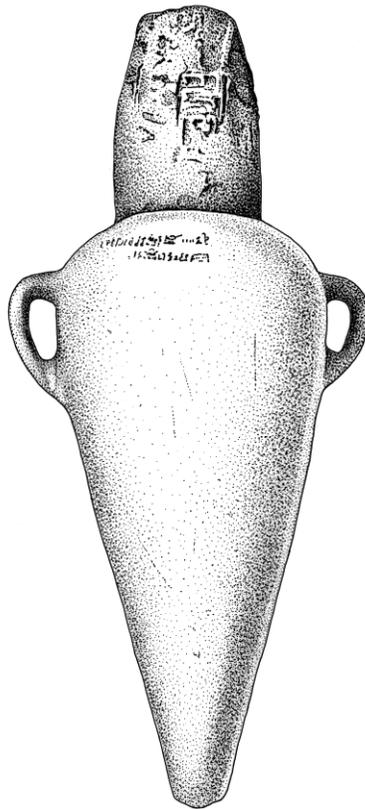


Uppsala University
Department of Archaeology and Ancient History
- Egyptology -

The Wine Jars Speak

A text study



Handwritten hieroglyphs, likely a transcription of the text on the jar, arranged in two lines. The first line contains approximately 12 characters, and the second line contains approximately 10 characters.

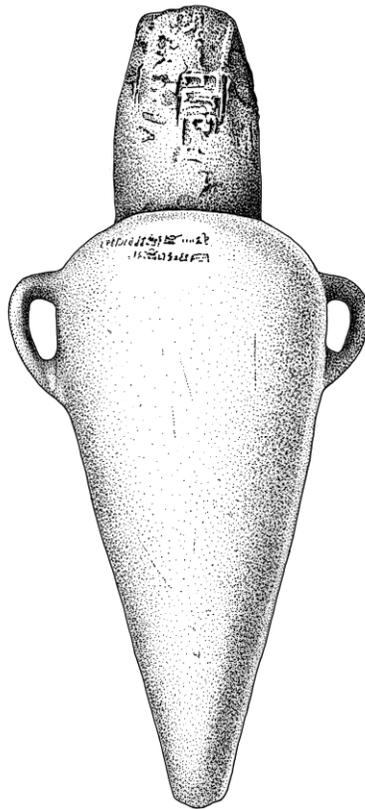
Eva-Lena Wahlberg
Uppsala 2012

MA thesis, Supervisor: Prof. Lana Troy

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Abstract

Wahlberg, Eva-Lena 2012. *The Wine Jars Speak: A text study*. Reworked and translated from a Swedish MA thesis, *Vinkärlsetiketterna berättar: En textstudie* from 2008 in *Egyptology*, Uppsala University.

This paper examines the texts written on shards from wine jars found at El-Amarna, Tutankhamun's tomb (KV 62) and Deir el-Medina. Information concerning the administration of wine and its production, found in these texts, is examined. Wine was an important element in Egyptian society and a common iconographic motif in tombs at Thebes during New Kingdom.

A survey on previous research on the subject is presented. This is followed by analysis of the different reoccurring elements found in the texts. A definition of the standard formulation of the wine jar label texts is given and the minimal level of information needed for the administration of wine production and distribution is identified.

The chapter of the analysis deals with the various types of information given in the label texts, such as date, wine classification, and function. The next chapter presents the words associated with the vineyard, the names of the institutions involved in the production and use of wine, and the place names that identify where wine production took place. The following chapter deals with the titles and personal names of the officials involved in wine production.

This study shows that these small texts contribute to an understanding of wine production. They also display continuity in form that bridges the turbulence of the Amarna Period. The earlier examples of these texts do not have an ideological component. It is first with the Ramesside Period, and the more intrusive inclusion of the name of the King, that some ideological intent can be identified.

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Keywords: *wine, wine jar, label, shard, wine production, economy, workmen's village, Ancient Egypt, Amarna, Tutankhamun's tomb, Deir el-Medina, New Kingdom.*

Cover image:

Wine jar from Tutankhamun's tomb (KV 62)

drawn by Alicja Grenberger, Uppsala University

taken from Burton's photograph of wine jar

Carter No. 392, Griffith Institute, Ashmolean

Museum, Oxford.

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Preface

The MA thesis on which this English version is based was first published and presented at an internal seminar October 18, 2008. The present version, in English, edited and with minor revisions is presented here. No major changes from the Swedish text have been made, only a few minor errors have been corrected. Also, no new publications after 2008 have been included.

Since I wrote this MA thesis I have published “The mysterious beverage called shedeh – *šdh* ” (*Göttinger Mizsellen* (2011), 230: 73-82), which is based on the discussion in the original MA thesis.

Several colleagues have contributed with their help and support during the development and writing of this MA thesis. Their help has provided me with a deeper understanding of the materials from Amarna, Tutankhamun’s tomb (KV 62) and Malqatta.

First I have to express my gratitude to my adviser Prof. Lana Troy who always patiently supported me. Her infallible guidance throughout the work and generosity in sharing her knowledge and experience has been invaluable to me.

I want to thank Uppsala University for a number of grants: Gernandt in 2002 and Wångstedt travel grants for 2003 and 2007.

The first trip in 2003 was to the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum in Oxford to study Jaroslav Černý’s notebooks that contained his transcripts of wine jar labels from both Amarna and Tutankhamun’s tomb (KV 62). I was also given access to Henry Burton’s photographs of the wine jars from Tutankhamun’s tomb. On this trip, I visited the Petrie Museum, University College, London to study the potshards that Petrie published in *Tell el-Amarna* (1894).

The trip in 2007 went to USA and Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where materials and potshards from the excavations at Malqatta are stored. In addition, I also visited the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, to investigate the history of the wine jar label. Finally, I had the opportunity to visit the Tutankhamun exhibition at the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia which included objects of interest from the tomb.

I want to begin by thanking Jaromir Malek who let me come and visit Griffith Institute, and helped me gain access, not only to their archives, but also to Bodleian and Sackler Libraries. A sincere thanks to Elizabeth Fleming and Alison Hobby for their kindness and guidance that made it possible for me to locate more material in the archives than I initially been aware of. I also would like to thank Stephen Quirke at the Petrie Museum for allowing me to study the potshards from the Petrie excavations at

Amarna. The texts of these shards showed variations not evident in the Petrie's publication.

Examination of the potshards at the Petrie Museum together with the access to Černý's analysis have made it possible to compile and publish Černý's, previously unknown, transcriptions.

I want to thank Catherine Roehrig at the Metropolitan Museum of Art for allowing me to come and study the potshards, displayed in the museum, from excavations at Malqatta. In addition, I thank Diana Patch and Susan Allen for all their help during my work there.

My thoughts also go out to Cathleen Keller who sadly passed away in 2008. She gave me permission to use the notes that she had compiled during her study of the Malqatta potshards. These notes have given me invaluable information about the material and I will always be grateful for her generosity.

I also thank Lawrence Berman at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston for his kind reception and for information concerning an early wine jar from Giza, which at first sight seemed to have text written on the vessel's shoulder but, as it turned out, was instead a pottery mark.

All these many acts of kindness throughout the work have been precious to me.

I also want to thank my dearest friends Anna Palmgren and Åsa Strandberg. I often think to myself that I am privileged to have such friends. Anna, you have always been there, through thick and thin, and I treasure our friendship dearly. Åsa, our discussions about life in general and science in particular has been dear to me. Without you two this journey would have been much less inspired.

And last but not least I thank my children Jimmy and Evelina, who have patiently supported me since I started my academic studies in 1998. You have shared the joys of my success and supported me in adversity. As a single mother, it has sometimes been a struggle, but you have always been an endless source of inspiration. Luv U, Mum!

Uppsala April 24, 2012

Eva-Lena Wahlberg

1 Introduction

Wine was an important element in ancient Egyptian society. Wine production was also a common iconographic motif in the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom, where its different stages are represented (Lerstrup 1992: 64-75, Poo 1995: 7-9, Murray 2000: 577-578). Wine is also listed among temple offerings and is included in numerous offering rituals (Poo 1995: 27-30, Murray 2000: 578). The festival scenes found in tombs also incorporated wine (Poo 1995: 31) and wine jars are among the funerary offerings found in the tombs of kings and members of the upper class (Poo 1995: 5-6). Wine could also be an ingredient in medicine (Athenaeus I, 32c; Poo 1995: 30-31; Murray 2000: 581).

Wine production is depicted in private tombs (2686-2160 B.C.¹, Giza and Sakkara) as early as the Old Kingdom and later in Middle Kingdom private tombs (2055-1650 B.C. at Beni Hassan). During the 18th dynasty (1550-1295 B.C.) scenes of wine-making became a common motif in the tombs of Theban officials (Fig. 1). At the end of the 18th dynasty and during the Ramesside Period this theme is less frequently found (Lerstrup 1992: 61-65, Poo 1995: 7-11, Murray 2000: 578).

Wine was stored in large, specifically formed, ceramic vessels. During the New Kingdom (1550-1069 B.C.), a text on the wine jars identified the content. These were written in ink directly on the vessels most likely before they left the vineyard for further transportation to different places throughout the country. The texts, partly standardized, describe the content but can also have more detailed information related to the quality of the wine, its origin and the year it was made. These small texts are called “wine jar labels” in this study (Lesko 1978: 11, Poo 1995: 28, Murray 2000: 578-579). They have been preserved on numerous shards from wine jars. These shards are relatively common objects that comprise a distinct corpus. They are found at several sites and can be used for a more place specific analysis of different aspects of wine production.

This study deals with three different groups of wine jar labels from well known sites. Two are close contemporaries: the palace city of Amarna in Middle Egypt (1352-1336 B.C., 209 shards, cf. 3.1) and Tutankhamun’s tomb (KV 62) in the Valley of the Kings (1336-1327 B.C., 26 shards, cf. 3.2). These two groups differ from each other, with the wine jar labels from the palace city reflecting the presence of wine as a beverage for festivals and everyday life and the wine jar labels, on intact jars, from Tutankhamun’s tomb showing the selection of wines for a royal funeral. The third and last group of wine

¹ The dates follow Shaw 2000: 479-483.

jar labels comes from the workmen's village at Deir el-Medina (209 shards, cf. 3.3) and has a wider and generally somewhat later, dating, with the much longer time span of 1479-1136 B.C. This material illustrates the unique position wine may have had in a village environment, where it was an unusual element, perhaps with an emphasis on its role as royal gift, ritual offering and a drink for special festivals.

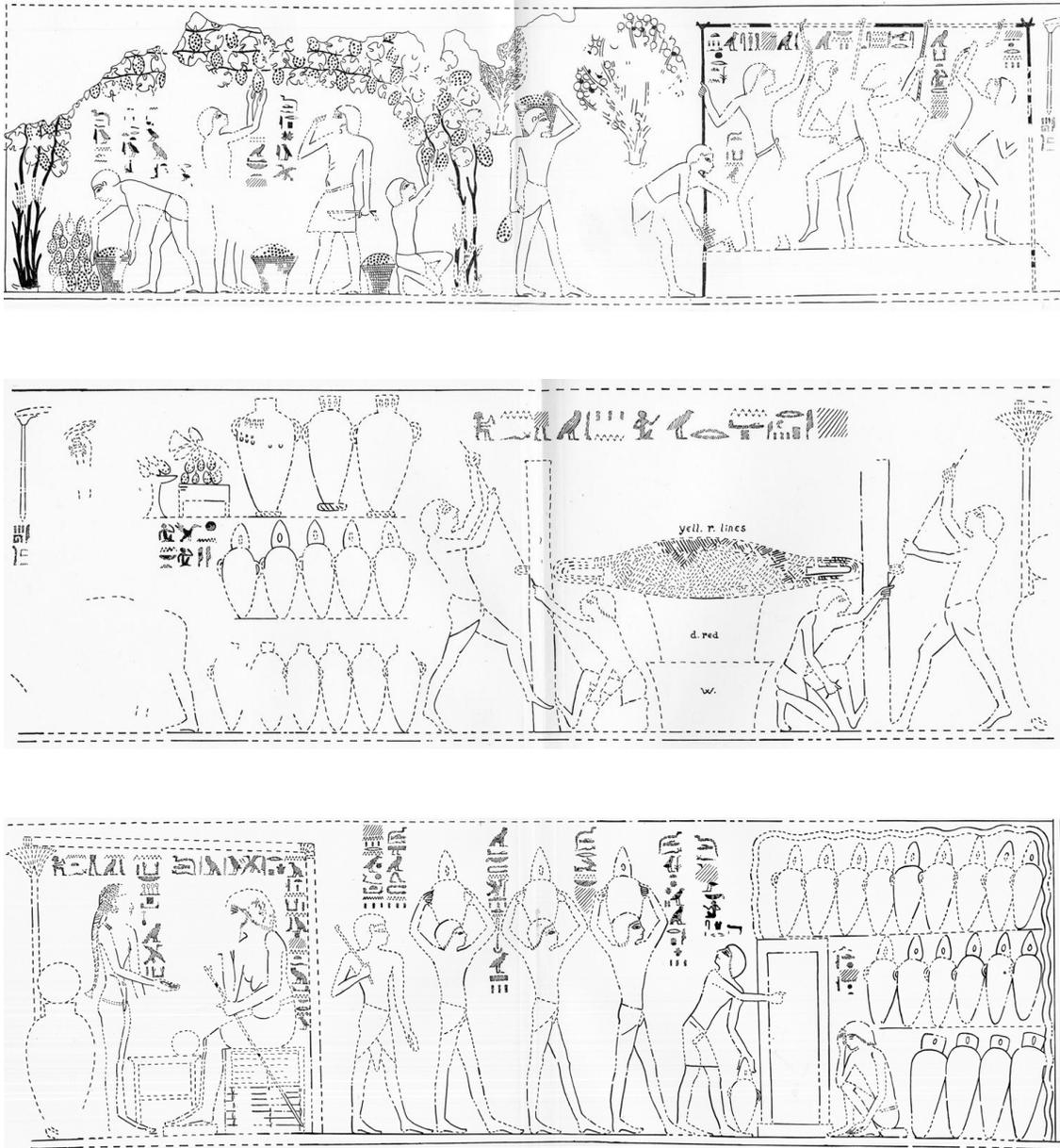


Fig. 1. Wine production scenes from Intef's tomb (TT 155) (Säve-Söderbergh 1957: Pls XIV-XV).

1.1 Aim

The wine jar labels are an important source of information about how wine production was administered. The details in the texts also contribute to our knowledge of this important product and enable us to address several questions. It is important to establish the standard forms used in the texts and thus to identify the different types of information that were of interest for the administration of wine production and distribution. The different classifications of wine are of interest and also the distribution of these categories among the different sites. The label texts also provide information concerning ownership of and responsibility for production. In addition there are hints with regards to a controlled access to wine and its use. Wine was also an element of the economic and social organization of ancient Egypt.

Additional issues include the question of when the texts were written on the jars, before transportation from the vineyard or later on. The random or conscious selection of wine jars as grave gifts is discussed in connection with the material from Tutankhamun's tomb.

2 Previous research

Wine jar labels were identified as an individual category of finds in connection with Petrie's publication of *Tell el Amarna* (1894), where the results from the excavation at Amarna are described. Petrie does not provide information concerning the circumstance of the finds, so where and in what archaeological contexts these shards were found is unknown. Petrie collaborated with F L Griffith, who worked with the texts on the shards (Petrie 1894: 32-34) and the information found there. Griffith's discussion covers all of the published jar labels. He provides a historical context with reference to which king a specific regnal year could refer and who the successor of Akhenaten could have been. He gives the regnal years found on the shards in table form as well as describing the contents of the jars as given in the text of the jar labels. He also includes a discussion of the other names and places that are mentioned in the jar labels.

Amarna was further examined during the 1920s and 30s by J. D. S. Pendlebury, who was the leader of Egypt Exploration Society's expeditions of 1926-1927 and 1931-1936. Many jar labels were found during these expeditions and a number of them came from wine jars. The few notation of find circumstances show that the wine jar labels were widely spread. In the central part of Amarna 335 shards with text were discovered and 209 of these came from wine jars. From excavation plans and other documentation it has been possible to roughly locate 159 of the 209 wine jar labels (Pendlebury 1951: 216-217, Pl. I, XVI, XIX, XVIII, XXI). This investigation shows that 46 wine jar labels came from the area known as the Quarter of Military and Police, 27 wine jar labels were found at the Records Office, 24 wine jar labels came from the Temple Magazines which were located between the Great Temple and The King's House, 14 wine jar labels were found at the Central Hall at the Palace and eight wine jar labels were found on both sides of the bridge over the Royal Road. The remaining 40 wine jar labels were spread over the Central City with a few exceptions.

These labels were then studied by Fairman in collaboration with Černý. They were later published as a separate chapter in Pendlebury's *The City of Akhenaten Part III – The Central City and the Official Quarters* (1951: 151-180, Pl. LXXXIV-XCVIII). Fairman describes the textual information found in the wine jar labels, publishing the label text transcribed into hieroglyphics. This form of publication reflected the larger goal of the work, which was to organize the jar labels methodically and to discuss the different hieratic handwritings from Amarna. The outbreak of the Second World War interrupted the work which was also later downsized. Fairman's publication includes discussions of i.e. toponyms, personal names and descriptions of content.

Leahy (1985: 65-109) has transcribed and translated the wine jar labels that were found at the workmen's village in Amarna (published in Kemp (ed.) *Amarna reports II*). The shard material was partly found in rubbish heaps (Leahy 1985: 65). The texts are presented both in hieratic and transcribed into hieroglyphics (Leahy 1985: 76-109). This publication discusses the jar labels' textual content, without any further analysis of the texts and their find circumstances.

Černý (1965) studied the wine jars and their labels from Tutankhamun's tomb. These vessels were mainly found in the Annex of the tomb but three of them were found in the Burial Chamber. One shard from a wine jar was found in the Corridor next to the second door into the tomb and one wine jar was on the stairs below the first door to the Corridor in the tomb. Černý transcribed and partly translated the hieratic texts of the jar labels, but he did not publish any transliterations. In all he worked with 38 vessels, 26 of which were classified as wine jars. In his publication the wine jar labels are introduced with a brief discussion. Černý's publication is also supplemented with the photographs taken by Burton of Carter's excavations at the Valley of the Kings. These are archived at the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and are currently online, together with other documentation relating to KV 62.²

In his article "Le shedeh: étude d'un procédé de vinification en Égypte ancienne", Tallet (1995) studies the beverage shedeh (*šdh*). The materials that Tallet works with are the seals and jar labels from Amarna and Tutankhamun's tomb, as well as those from Saqqara and Medinet Habu. The author questions the common belief that shedeh was made of pomegranates, stating that this interpretation is based on a misconception by earlier researchers. Tallet (1995: 482-485, figs 1 and 6) argues that shedeh was probably specially prepared, possibly by cooking, referring to texts and a couple of depictions from Beni Hassan. He does not however understand the entire process. The images show how one person stirs a pot while others filter the liquid into another vessel. This reading of the image is supported by the text to which Tallet (1995: 482) refers.

Koenig (1980, *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh II*) published the wine jar labels which were found in what supposedly were rubbish heaps in Deir el-Medina, the Workmen's Village in the nearby Valley of the Kings. These are presented in hieroglyphic transcription, supported with some reference to the original hieratic. Unfortunately, no other information is given regarding the text of the jar labels. Only the ceramic ware, the shards' measurements and color are given. This is a complicating factor when interpreting the material.

² <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/tutankhamundiscovery.html>

Tallet (1993) examined the jar labels, originally published by Koenig (1980), in an article published in *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois*. The author treats all the labels for vessels containing, not only wine, but other products as well, such as fowl and various oils. According to Tallet (1993: 268) wine was not included in the regular rations for the villagers, but was instead distributed at special occasions, such as the Great Opet Festival.

In 1951 Hayes published a series of four articles dealing with labels and seals, for a variety of products, including wine, from the palace area of Malqata, which is situated to the south of the royal funerary temples in the nearby Valley of the Kings. In the first article Hayes (1951: 35-40, fig. 1-16) deals with 1400 jar labels, organising them in different groups of products. This is followed by 260 typical examples of the texts from these labels. These include finds from a workmen's village from Malqata. In the second article he presents an attempt to treat the jar labels methodically, analyzing the text information using different headings: a) the date, b) the name of the commodity, c) an adjective indicating quality/type, d) quantity, e) occasion, f) source, g) the name and title of the donor, h) the name and title of the official who authorized the content of the jar. Furthermore, the wine jar's form is described and discussions of royal names, the domains of the temples as well as ownership, donations, personal names (including those of Asiatic origin) are included. Lists with titles and names of the producers are also given (Hayes 1951: 82-104, figs 17-23).

In the third article the seals are treated and arranged with regard to vessels, documents and brick stamps (Hayes 1951: 156-183, figs 24-33). In the fourth and final article, the remaining objects with text are treated. These include faïence finger rings, scarabs, amulets, inscribed faïence vases, offering tables and other small objects, as well as monumental inscriptions together with miscellaneous inscriptions. In the first three articles the sources include wine jar labels while in the fourth article these are not considered (Hayes 1951: 231-242, figs 34-39).

An attempt to create a model with which to analyse the jar labels is presented in the article "Les 'Étiquettes' de Jarre à Vin du Nouvel Empire" (Tallet 1998a). Tallet (1998a: 1127-1129) suggests organizing the information in the label text in table form with headings such as provenance, date, product, domain, source of the product, location and the responsible authority. This structure is intended to make comparison possible so that similarities, such as names of persons or locations can be identified. Problems of interpretation are also discussed by the author. For example, several individuals can have the same name. Tallet believes that there is still a lot of information to be found in these small texts (Tallet 1998a: 1133).

In *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period* (Janssen 1975), jar labels are used to discuss the economic value of wine, working with the wine jar labels found in rubbish heaps in the south part of the Workman's Village at Deir el-Medina (Janssen 1975: 7) as well as other texts. Papyrus Turin 1907/8, II, 4, for example, mentions that a *mnt*-vessel of wine cost 2 deben (Janssen 1966: 83). Janssen (1975: 351) compares this text with another where wine is said to cost 5 deben. This reading is however uncertain because the text is damaged. The author presents the hypothesis that wine was mostly consumed by the upper class and that wine probably did not appeal to the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, because the vineyards were located in the Delta and the Western Oasis and were too far away from the village (Janssen 1975: 350-352).

In the article "Quelques aspects de l'Économie du vin en Égypte ancienne, au Nouvel Empire" (Tallet 1998b) wine is described from the perspective of economics. The article contains a short description of wine production, the vineyards' geographic location, the administration and the hierarchy among the officials. He says that wine was included in a distribution of products that were sent throughout the Nile Valley from the source of production in the Delta in the north to the south of Egypt where the shards were found (Tallet 1998b: 247-248). He also refers to a picture of a boat loaded with wine jars (Tallet 1998b: fig. 4). Tallet (1998b: 259) says that wine was given as a gift to the Workman's Village at Deir el-Medina on special occasions.

Several researchers have referred to the wine jar labels as a source of information in a larger context. In "The making of wine in Egypt" published in *Göttingen Miszellen* by Lerstrup (1992), wine jar labels are studied from the perspective of production. Texts from papyri, wine jar labels and tomb scenes are used to describe the production of wine in ancient Egypt.

In *Divine Households, Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes*, Haring (1997: 346-362) discusses the textual information of the jar labels and the seals. In this publication the most frequent phrases are sorted into groups and those kings that are referred to are presented in detail. In addition, a brief discussion of the role of the temples in this chain of production is presented. The author uses many unpublished wine jar labels from Černý's notebooks in his discussion.

Other authors have dealt with this material from a broader perspective. In Helck's *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* the jar labels have been used as a source for the names of specific kings (Helck 1961: 202-203). The publication also treats offering lists (cf. Urk IV:755, 3 and 1255, 16) and the donation record in Papyrus Harris I (17a, 2-17a, 6) as well as other sources (Helck 1963: 349-367). In these lists, it is

seen that wine is a common gift from the king to the many temples (e.g. Karnak and Abydos) around Egypt. In contrast, there are only a few reports of private donations of wine to the temples (Helck 1963, Vol III: 460-463).

A catalogue of the names and titles of officials during Amarna period is found in the series *Ægyptiaca Helvetica* (Hari 1976). This publication includes the primary sources from *Tell el Amarna* (Petrie 1894) and *The City of Akhenaten III* (Pendlebury 1951) and treats the wine jar labels as documents for individual officials connected to Amarna. These officials would have been at the vineyards in the Delta and not in the city of Amarna.

In “Egyptian Amphorae, of the New Kingdom and Ramesside Periods” (Wood 1987) the wine jars’ different shapes and origin are discussed. According to Wood, the shape of these vessels originated in a need for durability. A flat-bottom vessel has a tendency to crack and therefore breaks more easily than a pointed bottom vessel that tolerates a rougher handling during transportation. These vessels’ were mainly transported by ship. The author uses the vessels’ shape as the basis for a typology. They are believed to have been made in Egypt but influenced by Syro-Palestinian vessels from the Eastern Delta during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period (2055-1550 B.C., Wood 1987: 76-79).

To sum up, earlier researchers have mainly published primary sources with a close connection to archaeological sites and related objects. There are attempts to systematize the information from the jar labels. This information has been used in research, on e.g. wine production, wine as a beverage and the local economy.

3 Presentation of the sources

The wine jar labels are found on shards that originally came from vessels that had once contained wine. The text in most cases was written on the shoulder of the jar, directly on the vessel surface. Shards from the broken vessels have been collected during excavations and those with text have been sorted out. These comprise an artificial object category 'shard with text'. These shards are treated separately from the original context that included the other parts of the vessel. Today, most information regarding the original find location within the archaeological site is lacking. This is unfortunate as this information could have facilitated a contextual analysis as well as contributed to jar reconstructions and investigation of the different shapes of the various vessels.

Since the preserved shards are fragments of the vessels, the texts can also be fragmented. They can also be damaged by, e.g. fungus or fading. With that said, the unbroken vessels and wine jars with preserved text, such as those found in Tutankhamun's tomb, are important to our knowledge of the origin of the texts.

The analysed material in this study consists of 209 wine jar labels from Amarna (Petrie 1894, Pendlebury 1951), 26 wine jar labels comes from Tutankhamun's tomb (KV 62, Černý 1965) and 209 wine jar labels have been documented from rubbish heaps at the Workman's Village at Deir el-Medina (Koenig 1980). In all 444 wine jar labels have been translated and analysed in this work.

The wine jar labels from Malqata and the Ramesseum have grown in importance as the research developed. Several comparisons are made with these groups of materials but no analysis of them has been carried out at the same depth as with the three primary sources. They have however contributed to a greater understanding of the main material. As an example, an examination of the documentation of the Malqata material³ showed that some wine jars texts were written close to one of the handles. The material from the Ramesseum was used for comparison in reference to characteristics such as the presence of classified wine.

The commodities were carefully labeled and today these labels constitute a significant source of information. The labels can contain information about dates, contents, sometimes quality, if it was supposed to be used at a special occasion, where it came from and the name and title of the official responsible for the commodity. When it was perishable foodstuffs, the month and day when the jar was closed can be given and if it concerned liquid, the text could also give the amount the jar contained.

³ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York in February of 2007.

3.1 Amarna

The wine jar labels from the city of Amarna come from excavations inside and around the palace and the temple areas (Petrie 1894, Pendlebury 1951). The jar labels from the later expeditions have been discussed and transcribed by Fairman and Černý (Pendlebury 1951: 151-180, Pl. LXXXIV-XCVIII). There is some uncertainty about the way the work was divided between the two researchers. The work of the two clearly overlaps and it is difficult to distinguish which one was responsible for the individual readings. This is problematic because their translations can differ. When a label was published it could be with one transcription by Fairman but exist in Černý's notebooks (17.54-56) with another. The lack of facsimiles of the hieratic texts makes it difficult to make an independent assessment.

The wine jar labels from Petrie's excavations are not included in the publication by Pendlebury and no one, other than Griffith, worked with and analysed those labels. However, in Černý's notebook⁴ 17.54 a transcription of these jar labels, dated to July 1939, are found. Fairman briefly mentions the notebook's existence in the introduction to *The City of Akhenaten Part III* (Fairman 1951: 151), in connection with his publication of the wine jar labels. The information concerning these wine jar labels found in this study is based on Černý's notebook 17.54. A visit to the Petrie Museum, University College, London, showed that some of the wine jar labels had faded, making it very difficult to see what has been written on them. Černý had only commented on the condition of the inscriptions occasionally with the words "traces" and / or "pale". Černý's transcription, together with Petrie's original publication of the hieratic text, have together preserved the information that, on some of the shards, is now lost.

3.2 The tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62)

The wine jar labels from Tutankhamun's tomb – excavated by Carter 1922-1930 in the Valley of the Kings – are found on unbroken wine vessels and are relatively undamaged. The wine jars were found at different locations in the tomb: on the stairs down to the tomb, in the corridor on the way into the tomb, in the Burial Chamber and in the Annex (Reeves 2000: 210-211). The wine jar labels have been analysed and published by Černý (1965). This publication also includes the photographs of the vessels and their labels taken by the photographer H. Burton, during Carter's clearing of the tomb (Reeves 2000:

⁴ Černý's notebooks are archived at the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

57). The analysis in this study is based on Černý's notebook, MSS 17.47, as well as Burton's photos at the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Although there are only 26 wine jar labels from the royal tomb, the fact that almost all of them are unbroken increases their value as a source of information.

3.3 Deir el-Medina

The wine jar labels from the Workman's Village at Deir el-Medina have been found in rubbish heaps. Where in the village these heaps were situated has not been specified by Koenig (1980) but Janssen (1975: 7) has suggested that these were located in the southern part of the village. The wine jar labels are fragmentary in a similar way to the ones from Amarna, as described above. Koenig has only published his hieroglyphic transcription, sometimes supplemented with the hieratic text, but without any further interpretation of the material. This makes it possible, when some sections are extant, to evaluate the author's transcriptions.

3.4 The language of the wine jar labels

The language used in the text of the wine jar labels has features of Late Egyptian, the spoken language of the New Kingdom. The main Late Egyptian element is the use of the demonstrative pronouns *p3* and *t3*. The common occurrence of *p3 k3mw* (The Vineyard) and *t3 hwt* (The Domain) exemplifies the use of the definite article (cf. Junge 2001: 51). No complete sentence occurs but instead the jar label texts are built up with nominal phrases.

4 The information in the wine jar labels – an analysis

The practice of providing the wine jar with information about its content begins in the Early Dynastic Period and is documented on an unbroken wine jar found in the tomb of the 1st dynasty (3000-2890 B.C.) king Den in Abydos (Lesko 1978: 11, Poo 1995: 5). A wine jar placed beside a coffin in a private tomb during Early Dynastic Period has also been noted (Poo 1995: 6). The information is found on the mud-stoppers that sealed the vessels. These were impressed with a stamp, possibly in the shape of a cylinder seal. The information on them was in a limited, stylized form, consisting of the king's name, the sign for grapes / vineyard and possibly a geographic location (Kaplony 1963, Lesko 1978: 20, er-Raziq 1979: 242, Poo 1995: 6). These seals are the predecessor to the later texts written with ink in hieratic on the surface near to the shoulder of the vessel. Beginning in the 18th dynasty the text of the wine jar labels grows in detailed information.

The information which was transmitted in these texts can be divided into five different main categories: vintage, classification, source of production and ownership, together with the signature of the responsible official.

Several texts begin with the regnal year (*h3t sp*). It is similar to contemporary wine production which identifies wine with a vintage. The occurrence of a year on a vessel provides a guideline for planning the storage of the wine. As exceptions the month and day also could occur, as well as a date further down in the text.

The beverage in the vessels was classified with information concerning the type of wine (*irp* or *sdh*). Further information about the quality of the wine could also occur. The quality could also be influenced by which day in the production process it was tapped and sealed. In some cases wine has been classified according to a specific day. Occasionally, the wine's function or purpose is included as an attribute.

Place of production and / or destination are often mentioned. The text refers to vineyards and their geographical location and also to temples and other institutions that the wine was intended for. Names of gods, kings, royal women and also a few officials are included in the names of institutions.

The text on the labels often concludes with the title and name of an official. This functioned as a sort of authorization that the vessel had left the place of production with a certain, prescribed content.

The standardizing of the text is obvious in the material from Amarna and Tutankhamun's tomb. These texts tend to be concise. One example of a typical text on a label from Amarna.

Am 5⁵ (P5, Petrie 1894: Pl. XXII)

Date	<i>ḥ3t sp 10</i>	Year 10
Classification +	<i>irp n</i>	Wine of
Institution	<i>pr šḥtp-r^c</i>	the Estate of Sehetepre
Responsible official	<i>ḥry k3mw stḥi</i>	Vineyard Supervisor Seti

A text from Tutankhamun's tomb follows a similar pattern.

Tut 12 (12, Černý 1965: 22)

Date	<i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>	Year 5
Classification +	<i>irp nḏm n</i>	Sweet wine of
Institution	<i>pr itn n k3rt</i>	the Estate of Aton of <i>k3rt</i>
Responsible official	<i>ḥry k3mw r^c-ms</i>	Vineyard Supervisor Ramose

When the text is extended, information about the institution and place of production is expanded, as in the examples below.

Am 125 (F97 + Č) (Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

Date	<i>ḥ3t sp 10</i>	Year 10
Classification +	<i>irp n</i>	Wine of
Institution	<i>pr ḥ-ḥ-itn ḥ-w- s</i>	the Estate of the Living Aton, LPH
Location	<i>n itr imnt</i>	of the Western River
Responsible official	<i>ḥry k3mw p3-[...]</i>	Vineyard Supervisor Pa-[...]

Tut 20 (20, Černý 1965: 23)

Date	<i>ḥ3t sp 9</i>	Year 9
Classification +	<i>irp n</i>	Wine of
Institution	<i>pr itn</i>	the Estate of Aton
Location	<i>n itr imnty</i>	of the Western River
Responsible official	<i>ḥry k3mw nb-nfr</i>	Vineyard Supervisor Nebnefer

⁵ The abbreviations refer to the catalogue: Am (Amarna), Tut (Tutankhamun's tomb, KV 62) and DeM (Deir el-Medina).

Most of the wine jar labels from Deir el-Medina only contain fragmentary texts preserved on them. Yet, it is still possible to see that the same structure in the texts has been used in this material as in that from Amarna and Tutankhamun's tomb.

DeM 65 (6353, Koenig 1980: Pl. 43-43a)

Date	<i>h3t sp</i> 36	Year 36
Classification +	<i>irp n</i>	Wine of
Institution	<i>pr imn-[htp]</i> [...]	the Estate of Amen-[hotep] [...]
Location	<i>itr imntt</i>	(of) the Western River
Responsible official	<i>hry k3mw</i> [...]	Vineyard Supervisor [...]

The texts in the material from Deir el-Medina have in some cases been expanded to include more information about the geographical location of the vineyard, the hierarchy within the institution and the different levels of the officials.

DeM 191 (6479, Koenig 1980: Pl. 61)

Date	<i>h3t sp</i> 4	Year 4
Classification	<i>irp n hrw</i> 3	Wine of day 3
Institution	<i>n p3 k3mw n pr</i> <i>r^c-ms-w-[...]</i>	of the Vineyard of the Estate of Ramses-[...]
Location	<i>nty m itr imnt</i>	that is on the Western River
Added information	<i>mhty m hr snwt</i>	north of (?) the Granary
Responsible official	<i>m drt hry k3mw</i> [...]	through the Vineyard Supervisor [...]

