh: no. 25, pp. 133-135, no. 38, p. 148, no. 40, pp. 151-152, no. 71, pp. 196, 197; irep: no. 49, pp. 163, 165, no. 69, pp. 192-193, no. 71, pp. 196, 199.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 139, no. 71, pp. 196, 197.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 25, p. 134.

¹¹¹ M.V. Fox, A, B: no. 12, p. 21; K.A. Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, (Jonsered, 1999), 4th Stanza, pp. 365-367; Landgráfová & Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, no. 40, pp. 151.

¹¹² H-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I*. Textzusammenstellung, (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 57-58; Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, 5,2, 5,3, p. 20, p. 9*; Tallet, 'Le shedeh', p. 480; E.F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, (Atlanta, 1990), no. 129, p. 101.

¹¹³ B.G. Davies, 'Seti I, Rock Stela, East Silsila, Year 6', in *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, (Jonsered, 1997), pp. 202, 203.

in the love poems.¹¹⁴ Shedeh probably had a higher alcohol content than ordinary wine, and it was not a common beverage,¹¹⁵ but whichever method was used, the techniques involved in making shedeh would have been complicated, and Tjatiry and other winemakers, would have needed experience and expertise to produce it.¹¹⁶ Possibly, not all vineyards made it, and consequently it would have been expensive, although, unlike wine, shedeh's price is not noted in documents.¹¹⁷

As well as shedeh and pawer, the temple's establishment had produced 15,000 litres of irep, which was contained in 1,500 menet jars. Yet this volume fades in comparison to the 30,000 menet jars of wine claimed to have been paid in taxes by the unknown official who erected the endowment stela that was found at Bilgai in the northern Delta,¹¹⁸ and which is thought to date to the reign of either Siptah¹¹⁹ or Tausret.¹²⁰ Wine, and the volume given as a part of the owner's dues (šzy.t),¹²¹ is one feature of this stela, which may have originally been set up in a seaport in the Delta.¹²²

¹¹⁴ Landgráfová & Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, no. 40, pp. 151; J. van Dijk, 'Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Maya', in *GM*, 127 (1992), p. 27, fig. 4.

¹¹⁵ If the method of making shedeh involved late picked grapes, or semi- dried grapes, then this would have given lower yields: Robinson, 'dried-grape wines', *Oxford Wine Companion*, p. 244.

¹¹⁶ The use of dried grapes to make wine is complicated, and time consuming. Robinson, 'dried-grape wines', *Oxford Wine Companion*, pp. 243-245.

¹¹⁷ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, p. 350.

¹¹⁸ Davies, *Historical Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, pp. 340, 341; Gardiner, 'The Stele of Bilgai', p. 49.

¹¹⁹ *KRI IV*, pp. 341-343; *KRITA IV*, 341:10, p. 246; B.G. Davies, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*, vol. IV, (Chichester, 2014); §587, §588, pp. 291, 292. Siptah is thought to have reigned from 1194-1188 BC.

¹²⁰ E. Frood, 'The Stela from Bilgai', in *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*, (Atlanta, 2007), p. 177; Gardiner, 'The Stele of Bilgai', pp. 52, 53; B.J.J. Haring, *Divine Households. Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Memorial Temples in Western Thebes*, (Leiden, 1997), p. 151. Tausret is thought to have reigned from 1188-1186 BC.

¹²¹ šzy.t: a general word for tax, which indicates fixed deliveries by individuals: J.J. Janssen, 'Prolegomena to the Study of Egypt's Economic History during the New Kingdom', in *SAK*, bd. 3 (1975), p. 173.

¹²² Frood, *Biographical Texts*, p. 177; Gardiner, 'The Stele of Bilgai', pp. 49, 52.

The stela refers to harvest taxes and dues that were paid by the stela's owner.¹²³

His obligation for wine (*b3k.w-rmt*)¹²⁴ was 4,632 menet jars, but he claimed to have delivered 30,000 jars.¹²⁵ This represents approximately 300,000 litres of wine,¹²⁶ which is a large volume, although he may have added together the dues of several years as he does not state the period over which he supplied it. Additionally, he neglected to record the number of vineyards under his control.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, it is likely that more than one vineyard contributed to this figure and he controlled an establishment similar to that of this text, although probably larger.

The 4,632 menet jars of wine may have been an annual obligation, yet it was three times the volume produced by the establishment in this text. At a hypothetical yield of 2,700 litres/hectare, the minimum area of the vineyard or vineyards to produce 46,320 litres of wine would have been approximately 17 hectares, and there would have been more wine produced than was paid in tax. While nothing can be stated with certainty the area under cultivation would have been very large.¹²⁸ These yield figures, as well as those recorded in pAnastasi IV, speak of large areas of the Delta devoted to wine making, with many people employed in these vineyards. There may have been many small vineyards rather than large ones, which may have been unwieldy for a non-technological civilisation.

¹²³ D.A. Warburton, *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt. Fiscal Vocabulary of the New Kingdom*, (Fribourg & Göttingen, 1997), p. 325.

¹²⁴ KRITA IV, 343:10, p. 248; *b3k.w-rmt*: this term referred to the assessment on the work of those who toiled in the vineyards. The stela's owner had an obligation to pay these dues: Warburton, *State and Economy*, pp. 184, 325.

¹²⁵ KRI IV, 343: 9,10; KRITA IV, 343:10, p. 248; Warburton, *State and Economy*, pp. 184, 185.

¹²⁶ This figure is based on the previous calculation of 10 litres per jar.

¹²⁷ Warburton, *State and Economy*, p. 185.

¹²⁸ The tax rate is unknown, although Meeks has postulated a 10% rate: *Oléiculture et viticulture*, p. 32. However, if this were the case then the volume of wine produced, based on dues of 4,632 jars, would have been 463,200 litres, which would have meant that the area planted would have been at least 171 hectares to produce this volume. This is not to say that this was not the case, but there is no evidence relating to the size of vineyards at this period. If the obligation of 4,632 jars of wine was not an annual one, then the area required would have been smaller.

The Delta was a region in which garden agriculture had always featured prominently.¹²⁹ The Hyksos had had vineyards in the region,¹³⁰ and an increase in the area under grape cultivation had begun from the 18th Dynasty, with the extensive military operations carried out by the pharaohs in the Levant ensuring Egypt's security and helping its development,¹³¹ thereby making the Delta an important area for growing wine.¹³² The founding of the city of Piramesse by Ramesses II moved administration to this region,¹³³ and the economic development saw a growth in settlements, with eleven towns first being known from this period,¹³⁴ and numerous vineyards being planted.¹³⁵ The increased volume of wine from this increase in production, which had to be transported from the Delta, may have led to an increase in the volume of shipping.¹³⁶

Desert roads were used to transport goods within Egypt, with wine from the oases having to be transported by donkey caravan to the nearest town on the Nile,¹³⁷ which was a rough journey of seven to ten days depending on the starting point and the destination.¹³⁸ It was far easier to use the river for travelling whenever possible and so the Nile was the

¹²⁹ Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, I, 4-5; Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, no. 108, p. 193; Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt*, pp. 94, 95.

¹³⁰ Habachi, 'Second Stela of Kamose', p. 36.

¹³¹ J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. 2, *The Eighteenth Dynasty*, (Chicago, 1906), no. 20, p. 10, no. 25, p. 11, no. 81, p. 34, no. 85, p. 35, no. 101, p. 42, no. 125, p. 51, nos 412-443, pp. 178-190, nos 444-449, pp. 190-192, nos 455-462, pp. 195-197, nos 464-467, pp. 197-198, nos 469-473, pp. 199-200, nos 477-482, pp. 202-203, nos 489-492, pp. 205-206, nos 497-501, pp. 207-208, nos 507-508, pp. 209-210, nos 517-519, pp. 211-212, nos 529-537, pp. 215-217; Manley, *Atlas*, pp. 70-73.

¹³² H.W. Fairman, 'Hieratic Dockets', in *COA III*:1, pp. 165-167; Bourriau, 'Beginnings of Amphora Production in Egypt', p. 85; Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization*, p. 95; Hayes, 'Inscriptions', 2, p. 89; Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', p. 249.

¹³³ pAnastasi II, 1,1 - 2,5 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 12; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 37, 38; Anastasi III, 1,11 - 3,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 21-23; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 73-75; M. Bietak, *Avaris: The Capital of the Hyksos*, (London, 1996), p. 83; Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, pp. 119-122.

¹³⁴ Gardiner, *AEO II*, pp. 132*, 133*; Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization*, fig. 4, p. 24, p. 95.

¹³⁵ pAnastasi III, 1,11 - 3,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 21-23; KRITA II, B, p. 285, pp. 454-457; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 73-75; Kitchen, 'Vintages', fig. 1, p. 119, pp. 115, 120-121; Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', p. 250.

¹³⁶ Gardiner, 'Stele of Bilgai', p. 51. If the volume spoken of in the Bilgai stela was indicative of that which was being produced at this period, then increased shipping capacity would certainly have been required to move it south to Memphis and Thebes.

¹³⁷ 'The Eloquent Peasant', in Lichtheim, *AEL I*, p. 170; Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, fig. 64, p. 78, pp. 96-98.

¹³⁸ Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', p. 251. A map of the principal desert routes is to be found in Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, fig. 64, p. 78.

principal artery for transport in Egypt. As the wine in this text had to be moved from the Delta to where it would be consumed, and earthen dykes blocked easy land passage, this involved the use of boats and the Nile.

A pottery model of a boat that was found in a Badarian tomb dating from ca. 5000-4000 BC, gives evidence of the antiquity of Egyptian boat building, with the boats at this period being thought to have been made of papyrus.¹³⁹ Drawings of boats from the Naqada I and II periods can be seen on pottery vessels, and in rock drawings,¹⁴⁰ and from the Naqada II period, advances in copper woodworking tools and carpentry provided the technology to build wooden boats.¹⁴¹ By the time of the Old Kingdom, boat building techniques were well developed and Old Kingdom boat builders were building large wooden vessels for officials who were travelling along the river,¹⁴² and cargo ships for both riverine¹⁴³ and sea going trade and general carrying of goods.¹⁴⁴ The sea going ships

¹³⁹ Model from Badari Tomb 25/5452, UC9024, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL, <<http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx?parentpreref=#>>, accessed 12th August, 2016; B. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, (Garden City, New York, 1970), no. 47, p. 17; Vinson, *Egyptian Boats and Ships*, (Princes Risborough, 1994), p. 11.

¹⁴⁰ For example: OIM E10672, in Teeter, (ed.), *Before the Pyramids*, p. 155; UC 6333, 8813, 8814, 8815, 15319, 15343, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 12-16; Murray & Myers, 'Some Pre-Dynastic Rock-Drawings', fig. 1, p. 129, pl. XX, no. 3.

¹⁴¹ Vinson, *Egyptian Boats*, p. 12, fig. 10, p. 19; C. Ward, *Sacred and Secular: Ancient Egyptian Ships and Boats*, (Philadelphia, PA, 2000), p. 26.

¹⁴² Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 28, 35-37.

¹⁴³ A.M. Blackman & M.R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, Part V, London, (1953), pl. XX; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 1, *The First through the Seventeenth Dynasties*, (Chicago, 1906), no. 322, p. 148, nos 323, 324, pp. 149-150; S. Hassan, 'The Causeway of Wenis at Sakkara', in *ZAS*, 80 (1955), fig. 2, p. 139; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 60-62; Vinson, *Egyptian Boats*, pp. 25, 26. Vinson thinks that cargo boats may have been from 21m to 32m long, or perhaps longer, depending on the cargo that was to be carried: Vinson, *Egyptian Boats*, pp. 25, 26. The boat built by Weni (Old Kingdom) was 30 metres long and 15 metres wide: Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 1, no. 323, p. 149.

¹⁴⁴ These seagoing ships may have been about 52.4 metres long, or longer. One entry in the Palermo stone for Sneferu, reads, 'building of 100 cubit...ships', which is 52.4 metres: T.A.H. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt. The Palermo Stone and its associated fragments*, (London & New York, 2000), pp. 141-143; L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, bd. II: *Die Wandbilder*, (Osnabrück, 1981 reprint), bl. 12, 13; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 35, 63, 64.

travelled along the Levantine coast as far as Byblos,¹⁴⁵ and also journeyed to Punt.¹⁴⁶ By the 19th Dynasty, when pAnastasi IV was written, the Egyptians had been building ships and boats for thousands of years.¹⁴⁷

The scribe stated that he had arrived at the vineyard with a transport boat (*hr*),¹⁴⁸ and two cattle ferries (*hn-ih*),¹⁴⁹ to supervise the transport of the wine and other produce, from the vineyard to another location, which may have been Piramesse.¹⁵⁰ While there is no description in this text of the size of these boats, or the volume they could carry, there are representations in tombs of such cargo vessels.¹⁵¹ A cattle barge, such as those which the scribe brought to transport the wine, is depicted in 18th Dynasty tomb of the vizier Huy.¹⁵² (Figure 16) The transport boat may have been a travelling boat,¹⁵³ or a combined

¹⁴⁵ Sahure's seagoing ships that appear to be returning from a journey to the Levant are depicted in Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, band II, bl. 12, 13; An axe head from a crew member of a royal boat, either of Khufu or Sahure, was found just south of Byblos: S. Wachsmann, *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, (Texas A & M University, 1998), pp. 10, 11. Khufu's name is on vase fragments found at Byblos: P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte: Quatre campagnes de fouilles à Gebail 1921-1922-1923-1924. Texte*, (Paris, 1928), pp. 73-74 no. 58; P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte: Quatre campagnes de fouilles à Gebail 1921-1922-1923-1924. Atlas*, (Paris, 1929), pl. XL; S. Hassan, 'The Causeway of Wnīs at Sakkara', in ZAS, 80 (1955), pp. 137-138, fig. 1, p. 137; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 35, 63-69.

¹⁴⁶ The Palermo Stone has an entry for Sahure, which gives the commodities that arrived from an expedition to Punt: Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, p. 168; P. Tallet, 'Ayn Sukhna and Wadi el-Jarf: Two newly discovered pharaonic harbours on the Suez Gulf', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*, 18 (2012), pp. 150-151.

¹⁴⁷ D. O'Connor, 'Boat Graves and Pyramid Origins', in *Expedition*, vol. 33, no. 3 (1991), p. 10.

¹⁴⁸ D. Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms*, (London & New York, 1988), no. 30, p. 136. A *hr* is a boat used for transport, a freighter, galley, scow, i.e. a general-purpose boat.

¹⁴⁹ Jones, *Glossary*, no. 57, p. 143.

¹⁵⁰ Gardiner, *LEM*, 7,1, p. 41; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 155.

¹⁵¹ For example: **transport vessel**: Tylor & Griffith, *Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, pl. II; Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pl. XVIII; Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXX; Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, vol. I, pls XLII, XLIII. **Larger vessels belonging to high officials**: Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pls XI, XXII; Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, pl. LXVIII. **Cattle ferry**: Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pls XXXII, XXXIII; Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, taf. 387A = Berlin 12694, which is from an unnamed 18th Dynasty tomb.

¹⁵² Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pls. XXXII, XXXIII; also in Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, taf. 387A = Berlin 12694.

¹⁵³ For example: model of a travelling ship from the tomb of Tutankhamun, Carter no. 276, photo p1093, Griffith Institute, <<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/276-p1093.html>>, accessed 10th Jan., 2017; Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pls. XI, XII, XXXI; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, no. 326, pp. 104-105.

travelling and cargo vessel such as that depicted in the tomb of Ipy,¹⁵⁴ or it may have been a simply an all-purpose cargo vessel.¹⁵⁵

Such river freighters could be made of local woods, such as acacia, which provided strong hulls,¹⁵⁶ as well as tamarisk, sycamore fig, date palm and sidder, all of which have been found in various parts of ships, from its timbers to its components.¹⁵⁷ Cedar was imported from the Levant and used for some ship's parts,¹⁵⁸ and for building ceremonial vessels such as pharaoh's boats, the gods' boats, seagoing vessels and the travelling vessels of high officials.¹⁵⁹ However, it was expensive, and there was wastage because of the way the planks were cut, although the offcuts could be used for other jobs.¹⁶⁰

The ordinary cargo vessels were built of flat and short planks because the local trees were not tall trees that could provide long straight planks.¹⁶¹ (Figure 17) The scribe's boats would have had a shallow draft, and may have been about three times longer than they

¹⁵⁴ Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXX; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 135-136, nos. 400-402, p. 136-137. Although there are fewer depictions in the later period, there appeared to be little change in the designs of ships from the 18th to the 19th dynasties, although a depiction of cargo ships in the Saqqara tomb of Iniua shows the boats as having upright stems at the front: Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, no. 403, p. 138. Another depiction of this change is in: 'Sketch in tomb no. 1126, Flottille de commerce remontant le Nil aux cataracts d'Abou', in B. Bruyere, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh*, (1927), (Cairo, 1928), fig. 20, p. 29.

¹⁵⁵ For example: Bruyere, *Rapport 1927*, fig. 20, p. 29; Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pl. XVIII; Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, vol. I, pls XLII, XLIII.

¹⁵⁶ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 1, no. 323, p. 149, no. 324, pp. 149-150; pAnastasi IV, 7,9 - 8,7 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 42-43; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 159, 160; Ward, *Sacred and Secular*, pp. 15, 16, 107, 128.

¹⁵⁷ R. Gerisch, A. Manzo & C. Zazzaro, 'Finds: Other wood and wood identification', in K.A. Bard & R. Fattovich, (eds), *Harbor of the Pharaohs to the Land of Punt*. Archaeological Investigations at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis, Egypt, 2001-2005, (Napoli, 2007), pp. 185-188; J.P. Cooper, 'Humbler Craft: Rafts of the Egyptian Nile, 17th to 20th Centuries AD', in *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 40.2 (2011), p. 354; D. Fabre, *Seafaring in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2004/2005), pp. 108-109; Ward, *Sacred and Secular*, pp. 15-20.

¹⁵⁸ KRITA I, 'Timber accounts', 263:1-267, pp. 219-222, 271:5-276:5, pp. 225-227, 277:10-280:10, pp. 228-230; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, §127- §135, pp. 374-382, table LXIII, p. 381.

¹⁵⁹ pAnastasi IV, 3,6 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 37; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 4, no. 331, pp. 168-169; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 155; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 28, 120. Wenamun, although at a later period than this, travelled to Byblos to get cedar for Amun's barque: Goedicke, *Report of Wenamun*, I, p. 149, XIII, p. 152, XV, pp. 152-153, XVI, p. 153; Ward, *Sacred and Secular*, p. 20.

¹⁶⁰ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, table LXIII, p. 381, p. 382; Ward, *Sacred and Secular*, pp. 20-22, 139, 140; C. Ward, 'Ships and Shipbuilding', in D.B. Redford, (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 'Construction Techniques', para. 3, <<http://www.oxfordreference.com>>, accessed 26th July, 2016.

¹⁶¹ For example: Davies, *Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXX; Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, pl. XLIII; Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pl. XVIII; P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part I*, (London, 1893), pl. XXIX; Fabre, *Seafaring in Ancient Egypt*, p. 107; Ward, *Sacred and Secular*, table 15, pp. 116, 117, fig. 63b, p. 118, fig. 71, p. 117, pp. 126-128.

were broad.¹⁶² There was no cargo hold so the wine would have been carried on the deck of the cattle boats, with the weight of the cargo spread across the hull.¹⁶³ The volume of wine being transported from this temple's establishment would have weighed at least 16 tonnes, plus the weight of the amphorae containing it, along with the grapes and pomegranates also being transported. Assuming an empty weight of approximately 3.2 to 4.8 tonnes for 1600 wine jars of a 10 litre capacity, when they were full the average weight would be approximately 20 tonnes.¹⁶⁴ The scribe loaded the wine onto the cattle ferries, which would have had to carry approximately 10 tonnes each of wine, plus the fruit, plus perhaps four to seven crewmembers.¹⁶⁵ Cattle barges had cages on the deck in which the cattle were transported, and the wine would have been stacked in these, and packed with straw to avoid breakage.¹⁶⁶ None of the cargo appears to have been loaded onto the transport boat, so this vessel was very likely to have been provided exclusively for the travelling comfort of the scribe.

¹⁶² Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 136, 137; S. Vinson, 'Transportation', in D.B. Redford, (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, para. 6, <<http://www.oxfordreference.com>>, accessed 26th July, 2016; Ward, *Sacred and Secular*, p. 128.

¹⁶³ Fabre, *Seafaring*, pp. 123-124. An early photograph of a boat on the Nile that is laden with pots, which appear to be confined within a net, and spread evenly over the deck, can give an idea about a cargo of amphorae in an ancient Egyptian boat: J. Baines & J. Málek, *Cultural Atlas of the World: Ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 1984), p. 17.

¹⁶⁴ This calculation is based on a larger jar that held 17 litres, and when full weighed 21.3 kg: Bourriau, 'Beginnings of Amphora Production in Egypt', p. 86. Based on this, the weight of an empty jar with a 10-litre capacity would be approximately 2.5 kilos, but this probably varied. I have estimated the empty weight to be 2 to 3 kg per jar, so that each filled jar would, on average, weigh 12 to 13 kilos.

¹⁶⁵ The number of crewmen seems to vary. In the tomb of Neferhotep six crew members are shown in one boat: Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, vol. II, pl. III; in the tomb of Huy: Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pl. XVIII, seven crew members are depicted on one cargo boat which must have been stuck on a sandbar. Four are towing, two are pushing and one is on the boat supervising; the cattle boat in Huy's tomb seems to have had four crew members, although this has been defaced, pl. XXXIII; in Janssen, *Ships' Logs*, §9, rt., III, 15, p. 78, four crew members are despatched on one cargo ship, but later another five are despatched, §9, rt. III, 20, p. 78, but whether it was on the same ship or another one, is obscure; in Went, *Letters*, no. 143, p. 121, the crew of a cattle ferry is stated as numbering seven, including the sailor Seti; S. Vinson, *The Nile Boatman at Work*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1998), p. 17.

¹⁶⁶ Davies, *Huy*, pls XXXII, XXXIII; Davies & Faulkner, 'Syrian Trading Voyage', pl. VIII shows cattle on the quay that have been unloaded from a Syrian vessel; Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, vol. 3, p. 195, fig. 369; Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, taf. 387A, (unnamed tomb) two boats, each loaded with four cows, are depicted at a quay.

There are very few references to the size of Egyptian ships and boats and these do not refer to ordinary river cargo vessels such as those being used to transport the wine, or the transport boats belonging to officials, such as the one on which the scribe travelled.¹⁶⁷ Khufu's boat was 43.4 by 5.9 metres,¹⁶⁸ the size of a ship that carried obelisks for Tuthmosis I was 63m long, with a beam of 21m,¹⁶⁹ while Hatshepsut's obelisk boats were possibly 95m by 32m, although these needed to be towed by other vessels.¹⁷⁰ The Ramesside grain boats are presumed to have been large, as they could carry 50-70 tonnes, and perhaps more,¹⁷¹ but the carrying capacity and size of the cattle ferries such as those that carried the wine in this text is not known and has not been estimated. Yet they were built to carry heavy loads, and to carry heavier cargoes than cattle, as they were being used to transport wine.¹⁷² The cattle barge depicted in the tomb of Huy and in the unnamed tomb shown in Wreszinski are carrying only four cows, although this may be due to convention, and in reality such a vessel may have carried a larger number of cattle¹⁷³ that weighed perhaps on average 300-450kg each.¹⁷⁴ The combined weight of four cows would not have weighed as

¹⁶⁷ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 2, no. 105, p. 43; W.F. Edgerton, 'Dimensions of Ancient Egyptian Ships', in *Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. 46, no. 3 (Apr., 1930), table 1, p. 147; Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, pp. 141, 143.

¹⁶⁸ The carrying capacity of Khufu's ship was 54 tonnes: A. Graham, 'Plying the Nile: Not all Plain Sailing', in K. Piquette & S. Love, (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology, 2003. Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Symposium*, (Oxford, 2005), p. 51; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 28.

¹⁶⁹ K. Sethe, *Urkunden de 18. Dynastie*, vol. 1, 2nd edn, revised, (Leipzig, 1927), IV, 56,13-14; Edgerton, 'Dimensions of Ancient Egyptian Ships', table 1, p. 147.

¹⁷⁰ Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 129; E. Naville, *The Temple at Deir el Bahari*, Part VI, (London, 1908), pls 153, 154.

¹⁷¹ A.H. Gardiner, 'Ramesside Texts Relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn', in *JEA*, vol. 27 (Dec., 1941), pp. 37-40. Calculations from the number of sacks loaded onto the grain ships give an average of 70 tonnes per ship, if each sack (khar) is equivalent to 77 litres (Grandet, 'Weights and Measures', para. 6); Graham, 'Plying the Nile', p. 51; Vinson, *Nile Boatman*, Table 2.1, pp. 24-26, p. 157; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, fig. 95, p. 260.

¹⁷² Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pls XXXII, XXXIII; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, taf. 387A (unknown tomb) shows 2 ships, each with four cows on their deck. Ward, *Sacred and Secular*, p. 128, writes that the capacity of large cargo vessels for carrying stone could have been as high as 1440 tons.

¹⁷³ Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pls XXXII, XXXIII.

¹⁷⁴ This estimation is based on the size of the smaller breeds of African cattle. Masai cattle weigh from 340-400kgs, and stand 125-140cm high, <<http://www.petmapz.com/breed/masai-cattle>>, accessed 17th March, 2017. Egyptian cattle may have resembled these, as Egyptian cattle, as depicted in the tomb of Nebamun (R. Parkinson, *The Painted Tomb Chapel of Nebamun*, (London, 2008), no. 93, p. 101), appear to be a small breed, as are those in the cattle barge depicted in the tomb of Huy, Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pl. XXXIII.

much as the wine that was being carried, yet these boats must have been large and sturdy vessels which, when fully laden, had a considerable carrying capacity.¹⁷⁵

However, such large and fully laden boats were not able to operate along the Nile or in the Delta when the water level was low, and travel was difficult because of the shallows and sandbanks that appeared at this period.¹⁷⁶ The water level was at its lowest, and the current weakest, in the spring, with the lowest level being in April.¹⁷⁷ Boats could be stranded on sandbanks, and so needed to be pushed off the sandbank and towed from the shore, or else rowed.¹⁷⁸ (Figure 18) Yet navigational difficulties could also occur at other times in the Delta, which was the region in which the wine was being shipped.

This wine was to be transported downstream, and so would be travelling with the current, which was theoretically an easy journey, but wind patterns in the Delta could be variable and a strong north wind could result in a vessel either needing to be rowed, or towed.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, there were eddies created by rapid currents around the bends, and these were dangerous, and therefore it required experience to navigate a boat on this river, in all seasons.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ There is a reference to a cattle ferry carrying wool, in pAnastasi VIII from the time of Ramesses II: Wente, *Letters*, no. 143, p. 121.

¹⁷⁶ This was always a problem until barrages and the dam were built, and the flow of the river could be controlled. A papyrus from AD 710 warns its recipient of the difficulty of travel when the river was low: J.P. Cooper, 'Nile navigation: "towing all day, punting for hours"', in *Egyptian Archaeology*, no. 41 (2013), pp. 25-27. At a later period, the 12th century AD, a merchant in Alexandria told his correspondent in Old Cairo that he had best hurry or his merchandise would not arrive, as the waterway would not be navigable during the dry season: S. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1: *Economic Foundations*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1967), p. 298.

¹⁷⁷ Cooper, 'Nile navigation', p. 25; S. Vinson, *Egyptian Boats and Ships*, (Princes Risborough, 1994), p. 7.

¹⁷⁸ The towing of boats is shown in predynastic rock art: Murray & Myers, 'Some Pre-Dynastic Rock-Drawings', fig. 1, p. 129, pl. XX, no. 3; in tombs: Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pl. XVIII, where the crew is both pushing and towing the boat, which must have been stuck; Janssen, *Ship's Logs*, §11, part IV, III, 15, p. 33, records the payment of one menet jug of wine to the towing men. It is written of in 18th and 19th century literature: Cooper, 'Nile navigation', pp. 25-27. It was probably carried out by the ship's crew, but the arrival of the chief of the towing men was recorded in Janssen, *Ship's Logs*, §11, part IV, III, 6, p. 33, and so a ship may have carried such a person as an extra crew member, whose job consisted solely of organising the towing.

¹⁷⁹ Cooper, *Medieval Nile*, pp. 135, 138-139.

¹⁸⁰ pAnastasi IV, 2,7 – 2,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 36; Caminos, p. 132; pKoller 2,5 - 2,7 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 117-118; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 437, compare an idle scribe to an apprentice sailor who, when he is left in charge of the boat, is not attentive to the conditions on the river affecting travel and so ends up in distress; Cooper, *Medieval Nile*, p. 153.

Unfortunately the text is silent on any navigational difficulties with the transportation of the cargo, and after having loaded it onto the cattle ferries the scribe began the journey to deliver it to the administrators of Seti II's temple.¹⁸¹ Because of Egypt's hot climate the harvest and vintaging had probably taken place in mid or late summer¹⁸² and the wine was probably moved from the vineyard any time after October, when the falling river levels and slower current made navigation easier.¹⁸³ At this point a problem arises in this text as to the direction of travel of the wine.

The scribe wrote that he journeyed downstream from Piramesse to where he handed the wine to the controllers of the temple,¹⁸⁴ but the Peteri waters, where this establishment was located, are believed to have been south of this city.¹⁸⁵ A northwards direction from Piramesse would have taken him towards the coast, a region in which it is unlikely that temple administrators resided.¹⁸⁶ Gardiner states that pAnastasi IV contains many spelling errors and that this was one of them, and therefore the preposition denoting the scribe's direction of travel, needs to be amended from *m* to *r*,¹⁸⁷ so that it should be read as, 'I sailed downstream to Piramesse', where the scribe's responsibility, and our knowledge of the cargo, ends with the handing over of the wine to the controllers of Sety II's temple.¹⁸⁸

The long journey from grape, to wine, to consumption, had almost ended with the arrival of these boats and the delivery of their cargoes to the temple officials. Nevertheless, whether in Piramesse or further north, the wine would have been registered and stored in

¹⁸¹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 7,6, p. 42; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 155.

¹⁸² Robinson, 'harvest timing', in *Oxford Wine Companion*, p. 351.

¹⁸³ Cooper, *Medieval Nile*, fig. 8.1, p. 126.

¹⁸⁴ Gardiner, *LEM*, 7,6 - 7,8, p. 42; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 155-156.

¹⁸⁵ Kitchen, 'Vintages', p. 117, p. 119, fig. 1.

¹⁸⁶ Gardiner, 'Delta Residence', p. 189; Kitchen, 'Vintages', p. 117-118.

¹⁸⁷ Gardiner, 'Delta Residence', p. 189; Kitchen, 'Vintages', p. 117.

¹⁸⁸ Gardiner, *LEM*, 7,6 - 7,8, p. 42; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 155-156.

the temple magazines. Some may have been kept in Piramesse where Seti appears to have had a temple,¹⁸⁹ while the rest would have been sent to Thebes, to his memorial temple,¹⁹⁰ and for his small mansion of millions of years that he had built in the forecourt of the temple of Amun at Karnak.¹⁹¹

While the best quality wines were undoubtedly destined for offerings in the temples of Seti II, the reversion of offerings ensured that they were consumed by the higher echelons of the administration of the temple and their dependents, probably as part of their wages.¹⁹² However, the lower quality ones could have been used as payment of wages to the lower levels of the temple staff, and servants.¹⁹³ After the wine had been distributed, any that was excess to the temple's requirements could be sold through the merchants that were attached to such large institutions, and so wine would then be spread into the broader community.¹⁹⁴

SIGNIFICANCE OF WINE IN THE TEXT

While this text does give us information about the vineyards of a single establishment, the total number of the vineyards in the Delta, and their yield, at this period, is not known. Perhaps in the future new texts about wine production, or a large Ramesside vineyard will be found either in the Delta or elsewhere in Egypt. At the present time, much

¹⁸⁹ Although no large temple of Seti II has been found in Piramesse, excavation in this area by Pusch, has found part of a door lintel that is thought to be part of a religious building erected by Seti II: E.B. Pusch, 'Tausret und Sethos II in der Ramses-Stadt', in *A&L/E&L*, vol. 9 (1999), pp. 101-109; V.G. Callender, 'Tausret and the End of Dynasty 19', in *SAK*, bd. 32 (2004), pp. 86, 97.

¹⁹⁰ This temple has not yet been found, although it undoubtedly existed: Ullmann, 'The Temples of Millions of Years at Western Thebes', table 28.1, p. 420.

¹⁹¹ G. Haeny, 'New Kingdom "Mortuary Temples" and "Mansions of Millions of Years"', in B.E. Shafer, (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, (Ithaca, New York, 1997), pp. 119-120.

¹⁹² Kitchen, 'Vintages', pp. 115, 119-120.

¹⁹³ pAnastasi IV, 16,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 52; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 200; Haring, *Divine Households*, pp. 7-12; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 256-257. Also, see pLeiden 1 350 verso, in Janssen, *Ship's Logs*, where wine was given as rations or payment as wages, to the scribes on the vessel, and to the towing men, §9. II,10, pp. 22, II,16, p. 22, §10. II, 26, p. 27, § 11. III, 15, p. 33.

¹⁹⁴ pLansing, 4,8, 4,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 103; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 384; Janssen, *Ship's Logs*, §6. part III rt., II, 9, II, 15, p. 71. This shows the trading of excess cloth made by the temple of Amun, for other items that it required.

is extrapolated from other times and places, as the local variables that are associated with grape growing and wine production, which prevailed at this period, are unknown to us. Nonetheless, even though we cannot know the size of this temple establishment with certainty, it appears to have been large and its size may have been representative of those of temple and royal estates, which would have owned more than one vineyard.

The remaining wine jar labels from the Ramesseum show that thirty-seven vineyards are known to have supplied it with wine.¹⁹⁵ If these establishments were to produce a minimum of 16,000 litres of wine per year, then the total output from these vineyards alone would have been 592,000 litres, and other temples and royalty, during this and the following reigns, would have had estates that possibly produced similar volumes per annum. The estimated volume of wine produced by the Ramesseum's vineyards, combined with the calculated volume of 16,000 litres produced by the establishment written of in this text (pAnastasi IV, 6,10 – 7,9), taken in conjunction with the known figures in the Bilgai Stela, indicates that large volumes of wine were produced in Egypt in the 19th Dynasty. Egypt would appear to have been 'awash' with wine at this period.

Apart from this information this text suggests that a temple domain, and possibly also a royal estate, rather than having one large vineyard, could be composed of many smaller vineyards that contributed to the production of its wine.¹⁹⁶ It also has value as an indicator of the economic position of wine, in that it informs us of the number of workers employed in a group of vineyards that produced a large volume of wine, the volume and types of wine it produced in one year in what was probably a typical establishment, and it also describes the method of transportation of the products. As well, if it were traded for other items this would have spread it into the wider Egyptian economy.

¹⁹⁵ Kitchen, 'Vintages', pp. 115, 120-121.

¹⁹⁶ See fig. 5 in this thesis.

pAnastasi IV, 6,10-7,9 shows the extent to which wine production was embedded in the society of Ancient Egypt. Many parts of society benefited from wine production. A section of the lower classes drank a low-quality wine, and many people were required to make it and transport it, and so their lives were entwined with wine. Nevertheless, it was those belonging to the elite levels that drank the best of the vintage, even if in doing so they were exhibiting behaviour unworthy of their status, as shall be shown in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: WINE, WOMEN, AND SONG

THE RUIN OF A YOUNG SCRIBE

*Few things surpass old wine; and they may preach
Who please, - the more because they preach in vain, -
Let us have wine and women, mirth and laughter,
Sermons and soda-water the day after.*

Lord Byron¹

EXTRACT FROM THE TEXT

pAnastasi IV, 11,8 - 12,5²

*r.nty dd=tw n=i h3^c.k šs šm=k (11,9) m i3b.w tw=k hr šmt.t m h3rw {n} <r> h3rw
st<y>hmk.t r-tnw twh =<k> tw... (11,11) ...gm̄.tw=k <hr> ttf inb (11,12) iw sd {rk}
=<k> t3 ph3.t iw rmt m shsh r-h3.t=k iw sd=k n=sn wbn (12,1) h3-n3 tw=k rh.tw iw bw.t
irp mtw=k r̄k=k hr šdh mtw=k tm.t d̄i.t tb.w m h3.t=k mtw=k smh n tnrk (12,2) sb3.tw=k
<r> hsi m-s3 w3dn r g3 m-s3 w3r r dd m nyny m-s3 knnr r (12,3) hsi m-s3 nth iw=k
hmsi.tw m t3 iwy.t kdi tw n3 hnm.w iw=k h̄c.tw hr iri š3p... (12,4) iw=k hmsi.tw m-b^ch t3
msy iw=k thb.w m mrh.t iw p3y=k m̄h n išt̄pn.w r h̄h.w=k iw=k hr (12,5) tbtb hr h.t=k trp=k
tw=k (hr) h3i hr h.t=k tw=k wrh(.w) (m) hs*

So, I am told that you have abandoned writings and that you whirl around (11,9) in pleasures. You go from street to street and the odour of beer remains as you withdraw... (11.11) ...you have been found scrambling over the wall (11.12) after you broke the fetters, people running before you after you inflicted wounds upon them. (12.1) ...If only you knew that wine is an abomination you would abjure shedeh, you would not set the jar in your heart, you would forget tjenerrek.³ (12,2) You have been taught to sing to the pipe, to chant to the w3r,⁴ to intone and sing to the lyre and to (12.3) sing to the nth.⁵ Now you are seated in the house and the harlots surround you, and now you are standing and bouncing...

¹ *The Complete Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, 'Don Juan', Canto II, CLXXVIII, p. 796, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1905).

² pAnastasi IV, 11,8 - 12,5 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 47-48; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 182-187. See Appendix 3 for a complete translation of this text. For a different, and unusual, translation of this text see J.L. Foster, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, (Austin, Texas, 2001), pp. 48-50.

³ *tnrk* is beer: late Egyptian syllabic spelling, R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch: Die Sprache der Pharaonen*, (2800-950 v. Chr.), (Mainz, 1995), p. 958.

⁴ Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, p. 89, gives lute as a possible translation, while Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182, translates it as w3r flute.

⁵ Manniche thinks this may be a lute, Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1991), p. 45.

(12,4) You are seated in front of the harlot soaked in anointing oil, your wreath of ischetepen⁶ at your neck, and you (12,5) drum upon your belly. You having stumbled, you fall upon your belly, anointed with dirt.⁷

Shedeh was one of the wines made in the vineyards of Sety II's temple and it was also one of the favourite tipplers of the young man who was being admonished by a superior for his dissipated, disgraceful, and shameless behaviour, which was unworthy conduct for a scribe.

SUMMARY OF THE TEXT

The text is written as a personal communication, possibly from a master to his apprentice, or from a senior to a junior scribe, berating the recipient who has apparently abandoned his profession. The younger scribe prefers the lure of wine, women, and song, to writing, and his conduct has attracted censure. The senior scribe accuses the young man of constant inebriation, and drunken meanderings around the streets, caused by the incessant drinking of beer. In an attempt to restrain his behaviour, he had been confined in fetters, but he escaped and fought with those who tried to detain him. Apart from beer, a major cause of his conduct was his consumption of that well-known abomination wine, but not of ordinary wine, he drank shedeh. He appears to have been frequenting a house of pleasure and cavorting with the ladies in this establishment, who have taught him to sing and to chant along with the instruments being played. The end of the description of his behaviour sees the scribe, who has been soaked in anointing oil, stumbling, and falling upon his stomach, anointed now with dirt.

⁶ Translation unknown, see Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, p. 48.

⁷ Gardiner, *LEM*, 11,8 - 11,9, 11,11, 11,12 - 12,5, pp. 47-48; Caminos, p. 182.

CONTEXT OF THE TEXT

Of all the psychoactive substances ingested by humanity to induce feelings of euphoria or relaxation, those containing alcohol are the most widely used,⁸ with wine being one of the oldest of such beverages.⁹ Drinking alcohol is generally a social act, which takes place in a communal setting, and, as such, its use has come to be embedded within the values and attitudes within a society.¹⁰

In a didactic text of the Old Kingdom, Kagemni was advised to restrain himself in company and not eat or drink too much,¹¹ and in the New Kingdom, among the instructions that Any gave to his son, was an injunction against drunkenness.¹² Drunkenness and overindulgence appeared to have been criticised in Egyptian society, at least in textual references, yet at a banquet depicted in the New Kingdom tomb of Paheri, the advice to one of the participants was, '...drink to drunkenness, make holiday'. Which induced a reply from another of the participants, 'Give me eighteen cups of wine, behold I should love to drink to drunkenness, my inside is as dry as straw'. Another says, 'Drink, do not spoil the enjoyment'.¹³ It is thought that possibly one reason why excessive drinking took place in this context was in order to achieve a high level of inebriation, which perhaps was believed

⁸ A report by the World Health Organisation calculated that the average consumption of recorded alcohol per capita of the world's population in 2010, was 6.2 litres, (40% of the population) although it varies between regions: World Health Organisation, *Global status report on alcohol and health, 2014*, (Lausanne, 2014), xiii, p. 29, <<http://www.who.int>>, accessed 12th May, 2016. On the other hand, illicit drug use in 2009 was 3.4-6.6% of the population: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *World Drug Report 2014*, (Sales No. E14.XI.7), p. 7, <<http://www.unodc.org/unodc>>, accessed 12th May, 2016.

⁹ Dietler, 'Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives', p. 281; Mandelbaum, 'Alcohol and Culture', p. 281; McGovern, *Ancient Wine*, pp. 23, 24, 75, 76; McGovern, *Uncorking the Past*, pp. 73-76. The oldest is a fermented rice drink from China: P. E. McGovern, *et al.*, 'Fermented Beverages of Pre-and Proto-historic China', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 101, no. 51 (Dec. 21, 2004), pp. 17593-17598.

¹⁰ M. Douglas, 'A distinctive anthropological perspective', in M. Douglas, (ed.), *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology*, (Cambridge, New York, 1987), p. 4; O. Murray, 'Histories of Pleasure', in O. Murray & M. Tecusan, (eds), *In Vino Veritas*, London, 1995, p. 3.

¹¹ 'The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni', in Lichtheim, *AEL I*, pp. 59-60. This is in a text from the Old Kingdom.

¹² 'The Instruction of Any', in Lichtheim, *AEL II*: p. 137. This was probably written in the 18th Dynasty.

¹³ Tylor & Griffith, *Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, p. 25, pl. VII; also, J.J. Tylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Tomb of Paheri*, (London, 1895), pl. XII.

would allow a greater communion with the gods and the dead.¹⁴ Yet, that one of the participants thought of the proceedings as enjoyment, also indicates that drinking for its own sake, and for pleasure, was undertaken at such banquets.¹⁵

Banquet scenes in New Kingdom tomb paintings seem to reveal what appears to be a more realistic approach to life, and drinking wine in company, than that which is represented by the textual admonitions about morality and the attitude towards excessive behaviour. It is reasonable to assume that these depictions imitated life, and reflected the reality of banquets held by the living, yet, the context in which drinking occurs is important.¹⁶

The place, the time, and the situation in which drinking wine takes place is reflected in the attitudes towards it. The artistic representations, and the captions accompanying them in some New Kingdom tombs,¹⁷ give an indication that the admonitions about overindulgence were not always followed, as there are paintings showing the drinking of wine at banquets,¹⁸ and the effects of overindulgence on guests.¹⁹ (Figure 19) In the

¹⁴ Harrington, 'The Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian Banquet', pp. 160-162; M. Hartley, 'The Eighteenth Dynasty Banquet: A Portal to the Gods', in *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*, vol. 23 (2012), pp. 26, 36-37.

¹⁵ It has been thought (for example see the discussion in: Harrington, 'Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian Banquet', pp. 146-152; Hartley, 'Eighteenth Dynasty Banquet', pp. 32-37) that the Egyptians may have used additives such as opium, and lotus in their wine at banquets, to enhance their drinking experience, with the opium being imported into Egypt from Cyprus during the 18th Dynasty, but Counsell (D.J. Counsell, 'Intoxicants in ancient Egypt? Opium, nymphaea, coca and tobacco', in R. David, (ed.), *Egyptian Mummies and Modern Science*, (Cambridge, New York, 2008), pp. 195-216) has been unable to confirm this. It has also been thought that the rhizomes of the blue lotus (*Nymphaea caerulea*) contained narcotic alkaloids, which the Egyptians extracted through steeping them in wine before drinking it, but Counsell (*Ibid.*, pp. 204-208, 215) writes that scientific evidence does not support this. See also the older research on this topic in W. Benson Harer Jr, 'Pharmacological and Biological Properties of the Egyptian Lotus', in *JARCE*, vol. 22 (1985), pp. 49-54.

¹⁶ Heath, 'Anthropology and Alcohol Studies', p. 110.

¹⁷ For example: 'For your Ka. Drink, become perfectly drunk. Make festival', in the tomb of User (TT21), Davies, *Five Theban tombs*, (London, 1913), pls XXV, XXVI; '...drink to drunkenness, make holiday', in Tylor, *Tomb of Paheri*, pl. XII; also, Tylor & Griffith, *Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, p. 25, pl. VII.

¹⁸ For example: Davies, *Amarna, III*, pl. VI; Davies, *Puyemre*, vol. I, pl. XLI; N. Strudwick, and H.M. Strudwick, *The Tomb of Amenmose, (TT254), in The Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose, and Amenmose at Thebes (Nos 294, 253, and 254)*, (Oxford, 1996), p. 79, pls XXXI, XXVIII.

¹⁹ Davies, *Nefer-hotep* vol. I, pl. XVIII; the tomb of Djoserkeresonb (TT38), in Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs*, pl. VI; W.J. Darby, P. Ghalioungui & L. Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, vol. 2, (London, 1977), fig. 14.13, p. 585; Manniche, TTA5 in *Lost Tombs*, pl. 2, no. 5; Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, taf. 179. For a list of the tombs that contain a scene of a guest at a banquet vomiting, see Hartley, 'Eighteenth Dynasty Banquet', pp. 26, 28.

context of banquets, such behaviour appears to have been accepted.²⁰ It was expected that drinking wine, and drunkenness, was an aspect of both a banquet and a festival, and so a certain licence was granted to those participating in such events, especially in the 'Festivals of Drunkenness'.²¹ The love poetry indicates that the same licence in regard to drinking alcohol and being intoxicated was also granted to lovers, possibly because the mental state of being in love produced a feeling of exultation and euphoria, which was akin to the intoxication with wine at a festival, and so lovers were temporarily suspended from some of the normal constraints of society and were allowed to indulge themselves.²²

In contrast, over indulgence and drunkenness appeared to be frowned upon in daily life, as it led to a loss of self-control.²³ This point of view is reflected in this text. When being admonished about his drunken behaviour, the scribe was told, 'You are like a crooked steering oar in a boat that obeys on neither side'.²⁴ His soul was wandering, and such behaviour upset the ideal of order and harmony which were part of the values of society. Restraint was a way of attempting to maintain these ideals,²⁵ and this was one reason why the behaviour exhibited by the scribe was looked upon unfavourably: another was because of his profession.

²⁰ Baines, 'Not only with the dead', p. 9; B.M. Bryan, 'Hatshepsut and Cultic Revelries in the New Kingdom', in J.M. Galán, B.M. Bryan & P.F. Dorman, (eds), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, (Chicago, 2014), pp. 115, 118.

²¹ Baines, 'Not only with the dead', p. 9; For example, drinking at banquets: Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, pl. XVIII; Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs*, pl. VI. Festivals: Bryan, 'Hatshepsut and Cultic Revelries', pp. 104, 105, 108, 111-115, 117, 118, 123; J.C. Darnell, 'Hathor Returns to Medamûd', in *SAK*, Bd. 22 (1995), p. 59; Harrington, 'The Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian Banquet', p. 136. Drinking parties and feasts held for Hathor, seem to have been celebrated by some of the workmen and the women at Deir el Medina: J.J. Janssen, 'Absence from Work by the Necropolis Workmen of Thebes', in *SAK*, bd. 8 (1980), pp. 146, 147. Also, see F. Hagen, & H. Koefoed, 'Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina. Aspects of Eating and Drinking in an Ancient Egyptian Village', in *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2005), p. 18.

²² 'That which the girl does with her beloved...while drunk with grape and sweet wine', Landgráfová & Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, no. 71, p. 196.

²³ 'Instruction of Any', in Lichtheim, *AEL II*, p. 137.

²⁴ Gardiner, *LEM*, 11,10, p. 47; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182.

²⁵ M. Lichtheim, *Moral Values in Ancient Egypt*, (Fribourg & Göttingen, 1997), pp. 29, 32, 33.

Ancient Egypt was a complex society, one of the aspects of which was having a highly developed administration that allowed it to function, and this required a literate class to organise and control production, and keep its records: these were the scribes.²⁶ The scribal class was indispensable.²⁷ 'It is the scribe... who accounts for everything...all business is under his control'.²⁸ From collecting taxes,²⁹ to organising the equipping of military campaigns,³⁰ to organising building projects,³¹ and registering the number of jars of wine produced,³² scribes were necessary for the functioning of the state and society, and they occupied an important position.

All those of the upper levels in Egyptian society, including royalty, were believed to have been educated,³³ and even though they had assistants to prepare documents for them, high officials in the Egyptian administration had been trained as scribes.³⁴ There were levels of status within their ranks, from minor officials, whose job it was to record the transactions of everyday life,³⁵ to those of the high elite, who were in charge of

²⁶ D.L. Toye, 'The Emergence of Complex Societies: A Comparative Approach', in *World History Connected*, vol. 1, no. 2 (May, 2004), paragraphs 5, 6,

<<http://www.worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/1.2/toye/html>>, accessed 2nd August, 2016.