DeM 60 (6348, Koenig 1980: Pl. 42)

Date	[...]	[...]
Classification	<i>[i]rp n hrw</i> 5	[W]ine of day 5
Institution	<i>n p3 k3mw n t3 hwt nt hh</i> <i>rnpt</i>	Of the vineyard of the Temple of Millions of Years
Added information	<i>n [...]-[stp]-n-r^c ^c-w-s</i>	of [...]-[Setep]enre, LPH
Added information	<i>m pr imn</i>	in the Estate of Amun
Location	<i>nty m p3 itr n</i> <i>wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c</i> [...]	that is on the river of Usermaatre- Setepenre [...]
Responsible official	[...]	[...]

DeM 3 (6291, Koenig 1980: Pl. 33)

Date	<i>ḥ3t sp 6</i>	Year 6
Classification	<i>irp</i>	Wine
<i>k3mw</i> + Institution	<i>n p3 k3mw n r^c-ms-sw- mr-<i>imn</i> ^c- w- s mr w3st</i>	of the vineyard of Ramses-Meramon, LPH, whom Thebes loves
Responsible official	<i>r-ḥt imy-r pr ḥri</i>	under the authority of the Overseer of the Estate Hori
Added information	<i>t3 ḥwt nt ḥḥ m rnpt nsw bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c</i>	of the Temple of Millions of Years of the King of UL Egypt Usermaatre-Setepenre

There are a few jar labels where the text departs from the standard form. Some of them have been identified as wine jar labels without mentioning *irp* or *ṣdh* in the text. One presumed example of donated wine comes from Tutankhamun's tomb and only has a title and a name.

Tut 26 (26, Černý 1965: 24)

Donor (?)	<i>t3ty pntw</i>	The Vizier Pentu
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Another label from Deir el-Medina could identify a product from a garden.

DeM 52 (6340, Koenig 1980: Pl. 41)

Date	<i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>	Year 5
Production (?) location	<i>ṣt nt ḥt</i>	of the orchard
Donor (?)	<i>ipw s3 3ḥy</i>	Ipu son of Akhy

Labels where the date has been placed after the description of the wine are rare and perhaps reflect a provincial tradition like that cited in Am 40, which refers to “the Southern Oasis”, perhaps El-Khargah (Giddy 1987: 39, 77-80, 97, 164).

Am 40 (P94, Petrie 1894: Pl. XXV)

Classification	[...] <i>[irp] nfr nfr n</i>	[...] Very good [wine] of
Institution	<i>pr itn</i>	the Estate of Aton
Production (?) location	<i>ḥr wh3t rsyt</i>	from the Southern Oasis (El-Khargah?)
Date	<i>ḥ3t sp 12</i>	Year 12
Responsible official (?)	[...]	[...]

The wine jar labels made it possible for the scribes to record outgoing and incoming wine and to control the supply. As historical documents these labels give an insight into which information the Egyptians considered important in relation to the quality of the wine and the production chain.

4.1 Dating

A notation of the year frequently begins the text of the wine jar labels. The phrase *ḥ3t sp* “regal year” (Hayes 1951: 82, Haring 1997: 346, Faulkner 1962: 162, Gardiner 1957: 580) or simply “year” (Fairman 1951: 159, Černý 1965: 1-3, Kemp 1985: 65-74) is found before the numbers. Since the king’s name is seldom found with the *ḥ3t sp* dating on the labels, no connection between the (regal) year and specific kings can be made (Fairman 1951: 163, Haring 1997: 346). Some attempts however have been made to relate the *ḥ3t sp* dates to specific kings in order to organize the labels chronologically (Griffith 1894: 32, Fairman 1951: 159, Hayes 1951: 38, fig. 16).

There are a few cases where the *ḥ3t sp* dating is placed after another initial heading. Two wine jar labels from Amarna (Am 50, 163) describe the wine as a tithe offering to Aton (*mḏ p3 itn*, see below 4.2.5). This information is placed before the *ḥ3t sp* dating to Years 9 and 12. The text in DeM 194 begins with the phrase *inyt k3-s3* (gift [of / to] Kasa) followed by *ḥ3t sp* 2. The word *inyt* is possibly a Late Egyptian writing of *inw* (product, gift or tribute, Faulkner 1962: 22). It is unusual to find a dating that included more than a year. There are, however, a few exceptions in this material. From Amarna there is a wine jar label with *ḥ3t sp* 1 *3bd* 1 (Year 1, month 1) but without the season (Am 139, Fairman 1951: 163). This dating could possibly refer to a succession to the throne, such as that of Smenkhkare or Tutankhaton.

In the material from Deir el-Medina there are two wine jar labels where both month and season are included. On DeM 34, *ḥ3t sp* 8 *3bd* 1 *3ḥt* (Year 8, 1st month of Akhet) and on DeM 69, [*ḥ3t*] *sp* 5 *3bd* 4 *3ḥt* ([Year] 5, 4th month of Akhet) is found. Both of the texts are otherwise very short, DeM 34 refers to Meidum as the source of the wine and DeM 69 refers to the Estate of Amun on the Western River.

Amarna – *ḥ3t sp* dates

Year	Quantity	Label References
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 1	(7)	Am 63, 64, 83, 86, 139, 149, 167
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 2	(4)	Am [71] [87], [120], 193
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 3	-	-

<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 4	(4)	Am 14, 37, 72, [103]
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 5	(3)	Am 67, 88, 89
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 6	(7)	Am 43, 90, [91], [92], 150, 168, [194]
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 7	(5)	Am 93, [94],[95], 121, 128
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 8	(4)	Am 39, [96], 135, 155
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 9	(8)	Am 27, 28, [97], 98, 122, [138], [163], 197
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 10	(8)	Am 5, 33, 44, 75, [99], [100], 125, [126]
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 11	(3)	Am 41, [183], 204
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 12	(7)	Am 32, 40, 50, 76, 101, 144, 145
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 13	(6)	Am 48, 59, 65, 151, 162, 187
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 14	(9)	Am 51, 62, 102, 127, 161, 170, 186, 188, 207
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 15	(2)	Am 4, 189
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 16	(7)	Am 3, [15], 104, 105, [190], 191, 195
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 17	(8)	Am 1, [2], [16], 45, [60], 79, 171, 201
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 28	(1)	Am 196

There are 93 labels in the material from Amarna (approximately 44.5 %), where the *ḥ3t sp* dating has been preserved with a number. Furthermore there are two labels with fragmentary dates (Am 150, 154). Quite a number of the labels which do not have any preserved dating are damaged so that the beginning of the first line is unreadable. It is reasonable to assume that most of the texts originally included a *ḥ3t sp* dating.

The dated material from Amarna is said to come mainly from the reign of Akhenaten (Griffith 1894: 32, Fairman 1951: 159). Since the building of the city began in Year 5 of his reign (Shaw 2000: 277), the labels with a date lower than 4 are probably from one of the later kings, Smenkhkare or Tutankhaton (cf. Griffith 1894: 32, Fairman 1951: 157-159, Černý 1964: 38) both of whom had a residence in the city before it was abandoned. It remains unclear whether Smenkhkare's two years as king was in co-regency with Akhenaten and thus coincided with Akhenaten's last years (16-17) (cf. Pendlebury 1935: 33, Quirke & Spencer 1997: 81-82, Reeves 2000: 22-23).

Among the labels with a *ḥ3t sp* dating to Years 1-4 there were some with a little more expressive content. Two labels with *ḥ3t sp* 1 refer to the Estate of Smenkhkare (*pr smnh-k3-r^c*; Am 63) and include his prenomen Ankhkheperure (*ḥnh-ḥprw-r^c*; Am 64) and thus should be dated to his reign. Another label has the dating Year 1, month 1 (Am 139) which probably refers to the accession of Smenkhkare or Tutankhaton.

The labels which are included in this investigation are spread out evenly among Years 1-17. Only Year 3 is not represented. A dating to Year 28 (Am 196), in a very

fragmentary label text, which only contains the word “wine”, stands out as impossible to place chronologically.

Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62) – *ḥ3t sp* dates

Year	Quantity	Label References
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 4	(5)	Tut 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 5	(12)	Tut 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 9	(6)	Tut 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 10	(1)	Tut 24
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 31	(1)	Tut 25

Of 26 wine jar labels from KV 62, there are 25 that begin with a date. Years 4, 5 and 9 from Tutankhamun’s reign are represented. Two additional labels have a dating to Years 10 (Tut 24) and 31 (Tut 25). These two labels differ in terms of variety and dating. The label with Year 10 is for a good wine from *ḥ3ty*, which, according to Černý (1965: 3) is an unknown locality but the seal on this vessel’s mud-stopper reads “Fruit of the Southern Oasis”. This date could represent a wine from the reign of Akhenaten. The label with Year 31 as a date is severely damaged and the phrase *itr imnt* (Western River) has been reconstructed. It probably derives from the reign of Amenhotep III considering that he reigned during 38 years.

Deir el-Medina– *ḥ3t sp* dates

Year	Quantity	Label references
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 1	(1)	DeM 1
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 2	(6)	DeM 8, 149, 171, 194 DeM [58] Usermaatre Setepenre (Ramses II) DeM 111 Kheperkheperure (Aye)
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 3	(7)	DeM 4, [113], 202 DeM 11 Djoserkheperure Setepenre (Horemheb) DeM 102 Nebmaatre Meryamun (Ramses VI) DeM 131 Sety-Merenptah (Seti I) DeM 193 Menkheperure (Tuthmosis III)
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 4	(3)	DeM 191, 203 DeM 7 Djoserkheperure Setepenre (Horemheb)
<i>ḥ3t sp</i> 5	(4)	DeM 52, 69, 141, 148

<i>h3t sp</i> 6	(5)	DeM 84, 197 DeM 3 Ramses Meramun (Ramses II eller VI) DeM 5 Usermaatre Setepenre (Ramses II) DeM 115 Djeserkheperure Setepenre (Horemheb)
<i>h3t sp</i> 7	(3)	DeM 27, 129, 169
<i>h3t sp</i> 8	(4)	DeM 32, 34, [59] DeM 134 Menmaatre (Seti I)
<i>h3t sp</i> 9	(1)	DeM 164
<i>h3t sp</i> 10	(2)	DeM 33, 96
<i>h3t sp</i> 11	(2)	DeM 2, 183
<i>h3t sp</i> 12	(2)	DeM 91, 99
<i>h3t sp</i> 13	(2)	DeM 158 DeM 6 Djeserkheperure Setepenre (Horemheb)
<i>h3t sp</i> 14	(5)	DeM 150, 155, 173 DeM [57] Djeserkheperure Setepenre (Horemheb) DeM 67 Nebmaatre (Amenhotep III)
<i>h3t sp</i> 17	(2)	DeM 53 DeM 12 Usermaatre Setepenre (Ramses II)
<i>h3t sp</i> 19	(2)	DeM 19 [Usermaatre Setepenre] (Ramses II) DeM 49 Menkheperure (Tuthmosis III)
<i>h3t sp</i> 21	(1)	DeM 159
<i>h3t sp</i> 22	(1)	DeM 72
<i>h3t sp</i> 23	(2)	DeM 22, 186
<i>h3t sp</i> 24	(1)	DeM 16
<i>h3t sp</i> 26	(1)	DeM 9
<i>h3t sp</i> 27	(1)	DeM 92
<i>h3t sp</i> 28	(1)	DeM 42
<i>h3t sp</i> 29	(2)	DeM 77, 97
<i>h3t sp</i> 31	(1)	DeM 81 Ramses Mer[amun] (Ramses II)
<i>h3t sp</i> 32	(2)	DeM 64, 153
<i>h3t sp</i> 34	(2)	DeM 156 DeM 163 Usermaatre Setepenre (Ramses II)
<i>h3t sp</i> 36	(1)	DeM 65
<i>h3t sp</i> 37	(3)	DeM 143, 152, 190
<i>h3t sp</i> 39	(1)	DeM 144
<i>h3t sp</i> 40	(1)	DeM 79

<i>h3t sp</i> 41	(1)	DeM 78
<i>h3t sp</i> 42	(1)	DeM 26
<i>h3t sp</i> 46	(1)	DeM 160
<i>h3t sp</i> 53	(2)	DeM 36
		DeM 46 Ramses Meramun (Ramses II)
<i>h3t sp</i> 55	(2)	DeM 94
		DeM 120 Ramses Meramun (Ramses II)
<i>h3t sp</i> 65	(1)	DeM 146

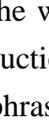
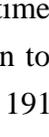
The year dates from the Deir el-Medina material is considerably more complicated than those from Amarna and KV 62. The names of several institutions also include that of a king. The occurrence of a royal name gives a *post quem* (earliest) dating for the labels. Years over 40 should be assigned to Ramses II who reigned for 66 years (Shaw 2000: 481). The name of the king Menkheperure (Thutmosis III) does not imply that the text on the jar labels is contemporary with this king. His temple cult was still active in Ramesside time and appears in the so-called Turin Strike Papyrus from the reign of Ramses III (Gardiner 1948a: 49, vs 3, 1; cf. e.g. Frandsen 1990: 173). The temple cult of Ramses II was also long-lived (Schmidt 1973: 70-71) and labels where his name occurs could be dated after his reign.

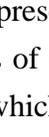
An additional dating problem is the combination of Year 34 with the name of Horemheb on a wine jar label from Deir el-Medina (DeM 57, Koenig 1980: Pl 42, no. 6345). Unfortunately, the hieratic text has not been published. Horemheb is commonly believed to have reigned for 27-28 years (cf. Shaw 2000: 481 for the dates 1323-1295 B.C.). New research has now questioned this dating, reducing the length of Horemheb's reign to perhaps only 14-15 years (Van Dijk 2008: 263). This makes the date of the jar label even more puzzling. In addition, the date Year 34 has been heavily reconstructed. The area where the date is found only shows one 'hobble' (V20, number 10) and four strokes (Z1, number 4), Koenig added two signs for ten, with a striated overlay in the transcription, thus reading 34. Without support for these added signs or the hieratic text to check, this wine jar label has been corrected to read Year 14.

4.2 Classification

Wine is described using different attributes. First of all it is described as a “type”. Two types of wine, *irp* and *sdh* occur in this material. Classification of quality is also shown, which graded the wine. The presence of *n hrw n X* – (wine) of day X, indicates which day in the production process of the wine that was of interest when identifying separate vessels. Other phrases occur which perhaps characterize the function of the wine.

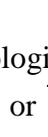
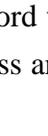
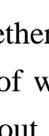
4.2.1 Type

The texts distinguish between two types of wine, *irp*  and *sdh* . One jar label in the material refers to *ibrtr* , which is an older designation for wine (Wb I: 32, cf. Faulkner 1962: 9). Later *ibrtr* was used for “grapes / raisins” (Wb I: 32, cf. Faulkner 1962: 9). The majority of the wine jar labels are for *irp*-type wine.

irp 

Origin	Quantity	% of the material
Amarna (209)	132	63,1 %
KV 62 (26)	22	84,6 %
Deir el-Medina (209)	127	60,8 %

The most frequently used term for wine is *irp* (Wb I, 115: 5-8; cf. Faulkner 1962: 28) said to have the generic meaning “wine”.

The word *irp* does not have any distinct etymological origin. Poo (1995: 21, n. 156) suggests a connection to the word *rp* (to rot)  or  (Wb II, 414:10-11, cf. Faulkner 1962: 148) and there is one example of this word written  (Wb I, 115:10). Poo refers to the grapes being tramped into a rotting mass and therefore *irp* was the drink that is made from ‘rotten’ grapes (Poo 1995: 21, n. 156).

The *irp*-wines are mainly discussed in terms of whether both red and white wines existed at this time. The texts do not mention the colour of wine, but blue grapes have been depicted in tomb scenes and the liquid which pours out of the vats is colored red-brown (Davies 1917: Pl XXVI; Lesko 1977: 17, 1995: 219; James 1995: 205; Murray 2000: 591). Lesko (1977:19) however, notes that “Wine color could have varied considerably even if all these early wines were technically red”.

The first definite textual evidence for white wine is dated to the second and third century A.D., when a Mareotic white wine from the northwest Delta was mentioned as

easy to drink and pleasant (Lesko 1977: 14, Murray 2000: 591, quoting *Athenaeus* I, 33d). Athenaeus (170-230 A.D.), a native of Naucratis, also describes a white Taeniotic wine from the strip of land southwest of Alexandria, as having a pleasant and aromatic taste even better than the Mareotic wines. This confirms that there was a great diversity of taste and color in Egyptian wine.

Chemical analyses using the LC/MS/MS method performed at the University of Barcelona have been used to investigate whether white wine occurred in Egypt earlier than the second century A.D. (Guasch-Jané et al 2004: 1672, 2006b: 1077-1078). Samples from six wine jars from Tutankhamun's tomb were examined. Before the samples were analysed, the samples' colour was evaluated, revealing that the samples from four vessels (Tut 2 *irp*, 7 *irp*, 10 *irp ndm* and 26, no classification) were yellowish while that from one vessel (Tut 14 *irp*) was pale brown and that from another (Tut 22 *irp*) was dark-black in its appearance. Of the two acids that were isolated, the presence of the first would show if that the sample originated from grapes (tartaric acid) and the second if the wine had been red (syringic acid). The lack of syringic acid, as a marker for red wine, and the presence of tartaric acid would be evidence for the vessel having once contained white wine.

These analyses indicated that five of the vessels contained white wine (Tut 2, 7, 10, 14, 26) and only one of the vessels contained red wine (Tut 22). These results verified the earlier evaluation of the color of the samples, as only the sample of red wine had been described as dark-black, with the others being described as yellowish-pale brown. Among the wine jar labels there was one that described the wine as sweet (*ndm*, Tut 10). Thus confirming a production of both red and white wine, all designated as *irp*, as early as the end of 18th dynasty (Guasch-Jané et al 2006b: 1077-1079).

The label texts also reveal that four (Tut 2, 7, 10, 14) of the white wines originated from *itr imnt* (the Western River) in the Delta, with the sweet wine (Tut 10) among them.

sdh 

Origin	Quantity	%	Label references
Amarna (209)	7	3,3 %	Am 32, 33, 34, 73, 185, 204, 205
KV 62 (26)	3	11,5 %	Tut 3, 5, 13

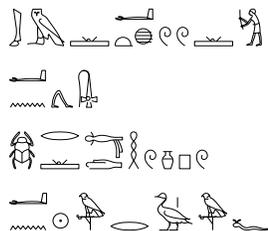
According to its occurrence among the wine jar labels *sdh*-wine was not common, with the *irp*-type clearly dominating. It is interesting that *sdh*-wine is lacking among the labels

from Deir el-Medina, even though the number of labels corresponds with Amarna. In the material from the Workman's Village at Amarna there was only one label for a *šdh*-wine (Leahy 1985: 100, fig. 6.13, no. 97). The rare occurrence of the *šdh*-type could indicate that this wine was more exclusive and therefore less accessible in a working class environment or it could be the result of the random survival of the labels.

šdh-wine is mentioned in different contexts, such as in literary, medical, didactic and legal texts, love songs, offering lists and ritual texts as well as on wine jar labels (e.g. Am 32, 34, 205 and Tut 3, 5, 13). For a long time it has been uncertain which fruit *šdh*-wine was made of (cf. Guasch-Jané, et al 2006a: 98). In early research the *šdh* was classified as a wine made of pomegranate (Loret 1892: 76-78; Gardiner 1947: 235; Fairman 1951: 164; Leahy 1985: 66, 72; Lesko 1977, 1995). This conclusion has been questioned and judged as lacking support (Tallet 1995: 460). Alternative suggestions to the earlier identification as a pomegranate wine have been presented. Dates, figs, wine must and even second-rate wine, perhaps vinegar, has been proposed (Tallet 1995: 459-460). The last two suggestions seem forced, given that *šdh*-wine is often classified *nfr nfr* (very good, e.g. Am 32, 34, 205 and Tut 3, 5, 13). It was not until Ptolemaic time that different authors (e.g. Plutarch, Pliny the Elder, Oribasius, Dioscorides and Palladius) became more eloquent and discussed different fruits for wine-making, among these were pomegranate (Tallet 1995: 462). In these texts, fruit wines made from e.g. apples, pears, carobs and different berries are listed as "false wines". These wines were also considered to have medicinal qualities. Pomegranate for example has an astringent quality, promoted digestion, counteracted internal inflammation and fever (Tallet 1995: 462-463). Tallet (1995: 463) suggests that the fact that *šdh* was a fine wine is of less importance than perhaps its medicinal qualities and that this aspect deserves more research.

The question of which fruit *šdh*-wine was made has been answered by the same research that identified white wine in Tutankhamun's wine jars (Guasch-Jané et al 2006a: 100-101). One sample from a vessel containing *šdh*-wine (Tut 13) from Tutankhamun's tomb was chemically analysed using the LC/MS/MS method (Guasch-Jané et al 2004: 1672). The results showed that there were traces of tartaric acid, which proved that the wine was made of grapes. There were also traces of syringic acid, which identified the wine as red. Therefore the analysis has shown definitively that the vessel with the *šdh*-label had contained red wine. The question remains, however, whether the wine had been prepared in some way, for example by boiling or if it had been refined with some other method (Tallet 1995: 482-485, Murray 2000: 593).

A couple of texts give indications that the process that produced *šdh*-wine involved heating. For example, Papyrus Salt 825 (BM 10090, cf. Derchain 1965), a ritual text from Late Period (715-332 B.C.), describes the production of *šdh*-wine.



<i>whm ʿth</i>	Repeat filtration
<i>ʿn ht</i>	Increase heating
<i>hpr šdh pw</i>	This is the creation of the <i>šdh</i> -wine
<i>di.n rʿ r s3=f</i>	that Re gave to his son.

(Papyrus Salt 825, II, 1. Derchain 1965: Pl. I, cf. Guasch-Jané et al 2006a: 99)

It is possible that the classification of wine as *šdh*-wine was based on the way it was produced. A measure of exclusiveness may be deduced from the limited occurrence of *šdh*. The taste of the wine is described in a love song from Papyrus Harris 500 (group B, stanza 4, 5,1-5,3) that speaks of *šdh*-wine as sweet (*šdh p3 ndm m r(3)=i* “The shedeh-wine, the sweetness is in my mouth”, cf. Fox 1985: 21 with n. b; Mathieu 1996: 62) which would have made it a desirable commodity.

There are some indications that the characteristic taste of *šdh*-wine came from an ingredient in the crushed grapes. Added flavouring has been refuted by the sample from the wine jar labeled with “*šdh*” from Tutankhamun’s tomb (Tut 13). The wine that this jar had once contained lacked any trace of another substance, such as honey (Guasch-Jané et al 2006a: 100). This shows that the special characteristic of the wine is from some kind of treatment of the grapes.

One scene from Beni Hassan (fig. 2) illustrates a two-step process, showing how the wine must be pressed out of the remains of the grapes and next to this is another scene that shows cooking and filtration. Another wine-making scene displays a zig-zag line under a vessel, which may be an indication that it was heated (fig. 3, Tallet 1995: 482-485).

Furthermore the quote above from Papyrus Salt 825 (BM 10090, Derchain 1965: Pl. I, cf. Guasch-Jané et al 2006a: 99) provides evidence that heating and filtration were involved in the preparation of the wine.



Fig. 2. Section of a wine-making scene from the tomb of Bakt III, Beni Hassan, 11th dynasty (Newberry 1893: Pl. VI, Tallet 1995: 482-485, cf. Murray 2000:593).

A reconstruction of the production of *šdh*-wine involves crushed grapes poured into an open vessel of the kind depicted in Beni Hassan and then heated. While it cooks and the liquid evaporates, the sugar content becomes concentrated into a kind of grape syrup. The next step was to filter the syrup, removing the seeds and skins. The liquid that remained was poured into a jar of fermented wine. This started a second fermentation and increased the percentage of alcohol and also prolonged the preservation time. Furthermore, the sweetness of the wine was increased, which is confirmed in the love song where the *šdh* is called sweet (*ndm*).

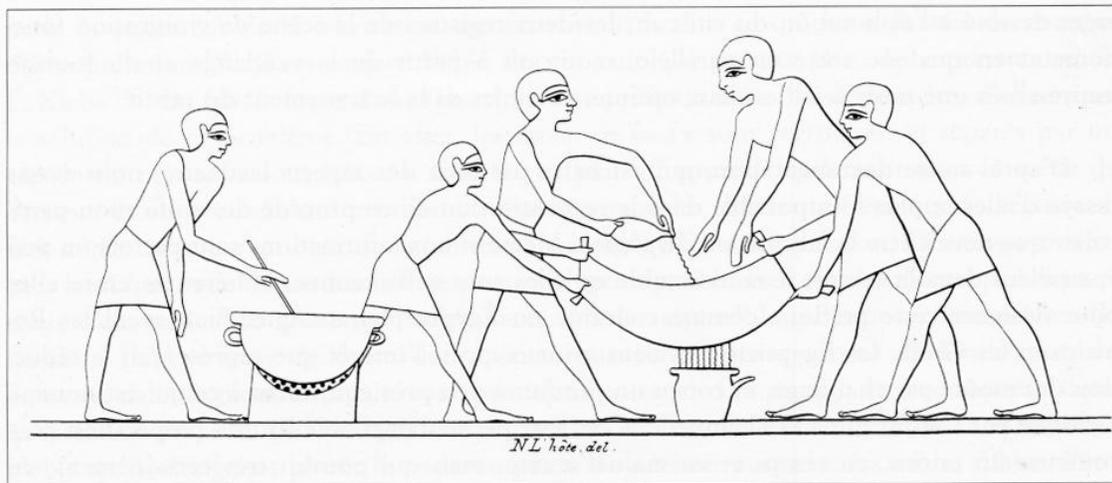


Fig. 3. Scene of possibly crushed grapes being heated and filtrated from tomb 15 in Beni Hassan (J. F. Champollion, *Les monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* IV, Paris, 1845, Pl 389/4; jfr Tallet 1995:459-492).

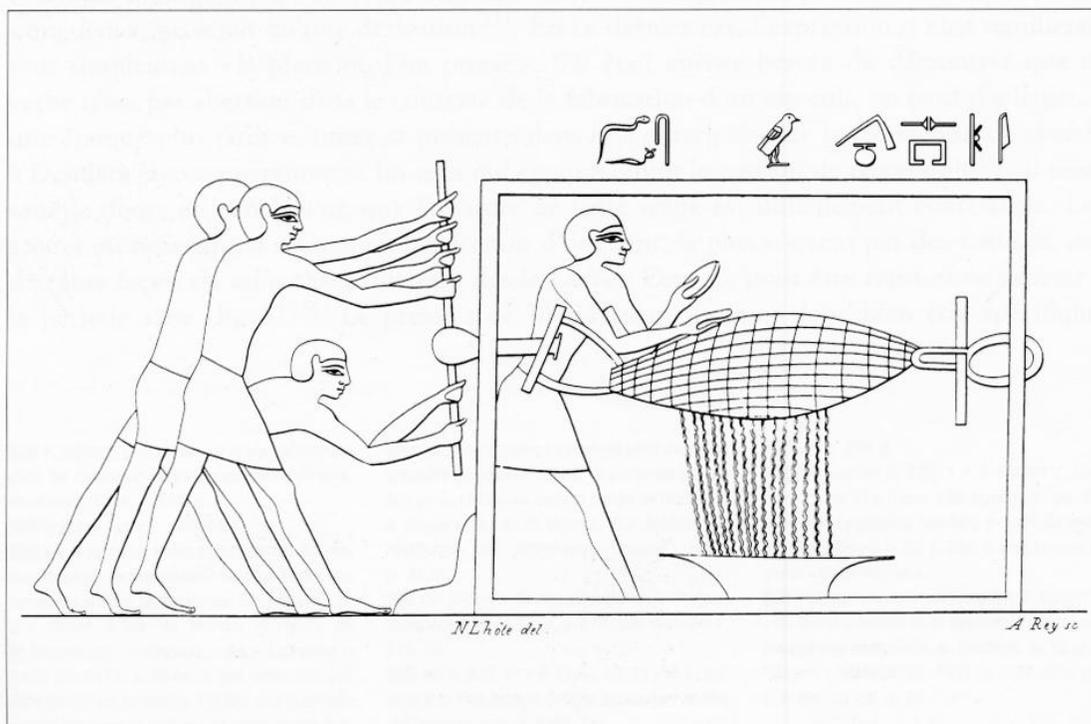


Fig. 4. Scene of pressing out the wine from tomb 15 in Beni Hassan (J. F. Champollion, *Les monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* IV, Paris, 1845, Pl 389/3; jfr Tallet 1995:459-492).

The process of boiling down and filtrating crushed grapes in order to make syrup would have been both slow and demanding. This could partly explain the infrequent occurrence of *šdh*-wines in ancient Egyptian donation lists. One text describes a donation consisting of 1,500 vessels with *trp*-wine and 50 vessels with *šdh*-wine (Poo 1995: 14-15). The process of boiling and filtration would have produced only a small amount of syrup. Some level of exclusivity, suggested by the low number of donated *šdh*-wine and the supposed difficulties of the production process, is indicated for *šdh*-wine.

One product that is produced in Italy of today uses crushed grapes, *mosto cotto*, which have been boiled into syrup. Furthermore, there is another, later, method, *governo alla Toscano*, which uses grape syrup to reinforce the taste and is characteristic for Chianti wines. This is done by adding a concentration of grapes to make the wine sweeter (oral communication Kjörling 2008-09-15⁶).

⁶ I want to express my gratitude to the sommelier Andreas Kjörling who has assisted with references to the different products and who has also provided information about the chemical processes involved in wine-making.

The conclusion that can be drawn is that the sweet *sdh*-wine was produced by preparing crushed grapes that were then blended into an already fermented wine to give it a sweeter taste and higher percentage of alcohol.

i3rrt 

The wine jar label that refers to *i3rrt* (Am 207) was an uncertain addition to this study and the types of wine. Fairman, who worked with the Amarna material, did not include this product name among wines. He instead saw it as a fruit, probably raisins / grapes (Fairman 1951: 166, 176, Pl. XCVI, no. 304). The hesitation depends on the lack of the hieroglyph with the bound vines on a rack  (Gardiner Sign List M43) in the writing. This sign is otherwise generally used as a classifier for words related to wine (*Wb* I:32, cf. Lesko 1977:15). The writing of *i3rrt* on wine jar label Am 207  has the grain of sand (Gardiner Sign List N33) as a determinative. This sign ordinarily classifies words as fruit.

There are several arguments understanding *i3rrt* as a reference to wine in this case. Grapes and raisins were not ordinarily stored in ceramic vessels. It has been noted that in tomb depictions fruit was stored in ventilated containers, such baskets or simply placed on tables (Hepper 1990: 67). The grapes found in Tutankhamun's tomb were stored in baskets, one of which was a vessel-shaped (Hepper 1990: 67, Reeves 2000: 206).

The jar label with *i3rrt* in its text is dated to Year 14 and ends with the title *hry bꜥh*, that title for Vineyard Supervisor that replaced *hry k3mw* after Akhenaten's Year 13 (Helck 1963, Vol. IV: 728, Černý 1964: 38). Year dates do not occur on vessels containing fruit but there are dates for other products such as honey, preserved meat/fish/fowl, different oils, fat and so on. The combination of the inclusion of a reference to a Vineyard Supervisor and the presence of a date indicated that the jar contained wine. However, the specific meaning of this term in this context is however unknown.

4.2.2 Classification of quality

The classification of the quality of wine is not as common as might be thought. On the contrary, unclassified wine is in the majority among wine jar labels. The classified wines from Amarna and Deir el-Medina made up about 10% of each of the two groups. About one third of the wine jar labels from Tutankhamun's tomb (KV 62) are classified.

It is first when a hieratic label text is placed on the shoulder of the wine jar during New Kingdom that terms for classification appear. No form of classification has been

read on the seals from Old Kingdom (cf. e.g. Kaplony 1963: 1121, no. 213; 1135, nos 309⁷, 310, 311; 1136, nos 312, 316, 317, 318; 1185, nos 747, 748; 1187, nos 765⁸ and er-Raziq 1979: 242). It is uncertain if any seals or wine jar labels have been found from Middle Kingdom. When classification appears in the New Kingdom it is already fully developed.

Distribution of quality classification

	Amarna	KV 62	Deir el-Medina
<i>irp</i> -wines			
<i>irp nfr</i> (15)	6 (Am 48, 70, 79, 99, 129, 188)	1 (Tut 24)	8 (DeM 17, 19, 23, 28, 38, 42, 84, 114)
<i>irp nfr nfr</i> (15)	8 (Am 1, 3, 28, 40, 98, 121, 201, 206)	-	7 (DeM 43, 61, 81, 82, 124, 143, 207)
<i>irp ndm</i> (9)	3 (Am 193, 194, 195)	4 (Tut 1, 8, 10, 12)	2 (DeM 77, 134)
[<i>irp</i>] <i>nfr ndm</i> (1)	1 (Am 203)	-	-
<i>irp h3yt nfr</i> (2)	1 (Am 202)	-	1 (DeM 72)
<i>sdh</i> -wines			
<i>sdh nfr nfr</i> (6)	3 (Am 32, 34, 205)	3 (Tut 3,5,13)	-
Sum	22 / 10.5 %	8 / 30.8 %	18 / 8.6 %

irp

Four different classifications have been documented for *irp*-wine in this material: *nfr* (good), *nfr nfr* (very good), *ndm* (sweet) and also *h3yt nfr* (merry-making?). Furthermore, there is one wine that is classified as *nfr ndm* (good, sweet) that is probably an *irp*-wine. This suggests that there could have been differences between the sweet wines as well.

The use of *nfr* and *nfr nfr* as a term of classification also occurs with other products, such as eye make-up. In a letter from the time of Ramses IX a royal decree

⁷ According to er-Raziq seal 308 came from a wine jar, but it turned out to be seal 309 (quoted above) that was meant.

⁸ In er-Raziq's catalogue he has missed that the combination of signs consists of  and not only a plain rack for grapes.

reads: “Arrange that galena of very good quality (*msdmt nfr nfr*) is brought for the Pharaoh’s (LPH) eye make-up” (Helck 1967: 147, letter B, lines 24-25).

One interesting question in relation to classification is if it is possible to see if the “better” wine has a distinctive source of production or ownership. In Amarna, the good *irp*-wine (*irp nfr*) came from Nebmaatre’s domain (*t3 hwt nb-m3^ct-r^c*, Am 48), the Domain of the Aton (*t3 hwt p3 itn*, Am 79) and the Estate of the Living Aton (*pr ^cnh-itn*, Am 129). Additionally one *irp nfr* came from an estate associated with the king’s daughter Baket[atón] (*pr s3t nsw b3k-[...]*, Am 70). One example of an *irp nfr* belonged to *pr itn n wh3t rsyt*, the Estate of Aton of the Southern Oasis (Am 99). The final example of an *irp nfr* is from a fragmentary text that only has the word *pr* and then “the Western [River]” (*[itr] imnt*; Am 188).

Of the very good *irp*-wines (*irp nfr nfr*) from Amarna, six of eight were in some way connected to an institute of Aton. One “Estate of Aton” (*pr itn*) is mentioned three times (Am 28, 40, 98) but one of the labels also has the additional information *hr wh3t rsyt* (at the Southern Oasis, Am 40). On another jar label “the Estate of Aton” (*pr itn*) is followed by an *n* “of” followed by a lacuna (Am 98). “The Estate of the Living Aton at the Western River” (*pr ^cnh itn n itr imnt*; Am 121), “The Domain of the Aton” (*t3 hwt p3 itn*; Am 201) and “the Estate of Aton’s Gleaming” (*pr itn th*; Am 206) also occur. In one case (Am 3) the very good wine is connected to the high priest of Aton (*wr m3w*) Meryre. One jar label marked with *irp nfr nfr* lacks other information (Am 1).