²⁷ Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift*, vol. I, p. 41; P. Grandet, 'The Ramesside State', in J.C. Moreno García, (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, (Leiden & Boston, 2013), pp. 880, 882.

²⁸ Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift*, vol. I, p. 41, no. 3 (rt. 5,14 – 6,7), p. 47; pSallier I, 6,5, 6,6 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 83; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 316; pLansing 8,2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 106; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 396.

²⁹ Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift*, vol. I, no. 7, (rt. 7,12 – 8,6), p. 48-49, no. 10, (vs. 1,5-9), p. 49; pSallier I, 6,5, 6,6 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 83; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 316.

³⁰ Gardiner, *Hieratic Texts*, pAnastasi I, 17,2 - 18-2 = pp. 56-60 = no. XV, pp. 19*-20*; pKoller, 1,1 - 2,2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 116; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 431.

³¹ Gardiner, *Hieratic Texts*, pAnastasi I, 13,5 – 17,2 = pp. 46-56 = nos XII-XIV, pp. 16*-19*.

³² Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid, *Das Grab des Userhat*, taf. 13; Davies, *Puyemre*, vol. I, pl. XIA; Tylor & Griffith, *Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, pl. IV.

³³ For example: scribal equipment was buried with Tutankhamun: a scribe's palette belonging to Meritaten, Griffith Institute no. 262, photo. p1085, palettes belonging to Tutankhamun, with 271b bearing the name Tutankhaten, Griffith Institute nos 271b, 271(e-2), photo, p1085, <[http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/271e\(1\).html](http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/271e(1).html)>, accessed 10th December, 2016; The biography of the High Priest of Amun, Bekenkhons, in Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 3, nos. 561-568, pp. 234-237; Lichtheim, *AEL* I, p. 140: the king records the word of Neferti; E.F. Wente, 'The Scribes of Ancient Egypt', in J.M. Sasson, (ed.-in-chief), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, vol. IV, (New York, 1995), pp. 2214, 2217-2218.

³⁴ For example: pLansing, 8,2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 106; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 396; Breasted, *Ancient Records* 3, nos 563-568, pp. 235-237, details the career of Bakenkhons, the High Priest of Amun, who had also been the Chief Overseer of Works in Thebes for Ramesses II.

³⁵ For example, in tombs: a scribe is recording the number of baskets of grapes and wine jars, in Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid, *Das Grab des Userhat*, taf. 13; a scribe is depicted recording wine jars, in Davies, *Puyemre*

departments within the administration of the state and the temples,³⁶ yet all were part of the upper class, because of their literacy.

They were a privileged class and they knew this, and held a high opinion of themselves and their profession, as their writings about this testify.³⁷ These writings were meant to convince the apprentices not to desert this profession, by threatening dire consequences in the form of hard work, having to pay tax, and suffering the hardships that attended those who were not scribes. There would also be consequences for society if the literate class abandoned their duties to indulge solely in pleasure, as appears to have happened to the scribe in this text.³⁸ In order to mitigate this possibility, the rewards to be had for a successful scribe in the form of position, honours and a relatively easy and rich life, were emphasised.³⁹ Therefore, it was incumbent upon a scribe to pay attention to his superior and not to be led astray, especially by the pleasures that could be found in drinking, and in spending time with women in houses where the diversions included music.

vol. I, pl. XIIA; scribes record the harvest and the counting of gold in Tylor, *Tomb of Paheri*, pl. IV; scribes are recording the number of captives in Martin, *Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, pls 87, 91, 92; For example, in texts: pSallier IV (vs), 13,1 - 13b,5 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 95-96; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 356-357.

³⁶ For example: pLansing, 1,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 99 (Royal Scribe and Chief Overseer of the Cattle of Amun-Re, Nebmare-nakht, who wrote the manuscript for the copyist of pLansing, the scribe Wenemdiamun); A. Brack & A. Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni. Theban Nr. 74*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), pp. 24, 28, taf. 4a (scribe of the king and scribe of the army); Breasted, *Ancient Records* 3, nos 563-568, pp. 235-237, (Bakenkhons); Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 2, no. 916, pp. 374-375 (scribe of recruits, Amenhotep, son of Hapu); Janssen & Janssen, *Growing up and Getting Old*, p. 57.

³⁷ There are many writings on this topic. For example: Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift*, vol. I, Papyrus IV, p. 41, (dates to end of the 19th Dynasty, p. 28), Papyrus V, pp. 47-49 (dates to the reign of Seti II, p. 46); pSallier I, 3,4 - 3,10 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 79; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 304; pSallier I, 6 - 8 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 83-85; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 315-319; pLansing, 1,2 - 2,3 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 100; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 373-374; pLansing, 4,2 - 10,10 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 103-109; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 384-402; Lichtheim, *AEL* I, 'The Satire of the Trades', pp. 185-189. The satire of the trades dates to the Middle Kingdom, and pLansing to the 20th dynasty, but the sentiment remained the same: the scribe is a superior being.

³⁸ Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 47-48; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182. Baines and Eyre contend that only 1% of the population was literate: J. Baines & C.J. Eyre, 'Four Notes on Literacy', in *GM*, 61 (1983), pp. 67, 68. Lesko disagrees, maintaining that it was probably higher than this, although without giving an estimate: L.H. Lesko, 'Some Comments on Ancient Egyptian Literacy and Literati', in S. Israelit-Groll, (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 656-659.

³⁹ pAnastasi IV, 3,2 - 4,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 37-38; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 137-138; pLansing, 8,8 - 9,4 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 107; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 400-401; pLansing, 12,1 - 13a,7 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 110-112; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 412-413.

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

Alcohol is both a stimulant and a depressant, the consumption of which can have dramatic effects on mood and behaviour.⁴⁰ The scribe's drinking had led him to inflict violence on people and then led him further into a life of debauchery, but worse, it had caused him to abandon his profession. His excessive consumption of beer was bad enough, but to this sin he added the drinking, not of ordinary wine but of shedeh, and this appears to have accelerated his ruin. Wine, women, and song were the pleasures he had discovered, and because of his indulgence in these he was not upholding the standards of the profession. He was punished to bring him to his senses, but it had no effect.⁴¹

Punishment of apprentice scribes by their masters appears to have been part of their normal training, if the texts in the *Miscellanies* are to be believed. Young scribes appeared prone to preferring pleasure to hard study, especially as study seemed to involve being beaten with either a stick or a whip made of hippopotamus hide.⁴² If a scribe's antisocial behaviour persisted, and he refused to listen to reason and resume his studies, punishment might be inflicted, not only on the scribe himself, but also on his whole family, who might suffer for his transgressions.⁴³ These punishments were possibly regarded as being character building, so that a scribe could learn self-control and be able to function better within the strictures of society.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Heath, 'Anthropology and Alcohol Studies', p. 100.

⁴¹ Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 47-48; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182.

⁴² pAnastasi III, 3,9- 4,4 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 23-24; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 83-85; pAnastasi IV, 8,7 - 9,4 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 43-44; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 164-168; pAnastasi V, 8,1 - 9,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 59-60; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 231-232; pAnastasi V, 17,3 - 18,5 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 65-66; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 250-253; pAnastasi V, 22,6 - 23,7 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 68-69; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 262-265; pSallier I, 7,9 - 8,2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 85; Caminos, *LEM*, 319-321; pLansing, 2,3 - 3,3 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 101; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 377-381; pLansing, 10.10 - 11,7 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 109-110; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 410-412; H-W. Fischer-Elfert, 'Education', in Redford, (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, para. 3, 21, <<http://www.oxfordreference.com>>, accessed 28th March, 2017.

⁴³ pAnastasi V, 18,1 - 18,4 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 65-66; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 250.

⁴⁴ H. Brunner, 'Erziehung', in W. Helck & E. Otto, (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 23-26.

Constraint by means of fetters was the punishment chosen for the scribe in this text. Fetters confined a person's hands inside a single wooden handcuff, which was tied to a rope looped around the neck.⁴⁵ (Figure 20) However, this did not prove to be an effective restriction and neither did it improve his behaviour. He escaped, and in the process of doing so he inflicted wounds upon his jailors, after which he returned to his drinking and carousing.⁴⁶

There seemed to be establishments where alcoholic beverages could be procured and where riotous behaviour was possible, and the scribe appears to have availed himself of these. pLansing refers to a brewers' quarter in a passage admonishing a scribe whose love of beer has led him to set himself up in this area,⁴⁷ and the 'Instruction of Amenemope', describes how to behave in a beer house (𐎓.𐎓 𐎕𐎕.𐎓) with a superior.⁴⁸ Darnell however, believes that the beer house to which this referred was probably a temporary drinking place in a booth set up at a festival,⁴⁹ rather than it being a permanent tavern as we would know it.⁵⁰ Whether there were taverns where wine could be had is unknown, as there is no evidence for the existence or regulation of such places for drinking in ancient Egypt, unlike the Babylon of Hammurabi (1792-1750BC), whose laws included the regulation of wine shops and the prices they could charge, as well as the punishments for non-compliance.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Martin, *Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, scene 72, pls 99-105. The method of restraint used on the scribe in the text can be seen in this tomb. See also the images: H. III. OOOO National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, <<http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=H.III.OOOO>>.

⁴⁶ Gardiner, *LEM*, 11,12 - 12,5, pp. 47, 48; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182.

⁴⁷ pLansing, 8,5, 8,6 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 106-107; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 396.

⁴⁸ 'The Instruction of Amenemope', in Lichtheim, *AEL* II, ch. 26, pp. 160-161.

⁴⁹ The fact that instruction on how to behave in a beer house was written indicates that drunken behaviour was not unknown.

⁵⁰ Darnell, 'Hathor Returns to Medamûd', p. 59, note 67. In the love poetry, the term 𐎓.𐎓 𐎕𐎕.𐎓, refers to a private shelter, where the lovers drank and spent time together: Landgráfová, & Návratilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, pp. 202, 205.

⁵¹ R.F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*, (New Jersey, 1999), §108-§111, p. 37; Mandelbaum, 'Alcohol and Culture', p. 284.

Even if there were no taverns as such, there appear to have been brothels, where alcoholic beverages were available. It was in such a place that the scribe continued along his downward path, surrounded by harlots and music, and, it would appear, wine and beer.⁵² Music and brothels seem to be entwined, and what may depict a scene in such an establishment can be seen on a fragment of a leather hanging found at Thebes, which appears to show a scene of sado-masochism performed to the accompaniment of a harp.⁵³ (Figure 21) Additionally, the wall painting of a naked woman playing the pipes, which was found in a dwelling at Deir el-Medina, suggests that it may have been a brothel.⁵⁴ (Figure 22)

Possibly these were similar establishments to the one depicted in the Turin Erotic Papyrus,⁵⁵ which Manniche believes portrayed the activities in a brothel at Deir el-Medina.⁵⁶ In the establishment depicted in this papyrus jugs of wine, and possibly of beer, are shown,⁵⁷ along with a lyre and a sistrum,⁵⁸ and although the sistrum was associated with Hathor its depiction in a brothel was appropriate. (Figure 23) Hathor was the goddess of sexual love, and was also involved with music and dancing, and was known as the

⁵² Gardiner, *LEM*, 12,2 - 12,5, pp. 47, 48; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182; L. Manniche, *Sexual Life in Ancient Egypt*, (London & New York, 1987), pp. 16-17; D. O'Connor, 'Eros in Egypt', in *Archaeology Odyssey*, vol. 4, no. 5 (2001), figs 3, 4; J.A. Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001 und seine Satirisch-erotischen Zeichnungen und Inschriften*, (Turin, 1973); pls XI, XIII, XVI, XVII, XIX; P. Vernus, 'Le papyrus de Turin et la pornographie dans l'Égypte ancienne', in G. Andreu-Lanoë, (ed.), *L'Art du contour. Le dessin dans l'Égypte ancienne*, (Paris, 2013), pp. 112, 113. See also pLansing, 8,5 - 8,8 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 106, 107; Caminos, p. 396, where an apprentice scribe is abjured for drinking and fraternising with a woman of dubious reputation.

⁵³ MMA 91.3.98. This was found at Thebes in MMA excavations in 1929-30.

⁵⁴ Manniche, *Sexual Life*, fig. 6, p. 16; Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1991), pp. 108-110, see also fig. 66, p. 110.

⁵⁵ Papyrus 55001 in the Egyptian Museum, Turin: see Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001*, pls I-XIX. O'Connor, 'Eros in Egypt', pp. 24-36, figs, 3, 4; Vernus, 'Le papyrus de Turin', pp. 112, 113.

⁵⁶ Manniche, *Sexual Life*, pp. 106-115. This book includes the author's line drawings from the Turin Erotic Papyrus, pp. 108-115.

⁵⁷ Manniche, *Sexual Life*, p. 107, no. VI, p. 110; O'Connor, 'Eros in Egypt', fig. 3; Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001*, pls. XVI, XVII; Vernus, 'Le papyrus de Turin', pp. 112, 113.

⁵⁸ Manniche, *Sexual Life*, p. 107, no. III, p. 108, no. IV p. 111, no. XI, p. 114; Vernus, 'Le papyrus de Turin', pp. 112, 113.

Mistress of Drunkenness.⁵⁹ Music and alcohol seem to have been intimately linked with sexual activity in this environment,⁶⁰ and the scribe appears to have patronised such a place. Here, musical instruments were played during an evening's entertainment, in which he participated, and these performances, no doubt, added to the erotic atmosphere.⁶¹

The musical ensemble in this house of pleasure consisted of those often depicted in scenes at a banquet, with an oboe, a lyre, and a lute.⁶² That oboes and lyres had erotic connotations, leading to licentious activity, is suggested by some drawings showing naked women playing these instruments.⁶³ Just as music was played at banquets, so too at these occasions guests were anointed with oils and wore floral collars, and the scene described in the text, with music being played and with the scribe anointed with oils and given a floral collar for his neck, resembles the depictions of banquets in 18th Dynasty tombs.⁶⁴ (Figure 24) To add to the atmosphere he appears to have taken the place of the singer that was usually at a banquet, and, in lieu of the hand clapping musicians, or a drummer or tambourine players, he used his abdomen as a drum to provide the rhythm.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ N. Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, (Oxford, 2013), p. 118; G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, (Oxford, 1993), pp. 132, 222, 284; R.H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, (Cairo, 2003), pp. 141, 143.

⁶⁰ Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, pp. 108-110, see also fig. 66, p. 110. Feasts of drunkenness also encouraged erotic behaviour: Bryan, 'Cultic Activities', pp. 118-120.

⁶¹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 12,2-12,5, pp. 47-48; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182; Manniche, *Sexual Life*, fig. 37, p. 47, fig. 59, p. 76, no. III, p. 108, no. XI, p. 114; L. Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, pp. 108-110.

⁶² For example: Tomb of Djoserkeresonb (TT38), in Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, pl. VI; R. Parkinson, *The Painted Tomb-Chapel of Nebamun*, (London, 2008), no. 83, pp. 72, 73, no. 93, p. 84; Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, pp. 45, 54, 56. See Figures 29 and 33.

⁶³ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom, 1558-1085 B.C. Catalogue of the Exhibition*, (Boston, 1982), no. 143, pp. 144-145; Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, fig. 52, p. 89, fig. 64, p. 108, fig. 65, p. 109, fig. 66, p. 110, fig. 67, p. 111, p. 112.

⁶⁴ For example: Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rē*, pls LXIV, LXVI, LXVII.

⁶⁵ Gardiner, *LEM*, 12,2, 12,3, 12,5; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182. The tomb of Nebamun, in Parkinson, *Painted Tomb-Chapel*, no. 83, pp. 72, 73, shows lutes, an oboe and girls clapping to provide a rhythm for the dancers; In the tomb of Djoserkeresonb, in Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs*, pl. VI, the musicians have a harp, lute, double oboe and lyre; tambourine players are present in the tomb of Neferhotep, in Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, pl. XVIII; Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, fig. 21, pp. 42, 43, fig. 67, p. 111. Also in Manniche, *Music and Musicians* fig. 31, pp. 54, 55 shows a scene in a lost tomb, with four ensembles over four registers, one of which has a drummer.

Present in this establishment were the elements of his ruin: women, along with music, singing, and apparently, one of the most important elements in his downfall, alcohol.⁶⁶ Here he caroused, forgetting the moral tenets imparted to him in the wisdom texts that he had undoubtedly studied, with the result that he became alienated from his profession and attracted censure.⁶⁷

What caused him to forget all he had learned, and forsake his profession and indulge in such behaviour? Beer played its part, but shedeh was his main downfall.⁶⁸ The beer that was commonly consumed by Egyptians is believed to have had an alcohol content of about 3%, and it would have required the imbibing of a large quantity to achieve the level of dissipation attributed to the scribe.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, there appear to have been beers of differing strength available.⁷⁰ The text mentions a type of beer called *tnrk*,⁷¹ which is specifically named, and was distinct from *hnk.t*, the word used at the beginning of the text.⁷² *tnrk* may have had a higher alcohol content than ordinary, everyday beer, and therefore he needed less of it to become intoxicated.⁷³

⁶⁶ Gardiner, *LEM*, 12,1 - 12,5; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182.

⁶⁷ 'Instruction Addressed to Kagemni', in Lichtheim, *AEL* I, pp. 59-6; 'Instruction of Any', in Lichtheim, *AEL* II, p. 137; 'The Instruction of Amenemope', in Lichtheim, *AEL* II, ch. 26, pp. 160-161.

⁶⁸ Wine can have an alcohol content of 10-16%, and shedeh was thought to have had a high alcohol content, possibly 16% or more, and consequently it had a longer 'shelf' life.

⁶⁹ 'Instruction of Any', in Lichtheim, *AEL* II, p. 141 (8,1), in a section about schooling it appears to indicate that children were given beer daily. The alcohol content of Egyptian beer seems to be based on the assumption that it was similar to that of bouza, a fermented drink made with bread: J.R. Geller, *Predynastic beer production at Hierakonpolis upper Egypt: Archaeological evidence and anthropological implications*, PhD, Washington University, (St Louis, Missouri, 1992), pp. 125-127, <<http://www.search.proquest.com.simsrad.net>>, accessed 28th March, 2017; Samuel, 'Brewing and baking', p. 557.

⁷⁰ W. Helck, *Das Bier im Alten Ägypten*, (Berlin, 1971), pp. 42-53: he based his statements about beer strengths on the relationship between the quantity of grain used in relation to the volume of beer produced; Samuel, 'Brewing and baking', pp. 553, 555.

⁷¹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 12,1.13, p. 47; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 182, 186. See also Gardiner, *AEO* II, no. 557, p. 233*, although he makes no comment as to its alcohol content; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, p. 958.

⁷² Gardiner, *LEM*, 11,9.7, p. 47; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182.

⁷³ A higher alcohol content could have been achieved by reducing the volume of water used for the rinsing of the mash of the cooked grain and malt mixture into the jars. This would have led to a more concentrated sugar solution being present in the liquid, which would have given a higher alcohol content: Samuel, 'Brewing and baking', p. 555. However, the alcohol content of *tnrk* is unknown.

The scribe appears to have had no difficulty in obtaining beer, perhaps obtaining some of his supply from the brewers' quarter. The staff in the brothel would also have brewed it both for their customers and themselves, and workers were given the grains used to make bread and beer⁷⁴ as part of their wages.⁷⁵ Beer was also brewed by all households.⁷⁶ An illustration in the Turin papyrus shows a client with a sack of grain over his shoulder,⁷⁷ so customers of the establishment could have paid with grain or even beer, or possibly even wine. If the scribe were still being paid, his wages would have included grain, and possibly beer, which he could have consumed or used as exchange for other items, either at the brothel or elsewhere.⁷⁸

Beer was probably sold at markets in the town, such as that shown in the tomb of Ipy, which has a scene of a small local market that appears to have catered to 'ordinary people'. (Figure 25) Here, a man is shown negotiating the purchase of a drink, and another item, with one of the traders on the quay, behind whom are two jars, which probably contained beer that had been brewed by the trader.⁷⁹ (Figure 26) The jar was unlikely to

⁷⁴ Emmer wheat was used to make bread, and barley was generally used for making beer, although either could be used for making beer. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, p. 460; Samuel, 'Brewing and baking', pp. 547, 558, 559; D. Samuel, 'Beer', in Redford, (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, para. 6, 7, <<http://www.oxfordreference.com>>, accessed 7th August, 2016.

⁷⁵ For example: Grain supplies to workmen at Deir el-Medina: KRITA IV, A.23, 166:5- 166:10, pp. 122, 123; C.J. Eyre, 'Work and the Organisation of Work in the New Kingdom', in M.A. Powell, *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, (New Haven, Connecticut, 1987), pp. 201, 202; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 346-347, 460-463; Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs*, §10, part III, II 29; T.E. Peet, 'An Ancient Egyptian Ship's Log, in *BIFAO*, 30 (1931), p. 487; Warburton, *State and Economy*, p. 140. In a letter dating from the late 20th Dynasty, the scribe Dhutmose, tells of how he received about 5 litres a day of beer as rations: E.F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, (Chicago, 1967), no. 9, p. 37.

⁷⁶ 'Instruction of Any', in Lichtheim, *AEL* II, p. 141 (8,1); Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 346, 347, 460; Janssen, 'Absence from Work by the Necropolis Workmen of Thebes', pp. 146, 147; D. Samuel, 'Brewing and baking', pp. 537, 538, fig. 22.2, p. 540, pp. 550-553.

⁷⁷ Manniche, *Sexual Life*, no. I, p. 109; O'Connor, 'Eros in Egypt', fig. 3; Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001*, pls. IV, XI, XIII, XVI, XVII, XIX; Vernus, 'Le papyrus de Turin', pp. 112, 113.

⁷⁸ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 346, 347, 463; H. Vymazalová, 'Ration system', in J.C. Moreno García & W. Wendrich, (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, (Los Angeles, 2016), p. 7, <digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002k7jnt>, accessed 17th August, 2016.

⁷⁹ Davies, *Ramesside Tombs*, pls. XXX, XXXIV. One jar contains a straw, which resembles that shown on a stela from Amarna belonging to a soldier, and which shows him drinking through a straw from a jar: R.E. Freed, Y.J. Markowitz, & S.H. D'Auria, (eds), *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen*, (London, 1999), nos 114 and 115, p. 239; James, *Pharaoh's People*, pp. 250-252.

have contained wine, as this was generally a drink for the elite, and so would not usually be found at a small quayside market, although this is not an impossible prospect, as a trader could have procured the lower quality pawner.⁸⁰

Beer was inexpensive in comparison to wine. Janssen tells us that during the Ramesside period wine was approximately five times more expensive than beer, although, the difference may have been higher, as the price of both beer and wine is unclear, while that of shedeh is not recorded.⁸¹ In theory, shedeh, our scribe's preferred tippel, would have been more difficult and expensive to procure than wine, because of its relative scarcity.⁸²

A brothel, while it brewed beer, would not have owned a vineyard. These were owned predominantly by royal and temple estates, although those of high rank also owned them.⁸³ The scribe may have obtained shedeh from his family, if it were wealthy, or possibly, if he were still being paid, as part of his wages, depending on where he worked. If he had been employed as a scribe under the 'Overseer of the Wine Cellar' in either the palace or a temple, he may have had access to wine.⁸⁴ Another source would have been its

⁸⁰ James, *Pharaoh's People*, p. 252. The quayside scene in the tomb of Kenamun, shows a Syrian selling a jar of what may have been wine, to a trader on the quay: Davies & Faulkner, 'Syrian Trading voyage', pl. VIII.

⁸¹ J.J. Janssen, 'A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus (Pap. Turin no. Cat. 1907/8)', in *JEA*, vol. 52 (Dec., 1966), no. 4 p. 83, no.5 p. 84, where it gives a price of 2 deben per menet jar; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 346-348, 350-352. This appears to be less expensive than a jar of wine during the 18th Dynasty, which Tallet has calculated as probably being 7-9 deben, (Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', pp. 259-260). This may have been the case because of a lower volume of wine production in the 18th dynasty than in the Ramesside period.

⁸² It was only about 3% of wine production.

⁸³ There were privately owned vineyards, as can be seen in jar labels. For example: Wine jars in the tomb of Tutankhamun bore labels of estates from both temple vineyards and those of the royal family, but one jar of wine was a gift from the vizier Pentu. Pentu's jar: Object card no. 490, photo p1798, Griffith institute <<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/490-p1798.html>>, accessed 1st November, 2016; N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, (London, 1990), pp. 202, 203. Some of the wine jar labels found at Malkata came from officials: Hayes, 'Inscriptions' 2, p. 100.