Only one jar from Tutankhamun’s tomb is marked with *irp nfr* (Tut 24), where the wine is described as “good wine of *i3ty*” (*irp nfr n i3ty*) with the toponym *i3ty* as a possible reference to a vineyard in the oasis (Černý 1965:3 and cf. below). There are no wine jars with the notation *irp nfr nfr* (very good wine) from this tomb.

The seven wine jar labels with the inscription *irp nfr* from Deir el-Medina show the same variation of sources as those from Amarna. One mention Sety I’s Temple of Millions of Years (*t3 hwt nt hh m rnpt nsw bit mn-m3^ct-r^c*, DeM 23) and another refers to a great vineyard belonging to Merenptah (*p3 k3mw ^c3 n mr-n-pt^h htp hr m3^ct*, DeM 114). One “estate” (*pr*) belonging to Montu, the Lord of Heliopolis, contributed a further example of *irp nfr* (DeM 17). One good wine of day 3 came from an unknown domain (*hwt [...]*) which belonged to the Estate of Amun (*pr imn*; DeM 84). Three toponyms that were difficult to interpret occur in connection with *irp nfr* in the Deir el-Medina material. In one case it is written “good wine of Tjaru” (*t3rw*; DeM 28), possibly a reference to a vineyard in the Eastern Delta (see below). One other label refers to “the vineyard to the west of *irn* (or *irnt*) by the river” (*p3 k3[mw] hr imnt irn / irnt m itr*, DeM 42) and another

to a “good wine of Siny” (*siny*; DeM 38). The location of either *irn* or *siny* are known (see below).

Seven wine jar labels from Deir el-Medina belong to the category “very good wine” (*irp nfr nfr*). There are several labels that mention vineyards. One from “the great vineyard” (*p3 k3mw ʿ3*; DeM 43), another from the domain’s vineyard (DeM 61), and a third only has “the vineyard” preserved as a source (DeM 207). One *irp nfr nfr* is a wine of day 3, belonging to the vineyard of “the first priest of Ramses (II?)” (DeM 81). The Estate of Amun in Thebes is found on one example (DeM 82). Another *irp nfr nfr* is said to come from “the *mr*-river” (*itr mr*; DeM 124), the location of which is unknown but which could have been situated somewhere in the Delta. One jar label marked with *irp nfr nfr* lacks any other information (DeM 143).

Another way of differentiating *irp*-wine is with the adjective *ndm* (sweet). There are three examples of *irp ndm* in the Amarna material. None of these gives any distinctive information about their source or ownership (Am 193, 194, 195). Four jars labeled *irp ndm* were discovered in the tomb of Tutankhamun. These came from different Aton estates (*pr itn*): in Tjaru (Tut 8), Karet (Tut 12) and in the area of the Western River (Tut 1, 10). Two labels with *irp ndm* from Deir el-Medina are connected to Amun (*n3y n imn*, DeM 77) and the domain of Seti I (DeM 134).

One very fragmented label from Amarna (Am 203) has been reconstructed to read *nfr [ndm]*, possibly a classification of an *irp nfr ndm*, “good, sweet wine”, without any other information.

The analysis above does not answer the initial question; if it is possible to see if the “better” wine has a distinctive source of production or ownership. On the contrary the “better” wine came from varying places and / or belonged to different domains / estates.

sdh

sdh-wine is commonly found with the classifications *nfr* (good) or *nfr nfr* (very good; Tallet 1995: 464-470; Murray 2000: 593). In the three groups of material the classification *nfr nfr* (very good) is the only one found for the *sdh*-wines. There are three examples from Amarna (Am 32, 34, 205) and three from Tutankhamun’s tomb (Tut 3, 5, 13). Furthermore, there are four unclassified *sdh*-wines from Amarna (Am 33, 73, 185, 204), all of which, except one (Am 73), are damaged where the classification should have been. The three jars labeled *sdh* from Tutankhamun’s tomb are classified “very good quality” and all three come from “the Estate of Aton”. One *sdh*-wine jar label from the Workman’s Village at Amarna has the classification “good” (*nfr*, Leahy 1985: 72, fig.

6.13, no. 97). The classified wine *šdh nfr* is also found on a seal from Tutankhamun's tomb (Hope 1993: 108, fig. 5, no. XXVII).

Information regarding the quality of *šdh*-wine examined here has been found on wine jar labels and seals from Amarna and Tutankhamun's tomb as well as on two recent finds: a wine jar label from Saqqara and a seal from Medinet Habu, thought to originate from Horhemheb's reign (1323-1295 B.C., van Dijk 1992: 27, fig. 4; Hope 1993: 91-136; Tallet 1995: 468-470). Five preserved wine-stopper seals from jars said to contain *šdh* have been found in Tutankhamun's tomb. Three of the seals came from wine jars that also had a wine jar label on its surface (Tut 3, 5, 6). The other two seals came from vessels that were lacking labels on the vessel surface (Hope 1993: 106-108, figs 4-5; Tallet 1995: 469). Some problems occurred with the interpretation of Tut 6, because the text on the wine jar label mentioned *irp* as the type of wine while the seal mentioned *šdh* (Hope 1993: 108, fig. 5, no. XXV; Tallet 1995: 468). The stopper for the wine jar Tut 13, earlier missing but now found, was stamped with a seal that mentioned *šdh*-wine (Černý 1965: 2; Hope 1993: 108, fig. 5, no. XXVI, 126, no. 41; Tallet 1995: 469). The classification on the wine jar label Am 32 is indistinct with Petrie's publication (1894: Pl. XXIV, no. 63) showing damage at the area where the classification is usually found. Černý (notebook 17.54, p 23) on the other hand transcribed the wine jar label as *šdh nfr nfr*.

These seals and wine jar labels confirm that *šdh*-wine was often classified and it was only in rare cases that this was omitted (Tallet 1995: 470).

There is no evidence that the designation *ndm* (sweet) occurs in connection with *šdh*-wines in material investigated here. Only one wine jar label from Saqqara describes the *šdh*-wine as *ndm* (van Dijk 1992: 27-28, fig. 4; Tallet 1995: 467⁹), corresponding to the description in the love song: "The shedeh-wine, sweetness is in my mouth" (*šdh p3 ndm m r(3)=i*; P. Harris 500: Group B, stanza 4, 5,1-5,3, cf. Fox 1985: 21 with n. b; Mathieu 1996: 62).

nfr nfr nfr and other classifications

A classification with three *nfr*-signs is said to be common for wine (Lerstrup 1992: 72, Murray 2000: 579, 590, Ikram 2001: 392). No example of this classification has been found in this material or in the material from Malqata (Hayes 1951: fig. 4-8, fig. 25-30; Hope 1977: Appendix II, Table 3 and seal catalogue, 47 ff) or the Ramesseum (Spiegelberg 1898: Pls XIX-XXXV^A, Bouvier 1999-2001: Fasc. I-IV). A letter from the

⁹ Note Tallet's reference to fig. 5, rather than the correct fig. 4 in van Dijk's publication (van Dijk 1992: 27-28).

time of Ramses IX shows that *nfr nfr nfr nfr* was used for galena, which was a mineral used in eye make-up. A delivery of galena was returned because it was of poor quality and a delivery of 100 deben of *msdmt nfr nfr nfr nfr* was expected (Helck 1967: 147, letter B, line 32-33), showing that quality classifications using more than two *nfr* did occur.

A seal from Amarna can possibly have been the source for reading a classification as having more than two *nfr*-signs. One damaged seal is documented where a *nfr*-sign is placed on either side of a pot sign  (Pendlebury 1951: Pl. LXXXI, no. 27). The same combination of signs appears on four other, undamaged, seals (Pendlebury 1951: Pl. LXXXI, no. 51, 52, Pl. LXXXII, no. 99, 102). These five seals show that this arrangement of signs was used on stamps, but it does not support a common classification of wine with more than two *nfr*-signs.

However, there are two seals in the Amarna material that belong to jars of *irp*-wine, that show a classification consisting of more than two *nfr*-signs. One seal has three clear *nfr*-signs written on it (Pendlebury 1951: Pl. LXXXII, no. 104) and the other has four clear *nfr*-signs (Petrie 1894: Pl. XXI, no. 10). A classification consisting of three *nfr*-signs could have existed during 18th dynasty (*Wb* II: 253) as a rare phenomenon and probably occurred among the seals from Amarna. Therefore, a classification of wine with three or more *nfr*-signs should be considered as very unusual, although possible.

Wine classification at the Ramesseum and the Workman's Village at Amarna

Modern excavations at the Workman's Village at Amarna uncovered 26 identifiable wine jar labels (Leahy 1985: 66). Of these, two came from wines with a classification. One of them was an *irp*-wine classified as *ndm* (sweet) and the other was a *sdh*-wine classified as *nfr* (good) (Leahy 1985: fig. 6.12, no. 86, fig. 6.13, no. 97). Classified wines in this material do not make up a major group although damage makes it uncertain how many jars could have been wine jars containing classified wine.

At the Ramesseum, there were 2693 wine jar labels found (Spiegelberg 1898: Pl. XIX-XXXV^A; Bouvier 1999-2001: Fasc. I-IV). Terms of classification are found on 232 of these (8.6%). But the majority of the wine jar labels, 2461, were unclassified. Furthermore, many wine jar labels are damaged at the beginning of the first line, where the content and classification should have been written, so it is possible that among these there may be additional classified wines. Of the wine jar labels where the designation of contents could still be read, only the *irp*-type occurred, no *sdh*-wine is found. The classification *irp nfr* (good wine), is well represented with 160 out of 232 labels, or

68.9%. The occurrence of *irp ndm*, (sweet wine), is relatively frequent with 45 out of 232 labels (19.3%). The smallest group was *irp nfr nfr*, (very good wine) with 27 out of 232 labels (11.6%).

There are similarities in the known share of classified wines at Amarna and Deir el-Medina and the Ramesseum, where approximately 10% of all wine jar labels have a classification. This conclusion comes with a reservation, because of damage to the texts it is impossible to estimate the real number of classified wines. The wine from Tutankhamun's tomb differs from the others, with one third of the wines being classified.

4.2.3 The classification “Wine of day ...” (*irp n hrw ...*)

<i>hrw</i> 3	(9)	DeM 8, 39, 80, 81, 84, 110, 146, 186, 191
<i>hrw</i> 5	(3)	DeM 31, 60, 172
<i>hrw</i> 6	(2)	DeM 19, 63
<i>hrw</i> 7	(1)	DeM 87
<i>hrw</i> ?	(2)	DeM 77, 141

On 17 labels, from the Deir el-Medina material, *irp* is followed by the phrase *n hrw X n ...* (wine of day X of ...). The phrase accompanies a reference to the vineyard (*p3 k3mw*), the great or large vineyard (*p3 k3mw 3*), the *bch* or the great or large *bch (n bch 3)*. The name of an institution can also follow. Four specific days occurs in this material, with Day 3 being the most cited. There is some uncertainty as to what this phrase refers. It is defined by a genitive *n*, which connects the phrase to the “wine” and to the “production place” (*k3mw* or *bch*, DeM 87, see below) or to the institution that owns the wine. The day marker is most likely as an attribute of quality. In this material it is combined with a classification of quality *nfr* (good, DeM 84) *nfr nfr* (very good, DeM 81) and *ndm* (sweet, DeM 77).

The considerably larger material from the Ramesseum (Spiegelberg 1898: Pl. XIX-XXXV^A; Bouvier 1999-2001: Fasc. I-IV) also has examples of this phrase. The distribution of days is different and extends from Day 3 to 25 (see compilation below) with emphasis on Day 7. Besides references to the vineyard (*p3 k3mw*) and the *bch*, there are also references to the great or large vineyard and *bch (p3 k3mw 3* and *n bch 3)*.

Day dates from the Ramesseum labels

<i>hrw</i> 3	2	<i>hrw</i> 11	1
<i>hrw</i> 5	1	<i>hrw</i> 12	1
<i>hrw</i> 6	5	<i>hrw</i> 13	1
<i>hrw</i> 7	23	<i>hrw</i> 16	1
<i>hrw</i> 8	8	<i>hrw</i> 25	1
<i>hrw</i> 9	3	<i>hrw</i> ?	12
<i>hrw</i> 10	1		

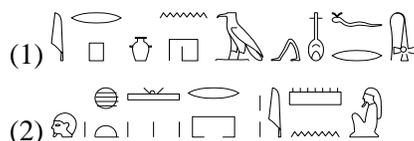
The position of the phrase with a genitive *n* directly after *irp*, or *irp* + a notation of quality *nfr* and so on, indicates that this should be considered as an attribute of the wine, perhaps an additional way of defining the quality by telling which day the wine was tapped.

4.2.4 Designation of use

There are several phrases that refer to the different uses of the wine. These are discussed below.

h3[yt] nfr[t] (merry-making ?)

Two labels in this material contain the phrase *h3y nfr*. The interpretation of this phrase as a classification developed during discussions that began in the early twentieth century when a wine jar from the royal architect Kha's tomb at the Workman's Village of Deir el-Medina was published for the first time. Kha took office during the last years of the reign of Thutmosis III and died at an old age during the reign of Amenhotep III (1479-1352 B.C., Hall 1928: 203). Today his grave is best known for its grave goods, including wine jars, which now are in the collection of the Museo Egizio di Torino. On one of these wine jars is a hieratic text which was published by Schiaparelli (1920: 153, fig. 137) and which was later transcribed as below and discussed by an unknown writer in a short note (Notes and News, *JEA* 14, 1928: 182).



irp n h3 nfr
tp ht r-pr imn

Wine of *h3 nfr*
 Foremost of properties (?) in Amun's temple

In connection with the publication of a writing board (BM 5647), Peet (1927: 90-93) discussed two examples of the phrase found on the verso.



“Wine of *h3 nfrt*, one *mnt*-vessel” (*irp n h3 nfrt mnt 1*).

In a note, Peet reasoned whether this phrase should be considered “...an incorrect phonetic writing of *hrw nfr*” (Peet 1927: 94, n. 1) and suggested translating *h3 nfrt* as “merry-making” or “to enjoy oneself”.

The writing differs in every example of the phrase. It was the choice of determinative for the word *nfr[t]* that drew the most attention in the ensuing discussion. In the label from Kha’s tomb a ‘fire’ sign  (Gardiner’s Sign List Q7) is used as the determinative. Peet, however, had transcribed the hieratic as a sign for sun  (Gardiner’s Sign List N5). The unknown writer (Anon 1928: 182) argued against Peet’s transcription and meant that the sign for sun  should be transcribed as a *niwt*-sign  (Gardiner’s Sign List O49) to indicate a vineyard or a city. Fairman (1951: 163) and Hayes (1951: 89, n. 104) both refer to the unknown writer as Peet but if so, why does Peet argue against himself? It would only be logical if Peet had changed his mind in the year between the two publications. This makes it unlikely that Peet was the author of this note¹⁰.

Černý, in one of his notebooks from the end of the 1930s, writes that the phrase should be treated as a toponym rather than a classification (Černý, notebook MSS 1.191). His notes reveal that he and Fairman discussed the phrase and that they both agreed, according to Černý’s notes, that it could only be a *niwt*-sign at the end of the phrase and thus both preferred to translate it as a place name. None of this discussion was later reported by Fairman when the hieratic labels from Amarna were published (Fairman 1951: 163, n. 3).

Černý also records a find from the funerary temple of Amenhotep, son of Hapu (Černý, notebook MSS 1.191, not published). According to Černý, two shards had been found that together make up a complete wine jar label with the text:

¹⁰ This paragraph includes information missing in the Swedish version.

following Peet. It is notable that this classification only exists for *irp*-wines and not for *šdh*¹².

irp m3^c (Offering wine)

Wine could be identified as “offering wine” as found on two label texts from Amarna (Am 143, 146; Pendlebury 1951: Pl. LXXXIX, nos 115, 118). On Am 143, the wine is described as “wine for offering belonging to *pr h^c*” (*irp m3^c n pr h^c*), that is to say one of the temples in Amarna. An interesting note is that this wine jar label was found in the Military Quarters in Amarna. On Am 146, it is written “wine for offering belonging to the Estate of the Great Seer” (*irp m3^c n pr wr-m3w* cf. below). This wine jar label was found in a storeroom in the southeast corner of a magazine between the Great Temple and the King’s House.

šdh n wnm (Shedeh dinner wine)

šdh-wine occurs to a lesser extent than *irp*-wine as discussed above. Yet, it could also have been used as a dinner drink according to the description [*šd*]h n wnm, “[shed]eh, dinner wine” (Am 34), a phrase which is found on what is described as a fragmentary label (Petrie 1894: Pl. XXIV, no. 65; Černý notebook 17.54).

4.2.5 Donation wines

The term *md* is translated “one tenth” (Sethe 1916: 85, *DLE* I: 257) and appears in its full form *r md*, on four labels from Amarna (Am 50, 163, 164, 165) before the *h3t sp* dating. Sethe (1916: 84-85) argued that the sign for “mouth”  was used in connection with numbers and ownership and stated that numerals should immediately follow the mouth sign. For example , where the ‘hobble’ (Gardiner’s Sign List V20) is translated ‘10’, produces the fraction “one tenth”. On two of the labels (Am 50, 164) the *md* is connected to Aton. One label combines *md* with an overseer (*imy-r*, Am 165).

Fairman says about the formulation:

It is unfortunate that all these dockets should be so incomplete, for there is no information from other sources concerning a “tithe” in Ancient Egypt, and there is little to tell us of what it consisted, how it was levied, or to what purpose it was devoted. (Fairman 1951: 168)

The phrase may refer to donations, or possibly coercive taxation, where the tenth was given to the god Aton or from an official to the king.

¹² This paragraph includes information that is absent in the Swedish version.

The term *md* does not appear in the materials from Tutankhamun's tomb or Deir el-Medina or in similar materials from Malqata and the Ramesseum.

Another term that occurs in the collected material is *inyt*, possibly a Late Egyptian writing of *inw* (product, gift or tribute; Faulkner 1962: 22). This reading is relatively explicit on the label DeM 194 which has the heading *inyt k3-s3* (gift of / to Kasa). The text continues with the Year date and description of the wine, but does not give any information as to whether Kasa is the receiver or donor.

On label Am 166 the expression is used at the end of the very fragmentary text *inyt [n] itn* (gift [for] (?) Aton) and on label Am 3 the expression appears in the sentence *irp nfr nfr n p3 inw [...]* (very good wine of / from this gift / tribute [...]). Bleiberg (1996: 100) thinks that *inw* was a small but needful part of the goods consumed by the royal family¹³.

Wine could have been donated from an individual to, e.g., the temple cult or as burial goods. This is supported by a label from Tutankhamun's tomb (Tut 26). The text is limited to a title and a name *ḥty pntw* (Vizier Pentu).

In the material there is one label that names the left team of workmen in Deir el-Medina as the receiver of the wine jar (*irp t3 rit smhy*, "wine for the left side", DeM 46). Dated Year 53, this donation came from the reign of Ramses II.

4.3 Wine production and geography

4.3.1 *k3mw* and *bḥ*

The two most common terms used to describe an area where wine was grown are *k3mw* (vineyard, *DLE* IV: 33-34, Faulkner 1962: 284, *Wb* V: 106) and *bḥ* (inundation, basin, *DLE* I: 152-153, Faulkner 1962: 81, *Wb* I: 448). Both appear in on the labels from Amarna and Deir el-Medina but only *k3mw* occurs (and only in the title *hry k3mw*) in the material from Tutankhamun's tomb.

During Old Kingdom the word for vineyard was *k3mw* and is recorded in, e.g. the Pyramid Texts (cf. *Wb* V, 107: 6). It was written with a simple, double or triple combination of the sign , with or without hanging bunches of grapes and with or without a vessel on the side. Sometimes it was combined as  or  and even in this combination the stand with clusters of grapes could be doubled (cf. e.g. Kaplony

¹³ This paragraph includes information that is absent in the Swedish version.

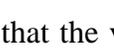
1963: 1121 (no. 213) 1135 (nos 309¹⁴, 310, 311) 1136 (nos 312, 316, 317, 318) 1185 (nos 747, 748) 1187 (no. 765¹⁵); er-Raziq 1979: 242).

A new form of the writing of this word appears on the Kamose stela from the end of the Second Intermediate (1555-1550 B.C.), where *k3mw* appears to have developed into *k3mw* (vineyard) with the “alphabetic” writing . This appears to be the earliest known example of the word *k3mw* (Habachi 1972: 32, 36, l. 11, n. e; er-Raziq 1979: 242¹⁶; cf. *Wb* V: 106).

This form was soon abandoned for another combination of signs, , which during the 18th-19th dynasties became the standard form of the word (Lesko *DLE* IV: 34). Brunner (1944: 34) proposed that the word originated from the time of Hyksos rule when it seemed that a vineyard was a luxury that belonged to the Hyksos ruler. The older Egyptian word *k3nw* was abandoned and replaced by *k3mw*, of a possibly Semitic origin, by the end of the Second Intermediate (Brunner 1944: 34, er-Raziq 1979: 240-241).

From the Old to the New Kingdom, the signs  and  appear as alternative determinatives in the words *k3nw*  and  or *k3mw*      (Kaplony 1963: 1186 (no. 757); er-Raziq 1979: 242-243; cf. *Wb* V: 106).

The word *b^ch* (inundation, flood, irrigate, basin; *DLE* I: 152; *Wb* I: 448-449) as a description for a vineyard, is commonly written , with other variations. It appears rarely during the Old and Middle Kingdoms but it is found more frequently during the New Kingdom (cf. *Wb* I: 448-450). Interpreted to refer to irrigation (Faulkner 1962: 81), the use of the word can be seen in relation to a period when many vineyards were established in the Delta and where irrigation through canals was needed as support in drier areas.

Different determinatives could be included in the writings for *k3mw* and *b^ch*. In *k3mw* a *pr*-sign  (Gardiner’s Sign List O1) could occur and for the word *b^ch*, the signs for water and canal  are found. Er-Raziq (1979: 229) thinks that the vineyard was walled as protection. The *k3mw* vineyard should therefore be seen as an enclosed area and *b^ch* as an area with an irrigation construction.

How large a *k3mw* or a *b^ch* could have been has been discussed. Er-Raziq (1979: 229) says that during New Kingdom the -sign began to be used regularly as a

¹⁴ According to er-Raziq the seal 308 was from a wine jar but it appears to be seal 309 (quoted above) that he was referring to.

¹⁵ In er-Raziq’s catalogue he has missed that the combination of signs consisted of  and not only of a simple stand for grapes.

¹⁶ The reference in er-Raziq 1979: 242 to “Kamose *ADAW* 8, P. 36” should be to “Kamose *ADIK* 8, P. 36”.

determinative in the word *k3mw* and he sees this as a reference to a walled garden. This writing for vineyard was also noted in the primary sources compiled for this study (cf. for instance Am 175, DeM 9).

In Metjen's tomb, dated to the 3rd dynasty (2686-2613 B.C.) there is an inscription that describes a vineyard (*k3mw*) as measuring 1 *h3* + 2 *t3* and 1 aurora (*st3*) within the walls (Urk. I, 5). One *st3* is equal to 2,735 m² and one *h3* measures 10 *st3* which is 27,350 m² (Gardiner 1948c: 60, 1957: 200). The measurements represented by *t3* are unknown. Er-Raziq (1979: 229) says that the area referred to in Metjen's text would have equaled 114,870 m².

At Tell el-Dab'a, Beita (1985: 275) has identified a winery inside a walled temple area, probably a sacred space, which he dates from the end of Hyksos period (1650-1550 B.C.) to the early 18th dynasty (1550-1069 B.C.). He does not say anything about the size of this area. The writing for *k3mw* appears with a *pr*-sign as a determinative for the first time on the Kamose stele (1555-1550 B.C.) and this *pr*-sign could refer to the Hyksos ruler's enclosed, luxury vineyards (Habachi 1972: 36, l. 11; er-Raziq 1979: 240; Beita 1985: 276).

An establishment south of the city of Amarna has also been found. A large, enclosed area equipped with 816 poles form seven halls, covering a total surface of 1.26 hectares. Within this area were traces of plants, which were interpreted as remnants from a vineyard (Traunecker 1984: 286-290, Tallet 1998b: 244). Earlier Fairman (1951: 167-168) expressed uncertainty about whether a vineyard could have existed in the region while Pendlebury (1935: 131) in his preliminary report from the excavation season 1934-1935 referred to a vineyard as one of three possible interpretations of the area. Recent research seems to find it probable that a vineyard could have existed as far south as Amarna (Traunecker 1984: 286-290, Tallet 1998b: 244).

The examples cited above highlight that it is impossible, on the basis of the determinative, to determine the size of a vineyard whether it was called *k3mw* or *bch*. The choice of determinative most likely was unrelated to the size of the area. Furthermore, *bch* as a word for vineyard is used infrequently and during such a short time, while *k3mw* was the generic word for vineyard from Second Intermediate Period (1650-1550 B.C.) and onwards.

Amarna – Occurrence of *bḥ* and *k3mw*, other than in titles

<i>bḥ</i> - flood, irrigate, basin	(<i>irp</i>) Am 15 (<i>rsyt</i> , southern), 184, 186, 187, 193
artificial lake	(<i>šdh</i>) Am 185, 205 (Ref. to <i>idḥw n 3ḥt ḥnh-itn</i> , marshes)
<i>k3mw</i> – vineyard	Am 175

In the material from Amarna the concept *bḥ* dominates in terms of the origin of wine. Five labels for *irp*-wines and two for *šdh*-wines cite the origin as a *bḥ* (flood, basin). Only one label has a *k3mw* (vineyard) as an origin. However, the term *k3mw* appears frequently in the title of responsible officials (cf. discussion below).

Even if the word *k3mw* was used for vineyard, it appears only rarely in the Amarna material. It is possible that a vineyard connected to Amarna has been found to the south of the city. The area, excavated by Traunecker (1984: 286-290), could perhaps explain the use of some of the terms below.

Additional terms for wine production areas

<i>irp</i> -wine	
<i>p3 ḥnm</i> – basin	Am 103, 161, 207 (Ref. to <i>i3rrt</i>)
<i>šd</i> – artificial lake / pool	Am 18
<i>mi-š3</i> – irrigated area	Am 160
<i>šdh</i> -wine	
<i>idḥw</i> – marshes	Am 205

Some occasional wine jar labels in the Amarna material use terms such as *p3 ḥnm* (basin), *mi-š3* (irrigated area), *šd* (artificial lake / pool) and *idḥw* (marshes) with diffuse origin. Some of these terms may refer to viticulture south of Amarna (*Wb* I: 155 *idḥw*, II: 155 *mi-š3*, IV: 567 *šd*; *DLE* I: 64, *idḥ*, II: 207 *ḥnm*, III: 172 *šdr*; Faulkner 1962: 36 *idḥw*, 202 *ḥnm*, 274 *šd*). Furthermore, there is one wine jar label (Am 193) in this material where the first line reads *n itr n bḥ* (of the river of the flood basin). No equivalent terms were found on the wine jar labels from the Workman's Village in Amarna (Leahy 1985: 66-109).

Deir el-Medina – Occurrence of *bḥ* and *k3mw*, other than in titles

<i>bḥ</i> (flood, irrigated area, basin artificial lake)	DeM 89, 122
<i>p3 k3mw</i> ʕ (The Great Vineyard)	DeM 12, 13, 43, 48, 79, 86, 93, 109, 114
<i>p3 k3mw</i> (The Vineyard)	DeM 3, 5, 9, 11, 15, 22, 26, 30, 41, 42, 44, 47, 61, 66, 76, 90, 97, 104, 105, 116, 120, 126, 127, 137, 147, 165, 166, 179, 182, 184, 198, 207

From Deir el-Medina 36 wine jar labels convey the information that *irp*-wine came from a *k3mw* (vineyard) and on 18 wine jar labels *k3mw* is found at the beginning of a damaged text, so it can not be determined if the jar contained a *irp*- or a *šdh*-wine. One label placed a *k3mw* (vineyard) in Tjaru in the eastern Delta (DeM 126). The material from Deir el-Medina also has references to *p3 k3mw* ʕ (The Great Vineyard) which suggests that a hierarchy existed between the vineyards and this could possibly have been based on size.

All together 51 wine jar labels from Deir el-Medina mention the *k3mw* (vineyard) comparing to the single label from Amarna. The term *bḥ* (basin) only appears on two wine jar labels from Deir el-Medina, comparing with the seven labels from Amarna.

The Ramesseum – *k3mw* and *bḥ*

The use of *k3mw* and *bḥ* in the material from Ramesseum shows an emphasis on *k3mw*. There are 540 wine jar labels of the total 2693 (Spiegelberg 1898: Pl. XIX-XXXV^A; Bouvier 1999-2001: Fasc. I-IV), with the terms *k3mw* or *bḥ* preserved. Of these, 369 wine jar labels contained the word *k3mw* (vineyard), but the total number may have been larger, as damage obscured the reading in some cases. The term *bḥ* (basin) appears on 171 wine jar labels.

Finally it can be said that comparing the materials from Amarna and Deir el-Medina there is a clear difference in the use of *k3mw* and *bḥ* as viticulture areas. The difference does not appear to reflect relative size. Instead the word ʕ (great) could have been used as a marker of size. The presence of a relatively large number of labels that refer to a *bḥ*-area excludes the possibility of the two words being synonymous and used for lexicographic variation. Perhaps Amarna's location in Middle Egypt had an effect on the choice of growing areas and the use of artificial irrigation.

Deir el-Medina - *n3y* – ‘Property of the Vineyard’

Property of (the Estate of) Amun

nty m n3y imn DeM 26 (*p3 k3mw*), 77 (...), 78 (...), 79 (*p3 k3mw 3 n r^c-[...]*),
101(...)

Property of the (Estate of) Ramses

m n3y r^c-ms-[...] DeM 85 (...)

n3y r^c-ms-sw-mr-imn DeM 30 ([...] *p3 k3mw n t3 hwt [t] [n]t h^h m rnpt*

spt ptr itr [...] *n nsw bit h^{k3}-m3^ct-r^c-[stp-n-r^c]*)

The phrase (*m*) *n3y* (in / from these; cf. Junge 2001: 51-54) appears occasionally to describe the property of the vineyard (*k3mw*). Five labels combine *n3y* with Amun, which indicates that this was a way of describing the temple or estate of Amun as the owner. Two labels connect the phrase with the royal name Ramses, (DeM 30, 85), one (DeM 30) relates the vineyard of the Temple of Millions of Years of Ramses IV to “these” of Ramses which is on the shore of the *ptr*-river.

That described as *n3y r^c-ms-sw-mr-imn* has been interpreted as Pi-Ramses (Gardiner 1918: 188, Bouvier 2003: 196). Spiegelberg (1923: 31) connects *n3y imn* to the Ramesseum when he found it written on eight wine jar labels from that temple (Spiegelberg 1898: Pl. XX, no. 147, XXII, no. 170, XXVII, no. 224, XXVIII, no. 233, XXXI, no. 259, XXXII, no. 266, XXXIV, no. 294, XXXV, no. 298). Hamada (1947: 19) translated a text on a statue of the flag-bearer Amenmose, that states that he is the one who took care of what belonged to Amun (*n3y imn*). Further, Hamada (1947: 15-16) says that Amenmose was working in the temple of Amun-Re, which was located at the Western River (*itr imnt*) in the Delta. It is not until the end of the text that the Temple of Millions of Years (*t3 hwt nt h^h m rnpt*) is mentioned. This place is said to be in the Estate of Amun (*pr imn*) to the west of Thebes (Hamada 1947: 19). This leads to the conclusion that the place where Amenmose worked was not the Ramesseum. Gardiner (1948b:19-20) also argued that the place for *n3y imn* was at the Western River and he thought it could have been north of the river in the northwestern Delta. Gardiner (1948b: 22, n. 3) proposes that the Temple of Millions of Years could be a reference to the funerary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. Also Helck (1963: 729) refers to Hamada’s and Gardiner’s articles and speaks of an Overseer of Works of *n3y imn*, which was at the Western River, where the overseer says he had built temples and vineyards in the area of Amun’s temple. Haring (1997: 355) and Bouvier (2003: 194) both state that *n3y imn* and

the Ramesseum belong together and furthermore, Haring says that two olive gardens were a part of *n3y imn* and that they belonged to the Ramesseum.

4.3.2 Institutions

Wine can be described as belonging to the vineyard (*irp n p3 k3mw*) or belonging to an estate or domain (*irp n pr / hwt*). Reference to the vineyard (*p3 k3mw*) can be excluded so that wine is only described as ‘of’ (*n*) the estate or domain. The vineyards were subordinate to different estates and domains. These could be a part of administrative and economics units, such as temples or royal palaces (Spencer 1984: 4). These administrative units are said to belong to a god or a king. In some cases even royal women are connected to estates (*pr*) as are officials, if more seldom.

The word *hwt* (temple / domain) came into use as a general term during the Early Dynastic Period. The term appears to have referred to major estates that supported royal funerary cults (Spencer 1984: 21-23). The term *t3 hwt* was used in the New Kingdom for the royal funerary temples that lined the West Bank at Thebes. The institution *t3 hwt n hh m rnpt* (the Temple of Millions of Years) referred in most cases to the royal funerary temples at Thebes but could also be used for all temples that supported the cult of the deceased king (Spencer 1984: 7, 25-26). Spiegelberg (1923: 31) however identified *t3 hwt n hh m rnpt* specifically as the Ramesseum, but this limited interpretation seems to have been abandoned.

The term *pr* (estate) began to be used in the Early Dynastic Period and by the Old Kingdom had come into common usage. “Estate” could on one hand describe a property that belonged to the king, a royal woman or an official, but on the other, it could also be used for an administrative unit belonging to a temple, as well as the building itself, the “house”. The *pr* in its larger meaning could possess land and property under the administrative control of an individual (Spencer 1984: 14-16, Häggman 2002: 54). The word *pr* could also be used, in its sense of “house” to describe the royal palace, as the house of the king (*pr nsw*). All estates could furthermore be subordinated to the Great House (*pr-3*), a term that connotes the totality of the royal administration. Within the divine sphere, the word *pr* was used as a synonym for the temple designation *hwt ntr* (the House / Palace / Domain of the god). With a large degree of overlapping in meaning, it can often be difficult to identify the most appropriate translation of the word *pr* in a text (Spencer 1984: 17, Bleiberg 1996: 18-19, Häggman 2002: 55, 79).

Amarna - Divine Institutions

Aton

<i>t3 hwt p3 itn</i>	The Domain of Aton (6)	Am 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 201
<i>pr itn</i>	Estate of Aton (34)	Am 18, 19, 23, 27, 28, 38, 39, 40, 43, 83, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 109, 110, 112, 114, 208
<i>pr nḥ-itn</i>	Estate of the Living Aton (13)	Am 29, 30, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 128, 129, 131, 133
<i>pr itn th</i>	Estate of the Aton's Gleaming (1)	Am 206
<i>pr ḥi n p3 itn</i>	Estate of Rejoicing for the Aton (1)	Am 118
<i>pr shṭp-itn</i>	Estate of the Sehetep-Aton (6)	Am 21, 22, 139, 140, 141, 142

Re

<i>pr r^c</i>	Estate of Re (1)	Am 13
<i>pr nḥ-r^c</i>	Estate of the Living Re (1)	Am 127
<i>pr r^c-ḥr-3ḥty</i>	Estate of Re-Horakhty (4)	Am 37, 71, 72, 73
<i>pr shṭp-r^c</i>	Estate of Sehetep-Re (1)	Am 5
<i>t3 šwt nḥ-r^c</i>	šwt-chapel of the Living Re (2)	Am 136, 137
<i>t3 šwt</i>	šwt-chapel (2)	Am 135, 138

Amun

<i>pr imn m w3st</i>	Estate of Amun in Thebes (1)	Am 168
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Institutions (*hwt* and *pr*) are divided among gods, kings, royal women and officials in the material from Amarna (cf. below). There are also cases where *hwt* and *pr* appear without any further attribution.

In Amarna *pr* dominates as a designation for an institution, probably because the large Aton temple was called the Estate of Aton (*pr itn*) (Pendlebury 1935: 70). Evidence

of *hwt* only appears on nine labels. On four wine jar labels the institution *t3 šwt* (*šwt*-chapel) is mentioned.

Institutions that were connected with the god Aton are well represented in this material. Of the six institution names, Estate of Aton (*pr itn*) is the one found most frequently. There are six labels that read ‘the Temple of the Aton’ (*t3 hwt p3 itn*), possibly a reference to the small temple in Amarna (Pendlebury 1951: 92). The institution Estate of Rejoicing for the Aton (*pr h^ci n p3 itn*) is mentioned on one label and is a part of the large Aton temple, located just beyond the temple’s entrance (Pendlebury 1951: Pl. I). This label was found in the sanctuary of the Aton temple, not far from the area of the *pr h^ci n p3 itn*.

There are five labels that include the name of the god Re. The *šwt* –chapel had a direct connection to the god Re and is known from the New Kingdom (cf. e.g. Stadelmann 1969: 159). In P. Wilbur I (Gardiner 1948c: 16) there is a *šwt*-chapel of Re-Horakhty (*šwt-r^c-hr-3hty*) which owned and cultivated land with its own administration and priesthood. In Amarna some of these chapels were connected to the royal women: Teye, Meritaten and probably also Nefertiti, Kia and Ankhesenpaaten (Spencer 1984: 120-125).

One temple (*pr*) with the name *itn th* (Aton’s Gleaming) is mentioned both in the material from Amarna and Deir el-Medina (see below) but is missing in the material from Tutankhamun’s tomb.

Amarna - Royal institutions

<i>t3 hwt ^c3-hpr-k3-r^c</i>	The domain of Aakheperkare (Thutmose I) (1)	Am 10
<i>t3 hwt nb-[m3^ct]-r^c</i>	The domain of Nebmaatre (Amenhotep III) (2)	Am 47, 48
<i>pr nb-m3^ct-r^c</i>	Estate of Nebmaatre (4)	Am 4, 7, 44, 45
<i>pr nsw 3h-n-itn</i>	King’s House of Akhenaton (1)	Am 55
<i>pr 3h-n-itn</i>	Estate of Akhenaton (4)	Am 8, 50, 51, 54
<i>pr ^cnh-hprw-r^c</i>	Estate of Ankhkheperure (1)	Am 64
<i>pr smnh-k3-r^c</i>	Estate of Smenkhkare (1)	Am 63
<i>pr nsw bit [...]</i>	Estate of the King of UL Egypt (1)	Am 62
<i>pr nsw [...]</i>	King’s House [...] (1)	Am 59

hwt (temple / domain) appears in combination with royal names on three wine jar labels in Amarna. On one wine jar label the domain belongs to Thutmosis I (1504-1492 B.C.) and on the two others Amenhotep III (1390-1352 B.C.) is mentioned. On 11 wine jar labels the institution term *pr* (estate) is used in combination with a royal name. In this group Amenhotep III is mentioned on four labels, Akhenaton's name (1352-1336 B.C.) is on five of the labels and Smenkhkare (1338-1336 B.C.) on two.

Amarna - Institutions of the royal women

<i>pr tiy</i>	Estate of Teye (2)	Am 14, 54
<i>pr s3t nsw b3k-[itn]</i>	Estate of the daughter of the king Baketaten (1)	Am 70
<i>pr nfr-nfrw-iti-itn</i>	Estate of Neferneferu-iti-Aton (2)	Am 56, 57
<i>pr hmt nsw</i>	Estate of the wife of the king (1)	Am 36
<i>pr s3t nsw mryt-[itn]</i>	Estate of the daughter of the king Meritaten (2)	Am 67, 68
<i>pr s3t nsw mkt-itn</i>	Estate of the daughter of the king Meketaten (1)	Am 65

A number of royal women have their own “estates”. The king's daughters are identified with the title *s3t nsw* and three cases, the title “wife of the king” (*hmt nsw*) is treated like a name and put in a cartouche (Am 11, 36, 61). The women identified by name are well known. Teye was the wife of Amenhotep III and mother of Akhenaton (Troy 1986: 166; Shaw 2000: 261) and Baketaten was daughter of Amenhotep III and Teye (Fairman 1951: 164; Troy 1986: 166). In this material, Nefertiti, referred to as Neferneferu-Aton, and was the wife of Akhenaton (Troy 1986: 167). Meritaten and Meketaten were the daughters of Akhenaton and Nefertiti (Troy 1986: 167). On one label (Am 69) Ankhesenpaaten (*s3t nsw nh-sn-p3-itn*) is also named, she was daughter of Akhenaton and Nefertiti and wife of Tutankhamun (Troy 1986: 167). Unfortunately no reference to an institution designation in front of the title and name has survived.

The number of labels in this group is small and the term *hwt* (temple / domain) does not appear in combination with female names. However, there is one label (Am 54) that has the Estate of Akhenaton (*pr 3h-n-itn*) in line 1 and the Estate of Teye (*pr tiy*) in line 2. No further information is given however, a possible interpretation could be that the first reference was to the place for production and the second to the recipient of the jar. Another possibility is that the Estate of Akhenaton was the main institute of which the Estate of Teye was a part.

Amarna - Institutions of priests and officials

<i>pr wr m3w</i>	Estate of the Great Seer (7)	Am 6, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 207
<i>pr imy-r htm</i>	Estate of the Overseer of the Seal (1)	Am 150
<i>pr imy-r</i>	Estate of the Overseer (1)	Am 149

A group of nine wine jar labels documents a small number of officials, connected in some way to Amarna, with the institution designation *pr* (estate), but without any personal names. Seven of these include the priest title *wr m3w* (Great Seer), a reference to the high priest of the cult of Aton, while one wine jar label reads *imy-r htm* (Overseer of the Seal) and another only *imy-r* (Overseer).

Amarna – miscellaneous institutions

<i>pr h^c-m-w3st</i>	Estate of the One who Appears in Thebes (1)	Am 9
<i>pr h^c=f</i>	Estate of His Appearance (1)	Am 143
<i>pr w3t-inr-sw</i>	Estate of <i>w3t-inr-sw</i> (1)	Am 198
<i>pr [...]</i>	Estate [...] (7)	Am 32, 41, 89, 188, 190, 191, 194
<i>t3 hwt [...]</i>	The domain [...] (3)	Am 80, 82, 187

On some wine jar labels in the Amarna material the institution designation *pr* (estate) is used without specific names. One label has the Estate of the One who Appears in Thebes (*pr h^c-m-w3st*), another reads the Estate of His Appearance (*pr h^c=f*) and finally there is one label where translation is not possible: *pr w3t-inr-sw* (Estate of *w3t-inr-sw*).

There is also one group of wine jar labels where the terms *hwt* and *pr* occur but the text is damaged so it is impossible to discern which institutions may have been intended. Three of the damaged wine jar labels refer to an institution *t3 hwt [...]* (domain [...]) and seven mention the institution *pr [...]* (estate [...]). No additional information can be read.

Sixteen labels in the Amarna material identified classified wines. These were not connected to any specific institution, leaving the question of whether one delivered better wine than another unanswered.

Tutankhamun's tomb (KV 62)

Divine and royal institutions

<i>pr itn</i>	Estate of Aton (15)	Tut 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 18, 20, 21
<i>pr twt-^ḥimn</i>	Estate of Tutankhamun (2)	Tut 4, 15
<i>pr twt-^ḥimn ḥk3- iwn-šm^ḥw</i>	Estate of Tutankhamun, Ruler of Southern Heliopolis (5)	Tut 14, 16, 17, 19, 23

The institution designation *pr* (estate) was the only one in use in the material from Tutankhamun's tomb. It is found in combination with the god Aton's name on 15 wine jar labels and with Tutankhamun's own on seven labels.

Distributed according to wine with a quality classification, *pr itn* (Estate of Aton) is associated with eight unclassified *irp*-wines, four *irp ndm* (sweet wine) and three *šdh nfr nfr* (very good shedeh-wine) while *pr twt-^ḥimn* (Estate of Tutankhamun) is, in contrast, only connected with seven unclassified *irp*-wines. The occurrence of the Estate of Aton also presents an interesting chronological issue because the name Tutankhamun refers to a time when the Aton cult was largely abandoned.

Deir el-Medina – Divine institutions

<i>pr imn</i>	Estate of Amun (19)	DeM 5, 15, 21, 31, 50, 60, 69, 70, 82, 84, 138, 146, 147, 162, 165, 168, 178, 188, 193
<i>pr imn-r^ḥ</i>	Estate of Amun-Re (4)	DeM 59, 91, 197, 204
<i>pr itn th</i>	Estate of Aton's Gleaming (2)	DeM 67, 68
<i>pr pn m p3 mw n pth</i>	This Estate at the Water of Ptah (1)	DeM 45
<i>pr mntw</i>	Estate of Montu (1)	DeM 17
<i>pr hwt-ḥr</i>	Estate of Hathor (2)	DeM 24, 25
<i>pr ḥnsw</i>	Estate of Khonsu (1)	DeM 4
<i>hwt ntr</i>	Temple (1)	DeM 198

The material from Deir el-Medina exhibits richer and somewhat different combinations. The institution designations are limited to *hwt* (temple / domain) and *pr* (estate). The institution designation *hwt* (temple / domain) appears in combination with a king's name but not with the name of a god. The term *hwt* only occurs combined with the word *ntr*, "god", giving the generic term for temple *hwt-ntr*.

Twenty-nine wine jar labels in the Deir el-Medina material use the institution designation *pr* (estate) in combination with a name of a god. On 19 labels Amun's name is found and on four, Amun-Re. There are two wine jar labels with references to *pr itn th* (Estate of Aton's Gleaming) but these two date to the reign of Amenhotep III. Furthermore, the name of this institution is on line 2 of the label text which may indicate a different status for the institution, such as the destination of the wine rather than the owner of a vineyard.

Deir el-Medina – Royal institutions

Thutmosis III

pr mn-hpr-r^c Estate of Menkheperre (2) DeM 49, 193

Amenhotep III

t3 hwt nb-m3^ct-r^c The Domain of Nebmaatre (2) DeM 68, 117

pr nb-m3^ct-re Estate of Nebmaatre (1) DeM 67

Aye

t3 hwt hpr-hprw-r^c-[...] The Domain of Kheperkheperure (1) DeM 111

Horemheb

t3 hwt dsr-hprw-r^c-stp-n-r^c The Domain of Djoserkheperure-Setepenre (3) DeM 7, 51, 108

pr dsr-hprw-r^c-stp-n-r^c Estate of Djoserkheperure-Setepenre (7) DeM 6, 11, 54, 55, 56, 57, 115

Seti I

t3 hwt mn-m3^ct-r^c The Domain of Menmaatre (1) DeM 206

*t3 hwt nt hh m rnpt nsw
bit mn-m3^ct-r^c* The Temple of Millions of Years of the King of UL Egypt Menmaatre (1) DeM 23

pr mn-m3^ct-r^c Estate of Menmaatre (1) DeM 161

pr sty-[mr-n]-pth Estate of Sety-Merenptah's (1) DeM 131

[...] mn-[m3^ct]-r^c [...] Men[maat]re (2) DeM 62, 95

Ramses II

t3 hwt wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c The Domain of Usermaatre-Setepenre (8) DeM 12 (*nty m pr wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c*), 20, 21, 39, 58, 66, 106, 187

t3 hwt nt hh m rnpt nsw bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c The Temple of Millions of Years of the King of UL Egypt Usermaatre-Setepenre (6) DeM 3, 5, 10, 41, 120, 128

Merenptah

[...] *hh rnpt nsw bit b3-n-r^c-mr-imm* [The Temple of] Millions of Years of the King of UL Egypt Baenre-Meryamun (1) DeM 50

Ramses III

t3 hwt nsw bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c-mr-imm The Domain of the King of UL Egypt Usermaatre-Meryamun (1) DeM 136

t3 hwt nt hh m rnpt nsw bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c-mr-imm The Temple of Millions of Years of the King of UL Egypt Usermaatre-Meryamun (1) DeM 184

Ramses IV

t3 hwt nt hh m rnpt n nsw bit hk3-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-imm The Temple of Millions of Years of the King of UL Egypt Hekamaatre-Setepenre (1) DeM 30 (*nty m n3y n r^c-ms-sw-mr-imm*)

Ramses VI (?)

pr nb-m3^ct-r^c-imm-... Estate of Nebmaatre-[Mery]amun (1) DeM 102

Amenhotep ?

pr imm-htp Estate of Amenhotep (2) DeM 53, 65

Unknown Ramesside king

t3 hwt nsw r^c-[...] The Domain of the king Ra-[...] (1) DeM 196

pr r^c-ms-... Estate of Ramse[s] [...] (5) DeM 90, 167, 180, 191, 200

Merytamun

*pr s3t nsw hmt nsw mryt-
imn* Estate of the daughter and wife of the king Merytamun (1) DeM 75

Unknown

*p3 k3mw n s3t nsw r'-ms-
sw-p-...* The vineyard of the daughter of the king Ramsesup-... (1) DeM 76

Children of the King (*msw nsw*)

pr n3 ms nsw Estate of the children of the king (1) DeM 137

Unnamed

t3 hwt nt hh m rnpt [...] The Temple of Millions of Years [...] DeM 8, 15, 47, 60, 103, 105, 127, 174, 179
t3 hwt [...] Domain [...] (7) DeM 13, 35, 44, 61, 84, 87, 134
pr [...] Estate [...] (4) DeM 160, 170, 171, 173

The combination of *hwt* (temple / domain) and a king's name is found on 17 wine jar labels from Deir el-Medina. On eight of these wine jar labels the name of Ramses II appears, on three wine jar labels Horemheb occurs, two wine jar labels have Amenhotep III and on one label each, the names of the kings Seti I, Ramses III, and Aye appear. Finally there is one wine jar label where the king's name is damaged so it is impossible to identify which Ramesside king it is. There is also one wine jar label that has *hwt* (temple / domain) on the first line and *pr* (estate) on the second line (DeM 12) and has the complete prenomen of Ramses II, Usermaatse-Setepenre. Two women are found as owners of domains: Merytamun, daughter and wife of Ramses II (Troy 1986: 170) and a damaged and unidentified name reading Ramses[p]-[...].

On ten wine jar labels different royal names are combined with the institution *t3 hwt nt hh m rnpt* (Temple of Millions of Years), often connected to the royal funerary temples on the Theban west bank.

On 22 wine jar labels in the Deir el-Medina material a king's name appears in combination with the designation *pr* (estate). Horemheb's name is found on seven of these. Two wine jar labels have the name of Thutmose III and two Seti I. The names of Amenhotep III and Ramses IV are found on one label each. Two wine jar labels only have the name Amenhotep, although it is unknown to which king this refers, one possibility is that this is a reference to the deified Amenhotep I. One wine jar label reads

‘Estate of the royal daughter and wife Merytamun’ and one refers to the Estate of the Children of the King. Finally, there are five wine jar labels where unknown Ramesside kings are mentioned but where the texts are too damaged to identify which ones are named.

In this group, as in the two others, there are a number of wine jar labels where the texts are damaged at the place where an institution designation would have been found, so it is no longer possible to read the institution name. Nine wine jar labels name the institution *t3 hwt nt hh m rnpt* (the Temple of Millions of Years), seven of the damaged jar labels have the text “the domain [...]” *t3 hwt [...]* and four read *pr [...]* (estate [...]).

Also in this material, as in the material from Amarna, the majority of the wine jars contained unclassified *irp*-wine. Only five classified wines are associated with a royal institution. Of these, three are classified as *irp nfr* (good wine), one as *irp nfr nfr* (very good wine) and finally one has the classification *irp ndm* (sweet wine). These classified wines were distributed among different institutions and therefore it is not possible to determine if one institution delivered better wine than another.

The occurrence of the institution designation on the second line of the wine jar label is problematic given that an institution designation is in most cases found on the first line. In these cases it should be considered whether this is a reference to the destination of the wine jar rather than the place of production.

In (?) the Estate of Amun - *m pr imn*

Estate of Menkheperre (1)	DeM 193
Seti-Merenptah (1)	DeM 188
Domain of Usermaatre (1)	DeM 21
Usermaatre-Setepenre (1)	DeM 162
Usermaatre’s House of Millions of years (3)	DeM 5, 15, 60
Merenptah’s House of Millions of years (1)	DeM 50

Among the institutions found in the material from Deir el-Medina is the Estate of Amun (*pr imn*). This designation was used both for the main temple and for several royal funerary temples on Thebes’ west bank. These temples were included in the larger administrative unit also called the Estate of Amun (*pr imn*) which was controlled by the high priest of Amun. The smaller estates or domains were probably independent to some extent but also attached to the main Karnak temple (Eyre 1980: 127; Kemp 1989: 203,

fig. 71; Haring 1997: 30-34; Häggman 2002: 135-136, n. 906¹⁷). Kemp (1989: 203) says that this term could designate an area extending on both the east and west banks, including Karnak. The actual location of the Estate of Amun remains uncertain.

4.3.3 Place names

A variety of place names are found on a large number of the wine jar labels. These are found on the first or second line of the texts. The place name can be moved down and be replaced by the name of an institution, otherwise found on the second line.

The most frequently occurring place for wine production in all three groups of sources is *itr imnt* (Western River) without any specification of where the vineyard could have been placed. The Western River was the name of one of the larger branches in the Western Delta (Hannig 1995: Map 2-3). All together 99 of 444 wine jar labels refer to this place as the source of the wine. They are divided up among the source groups as shown in the table below.

The Western River (*itr imnt*)

	Number	% of the material
Amarna (209)	54	25,8 %
Tutankhamun's tomb (KV 62) (26)	21	80,7 %
Deir el-Medina (209)	24	11,4%

In the material from Amarna, only *irp*-wine is combined with the Western River, but no *šdh*-wine. Both *irp*- and *šdh*-wines found in Tutankhamun's tomb were said to come from *itr imnt*. In the Deir el-Medina material, that lacked reference to *šdh*-wines, *irp*-wines have an *itr imnt* origin.

Deir el-Medina - The Delta branches of the Nile

<i>p3 mw n imn</i>	The Water of Amun (1)	DeM 129
<i>itr ʕ3</i>	Great River (4)	DeM 39, 58 (<i>spt itr ʕ3</i>), 74 (<i>n ḥmt nsw</i>), 98
<i>k3 n kmt</i>	Ka of Egypt (2)	DeM 1, 19
[...] <i>kmt</i>	[...] Egypt (1)	DeM 87
<i>itr k3</i>	River of the Ka (5)	DeM 23, 64, 88, 125, 203
<i>mw n pth</i>	Water of Ptah (2)	DeM 45, 49

¹⁷ Cf. Eyre 1980: 127.

<i>p3 ntr m p3 mw n prc</i>	The God of the Water of Pre	DeM 12, 13, 14 (3)
<i>p3 mw n p[3] rc</i>	The Water of Pre (3)	DeM 20, 21, 141
<i>spt ptr itr</i>	Shore of the <i>ptr</i> -river (4)	DeM 30, 47, 76, 104
<i>k^h itm</i>	River Bend of Atum (2)	DeM 10, 118

The material from Deir el-Medina refers to several production places that are not found in that from Amarna and Tutankhamun's tomb. References are found to the Water of Amun, Ptah and Pre, representing Delta branches of the Nile. It would appear that several vineyards were established at different places in the Delta after the Amarna Period.

The river branch called *p3 mw n imn* (The Water of Amun) flowed in the northeast of the Delta. This branch separates from *itr 3* (Great River) north of Busiris, where The Water of Amun bends to the northeast and the Great River continues to the north (Bietak 1975: 120-121, Abb. 23; Gardiner 1947: 132-133; Hannig 1995: Maps 3-4). In the material from Deir el-Medina there are one wine jar label that reads *p3 mw n imn* and four wine jar labels with *itr 3* (cf. table above).

A branch of the Western River called Ka of Egypt or The River of the Ka is also found. It is located in the western Delta (Hannig 1995: Map 2). In the Deir el-Medina material there are two wine jar labels with the formulation *k3 n km[t]* (Ka of Egypt), five wine jar labels have *itr k3* (River of the Ka) and on one label, due to damaged areas, only *kmt* (Egypt) remains (cf. table above). Poo (1995: 16) assumed that the river *itr k3* was located near to Sais in the western Delta, close to the branch *mw n pth* (Water of Ptah, cf. Bietak 1975: 120-121, Abb. 23). Poo (1995: 16) also observes that *itr k3* is often found in connection with *mr w3st* (Beloved of Thebes) and says that it could indicate that *mr w3st* was the vineyard's name and that it was located to the west of "The River of the Ka" (cf. Spiegelberg 1923: 30-31). The combination of *itr k3* and *mr w3st* is only found on one wine jar label and it is from Deir el-Medina (DeM 64).

The branch which was called Water of Ptah flowed in the northwest of the Delta, north of the Western River and running out into the Mediterranean through the village Rosetta (Bietak 1975: 120-121, Abb. 23; Hannig 1995: Map 2). Two wine jar labels from Deir el-Medina describe the wine from this place. One of the two references is distinct while the other is damaged and therefore the reading *mw n pth* is uncertain. On this label the name Ptah does not immediately follow after *mw n*, but occurs on the next line. But still, this wine jar label has been added to the group because both "water" and "Ptah" occur in the text.

A branch called *p3 mw n pr^c* (The Water of Pre) is found on six wine jar labels from Deir el-Medina. This branch flows in the southeast part of the Delta, south of Pi-Ramses and north of the village Tjaru/Sile (Bietak 1975: 120-121, Abb. 23; Hannig 1995: Maps 4 and 7). On three labels, the text reads *p3 ntr p3 mw n pr^c* (the God of the Water of Pre) where *p3 ntr* (the god) has been added. A branch with that name has not been found on the maps (Hannig 1995: Map 7), where only *p3 mw n pr^c* (The Water of Pre) is mentioned, as is written on the other three wine jar labels.

Another area that is found on four wine jar labels from Deir el-Medina was *spt ptr itr* (Shore of the *ptr*-river) which could have been a river branch or a canal situated close to Pi-Ramses and branching off to The Water of Pre (*p3 mw n pr^c*, Bietak 1975: 202, Abb. 44; Gardiner 1918: 188).

Another district named on the labels is *k^h itm* (River Bend of Atum), found on two wine jar labels. Efforts to locate this place have not been successful. Perhaps the name refers to a small part of a river branch in the Delta. In the eastern Delta a place near to one river branch is called *pr itm* (Estate of Atum). A vineyard could have been located along this branch (Hannig 1995: Map 4). This is however an uncertain hypothesis. The translation of *k^h* as “river bend” is based on the Faulkner’s reading “bend of stream” (Faulkner 1962: 276).

One wine jar label reads *m pr imn nty m p3 itr n wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c* [...] (from Amun’s house which is at the river of Usermaatre-Setepenre [...]) (DeM 60). The river Usermaatre-Setepenre cannot be exactly located. It may be a branch of the Nile or the entire river. What can be observed is that *pr imn* is said to be near the river, which could point to the previously discussed *n3y imn* (cf. above).

Fayum district and the oases

<i>mr-tm</i>	Meidum (6)	DeM 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37
<i>wh3t rsyt</i>	Southern Oasis (reconstruction) (4)	Am 40, 99, 152, 154
<i>s3 wh3t</i>	Dakhla Oasis (1)	Am 79
[...] [<i>t3</i>]- <i>ihw</i>	Farafra Oasis (1)	Am 32
<i>wh3t</i>	Oasis (1)	Am 92

In the material from Deir el-Medina, *mr-tm* (Meidum) is found on six wine jar labels. This area may have been the in the vicinity of the necropolis area associated with that name today, east of the Fayum Oasis, between the oasis and the Nile (Hannig 1995: 1346). Meidum does not occur in the material from Amarna. Meidum may have been a production site that was established after the Amarna period.

Several oases from the Western Desert are mentioned in the Amarna material. They are referred to both specifically by name or with the generic term *wh3t* (oasis; Giddy 1987: 39, 77-80). Southern Oasis (*wh3t rsyt*) may have referred to the Kharga Oasis but there is some doubt about this interpretation (Giddy 1987: 39, 77-80, 97, 164). The oasis which is specifically mentioned is *s3 wh3t* (Dakhla Oasis; Fairman 1951: 166; cf. Giddy 1987: 166) and *t3-ihw* (Farafra oasis; Giddy 1987: 47, 97, 164). Only six wine jar labels have these different oases as the place of its origin.

In the Deir el-Medina material, only Meidum is given as an Oasis wine source. No oasis is found in the material from Tutankhamun's tomb.

Memphis and villages in the Delta

<i>mn-nfr</i>	Memphis (3)	Am 31, 39, 155
<i>t3rw</i>	Tjaru (8)	Am 151; Tut 8; DeM 27, 28, 29, 96, 126, 183
<i>pr hbyt</i>	Behbeit el-Hagar (1)	Am 208

Three wine jar labels from Amarna have a reference to *mn-nfr* (Memphis) that probably concerns vineyards in the region (Fairman 1951: 166). Memphis is not mentioned on any of the labels from Tutankhamun's tomb and Deir el-Medina.

The village *t3rw* (Tjaru, also read *t3l* / Tjal), is included all three groups of material: Amarna, Tutankhamun's tomb and Deir el-Medina. The location of the village has been identified as an area in the eastern Delta close to Sile / el-Kantara, possibly near to the border alongside Sinai (Gardiner 1947: 132-133; *Wb* V: 355, cf. Hannig 1995: Map 5). In the labels from Amarna and Tutankhamun's tomb, Tjaru is found on one wine jar label from each site, while in the material from Deir el-Medina the village is mentioned on six wine jar labels.

On one wine jar label from Amarna *pr hbyt* (Behbeit el-Hagar) is mentioned. This site is located in the central Delta, slightly northeast of the river branches *itr* 3 (Great River) and *p3 mw n imn* (Amun's Water; Habachi 1975: 682-683, Map 1b; Gardiner 1947: 132-133; Hannig 1995: Map 3, cf. Fairman 1951: 166). It is best known as the site of a Ptolemaic temple.

Heliopolis

<i>iwnw</i>	Heliopolis (5)	DeM 17, 24, 25, 130, 186
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Five wine jar labels include references to *iwnw* (Heliopolis). One of these probably refers to Heliopolis as the production site of the wine (DeM 186) but damage makes this

interpretation uncertain. Two wine jar labels refer to Hathor as the Mistress of Heliopolis (DeM 24, 25) and one refers to Montu as the Ruler of Heliopolis (DeM 17). Montu was a warrior god in a falcon form with a residence in the area of Thebes (Morenz 1992: 265). Hathor is connected to Dendera (Morenz 1992: 89) and a Hathor cult existed in Thebes as early as the 11th dynasty (Allam 1963: 58-59), suggesting that these two references to *iwnw* may relate to Thebes as the ‘Southern Heliopolis’.

Unknown locations

A wine production site called *k3rt/k3yt* (Am 195, Tut 12, DeM 43, Hannig 1995: 1391, *DLE* IV: 2) is found on three wine jar labels, one each from the three groups of material. The one from Amarna has the writing *k3yt*,  and that from Deir el-Medina *mr k3yt*; . It was only on the wine jar label from Tutankhamun’s tomb where it could be clearly read *k3rt*, . Černý (1965: 4) has suggested that it referred to a place in the eastern Delta, close to Palestine, based on proposed etymological similarities with Palestinian place names related to a Semitic word for “garden”. This conclusion was based on the close connection between the Egyptians and Palestinians in the area (Černý 1965: 4). Hoch (1994: 303) however, says that the word in Semitic means “town, city”.

Another place, from which the wine was said to come, is *hpšyt* –  (Khephshyt, DeM 205) but it is uncertain where it is located. Bei er-Rizeiqat as a location (Hannig 1995: 1374) is doubtful.

Some of the place names found in the material are not otherwise documented (cf. e.g. Gauthier 1926, Gardiner 1947, Faulkner 1962, Hoch 1994, Hannig 1995: *DEL* I-IV, *Wb* I-V). These places are: *siny*  (DeM 38), *rbnt* (?)  (DeM 42) and *itr mr*  (DeM 124). All three labels were on vessels containing *irp*-wine. From *siny* came an *irp*-wine with the classification *nfr* (good). The place name *rbnt* is found in the description “in the western *rbnt* at the river”. An *irp*-wine classified as *nfr nfr* (very good) comes from *itr mr*, a place that could have been located along any of the Nile branches in the Delta.

Finally, one *irp*-wine is said to come from *n 3mw n p3sšy* (of the Asiatics of *p3sšy*)  (DeM 18), with *p3sšy* being unknown. Perhaps the wine was given as a tribute to the King.

4.3.3.1 *k3b-šwt* (?)

In the second line on two, perhaps three, wine jar labels the expression *k3b-šwt* occurs associated with the phrase *h3yt nfrt* (merry-making (?)). This expression is not found in any other context and less research appears to have been devoted to it than to the phrase *h3yt nfrt*. Černý (Notebook MSS 1.191) transcribed the phrase *k3b-šwt*  found on a wine jar label from the excavation of Amenhotep, son of Hapu's temple. Černý only notes that it is not to be found in Ranke's *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* (1935), indicating that he regarded the phrase as a personal name.

Fairman (1951: 163) discussed the phrase *k3b-šwt*  and says that it came from Černý's notebook. If so, he altered one sign and added the ending *niwt*-sign (town)  after the phrase *k3b-šwt*. In addition, he did not see as many signs as Černý. From Deir el-Medina the phrase *k3b-šwt* is transcribed as  (DeM 72). In the hieratic text, next to the striated area on the second line, a dot is visible which could be interpreted as a seated man . Koenig however, only published the hieratic sign, without a hieroglyphic transcription. Furthermore, Koenig has placed the sign for sun  in the end of the second line instead of a *niwt*-sign . The two signs  and  are written similarly in hieratic and can therefore be difficult to distinguish. The seated man often occurs as a determinative for personal names so it can be questioned if *k3b-šwt* is a place name, a personal name or something else.

4.4 Names and titles of officials

There are numerous officials identified with name and title in the material. Several names from the wine jar labels from Amarna and Tutankhamun's tomb are similar. The names from the wine jar labels from Deir el-Medina do not however coincide.

Divine and royal names and titles are commonly found in the first line of the text while those of officials were frequently written on the second line, in a hierarchy parallel to that of ancient Egyptian society.

4.4.1 Responsible officials

Several titles are recorded in the three groups of material. The labels sometime refer to both a superior and a subordinate. Most officials only held one title but some had two.

An interesting feature of the titles is the variety of writings of the word *k3mw* (vineyard) when included in the title *hry k3mw* (Vineyard Supervisor). It is found as *k3mw*, *k3my*, *k3myt*, *k3myw*, *k3mwy*, *k3mwyw* and *k3mwyt*. This variation is found in all three groups of material. Er-Raziq (1979: 236-239) investigated whether the different endings reflected a form of hierarchy, so that *hry k3mw* was the vineyard supervisor and its

workmen while e.g. *hry k3myw* might be the supervisor of several vineyards and their workmen. The possibility of dialect variation has also been discussed (Brunner 1944: 34, er-Raziq 1979: 239-241). In the table below the title is only presented in the form of *hry k3mw* irrespective the spelling on the wine jar labels, since there is no evidence that the variations entailed differences in meaning. In the catalogue, however, the word *k3mw* has been transliterated according to the way it occurs on the individual label.

Amarna – Officials and their titles

Vineyard supervisor - *hry k3mw*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>3ny</i>	Am 115	-	-
<i>ʕ3-y</i>	Am 35	-	<i>itr imnt</i>
<i>ʕnn-n-f</i>	Am 118	-	<i>pr hʕi n p3 itn [...]</i>
<i>ityr[i]</i>	Am 132	-	<i>[itr imnt]</i>
<i>iwny [...]</i>	Am 23	-	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>ip[i]</i>	Am 164	-	-
<i>ipy [...]</i>	Am 178	-	-
<i>ipwy</i>	Am 141	-	<i>pr shtp-itn</i>
<i>imn- [...]</i>	Am 209	-	-
<i>iny</i>	Am 51	Year 14	<i>pr 3h-n-itn</i>
<i>iny</i>	Am 131	-	<i>pr ʕnh-itn</i>
<i>itn-ipt</i>	Am 81	-	-
<i>wh3h-htri-rrnpt-hw [...]</i>	Am 95	Year 7	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>b3kw- [...]</i>	Am 9	-	<i>pr hʕ m w3st</i>
<i>p3- [...]</i>	Am 72	Year 4	<i>pr rʕ-hr-3hty</i>
<i>p3- [...]</i>	Am 125	Year 10	<i>pr ʕnh-itn</i>
<i>p3- [...]</i>	Am 133	-	<i>pr ʕnh-i[i]n</i>
<i>p3-idb [...]</i>	Am 21	-	<i>pr shtp itn</i>
<i>p3-nhm-niwt</i>	Am 107	-	<i>t3 whyt</i>
<i>p3-itn-m-nht</i>	Am 145	Year 12	<i>pr wr-m3w</i>
<i>p3-hw</i>	Am 113	-	-
<i>p3-šd</i>	Am 206	Year 9	<i>pr itn th</i>
<i>pn- [...]-yt [...]</i>	Am 65	Year 13	<i>[pr] s3t nsw mkt-itn [...]</i>
<i>mʕ-t3ty</i>	Am 88	Year 5	<i>pr i[i]n</i>
<i>mry [...]</i>	Am 61	-	<i>[pr] hmt [nsw] ʕnh.ti nty m 3ht-i[tn]</i>

<i>n3-hy</i>	Am 97	Year 9	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>ni3t-t3y</i>	Am 92	Year x+6	<i>pr itn hr wh3t</i>
<i>nb-mhyt</i>	Am 26	-	-
<i>nb-nht</i> [...]	Am 71	Year x+[2]	<i>pr r^c-[hr]-[...]</i>
<i>nfr</i> -[...]	Am 53	-	[...] <i>3h-n-[itn]</i>
<i>nfr-htp</i> [...]	Am 42	-	<i>t3</i> [...] <i>p3 itn</i>
<i>nfr-shrw</i>	Am 109	-	<i>pr [i]tn</i>
<i>rw-[fy]</i> [...]	Am 83	Year 1	<i>pr [itn]</i>
[...] <i>rw-fy</i>	Am 84	-	<i>itr imnt</i>
<i>rw-fy</i>	Am 85	-	-
<i>rm^c</i> [...]	Am 94	Year 7	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>h3t3y</i> [...]	Am 179	-	-
<i>h3t-t3</i> [...]	Am 73	-	<i>pr r^c-hr-[3hty]</i> [...]
<i>h3t-ti</i>	Am 29	-	<i>pr ^cnh-itn</i>
<i>hwy</i>	Am 25	-	<i>itr imnt</i>
<i>hwy n t3</i> [<i>why</i>] [...]	Am 91	Year x+6	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>hwy</i> -[<i>nfr</i>]	Am 30	-	<i>pr ^cnh-itn n itr</i> [...]
<i>h^cy</i>	Am 41	Year 11	<i>pr tky</i> -[...]
<i>h3wt-hbr^c</i>	Am 181	-	-
<i>hr-tw</i>	Am 52	-	-
<i>sn-nfr</i>	Am 96	Year 8	<i>pr itn n</i> [...] [<i>i</i>] <i>tr imnt</i>
<i>sn-nfr</i> [...]	Am 100	Year 10	<i>pr itn</i> [...]
<i>sn-nfr</i>	Am 117	-	-
<i>sn-nfr</i>	Am 123	Year x+9	<i>pr ^cnh-itn n</i> [...] [<i>i</i>] <i>tr imnt</i>
<i>sn-nfr</i>	Am 204	Year 11	[<i>pr</i>] <i>^cnh-itn</i>
<i>sthi</i>	Am 5	Year 10	<i>pr shtp-r^c</i>
<i>s3-sw-n3</i>	Am 180	-	-
<i>kn-hr-hpš-f</i>	Am 177	-	[...] <i>imnt</i>
<i>t3y</i> -[...]	Am 134	-	[<i>^cnh</i>]- <i>itn</i>

b^ch (inundation, basin) Supervisor - *hry b^ch*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>3-y</i>	Am 38	-	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>iy</i>	Am 150	Year x+6	<i>pr imy-r htm</i> [...]
<i>iny</i> [...]	Am 67	Year x+5	<i>pr s3t nsw mryt</i> -[...][...] [<i>itr</i>] <i>imnt</i>
<i>bw</i> -[...]	Am 149	Year 1	<i>pr imy-r</i> [...]