⁸⁴ The title 'Overseer of the Wine-cellar' was one of the titles of Senemiah (TT127): K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie I-II, vols 1-4*, (Leipzig, 1906), IV, 514.7 (f). Also a title of Minnakht (TT87): K. Sethe *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie IV, vols 13-16*, (Leipzig, 1909), IV, 1178.6 (f); also in W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie Heft 18*, (Berlin, 1956), 1374.18; and in S.R.K. Glanville, 'Scribes' Palettes in the British Museum. Part I', in *JEA*, vol. 18, no. 1/2 (May, 1932), no. 12786, p. 55, pl. VI, no. 1. For a similar title, see J. Malek, 'An Early Eighteenth Dynasty Monument of Sipair from Saqqara', in *JEA*, vol. 75 (1989), fig. 1, A4,12, p. 66, A4. For the 19th Dynasty, Neferhotep held a title of Royal Scribe dealing with Records of the Vessels/Archives in the Wine Department of the Residence: D.A. Lowle, 'A Nineteenth Dynasty Stela in the Louvre', in J. Ruffle, G.A. Gaballa & K.A.

purchase either by himself or the brothel he patronised, from a trader, who was one of a group that helped to supply the population with goods that they wanted, and which were outside their basic needs, which they had received as wages, or produced themselves.⁸⁵

There were small local traders, who either traded within their own communities,⁸⁶ or set themselves up on the river bank and traded with the crew and passengers on boats that stopped at the town.⁸⁷ These people would have been acting in a private capacity and probably were trading some of the goods they made or grew themselves.⁸⁸ Yet, while some may possibly have acquired power, it is unlikely that they would have had *shedeh*. This would likely have been obtained from the merchants (*šwty.w*) whose interests were wider than those of purely local traders, and who were attached, either directly or indirectly, to the large institutions that owned the vineyards from which *shedeh* came.⁸⁹

Kitchen, (eds), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman*, (Warminster, 1979), p. 50, fig. 1, column 10, pp. 51, 53.

⁸⁵ pLansing, 4,8, 4,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 103; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 384; Gardiner, *AEO* I, no. 210, p. 94*.

⁸⁶ A small market, which is not on the river, is in the tomb of Kenro (TT54), in M.A.-Q. Muhammed, *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes*, (Cairo, 1966), pl. 43.

⁸⁷ New Kingdom quayside markets can be seen in: Davies, *Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXX; Davies & Faulkner, 'A Syrian Trading Voyage', pl. VIII; C. Pino, 'The Market Scene in the Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)', in *JEA*, vol. 91 (2005), pp. 97, 101, 102; The tomb of Khaemhet in Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, taf. 199. See also C. Eyre, 'The Market Women of Pharaonic Egypt', in Grimal & Menu, *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*, pp. 176-177, 185; A.P. Zingarelli, *Trade and Market in New Kingdom Egypt: Internal socio-economic processes and transformations*, (Oxford, 2010), table 1, pp. 49, 50, has a list of sources showing exchanges in local markets.

⁸⁸ Davies, *Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXX; Eyre, 'Market Women', p. 185; James, *Pharaoh's People*, p. 252.

⁸⁹ KRITA I, Palace accounts, 265:1, p. 221, 274:8, p. 226; Although the period is later than that of this text, papyri of the late Ramesside era show that there were merchants who received stolen property from tomb robbers, and who either worked for a temple or for those attached to the temple, or else were in the service of military men, who themselves would have been attached to the 'civil' administration. These are listed in T.E. Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, I, Text, (Oxford, 1930): Temple affiliation: pBM 10068, rt., 4,12, 4,13, 4,14, 4,15, 4,17, p. 90, pBM 10053 rt., 4,4, p. 106; Military affiliation: pBM 10068, rt., 4,4 - 4,11, 4,16, p. 90; T.E. Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, II, Plates, (Oxford, 1930), pls XI, XVIII; S. Bickel, 'Commerçants et bateliers au Nouvel Empire. Mode de la vie et statut d'un groupe social', in Grimal & Menu, *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*, fig. 3, p. 165: Stèle de Houy, commerçant en chef, du domaine Aton; Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs*, pp. 101, 102; Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris*, vol. 1, p. 286 (46,2); P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM9999)*, vol. 2, (Cairo, 1994), note 681, pp. 168-169; G.T. Martin, 'The Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis Excavations, 1986: Preliminary Report', in *JEA*, vol. 73 (1987), pp. 5-6, (the tomb of Pabes, royal scribe and overseer of the merchants); G.T. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, (London, 1991), pp. 132-134.

The merchants acted on a larger scale than did local traders, and could work in a private capacity⁹⁰ or for the estates of temples, royalty or high officials.⁹¹ Even though it relates to a later period than pAnastasi IV, the remnants of a ship's log from a papyrus dating to the end of the reign of Ramesses VIII (pTurin 2008+2016) shows that temples participated in local trade. The voyage of a ship along the Nile, which belonged to the chief priest of the temple of Amun, was concerned, in part, with business of a commercial nature. It was trading garments made in the temple workshops for other goods that were needed by the temple: in this case sesame oil, seed and papyrus rolls.⁹² Wine is also one of the items listed in this papyrus as being part of the freight of the ship,⁹³ and, although it was not recorded as being traded, it is not known with certainty whether or not it was intended for trade. Nevertheless, this papyrus does show that goods from temples were traded, and it is likely that merchants from earlier periods were engaged in selling the excess of many of the commodities produced by the large estates, including wine.⁹⁴ Certainly, wine jars

⁹⁰ The merchant, Ria, who sold a slave girl to Iry-nefer, appeared to be acting on his own behalf: A.H. Gardiner, 'A Lawsuit Arising from the Purchase of Two Slaves', in *JEA*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Dec., 1935), pp. 141-142; Those with no obvious affiliation are listed in Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, I, pBM 10053, rt., 1,10 p. 104, 2,12, p. 105, rt., 3,1, 3,2, 3,6, pp. 105-106, rt., 4,4, 4,10, 4,11, pp. 106, 107, rt., 5,2, 5,13, p. 107, rt., 8,1, p. 109; Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, II, pls XVII, XVIII, XIX.

⁹¹ Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs*, § 11. Part VIII, vs. I,4, p. 82, § 13. Part X, vs. II,10, p. 86, pp. 101, 102; Peet, 'An Ancient Egyptian Ship's Log', p. 488; Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, I, pBM 10068, rt., 4,4 - 4,17, p. 90; Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, II, pl. XI; Bickel, 'Commerçants et bateliers, fig. 3, p. 165: Stèle de Houy, commerçant en chef, du domaine Aton; Castle, 'Shipping and Trade', pp. 248-250; Martin, 'Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis Excavations, 1986', p. 5; Martin, *Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, pp. 132-134; Zingarelli, *Trade and Market*, pp. 75-79.

⁹² Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs*, 55-57; § 6. Part III rt. II,9-17, p. 71, § 12. Part IX vs. I,18-col. II 1, p. 85, p. 101; T.E. Peet, 'An Ancient Egyptian Ship's Log', in *BIFAO*, 30 (1931), p. 485.

⁹³ Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs*, § 11. Part VIII, vs. I,4, p. 82, § 13. Part X, vs. II,10, p. 86; Peet, 'An Ancient Egyptian Ship's Log', p. 488.

⁹⁴ Janssen, 'Twentieth Dynasty Account Papyrus', rt. col. II, no. 4, p. 83, rt. col. III. no. 2 p. 83, no. 5, p. 84. This papyrus lists goods, and their prices, given at various places and times to an unnamed person. Wine is listed twice, and possibly some of these goods were for trade. pBoulaq XI, also appears to show trade by an institution, probably a temple, selling what was possibly a surplus of offerings, including wine, to *šwty.w*, who were the intermediaries between the temple and the consumers, (James, *Pharaoh's People*, p. 248-249; Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs*, p. 102, 103); Tallet, 'Quelques aspects' pp. 259, 260.

whose origin was a temple domain, have been found in tombs, and these may have been obtained through trade.⁹⁵

As has been discussed previously,⁹⁶ a large quantity of wine appeared to have been produced in the 19th Dynasty, and any that was in excess of the requirements of an estate could have been sold through merchants that acted for that estate. The establishment the scribe was accustomed to patronise, or even the scribe himself, may have procured *shedeh* through such means: but how did he pay for it?

Metal could be used as an exchange medium to purchase goods, and a merchant in pBoulaq XI is listed as having paid 2½ units of gold for meat,⁹⁷ but, in general, items were exchanged for the equivalent value of other items.⁹⁸ The brothel would probably have had no trouble paying for wine. The scribe had abandoned writing, but his family may have been wealthy, and he received 'funds' from them, or, as already discussed, he may still have belonged to the establishment to which he had been assigned, and so continued to receive his wages,⁹⁹ which he used to pay for his dissolute lifestyle and his *shedeh*. Unfortunately, the text is silent both on the source of his supply and the means of payment for it, and we leave him as a warning to other scribes who might be tempted to engage in such activity, drunk, and lying in the dirt, his ruin complete.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ The tomb of Ipy: Davies, *Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XIX, no. 1; James, *Pharaoh's People*, pp. 248-249, lists wine as one of the items in pBoulaq XI, which was bought by a merchant; J. van Dijk, 'Inscriptions', in H.D. Schneider *et al.*, 'The Tomb of Maya and Meryt: Preliminary Report on the Saqqara Excavations, 1990-1', in *JEA*, vol. 77 (1991), p. 17, pl. III, 6. Tallet, 'Quelques aspects', pp. 259-260.

⁹⁶ Chapter 2, p. 60.

⁹⁷ Castle, 'Shipping and Trade', pp. 257, 258; James, *Pharaoh's People*, pp. 248-249.

⁹⁸ R.J. Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca*, (London, 2002), no. 65935, p. 41, pl. 183, shows a workman paying for the engraving on a copper vessel with clothing, oil, grain and sandals; Gardiner, 'A Lawsuit', pp. 141, 142; James, *Pharaoh's People*, p. 241; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 9, 10 gives examples of this type of payment.

⁹⁹ Vymazalová, 'Ration system', p. 7.

¹⁰⁰ Gardiner, *LEM*, 12,5; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182.

SIGNIFICANCE OF WINE IN THE TEXT

Many of the texts in the *Miscellanies* extol the scribal profession above all others, and compare the ease of the life of a scribe with that of almost every other profession and trade, which are always shown to be inferior. 'Be a scribe. It saves you from toil and protects you from all manner of work', is the popular refrain.¹⁰¹ Given the tenor of their description of all other professions and crafts, clearly, to senior scribes, one of their own that deserts his studies and profession must be thought to be 'mad, bad, and dangerous to know'.¹⁰² There must therefore be something that can be blamed for this behaviour and this text blames alcohol.

Senior scribes were worried that youths would succumb to pleasure and drinking, particularly the drinking of shedeh, and so neglect their studies. Consequently, they felt compelled to point out the evils that would follow if young scribes pursued pleasure, especially the drinking of strong wine. Yet, although drinking wine could lead to intoxication, the drinking of it must have been as enjoyable to the ancient Egyptians as it is to modern people. Wine could be both good and bad. It could bring pleasure, but, as shown in this text, it was a disruptive force to the smooth running of society. The scribe's behaviour was able to cause such disruption, both through the violence he inflicted on others because of his drinking, and in the waste of long years of training.¹⁰³

Even if he had not committed these sins, the scribe's drunkenness attracted censure because it was out of context. It was not within the allowable social licence for such behaviour, and it indicated a loss of control. In the tomb of Djeserkeresonb, a guest at a banquet is shown vomiting, yet such banquets would have been held outside funerary

¹⁰¹ See note 34. Also, see Hagen, 'Literature, Transmission', (a), pp. 95- 96 for a list of texts in the *Miscellanies* expressing this sentiment.

¹⁰² A phrase supposedly coined by Lady Caroline Lamb about Lord Byron.

¹⁰³ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 3, nos 561-568, pp. 234-237.

contexts, where similar behaviour would have occurred.¹⁰⁴ Closer to reality may be the banquet depicted in the tomb of Neferhotep given in celebration of his rewards from pharaoh, in which one of the guests is shown suffering the results of overindulgence in wine.¹⁰⁵ It is unlikely that such a scene would have been portrayed if this conduct was not thought to be acceptable and permissible. There was a social aspect regarding excessive drinking and behaviour, which was allowed when associated with festivals and banquets, but outside this context, drinking to excess appeared to be frowned upon.

Through verbal castigation, the scribe in this text is, indirectly, being told to restrain himself and again become a good member of society, to adhere to an idealised norm, as urged by the wisdom texts.¹⁰⁶ By adhering to this type of behaviour, an individual demonstrates that they are stable, respectable and reliable members of society.¹⁰⁷ Restraint is good, overindulgence, especially in regard to wine, is bad and can lead to the destruction of one's character.

Yet, the scribe in this text appeared irredeemable, and although he and Don Juan would have been thought to have had little in common, as they were separated by thousands of years, this is not the case. The scribe would have agreed with the sentiment expressed in Byron's poem: '...Let us have wine and women, mirth and laughter, Sermons and soda-water the day after...' ¹⁰⁸ and then he would have continued along his chosen path.

The seamy side of Egyptian life is revealed through this text. Wine is used as an adjunct for pleasure, but this was frowned upon for a young scribe, and yet such behaviour

¹⁰⁴ Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs*, pl. VI.

¹⁰⁵ Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, vol. I, pl. XVIII; Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, pl. 2 (from TT A5).

¹⁰⁶ 'Instruction Addressed to Kagemni', in Lichtheim, *AEL* I, pp. 59-60; 'Instruction of Any', in Lichtheim, *AEL* II, p. 137.

¹⁰⁷ Hagen & Koefoed, 'Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina', (2005), p. 22.

¹⁰⁸ *The Complete Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, 'Don Juan', Canto II, CLXXVIII, p. 796.

would not have been isolated. It was only hard work and abstinence that resulted in rewards,¹⁰⁹ which included that of being able to drink wine whenever you wished to do so, as the scribe who followed advice and pleased Amun discovered.

¹⁰⁹ For example: pLansing, 1,7 - 2,2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 100; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 374

CHAPTER 4: WINE AS A REWARD

Wine that maketh glad the heart of man.

Psalms, 104:15

EXTRACT FROM THE TEXT

pAnastasi IV 3,2-4,1¹

*snḏm ib ʾImn.w m ib=k (3,3) ḏi=f n=k i3w.t nfr.t sb=k p3 ʿhʿ.w n nḏm ib r ph=k [r] im3h...
(3,7) ... ʾTw=k hr spr <r> p3y=k bh3n nfr p3w iri=k n=k ḏs=k ʾTw r=k mḥ m irp hnḳ.t, m t iwḏf
šʿy... ʾTw3 (3,8) sf {nd} <t> .w irp wn(.w) ḥsī.y nḏm m-ḥr=k...*

Let your heart be set upon pleasing Amun, (3,3) that he may grant you a good old age, that you may spend a lifetime of happiness until you reach beatitude... (3,7) ...you reach your beautiful villa that you have built for yourself. Your mouth is full of wine and beer, of bread, meat, and cake... Oxen (3,8) are slaughtered and wine is opened, and sweet singing is before you...²

Many of the texts in the *Miscellanies* berate scribes about their laziness and propensity to go astray,³ but this letter adopts a different approach to persuading a young scribe to devote himself to writing and hard work. Rather than reproaching and lecturing him on his behaviour, which may have made him more obdurate, it describes the benefits and the rewards, including wine, that come to one who is diligent. However, the *caveat* is that he must also please Amun, who will then reward him.

SUMMARY OF THE TEXT

In order to achieve success in this life and the next, the recipient of this letter is urged to put Amun in his heart and please him. If he did so, as he grew older he would be

¹ pAnastasi IV, 3,2 - 4,1 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 37, 38; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 137-143. See Appendix 4 for a full translation of this text.

² Gardiner, *LEM*, 3,2- 3,3, 3,7 - 3,8, pp. 37-38; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 137-138.

³ For example: 'do not give your heart to pleasure or you will be a failure', pAnastasi V, 8,2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 59; Caminos, p. 231; A similar sentiment is expressed in pSallier I, 5,5 - 5,11 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 82; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 312-313.

healthy and become wealthy, enjoying an elevated position, which brought with it the good life. This included his own chariot pulled by Syrian horses and an escort when he travelled, as well as the ownership of ships, and a beautiful villa with many servants, not to mention being able to drink wine whenever he wished to do so. At his banquets, there would be much wine, food and singing.⁴ Success would be his lot in life, while his enemies would fall.

CONTEXT OF THE TEXT

Religion permeated Egyptian life, a fact noted by Herodotus when he visited Egypt.⁵ The gods were always present and every detail of life was a result of their acts. Appeals for help were made to them by petitioners, with reciprocity being the underlying characteristic of this contact with deities,⁶ so encouraging a scribe to please Amun, so that he would help the scribe along his chosen path, would be in keeping with this principle. This approach can be seen in oGardiner 310, with the scribe Harnufe promising gifts to Amun if the god will cause his affairs to prosper.⁷

Whilst there were many Egyptian gods, except for the brief interlude of the Amarna period,⁸ Amun was the pre-eminent god of the New Kingdom. He was the king of the gods, with the richest, most important, and most powerful cult centre,⁹ so it was only right that a scribe should attempt to please him, in return for a good old age, and ancillary benefits.

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

A good old age was necessary if one was to enjoy the fruits of one's labours, especially the wine, and although some of the constituents in the remedies in the medical

⁴ All of which he was supposed to have abrogated while he was young and a student.

⁵ Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. A. de Sélincourt, (London, 1954), p. 143.

⁶ L. Casson, *Everyday Life in Ancient Egypt*, revised and expanded edn, (Baltimore, 2001), pp. 84-85; A.S. Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, (Hildesheim 1988), pp. 231-240; E. Teeter, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 3, 4, 103.

⁷ oGardiner 310, in A.H. Gardiner & J. Černý, *Hieratic Ostraca* vol. I, (Oxford, 1957), p. 15, pl. L, no. 2.

⁸ Wilkinson, *Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 236, 240-241.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-97.

papyri contained material whose active ingredients are now known to be able to relieve symptoms,¹⁰ this was a period in which public health, sanitation, and the causes of disease were unknown.¹¹ Unsurprisingly, magic played a large role in medicine, with the administration of a prescription to a patient being accompanied by an incantation, in order to ensure its efficacy.¹² The lack of cures for illnesses such as parasitic infections, as well as for serious bacterial infections such as Tuberculosis, meant that a good old age was not necessarily what could be expected.¹³ Yet, old age to an Egyptian was different from our expectations.¹⁴

The average age of an Egyptian, calculated from mummies and skeletons, ranged from 36 to 50 years of age, with some mummies showing the presence of disease and infections,¹⁵ such as emphysema, chronic dental disease, cardiovascular disease and Schistosomiasis.¹⁶ While some people, like Ramesses II, lived for longer than this, their lives

¹⁰ One example of this is the use of honey in many of the remedies in the medical papyri. For example: Ebers 7-12, for stomach complaints, all contain honey, Eb.12: wine 1; honey 1; *šni-tz* fruit; strained and drunk on one day, in Ghalioungui, *Ebers Papyrus*, Eb.7-12: pp. 12-13. Honey has been investigated and found to be useful against some microbial infections: N-S. Al-Waili, 'Investigating the Antimicrobial Activity of Natural Honey and Its Effects on the Pathogenic Bacterial Infections of Surgical Wounds and Conjunctiva', in *Journal of Medicinal Food*, 7, (2) 2004, pp. 210–222; A. Zumla & A. Lulat, 'Honey- a remedy rediscovered', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, vol. 82 (1989), pp. 384-385.

¹¹ J.F. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, (Norman, 2002), pp. 136, 137.

¹² Ghalioungui, *Ebers Papyrus*, no. 3, pp. 12-13; See also Chapitre 2, 'Protections et combats magique', in Bardinnet, *Les papyrus médicaux*, pp. 39-59.

¹³ 'Instruction of Any', in Lichtheim, *AEL II*, (5,1), p. 138; J.F. Nunn & E. Tapp, 'Tropical Diseases in Ancient Egypt', in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, 94 (2000), figs 3, 4, p. 150, fig. 6, p. 151; Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, pp. 64-95.

¹⁴ Janssen & Janssen, *Growing up and Getting Old*, pp. 195, 197.

¹⁵ B. Halioua & B. Ziskind, trans., M.B. DeBevoise, *Medicine in the Days of the Pharaohs*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, 2005), pp. 95-96; Janssen & Janssen, *Growing up and Getting Old*, pp. 163, 165-170; B. Kemp, *City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and its People*, (London, 2012), pp. 227-229; M. Masali & B. Chiarelli, 'Demographic Data on the Remains of Ancient Egyptians', in *Journal of Human Evolution*, 1 (1972), pp. 161-169; Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, pp. 68-77.

¹⁶ C.D. Matheson, *et al.*, 'Molecular Confirmation of *Schistosoma* and Family Relationship in two Ancient Egyptian Mummies', in *Yearbook of Mummy Studies*, vol. 2 (March, 2014), pp. 39-47; R.L. Miller, 'ds-vessels, beer mugs, cirrhosis and casting slag', in *GM* (1990), pp. 70-71; J.H. Taylor & D. Antoine, *Ancient lives, new discoveries*, (London, 2014), pp. 63, 79, 80, 103, 104.

may have been not much healthier than those whose lives were shorter.¹⁷ Nonetheless, with Amun's help, a scribe could hope for a long life, followed by a good burial.¹⁸

In the text, the scribe has followed the advice given to him, and has received his rewards. After a hard day's work, a jar of wine, along with other pleasures, awaits him at his villa. To get there requires a journey, firstly to the river, which is reached by travelling in a chariot, which is drawn by Syrian horses.¹⁹

Horses and chariots were thought to have been introduced into Egypt from the Levant about 1600 BC, although they did not appear in the pictorial record until the beginning of the 18th Dynasty,²⁰ during which there were many portrayals in tombs of horses and chariots being brought by Syrians, either as tribute, taxes, or trade goods.²¹ Chariots did not become a feature of Egyptian warfare until the reign of Amenhotep II,²² and at first they were used locally by the elite for hunting and transport, as they were a means of travelling quickly.²³ Having a chariot was a status symbol, as it showed the wealth of their owners, who could afford both to keep horses, and have people to tend them.²⁴ Although by the 19th dynasty the Egyptians would have had been breeding their own

¹⁷ C. El Mahdy, *Mummies, Myth and Magic in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1989), pp. 90, 91.

¹⁸ The ideal burial is described in 'The Story of Sinuhe', in, Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, B 165-170, p. 113, B 190-199, p. 120; Janssen & Janssen, *Growing up and Getting Old*, pp. 199-202.

¹⁹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 3,4 - 3,8; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 137-138.

²⁰ J. Bourriau, 'The Second Intermediate Period (c.1650-150 BC)', in I. Shaw, (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 2000), p. 202; Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, p. 100; A.J. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom*, (Malden, MA, 2005), pp. 8-9, 13. For a discussion on the date of the introduction of the horse into Egypt, see P. Raulwing & J. Clutton-Brock, 'The Buhen Horse: Fifty Years after Its Discovery, (1958-2008)', in *Journal of Egyptian History*, vol. 2 (2009), pp. 1-106.

²¹ For example: Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, pl. XIX; Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, pl. XXIII; Davies & Davies, 'The Tomb of Amenmosē', pl. XXIV. There is a list of tombs in which chariots are depicted in *PM*, I, 1, no. 11, p. 465.

²² Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, p. 9.

²³ For example: Userhat is shown hunting from his chariot, in Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid, *Das Grab des Userhat*, taf. 12. In the fragments from the tomb of Nebamun in the British Museum, an agricultural scene shows two chariots and their horses that are waiting for the owners to finish their inspection and be transported home: R. Parkinson, *The Painted Tomb Chapel of Nebamun*, (London, 2008), nos 116, 117, pp. 110, 111. This scene also depicts the two types of horses that had been introduced into Egypt: See Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 8-10.

²⁴ H. Köpp, 'Desert travel and transport in ancient Egypt', in F. Förster & R. Heiko, (eds), *Desert Road Archaeology in Ancient Egypt and Beyond*, (Köln, 2013), pp. 116, 117.

horses, Syrian horses were still being imported,²⁵ and possessing them would be one way an important person could show their wealth and consequence. Another way was to have an escort for their chariot.

The scribe had become an affluent and important man. Syrian horses pulled his chariot, his staff of gold proclaimed his wealth, and perhaps his rank,²⁶ and, just as the pharaoh had men running in front of his chariot, so too did he.²⁷ When he went abroad, Nubians ran in front of him, with both horses and escort proclaiming his importance. Yet having a chariot and horses did not necessarily indicate military rank, as non-military members of the elite owned them,²⁸ but, unless the Nubians were slaves, having them running in front of a chariot, speaks of a possible connection with the army. One such connection could have been through holding the title of Scribe of Recruits (*sš nfr.w*). This was a very important position, as this official was in charge of every aspect relating to the administration of the army, including registering recruits.²⁹ Nubians had long been integrated into the army,³⁰ and they are depicted among the recruits and other soldiers in

²⁵ Gardiner, *LEM*, 3,5, p. 37; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 138. See also pAnastasi IV, 17,8, 17,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 54; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 201.

²⁶ There were such staffs, as well as sticks, in the tomb of Tutankhamun, which were covered with gold. For example, Carter no. 224, Burton photo p0683, <<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/235a.html>>, accessed 20th November, 2016; H. Carter & A.C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tutankhamun*, vol. 1, (London, 1923), pls. LXXIA, LXXII.