<i>pn-b3</i> [...]	Am 66	-	[...] <i>s3t nsw mkt-itn</i>
<i>pt</i> [...]	Am 190	Year 16	-
[<i>m^c-hw</i>]	Am 171	Year 17	[<i>itr</i>] <i>imnt</i>
<i>mry</i> [...]	Am 191	Year 16	-
<i>mk</i>	Am 102	Year 14	<i>pr itn</i> [...] <i>itr imnt</i>
<i>nfr-rnpt</i>	Am 127	Year 14	<i>pr ^cn_h-r^c n itr imnt</i>
<i>nht</i>	Am 45	Year 17	<i>pr nb-m3^ct-r^c [...]</i>
<i>r-nbw-i</i> [...]	Am 80	-	-
<i>hwy</i> [...]	Am 192	-	-
<i>s3k3-i3</i> [...]	Am 63	Year 1	<i>pr smn_h-[k3]-r^c [m3^c hrw] [...] itr imnt</i>
[<i>kn</i>]- <i>n3</i>	Am 207	Year 14	<i>pr wr m3w m p3 hnm</i>
<i>titw^c</i>	Am 173	-	-
<i>ddy</i> [...]	Am 106	-	<i>pr itn</i>

Leader (?) of the *b^ch - 3 n b^ch*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
[...]	Am 36, 188	-	-

Supervisor - *hry*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>sn-nfr</i>	Am 183	Year 11	[...] [<i>itr</i>] <i>imnt</i>

Domain Inspector or Inspector - *rmnyt rwdw* or *rwd*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>hri</i>	Am 27	Year 9	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>hri</i>	Am 93	Year 7	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>hri</i> [...]	Am 98	Year 9	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>tw</i>	Am 28	Year 9	<i>pr itn</i>

Great Seer – *wr m3w*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>mry-r^c</i> [...]	Am 3	Year 16	-

[Overseer of the *hnr*-harim] – [*imy-r?* *hnr*]

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>sn-nfr</i>	Am 204	Year 11	[<i>pr</i>] <i>ʿnh-itn</i>

Overseer – *imy-r*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
[...]	Am 165	-	-

Royal Scribe - *sš nsw*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>iʿh-ms</i>	Am 156	-	-
<i>hwy-pn-ḥʿy</i>	Am 76	Year 12	[<i>t3 hwt</i>] <i>p3 itn</i>
<i>hwy-pn-ḥʿy</i>	Am 151	Year 14	<i>n t3rw</i>

Scribe - *sš*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>nb-mḥy</i> [...]	Am 197	Year 9	-

Guard - *s3w*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>nfr-rnpt</i>	Am 77	-	<i>t3 hwt p3 itn</i>

Names without a title

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
[...]- <i>3-rw</i>	Am 20	-	<i>shṭp-itn itr imnt</i>
<i>iwmḥst</i>	Am 147	-	<i>pr wr m3w</i>
<i>iwmḥst</i>	Am 148	-	<i>pr wr m3w</i>
<i>ipy</i>	Am 110	-	<i>pr itn</i> [...] [<i>hʿi</i>] <i>m w3st</i>
<i>iny</i>	Am 184	-	<i>p3 bʿh</i> [...]
<i>p3-ḥw</i>	Am 139	Year 1, month 1	<i>pr shṭp-itn itr imnt</i>
<i>p3-[ḥw]</i>	Am 140	-	<i>pr shṭp-itn</i> [...] <i>itr imnt</i>
<i>p3-ḥw</i>	Am 142	-	<i>pr shṭp-itn</i>
<i>pwy</i>	Am 166	-	-
<i>mʿy</i>	Am 108	-	-
<i>nb-imn</i>	Am 116	-	-
<i>nfr-rnpt</i>	Am 201	Year 7	<i>t3 hwt p3 itn</i>

<i>nny-hr</i>	Am 19	-	<i>pr itn</i> [...]
<i>nht-p3-itn</i>	Am 112	-	<i>pr it[n]</i> [...]
<i>r^c-[...]</i>	Am 59	Year 13	<i>pr nsw</i> [...] [...] <i>imntt</i>
<i>rw-fy</i>	Am 84	-	[...] [<i>it</i>]n n <i>itr imnt</i>
<i>h3ti-3y</i>	Am 174	-	-
<i>h3ti-3y</i>	Am 200	-	-
<i>sn-nfr</i>	Am 124	-	-
<i>twy</i>	Am 105	Year 16	[...] [<i>i</i>]tr <i>imnt</i>

Twelve different titles were found in the Amarna material: vineyard supervisor (*hry k3mw*, 53 labels), *b^ch* supervisor (*hry b^ch*, 17 labels), Leader? of the *b^ch* (*3 n b^ch*, 2 labels), supervisor (*hry*, 1 label), domain inspector or inspector (*rmnyt rwdw* or *rwd*, 4 labels), Great Seer (*wr m3w*, 1 label), Overseer of the *hnr*-harim (*imy[-r] hnr*, reconstructed, 1 label), Overseer (*imy-r*, 1 label) Royal Scribe (*sš nsw*, 3 labels), Scribe (*sš*, 1 label) and Guard (*s3w*, 1 label). In addition 20 labels were inscribed with personal names without their titles being preserved.

The most common title is *hry k3mw* followed by *hry b^ch*. The *hry b^ch* was also a vineyard official, similar to *hry k3mw*. Unfortunately, there is no satisfying translation of the word *b^ch* when it is incorporated in a title. The translation “the head of floodland” was suggested for *hry b^ch* in the database at the Petrie Museum. Lesko’s Late Egyptian Dictionary suggests “wine overseer (?)” (*DLE* II: 131).

A different determinative is used for *b^ch* when it was included into the title *hry b^ch* (*b^ch* Supervisor) than that found when the word referred to inundated or irrigated land (cf. Yoyotte 1957: 87, n. 5; Faulkner 1962: 81; *Wb* I: 450). When *b^ch* appears in the title it sometimes ends with □□ the *pr*-sign (Gardiner’s Sign List O1 cf. e.g. Am 150). When the word refers to floodland signs for water and canal are found  (cf. Gardiner’s Sign List N35ac, N36 and e.g. Am 187).

From Akhenaten’s Year 13 until the time of Smenkhkara, *hry b^ch* replaces *hry k3mw*, the otherwise most common title for the vineyard supervisor (Černý 1964: 38, Kemp 1985: 66). *hry k3mw* was however brought back during the reign of Smenkhkara and *hry b^ch* was no longer used.

A possible additional title, *3 n b^ch* (leader? of the *b^ch*) is found on two wine jar labels (Am 36, 188), as the only preserved information. It is uncertain whether it is correct to treat this phrase as a title.

The responsible official is identified by the preceding *m drt* (in the hand of, cf. Černý et al 1993: 121, 7.3.17v). This phrase may refer to the official who had the

authority to draft the text for the jars (Am 59, 101, 105, 139, 140). If this is the case, it is added evidence that the text was written on the jars before they left the vineyard.

Tutankhamuns tomb (KV 62) - Officials and their titles

Vineyard Supervisor - *ḥry k3mw*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>3ny</i>	Tut 6	Year 5	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>ḥpr-ršp</i>	Tut 1	Year 4	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>[p3]y</i> (alt [<i>ḥḥ</i>])	Tut 18	Year 9	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>p3-w3ḥ</i>	Tut 7	Year 5	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>pn-imm</i>	Tut 8	Year 5	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>mḥy</i>	Tut 19	Year 9	<i>pr twt-ḥnh-imm</i>
<i>nb-nfr</i>	Tut 20	Year 9	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>nn</i>	Tut 2	Year 4	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>nn</i>	Tut 3	Year 4	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>nni3</i>	Tut 9	Year 5	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>nḥt</i>	Tut 10	Year 5	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>nḥt-sbk</i>	Tut 11	Year 5	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>nḥt-sbk</i>	Tut 21	Year 9	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>rḥ-ms</i>	Tut 12	Year 5	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>rr</i>	Tut 13	Year 5	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>ḥḥ</i>	Tut 4	Year 4	<i>pr twt-ḥnh-imm</i>
<i>ḥḥy</i>	Tut 5	Year 4	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>ḥḥ</i>	Tut 14	Year 5	<i>pr twt-ḥnh-imm</i>
<i>ḥḥ</i>	Tut 15	Year 5	<i>pr twt-ḥnh-imm</i>
<i>ḥḥ</i>	Tut 16	Year 5	<i>pr twt-ḥnh-imm</i>
<i>ḥḥ</i>	Tut 17	Year 5	<i>pr twt-ḥnh-imm</i>
<i>sn-nfr</i>	Tut 22	Year 9	<i>pr itn</i>
<i>sn-nfr</i>	Tut 23	Year 9	<i>pr twt-ḥnh-imm</i>

Vizier - *t3ty*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>pntw</i>	Tut 26	-	-

Only two titles are found in the material from the tomb of Tutankhamun: *t3ty* (Vizier) and *ḥry k3mw* (Vineyard Supervisor). The most common title is *ḥry k3mw* which is found on 23 of the 26 wine jar labels. The title *t3ty* is only on one wine jar label. The title *ḥry bḥ*, popular during the reign of Akhenaton, does not occur.

The phrase *m drt* (in the hand of) turns up directly followed by the title *hry k3mw* (Tut 21). It is uncertain if the reading *m drt in* is correct. It was recorded by Gardiner when he, together with Carter, studied the wine jar (Carter no. 011-2, Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). When Černý later transcribed the phrase, it was as *m itr n* (from the river of), making the reading *m drt* uncertain (Černý 1965: 23). It seems that Černý did not read these signs as *m drt in*. The addition of *in*, rather than the more common, but still rare, *n* is also atypical.

For some reason Černý did not use Gardiner's reading (Černý 1965: 23). Gardiner's original reading *m drt in* is used here, because Černý's *m itr n* (from the river of) is unconvincing as there is no parallel in this corpus for this kind of reference to a river. Furthermore, Gardiner had the opportunity to study the wine jar, while Černý states that not only did he not examine the jar, but he also lacked photographs (Černý 1965: xii, 3). This reinforces the view that Gardiner's reading is the most trustworthy.

Deir el-Medina - Officials and their titles

Vineyard Supervisor - *hry k3mw*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>imn</i>	DeM 2	Year 11	<i>itr imnt</i> [...]
<i>imn</i>	DeM 7	Year 4	<i>t3 hwt dsr-hprw-r^c-stp-n-r^c</i> [...] (Horemheb)
<i>imn</i>	DeM 12	Year 17	<i>t3 hwt wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c m pr imn</i> (Ramses II)
<i>imn</i> [...]	DeM 61	-	<i>t3 hwt</i> [...]
<i>[imn]-[...]</i>	DeM 98	-	<i>itr 3</i>
<i>imn-m-ipt</i>	DeM 70	-	[...] <i>[bit] wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c m pr imn</i> (Ramses II)
<i>imn-m-int</i>	DeM 181	-	-
<i>inf-sw-[...]</i>	DeM 123	-	-
<i>ip3y</i>	DeM 199	-	-
<i>pr-bn</i>	DeM 187	-	<i>t3 hwt wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c</i> (Ramses II)
<i>wnn-nfr</i>	DeM 121	-	[...] <i>r^c-ms-sw-mr-i[mn]</i> [...] (Ramses ?)
<i>b3</i>	DeM 56	-	<i>pr dsr-hprw-r^c-stp-n-r^c</i> (Horemheb)
<i>b3</i>	DeM 81	Year 31	<i>p3 k3mw n hm-ntr tpy n</i> [...] <i>r^c-ms-sw-mr-</i> [...] (Ramses ?)
<i>[p3-nht]</i>	DeM 50	-	[...] <i>[hh] rnpt nsw bit b3-n-r^c-mr-imn</i> [...] <i>m pr imn</i> (Merenptah)
<i>p3-r^c</i>	DeM 71	-	<i>t3 st mht</i>
<i>p3-r^c [...]</i>	DeM 90	-	<i>n3 k3mw n pr r^c-ms-[...]</i> (Ramses ?)

<i>p3-rw-[...]</i>	DeM 93	-	<i>p3 k3mw ʕ3 n rʕ-ms-s-[...]</i> (Ramses ?)
<i>p3-hry-pdt</i>	DeM 16	Year 24	<i>itr imnt</i>
<i>pn-rnw [...]</i>	DeM 184	-	<i>t3 hwt nt hḥ rnpt nsw bit</i> <i>wsr-m3ʕt-rʕ-mr-immn</i> (Ramses III)
<i>pti-3y</i>	DeM 45	-	<i>pr pn m p3 mw n pth</i>
<i>pti-3y</i>	DeM 25	-	[...] [<i>hwt</i>]- <i>hr nbt iwnw</i> [...] (Hathor)
<i>pth-m-[hb-rʕ]</i>	DeM 145	-	-
<i>pt-t3-ry [...]</i>	DeM 139	-	-
<i>mhd-mnw</i>	DeM 140	-	-
<i>nb-[...]</i>	DeM 156	Year 34	-
<i>nb-immn</i>	DeM 97	Year 29	-
<i>nfr-mnw</i>	DeM 135	-	-
<i>nfr-htp</i>	DeM 108	-	[<i>t3 hwt</i>] <i>dsr-hprw-rʕ-stp-n-rʕ</i> [...] (Horemheb)
<i>nfr-[...]-immn</i>	DeM 8	Year 2	<i>t3 [hwt] nt hḥ rnpt nty m n3 ʕt</i> [...] <i>r-ht imy-r pr rʕ-ms-sw</i>
<i>nht</i>	DeM 33	Year 10	<i>mr-tm</i>
<i>nht-m-ptḥ</i>	DeM 39	-	<i>n t3 hwt wsr-m3ʕt-rʕ- stp-n-rʕ</i> [...] [<i>itr ʕ3</i>] (Ramses II)
<i>nht-tw-immn [...]</i>	DeM 105	-	<i>t3 hwt nt hḥ [m]</i> [...]
<i>nty</i>	DeM 128	-	[...] [<i>hw</i>] <i>t nt hḥ m rnpt nsw bit</i> <i>wsr-m3ʕt-rʕ- stp-n-rʕ m pr i[mn]</i> [...] (Ramses II)
<i>ndm s3 hwy</i>	DeM 194	Year 2	<i>itr imntt</i>
<i>rʕ</i>	DeM 55	-	<i>pr dsr-hprw-rʕ-[stp]-n-[rʕ]</i> (Horemheb)
<i>rʕ-hwy</i>	DeM 204	-	<i>pr immn-rʕ nsw ntrw</i>
<i>rw-[...]</i>	DeM 11	Year 3	<i>pr dsr-hprw-rʕ-stp-n-rʕ</i> (Horemheb)
<i>h3w-nfr</i>	DeM 195	-	[...] <i>dsr-hprw-rʕ-stp-n-rʕ</i> (Horemheb)
<i>h3t-nfrw</i>	DeM 4	Year 3	<i>pr hnsw n itr imnt</i>
<i>hri</i>	DeM 1	Year 1	<i>k3 n km[t]</i>
<i>htpw</i>	DeM 9	Year 26	-
<i>sbk-[...]</i>	DeM 103	-	<i>t3 hwt nt hḥ m rnpt nsw [...]</i>
<i>š3-mʕy</i>	DeM 41	-	<i>t3 hwt nt hḥ m rnpt n nsw bit wsr-[m3ʕt]-rʕ-[...]</i> (Ramses ?)
<i>k3š3w</i>	DeM 57	Year 24	<i>pr dsr-hprw-rʕ-[stp]-n-rʕ</i> (Horemheb)
<i>try</i>	DeM 102	Year 3	<i>pr nb-m3ʕt-rʕ-immn-</i> (Ramses VI)
<i>tm-mhd</i>	DeM 10	-	<i>t3 hwt nt hḥ m rnpt nsw bit wsr-m3ʕt-rʕ-stp-n-rʕ</i> (Ramses II)

<i>tm-mhd</i>	DeM 112	-	-
<i>tnr</i> [...]	DeM 138	-	<i>pr imn nty m hr</i>
<i>tʿy</i>	DeM 23	-	<i>tʿ hwt nt hḥ m rnpt nsw bit mn-mʿt-rʿ</i> (Seti I)
<i>tʿy</i> [...]	DeM 198	-	<i>pʿ kʿm[w] n hwt ntr</i> [...]
<i>dhwty-m-hb-rʿ</i>	DeM 126	-	<i>nʿ kʿmw tʿrw</i>
<i>dhwty-ms</i>	DeM 174	-	[...] [<i>hwt</i>] [<i>n</i>]t [<i>hḥ</i>] [...]
<i>hry kʿmw</i> , missing name			
[...]	DeM 6	Year 13	<i>pr dsr-hprw-rʿ-[...]-[n]-[...]</i> <i>m itr imnt</i>
[...]	DeM 21	-	<i>tʿ hwt wsr-mʿt-rʿ-stp-n-rʿ ʿ-w-s</i>
[...]	DeM 43	-	<i>pʿ kʿmw ʿ3 n [tʿ]</i> [...]
[...]	[DeM 47]	-	<i>pʿ kʿmw n tʿ hwt nt hḥ m rnpt [nsw]</i> [...]
[...]	DeM 63	-	<i>pʿ kʿm[w] ʿ3 n rʿ-ms-sw-[...]</i> [...] <i>rʿ-ms-sw-mr-imn ʿ-w-s</i>
[...]	DeM 65	Year 36	<i>pr imn-[htp]</i> [...] <i>itr imntt</i>
[...]	DeM 77	Year 29	<i>nty m nʿy imn</i>
[...]	DeM 79	Year 40	<i>pʿ kʿmw ʿ3 n rʿ-[...]</i>
[...]	DeM 85	-	<i>nty m nʿy rʿ-ms-[...]</i>
[...]	DeM 87	-	<i>n bʿh n tʿ hwt</i> [...]
[...]	DeM 95	-	[<i>pr</i>] [<i>mn</i>]-[<i>mʿt</i>]- <i>rʿ</i> [...]
[...]	DeM 99	Year 12	<i>itr imntt</i>
[...]	DeM 101	-	<i>nʿy imn</i>
[...]	DeM 124	-	<i>itr mr</i>
[...]	DeM 127	-	[<i>pʿ</i>] <i>kʿmw tʿ hwt nt hḥ m rnpt</i>
[...]	DeM 129	Year 7	<i>pʿ mw n imn</i>
[...]	DeM 131	Year 3	<i>pr sty-mr-[n]-pth</i> [...]
[...]	DeM 136	-	<i>tʿ hwt nsw bit wsr-mʿt-rʿ-mr-imn</i> [ʿ] [...]
[...]	DeM 144	Year 39	-
[...]	DeM 146	Year 65	<i>pr imn</i>
[...]	DeM 154	Year 36	-
[...]	DeM 155	Year 24	<i>itr imntt</i>
[...]	DeM 159	Year 21	-
[...]	DeM 160	Year 46	<i>pr</i> [...]
[...]	DeM 161	-	[<i>pr</i>] <i>mn-mʿt-rʿ</i> [...] [...] <i>imntt</i>
[...]	DeM 164	Year 9	-
[...]	DeM 171	Year 2	<i>pr</i> [...] <i>m itr imntt</i>
[...]	DeM 173	Year 16	<i>pr</i> [...]
[...]	DeM 182	-	<i>kʿmw n rʿ-ms-sw-mr-imn</i> [...]
[...]	DeM 183	Year 11	<i>tʿrw</i>

[...]	[DeM 186]	Year 23	<i>p3 k3[mw] [...] nty m iwnw [...]</i>
[...]	DeM 192	-	<i>[r^c-ms-sw-mr-<i>imn</i>] [°-w-s] [...] [...] sw- mr-<i>imn</i> °-w-s</i>
[...]	DeM 193	Year 3	<i>pr [mn-<i>hpr-r</i>^c] [m pr <i>imn</i>] [...]</i>
[...]	DeM 197	Year 6	<i>pr <i>imn-r</i>^c</i>
[...]	DeM 206	-	<i>t3 <i>hwt mn-m3^ct-r^c</i> °-[...] [...] [<i>mn</i>]-<i>m3^ct-</i> <i>[r^c]</i></i>

Vineyard Supervisor of the Great House - *hry k3mw pr-°3*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>hh</i>	DeM 73	-	[...] <i>hmt nsw</i>
[...]	DeM 62	Year 4	<i>pr mn-[m3^ct]-r^c-[...]</i>

Overseer of the City, Vizier - *imy-r niwt, βty*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>hri</i>	DeM 48	-	<i>p3 k3mw °3 n p3 kniw</i>

Overseer of the Estate - *imy-r pr*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>ih3y</i>	DeM 113	-	-
<i>p3-r^c-[...]</i>	DeM 94	Year 55	-
<i>p3-r^c-[...]</i>	DeM 120	Year 55	<i>t3 <i>hwt nt hh m rnpt nsw bit wsr-[...]-r^c-</i> <i>[...] (Ramses II)</i></i>
<i>pn-gt</i>	DeM 92	Year 27	-
<i>pn-gt-iwy</i>	DeM 44	-	-
<i>p[t]h-mr-[...]</i>	DeM 152	Year 37	-
<i>mry-r^c</i>	DeM 36	Year 53	<i>mr-tm</i>
<i>r^c-[...]</i>	DeM 80	-	-
<i>r^c-ms-sw</i>	DeM 8	Year 2	<i>p3 k3mw t3 <i>hwt nt hh rnpt nty m n3 °t</i> [...]</i>
<i>hri</i>	DeM 3	Year 6	<i>t3 <i>hwt nt hh m rnpt nsw bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c-</i> <i>stp-n-r^c</i> (Ramses II)</i>
<i>hri</i>	DeM 5	Year 6	<i>t3 <i>hwt nt hh m rnpt nsw bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c-</i> <i>stp-n-r^c</i> (Ramses II)</i>
[...]	DeM 26	Year 42	

Overseer of the Place - *imy-r st*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>r^c-ms-s</i>	DeM 133	-	-

Overseer – *imy-r*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
[...]	DeM 162	-	<i>pr imn</i>

Granary Supervisor - *hry šnwt*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>h3t-ti</i>	DeM 48	-	<i>p3 k3mw ʕ3 n p3 kniw</i>

Scribe of the Great House- *sš n pr-ʕ3*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>b3k-[...]</i>	DeM 84	Year 6	<i>m pr imn</i>

Priest - *hm-ntr*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>imn</i>	DeM 202	Year 3	-

The Protector of the [Temple] - *p3 nh [hwt-ntr]*

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
[...]	DeM 169	Year 7	-

Names without a title

Personal Name	Label	Year	Place
<i>ipw s3 3hy</i>	DeM 52	Year 5	<i>ʕt nt ht</i>
<i>p3-[...]</i>	DeM 205	-	<i>hpšy</i>
<i>p3-mhdw</i>	DeM 185	-	<i>mn-m3ʕt-rʕ</i> (Seti I)
<i>p3-hry-pdt</i>	DeM 117	-	<i>t3 hwt nb-m3ʕt-rʕ m itr imnt</i> (Amenhotep III)
<i>pth</i>	DeM 75	-	<i>pr s3t nsw hmt nsw mryt-imn</i> (Merytamun)
<i>rʕ-ms-sw</i>	DeM 165	-	<i>pr imn</i>
<i>rʕ-ms-[sw]-hh</i>	DeM 114	-	<i>p3 k3m[w] ʕ3 n mr-n-ptḥ-htp-hr-m3ʕt</i> (Merenptah)
<i>h3ti-3y</i>	DeM 151	-	-
<i>hrf</i>	DeM 177	-	[...] [<i>nsw</i>] <i>bit wsr-m3ʕt-rʕ-stp-n-rʕ</i> (Ramses II)

<i>ḥkꜣy</i>	DeM 49	Year 19	<i>pr mn-ḥpr-rꜥ</i> (Thutmosis III)
[...]- <i>pꜣ sꜣ ptiꜣy</i>	DeM 109	-	-

Ten title variations are found in the Deir el-Medina material. One of these is the combined title *imy-r niwt ꜣty* (Overseer of the City and Vizier). The dominant title on the wine jar labels from Deir el-Medina is Vineyard Supervisor *ḥry kꜣmw*. It occurs on 87 labels, 52 where the name has survived and 35 where it has not been preserved. The extended title Vineyard Supervisor of the Great House (*ḥry kꜣmw pr ꜣ*) is found on two labels, one of which with the name preserved. Twelve labels record the title Overseer of the Estate (*imy-r pr*), with one having Overseer of the Place (*imy-r st*) and yet another only Overseer (*imy-r*) without a name. The remaining titles Granary Supervisor (*ḥry šnwt*), Scribe of the Great House (*sš n pr ꜣ*), Priest (*ḥm-ntr*) and The Protector of the [Temple] (*pꜣ nh [ḥwt-ntr]*) are all only found on single labels.

The title *ḥry bꜥh* is not found in this material, however the word *bꜥh* does occur, combined with a reference to a specific day, which can perhaps be taken as a reference to the inundation (see chapter 4.2.3).

Three wine jar labels not only gives the official's name but also that of the father: *ipw sꜣ ꜣhy* (Ipu son of Akhy, DeM 52), *ndm sꜣ ḥwy* (Nedjem son of Huy, DeM 194) and [...]-*pꜣ sꜣ ptiꜣy* ([...]-pa son of Petiay, DeM 109). Unfortunately the latter label was damaged in the area where the beginning of the official's name would have been written.

The expression *m drt* (in the hand of, Černý et al 1993: 121, 7.3.17v) is found in this material (DeM 48, 49, 84, 110, 162, 175, 202) in a way similar to its use in the Amarna labels. It is often combined with *ḥry kꜣmw* (DeM 8, 10, 41, 81, 90, 103, 124, 128, 140, 144, 145, 156, 159, 160, 179, 182, 184, 192), confirming the theory that the jars were labeled before they left the vineyard. This phrase appears to refer to the one who wrote the text who would then have been the vineyard supervisor (*ḥry kꜣmw*).

The designation *r-ḥt* (under the orders of: DeM 3, 5, 8, 26, 48, 80, 92, 164, cf. Černý et al 1993: 117, 7.3.10) only appears in the material from Deir el-Medina. From the titles directly following this phrase it is associated with a superior official and it is connected with a *ḥry kꜣmw* only in two cases (DeM 8, 164). On one wine jar label the phrase is followed by a reference to the Overseer of the Estate of Ramses (*imy-r pr rꜥ-ms-sw*) who would have been a superior to the Vineyard Supervisor Nefer-[...]-amun), whose name is preceded by *m drt* (DeM 8). On the other labels this hierarchy was not evident.

Haring (1997: 217-218) states that a person whose actions are designated *m drt* was subordinate to the person whose authority is expressed with *r-ḥt*. The actions of the

temple sem-priest would be designated *r-ht* while that of the temple scribe would be described as *m drt*. This could also be applied to the police (Haring 1997: 256). Haring (1997: 285-287) also suggests that both groups of officials worked in extensive areas, rather than being local. Thus the individual who acts *r-ht* had an overarching responsibility for e.g. the fields, while the official who signed *m drt* with his title, such as *rwdw* (agent, deputy, inspector) would have been a regular inspector of the work on the fields, reporting to the higher level official, who used *r-ht* with his title and name (Katary 1989: 4-8, Haring 1997: 285-286). This would make the vineyard supervisor, whose actions are described as *m drt* more directly involved in the supervision of the vineyard.

5 Summarizing discussion

5.1 Structure and content of the labels

This investigation has shown that the label texts follow a standard structure. The analytic chapters in this study follow the pattern of information found on the labels. First came a date written on the first line, followed by a designation of the product (*irp* or *šdh*), classification, institution and / or a geographic location. In the second line a geographic location (if not found on the first line) was placed, followed by the title and name of the responsible producer, in some cases preceded by the name and title of the official to whom the producer of the wine would have been accountable. Only in exceptional cases was this pattern abandoned.

The minimum information found on the labels from these three groups of primary sources, supplemented with material from Ramesseum and Malqata, consists of the date and product, in some cases followed by a classification of the wine. The conclusion that the Year date is of importance equal to the product name is based on its reoccurring presence on the labels in all the material.

This pattern is found on the many shards comprising the three groups of primary sources, as well as on the shards from the Ramesseum. The texts found on the shards of the Malqata material were however abbreviated, generally reduced to the single word *irp* (wine) that in some cases was expanded to include the classifications *sm3* (blended), *nfr* (good) och *nfr nfr* (very good) (Hayes 1951: fig. 8, nos 85, 86, 87, 88, 89¹⁸). Classification is not however common, with the majority of labels indicating unclassified wines. It is evident that the shards from Malqata provide the minimum level of obligatory information.

An additional characteristic distinguished the Malqata material. The text was sometimes written immediately next to or under the jar handle. This location, as well as the abbreviated form of the texts, is not found for the labels from Amarna or Deir el-Medina. However, two jars from Tutankhamun's tomb have seal imprints with the text "the ruler's house" on one of the jar handles (Tut 14, 23). This does not rule out the possibility of text next to the handle on some shards from Amarna and Deir el-Medina, since photographs have not been available.

The structural pattern of the texts is clear in the material from Tutankhamun's tomb, where it is closely followed. The material from Amarna and Deir el-Medina have

¹⁸ No. 85, *irp sm3*, is found on 13 labels; no. 86, *irp nfr nfr hnw 6*, on 1 label; no. 87, *irp nfr nfr*, on 1 label; no. 88, *irp nfr*, on 3 labels and and no. 89, *irp*, on 26 labels.

greater variation, with the scribe occasionally inserting additional information after the first line had provided date, product and classification. For example, four wine jar labels (Am 50, 51, 52, 53) from the Amarna material had the phrase $\text{ʕ} m \text{ ʕ} \text{w} = f$ (The One who is great in his lifetime), with Akhenaten's name written immediately before the phrase in the texts from three of them (Am 50, 51, 53). In the Deir el-Medina material, more expansive texts are found after Ramses II's succession, where the names of one or two different institutions, are placed on line 2 or 3. For instance, the institution *pr imn* (Estate of Amun) is often combined with another institution (DeM 5, 10, 12, 15, 21, 50, 60, 70, 147, 162, 193). In some cases it is written directly after the name of another institution, as if the two were connected, and in other cases only *pr imn* is written. When there are references to two institutions it may be that one is the intended destination of the wine.

It has been deduced that the text was written on the wine jar before it left the vineyard. This can not be proven without doubt but there are strong indications. First of all, it is difficult to identify the contents of a sealed and unmarked jar after it has left its source. It is logical that the label was written on the jar in connection with its sealing before leaving the vineyard. Secondly, the quality of the wine could only be judged before the jar was sealed. After sealing, the jar would have had to be broken for the wine to be tasted and judged. This indicates that the wine jar labels, that could include a quality classification, was written by someone who had the possibility to taste and judge the wine before it was sent away.

5.2 Classification

The most common terms for classification are *nfr* (good) and *nfr nfr* (very good). The word *ndm* (sweet) was also used to classify some wines and *nfr ndm* (good sweet) provides another level of this classification. Furthermore, some singular wine jar labels have the classification *h3yt nfrt* ("merry-making" or "good going down", cf. discussion above). There is also a kind of descriptive dating relating to a day (*n hrw*, of day X) followed by a number. This is an unusual pattern that appears to have been in use mostly during the reign of Ramses II. The position of the phrase, with the genitive *n* directly after *irp* or *irp* + the quality classification *nfr* etc., indicates that it is an attribute of the wine, perhaps an additional way of defining the quality according to the day the wine was made.

Most of the classified wines from Amarna and Tutankhamun's tomb came from institutions where the god Aton was included in the name. These institutions could be

located at different places throughout Egypt. The classified wines from Deir el-Medina that had an institutional designation have more diversified sources.

Classification of the quality of the wine is infrequent in the material, with the unclassified wine being by far the most common. Comparing the places of production of the classified wine, it was not possible to determine if the better wines came from a specific place. Rather, there is a wide distribution of the better wines among the institution vineyards.

There is also the question of whether there is a proportional relationship between the unclassified wine and that classified as *nfr* and *nfr nfr*, with the latter being the best of a large production. There is nothing in the three groups of labels that explicitly supports this assumption. The expected distribution is however found in the significantly larger material from the Ramesseum: *nfr nfr* (27 examples = 1,2%), *nfr* (160 examples = 6,2%) and unclassified (2461 examples = 92,6%). There were also 45 wines that had been classified as *ndm* (sweet) (Spiegelberg 1898: Pl. XIX-XXXV^A; Bouvier 1999-2001: Fasc. I-IV).

The result from the Ramesseum material is most likely applicable to the distribution of wine deliveries to Amarna and Deir el-Medina, even if this is not reflected in the preserved material. However, the majority of the wine jar labels in these two groups lack classifications thus supplying some support for this conclusion. The more even distribution of *nfr*- and *nfr nfr*-wines is more difficult to explain.

While there is some consensus that *irp* was a wine made of grapes, it has been more complicated to identify the fruit used to make the *sdh*-wine or even if it was a wine, rather than vinegar as has been suggested (Tallet 1995: 460). Chemical analyses (LC/MS/MS) of residue from a jar marked *sdh* has, however, clarified the question and has unambiguously proven that it was a red grape wine (Guasch-Jané et al 2004: 1672; 2006a: 99-101). Furthermore, often classified as *nfr nfr* and described as sweet in one love poem (P. Harris 500: Group B, nos. 12, e.g. Fox 1985: 21 with n. b; Mathieu 1996: 62), it was apparently a pleasant drink, which does not correspond to vinegar. It has now been established that both *irp* and *sdh* wines were made from grapes.

The sources indicate that the production processes of the two wines may have differed. *sdh*-wine may have been made of crushed grapes that were poured into a pot, heated and then filtrated into a concentrate, a kind of grape syrup. This syrup was then poured into already fermented wine so that a second fermentation was started. This would have produced a wine that was both sweeter and higher in percentage of alcohol. This, it has been concluded, was the production process of the sweet and intoxicating *sdh*-wine.

Questions of the quality and production of *irp*-wine have tended to be taken for granted, without examination in any greater depth. Examples of questions that should be examined are durability of the wine and if the inside of the wine jar was perhaps treated, for example with resin, to prevent evaporation. There is significant disagreement among scholars on this point and research has yet to provide an answer to these questions.

It was first 2006 that the question of whether white wine was made in Egypt earlier than Greek period (332-30 B.C.) was answered. Chemical analyses using the LC/MS/MS method of residue from wine jars from KV 62 have proven that white wine was made as early as the 18th dynasty (1550-1295 B.C.; Guasch-Jané et al 2004: 1672, 2006b: 1077-1078).

There was a similar distribution of quality of *irp*-wine in the two groups of labels from Amarna and Deir el-Medina. However, *sdh*-wine is not represented in the material from Deir el-Medina while there are three *sdh*-labels in the Amarna material. It was noted that, with the exception of the absence of *sdh*-wine, the wine delivered to Deir el-Medina was similar to the standard of that delivered to the palace area in Amarna.

5.3 Social structure, economic and social organization

It can be asked, who in Egyptian society had access to, and was allowed to drink, wine. Lesko (1978: 13-14) is of the opinion that only the royal family and the upper class drank wine, while the lower classes drank beer. Janssen (1975: 352) too says that there were restrictions associated with wine-drinking and that it was drunk by the members of the court and the upper class. He does not think wine in general was particularly popular in Egypt, also that the workmen at Deir el-Medina could not afford it (Janssen 1975: 351-352). He refers to a lack of references to wine on the ostraca and that it does not appear in the workmen's ration lists (Janssen 1975: 350).

Janssen's statement with regard to the popularity of wine stands in sharp contrast to the evidence of the large number of wine jars at Amarna and Malqata, making it obvious that the court consumed a large amount of wine, especially in Malqata at Amenhotep III's Heb Sed Festival. This indicates that wine was popular with the royal family and the upper class. Wine was so popular that it was not only the king who owned vineyards, but also the women of the royal family. Private officials and priests could also own private vineyards. An expansion of wine production during Ramses II's reign, indicated by the thousands of wine jars that have been found in his mortuary temple, the Ramesseum, is confirmed by this evidence.

The status of wine is furthermore demonstrated by the presence of nearly 40 wine jars in Tutankhamun's tomb where they had been deposited as funerary gifts (Reeves 2000: 89). Twenty-six of these were inscribed with labels. A wine jar was placed at three of the walls of the burial chamber. At the eastern wall there was a white *irp*-wine (Tut 14, e.g. Reeves 2000: 85; Guasch-Jané et al 2006b: 1077-1078), at the western wall, a red *irp*-wine (Tut 22; e.g. Reeves 2000: 85; Guasch-Jané et al 2006b: 1077-1078) and at the southern wall a *sdh*-wine (Tut 13; e.g. Reeves 2000: 85; Guasch-Jané et al 2006a: 99). This shows that the role of wine as a funerary gift was important enough for it to be included in the Burial Chamber. Janssen's statement is also in contrast to the large number of wine jar labels found at Deir el-Medina. The description "wine for the left side" (DeM 46), apparently donated by Ramses II to the workmen on the left side, indicates that the king authorized the presentation of the wine of the Deir el-Medina workmen.

Wine jars have also been found at the workmen's villages at Malqata and Amarna. There are several descriptions of the finds of wine jar labels at Malqata's workmen's village and together with the discoveries from Amarna, they show that the workmen's villages received deliveries of wine, possibly delivered directly to the village from the royal storehouses, as a gift, rather than as a ration. This would explain the absence of wine in the ration lists. Lesko (1978: 13) also says that wine could be delivered as a bonus to the workers in Deir el-Medina on special occasions. This is supported by the evidence of the wine jars from Kha's Deir el-Medina tomb, indicating that the villagers could also include wine as a funerary gift in their tombs (Schiaparelli 1920).

Leahy (1985: 66) however, believes that the shards inscribed with labels discovered in the Amarna workmen's village came from re-used wine jars that came to the village containing other products. Wood (1987: 78) also says that these wine jars have been reused as water containers. Haring (1997: 347) as well, interpreted the large number of wine jars at Deir el-Medina as indications of the reuse of the wine jars, while also noting the possibility that wine could have been delivered to the workmen's village as he is uncertain if all of the wine jar labels from Deir el-Medina could come from reused jars (Haring 1997: 357-358). Tallet (1993: 268, 1998b: 259) on the other hand, thinks that the workers received wine for special occasions, such as the Opet Festival.

One argument against the reuse of the jars for water or other products is that the cone-shaped bottom of the wine jars accumulated the sediment from the wine. It would have been difficult to clean the jars and the sediment would probably have given any substance put in the jar a bitter taste.

The banquet scenes show that wine was a highly appreciated drink among the upper class. The wine jar labels found at the different workmen's villages and the 46 wine jar labels from the military and police quarters in Amarna show that wine was also enjoyed by these groups as well, possibly as a benefit or a gift from the king.

The evidence of the Deir el-Medina wine jar label (DeM 46) indicate that the king could donate directly to the workers, and even to specific groups of workers. In addition, the evidence of the tomb Kha shows that members of this community had access to wine as funerary gifts. That reused wine jars probably would not have been suitable for reuse because of the wine residue argues against seeing the quantity of wine jar labels as indication of any other product than wine. This leads to the conclusion that the workers in the village were allowed to drink wine.

5.4 Comparing the groups of primary sources

The wine jar label texts from Tutankhamun's tomb show a more severe and standardized formulation than that found on wine jar labels from Amarna and Deir el-Medina. Throughout the different levels of analysis, this material gives a more homogenous impression than that from Amarna and Deir el-Medina. Although other burial gifts in Tutankhamun's tomb may represent a more spontaneous collection, the wine jars appear to have been consciously selected. Furthermore, three appear to have been selected for specific placement along three walls of the burial chamber. The white and red wines, positioned at the eastern and western walls may have referred to rebirth. There is however no satisfactory explanation why a *sdh*-wine was placed at the southern wall. It was also observed that many of the wines came from an Aton domain, implying that these may have been in use even though the Aton cult had been abandoned in favor of the main deity Amun. The homogeneity of the texts and the apparently conscious selection of wines in the Burial Chamber indicate that the wine jars were not put there by accident.

The three groups of primary sources were chosen because of the difference in the original function of the three sites. The labels from Amarna came from a palace city. A royal tomb context is provided by Tutankhamun's tomb and Deir el-Medina is a workmen's village. This gives the opportunity for an interesting contextual comparison. Quite naturally most of the shards from Amarna were found in or around the temples, palaces and magazines with the exception of 46 shards that were found in the area of the military and police quarters. This suggests that, as in Deir el-Medina, wine may have been distributed as a royal gift. Tutankhamun's tomb was a closed context. Most of the wine jars were found in the Annex together with other foodstuffs. However, three

different wine jars had been singled out and placed in the Burial Chamber as described above. One wine jar shard was found outside in the corridor, next to the second entry into the tomb. A final wine jar was found on the stairs below the first door of the tomb. Finally, the original context of the shards from Deir el-Medina is unknown. They are generally described as having been found in a rubbish heap. This makes it impossible to draw any conclusions. This is especially problematic because the dating of this material stretches over a long time and it would have been interesting to investigate if the deposition of the shards in the trash heap indicated a stratigraphy that could have told something about the sequence of dated wine jar labels and the time span of the use of rubbish heap.

The Amarna labels stand out in the way the text standard, clearly shown on the labels from Tutankhamun's tomb, is followed. This contrasts with the diversity of information found in the material from Deir el-Medina appearing especially during the reign of Ramses II when the texts become more fluid and several regions are mentioned as in use for wine production. The texts in the three groups were expected to differ from each other. Instead it was seen that the wine jar labels from Amarna and Deir el-Medina were very similar, with the exception of those dating to the reign of Ramses II and after. The texts from the wine jars found in Tutankhamun's tomb stood out as clearly homogeneous and differing slightly from those from Amarna and Deir el-Medina.

The technological terms *k3nw* (vineyard) and *bꜥh* (inundation, basin) have been traced back to the Early Dynastic Period. The writing *k3nw* declined during Hyksos period with the writing *k3mw* (vineyard) appearing that seems to refer to the Hyksos kings' enclosed vineyards. The word *bꜥh* was in more frequent use from New Kingdom. The word *k3mw* has the clear contextual meaning "vineyard". The word *bꜥh*, however, was commonly used to mean flooding, basin or water channels and is therefore more difficult to understand within the context of wine production. It has been suggested that *bꜥh* should be distinguished from *k3mw*, as representing a larger estate unit. No evidence of this distinction has however been found, and no size differentiation has been described in the texts.

The most common designation for institutions in the three sources groups is *pr* (estate). The designation *hwt* (temple/domain) occurs in different frequencies in the three materials. In Tutankhamun's tomb there are no wine jar labels with the institution designation *hwt*, only *pr* being in use, in combination with either Aton's or Tutankhamun's name.

In the Amarna material the most common designation of an institution is *pr* and it is often combined with the name of a god. In three smaller groups *pr* is combined with

the name of a king, a royal woman or the title of an official. In a very small group of 12 wine jar labels the institution designation is *hwt* and three of them are combined with a king's name. Also, in the Amarna material, there is a small group with the institution designation *t3 šwt* (*šwt*-chapel), not found in either Tutankhamun's tomb or Deir el-Medina.

In the material from Deir el-Medina the institution designation *hwt* was more frequently used than in the other two groups and it was almost as common as *pr. hwt* occurs in combination with a king's name in the designation *t3 hwt nt hh m rnpt* (the temple of millions years). On the other hand, *hwt* is not found combined with the name of a god. The institution designation *pr*, however, often appears in combination with either a god's or a king's name. On a few wine jar labels it also occurs in combination with a royal woman's name. There were no titles or names of officials combined with the institution designations.

During the Amarna period, wine production in general appears to occur in the western Delta, with the majority of the wine jar labels referring to *itr imnt* (Western River) as the source of the wine. The oases were also used for viticulture, although on a smaller scale, during this period. The location *t3rw/t3l* (Tjaru/Tjal) in the eastern Delta is also found.

The Deir el-Medina material provides evidence for a spread of viticulture into new areas. The occurrence of the names of river branches other than the Western River (*itr imnt*) indicates an expansion of wine production in the Delta during 19th and 20th dynasties. This may be related to the establishment of Pi-Ramses as the country's administrative center during the 19th dynasty. Places located near to Pi-Ramses are found on the wine jar labels. These are *p3 ntr p3 mw n pr* (The God of the Water of Pre: DeM 12, 13, 14, 20, 21, 141) and *spt ptr itr* (Shore of the *P*tr-river, DeM 30, 47, 76, 104). Tallet (1995: 472) says that *n3y r^c-ms-s-mr-imn* (The property of Ramses Beloved of Amun) was a place also located close to Pi-Ramses and there are two wine jar labels where this place is mentioned (DeM 30, 85).

In the Amarna material, the names of gods, combined with institution designations, are more common than the names of kings. This material also has a narrower and more limited variation in gods' and kings' names than is the case in the material from Deir el-Medina that is far more diversified, covering a time period of 343 years. The wine jar labels from Amarna on the other hand have the more limited time frame of about 20 years at the latter part of the 18th dynasty. One wine jar label stands out, referring to Thutmose I (1504-1492 B.C.), whose reign is dated about 150 years before that of Akhenaten. Both groups of material follow the expected formula with

Amarna being limited in time and space and Deir el-Medina displaying a wider distribution pattern.

In the material from Tutankhamun's tomb only the names of the god Aton (16 shards) and Tutankhamun (7 shards) appear on the wine jar labels. No other gods or royal personages occur, other than Vizier Pentu (Tut 26) and those of wine producers.

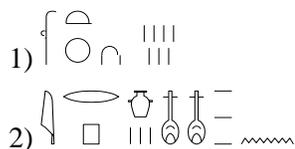
There were differences in where the names of gods and kings are positioned compared to the titles and names of officials. Royal and divine names are often found in the first line and the titles and names of officials in the second or third line. This pattern is clearly seen in all three groups of material. It is only when the first line is lost that an official might occur on what appears to be the first line.

The title *ḥry k3mw* (Vineyard Supervisor) is found in all three groups of material. The title *ḥry bʿḥ* (*bʿḥ* Supervisor) was only in use during Amarna period. The reinstatement of the title *ḥry k3mw* coincides with the ascent of Tutankhamun and the reestablishment of Amun as the primary god.

This research has shown that these small, and seemingly insignificant, texts also have a value, with a collective textual content that contributes information about wine management. They demonstrate continuity in a standardized idiom that survived the turmoil of the Amarna period. While the earlier texts from Amarna and Tutankhamun's tomb do not reflect an ideology, the primarily Ramesside material from Deir el-Medina sees a more intrusive inclusion of the name of the king, so that ideological intentions can be identified even in wine production.

CATALOGUE

Am 1 (P1, Petrie 1894: Pl. XXII, hieroglyphic transcription from Černý's notebook 17.54)



- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 17</i> [...] | Year 17 [...] |
| 2 | <i>irp nfr nfr n</i> [...] | Very good wine of [...] |

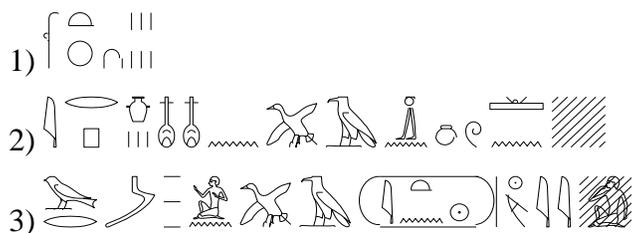
Am 2 (P2, Petrie 1894: Pl. XXII)



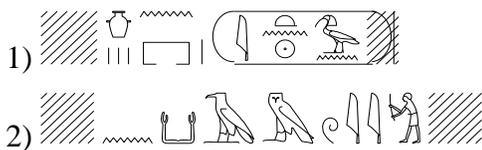
- | | | |
|---|--------------------|--------------|
| 1 | [...] 17 | [...] 17 |
| | <i>i[r]p</i> [...] | W[in]e [...] |

The published text only contained the number for year 17 and Černý only had transcribed this year in his notebook. When the shard was examined at Petrie Museum, London the hieratic signs *t* and *p* in the word for wine, *i[r]p*, were clearly shown. Somehow Griffith has chosen to not publish these signs in Petrie's publication and Černý has probably not seen the shard and therefore missed this information.

Am 3 (P3, Petrie 1894: Pl. XXII)



- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 16</i> | Year 16 |
| 2 | <i>irp nfr nfr</i>
<i>n p3 inw</i> [...] | Very good wine
of/from this gift/tribute [...] |
| 3 | <i>wr-m3w n p3 itn mry-r</i> ^c | the Great Seer of Aton Meryre |

Am 8 (P8, Petrie 1894: Pl. XXII)1 [...] [*irp*] *n pr 3h-n-itn* [...]

[...] [Wine] of the estate of Akhenaton [...]

2 [...] *n [hry] k3mwy* [...]

[...] of Vineyard [Supervisor] [...]

Am 9 (P9, Petrie 1894: Pl. XXII)1 [...] [*n pr*] *h^c m w3st n*

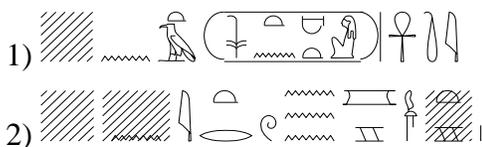
[of the estate of] the One who Appears in Thebes

2 [...] [*hry k3mwy*] *b3kw*-[...]

[...] [Vineyard Supervisor] Baku-[...]

Am 10 (P10, Petrie 1894: Pl. XXII)1 [...] *t3 hwt 3-hpr-k^c-r^c* [ʔ] [...]

[...] of the domain of Aakheperkare, [L] [...]

Am 11 (P11, Petrie 1894: Pl. XXII)1 [...] *n t3 hmt nsw ʕnh.ti*

[...] of the King's Wife, she lives

2 [...] [*n*] *itr imn[t]*

[...] [of] the Western Riv[er]

Am 12 (P12, Petrie 1894: Pl. XXII)1 [...] *imn-htp hk3 ntr w3st ʕ-w-[s]* [...]

[...] Amenhotep, ruler of the god(s) of Thebes, LP[H]

[...]

Am 43 (D203-29, unpublished, Černý's notebook 17.54, p. 29)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 6</i>
<i>irp n pr itn [...]</i> | Year 6
Wine of the estate of Aton [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>[itr] imnt</i>
<i>ḥry k3m[w] [...]</i> | [...] Western [River]
Vineya[rd] Supervisor [...] |

Fairman & Černý; Pendlebury 1951, Černý notebook 17.54-56

Am 44 (F16 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>[ḥ3t sp] 10</i>
<i>irp n pr nb-m3^ct-r^c m wī3 (?) [...]</i> | [...] [Year] 10
Wine of the estate of Nebmaatre in the barque (?) [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>[itr] imnt</i>
<i>ḥry [...]</i> | [...] Western [River]
[...] Supervisor [...] |

Am 45 (F17, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 17</i>
<i>irp n pr nb-m3^ct-r^c [...]</i> | Year 17
Wine of the estate of Nebmaatre [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>ḥry b^cḥ [...]-nḥt</i> | [...] <i>b^cḥ</i> Supervisor [...]-nakht |

Am 46 (F18 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>nb-m3^ct-r^c ^c-w- s</i> | [...] Nebmaatre, LPH |
| 2 | [...] <i>wḥwt n nt[y] m itr imntt</i> | [...] Northern village which is on the Western River |

Am 47 (F19, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>[i]rp n t3 ḥwt nb-[m3^ct]-r^c [...]</i> | [...] [W]ine of the domain of Neb[maat]re [...] |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|

Am 48 (F20, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 13</i>
<i>irp nfr n t3 ḥwt nb-[m3^ct-r^c] [...]</i> | Year 13
Good wine of the domain of Neb[maat]re [...] |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|

Am 49 (F21, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>thy [ḥnḥ-ti] [...]</i> | 1) [...] Teye [(she) lives] [...] |
|---|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|

Am 50 (F22 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

1	<i>md n p3 itn ʿ-w-s</i>	¹ / ₁₀ for Aton, LPH
2	<i>h3t sp 12</i>	Year 12
	<i>irp n pr 3h-n-itn ʿ-w-s</i>	Wine of the estate of Akhenaton LPH
	<i>ʿ3 m ʿhʿw[=f] [n] [...]</i>	The One who is great in his lifetime [of] [...]
3	<i>[...] itr imnt</i>	[...] the Western River
	<i>[hry k3mwy] [...]</i>	[Vineyard Supervisor] [...]

Am 51 (F23 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

1	<i>h3t sp 14</i>	Year 14
	<i>irp n pr 3h-n-itn ʿ-w-s</i>	Wine of the estate of Akhenaton, LPH
	<i>ʿ3 m ʿhʿw=f n [...]</i>	The One who is great in his lifetime of [...]
2	<i>itr imnt</i>	the Western River
	<i>n [hry] k3mwy iny</i>	of Vineyard [Supervisor] Iny

Am 52 (F24 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

1	<i>[...] ʿ-w-s</i>	[...] LPH
	<i>ʿ3 m ʿhʿw[=f] [...]</i>	The One who is great in [his] lifetime [...]
2	<i>[...] [hry] [k3]mwy hr(?) -tw</i>	[...] [Vin]eyard [Supervisor] Sher(?) -tu

Am 53 (F25 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

1	<i>[...] 3h-n-[itn] ʿ-w-s</i>	[...] Akhen[aton], LPH
	<i>ʿ3 m ʿhʿw[=f] [...]</i>	The One who is great in [his] lifetime [...]
2	<i>[...] [hry] k3mwyw nfr-[...]</i>	[...] Vineyard [Supervisor] Nefer-[...]

Am 54 (F26 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

1	<i>[...] pr [3h]-n-itn [...]</i>	[...] estate of [Akh]enaton [...]
2	<i>[...] [pr] [t]iy [...]</i>	[...] [estate] of [T]eye [...]

Am 55 (F27, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

1	<i>[...] [n] pr nsw [3h]-n-itn [...]</i>	[...] [of] the King's House of [Akhen]-aton [...]
2	<i>[...] p3 [3h]-n-i[itn] [...]</i>	[...] the [Akhen]-a[ton] [...]

Am 56 (F28, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

1 [...] *[irp] n pr nfr-nfrw-[iti]-itn* [...] [...] [Wine] of the estate of Neferneferu-[iti]-aton [...]

Am 57 (F29, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

1 [...] *pr nfr-nfrw-[iti]-itn n* [...] [...] estate of Neferneferu-[iti]-aton of [...]

Am 58 (F30, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

1 [...] *nfr-nfrw-iti-[i]t[n]* [...] [...] Neferneferu-iti-[a]to[n] [...]

Am 59 (F31 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

1 *h3t sp 13* Year 13
irp n pr nsw [...] Wine of the King's House
 2 [...] *imntt* Western [...]
m ȝrt r^c [...] through Ra- [...]

Am 60 (F32 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXV)

1 [...] *[h3t] sp 17* [...] [Ye]ar 17
irp nsw Wine of the King's [...]
 2 [...] *[p]3 b^ch* [...] [...] flooding [...]

Am 61 (F33, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

1 [...] *3ht-itn n* [...] [...] Akhetaten of [...]
hmt [nsw] ^cnḥ.ti nty m 3ht-i[tn] [...] [King's] wife, she lives, who is in Akheta[ten] [...]
 2 [...] *[itr] imnt* [...] [...] Western [River]
hry k3m[w] mry [...] Vineya[rd] Supervisor Mery [...]

Am 62 (F34, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

1 *h3t sp 14* Year 14
irp n pr nsw [bit] [...] Wine of the estate of the King of U[L] Egypt [...]
 2 *nsw* [...] king [...]

Am 63 (F35 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 1</i>
<i>irp n pr smnh-[k3]-r^c [m3^c hrw] [...]</i> | Year 1
Wine of the estate of Smenkh[ka]re, [justified] [...] |
| 2 | <i>itr imnt</i>
<i>hry b^{ch} s3k-3t3 [...]</i> | the Western River
<i>b^{ch}</i> Supervisor Sakaia |

Am 64 (F36 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 1</i>
<i>irp n pr ^{ch}nh-hprw-r^c [...]</i> | Year 1
Wine of the estate of Ankhkheperure [...] |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|

Am 65 (F37 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>h3t sp 13</i>]
<i>irp n [pr] s3t nsw mkt-itn [...]</i> | [...] [Year] 13
Wine of the [estate] of the king's daughter Meketaten [...] |
| 2 | [...] [<i>imnt</i>]
<i>hry k3m[w] pn-[...]-yt [...]</i> | [Western] [...]
Vineya[rd] Supervisor Pen-[...]-yt [...] |

Am 66 (F38 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>s3t nsw mkt-itn</i> | [...] king's daughter Meketaten |
| 2 | [...] [<i>hry</i>] [<i>b^{ch}</i>] <i>pn-b3-[...]</i> | [<i>b^{ch}</i>] [Supervisor] Penba-[...] |

Am 67 (F39 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [x+5]
<i>irp n pr s3t nsw mryt-[...]</i> | [...] [x+5]
Wine of the estate of the king's daughter Merit-[...] |
| 2 | [...] [<i>itr</i>] <i>imnt</i>
<i>hry b^{ch} iny [...]</i> | the Western [River] [...]
<i>b^{ch}</i> Supervisor Iny [...] |

Am 68 (F40 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>it</i>] <i>rp n pr s3t nsw mry[it]-[...]</i> | [...] Wine of the estate of the king's daughter
Meri[t]-[...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>hry b^{ch} [...]</i> | [...] <i>b^{ch}</i> Supervisor [...] |

Am 69 (F41 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>s3t [nsw] ^{ch}nh-sn-p3-itn</i> | [King's] daughter Ankhesenpaaten |
|---|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|

Am 70 (F42 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>irp nfr</i> [...] | [...]
Good wine [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>n pr s3t nsw b3k</i> -[...] | [...]
of the estate of the King's daughter Bak-[...] |

Am 71 (F43 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[x+2]
<i>irp</i> [n] <i>pr r^c-[hr]</i> -[...] | [...]
[x+2]
[Wi]ne [of] the estate of Re-hor-[...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[hry] [k3mw] nb-nht</i> [...] | [...]
[Vineyard] [Supervisor] Nebnakht [...] |

Am 72 (F44, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 4</i>
<i>irp n pr r^c-hr-3hty</i> [...] | Year 4
Wine of the estate of Re-hor-akhty [...] |
| 2 | <i>itr imnt</i>
<i>hry k3mw p3</i> -[...] | the Western River
Vineyard Supervisor Pa-[...] |

Am 73 (F45 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[šd]h n pr r^c-hr-3hty</i> [...] | [...]
[Shed]eh-wine of the estate of Re-hor-[akhty] [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[hry] [k]3mwy h3t-i3</i> [...] | [...]
[Vi]neyard [Supervisor] Hatia [...] |

Am 74 (F46, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>r^c-hr-3hty</i> [...] | [...]
Rehorakhty [...] |
|---|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------|

Am 75 (F47, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 10</i>
<i>irp n t3 hwt p3 itn m 3ht-itn</i> [...] | Year 10
Wine of the domain of Aton in Akhetaten [...] |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|

Am 76 (F48 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 12</i>
<i>irp [n t3 hwt] p3 itn n</i> | Year 12
Wine [of the domain] of Aton of |
| 2 | <i>sš nsw hwy-pn-h^cy</i> | the king's scribe Huypenkhay |

Am 77 (F49, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[ir]p t3 hwt p3 itn [...] | [...]
[Wi]ne of the domain of Aton [...] |
| 2 | [...]
s3w nfr-rnpt | [...]
Guard Nefer-renpet |

Am 78 (F50 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
irp n t3 hwt p3 itn m [...] | [...]
Wine of the domain of Aton in [...] |
| 2 | [...]
imnt
hry b ^{ch} [...] | [...]
Western [...]
b ^{ch} Supervisor [...] |

Am 79 (F51 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | h3t sp 17
irp nfr n t3 hwt p3 itn | Year 17
Good wine of the domain of Aton |
| 2 | n p3 k3mw n s3 wh3t | of the vineyard of the Dakhla oasis |

Am 80 (F52 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
hwt [p3] [...] | [...]
domain of the [...] |
| 2 | [...]
[hry] [b ^{ch}] r-nbw-i [...] | [...]
b ^{ch} [Supervisor] Renebui [...] |

Am 81 (F53 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
p3 [itn] n | [...]
[Aton] of |
| 2 | [...]
[hry] k3mw itn-ipt | [...]
Vineyard [Supervisor] Atonipet |

Am 82 (F54, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[irp] n t3 hwt p3 [...] | [...]
[Wine] of the domain of [...] |
| 2 | [...]
3ht-itn [...] | [...]
Akhetaten [...] |

Am 83 (F55 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | h3t sp 1
irp n pr [itn] [...] | Year 1
Wine of the estate of [Aton] [...] |
| 2 | hry k3mw rw-[fy] [...] | Vineyard Supervisor Ru-[fy] [...] |

Am 84 (F56 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[it]n</i>
<i>n itr imnt n</i> | [...]
[At]on
of the Western River of |
| 2 | [...]
<i>rw-fy</i> | [...]
Ru-fy |

Am 85 (F57 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] | [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[hry] [k]3m[w] rw-fy</i> | [...]
[Vi]neyar[d] [Supervisor] Ru-fy |

Am 86 (F58 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 1</i>
<i>irp n pr i[it]n [...]</i> | Year 1
Wine of the estate of At[on] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>n-b3-[hr]-r^c</i>
<i>hry b^ch [...]</i> | [...]
Nebhorre (name of a village?)
<i>b^ch</i> Supervisor [...] |

Am 87 (F59 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVI)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[x+2]</i>
<i>i[rp] [n] pr itn^c -[w]-[...]</i> | [...]
[x+2]
W[in]e [of] the estate of Aton, L[P]-[...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[n t3 whyt] [...]</i> | [...]
[of the Northern village] [...] |

Am 88 (F60 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 5</i>
<i>irp n pr i[it]n [...]</i> | Year 5
Wine of the estate of A[t]on |
| 2 | <i>hry k3m[w] m^c-t3ty</i> | Vineya[rd] Supervisor Matjaty |

Am 89 (F61 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[h3]t sp 5</i>
<i>irp n pr [...]</i> | [Ye]ar 5
Wine of the estate of [...] |
| 2 | [...] | [...] |

Am 90 (F62 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 6</i>
<i>irp n pr itn [...]</i> | Year 6
Wine of the estate of Aton [...] |
| 2 | <i>ḥry k3mw i- [...]</i> | Vineyard Supervisor I- [...] |

Am 91 (F63 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [x+6]
<i>irp n pr itn [...]</i> | [...] [x+6]
Wine of the estate of Aton [...] |
| 2 | [...] [ḥry] k3mw ḥwy n t3 [whyt] [...] | [...] Vineyard [Supervisor] Huy of the [Northern village]
[...] |

Am 92 (F64 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [x+6]
<i>irp n pr itn ḥr wh3t</i> | [...] [x+6]
Wine of the estate of Aton at the Oasis |
| 2 | [...] [ḥry] [k]3mw ni3t-t3y | [...] [Vi]neyard [Supervisor] Niattay |

Am 93 (F65, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 7</i>
<i>irp n pr itn</i> | Year 7
Wine of the estate of Aton |
| 2 | <i>rmnyt rwḏw ḥri</i> | Domain Inspector Hori |

Am 94 (F66 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [ḥ3]t sp 7
<i>irp n pr itn [...]</i> | [Ye]ar 7
Wine of the estate of Aton [...] |
| 2 | [ḥ]ry k3mw rm ^c [...] | Vineyard [Su]pervisor Rema [...] |

Am 95 (F67 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [ḥ3t sp] 7
<i>i[r]p n pr itn [n] [...]</i> | [Year] 7
W[in]e of the estate of Aton [of] [...] |
| 2 | [ḥ]ry k3mw wh3ḥ-ḥtri-rnpt-ḥw [...] | Vineyard [Su]pervisor Ukhakh-heterirenpathu [...] |

Am 96 (F68 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[h3]t sp 8</i>
<i>irp n pr itn n</i> | [Ye]ar 8
Wine of the estate of Aton of |
| 2 | <i>[...] [l]tr imnt</i>
<i>hry k3m[w] sn-nfr</i> | [...] the Western [R]iver
Vineya[rd] Supervisor Sennefer |

Am 97 (F69 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[h]3t sp 9</i>
<i>irp [n] pr itn c- w-s</i> | [Y]ear 9
Wine [of the] estate of Aton, LPH |
| 2 | <i>[...] hry k3m[w] n3-hy</i> | [...] Vineya[rd] Supervisor Nakhy |

Am 98 (F70 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 9</i>
<i>irp nfr nfr n pr itn n [...]</i> | Year 9
Very good wine of the estate of Aton of [...] |
| 2 | <i>rmnyt rdw hri [...]</i> | Domain Inspector Hori |

Am 99 (F71 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 10</i>
<i>irp nfr [n] pr itn n wh3t rsyt [...]</i> | Year 10
Good wine [of] the estate of Aton of the Southern Oasis |
| 2 | <i>[n] p3 k3mw n iry-nfr</i> | [of] the vineyard of Irynefer |

Am 100 (F72 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[h3]t [sp] 10</i>
<i>irp n pr itn [...]</i> | [Yea]r 10
Wine of the estate of Aton [...] |
| 2 | <i>[...] hry k3m[w] sn-nfr [...]</i> | [...] Vineya[rd] Supervisor Sennefer [...] |

Am 101 (F73 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 12</i>
<i>irp n pr i[t]n [...]</i> | Year 12
Wine of the estate of A[t]on [...] |
| 2 | <i>itr imnt</i>
<i>m d[rt] [...]</i> | the Western River
thr[ough] [...] |

Am 102 (F74, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 14</i>
<i>irp n pr itn [...]</i> | Year 14
Wine of the estate of Aton [...] |
| 2 | <i>itr imnt</i>
<i>n ḥry b^ḥ mk</i> | the Western River
of the <i>b^ḥ</i> Supervisor Mek |

Am 103 (F75, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [x+4]
<i>irp n pr itn ^c-w-s n [...]</i> | [...] [x+4]
Wine of the estate of Aton, LPH, of [...] |
| 2 | [...] [p3 ḥnm]
<i>ḥry b^ḥ [...]</i> | [...] [the flood land]
<i>b^ḥ</i> Supervisor [...] |

Am 104 (F76 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 16</i>
<i>[i]rp n pr itn [^c- w- s] [n] [...]</i> | Year 16
[W]ine of the estate of Aton, [LPH], [of] [...] |
| 2 | <i>itr imnt</i>
<i>ḥry [k3mw] [...]</i> | the Western River
[Vineyard] Supervisor [...] |

Am 105 (F77, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 16</i>
<i>i[r]p [...]</i> | Year 16
W[i]ne [...] |
| 2 | [...] [i]tr imnt
<i>m ḡrt twy</i> | [...] the Western [R]iver
through Tuy |

Am 106 (F78 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>n pr itn n [...]</i> | [...] of the estate of Aton of [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>ḥry b^ḥ ddy [...]</i> | [...] <i>b^ḥ</i> Supervisor Dedy [...] |

Am 107 (F79 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>itn n t3 wḥyt</i> | [...] Aton, of the Northern village |
| 2 | [...] [ḥry] [k3m]w p3-nḥm-niwt | [...] [Vineyard] [Supervisor] Panekhemniut |

Am 108 (F80 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>[i]tn ʕ-w-s n</i> | [...] [A]ton, LPH, of |
| 2 | [...]- <i>mʕy</i> | [...]-may |

Am 109 (F81 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>[ir]p n pr [i]tn [...]</i> | [...] [Wi]ne of the estate of [A]ton [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>hry k3mw nfr-shrw</i> | [...] Vineyard Supervisor Nefersekeru |

Am 110 (F82 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>n pr itn</i> | [...] of the estate of Aton |
| 2 | [...] <i>[hʕi] m w3st</i> | [...] [re]joice in Thebes |
| 3 | [...] <i>ipy</i> | [...] Ipy |

Am 111 (F83 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVII)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>[i]tn rmnyt [...]</i> | [...] domain of [A]ton [...] |
| 2 | [...] | [...] |

Am 112 (F84 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>n pr it[n] [...]</i> | [...] of the estate of Ato[n] [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>nht-p3-itn</i> | [...] Nakhtpaaton |

Am 113 (F85 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>[it]n ʕ-w-s n</i> | [...] [Ato]n, LPH, of |
| 2 | [...] <i>[hry] [k3m]y p3-hw</i> | [...] [Vineya]rd [Supervisor] Pahu |

Am 114 (F86 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>[i]rp n pr [itn] n</i>
<i>[itr] imnt</i> | [...] [W]ine of the estate of [Aton] of
the Western River |
| 2 | [...] | [...] |

Am 115 (F87 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>[i]tn</i> | [...] [A]ton |
| 2 | [...] <i>[hry] [k3]m[w] 3ny</i> | [...] [Vin]eya[r]d [Supervisor] Any |

Am 116 (F88 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>n</i> | [...] <i>of</i> |
| 2 | [...] <i>nb-ynn</i> | [...] <i>Nebamun</i> |

Am 117 (F89, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>ī[ī]n n [...]</i> | [...] <i>A[t]on of [...]</i> |
| 2 | [...] <i>[hry] [k3]m[w] sn-nfr</i> | [...] <i>[Vin]eya[rd] [Supervisor] Sennefer</i> |

Am 118 (F90 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>irp n pr h'i n p3 itn [...]</i> | [...] <i>Wine of the estate of Rejoicing for Aton [...]</i> |
| 2 | [...] <i>hry k3m[w] 'nn-n-f</i> | [...] <i>Vineya[rd] Supervisor Annenef</i> |

Am 119 (F91 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>irp n pr 'nh-itn n</i>
<i>itr [...]</i> | [...] <i>Wine of the estate of the Living Aton of</i>
<i>the [...]<i>River [...]</i></i> |
| 2 | [...] <i>imn-m-ipt n pr [...]</i> | [...] <i>Amunemipet of the estate [...]</i> |

Am 120 (F92, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>[x+2]</i>
<i>irp n pr 'nh-itn [...]</i> | [...] <i>[x+2]</i>
<i>Wine of the estate of the Living Aton [...]</i> |
| 2 | [...] <i>[itr] imnt</i>
<i>hry k3[mw] [...]</i> | [...] <i>the Western [River]</i>
<i>Vine[yard] Supervisor [...]</i> |

Am 121 (F93 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 7</i>
<i>irp nfr nfr n pr 'nh-itn n</i> | <i>Year 7</i>
<i>Very good wine of the estate of the Living Aton of</i> |
| 2 | <i>itr imnt</i>
<i>hry k3m[w] b- [...]</i> | <i>the Western River</i>
<i>Vineya[rd] Supervisor B- [...]</i> |

Am 122 (F94, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 9</i>
<i>irp n pr ʿnh-i[t]n n</i>
<i>skb [...]</i> | Year 9
Wine of the estate of the Living A[t]on of
the Cooling [...] |
| 2 | <i>hry k3m[w] [...]</i> | Vineya[rd] Supervisor [...] |

Am 123 (F95 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [x+9]
<i>irp n pr ʿnh-itn n</i> | [...] [x+9]
Wine of the estate of the Living Aton of |
| 2 | [...] [i]tr imnt
<i>hry k3[mw] sn-nfr</i> | [...] the Western [R]iver
Vine[yard] Supervisor Sennefer |

Am 124 (F96 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [ʿnh]-itn n | [...] [the Living] Aton of |
| 2 | [...] sn-nfr | [...] Sennefer |

Am 125 (F97 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 10</i>
<i>irp n pr ʿnh-itn ʿw-s n</i> | Year 10
Wine of the estate of the Living Aton, LPH, of |
| 2 | <i>itr imnt</i>
<i>hry k3mw p3- [...]</i> | the Western River
Vineyard Supervisor Pa- [...] |

Am 126 (F98, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [h3]t sp 10
<i>irp n pr ʿnh-itn ʿw-s [n]</i> | [...] [Ye]ar 10
Wine of the estate of the Living Aton, LPH, [of] |
| 2 | [...] [itr imnt]
<i>[hry k3mw] [...]</i> | [...] [the Western River]
[Vineyard Supervisor] [...] |

Am 127 (F99, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 14</i>
<i>irp n pr ʿnh-rʿ n</i> | Year 14
Wine of the estate of the Living Re of |
| 2 | <i>itr imnt</i>
<i>hry bʿh nfr-rnpt</i> | the Western River
<i>bʿh</i> Supervisor Nefer-renpet |

Am 136 (F108 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

1 [...] *t[3] šwt nḥ- [...]* [...] th[e] *šwt*-chapel, the Living [...]