²⁷ For example: Davies, *Amarna*, I, pls X, XV; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna*, Part II, *The Tombs of Panehesy and Meryre*, (London, 1905), pls XIII, XVI; Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis IV*, p. 8, pl. XVIII; A.H. Gardiner, *Theban Ostraca: edited from the originals now mainly in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, (Toronto, 1913). p. 16j.

²⁸ For example: Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid, *Userhat*, taf. 12 (Royal scribe); Davies & Davies, 'Tomb of Amenmose (TT89)', pl. XXV (Steward in the Southern city), also Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, taf. 284; Parkinson, *Tomb Chapel of Nebamun*, nos 116, 117, pp. 110, 111 (unknown title); Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, taf. 26c, Tomb of Khaemhet, taf. 284 (Overseer of the Granaries).

²⁹ An inscription of Amenhotep son of Hapu, lists his duties as the scribe of recruits: Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 2, no. 916, pp. 374-375; Eyre, 'Work and the Organisation of Work in the New Kingdom', p. 187.

³⁰ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 1, no. 311, p. 142, no. 312, p. 143; pAnastasi I, 17,4 = Gardiner, *Hieratic Texts*, p. 19*, p. 58; Stele of the Nubian soldier Nenu, First Intermediate Period, MFA, accession 03.1848, <<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/stele-of-the-nubian-soldier-nenu-130332>>, accessed 6th March, 2017; J.C. Darnell & C. Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies. Battle and Conquest in Ancient Egypt's Late 18th Dynasty*, (Hoboken, NJ, 2007), pp. 67, 68, 131-132; P. Grandet, *Les pharaons du nouvel empire: 1550-1069 av. J.-C.: une pensée stratégique*, (Monaco, 2008), p. 280; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 6-8.

the tombs of Tjanuni and Userhat,³¹ and so a high official with links to the army may have acquired Nubian recruits for his service, so that they could, among their other duties, be his escort and look after his horses.³²

However, the scribe's horses and chariot had to stop at the river bank, where they could be loaded onto his boat, which was waiting to continue the journey to his villa.³³ While many river transport vessels and those belonging to lesser ranks were built of local timbers, such as acacia,³⁴ his boat was built from cedar, which was expensive.³⁵ It was imported from Byblos in the northern Levant, and had been used for shipbuilding from at least the 4th Dynasty, especially for seagoing ships.³⁶ This ship, however, was built for river travel, most probably for pleasure and business, rather than for trade,³⁷ and its crew included a full complement of rowers.³⁸ They were a necessary part of a ship's complement, as boats sometimes had to be rowed, even when the boat was under sail, especially in some parts of the river at certain times of the year, because of the variations in the current flow and wind directions.³⁹

³¹ Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid, *Userhat*, taf. 5; Brack & Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni*, taf. 32, 33.

³² P.F. Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*, (London, 1996), fig. 27, p. 34. This shows a Nubian groom steadying a pair of chariot horses.

³³ Gardiner, *LEM*, 3,6, p. 37; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 138; the boat is a *bꜥw*: a galley, or a cargo boat: Jones, *Glossary*, no. 26, pp. 135, 136. Huy's horses have been loaded onto his travelling boat: Davies & Gardiner, *Huy*, p. 23, pl. XXXI.

³⁴ pAnastasi IV, 7,9 – 8,7 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 42-43; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 159-160; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 1, no. 323, p. 149, no. 324, pp. 149-150; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, §126, pp. 372-374; Ward, *Sacred and Secular: Egyptian Ships*, pp. 15-20.

³⁵ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, §127- §135, pp. 374-382, table LXIII, p. 381. The cost of a log of sycamore (length unknown) was approximately 1 deben of copper, while the cost of 5 cubits of cedar could be as high as approximately 1 deben of silver, *Ibid.*, p. 371, table LXIII, p. 381.

³⁶ Wilkinson, *Palermo Stone*, PS v VI.2, pp. 141-142, PS v VI.3, p. 143; Wreszinski, *Atlas II*, taf. 35, shows a scene in Karnak depicting the cutting of cedar trees for Seti I. A cedar forest is also represented in a scene of foreign tribute in the tomb of Amenmose (TT86), Davies & Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and Another*, pl. XXXVI; S. Wachsmann, *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, (Texas A & M University, 1998), p. 9.

³⁷ Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 98-107, discusses New Kingdom travelling ships.

³⁸ Gardiner, *LEM*, 3,6, p. 37; Caminos *LEM*, p. 138.

³⁹ Cooper, *Medieval Nile*, pp. 125-140; Degas, 'Navigation sur le Nil', figs. 1, 3-7, pp. 147-152; Edwards, *Thousand Miles up the Nile*, p. 90.

Whilst we cannot know the boat's size and how many oarsmen it had, the depictions in 18th Dynasty tombs of travelling boats being rowed can give an indication of the size of the boats and the number of their crew.⁴⁰ The number of oarsmen on the boats of officials seemed to have varied from ten to twenty-four, depending on the importance of the official.⁴¹ Wachsmann has calculated the length of the Punt ships on the assumption that there was a minimum of one metre between the rowers, plus another four metres at both the stem and the stern. Using this as a guideline for determining the length of the travelling ships, then a boat with ten oarsmen on each side would have been about seventeen metres in length,⁴² and, as an important official this scribe would possibly have owned a boat of at least this size. While the river boat was used for pleasure and local journeys, he also owned a seafaring cargo ship that traded between Khor and Egypt, which had arrived safely from its voyage, bringing many 'good things'.⁴³

A text from the reign of Rameses II, in which two men are ordered to construct their own ships to carry cargo, for which they were assured they would be well paid, shows that individuals could own ships and procure cargoes for internal trade.⁴⁴ That a cargo ship belonging to the scribe had arrived from Khor, indicates that there was also private involvement in international trade, which would not necessarily be incompatible with the

⁴⁰ For example: Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, vol. II, pl. LXVIII, this boat is under sail and being rowed; a boat not under sail but being rowed is depicted in Tylor, *Tomb of Paheri*, pl. V; see also Tylor & Griffith, *Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, pl. III.

⁴¹ For example: The Tomb of Userhat (TT56), scene tb085, 14 oarsmen, <<http://www.osirisnet.net>>, accessed 24th July, 2016, (Royal Scribe); Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, vol. II, pl. LXVIII, 24 oarsmen (Vizier); Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, vol. I, pl. XXII, vol. 2, pl. IV, 18 oarsmen, vol. 1, pl. XXIII, vol. II, pl. V, 10 oarsmen, while the small boat depicted in these two plates, which is ferrying supplies, has 6 oarsmen-3 per side (Chief Scribe of Amun).

⁴² Wachsmann, *Seagoing Ships*, p. 24.

⁴³ Gardiner, *LEM*, 3,10, p. 38; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 138; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, no. 407, p. 139, has reconstructed what he thinks a sea going cargo vessel of the 19th Dynasty looked like and believes that they may have resembled the Punt ships as can be seen in E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Part III, (London, 1898), pls LXXI-LXXV; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, (Uppsala & Leipzig, 1946), p. 16, thinks that they were probably different to the Punt ships, as trading vessels to the Levant required a large loading capacity over the need for speed, because the voyage northwards was not as dangerous as that which the Punt ships undertook in the Red Sea, where speed was important.

⁴⁴ Castle, 'Shipping and Trade', pp. 248-250; pAnastasi VIII in Wente, *Letters*, no. 143, p. 121; Vinson, *Nile Boatman*, pp. 161, 164.

holding of a high administrative position. He probably also employed a merchant to travel with the ship and act for him, as the scribe himself was unlikely to have undertaken a journey to the Levant.⁴⁵

Trade routes from islands in the eastern Mediterranean, and those from the far east, converged in the Levant,⁴⁶ and, consequently, aside from goods originating in the Levant itself, it was a source of many exotic and expensive items, such as lapis lazuli and cedar.⁴⁷ These came into Egypt either through maritime trade along the sea route from as far north as Byblos, and probably also from Ugarit,⁴⁸ as well as along land routes.⁴⁹ The 'Ways of Horus' led eastward from the Delta into the southern Levant,⁵⁰ and another route south of this also led into the southern Levant, with both connecting with routes going further north.⁵¹ (Figure 27) The goods brought from Khor were varied, with many of them being depicted in the scenes in the 18th Dynasty tombs that show officials receiving tribute and taxes.⁵² In a scene in the tomb of the physician, Nebamun (TT17), a Syrian is shown

⁴⁵ A scribe in pBologna asks another to ascertain whether a merchant has returned from Khor: pBologna, 5,5, - 5,6 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 5; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 16.

⁴⁶ Manley, *Atlas*, pp. 49, 75. For a discussion on the currents, the prevailing winds in summer, and the maritime trunk routes that were used in the eastern Mediterranean from antiquity, see J.H. Pryor, *Geography, technology and war. Studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean 649-1571*, (Cambridge, New York, 1988), fig. 2, p. 14, pp. 12-24.

⁴⁷ pAnastasi IV, 15,2 - 15,4, 16,1, 16,6 -16,7, 17,7 - 17,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 51, 52, 53, 54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 200-201; Aruz, Benzel & Evans, (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, pp. xxii, xxiii, 5-7; Many 18th Dynasty tombs show the types of goods imported from the Levant and the Aegean. For example: Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, pls II-V; Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rē*, vol. II, top register, pls XVIII-XX, pls XXI-XXIII; Davies & Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose, and Another*, pls IV-VII; ; Davies & Faulkner, 'A Syrian Trading Venture', pl. VIII; Herrmann, 'Lapis Lazuli: The Early Phases', pp. 21-24, pls XIII, XIV, XV; N.M. Davies & N. de G. Davies, 'Syrians in the Tomb of Amunedjeh', in *JEA*, vol. 27 (Dec., 1941), p. 97 (lapis lazuli is listed as part of the tribute); Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*, (Leuven, 1987), pp. 31, 32, pls XXVIII-XXXII, Aegeans and Syrians in the tomb of Useramun (TT 131) are shown bringing goods.

⁴⁸ Vidal, 'Ugarit and the Southern Levantine Sea-Ports', pp. 269, 270.

⁴⁹ Manley, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 49, 75.

⁵⁰ Bietak & Forstner-Müller, 'The topography of New Kingdom Avaris and Per-Ramesses', fig. 1, p. 24.

⁵¹ J.K. Hoffmeier & S.O. Mosher, 'A Highway out of Egypt: the main road from Egypt to Canaan', in F. Förster & R. Heiko, (eds), *Desert Road Archaeology in Ancient Egypt and Beyond*, (Köln, 2013), fig.1 p. 486, pp. 485-490, 495-510; Manley, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 49, 75.

⁵² pAnastasi IV, 15,2 - 15,4, 17,7 - 17,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 51, 54; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 200, 201; While there are many 18th Dynasty tombs showing the receipt of goods from the Levant, and elsewhere, the depictions are similar, and the tomb of Rekhmire is a good example of one such tomb: Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, vol. II, pls XXI-XXIII; Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, pls IX-XII, XXII; Davies & Davies, 'Syrians in the Tomb of Amunedjeh', pp. 96-98, pl. XIII. For a list of these tombs see Porter & Moss, I, 1, no. 7a, p. 464.

bringing rich gifts as payment for the consultation, including a silver vase, copper ingots and jars that appear to contain wine.⁵³ This scribe's ship may have brought items similar to those shown in these tombs: horses, chariots and cattle, and different types of wood, many kinds of oil, and wine, terebinth resin, and perhaps silver and copper ingots, and lapis lazuli, all of which were high value items.⁵⁴ These would have added to his consequence and his quality of life, and he may have traded some of them to his profit. Thus, the scribe was in a good position.

He could now enjoy himself, his boat and crew having delivered him to his villa, which he had built with his own resources.⁵⁵ Yet, the land upon which it was built, and the estate that supported it, would have been given to him by the pharaoh, as, in theory, all land was owned by him and he determined its use.⁵⁶ Even so, there was private ownership of land, which the king granted to those whom he favoured. Ahmose, son of Abana, had been granted lands and slaves because of his service under the first three kings of the 18th dynasty,⁵⁷ and the land, and its income from such grants, could be inherited.⁵⁸ Consequently, a villa and its associated estate was a desirable thing to own for many reasons, not least because it demonstrated one's wealth and status.⁵⁹

⁵³ Säve-Söderburgh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, p. 16, pl. XXIII.

⁵⁴ Terebinth resin was made from *Pistacia terebinthus* L., which does not grow in Egypt: Serpico, 'Resins, amber and bitumen', Table 18.2, p. 432, p. 435. The terebinth resin is thought to have been *sntr*: C. Pulak, 'The Uluburun Shipwreck and Late Bronze Age Trade', in Aruz, Benzel & Evans, (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, p. 295.

⁵⁵ Gardiner, *LEM*, 3,7, p. 37; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 138

⁵⁶ Katary, 'Land tenure and taxation', in T. Wilkinson, (ed.), *The Egyptian World*, (Abingdon, 2007), p. 185.

⁵⁷ Ahmose, son of Abana, had been granted lands and slaves because of his service under the first three kings of the 18th dynasty: Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 2, no. 6, p. 6, no. 15, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁸ A dispute during the reign of Ramesses II over land that had been held by 10 generations from the time of King Ahmose, is discussed in A.H. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes, A Contribution to the Study of Egyptian Judicial Procedure*, (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 7-11, 23-39; B. Haring, 'Access to Land by Institutions and Individuals in Ramesside Egypt', in B. Haring & R. de Maaijer, (eds), *Landless and Hungry: Access to Land in Early and Traditional Societies. Proceedings of a seminar held in Leiden, 20 and 21 June, 1996*, (Leiden, 1998), p. 77; Katary, 'Land tenure and taxation', pp. 185, 192; S.L.D. Katary, 'Land Tenure (to the end of the Ptolemaic Period)', in J.C. Moreno García & W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, (Los Angeles, 2012), pp. 8, 10, <<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002bfks5>>, accessed 30th August, 2016.

⁵⁹ I. Shaw, 'Ideal Homes in Ancient Egypt: The Archaeology of Social Aspiration', in *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, vol. 2, issue 2 (Oct., 1992), pp. 150-151.

Although this scribe's establishment appears not to be quite as elaborate as that which was described in pLansing, it would not have been negligible.⁶⁰ It would very likely have had an enclosure wall, if not around the whole estate then at least around the house itself, and also around the garden, if it were separate from the house.⁶¹ (Figure 28) Like all dwellings, the wall and house would have been built of mud brick.⁶²

While the appointments of this scribe's villa are not described, a large country house belonging to a high official would have a garden that contained a well, and probably a pool, which was surrounded by trees, and other plants,⁶³ such as those depicted in some tombs.⁶⁴ (Figure 29) It would have had fruit trees, vegetable gardens, and perhaps a small vineyard.⁶⁵ While there may have also been granaries within the house yard, within its outer grounds a villa would have had granaries, a poultry yard,⁶⁶ aviaries, cattle byres, pools

⁶⁰ Ra'ia's villa is described in pLansing 12,1 - 13a,7 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 110-112; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 412, 413.

⁶¹ For example: The model of an enclosed garden courtyard, BM EA 36903, <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online>, accessed 18th Feb., 2017; L. Borchardt & H. Ricke, *Die Wohnhäuser in Tell el-Amarna*, (Berlin, 1980), p. 23; L. Borchardt & H. Ricke, *Die Wohnhäuser in Tell el-Amarna, Pläne*, (Berlin, 1980), plan 2, Q 46.1; COA I, pp. 47, 48; Dziobek, *Ineni*, taf. 15; the garden in the tomb of Sennefer (TT96) in Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, pl. XVI; Lloyd, 'Model of a Tel el-Amarnah House, fig. 1, p. 2, pls. I, II, IV; Shaw, 'Ideal Homes', p. 161.

⁶² N. Moeller, 'Urban Life', in Wilkinson, *Egyptian World*, p. 68; I. Shaw, 'Ideal Homes', p. 150.

⁶³ For example: Borchardt & Ricke, *Die Wohnhäuser in Tell el-Amarna, Pläne*, Plan 2, Q 46.1; COA I, pp. 47, 48; COA III:1, p. 86; Eyre, 'Water Regime', pp. 66-68; J-C. Hugonot *Le jardin dans l'Égypte ancienne*, (Frankfort am Main & New York, 1989), pp. 150-153.

⁶⁴ For example: Davies, *Amarna, II*, pp. 37-38, pl. XXXVI; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, vol. I, (New York, 1933), pls XLVII, LXIIA; Dziobek, *Ineni*, taf. 15; The garden in the tomb of Nebamun, BM EA 37983, <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online>, accessed 18th Feb., 2017; The garden in the tomb of Sennefer (TT96) in Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, pl. XVI; the garden in the tomb of Amenemhab (TT85), in P. Virey, *Sept Tombeaux Thébains de la 18th Dynastie*, (Paris, 1891), fig. 13, p. 270.

⁶⁵ Davies, *Kenamun*, pl. XLVII; Dziobek, *Ineni*, taf. 15; The garden in the tomb of Sennefer (TT96) in Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, pl. XVI.

⁶⁶ pLansing 12,3, 12,7 - 12,10 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 110-112; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 412, 413; COA I, p. 49; A relief from the tomb of Nebamun, BM EA 37978 shows workers with geese, <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online>, accessed 18th Feb., 2017.

for ducks and fish and pastures for the livestock.⁶⁷ It would also have had stables, kennels, and servants' quarters.⁶⁸

Features such as these have been found in the large residences in which officials lived in Amarna, the style of which were probably typical of a villa such as that owned by this scribe, but without all of the pastoral features of a country estate.⁶⁹ T.36.11 and T.36.36 are large houses with extensive grounds and which had storage facilities, stables, and, in T.36.11, what were thought to be kennels.⁷⁰ (Figure 30) Another house, P47.28, was a large structure contained within a wall, and with a smaller house inside its grounds. It contained many rooms, but domestic activities, such as cooking and the brewing of beer appear to have taken place in other structures outside the house itself.⁷¹ (Figure 31) Other production, such as the weaving of cloth, may have been carried out either outside or inside the house.⁷²

⁶⁷ pAnastasi IV, 3,11 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 38; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 138; pLansing, 12,4, 12,7-12,10 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 110-112; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 412, 413; COA I, p. 49. Even though from an earlier period, the models found in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Meket-re can give an indication of the features found in the grounds of the house. They show the granary, the cattle byres, the butchery, the brewing and baking facilities and the weavers, which were all part of a large establishment: H.E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt from the Tomb of Meket-re at Thebes*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955), the house, pls 9-12, the cattle byre, pl. 17, the butchery, pls 8-19, the granary, pl. 20, the brewing and baking facilities, pls 22-23, the weavers, pls 24-27.

⁶⁸ pLansing 12,9 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 111; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 138; COA I, p. 49; H. Frankfort, 'Report on the Excavations at el-'Amarnah, 1928-9, in *JEA*, vol. 15, no. 3/4 (Nov., 1929), pp. 145, 146, pl. XXV; Lloyd, 'Model of a Tel el-'Amarnah House,' fig. 1, p. 2, pp. 2, 4; J.D.S. Pendlebury, 'Preliminary Report of Excavations at el-'Amarnah, 1930-1', in *JEA*, vol. 17, 3/4 (Nov., 1931), p. 234, pls LXIX, LXX. A structure was found at Amarna that contained the bones of dogs, and this was assumed to have been the royal kennels: COA I, p. 123.

⁶⁹ Frankfort, 'Report, 1928-9', pp. 145, 146, pl. XXV; Lloyd, 'Model of a Tel el-'Amarnah House,' pp. 1-7, pls I-IV; Pendlebury, 'Preliminary Report 1930-31', p. 234, pls LXIX, LXX, LXXIV, LXXVI; K. Spence, 'Ancient Egyptian Houses and Households: Architecture, Artifacts, Conceptualization, and Interpretation', in M. Müller, (ed), *Household Studies in Complex Societies. (Micro) Archaeological and Textual Approaches. Papers from the Oriental Institute Seminar, Household Studies in Complex Societies, held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 15-16 March, 2013*, (Chicago, 2015), pp. 90, 91, 94, fig. 4.4, p. 91.

⁷⁰ Frankfort, 'Report, 1928-9', pp. 145, 146, pl. XXV (house 36.11); Lloyd, 'Model of a Tel el-'Amarnah House,' pp. 2, 4, fig. 1, p. 2 (house 36.11); Pendlebury, 'Preliminary Report, 1930-1', p. 234, pl. LXIX (house 36.36).

⁷¹ COA I, pp. 49, 50; Spence, 'Ancient Egyptian Houses and Households', pp. 90, 91, 94, fig. 4.4, p. 91.

⁷² N. de G. Davies, 'The Town House in Ancient Egypt', in *JEA*, vol. 1, no. 2 (May, 1929), fig. 1A, p. 234, a relief from the tomb of Dhutnufer (TT104), shows weaving being carried out inside the house; Spence, 'Ancient Egyptian Houses', p. 90.

Weaving was one of the most important activities in an Egyptian household, as cloth was used for a variety of daily purposes, not least for clothing. It was also needed for bedding, for towels, and possibly also for wall hangings, and cushions. Cloth bags and sacks were used to carry seeds and grain,⁷³ and the scribe's horse blankets, and the pads for the floor of his chariot were made of cloth.⁷⁴ A large estate belonging to a high official would likely be self-sufficient in textile production and might trade some of the excess production for other items that were either not made by the estate or made in limited quantities,⁷⁵ possibly obtaining the extra supplies of wine that were required for a banquet, which was being prepared when the scribe reached his villa.⁷⁶ Here, he was able to partake of a pre-banquet refreshment, or two, to relax before the evening's entertainment. ...'your mouth is full of wine and beer...'⁷⁷

The information about Egyptian banquets in the New Kingdom is to be found in their depiction in tombs of the 18th Dynasty,⁷⁸ rather than those of the 19th Dynasty, as tomb decoration in the latter period changed from representing earthly pursuits, to portraying, mainly, the 'otherworldly'.⁷⁹ Although these banquets often have funerary connotations, as the deceased are depicted along with the living, nevertheless they can

⁷³ G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, 'Textiles', in Nicholson and Shaw, (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, pp. 290, 291.

⁷⁴ Vogelsang-Eastwood, 'Textiles', p. 292. Although linen was the principal textile used in Egypt, wool was also available at this period. Wente, *Letters*, no. 143, p. 120, in which a scribe writes of a cargo of wool.

⁷⁵ Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs*, § 6 part III, rt. II,9, II,15, p. 71, § 12 part IX, vs. I,18, p. 85; Peet, 'An Ancient Egyptian Ship's Log', pp. 484-486; Vogelsang-Eastwood, 'Textiles', p. 293.

⁷⁶ Martin, *Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, I, pl. 30, no. 18 and pl. 33 no. 18, show the preparations for a banquet.

⁷⁷ Gardiner, *LEM*, 3,7, p. 37; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 138.

⁷⁸ For example: N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes*, (New York, 1917), Frontispiece, pls XV, XVI, XVII; Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs*, pl. VI; Parkinson, *The Painted Tomb-Chapel of Nebamun*, no. 81, p. 70, no. 83, pp. 72, 73, nos 85-95, pp. 75-87, no. 97, p. 89, no. 98, p. 90, no. 100, p. 92; Baines, 'Not only with the dead', pp. 3, 18.

⁷⁹ See Muhammed, *The Development of Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes*.

provide an insight into this type of entertainment among the living, whose banquets no doubt provided the model for such paintings.⁸⁰

There are two types of banquet scenes depicted in tombs, the 'funerary' and 'mortuary' banquets.⁸¹ The 'funerary' banquet was the meal that followed the tomb owner's burial, and these scenes have a stylistic depiction of rigidity among the guests.⁸² (Figure 32) These contrast with depictions of the 'mortuary' banquet, which have representations of musicians and dancing girls, and often demonstrate a greater liveliness that is represented through a more fluid portrayal of the participants.⁸³ (Figure 33) The latter type of scene may be a representation of feasts held on festival days, or else simply a representation of the banquets enjoyed by the elite during life.⁸⁴ At these occasions, there was food along with large quantities of wine and beer,⁸⁵ and there are scenes showing the effects on the guests of overconsumption.⁸⁶

A scene in the tomb of Kenamun depicts a 'secular' entertainment in which the essential elements needed for such an activity are noted. These are wine and music, along with dancing, anointing with oil, and being decked with garlands, all of which adds to a holiday atmosphere, and makes up the components that go to make an enjoyable party.⁸⁷

⁸⁰ Davies & Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pp. 38-40.

⁸¹ Harrington, 'Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian Banquet', p. 131; Davies & Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pp. 38-40, term the 'mortuary' banquet, 'biographical', as it was a representation of an earthly scene and so part of daily life.

⁸² For example: Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rê*, vol. II, pls. CIX, CXII, no. 4; Davies & Gardiner, *Amenemhêt* pls XVIII, XXI, XXII; J.M. Galán, & G. Menéndez, 'The Funerary Banquet of Hery (TT12), Robbed and Restored', in *JEA*, vol. 97 (2011), fig. 8, p. 161; Harrington, 'Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian Banquet', pp. 131-132.

⁸³ For example: Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rê*, pls LXIV, LXV, LXVI, LXVII; Parkinson, *The Painted Tomb-Chapel of Nebamun*, no. 81, p. 70, no. 83, pp. 72, 73, nos 85, 86, pp. 75, 76, no. 88, p. 79, nos 91-98, pp. 82-90, no. 100, p. 92; Davies & Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pls XV, XVI; Davies, *Nakht*, Frontispiece, pls XV, XVI, XVII; Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs*, pl. VI; Harrington, 'Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian Banquet', p. 133.

⁸⁴ Harrington, 'Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian Banquet', pp. 136.

⁸⁵ For example: Davies, *Tomb of Two Officials*, pls V, VI; Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rê*, vol. II, pl. LXIV; Martin, *Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, pp. 38-40, pls 30, 31, 33.

⁸⁶ Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, pl. XVIII; Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs*, pl. VI; Darby, Ghalioungui & Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, vol. 2, fig. 14.13; Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, TTA5, pl. 2; Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, taf. 179; Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, pp. 113-116; Harrington, 'Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian Banquet', p. 136.

⁸⁷ Davies, *Ken-Amun*, pp. 20-22, pl. IX; M. Lichtheim, 'The Songs of the Harpers', in *JNES*, vol. 4, no. 3 (Jul., 1945), pp. 181-182.

Food must be added to this list, and this requirement is listed in the tomb of Rekhmire, where he is overlooking a mortuary banquet. '...The enjoyment of the sight of good food, music, dancing, and song, anointment with oil...bread, beer, wine...and dainties of all sorts'.⁸⁸

Such were the elements needed for a good banquet, with wine being an indispensable part of such an entertainment. This text notes the slaughter of oxen, the bringing of different types of food, the opening of wine, and the presence of a singer, who would have played music, all of which indicate that a feast was being prepared.⁸⁹ Such largesse needed substantial resources on the part of the one giving a banquet, and so they were a way of showing an official's status and wealth.

Clad in a fine linen, possibly a new linen kilt, tunic, sash, and cloak, made for him by his weavers,⁹⁰ the scribe was ready for an evening's pleasure. He has provided everything needed for a good party: unguents for the body and wreaths for the neck, large quantities of food as well as wine, and, as food and wine alone do not a party make, a singer is providing the entertainment, without which no banquet could be complete.⁹¹ Part of the entertainment may also have consisted of the melodious singing of 'love poetry',⁹² some of which contain references to wine.⁹³

⁸⁸ Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rē'*, vol. I, p. 60, vol. II, pl. LXIII. The banquet that he is overlooking shows the fulfilment of these requirements, pls. LXIV-LXVII.

⁸⁹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 3,8 - 3,10, pp. 37-38; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 138; Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, fig. 67, p. 111.

⁹⁰ Gardiner, *LEM*, 3,4, 3,11, pp. 37, 38; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 137, 138; This combination of garments was popular during the New Kingdom. G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*, (Leiden, New York & Köln, 1993), p. 180; G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, 'Textiles', pp. 288-290.

⁹¹ Gardiner, *LEM*, 3,8-3,10, p. 38; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 138; Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, fig. 67, p. 111.

⁹² While the Harpers' songs, which are inscribed in some banquet scenes on tomb walls, speak of enjoying life while possible because death is inevitable, they were funerary in nature and concerned ultimately with death and the afterlife and so had no part in a secular banquet, where eating, drinking and enjoyment and entertainment were the prime considerations. Here the love songs would have been sung. Lichtheim, 'Songs of the Harpers', pp. 192, 195-206, 209. See Fox, *The Song of Songs*, pp. 244-245.

⁹³ These refer to both irep and shedeh. Landgráfová & Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, shedeh: no. 25, pp. 133-135, no. 38, p. 148, no. 40, pp. 151-152, no. 71, pp. 196, 197; irep: no. 49, pp. 163, 165, no. 69, pp. 192-193, no. 71, pp. 196, 199.

The remaining written versions of these songs date mainly from the 19th dynasty,⁹⁴ and were found in western Thebes, but it is unlikely that works such as these were confined to this area, as the river facilitated communication.⁹⁵ They may have been part of an older oral tradition,⁹⁶ or perhaps copies or variations of earlier written versions,⁹⁷ but whatever their origin, these love songs were written as entertainment. 'Beginning of a song of entertainment', is the heading at the beginning of a section of songs in pHarris 500,⁹⁸ while 'Beginnings of utterances of great pleasure', precedes pChester Beatty I.⁹⁹

The most likely milieu for such entertainment was a banquet, especially when wine was being consumed. The sensuous imagery of these poems captures the emotional state of love, and of being in love and being loved in return, and the feelings that accompany desire and sexual fulfillment, rather than articulating overt references to the sexual act, as such references were generally delivered through innuendos and metaphors:¹⁰⁰...My body is excited, my heart is in joy over our walking together. To hear your voice is like shedeh...I live through hearing it!¹⁰¹

Being in love resembles the intoxication induced by drinking wine: it can be either pleasurable: '...I recall your beauty...like... honey, like shedeh...',¹⁰² or it can induce

⁹⁴ Although pChester Beatty I is dated to the 20th Dynasty, Mathieu suggests that the works might belong to an earlier period, possibly the late 18th or early 19th Dynasties: B. Mathieu, *La poésie amoureuse de l'Égypte ancienne. Recherches sur un genre littéraire au Nouvel Empire, Bibliothèque d'étude 115*, 2nd edn, (Cairo, 2008), pp. 22-23, §88, pp. 200-201. pTurin is dated to the early 20th Dynasty, although it may also be a copy of an earlier work, the others to the 19th dynasty, Landgráfová & Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, Table 1, p. 231.

⁹⁵ J.L. Foster, *Love Songs of the New Kingdom*, (New York, 1974), pp. xv, xvi. A list of sources and their provenance can be found in Landgráfová & Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, pp. 19, 222-230, Table 1, p. 231. One of the poems speaks of faring north: Mathieu, *La poésie amoureuse*, Poème 6, 2,6 - 2,9, p. 58.

⁹⁶ J. Baines, 'Classicism and Modernism in the Literature of the New Kingdom', in Loprieno, (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, p. 173; Landgráfová & Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, pp. 17, 18, 19, 220.

⁹⁷ Baines, 'Classicism and Modernism', pp. 165-168; Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, p. 315.

⁹⁸ pHarris 500: Group B, 9-16, Group C, 17-19: Fox, *The Song of Songs*, pp. 16-29.

⁹⁹ pChester Beatty I: Group A, 31-37: Fox, *The Song of Songs*, pp. 52-55.

¹⁰⁰ Landgráfová & Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, pp. 162-163, no. 49, pp. 163-165, no. 50, pp. 165-167, no. 52, pp. 168-169; O'Connor, 'Eros in Egypt', p. 25.

¹⁰¹ Landgráfová & Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, no. 25, pp. 133-134.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, no. 38, p. 148.

misery:¹⁰³ 'I have departed [from my brother]... sweet shedeh, once pleasant in my mouth, is (now) like the gall of birds...'.¹⁰⁴ These songs express these different emotions connected with being in love, and some use wine as part of the description.

Through appealing to the emotional response that might be induced by the smell of perfume combined with the drinking of wine, the imagery in some poems could be used to evoke an erotic atmosphere in a situation where pleasure was the purpose of an evening's entertainment, and wine was being consumed: 'that which the girl does with her beloved...while drunk with irep and shedeh and bathed in ...scented ointments', writes one poet.¹⁰⁵ This poem, perhaps, would not out of place at a banquet, where these elements were present, and the singing of such a song, in this environment, may have invoked a response in some of those listening.¹⁰⁶

These songs, and probably others, may have been sung at banquets such as that given by this text's scribe, with their performance probably being accompanied by dancers and musicians. Certainly, those who wrote the poems must have been familiar not only with the emotions surrounding love, but also with the taste of both irep and shedeh, and enjoyed them all. The scribe's guests, both male and female, would have understood the allusions contained within these songs, and appreciated them, helped of course by the fine wines served by the host, who has now achieved success.

Following the advice to please Amun had led to this success, which was measured by the downfall of the scribe's enemies, as well as riches, rank, status, possessions and the

¹⁰³ Landgráfová & Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, pp. 138-139. A poem from pHarris 500, no. 24, pp. 131, 132, would also have had an effect.

¹⁰⁴ Fox, *The Song of Songs*, no. 12, p. 21; Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 365-367; Landgráfová & Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, no. 40, p. 151.

¹⁰⁵ Landgráfová & Návrtilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess*, no. 71, p. 196.

¹⁰⁶ The consumption of food, the scent of perfume and drinking wine to excess, could lead to sexual activity: Bryan, 'Hatshepsut and Cultic Revelry', fig. 6.32, p. 119; Manniche, *Sexual Life*, p. 42, says that perfume was considered to induce an erotic atmosphere in a situation such as a banquet.

wherewithal to hold a banquet. Yet, the best reward was fine wine, which could be consumed at will.

SIGNIFICANCE OF WINE IN THE TEXT

Wine, in this text, is shown to be one of the rewards that can be gained through pleasing Amun. Yet, within the context of the whole text, it is also functioning as an indicator of status through showing the affluence and position of the person who is not only able to afford to drink it himself, but can also serve it to guests. A banquet at which wine was served had, apart from giving pleasure, a function of impressing the status of the host upon his guests, who would likely have included his relatives and his peers, who would have also been high officials. It also would have helped to maintain his social relationships, and strengthened the informal networks that existed amongst such persons of influence and authority.¹⁰⁷

As has been noted in Chapter 3, the drinking of wine to excess was not frowned upon if the social context was correct. The acceptance of its consumption depended on the context in which it was consumed. It needed to be carried out within a specified and acceptable milieu, such as that of a feast or a festival. However, in this text the drinking of wine is also shown to be an action expected of someone with high status, even though the scribe was not described as being drunk, and it is looked upon as something that provided pleasure, and a reward for success. Two passages in pLansing, which describe a villa belonging to Raia, a high official, also suggests this to be the case. ... 'one is ...drunk in its

¹⁰⁷ M. Dietler, 'Feasting and Fasting', in T. Insall, (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, (Oxford & New York, 2011), pp. 179-184, <[DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199232444.013.0014](https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199232444.013.0014)>, accessed 21st December, 2016; J.C. Moreno Garcia, 'The "Other" Administration: Patronage, Factions, and Informal Networks of Power in Ancient Egypt', in J.C. Moreno Garcia, (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, (Leiden & Boston, 2013), pp. 1063-1064.

halls...¹⁰⁸ ...you are drunk with their wines...,¹⁰⁹ these statements are made without censure of any excessive consumption that might be occurring.

In this text in pAnastasi IV, it appears that the wine will flow freely, with no indication of its being an abomination, or inappropriate, or being frowned upon, as it is being consumed by those of an upper social level.¹¹⁰ It is not only the context in which wine is consumed that affects the attitude towards drinking it, but the status of those who do so. Wine has the position of being a reward for pleasing Amun, but probably also for having worked hard and achieved success. It was an allowable vice once a scribe reached a certain status.

¹⁰⁸ pLansing, 12,2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 110; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 412.

¹⁰⁹ pLansing, 13a,1, 13a,2 = Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 112; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 413.

¹¹⁰ Compare this with pAnastasi IV, 11,8 - 12,5 = Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 47-48; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 182-187.

CONCLUSION

All words smell of a profession, a genre, a movement, a party, a particular origin, a particular individual, a generation, an age, a day and an hour. Every word smells of the context and contexts in which it lived its socially charged life, all words and forms are inhabited by intentionalities.

M. Bakhtin.¹

The four texts from pAnastasi IV, which have been the subject of this thesis, show the truthfulness of Bakhtin's observation about words. Every word in these texts is charged with the life of Inena's world, if we could unravel their meaning. However, it is a world that we can never know intimately, no matter how many texts and tombs are studied. One must always keep in mind that Egyptian society is so far removed from our world in time, that we can never be certain that our interpretation of something would be the same as theirs. All we can hope for is an insight into the world of the ancient Egyptians, and their wine, through these texts.

One word, 'wine', in a text does not tell us anything about wine's position or importance in society. Its significance needs to be examined within the context of the whole text to do this, as the word 'wine' in each text has a different story to tell about its place in society and the nature of the relationship that the Egyptians had with it.

The reference to the wine of Khor and pawer, which are the two types of wine listed in the text studied in Chapter 1, yields information about wine in Egyptian society on two levels. Firstly, the inclusion of wine from Khor demonstrates the existence of international trade, cloaked in the guise of gifts and tribute, and shows that wine was still being imported from the Levant in the 19th Dynasty, even though Egypt's wine industry had been

¹ M. Bakhtin, Слово в романе, in M. Bakhtin, Вопросы Литературы и эстетики ('Word in the Novel', in M. Bakhtin, *Questions of Literature and Aesthetics*), (Moscow, 1977), p. 106, cited in S. Quirke, *Egyptian Literature 1800 BC: questions and readings*, (London, 2004), p. 38.

established for at least 1,800 years. Secondly, the inclusion of pauer, a low-quality variety of wine made in the vineyards of Egypt, shows that those of presumably low status, servants, had wine available for their pleasure.

‘...menet jugs of pauer for the servants... wine of Khor...’ The reference to two different types of wine provides a contrast between them, while the specific designation of the group that was to receive pauer establishes a difference both in the quality of the drink and in the status of the recipients of the two types of wine: for the king and his court, the high-quality wine of Khor, for the servants pauer. While pauer was designated for a specific group, it was understood that the king and his entourage were to have the wine of Khor, and so there was no need to mention this. The best wine was always reserved for the elite, but, the servants were not forgotten and they also were to be given wine, even if it was a low-quality beverage.

Pauer appears to have been made specifically for consumption by those who worked as servants either in the palace or the temple, although the position occupied by those who received it, is unknown. This beverage was one of the types of wine made by vineyards in the Delta belonging to a temple of Seti II. This was the subject of a report by a scribe, which was the text discussed in Chapter 2. The scribe’s job was to count and list the number of workers in the establishment and to transport the wine from the vineyard to the controllers of the temple of Millions of Years of Seti II, who would then have redistributed it to those who consumed it. His letter has yielded information on the volume and types of wine produced in one year by such an establishment, the number of people who were employed to produce this volume of wine, and their ages, as well as details about the types of boats used for the transportation of the wine.

By the reign of Seti II, the Egyptians had been making wine for about 1,800 years and had developed a sophisticated and well organised operation, including its

transportation to the centres of consumption. The vineyards were well staffed and the process of wine making was under the control of a chief winemaker, who was named on the information about the wine that was written on each jar. Even though most vineyards were owned by royalty and the temples, wine making, and drinking it, had become an integral part of the Egyptian economy, and the lives of many people.

The yield of this one establishment was 16,000 litres of various types of wine, which is not a negligible volume, considering the age in which it was produced. When this figure is added to other data about wine yields, it shows that the wine industry in Egypt during this period was thriving and that the volume of wine it produced was large, which would have allowed the trading of any surplus of wine that an establishment produced. Wine that was surplus to the requirements of the institutional owners was possibly traded to those outside these establishments, and so allowed the transfer of wine into the wider community beyond the owners of the vineyards and their employees and dependents.

The availability of wine proved too much temptation for at least one person, causing the scribe in Chapter 3 to abandon his profession, and to pursue pleasure, partly in the form of the excessive consumption of alcohol. He indulged himself with shedeh, women and song, and beer. Fetters were used to restrain his drunken behaviour, but to no avail and he escaped. He was unrepentant and spent his time with women in a house of pleasure, taking part in their musical entertainments. All of this attracted censure, not only of his behaviour, but also of his drinking, with the wine he consumed being labelled an abomination. The strong disapproval of his behaviour occurred not only because his drunken and anti-social behaviour was deplorable, but also because he belonged to the administrative class of the Egyptian state. He was not showing the restraint and control that was expected of a stable, respectable, and responsible member of society, moreover, one who contributed to the smooth running of that society. Additionally, the scribe's

drunkenness and subsequent behaviour was unacceptable not only because it was uncontrolled and persistent, but it was also outside the context of the allowable excess that was accepted at a feast or a festival.

Yet this attitude was, to a degree, hypocritical, as when one reached a certain status and level of importance, the rules appeared to change. Wine was part of the reward given to the scribe in Chapter 4, who put Amun into his heart and pleased him, and there was no mention of there being restrictions on its consumption. He had status, wealth, and possessions, and could host banquets, and impress his guests by serving food and wine, and thereby add to his consequence. Drunkenness was not mentioned in this text, although it appears that wine was freely available to be consumed at any time without censure for drinking it, and without it being labelled an abomination. Drinking, possibly to excess, was accepted, perhaps because of the status of the one who was consuming the wine.

Wine was an inherent part of the life of many Egyptians, and it held an important position within the society of Ramesside Egypt. It was embedded in the lives of the people who worked in the vineyards and who made the wine, those who transported it, and those who served it either to the elite, or to customers in a brothel, and those involved in trading it, and all of those who drank it. Wine had an economic importance not only because of the number of people involved in its manufacture and transport, but also because it, like the other products that were produced by the institutions of the Egyptian state and were surplus to the requirements of the producer, could be traded for other items that were needed. It was possibly one section of the exchange of goods that was part of the economy of the New Kingdom.

Pleasure was gained from drinking wine. Pharaoh needed wine to be provided for him on his travels, presumably as a drink for pleasure and relaxation, while his servants perhaps received it as a reward. The scribe who was rebuked and reviled for his excesses

regarding his liking for shedeh, appeared to be enjoying his dissolute life, without showing any signs of contrition. Wine also functioned as an indicator of status to one who could serve it to guests at banquets, where it would have been enjoyed, and probably consumed to excess.

The relationship with wine was a shifting one. Wine was an abomination if you were a young scribe who had been led astray, but a reward once you had reached a certain position in life, and its supply was an expected part of life at this level. The nature of the relationship with wine was ambivalent, and not necessarily conditioned solely by the idea of ideal behaviour, but also by a person's social standing.

Chance is a factor involved in the survival of documents from antiquity, and this colours our interpretation of the past. Time, wars, climate, and neglect, as well as chance have all contributed to the loss of evidence that is needed to examine the importance of wine within Egyptian society. These factors have combined to leave only a very small number of documents remaining from the thousands that must have existed. The texts that survived and have been examined in this study are diverse but they have one thing in common, wine: it is the thread that links them and has brought them to life, demonstrating that wine, outside its use in religion, was an important part of 19th Dynasty society at many levels, and was deeply embedded within its fabric. However, the character of its relationship with this drink was complex, and while being, in general, marked by approbation, it was defined by hypocrisy.

APPENDIX 1

Translation of pAnastasi IV, 13,8 – 17,9

DUPLICATES OF THE TEXT

pAnastasi IIIA (pBM EA 10246/6);¹ pKoller 5,5 - 5,8.²

TRANSLATION

Further, apply yourself to have things ready (13,9) before (the arrival of) Pharaoh (l.p.h.), your good lord, with zeal, firmness and efficiency. Do not let yourself be found fault with. Look to yourself carefully and beware! (13,10) Be not remiss! List of all that you shall cause to be ready. Let the basket-makers be supplied (13,11) with reeds and rushes. Likewise, cause to be made 10 trays for heaps, 100 ring-stands for bouquets, and (13,12) 500 food-baskets. List of the food-stuff that you shall get upon them. Fine bread: *hrt*-loaves of *trt*-flour, (14,1) 1000. Fine bread: *ibšt*-biscuits, 10000. Fine bread: *tt*-loaves, 2000. Fine bread: *ht*-loaves, 1000. Fine Bread: *pʿt*-loaves, 1000. Bread: *sšt*-loaves, 1000. Kyllestis-bread: (14,2) *kmh*-loaves, 1000. *Gt*-loaves, 1000. *hrps*-loaves, 10000. Assorted loaves of Asiatics, 1200. *šʿy(t)*-cakes, 100 baskets. *šʿy(t)*-cakes, 70 dishes. *šʿy(t)*-cakes, (14,3) 2000 oipe. *Rhs*-cakes, 100 baskets, *ʿgs*, 2000 [baskets (?)]. Dried meat, 100 baskets; amounting to 300 *dgyt*-cuts. Entrails, 250 handfuls. Milk, (14,4) 60 *gsr*-measures. Cream, 90 *gzt*-measures. Carob beans, 30 *gzy*-bowls. *hkk* fruit, 100 dishes. Herbs, 100 heaps. Plucked geese, 10. (14,5) Baked *trp* geese, 40. Rams (?), 70. Grapes, 50 *pdr*-sacks. Pomegranates, 60 *pdr*-sacks. (14,6) Figs, 300 strings. Figs, 20 *krht*-baskets. Flowers and wreaths, 100 *gʿy*-bowls. *Bzy*-grain, 10 *tzy*-baskets. (14,7) additionally: Grapes of the Oasis, 1000. Beans and pulp of carobs, *bzy*-of-barley, *tr* and reeds, 200+x. (14,8) Wood sticks, 2000. Wicks (?), 100 *gsr* measures. Charcoal, 200 *gsr* measures. Behold, I have written to you in order to instruct

¹ Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 33; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 117-122.

² Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 120; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 446.

you (14,9) as regards the direction(s) for equipping ports which you shall execute before
 (the arrival of) Pharaoh (l.p.h.) your good lord. You are not lacking in any contrivances
 (14,10) which you will require, spare not your thought in the undertaking, spare not your
 strength in equipping. Likewise, let (14,11) the honey of *in* be taken out, and lay down
 baskets for them. Here is the list: Honey of *in*, 50 fresh *gzy* bowls. (14,12) Cucumbers, 50
gzy bowls. Carobs, 50 *gzy* bowls. Leek bulbs, 60 baskets: amounting to 120 handfuls. (15,1)
 Apply yourself with extreme zeal, firmness and efficiency to have things ready before (the
 arrival of) Pharaoh (l.p.h.) your good lord, to wit: bread, (15,2) beer, meat *šcy(t)*-cakes, and
rhs cakes. Likewise, incense, sweet moringa-oil, *dft* oil of Alasia, the finest *kḏwr*-oil (15,3)
 of Khatti, *inb* oil of Alasia, *nkftir* oil of Sangar, *ḵnni* oil of Amor (15,4) *gt* oil of Takhsy, and
 moringa oil of Naharin; namely the many oils of the Port of anoint (15,5) his army and his
 chariotry. And also: oxen, fine castrated short-horned cattle of the West, and fat kids of the
 Southern Province; (15,6) many birds, *ḵni* birds of the papyrus-marshes, *wḏ* fish of the *šni*
 waters, *bg* fish of the Peteri waters, *iwz* fish (15,7) and *huri* fish of She, *sn*^c fish of Mi-wēr,
 gutted *bultī* fish of Tjel, *bry* fish of the *Nhryn* waters of Nubian-town, (15,8) ungutted *bry*
 fish of the fishermen, *imskz* fish of the inundated land, *hwṯnm* fish of the river-mouth, *tpy*
 fish of the pond, (15,9) *hpnpn* fish of the reservoir fat quail(s), summer pigeons, honey,
 (15,10) edible oil, goose fat, cream, many jars of resin, *gsr* measures of milk, *m^cirt*, *ik*,
 (15,11) beans, lentils, peas, seed-of-Egypt, gourds, corianders, (16,1) shelled lubyah-beans,
 jars of *pzw* for the servants, beer of *Kedy*, wine of Khor, and grapes in heaps. (16,2) Bowls
 and dishes of silver and gold filled in beneath the window. Slaves of Kerke and striplings
 from the priestly phyle fit to be butlers of (16,3) His Majesty (l.p.h.) they being bathed,
 anointed and clad in *sfry*, walking beneath the window. Those among them that are grown
 men will (go) to the provision houses (16,4) and make beer of Kedy of the Palace (l.p.h.)
 and *srmt*-brew of the *nt*. Canaanite slaves of Khor fine striplings, (16,5) and fine *Nehsyu* of

Cush fit to give shelter with the fan, they being shod with while sandals and clad in *sfr̥y*, (16,6) their bracelets (?) upon their hands. Fine *pg̃z* of Amor, their poles of (16,7) *mry* wood inlaid with the work of Kedy, their tops in red cloth. Fine chariots of *br̥ry* wood (16,8) more resplendent than lapis lazuli, their *ʿmdy* being wrought in gold, their *h̥tr*-piece of gold and their (16,9) *thr̥* having the hue of red cloth and being carved with blossoms; (the) board wrought in *d̥šr*-wood, (16,10) their *t̥st* piece of ivory, their *im* of *sh̥et*, their reins in one set, their (16,11) spokes of *P̥her*, their poles of lupa. They are washed, trimmed (?), leather-fitted, finished off, (16,12) oiled and polished (?); their *m̥ht* being set with six-fold ally, their *gs-d̥bw* of gold, and (17,1) their *swr* with the workings of a covering. Bows and many quivers, *sk-n̥hm*, *h̥rp*-swords, lances, swords, (17,2) and fine weapons belonging to His Majesty (l.p.h.) Fine ships of tjaga-wood, their straps (?) of red cloth and their tips of inlaid work of Kedy. (17,3) *M̥nt̥d̥* of Rehob; *sg̃rt* embellished anew; long staffs of His Majesty (l.p.h.) their grip plated with gold; batons (17,4) with self-bent rods, *b̥dry* clubs, *d̥ʿdd*-sticks. Flour in many piles, heaps of *t̥rt*-flour, (17,5) grapes and figs of Khor, pomegranates and apples. *G̃sr* measures of wicks (?) and charcoal of *w̥hm*: they are for the Residence. (17,6) Fine large breads, baked and fit to be food of grandees. *km̥h̥* loaves and assorted loaves of Asiatics which will be food of the army. They are in (17,7) trays beneath the window of the western side. Many ingots of raw copper and bars of *d̥h̥w* are <on> the neck of the children of (17,8) Alasia as gifts for His Majesty (l.p.h.). The horns which are <in> their hands are full of moringa-oil of Iren. Horse-teams and fine young steeds of (17,9) Sangar, top stallions of Khatti and cows of Alasia are in the charge of their masters who bow down beneath the [window].³

³ Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 198-201. Transcription in Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 49-54.