Am 137 (F109 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

1 [...] *[irp] n t3 šwt nḥ-r^c n* [...] [Wine] of the *šwt*-chapel of the Living Re of

2 [...] *itr imnt* [...] the Western River

ḥry b^{ch} [...] *b^{ch}* Supervisor [...]

Am 138 (F110, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXVIII)

1 *ḥ3t[ī] sp 9* Ye[ar] 9

2 *irp n t3 šwt* Wine of the *šwt*-chapel

Am 139 (F111 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

1 *ḥ3t sp 1 3bd 1* Year 1, 1st month

irp n pr šḥtp-itn Wine of the estate of the One who Pacifies Aton

2 *itr imnt* the Western River

m drt p3-ḥw through Pahu

Am 140 (F112 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

1 [...] *[irp] n pr šḥtp-itn [...]* [...] [Wi]ne of the estate of the One who Pacifies Aton
[...]

2 [...] *[itr] imnt* [...] the Western [River]

m drt p3-[ḥw] through Pa[hu]

Am 141 (F113 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

1 [...] *[irp] [n] pr šḥtp-itn ^c-w-[s] [...]* [...] [Wine] [of] the estate of the One who Pacifies Aton,
LP[H], [...]

2 [...] *[ḥry k3mw] ipwy* [...] [Vinyard Supervisor] Ipy

Am 142 (F114 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

1 [...] *[irp] n pr šḥtp-itn ^c-w-s n* [...] [Wine] of the estate of the One who Pacifies Aton,
LPH, of

2 [...] *p3-ḥw* [...] Pahu

Am 143 (F115 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[h3t sp] 13</i> | [...]
[Year] 13 |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[l]rp m3^c n pr h^c=f</i> | [...]
[W]ine for sacrifice, of the estate His Appearance (?) |

Am 144 (F116 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 12</i>
<i>irp n pr wr-m3w [...]</i> | Year 12
Wine of the estate of the Great Seer [...] |
| 2 | <i>hry k3m[w] s-[...]</i> | Vineya[rd] Supervisor S-[...] |

Am 145 (F117, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 12</i>
<i>irp n pr wr-m3w n</i>
<i>itr imnt</i> | Year 12
Wine of the estate of the Great Seer of
the Western River |
| 2 | <i>hry k3mw p3-itn-m-nht</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Paatonemnakht |

Am 146 (F118, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[irp] m3^c n pr wr-m3w</i> | [...]
[Wine] for sacrifice, of the estate of the Great Seer |
|---|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|

Am 147 (F119 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[pr] wr-m3w n</i> | [...]
[the estate] of the Great Seer of |
| 2 | [...]
<i>iw-m-hsti</i> | [...]
Iuemheseti |

Am 148 (F120, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>pr wr-m3w n [...]</i> | [...]
the estate of the Great Seer of [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>iw-m-hsti [...]</i> | [...]
Iuemheseti [...] |

Am 149 (F121 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[h3]t sp 1</i>
<i>irp n pr imy-r [...]</i> | [...]
[Ye]ar 1
Wine of the estate of the Overseer [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[hry] b^ch bw-[...]</i> | [...]
<i>b^ch</i> [Supervisor] Bu-[...] |

Am 150 (F122 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>irp n pr imy-r htm</i> [...] | [...]
Wine of the estate of the Overseer of the Seal [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>hry b^h ty</i> | [...]
<i>b^h</i> [Supervisor] Iy |

Am 151 (F123 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>h³t sp 13</i>
<i>irp n t³rw n</i> | [...]
[Year] 13
Wine of Tjaru of |
| 2 | <i>sš nsw hwy-pn-h⁵y</i> | the King's Scribe Huypenkhay |

Am 152 (F124 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>wh³t rsyt</i> [...] | [...]
Southern oasis [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>hnw 32</i> [...] | [...]
32 <i>hnw</i> -measures [...] |

Am 153 (F125 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
(toponymn?) [...] | [...]
(toponymn?) [...] |
| 2 | [...] | [...] |

Am 154 (F126 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>wh³t rsyt</i> [...]
<i>h³t sp [10+x]</i> [...] | [...]
Southern oasis [...]
Year [10+x] [...] |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|

Am 155 (F127, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h³t sp 8</i>
<i>i[r]p</i> [...] | Year 8
W[i]ne [...] |
| 2 | <i>mn-nfr</i> [...] | Memphis [...] |

Am 156 (F128, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>imnt</i>
<i>t³ st sš nsw i^h-ms</i> [...] | Western [...]
the place of the King's Scribe Iahmes [...] |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|

Am 157 (F129, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- 1 [...] *mḥty ʿbty* [...] Northeastern
ʿ3 st p3 dmi p3 itn [...] the place of the town of Aton [...]

Am 158 (F130, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- 1 [...] [*n*]^c *mḥty* [...] [...] [of] the Northern [dist]rict [...]
 2 [...] *hnw* [...] [...] *hnw*-measure [...]

Am 159 (F131 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- 1 [...] *n^c mḥty* [...] of the Northern district
 35 [...] 35 [...]

Am 160 (F132, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- 1 *irp n miš* Wine of Mish

Am 161 (F133 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- 1 *ḥ3t sp 14* Year 14
irp [...] Wine [...]
 2 *p3 ḥnm* [...] the floodplain [...]

Am 162 (F134, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- 1 *ḥ3t sp 13* Year 13
irp [...] Wine [...]
 2 *p3 itn m 3ḥt-[itn]* [...] Aton in Akhet[aten] [...]

Am 163 (F135 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- 1 *mḏ n p3* [...] ¹/₁₀ for [...]
 2 *ḥ3t [sp] 9* Ye[ar] 9
irp [n] [...] Wine of [...]

Am 164 (F136, Fairman 1951: Pl. LXXXIX)

- 1 *mḏ n p3 itn ^c-w-s* ¹/₁₀ for Aton, LPH
 2 [...] [*ḥry*] *k3m[w] [ipf]* [...] [...] Viney[ard][Supervisor] [Ipi] [...]

Am 171 (F143 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

1	<i>h3t sp 17</i>	Year 17
	<i>irp n</i>	Wine of
	<i>[itr] imnt</i>	the Western [River]
2	<i>hry b[h] [m^c-hw]</i>	<i>b[h]</i> Supervisor [Mahu]

Am 172 (F144, Fairman 1951: Pl. XC)

1	[...] <i>[i]rp n</i>	[...] [W]ine of
	<i>itr imnt</i>	the Western River
	<i>n mwt nsw</i> [...] <i>r^c-ms-sw</i>	of the King's Mother [...] Ramesesu

Am 173 (F145 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

1	[...] <i>[ir]p n</i>	[...] [Wi]ne of
	<i>i[tr] [...]</i>	[...] Ri[ver]
2	[...] <i>[hry] b^ch titw^c</i>	[...] <i>b^ch</i> [Supervisor] Titua

Am 174 (F146, Fairman 1951: Pl. XC)

1	[...] <i>itn n</i>	[...] Aton of
	<i>itr [...]</i>	[...] River
2	[...] <i>h3ti-3y</i>	[...] Hatiay

Am 175 (F147 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

1	[...] <i>[i]r[p] [...]</i> <i>n</i>	[...] [W]i[ne] [...] of
	<i>p3 k3mw</i>	the vineyard
2	[...] <i>[i]tr imnt</i> [...]	[...] Western [Ri]ver [...]

Am 176 (F148 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

1	[...]	[...]
2	[...] <i>imnt n k3mw</i> [...]	Western [...] of the Vineyard [...]

Am 177 (F149 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>imnt n</i>
<i>hry k3mw kn-hr-hpš-f</i> | Western [...] of
Vineyard Supervisor Keneher-khepshef |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|

Am 178 (F150 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>hry</i>] [<i>k3m</i>]w <i>ipy</i> [...] | [...] [Vineya]rd [Supervisor] Ipy [...] |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|

Am 179 (F151 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] | [...] |
| 2 | [...] [<i>hry</i>] [<i>k3m</i>]w <i>h3t3y</i> [...] | [...] [Vineyar]d [Supervisor] Hatay [...] |

Am 180 (F152 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] | [...] |
| 2 | <i>hry k3m[w] š3-sw-n3</i> | Vineya[rd] Supervisor Shasuna |

Am 181 (F153, Fairman 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>n p3</i> [...] | [...] of [the] [...] |
| 2 | [...] [<i>hry</i>] [<i>k3m</i>]w <i>h3wt-hbr^c</i> | [...] [Vineyar]d [Supervisor] Khauthebre |

Am 182 (F154 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>it</i>]n [...] | [...] [At]on [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>hry k3m[w] t</i> -[...] | [...] Vineya[rd] Supervisor I-[...] |

Am 183 (F155 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>h3t sp</i>] 11
<i>[ir]p</i> [...] | [...] [Year] 11
[Wi]ne [...] |
| 2 | [...] [<i>itr</i>] <i>imnt</i>
<i>hry sn-nfr</i> | [...] Western [River]
Supervisor Sen-nefer |

Am 184 (F156 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>irp</i>] <i>n p3 b^ch</i> [...] | [...] [Wine] of the <i>b^ch</i> [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>iny</i> | [...] Iny |

Am 185 (F157, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC; not wine according to Fairman)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>n p3 šd[h] [n]</i>
<i>n3 n bʰh</i> [...] | [...]
of the Shed[eh]-wine of
the <i>bʰh</i> 's [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[itr]</i> [...]
<i>hnw 24</i> | [...]
[River] [...]
24 <i>hnw</i> -measures |

Am 186 (F158, Fairman 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 14</i>
<i>irp p3 bʰh</i> [...] | Year 14
Wine of the <i>bʰh</i> [...] |
|---|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|

Am 187 (F159, Fairman 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 13</i>
<i>irp n p3 bʰh n t3 hwt</i> [...] | Year 13
Wine of the <i>bʰh</i> of the domain [...] |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|

Am 188 (F160, Fairman 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 14</i>
<i>irp nfr pr</i> [...] | Year 14
Good wine of the estate [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[itr imnt]</i>
<i>ʕ3 n [bʰh]</i> [...] | [...]
Western [River]
Leader of the <i>[bʰh]</i> [...] |

Am 189 (F161 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 15</i>
<i>irp</i> [...] | Year 15
Wine [...] |
| 2 | <i>itr imnt</i>
<i>hry bʰh</i> [...] | the Western River
<i>bʰh</i> Supervisor [...] |

Am 190 (F162 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>16</i>
<i>irp n pr</i> [...] | [...]
16
Wine of the estate [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[hry bʰh pt-]</i> [...] | [...]
<i>bʰh</i> [Supervisor] Pet-[...] |

Am 191 (F163 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 16</i>
<i>irp [n pr] [...]</i> | Year 16
Wine [of the estate] [...] |
| 2 | <i>hry bʿh mry [...]</i> | <i>bʿh</i> Supervisor Mery [...] |

Am 192 (F164 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] | [...] |
| 2 | [...] [<i>hry</i>] <i>bʿh hwy</i> [...] | [...] <i>bʿh</i> [Supervisor] Huy [...] |

Am 193 (F165 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 2</i>
<i>irp ndm n</i>
<i>itr n bʿh [...]</i> | Year 2
Sweet wine of
the River of the basin of irrigation [...] |
| 2 | <i>p3 itm</i> | of Aton |

Am 194 (F166 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XC)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [x+6]
<i>irp ndm n pr [...]</i> | [...] [x+6]
Sweet wine of the estate [...] |
|---|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|

Am 195 (F167 + Č, Fairman 1951: Pl. XCI)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 16</i>
<i>irp [ndm] [...]</i> | Year 16
[Sweet] Wine [...] |
| 2 | <i>k3yt</i>
<i>hry bʿh [...]</i> | Karet (?)
<i>bʿh</i> Supervisor [...] |

Am 196 (F168 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XCI)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 28 [...]</i> | Year 28 [...] |
| 2 | <i>ir[p] [...]</i> | Wi[ne] [...] |

Am 197 (F169 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XCI)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 9</i>
<i>ī[r]p [...]</i> | Year 9
W[i]ne [...] |
| 2 | <i>sš nb-mḥy- [...]</i> | Scribe Neb-mehy- [...] |

Am 198 (F170 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XCI)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>pr w3t-īnr-sw (?)</i> [...] <i>pr bḥ</i> [...] | [...] the estate <i>w3t-īnr-sw (?)</i> [...] the estate of <i>bḥ</i> [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>īrp</i> | [...] Wine |

Am 199 (F171 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XCI)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>ītn</i> <i>ḥ-w-s n</i> [...] | [...] [Aton], LPH, of [...] |
| 2 | <i>ḥ3 m ḥb-[sd]</i> | Great in [Sed] Festivals |

Am 200 (F172 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XCI)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>ītn h3tī-3y</i> [...] | [...] Aton, Hatiay [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>ītn</i> <i>ḥ-w-s</i> | [...] [A]ton, LPH |

Am 201 (F173 + Č, Fairman 1951: Pl. XCI)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 17</i>
<i>īrp nfr nfr n t3 ḥwt p3 ītn n</i> | Year 17
Very good wine of the domain of Aton of |
| 2 | [...] <i>nfr-rnpt</i> | [...] Nefer-renpet |

Am 202 (F174, Fairman 1951: Pl. XCI)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>īrp n h3yt nfr īi</i> [...] | [...] [Wine] for spreading joy [...] |
|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|

Am 203 (F175 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XCI)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3[ī] sp [...]</i> | Ye[a]r [...] |
| 2 | <i>īrp nfr nd[m]</i> [...] | Good sw[eet] [wine] [...] |

Am 204 (F178 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XCI)

1	<i>ḥ3t sp 11</i>	Year 11
2	<i>šdh [...] ḥnh-i[tn] n</i>	Shedeh-wine [...] the Living Aton, of
3	<i>i-[...] [imy-ḥnr] ḥry k3mw sn-nfr</i>	i-[...] [the Overseer], Vineyard Supervisor Sen-nefer

Am 205 (F190 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XCI)

1	<i>šdh nfr nfr n p3 bḥ n p3 [...]</i>	Very good Shedeh-wine of the <i>bḥ</i> of the [...]
2	<i>[...] idhw n 3ḥt ḥnh-it[n] [...]</i>	[...] marshes of Akhet-ankh-Ato[n] [...]
3	<i>[...] [n] 3ḥt ḥnh-itn [...]</i>	[...] [of] Akhet-ankh-Aton [...]

Am 206 (F237 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XCIV)

1	<i>ḥ3t sp 9</i>	Year 9
	<i>irp nfr nfr n</i>	Very good wine of
	<i>itr [...]</i>	[...] River
2	<i>pr itn th n</i>	the estate of Aton's Gleaming for
	<i>pr ḥry k3mw p3-[šd] [...]</i>	the estate of Vineyard Supervisor Pa[shed] [...]

Am 207 (F304 + Č, Černý notbook 17.54: 10; 1951: Pl. XCVI (omitted by Fairman))

1	<i>ḥ3t sp 14</i>	Year 14
	<i>i3rrt iw [...] n pr wr-m3w m p3</i>	Iarrt-wine of the island [...] of the estate of the Great Seer in the
2	<i>ḥnm</i>	floodplain
	<i>ḥry bḥ [kn]-n3</i>	<i>bḥ</i> Supervisor [Ken]-na

Am 208 (F308 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XCVI)

1	<i>[...] [n pr] itn ḥ-w-s</i>	[...] [of the estate] of Aton, LPH
	<i>i3 w3t i3bt n mr</i>	of the eastern road/side (?) of the canal
2	<i>ti3y pr-ḥbyt</i>	of Behbeit el-Hagar

Am 209 (F322 + Č, Fairman and Černý 1951: Pl. XCVII)

1	<i>[...] itn ḥ3 tpy [...]</i>	[...] Aton (he who is the first lotus leaf) or (the primordial one)
2	<i>[...] [ḥry] [k3]m[w] imn-[...]</i>	[...] [Vine]ya[rd] [Supervisor] Amun-[...]

Am 210 (176, 1951: Pl. XCI)

Not wine but Fairman says “certainly wine”.

Ɔ₃*m*-beer.

Am 211 (177, 1951: Pl. XCI)

Not wine but Fairman says “certainly wine”.

Ɔ₇*m* – a kind of alcoholic drink (Hannig 1995: 150).

Am 212 (279, 1951: Pl. XCV)

Not wine but Fairman says “wine”.

Honey.

Am 213 (324, 1951: Pl. XCVII)

Not wine and Fairman is also uncertain if it is wine.

Vinetiketter från Tutankhamuns grav (Černý 1965)

Tut 1 (Černý 1965: 21, No. 1; Carter No: 413; Cairo JE 62306)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 4</i> | Year 4 |
| | <i>irp nqm n pr itn ʿ-w-s n</i> | Sweet wine of the estate of Aton, LPH, of |
| 2 | <i>itr imnty</i> | the Western River |
| | <i>ḥry k3mw ʿpr-ršp</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Aper-reshep |

Tut 2 (Černý 1965: 21, No. 2; Carter No: 486; Cairo JE 62303)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 4</i> | Year 4 |
| | <i>irp n pr itn ʿ-w-s n</i> | Wine of the estate of Aton, LPH, of |
| 2 | <i>itr imnty</i> | the Western River |
| | <i>ḥry k3mw nn</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Nen |

Tut 3 (Černý 1965: 21, No. 3; Carter No: 362; Cairo JE 62324)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 4</i> | Year 4 |
| | <i>šdh nfr nfr n pr itn ʿ-w-s n</i> | Very good Shedeh-wine of the estate of Aton, LPH,
of |
| 2 | <i>[itr] imnty</i> | the Western [River] |
| | <i>ḥry k3mw nn</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Nen |

Tut 4 (Černý 1965: 21, No. 4; Carter No: 568; Cairo JE 62318)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 4</i> | Year 4 |
| | <i>irp n pr twt-ʿnh-immn ʿ-w-s [...]</i> | Wine of the estate of Tutankhamun, LPH, [...] |
| 2 | <i>itr imnty n</i> | the Western River of |
| | <i>ḥry k3mwy ḥʿ</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Khaa |

Tut 5 (Černý 1965: 21, No. 5; Carter No: 392; Cairo JE 62305)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 4</i> | Year 4 |
| | <i>šdh nfr nfr n pr itn n</i> | Very good Shedeh-wine of the estate of Aton of |
| | <i>itr n</i> | the river of |
| 2 | <i>ḥry k3m[w] ḥʿy</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Khaay |

Tut 6 (Černý 1965: 21, No. 6; Carter No: 434; Cairo JE 62304)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>
<i>irp n pr itn n</i> | Year 5
Wine of the estate of Aton of |
| 2 | <i>itr imnty</i>
<i>ḥry k3mw 3ny</i> | the Western River
Vineyard Supervisor Any |

Tut 7 (Černý 1965: 21, No. 7; Carter No: 523; Cairo JE 62301)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>
<i>irp n pr itn n</i> | Year 5
Wine of the estate of Aton of |
| 2 | <i>itr imnty</i>
<i>ḥry k3mw p3-w3ḥ</i> | the Western River
Vineyard Supervisor Pauah
(Pinehas according to Černý) |

Tut 8 (Černý 1965: 22, No. 8; Carter No: 411; Cairo JE 62309)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>
<i>irp ndm n pr itn [...]</i> | Year 5
Sweet wine of the estate of Aton [...] |
| 2 | <i>t3rw</i>
<i>ḥry k3mw pn-immn</i> | Tjaru
Vineyard Supervisor Penamun |

Tut 9 (Černý 1965: 22, No. 9; Carter No: 549; Cairo JE 62322)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>
<i>irp n pr itn n</i> | Year 5
Wine of the estate of Aton of |
| 2 | <i>itr imnty</i>
<i>ḥry k3m[w] nnī3</i> | the Western River
Vineyard Supervisor Nenia |

Tut 10 (Černý 1965: 22, No. 10; Carter No: 509; Cairo JE 62312)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>
<i>irp ndm n pr itn n</i> | Year 5
Sweet wine of the estate of Aton of |
| 2 | <i>itr imnty</i>
<i>ḥry k3mw nḥt</i> | the Western River
Vineyard Supervisor Nakht |

Tut 11 (Černý 1965: 22, No. 11; Carter No: 489; Cairo JE 62317)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>
<i>irp n pr itn n</i>
<i>itr n</i> | Year 5
Wine of the estate of Aton of
the river of |
| 2 | <i>n ḥry k3my nḥt-sbk</i> | of Vineyard Supervisor Nakht-sobek |

Tut 12 (Černý 1965: 22, No. 12; Carter No: 571; Cairo JE 62307)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>
<i>irp nḏm n pr itn n</i> | Year 5
Sweet wine of the estate of Aton of |
| 2 | <i>k3rt</i>
<i>ḥry k3mw r^c-ms</i> | <i>k3rt</i>
Vineyard Supervisor Ramose |

Tut 13 (Černý 1965:22, No. 13; Carter No: 206; Cairo JE 62315)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>
<i>šdh nfr nfr n pr itn n</i> | Year 5
Very good Shedeh-wine of the estate of Aton of |
| 2 | <i>itr imnty</i>
<i>ḥry k3my rr</i> | the Western River
Vineyard Supervisor Rer |

Tut 14 (Černý 1965:22, No. 14; Carter No: 180; Cairo JE 62316)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>
<i>irp n pr twt-^cnḥ-imm-ḥk3-iwnw-šm^cw</i>

<i>m itr imnty</i> | Year 5
Wine of the estate of Tutankhamun-Ruler of
Southern Heliopolis (Thebe)
from the Western River |
| 2 | <i>ḥry k3my ḥ^c</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Khaa |

Tut 15 (Černý 1965:23, No. 15; Carter No: 560; Cairo JE 62308)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>
<i>irp n pr twt-^cnḥ-imm^c-w-s</i> | Year 5
Wine of the estate of Tutankhamun, LPH |
| 2 | <i>m itr imnty</i>
<i>ḥry k3mw ḥ^c</i> | from the Western River
Vineyard Supervisor Khaa |

Tut 16 (Černý 1965:23, No. 16; Carter No: 508; Cairo JE 62313)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i> | Year 5 |
| | <i>irp n pr twt-ḥnh-ḥk3-iwnw-šmḥw</i>
[ḥ-w-s] | Wine of the estate of Tutankhamun-Ruler of Southern Heliopolis (Thebe), [LPH] |
| 2 | <i>itr imnty n</i>
<i>ḥry k3mwy ḥḥ</i> | the Western River of
Vineyard Supervisor Khaa |

Tut 17 (Černý 1965:23, No. 17; Carter No: 570; Cairo JE 62323)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i> | Year 5 |
| | <i>irp [n pr] twt-ḥnh-[imn]-ḥk3-iwnw-šmḥw</i>
ḥ-w-s | Wine [of the estate of] Tutankh[amun]-Ruler of Southern Heliopolis (Thebe), LPH |
| 2 | <i>m itr imnty</i>
<i>ḥry k3mwy ḥḥ</i> | from the Western River
Vineyard Supervisor Khaa |

Tut 18 (Černý 1965: 23, No. 18; Carter No: missing; Cairo JE 62321)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 9</i> | Year 9 |
| | <i>irp [n pr] itn</i>
<i>m itr</i> | Wine [of the estate of] Aton
from the river |
| 2 | <i>n ḥry k3mw [p3]y</i> (Alt. [ḥḥ]) | of Vineyard Supervisor [Pa]y (Alt. [Khaa]) |

Tut 19 (Černý 1965: 23, No. 19; Carter No: 516; Cairo JE 62320)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 9</i> | Year 9 |
| | <i>irp n pr twt-ḥnh-ḥk3-iwnw-šmḥw</i>
ḥ-w-s | Wine of the estate of Tutankhamun-Ruler of Southern Heliopolis (Thebe), LPH |
| 2 | <i>m itr imntty</i>
<i>ḥry [k]3mwy mḥy</i> | from the Western River
Vineyard Supervisor May |

Tut 20 (Černý 1965: 23, No. 20; Carter No: 539; Cairo JE 62311)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 9</i> | Year 9 |
| | <i>irp n pr itn n</i> | Wine of the estate of Aton of |
| 2 | <i>itr imnty</i>
<i>ḥry k3mw nb-nfr</i> | the Western River
Vineyard Supervisor Nebnefer |

Tut 21 (Černý 1965: 23, N.o 21; Carter No: 11; Cairo JE missing)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 9</i> | Year 9 |
| | <i>irp n pr itn</i> | Wine of the estate of Aton |
| 2 | <i>m ȡrt in ḥry [k3mw] nḥt-sbk</i> | through the [Vineyard] Supervisor Nakht-sobek |

Tut 22 (Černý 1965: 24, No. 22; Carter No 195; Cairo JE 62314)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 9</i> | Year 9 |
| | <i>irp n pr itn n</i> | Wine of the estate of Aton of |
| 2 | <i>itr imnty</i> | the Western River |
| | <i>ḥry k3mw sn-nfr</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Sen-nefer |

Tut 23 (Černý 1965: 24, No. 23; Carter No: 541; Cairo JE 62310)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 9</i> | Year 9 |
| | <i>irp n pr twt-^ᶜnḥ-imn-ḥk3-iwnw-šm^ᶜw</i> | Wine of the estate of Tutankhamun-Ruler of Southern |
| | <i>ᶜ- w-s</i> | Heliopolis (Thebe), LPH |
| | <i>m itr imntty</i> | from the Western River |
| 2 | <i>ḥry k3mwy sn-nfr</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Sen-nefer |

Tut 24 (Černý 1965: 24, No. 24; Carter No: 500; Cairo JE 62300)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 10</i> | Year 10 |
| | <i>irp nfr n i3ty</i> | Good wine of Iaty |
| | | (possible Southern Oasis according to Černý) |

Tut 25 (Černý 1965: 24, No. 25; Carter No: 563; Cairo JE 62319)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 31</i> | Year 31 |
| 2 | <i>irp [n] [ᶜᶜ] [...] [itr imnt ?] [...]</i> | Wine [of the estate] [...] [the Western River?] [...] |

Tut 26 (Černý 1965: 24, No. 26; Carter No: 490; Cairo JE 62302)

- | | | |
|---|------------------|-----------------|
| 1 | <i>i3ty pntw</i> | The Vizir Pentu |
|---|------------------|-----------------|

Vinetiketter från Deir el-Medina (Koenig 1980)

DeM 1 (6289, Koenig 1980: Pl. 32-32a)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 1</i>
<i>irp n k3 n km[t]</i> | Year 1
Wine of Ka of Egypt |
| 2 | <i>ḥry k3mwyt ḥri</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Hori |

DeM 2 (6290, Koenig 1980: Pl. 32-32a)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 11</i>
<i>irp n</i>
<i>itr imnt [...]</i> | Year 11
Wine of
the Western River [...] |
| 2 | <i>n ḥry k3mw imn</i> | of Vineyard Supervisor Amun |

DeM 3 (6291, Koenig 1980: Pl. 33 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 6</i>
<i>irp n p3 k3mw n r^cmssw-mr-imn</i>
<i>ᶜ-w-s mr w3st</i> | Year 6
Wine of the vineyard of Ramses-Meramun, LPH,
whom Thebes loves |
| 2 | <i>r-ḥt imy-r pr ḥri</i>
<i>n t3 ḥwt nt ḥḥ m rnpt</i>
<i>nsw bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c ᶜ-w-s m</i>
[...] | under the authority of the Overseer of the estate Hori
of the Temple of Millions of Years of
the King of UL Egypt Usermaatse-Setepenre, LPH,
from [...] |

DeM 4 (6292, Koenig 1980: Pl. 33 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 3</i>
<i>irp n pr ḥnsw n</i>
<i>itr imnt</i> | Year 3
Wine of the estate of Khonsu of
the Western River |
| 2 | <i>ḥry k3mw ḥ3t-nfrw</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Hatneferu |

DeM 9 (6297, Koenig 1980: Pl. 34 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 26</i> | Year 26 |
| | <i>irp n p3 k3mw n</i> | Wine of the vineyard of |
| | <i>ḥry k3[mw]y ḥtpw</i> | Vine[yard] Supervisor Hetepu |

DeM 10 (6298, Koenig 1980: Pl. 34 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>irp</i>] <i>n t3 ḥwt nt ḥḥ m rnpt</i> | [...] [Wine] of the Temple of Millions of Years |
| | <i>nsw bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c ^c-w- s</i> | of the King of UL Egypt Usermaatre-Setepenre, LPH |
| | <i>m pr imn [...]</i> | in Amun's estate [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>imntt m t3 k^cḥ[i]tmw</i> | [...] west of the bend of Atum |
| | <i>m dṛt ḥry k3myt tm-mḥd</i> | through Vineyard Supervisor Tem-mehed |

DeM 11 (6299, Koenig 1980: Pl. 34 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 3</i> | Year 3 |
| | <i>irp n pr ḏsr-ḥprw-r^c-stp-n-r^c ^c- w- s</i> | Wine of the estate of Djoserkheperure-Setepenre LPH |
| | <i>shtp imn</i> | who pacifies Amun |
| 2 | <i>p3 k3mw n itr imntt</i> | the vineyard of the Western River |
| | <i>ḥry k3mw rw-[...]</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Ru-[...] |

DeM 12 (6300, Koenig 1980: Pl. 34 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 17</i> | Year 17 |
| | <i>irp n p3 k3mw ^c3 n t3 ḥwt wsr-m3^ct-r^c-</i> | Wine of the Great vineyard of the domain of |
| | <i>stp-n-r^c ^c- w- s m pr imn</i> | Usermaatre-Setepenre, LPH, in Amun's estate |
| 2 | <i>nty m pr wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c</i> | which is in the estate of Usermaatre-Setepenre, LPH, |
| | <i>^c- w- s p3 nṯr p3 mw n pr^c</i> | of the god of the water of Pre |
| | <i>ḥry k3mwyt imn</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Amun |

DeM 13 (6301, Koenig 1980: Pl. 35-35a)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>irp n</i>] <i>p3 k3mw ^c3 n t3 [ḥwt]</i> [...] | [...] [Wine of] the Great Vineyard of the [domain] |
| | | [...] |
| 2 | [...] [<i>s</i>] <i>p3 nṯr m p3 mw n pr^c</i> | [...] [H] of the god of the water of Pre |

DeM 14 (6302, Koenig 1980: Pl. 35 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>nṯr</i>] <i>m p3 mw n p</i> -[...] | [...] [god] of the water of P-[...] |
|---|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

DeM 15 (6303, Koenig 1980: Pl. 35-35a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [x+8]
<i>irp n p3 k3mw n t3 hwt nt hh [rnpt]</i> | [...] [x+8]
Wine of the vineyard of the Temple of Millions [of
years] |
| 2 | <i>wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c [c- w- s]</i>
<i>[m pr imn] nty hr imntt w3st</i> | of Usermaatse-Setepenre, [LPH]
[in Amun's estate] that is on the west of Thebes |

DeM 16 (6304, Koenig 1980: Pl. 35-35a)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 24</i>
<i>irp n itr imnt</i> | Year 24
Wine of the Western River |
| 2 | <i>hry k3m[w]y p3-hry-pdt</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Paherypedjet |

DeM 17 (6305, Koenig 1980: Pl. 35-35a)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>irp nfr n pr mntw nb iwnw</i> | [...] Good wine of the estate of Montu Lord of
Heliopolis |
|---|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 18 (6306, Koenig 1980: Pl. 35 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>irp n 3mw n p3sšy</i> | [...] Wine of the Asians of Paseshy |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|

DeM 19 (6307, Koenig 1980: Pl. 36 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 19</i>
<i>irp nfr n hrw 6 n p3 k3mw 3 n</i>
<i>wsr-[...]-r^c-[...] k3 n kmt</i> | Year 19
Good wine of day 6 of the Great Vineyard of
User-[...]-re-[...] Ka of Egypt |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 20 (6308, Koenig 1980: Pl. 36 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>[irp] n</i>
<i>[t]3 [hwt] wr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c [...]</i> | [...] [Wine] of
the [domain] of Usermaatse-Setepenre [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>p3 mw n pr^c</i> | [...] water of Pre |

DeM 21 (6309, Koenig 1980: Pl. 36, [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>3 n t3 hwt wr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c</i>
<i>c- w-s m pr imn</i> | [...] of the Great [...] of the domain of Usermaatse-
Setepenre, LPH, in Amun's estate |
| 2 | [...] <i>m p3 mw n pr^c</i>
<i>hry k3mw [...]</i> | [...] in the water of Pre
Vineyard Supervisor [...] |

DeM 22 (6310, Koenig 1980: Pl. 36 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 23</i> | Year 23 |
| | <i>irp n p3 k3[mw] n pr-ᜫ</i> | Wine of the vineyard of pharaoh |

DeM 23 (6311, Koenig 1980: Pl. 36 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[...] [irp] nfr n t3 ḥwt nt ḥḥ m rnpt
nsw bit mn-m3ᜫt-rᜫ ᜫ-w- s</i> | [...] Good [wine] of the Temple of Millions of Years
of the King of UL Egypt Menmaatre , LPH |
| 2 | <i>[...] imnty itr k3 n [...]
ḥry k3mw t3y</i> | western [...] [of] the River [of] the Ka of [...]
Vineyard Supervisor Tjay |

DeM 24 (6312, Koenig 1980: Pl. 36 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[...] [x+7]</i> | [...] [x+7] |
| 1 | <i>irp n pr ḥwt-ḥr nb[t] twnw</i> | Wine of the estate of Hathor, mistress of Heliopolis |