APPENDIX 2

Translation of pAnastasi IV, 6,10 – 7,9

DUPLICATES OF THE TEXT

None

TRANSLATION

Another communication to my lord. I have arrived (6,11) at Nay-Ramesses-Meryamun (l.p.h.) on the edge of the *Ptri*-waters with my lord's scow and with the (7,1) two cattle-ferries belonging to the Mansion of Millions of Years <of> the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkheperure-Setepenre (l.p.h.) in the House of Amun. I gathered together the whole of the vineyard-keepers (7,2) of the vineyards belonging to the Mansion of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkheperure-Setepenre (l.p.h.) in the House of <Amun>, and found that the vineyard-keepers were 7 men, (7,3) 4 lads, 4 old men, and 6 children, total 21 persons. For my lord's information, the whole of the wine which I found sealed up (7,4) with the master of vineyard-keepers, Tjatiry was: 1500 jars of wine, 50 jars of *šdh*, 50 jars of *pꜣwr*, (7,5) 50 *pdr* sacks of pomegranates, 50 *pdr* sacks and 60 *krḥt*-baskets of grapes. I loaded (7,6) them (into) the two cattle-ferries belonging to the Mansion of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkheperure-Setepenre (l.p.h.) in the House of Amun, and sailed down-stream (7,7) {from} Piramesse-Meryamun (l.p.h.), 'The great soul of Pre-Harakhti'. I handed them over to the controllers (7,8) of the Mansion of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkheperure-Setepenre (l.p.h.) in the House of Amun. I have written to let (7,9) my lord be cognizant.¹

¹ Caminos, *LEM*, 155-156. Transcription in Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 41-42.

APPENDIX 3

Translation of pAnastasi IV, 11,8 – 12,5

DUPLICATES OF THE TEXT

pAnastasi V, 1b,1-2;¹ pSallier I, 9,9.²

TRANSLATION

I am told that you have abandoned writing and whirl around (11,9) in pleasures, that you go from street to street, and it reeks of beer as often as you withdraw. Beer (11,10) makes him cease being a man. It causes your soul to wander, and you are like a crooked steering-oar in a boat that obeys (11,11) on neither side, you are like a shrine void of its god, like a house void of bread. You have been found scrambling over a wall, (11,12) after you broke the stocks, men running away before you after you have inflicted wounds upon them. If only (12,1) you knew that wine is an abomination, you would abjure *šdh*, you would not set the jar in your heart, you would forget *tnrk*. (12,2) You have been taught to sing to the pipe, to chant to the *w(ʒ)r*-flute, to intone to the lyre, and to (12,3) sing to the *nth*. Now you are seated (still) in the house, and the harlots surround you, now you are standing and bouncing..... (12,4) Now you are seated in front of the wench, soaked in anointing-oil, your wreath of *ištpn* at your neck, and you (12,5) drum upon your belly. Now you stumble and fall over upon your belly, anointed with dirt.³

¹ Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 56; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 225.

² Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 88; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 328-329.

³ Caminos, *LEM*, p. 182. Transcription in Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 47-48.

APPENDIX 4

Translation of pAnastasi IV, 3,2 – 4,1

DUPLICATES OF THE TEXT

pAnastasi V, 15,4 - 5;¹ oGardiner 28;² oPetrie 33³; oPetrie72.⁴

TRANSLATION

Let your heart be set upon pleasing Amun (3,3) that he may grant you a good old age, that you may spend a lifetime of happiness until you reach beatitude. Your lip is sound, your limbs are (3,4) vigorous, your eye looks afar. You are clad in fine linen and mount the chariot, a wand of (3,5) gold in your hand. The you have is new. Khorian steeds are yoked. The *Neḥsyu* whom you have acquired (3,6) run before you. You go down to your ship of fir-wood, (fully) manned from bow to stern, (3,7) and you reach your beautiful villa, the one which you have built for yourself. Your mouth is full of wine and beer, of bread, meat and cake. Oxen (3,8) are slaughtered and wine is opened, and melodious singing is before you. Your overseer of anointers anoints with ointment of gum. (3,9) Your chief of inundated lands bears wreaths. Your overseer of fowlers brings *wrd*-birds. Your (3,10) fisherman brings fish. Your ship is come from Khor loaded with all manner of (3,11) good things. Your byre is full of calves. Your weavers flourish. You are established whilst (your) enemy is fallen, and he who spoke against you is no more. (4.1) You <shall>enter in the presence of the Ennead: may <you> come out triumphant.⁵

¹ Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 64; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 225.

² Gardiner & Černý, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I, p. 3, pl. CXIII.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 4, pls XIII, XIII A, no. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5, pls XIV, XIV a, no. 4.

⁵ Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 137-138. Transcription in Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 37-38.

FIGURES

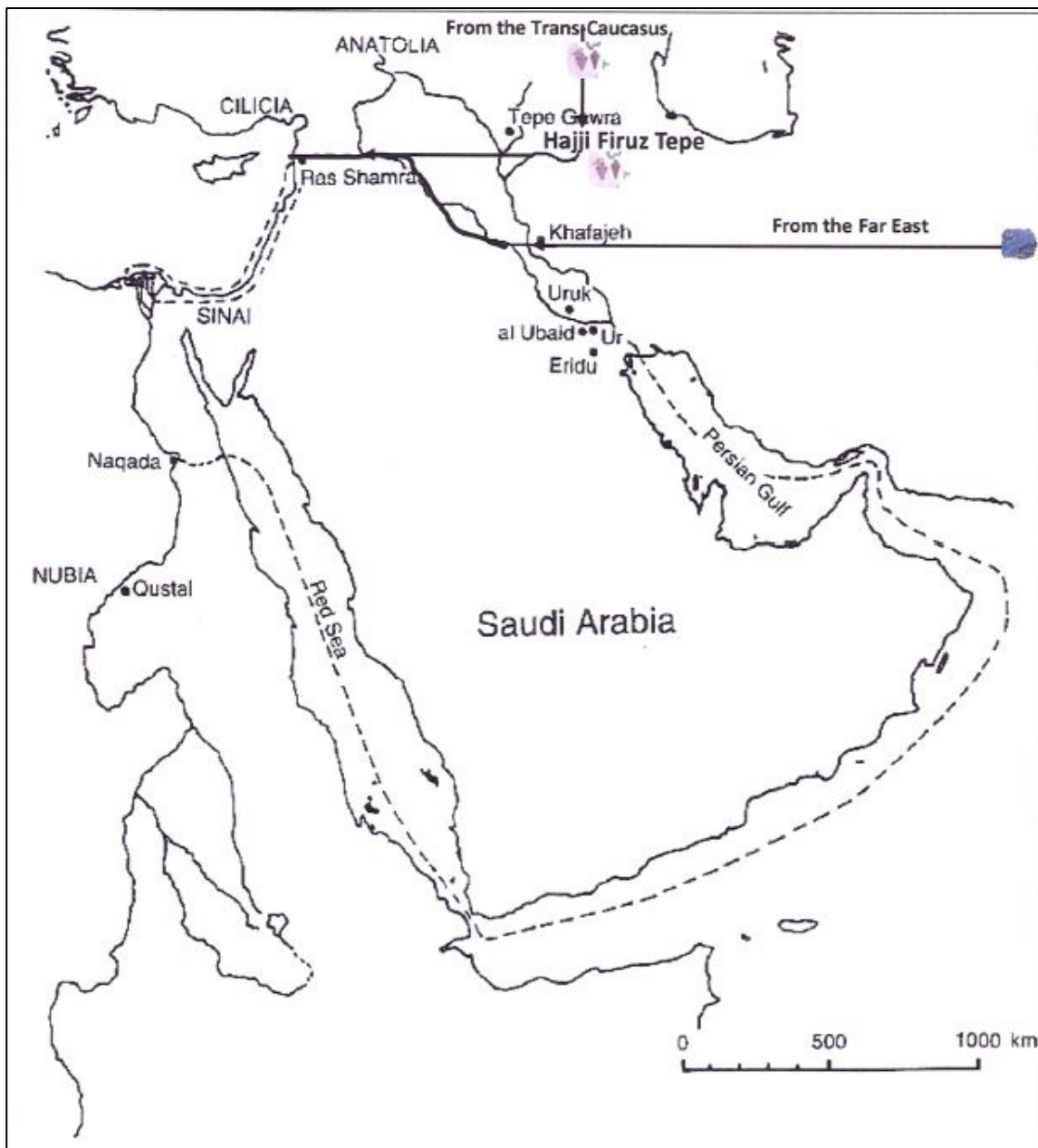


Figure 1: Trade routes ca. 3500-3100 BC. Adapted from Mark, *From Egypt to Mesopotamia*, p. 4. Reproduced with the permission of Samuel Mark.



Figure 2: The Levant. After Aruz, Benzel & Evans, (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, p. xx.
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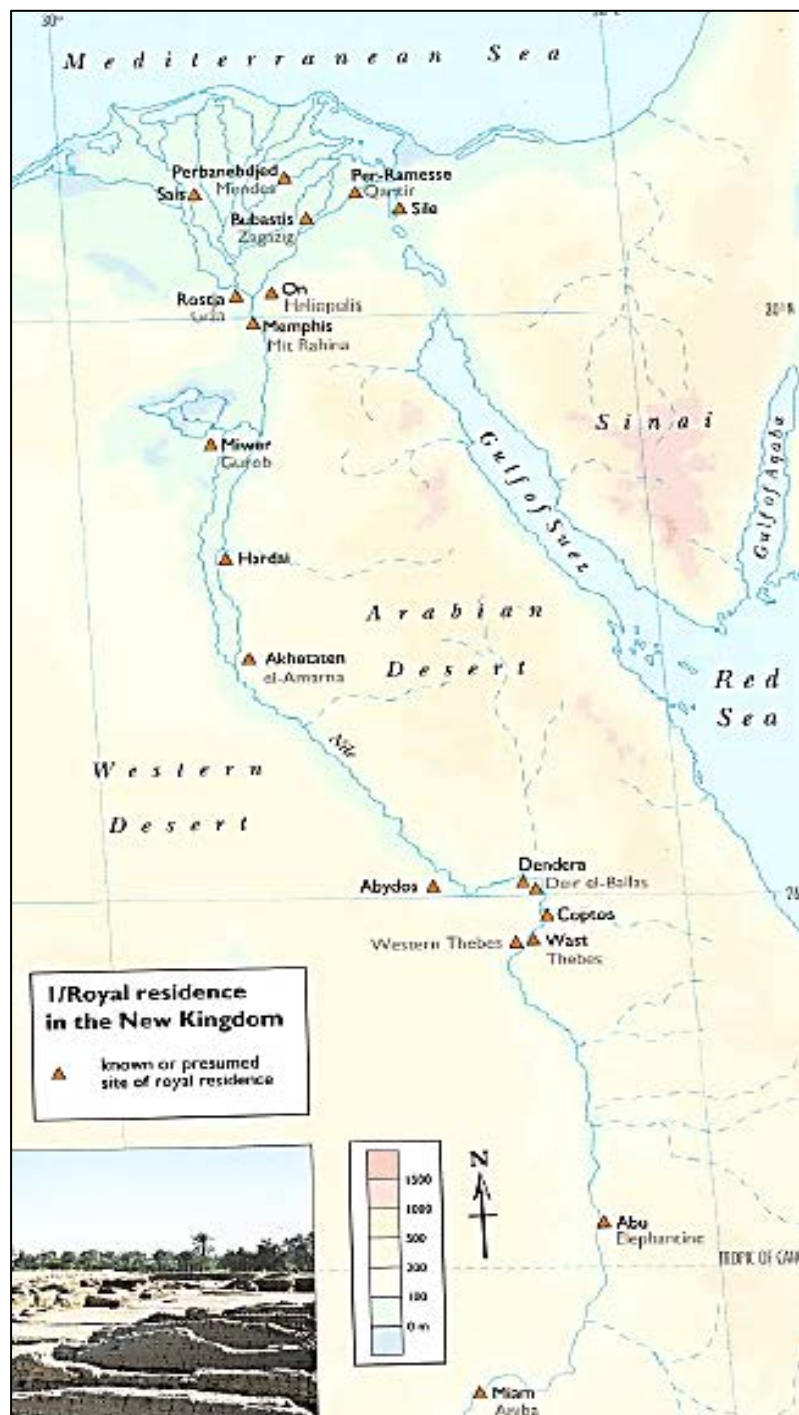


Figure 3: Possible sites of royal residences in the New Kingdom. After Manley, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, p. 77. Reproduced with the permission of Swanston Publishing (swanstonpublishing@sky.com).

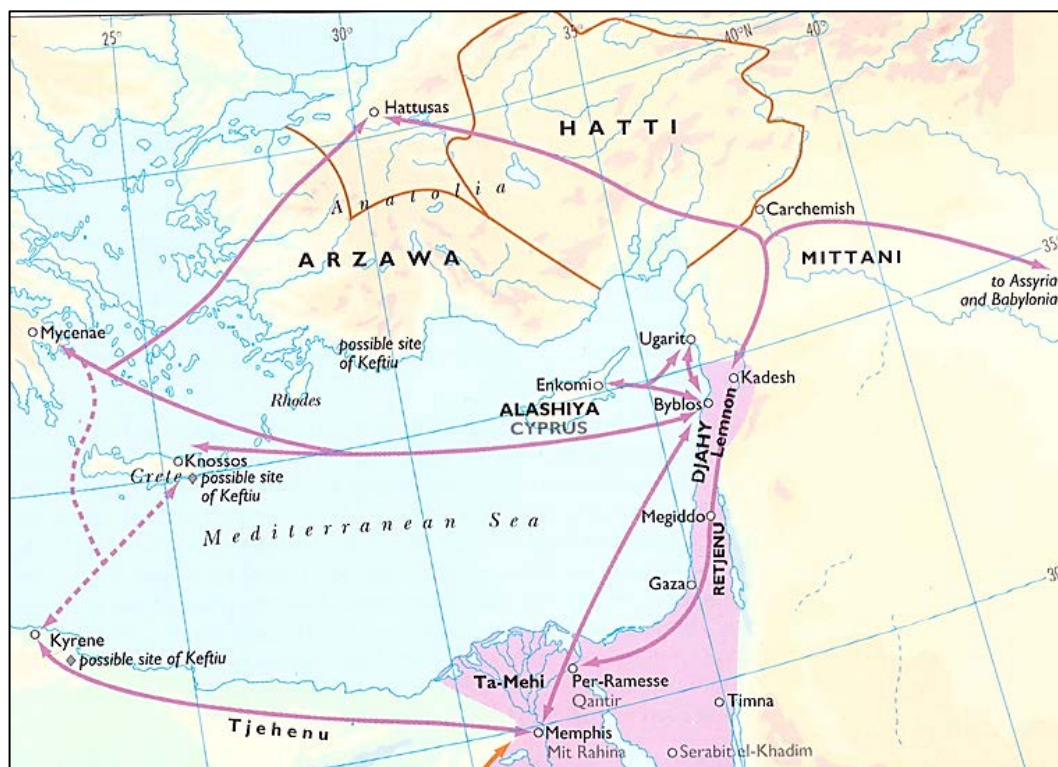


Figure 4: The trade routes through the Levant and the eastern Mediterranean in the New Kingdom. After Manley, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, p. 75. Reproduced with the permission of Swanston Publishing (swanstonpublishing@sky.com).

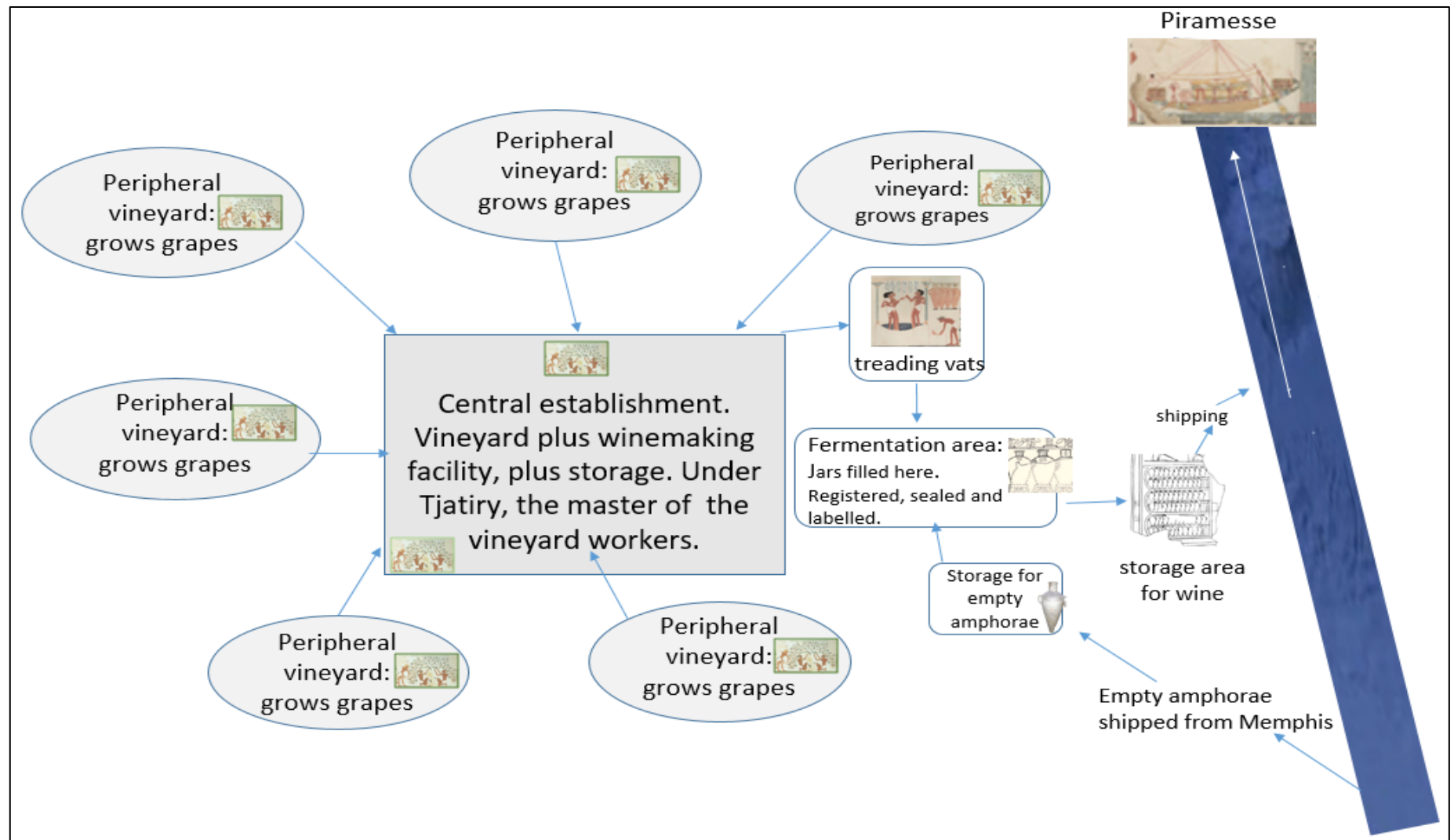


Figure 5: Likely structure of the vineyards belonging to the Mansion of Millions of Years of Seti II.

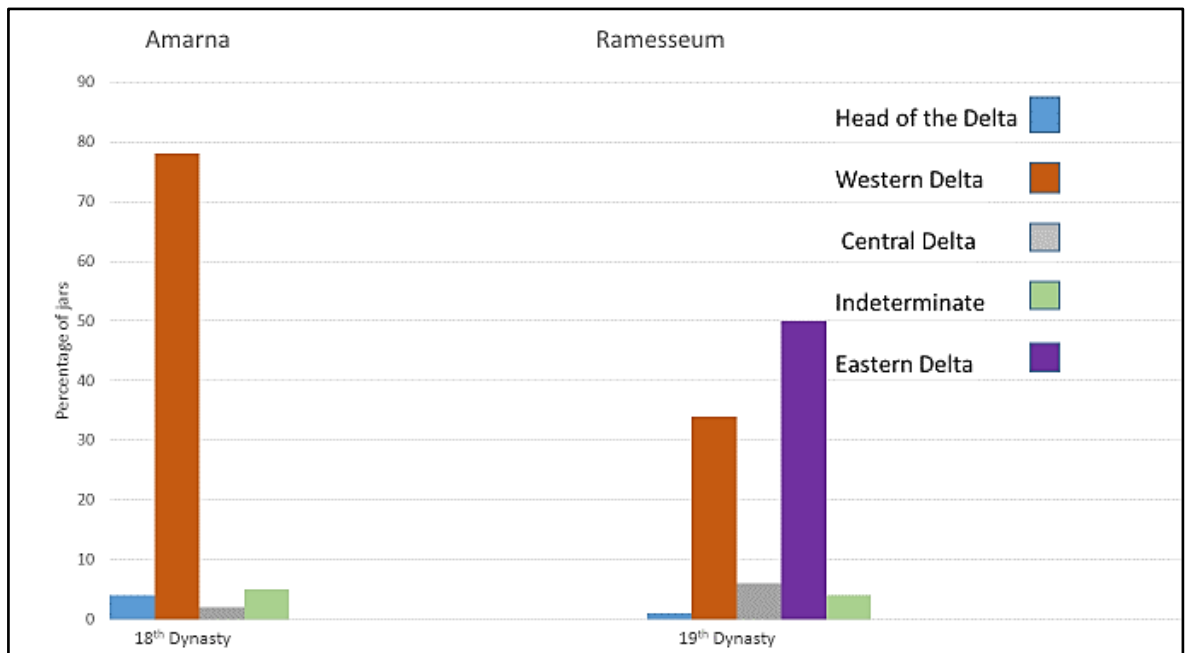


Figure 6: Graph showing the change in the geographical distribution of vineyards from the 18th to the 19th Dynasties, as shown by the source of the wine jars. Adapted from Tallet, 'Quelques aspects de l'économie du vin en Égypte ancienne, au Nouvel Empire', p. 249.



Figure 7: Watering the vines, and picking the grapes. The tomb of Khaemweset (TT261). After Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings I*, pl. XXVIII.



Figure 8: A labelled wine jar from the New Kingdom. Louvre E30241.
Photograph J. Milliken.



Figure 9: Vintaging scene showing a woman picking grapes for the pressing. The tomb of
Paheer at Elkab. © <http://www.osirisnet.net>



Figure 10a: Treading grapes. The tomb of Userhat (TT56).
 Courtesy of Meretseger Books (<<http://www.meretsegerbooks.com>>).



10b: Treading grapes. The tomb of Neferhotep (TT49).
 After Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes*, pl. XLVIII.



Figure 11a: Modern treading vat. Quinta Dona Maria in Portugal, after day 2 of treading. The grapes are fermenting, and waiting for the treaders to start work on the third day. Photo J. Milliken.



11b: Treading grapes at Casa de Mateus, Portugal. Photo J. Milliken.

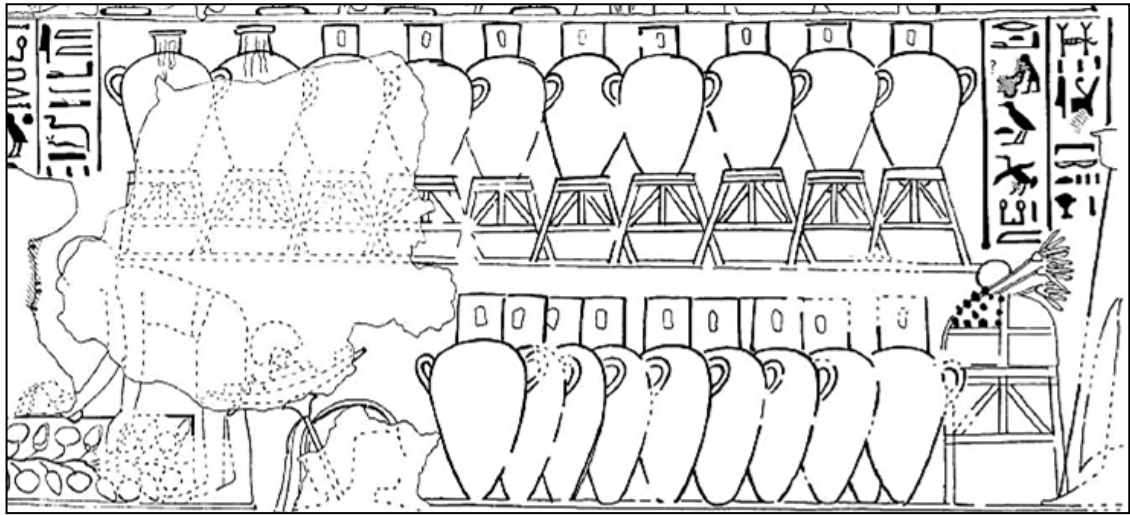
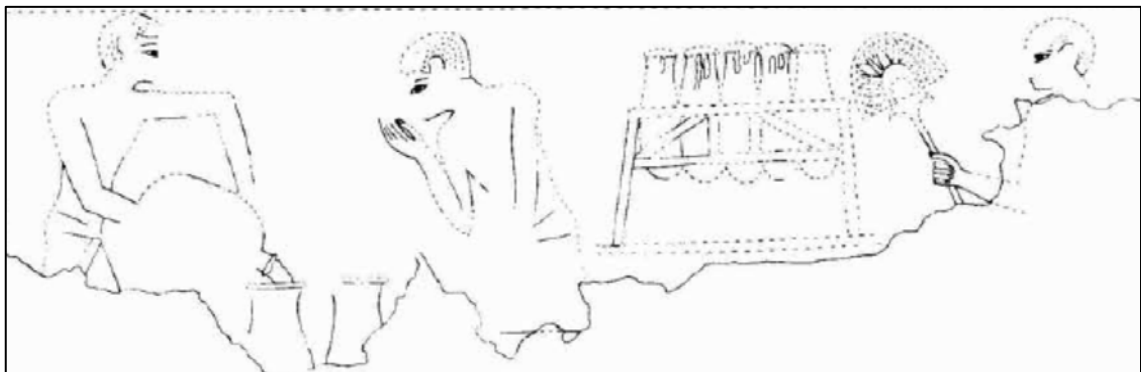


Figure 12a: The fermentation of the wine in the jars. The tomb of Nebamun (TT90).
After Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis IV*, pl. XXX.



12b: The fermentation of the wine in the jars. The tomb of Amenemhet (TT82).
After Davies & Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, pl. XXVI.
Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

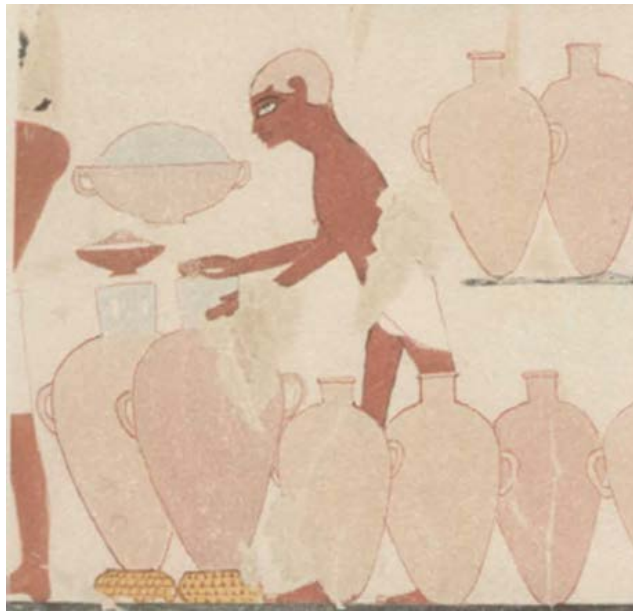


Figure 13: Sealing the wine jars. The tomb of Khaemweset (TT261).
After Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings I*, pl. XXVIII.



Figure 14: A wine jar sealing. After Hope, 'The Jar Sealings', p. 92.

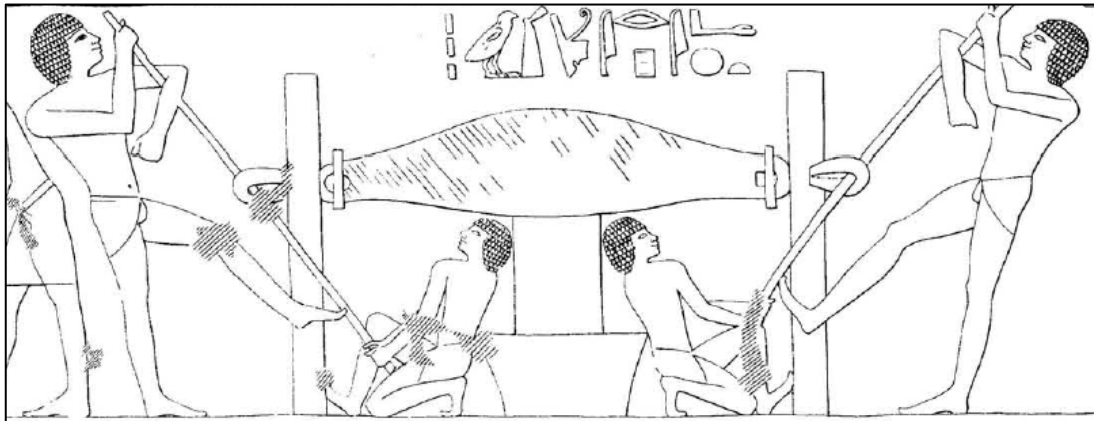


Figure 15: A sack press in the tomb of Puyemre (TT39).
After Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemre at Thebes*, vol. 1, pl. XII.



Figure 16: A cattle barge in the tomb of Huy (TT40). After Davies & Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamun* (No. 40) pl. XXXIII. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.



Figure 17: A boat showing the use of short planks in its construction. From a scene in the tomb of Ipy (TT217). After Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, pl. XXX.

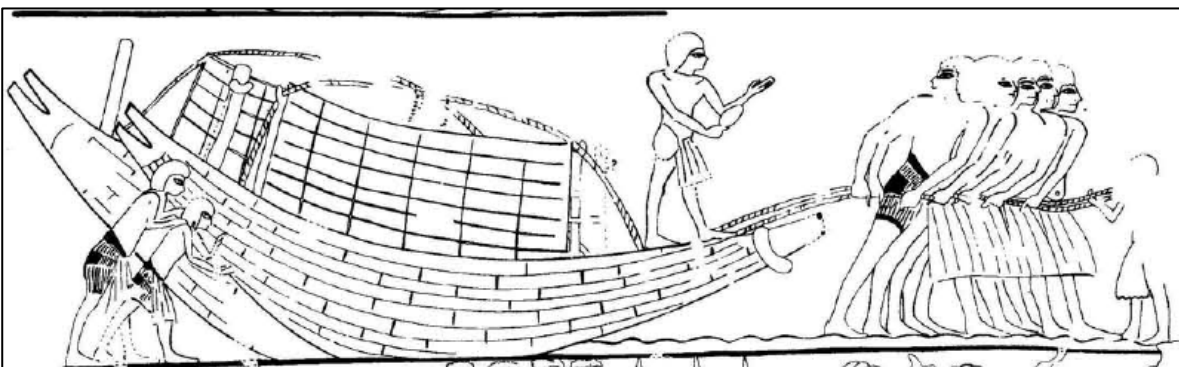


Figure 18: Towing a boat in the tomb of Huy (TT40). After Davies & Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamun (No. 40)*, pl. XVIII. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

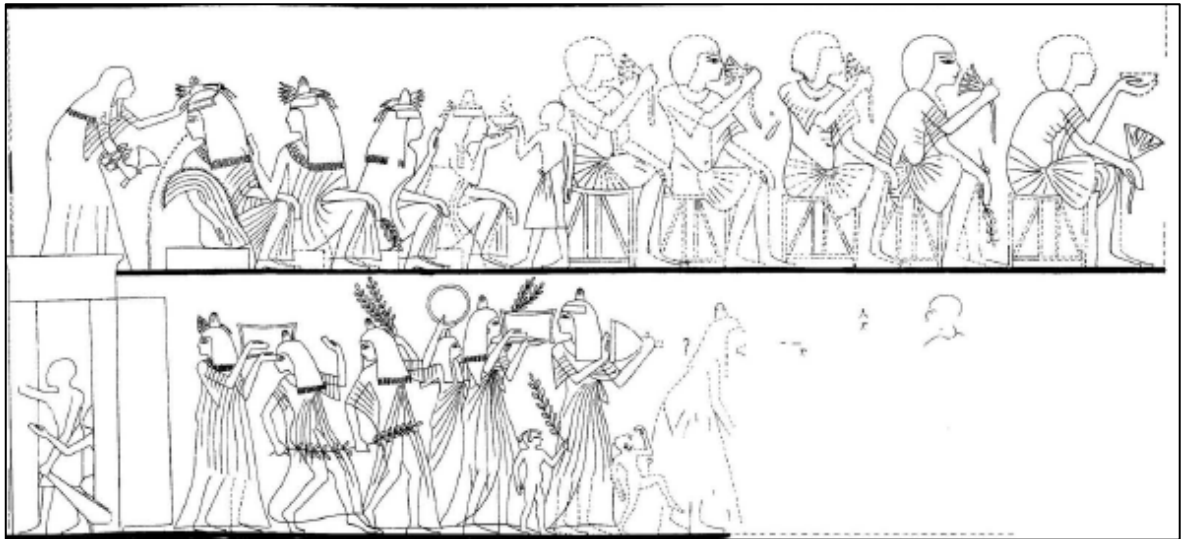


Figure 19: Banquet scene in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT49). After Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes*, vol. I, pl. XVIII.



Figure 20: An example of fetters on a prisoner. After Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, pl. 102. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.



Figure 21: Fragment of a leather hanging found in a tomb at Thebes. MMA 91.3.98.



Figure 22: Wall painting from Deir el Medineh. After Manniche, *Sexual Life in Ancient Egypt*, fig. 6, p. 16. Reproduced with the permission of Lise Manniche.



Figure 23a: Section of the Turin erotic papyrus.
<https://sites.google.com/site/nwarce/blog-2/museumreview-museoegizio%E2%80%93turinitaly>, Public Domain>.

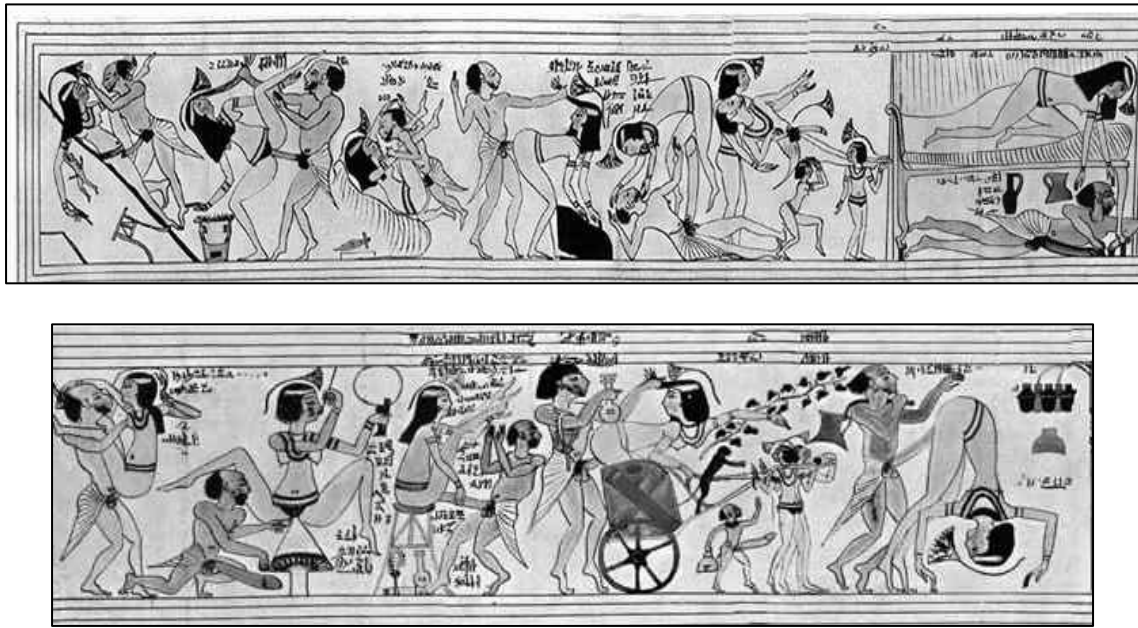


Figure 23b: Recreation of the Turin erotic papyrus. After Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001*, pls XVI, XVII.



Figure 24: Banquet scene in the tomb of Djeserkheresonb (TT38) showing the playing of music, the anointing of the guests and the placing of floral collars around their necks, as well as the effects of overindulgence. After Davies, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs*, pl. VI.

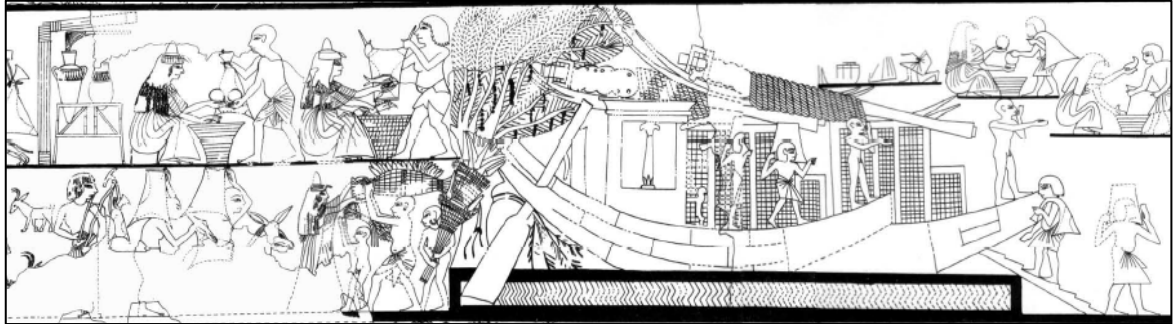


Figure 25: Market scene in the tomb of Ipy (TT217). After Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, pl. XXX.



Figure 26: A transaction in a local market. A scene in the tomb of Ipy (TT217) showing a transaction involving the purchase of a drink. After Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, pl. XXXIV.



Figure 29: The garden in the tomb of Nebamun. Painted plaster fragment from the lost tomb chapel of Nebamun. BM EA 37983. © Trustees of the British Museum.

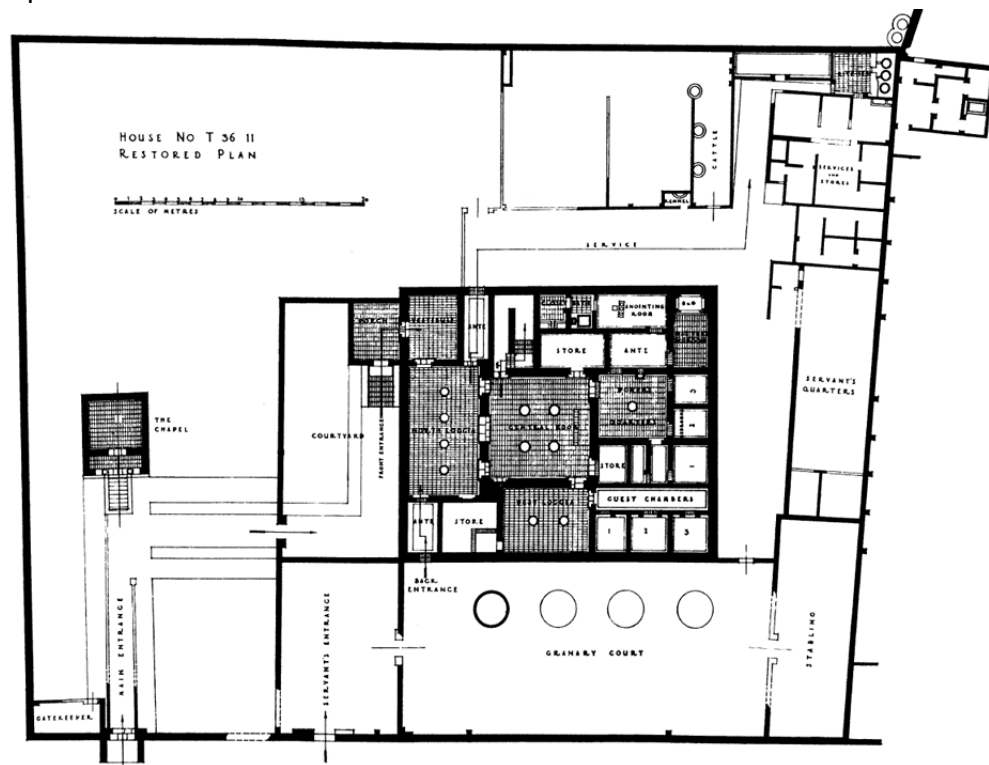


Figure 30: Plan of villa T.36.11 at Amarna. After Frankfort, 'Report on the Excavations at El-'Amarnah, 1928-9', pl. XXV.

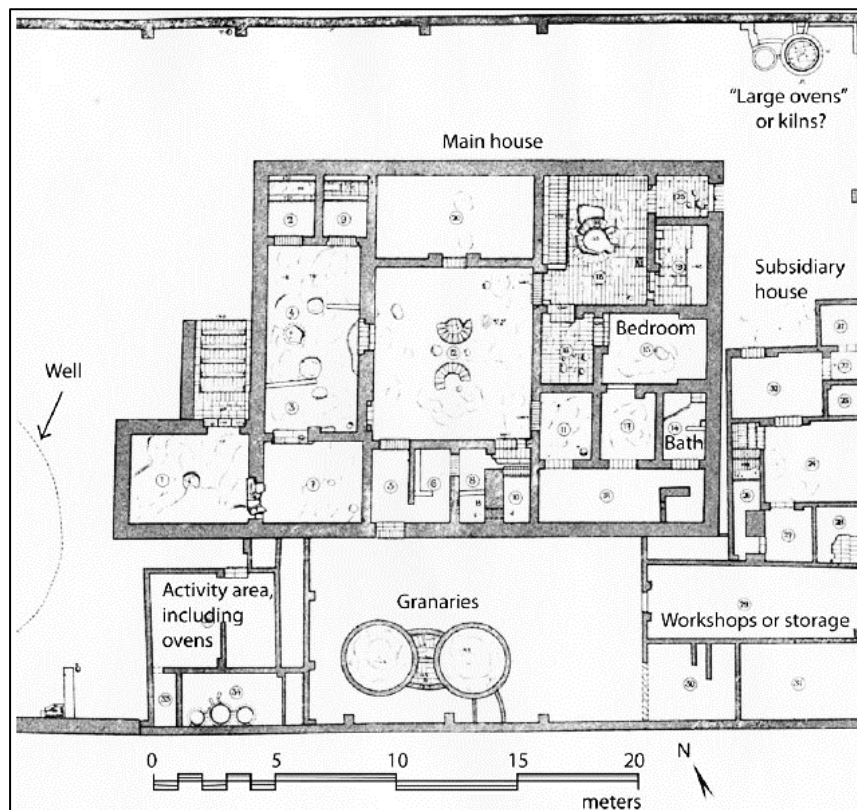


Figure 31: House P47.28 at Amarna. After Spence, 'Ancient Egyptian Houses and Households', fig. 4.4, p. 91, modified by Spence from Borchardt and Ricke, *Die Wohnhäuser in Tell el Amarna, Pläne*, plan 34. Reproduced with the permission of both Kate Spence, and the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo.

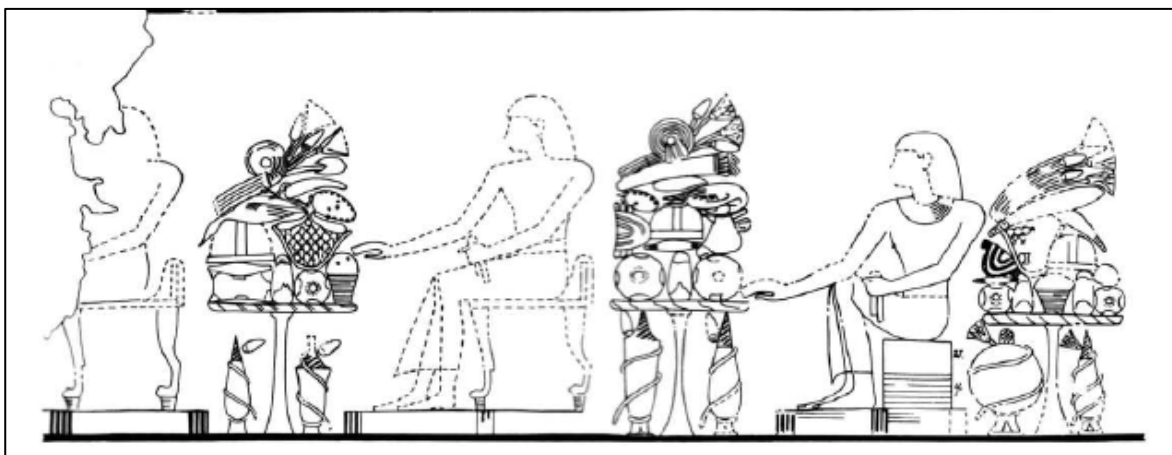
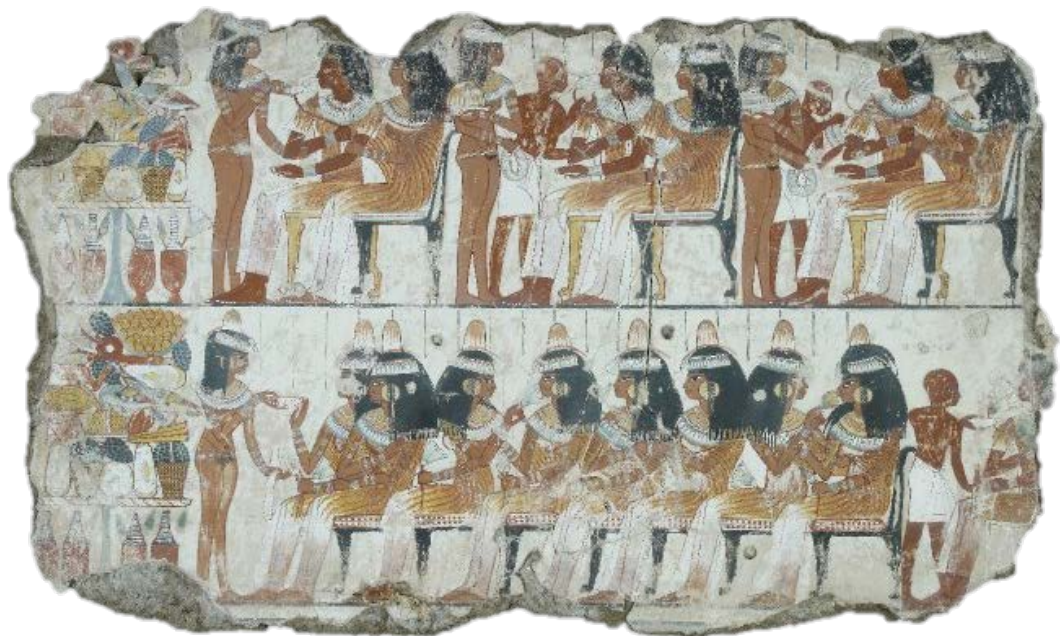


Figure 32: 'Funerary' banquet in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT100). After Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi- Rē' at Thebes*, vol. II, pl. CIX.



BM EA 37981



BM EA 37986

Figure 33: 'Mortuary' banquet in the tomb of Nebamun. Painted plaster fragments from the lost tomb chapel of Nebamun. BM EA 37981 and BM EA 37986. © Trustees of the British Museum.

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CODA

Wine and Water

Old Noah he had an ostrich farm and fowls on the largest scale,
He ate his egg with a ladle in an egg-cup big as a pail,
And the soup he took was Elephant Soup and the fish he took was Whale,
But they all were small to the cellar he took when he set out to sail,
And Noah he often said to his wife when he sat down to dine,
“I don't care where the water goes if it doesn't get into the wine”.

The cataract of the cliff of heaven fell blinding off the brink
As if it would wash the stars away as suds go down a sink,
The seven heavens came roaring down for the throats of hell to drink,
And Noah he cocked his eye and said, “It looks like rain, I think,
The water has drowned the Matterhorn as deep as a Mendip mine,
But I don't care where the water goes if it doesn't get into the wine”.

But Noah he sinned, and we have sinned; on tipsy feet we trod,
Till a great big black teetotaller was sent to us for a rod,
And you can't get wine at a P.S.A., or chapel, or Eisteddfod,
For the Curse of Water has come again because of the wrath of God,
And water is on the Bishop's board and the Higher Thinker's shrine,
But I don't care where the water goes if it doesn't get into the wine.

G.K. Chesterton¹

¹ Chesterton, *Wine, Water and Song*, p. 11.