DeM 25 (6313, Koenig 1980: Pl. 37 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[...] [ḥwt]-ḥr nbt twnw [...]</i> | [...] [Hat]-hor, mistress of Heliopolis |
| 2 | <i>[...] [ḥry] [k3myt] pti-3y</i> | [...] [Vineyard] [Supervisor] Petiay |

DeM 26 (6314, Koenig 1980: Pl. 37 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 42</i> | Year 42 |
| | <i>irp n p3 k3[mw] [...]</i> | Wine of the vine[yard] [...] |
| 2 | <i>nty m n3y imn
r-ḥt imy-r pr [...]</i> | that is in these of Amun
under the authority of the Overseer of the estate [...] |

DeM 27 (6315, Koenig 1980: Pl. 37 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 7</i> | Year 7 |
| | <i>irp n t3[rw] [...]</i> | Wine of Tja[ru] [...] |
| 2 | <i>[...] wᜫb imn m it n ḥr nsw [...] ???</i> | purification of Amun, from the forefathers
of the Royal necropolis ??? |

DeM 28 (6316, Koenig 1980: Pl. 37 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i> n pr r^c</i> | [...] of the estate of Re |
| 2 | [...] <i> irp nfr n t3rw</i> | [...] Good Wine of Tjaru |

DeM 29 (6317, Koenig 1980: Pl. 37 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 8 hnw 2</i> | Year 8, 2 <i>hnw</i> -measures |
| 2 | <i>irp n t3[rw]</i> | Wine of Tjaru |

DeM 30 (6318, Koenig 1980: Pl. 38-38a)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i> p3 k3mw n t3 hw[t] [n]t hh m rnpt
n nsw bit hk3-m3^ct-r^c-[stp-n-r^c]</i> | [...] the vineyard of the Temple of Millions of Years
of the king of UL Egypt Hekamaatre-[Setepenre] |
| 2 | [...] <i> nty n3y r^c-ms-sw-mr-<i>imn</i>
spt ptr itr [...]</i> | [...] that is of those of Ramses-Meryamun
the shore of the <i>ptr</i> - river [...] |

DeM 31 (6319, Koenig 1980: Pl. 38 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i> [irp] n hrw 5 n p3 k3mw n
p3 imy-r pr n imn</i> | [...] [Wine] of day 5 of the vineyard of
the Overseer of the estate of Amun |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 32 (6320, Koenig 1980: Pl. 38 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[h3t sp] 8
irp n mr-tm [...]</i> | [Year] 8
Wine of Meidum [...] |
| 2 | [...] | [...] (probably a title and name?) |

DeM 33 (6321, Koenig 1980: Pl. 38 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 10
irp n mr-tm [...]</i> | Year 10
Wine of Meidum [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i> [hry] k3myt nht</i> | [...] Vineyard [Supervisor] Nakht |

DeM 34 (6322, Koenig 1980: Pl. 38 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 8 3bd 1 3ht [...]</i> | Year 8, first month of Akhet [...] |
| 2 | <i>irp n mr-tm [...]</i> | Wine of Meidum [...] |

DeM 35 (6323, Koenig 1980: Pl. 38 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[...] irp n t3 hwt</i> | [...] Wine of the domain |
| 2 | <i>[...] m mr-tm [...]</i> | [...] from Meidum [...] |

DeM 36 (6324, Koenig 1980: Pl. 38-38a)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 53</i> | Year 53 |
| | <i>irp n mr-tm [...]</i> | Wine of Meidum |
| 2 | <i>imy-r pr mry-r^c</i> | Overseer of the estate Meryre |

DeM 37 (6325, Koenig 1980: Pl. 38 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | <i>[...] mr-tmw [...]</i> | [...] Meidum [...] |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------|

DeM 38 (6326, Koenig 1980: Pl. 38-38a)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | <i>[i]rp nfr n siny</i> | Good [w]ine of Siny |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------|

DeM 39 (6327, Koenig 1980: Pl. 39-39a)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[...] [n hrw] 3 n t3 hwt</i> | [...] [of day] 3 of the domain |
| | <i>wsr-m3^ct-r^c- stp-n-r^c [n^h] [...]</i> | of Usermaat-re-Setepenre, [life] [...] |
| 2 | <i>[...] [itr 3]</i> | [...] [of the great river] |
| | <i>hry k3mwyt nht-m-pt^h</i> | Vineyard Supervisor Nakhtemptah |

DeM 40 (6328, Koenig 1980: Pl. 39-39a)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>irp n p3 hb-sd</i> | Wine for the Sed Festival |
| 2 | <i>[...]</i> | [...] (probably a title and name?) |

DeM 41 (6329, Koenig 1980: Pl. 39-39a)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[...] k3mw n t3 hwt nt h^h m rnpt</i> | [...] vineyard of the Temple of Millions of Years |
| | <i>n nsw bit wsr-[m3^ct]-r^c-[...]</i> | of the King of UL Egypt User[-maat]-re-[...] |
| 2 | <i>[...] m d^rt hry k3myt 33-m^cy</i> | [...] through Vineyard Supervisor Shamay |

DeM 42 (6330, Koenig 1980: Pl. 39-39a)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 28</i>
<i>irp nfr n p3 k3[mw] [...]</i> | Year 28
Good wine of the vine[yard] [...] |
| 2 | <i>ḥr imnt rbnlrbnt m itr</i> | on the west of <i>rbn/rbnt</i> at the river |

DeM 43 (6331, Koenig 1980: Pl. 39 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[i]rp nfr nfr n p3 k3mw ʕ3 n [t3] [...]</i> | Very good wine of the Great vineyard of [the] [...] |
| 2 | <i>[...] nty mr k3yt [...]</i>
<i>ḥry k3[mw] [...]</i> | [...] that is <i>mr k3yt</i>
Vine[yard] Supervisor [...] |

DeM 44 (6332, Koenig 1980: Pl. 40 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[...] [i]rp n p3 k3mw t3 ḥwt [...]</i> | [...] [Wi]ne of the vineyard of the domain [...] |
| 2 | <i>[...] imy-r pr pn-gt-īwy</i>
<i>m drt [ḥry] [...]</i> | [...] Overseer of the estate Pengetiu
through [...] Supervisor [...] |

DeM 45 (6333, Koenig 1980: Pl. 40-40a)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[...] [ir]p n pr pn m p3 mw n pth</i> | [...] [Wi]ne of this estate by the water of Ptah |
| 2 | <i>[...] ḥry k3mw pti-3y</i> | [...] Vineyard Supervisor Petiai |

DeM 46 (6334, Koenig 1980: Pl. 40-40a)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 53</i>
<i>irp n t3 rit smḥy [...]</i>
<i>[...] [r^c-ms-sw-mr-imn] [...]</i> | Year 53
Wine for the left side [...]
[...] [Ramses-Meryamun] [...] |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 47 (6335, Koenig 1980: Pl. 40-40a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[...] [irp] n p3 k3mw n</i>
<i>t3 ḥwt nt ḥḥ m rnpt [nsw] [...]</i> | [...] [Wine] of the vineyard of
the Temple of Millions of Years [King of U Egypt]
[...] |
| 2 | <i>[...]w3t? ḥr spt ptr itr</i>
<i>m drt ḥry [...]</i>
<i>[...]w3t? (maybe mentioning a location in Northern Nubia w3w3t (Faulkner 1999:53)?)</i> | [...]w3t? on the bank of the <i>ptr</i> -river
through [...] Supervisor [...] |

DeM 48 (6336 , Koenig 1980: Pl. 40 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>n p3 k3mw 3 n p3 kniw?</i>
<i>n nsw [bit] wsr[-m3^ct]-r^c-[...]</i> | [...]
of the Great vineyard of the <i>kniw?</i>
of the King of U[L] Egypt User[maat]re-[...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[hry] snwt h3t-ti</i>
<i>r-ht imy-r niwt t3ty hri</i>
<i>m drt [...]</i> | [...]
[Supervisor] of the granary Hatti
under the authority of the Mayor and Vizier Hori
through [...] |

DeM 49 (6337, Koenig 1980: Pl. 41 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 19</i>
<i>irp n pr mn-hpr-r^c m p3 [mw n] [...]</i> | Year 19
Wine of the estate of Menkheperre from the [water
of] [...] |
| 2 | <i>pth</i>
<i>m drt hk3y</i> | Ptah
through Hekay |

DeM 50 (6338 , Koenig 1980: Pl. 41 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[hh] rnpt</i>
<i>nsw bit b3-n-r^c-mr-immn [s- w- s] m pr immn</i> | [...]
[Millions] of Years
King of UL Egypt Baenre-Meryamun [LPH] in
Amun's estate |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[hry k3mw] [p3-nht] [...]</i> | [...]
[Vineyard] [Supervisor] [Panakht] [...] |

DeM 51 (6339, Koenig 1980: Pl. 41-41a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[t3] hwt dsr-hprw-r^c-stp-n-r^c s- w-s</i>
<i>hr itr immnt</i> | [...]
domain of Djserkheperure-Setepenre, LPH
on the Western River |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 52 (6340, Koenig 1980: Pl. 41 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 5 t nt ht</i> | Year 5 of the orchard |
| 2 | <i>ipw s3 3hy</i> | Ipu son of Akhy |

DeM 53 (6341, Koenig 1980: Pl. 41-41a)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 17 t [ht] [...]</i> | Year 17 of the orch[ard] [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>pr immn-htp [...]</i> | [...]
the estate of Amenhotep [...] |

DeM 54 (6342, Koenig 1980: Pl. 41-41a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[i]rp n pr d _{sr} -h _{prw} -r ^c -stp-n-r ^c [...] | [...]
[W]ine of the estate of Djoserkheperure-
Setepenre [...] |
| 2 | [...]
[hry] [...] | [...]
[Supervisor] [...] |

DeM 55 (6343, Koenig 1980: Pl. 41-41a)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[irp] n pr d _{sr} -h _{prw} -r ^c -[stp]-n-[r ^c] | [...]
[Wine] of the estate of Djoserkheperure-
[Setep]en[re] |
| 2 | [...]
[imnt]
hry k3my r ^c | [Western] [...]
Vineyard Supervisor Re |

DeM 56 (6344, Koenig 1980: Pl. 42-42a)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
n pr d _{sr} -h _{prw} -r ^c -stp-n-r ^c °- w-s | [...]
of the estate of Djoserkheperure-Setepenre, LPH |
| 2 | [...]
[hry k3myt] b3 | [...]
[Vineyard] [Supervisor] Ba |

DeM 57 (6345, Koenig 1980: Pl. 42 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [h3t sp 14]
i[r]p [n] pr d _{sr} -h _{prw} -r ^c -[stp]-n-r ^c °- w-s

šhrw (?) m itr imntt
hry k3my k3š3w | [Year 14]
W[in]e [of] the estate of Djoserkheperure-
[Setep]enre, LPH

šhrw (?) on the Western River
Vineyard Supervisor Kashau |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 58 (6346, Koenig 1980: Pl. 42-42a)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[x+2]
irp n b3 hwt wsr-m3 ^c t-r ^c -stp-n-r ^c
°- w- s m [...] | [...]
[x+2]
Wine of the domain of Usermaatre-Setepenre, LPH,
from [...] |
| 2 | [...]
[i]mn °-w- s
hr spt itr °3
[hry] [...] | [...]
[A]mun, LPH
on the bank of the great river
[...]
[Supervisor] [...] |

DeM 59 (6347, Koenig 1980: Pl. 42-42a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[x+8]
irp n pr imn-r ^c nsw [...] | [...]
[x+8]
Wine of the estate of Amun-Re, king of U Egypt [...] |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 60 (6348, Koenig 1980: Pl. 42-42a [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[i]rp n hrw 5 n p3 k3mw
n t3 hwt nt h3 m rnpt n [...] | [...]
[W]ine of day 5 of the vineyard
of the Temple of Millions of Years of [...] |
| 2 | [...]-[stp]-n-r ^c ̣-w-s
m pr imn
nty m p3 itr n wsr-m3 ^c t-r ^c -stp-n-r ^c [...] | [...]-[Setep]enre, LPH
in Amun's estate
that is on the river of Usermaatre-Setepenre [...] |

DeM 61 (6349, Koenig 1980: Pl. 43 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[irp] nfr nfr n p3 k3mw n t3 hwt [...] | [...]
Very good [wine] of the vineyard of the domain
[...] |
| 2 | [...]
hry k3my imn- [...] | [...]
Vineyard Supervisor Amun- [...] |

DeM 62 (6350, Koenig 1980: Pl. 43-43a)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[h3t] sp 4
irp n pr mn-[m3 ^c t]-r ^c - [...] | [...]
[Ye]ar 4
Wine of the estate of Men-[maat]-re- [...] |
| 2 | [...]
[hry] k3myt pr- ³ ̣-w-s [...] | [...]
Vineyard [Supervisor] of Pharaoh, LPH [...] |

DeM 63 (6351, Koenig 1980: Pl. 43-43a)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[i]r[p] n hrw 6 n p3 k3m[w] 3 n
r ^c -ms-sw- [...] | [...]
[W]i[ne] of day 6 of the Great viney[ard] of
Ramses- [...] |
| 2 | [...]
r ^c -ms-sw-mr-imn ̣-w-s
hry k3[mw] [...] | [...]
Ramses-Meryamun, LPH
Vine[yard] Supervisor [...] |

DeM 64 (6352, Koenig 1980: Pl. 43-43a)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[h3t] sp 32
[irp n p3] [...] | [...]
[Year 32]
[Wine of the] [...] |
| 2 | [...]
[mr] w3st
nty hr imnt [itr] k3 [...] | whom Thebes [loves]
that is west of the [River] of the Ka [...] |

DeM 65 (6353, Koenig 1980: Pl. 43-43a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 36</i> | Year 36 |
| | <i>irp n pr imn-[htp] [...]</i> | Wine of the estate of Amen-[hotep] [...] |
| 2 | <i>itr imntt</i> | of the Western River |
| | <i>ḥry k3mw [...]</i> | Vineyard Supervisor [...] |

DeM 66 (6354, Koenig 1980: Pl. 43-43a)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>k3mw n t3 ḥwt wsr-m3^ct-r^c-[...]</i>] | [...] [Vine]yard of the temple of Usermaatre-[...] |
| 2 | [...] [<i>nt]y m p3 ḥnr? itr</i>] | [...] that is in the <i>ḥnr?</i> of the river |
| | <i>[ḥry] [...]</i> | [Supervisor] [...] |

DeM 67 (6355, Koenig 1980: Pl. 44 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 14</i> | Year 14 |
| | <i>irp n itr imntt [...]</i> | Wine of the Western River [...] |
| 2 | <i>pr nb-m3^ct-r^c ^c-w-s</i> | the estate Nebmaatre, LPH |
| | <i>n pr itn th [...]</i> | of the estate of Aton's Gleaming [...] |

DeM 68 (6356, Koenig 1980: Pl. 44 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>n t3 ḥwt nb-m3^ct-r^c]</i> [...] | [...] [of the domain of Nebmaatre] [...] |
| 2 | [...] [<i>^c-w-s] n pr itn th</i>] | [...] [LPH] the estate of Aton's Gleaming |

DeM 69 (6357, Koenig 1980: Pl. 44 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>ḥ3t sp 5 3bd 4 3ḥt</i>] | [...] [Ye]ar 5, 4th month of Akhet |
| | <i>i[rp] [...]</i> | W[in]e [...] |
| 2 | <i>m pr imn</i> | in Amun's estate |
| | <i>m itr imnt [...]</i> | from the Western River [...] |

DeM 70 (6358, Koenig 1980: Pl. 44 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>nsw bit] wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c ^c- w-s</i>] | [...] [King of [U]L Egypt] Usermaatre-Setepenre, LPH |
| | <i>m pr imn [...]</i> | in Amun's estate [...] |
| 2 | [...] [<i>ḥry k3mw] imn-m-ipt</i>] | [...] [Vineyard Supervisor] Amen-em-ipet |

DeM 71 (6359, Koenig 1980: Pl. 44 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[ir]p n t3 st mhṯt</i> | [...]
[Wi]ne of the northern place |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[hry] k3mw p3-r^c</i> | [...]
Vineyard [Supervisor] Pare |

DeM 72 (6360, Koenig 1980: Pl. 44-44a)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 22</i>
<i>irp n h3yt nfrt</i> | Year 22
Wine for spreading joy |
| 2 | <i>k[3]b šwt</i> | Kabshut (name of a person or a city?) |

DeM 73 (6361, Koenig 1980: Pl. 44-44a)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>hmt nsw ^c- w- s</i> | [...]
King's wife, LPH |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[hry k3mw] pr 3 hḥ</i> | [...]
[Vineyard Supervisor] of Pharaoh, Heh |

DeM 74 (6362, Koenig 1980: Pl. 44-44a)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>p3 itr 3 n hmt nsw [...]</i> | [...]
the Great River of the King's Wife [...] |
|---|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|

DeM 75 (6363, Koenig 1980: Pl. 44-44a)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[pr] s3t-nsw hmt nsw mryt-imn</i>
<i>^c-[w-s]</i> | [...]
estate] of the King's Daughter, the King's
Wife Merytamun, L[PH] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[pt]h [...]</i> | [...]
[Pt]ah [...] |

DeM 76 (6364, Koenig 1980: Pl. 45 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>n p3 k3mw n s3t nsw r^c-ms-sw-p-[...]</i> | [...]
of the vineyard of the King's Daughter
Ramsesup-[...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>hr spt ptry itr</i> | [...]
on the bank of the <i>ptry</i> -river |

DeM 77 (6365, Koenig 1980: Pl. 45 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 29</i>
<i>irp nḡm n hrw [...]</i> | Year 29
Sweet Wine of day [...] |
| 2 | <i>nty m n3y imn</i>
<i>hry k3[mw] [...]</i> | [...]
that is in these of Amun
Vine[yard] Supervisor [...] |

DeM 78 (6366, Koenig 1980: Pl. 45 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 41</i>
<i>[irp] [...]</i> | Year 41
[Wine] [...] |
| 2 | <i>m n3y imn m [...]</i> | from these of Amun in [...] |

DeM 79 (6367, Koenig 1980: Pl. 45 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 40</i>
<i>irp n p3 k3mw ʕ3 n rʕ- [...]</i> | Year 40
Wine of the Great vineyard of Ra- [...] |
| 2 | <i>[...] [n3y] imn</i>
<i>m dṛt ḥry k3mwyt [...]</i> | [...] [these] of Amun
through the Vineyard Supervisor [...] |

DeM 80 (6368, Koenig 1980: Pl. 45 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[...] [irp n hrw 3 n p3 k3mw] [...]</i> | [...] [Wine of day 3 of the vineyard] [...] |
| 2 | <i>[...] r-ḥt imy-r pr rʕ [...]</i> | [...] under the authority of the Overseer of the estate
Re [...] |

DeM 81 (6369, Koenig 1980: Pl. 45 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 31</i>
<i>irp nfr nfr n hrw 3 n p3 k3mw</i>
<i>n ḥm-nṛ tpy n [...]</i> | Year 31
Very good wine of day 3 of the vineyard
of the First priest of [...] |
| 2 | <i>rʕ-ms-sw-mr-[imn] [...]</i>
<i>[...] m dṛt ḥry k3mw b3</i> | Ramses-Mer[amun] [...]
[...] through Vineyard Supervisor Ba |

DeM 82 (6370, Koenig 1980: Pl. 46 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 22</i>
<i>irp nfr nfr n p3 [...]</i> | Year 22
Very good wine of the [...] |
| 2 | <i>[...] [m] pr imn</i>
<i>nty m ḥr [w3s]t m [...]</i> | [...] [in] Amun's estate
which is in the necropolis of Thebes from |

DeM 83 (6371, Koenig 1980: Pl. 46 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>[...] ʕ3 n wsr-mʕ3t-rʕ-stp-n-rʕ [...]</i> | Great [...] of Usermaatse-Setepenre [...] |
| 2 | <i>[...] rʕ-ms-sw</i>
<i>nty ḥr [...]</i> | [...] Ramses
that is on [...] |

DeM 84 (6372, Koenig 1980: Pl. 46 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 6</i>
<i>irp nfr n hrw 3 n p3 k3mw n t3 ḥwt [...]</i> | Year 6
Good wine of day 3 of the vineyard of the domain
[...] |
| 2 | <i>m pr imn</i>
<i>[m] drt p3 šs [...]</i> <i>[pr]-ʕ3</i>
<i>[ʕ- w-s] [b3k]-[...]</i> | in Amun's estate
through the scribe [...] [of] pharaoh
[LPH], [Bak]-[...] |

DeM 85 (6373, Koenig 1980: Pl. 46 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [x+3]
<i>irp [...]</i> | [...] [x+3]
Wine [...] |
| 2 | <i>nty m n3y rʕ-ms-[...]</i> | that is from these of Ramse-[...] |
| 3 | <i>ḥry k3[mw] [...]</i> | Vine[yard] Supervisor [...] |

DeM 86 (6374, Koenig 1980: Pl. 46 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>-ms-sw-mr-imn ʕ-w-s mri [...]</i> | [...] -mses-Meryamun, LPH, [...] whom [...] loves |
| 2 | [...] <i>[p]3 k3mw ʕ3 n prʕ-ḥr-[3ḥty] [...]</i> | [...] [the] Great Vineyard of Prehor[akhty] |

DeM 87 (6375, Koenig 1980: Pl. 46 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>[n] hrw 7 n bʕḥ ʕ3 n t3 ḥwt [...]</i> | [...] of day 7 of the Great bʕḥ of the domain [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>[k]mt</i>
<i>ḥry k3mwy [...]</i> | [...] [Eg]ypt
Vineyard Supervisor [...] |

DeM 88 (6376, Koenig 1980: Pl. 47 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp [...]</i>
<i>irp n p3 [...]</i> | Year [...]
Wine of the [...] |
| 2 | <i>nty ḥr spt itr k3 m [...]</i> | that is on the shore of the River of the Ka in |

DeM 89 (6377, Koenig 1980: Pl. 47 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>-ms-sw-mr-imn ʕ- w-s bʕḥ</i> | [...] -mses-Meryamun, LPH, of the bʕḥ [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>[pr] inty</i> | [...] [the estate] of Inety |

DeM 90 (6378, Koenig 1980: Pl. 47 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[i]rp n n3 k3mw
n pr r ^c -ms-[...] | [...]
[W]ine of the vineyard
of the estate of Ramse-[...] |
| 2 | [...]
[m] d ^r t [hry] k3[my] p3-r ^c [...] | [...]
through Vine[yard] [Supervisor] Pare [...] |

DeM 91 (6379, Koenig 1980: Pl. 47 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | h3t sp 12
irp [...] | Year 12
Wine [...] |
| 2 | m pr imn-r ^c [...] | in the estate of Amun-Re [...] |

DeM 92 (6380, Koenig 1980: Pl. 47 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | h3t sp 27
irp [...] | Year 27
Wine [...] |
| 2 | [...]
r-h ^t imy-r pr pn-gt | [...]
under the authority of the Overseer of the Estate
Penget |

DeM 93 (6381, Koenig 1980: Pl. 47 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
n p3 k3mw ʕ n r ^c -ms-s-[...] | [...]
of the Great Vineyard of Ramses-[...] |
| 2 | [...]
[hry] k3m[yt] p3-rw-[...] | [...]
Vineyard [Supervisor] Paru-[...] |

DeM 94 (6382, Koenig 1980: Pl. 47 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | h3t sp 55
irp [...] | Year 55
Wine [...] |
| 2 | imy-r pr p3-r ^c [...] | Overseer of the estate Pare [...] |

DeM 95 (6383, Koenig 1980: Pl. 48 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [h3t sp] [...]
[irp n] [...] [n pr] [mn]-[m3 ^c t]-r ^c -[...] | [Year] [...]
[Wine of] [...] [of the estate of] [Men]-[maat]-re-[...] |
| 2 | [...]
[hry] k3mwy [...] | [...]
Vineyard [Supervisor] [...] |

DeM 96 (6384, Koenig 1980: Pl. 48 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | h3t sp 10
irp n t3rw | Year 10
Wine of Tjaru |
| 2 | hry k3mw [...] -rw-n3 [...] | Vineyard Supervisor [...] -runa [...] |

DeM 97 (6385, Koenig 1980: Pl. 48 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>h3t sp 29</i>
<i>irp n p3 k3[mw]</i> [...] | [...]
[Year] 29
Wine of vine[yard] [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>hry k3myt nb-imn</i> [...] | [...]
Vineyard [Supervisor] Nebamun [...] |

DeM 98 (6386, Koenig 1980: Pl. 48 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>h3t sp</i> [...] | [...]
[Year] [...] |
| 2 | <i>irp itr 3</i> [...] | Wine of the Great River [...] |
| 3 | [...]
<i>hry k3mw [imn]-</i> [...] | [...]
Vineyard [Supervisor] [Amun]-[...] |

DeM 99 (6387, Koenig 1980: Pl. 48 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 12</i>
<i>irp n itr imntt</i> [...] | Year 12
Wine of the Western River [...] |
| 2 | <i>hry k3my</i> [...] | Vineyard Supervisor [...] |

DeM 100 (6388, Koenig 1980: Pl. 48 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[imn]-r^c nsw ntrw</i> [...] | [...]
[Amun]-Re, King of the Gods [...] |
|---|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|

DeM 101 (6389, Koenig 1980: Pl. 48, [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>m n3y imn</i>
<i>m drt [hry]</i> [...] | from these of Amun
through [...] Supervisor |
|---|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|

DeM 102 (6390, Koenig 1980: Pl. 49-49a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>h3t sp 3</i>
<i>irp n pr nb-m3^ct-r^c-[mr]-imn</i> | [...]
[Ye]ar 3
Wine of the estate of Nebmaatre-[Mer]-Amun |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[k3mw] try</i> | [...]
[Vineyard] [...] Tery |

DeM 103 (6391, Koenig 1980: Pl. 49-49a)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>t3 hwt nt hh m rnpt nsw</i> [...] | [...]
the temple of Millions of Years of the King of
U [L] Egypt [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>m drt hry k3mw sbk-</i> [...] | [...]
through the Vineyard Supervisor Sobek-[...] |

DeM 104 (6392, Koenig 1980: Pl. 49-49a)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>k3mw n r^c-ms</i> -[...] | [...] vineyard of Ramses-[...] |
| 2 | [...] [ʕ]- <i>w-s</i>
<i>hr spt ptr itr</i> [...] | [...] [L]PH
on the shore of the <i>ptr</i> -river [...] |

DeM 105 (6393, Koenig 1980: Pl. 49 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>k3mw n b3 hwt nt hh [m rnpt]</i> [...] | [...] vineyard of the temple of Millions of [Years]
[...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>hry k3myt nht-tw-imm</i> | [...] Vineyard Supervisor Nekhet-tu-Amun |

DeM 106 (6394, Koenig 1980: Pl. 49 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [x+2]
<i>irp n b3 hwt wsr-m3^ct-r^c</i> -[...] | [...] [x+2]
Wine of the domain of Usermaatse-[...] |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 107 (6395, Koenig 1980: Pl. 49-49a)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [x+2]
<i>irp n itr imnt</i> [...] | [...] [x+2]
Wine of the Western River [...] |
|---|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|

DeM 108 (6396, Koenig 1980: Pl. 49-49a)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>b3 hwt</i>] <i>dsr-hprw-r^c-stp-n-r^c</i> [ʕ] [...] | [...] [the temple of] Djeserkheperure-Setepenre [L]
[...] |
| 2 | [...] [<i>hry k3myt</i>] <i>nfr-htp</i> | [...] [Vineyard Supervisor] Neferhotep |

DeM 109 (6397, Koenig 1980: Pl. 49 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>k3mw</i>] ʕ3 n r ^c -[...] | [...] Great [Vineyard] of Ra-[...] |
| 2 | [...]- <i>p3 s3 pti-3y</i> | [...]-pa son of Petiay |

DeM 110 (6398, Koenig 1980: Pl. 50-50a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>irp n hrw 3 n [p3]</i> [...] | [...] Wine of day 3 of the [...] |
| 2 | <i>m drt sthy</i> [...] | through Sety [...] |

DeM 111 (6399, Koenig 1980: Pl. 50-50a)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 2</i>
<i>irp n b3 hwt hpr-hpru-r^c</i> -[...] | Year 2
Wine of the domain of Kheperkheperure-[...] |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 112 (6400, Koenig 1980: Pl. 50 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[<i>bit</i>] <i>r^c-ms</i> -[...] | [...]
King of [U]L Egypt Ramses-[...] |
| 2 | [...]
[<i>hry k3mw</i>]y <i>tm-mhd</i> | [...]
[Vineyar]d [Supervisor] Tememhed |

DeM 113 (6401, Koenig 1980: Pl. 50 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[x+3]
<i>irp n t3</i> [...] | [...]
[x+3]
Wine of the [...] |
| 2 | [...]
[<i>imy-r</i>] <i>pr ih3y</i> [...] | [...]
[Overseer] of the estate Ihay [...] |

DeM 114 (6402, Koenig 1980: Pl. 50 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[<i>irp nfr n</i>] <i>p3 k3m[w]</i> <i>ʕ3 n</i>
<i>mr-n-ptḥ-htp-hr-m3^ct</i> <i>ʕ- w- s</i> [...] | [...]
[Good wine of] of the Great Vineyard of
Merenptah-Hotep-her-maat, LPH [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>r^c-ms</i> -[<i>sw</i>]- <i>hh</i> | [...]
Ramses-heh |

DeM 115 (6403, Koenig 1980: Pl. 50-50a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[<i>h3t sp</i>] 6
<i>irp n pr dsr-hprw-r^c- stp-n-r^c</i> [...] | [...]
[Year] 6
Wine of the estate of Djoserkheperure-Setepenre [...] |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 116 (6404, Koenig 1980: Pl. 50 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[<i>i</i>] <i>rp n p3 k3[mw]</i> | [...]
[Wi]ne of the Viney[ard] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>mr w3st</i>
<i>nty hr im[nṯ]</i> [...] | [...]
whom Thebes loves
that is on the West |

DeM 117 (6405, Koenig 1980: Pl. 50-50a)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[<i>t3</i>] <i>hwt nb-m3^ct-r^c</i>
<i>m itr im[nṯ]</i> [...] | [...]
[the] domain of Nebmaatre
on the Western River |
| 2 | [...]
[<i>p3</i>]- <i>hry-pḏt</i> | [...]
Paherypedjet |

DeM 118 (6406, Koenig 1980: Pl. 51 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>pr-ʕ3</i> <i>ʕ-w-s n p[3]</i> [...] | [...]
Pharaoh, LPH, of th[e] [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>nty m t3 k^ch</i> [<i>i</i>] <i>tm</i> [...] | [...]
that is from the bend of Atum [...] |

DeM 119 (6407, Koenig 1980: Pl. 51-51a)

- 1 [...] [*r^c*]-*ms-sw-mr-^cimn* ^c- *w-s* [*mr*] [...] [...] [Ra]mses-Meryamun LPH, [beloved] [...]
 2 [...] [*p*]*β k³ ʕ³ n pr^c-hr-³h[ty]* [...] [...] [th]e Great Ka of Pre-Horakh[ty] [...]

DeM 120 (6408, Koenig 1980: Pl. 51-51a)

- 1 [...] [*h³t*] *sp 55* [...] [Ye]ar 55
irp n p³ k³mw [...] [*r^c*]-*ms-sw-mr-^cimn* Wine of the vineyard [...] [Ramses-Meryamun]
 2 [...] *imy-r pr p³-r^c* [...] *n t³ hwt nt h^h m* [...] Overseer of the estate Pare [...] of the Temple of
rnpt nsw bit wsr-[...] -*r^c*-[...] Millions of Years of the King of UL Egypt User-
 [...] -re- [...]

DeM 121 (6409, Koenig 1980: Pl. 51-51a)

- 1 [...] *r^c*-*ms-sw-mr-ⁱmn* [...] [...] Ramses-Merya[mun] [...]
 2 [...] [*hry k³mw*] *wnn-nfr* [...] [Vineyard Supervisor] Wenen-nefer

DeM 122 (6410, Koenig 1980: Pl. 51 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- 1 [...] -*imn* ^c- *w-s b^ch* [...] [...] -Amun, LPH, *b^ch* [...]

DeM 123 (6411, Koenig 1980: Pl. 51[hieroglyphic transcription])

- 1 [...] [*hry k³my inf-sw*]-[...] [...] Vineyard Supervisor Inefsu- [...]

DeM 124 (6412, Koenig 1980: Pl. 51-51a)

- 1 [...] [*irp nfr nfr itr mr* [...] [...] Very good [wine] of the *mr*-river
m qrt [hry] k³m[w] [...] through Vineya[rd] [Supervisor] [...]

DeM 125 (6413, Koenig 1980: Pl. 52 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- 1 [...] [x+7] [...] [x+7]
irp [...] Wine [...]
 2 [...] [*hr*] [*itr imntt k³*] [...] [...] [on] the Western [River] of the Ka [...]

DeM 126 (6414, Koenig 1980: Pl. 52-52a)

- 1 [...] *n n³ k³mw β[rw]* [...] [...] of the vineyard of Tja[ru] [...]
 2 [...] [*hry k³mw*] *dhwti-m-hb-r^c* [...] [Vineyard Supervisor] Thotemhebre

DeM 127 (6415, Koenig 1980: Pl. 52 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- 1 [...] [*p3*] *k3mw t3 hwt nt hh m rnpt* [...] [...] [the] Vineyard of the Temple of Millions of
Years [...]
- 2 [...] [*hr*]y *k3myt* [...] [...] Vineyard [Super]visor [...]

DeM 128 (6416, Koenig 1980: Pl. 52-52a)

- 1 [...] [*hw*]t *nt hh m rnpt nsw bit* [...] [...] [Temp]le of Millions of Years of the King of UL
wsr-3^ct-r^c- stp-n-r^c ^c-w-s m pr i[mn] [...] Egypt Usermaatre-Setepenre, LPH, in Amun's estate
- 2 [...] *m drt hry k3my nty* [...] [...] through Vineyard Supervisor Nety

DeM 129 (6417, Koenig 1980: Pl. 52 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- 1 *h3t sp 7* Year 7
irp [...] Wine [...]
- 2 *m p3 mw n imn* from the water of Amun
hry k3mw [...] Vineyard Supervisor [...]

DeM 130 (6418, Koenig 1980: Pl. 52-52a)

- 1 [...] *iwnw* [...] [...] Heliopolis
nty m hwt n snwt that is from the domain of the granary

DeM 131 (6419, Koenig 1980: Pl. 53-53a)

- 1 *h3t sp 3* Year 3
irp n pr sty-mr-[n]-pth [...] [...] Wine of the estate of Seti-Merenptah [...]
- 2 *hry k3mwy* [...] [...] Vineyard Supervisor [...]

DeM 132 (6420, Koenig 1980: Pl. 53-53a)

- 1 [...] [*k3m*]w] *3 n r^c-ms-sw-mr-imn* [...] [...] Great [Vine]yard of Ramses-Meryamun [...]
- 2 [...] *s3 pti-3y* [...] [...] son of Petiay

DeM 133 (6421, Koenig 1980: Pl. 53 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- 1 [...] [...] [...]
- 2 [...] *imntt* [...] [...] Western [...]
imy-r st r^c-ms-s Overseer of the place Ramses

DeM 134 (6422, Koenig 1980: Pl. 53-53a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[h3t] sp 8</i>
<i>irp nqm n t3 [hwt]</i> [...] | [...]
[Ye]ar 8
Sweet wine of the [domain] [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>mn-m3^ct-r^c</i> [...] | [...]
Menmaatre [...] |

DeM 135 (6423, Koenig 1980: Pl. 53-53a)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]- <i>m3^ct</i> <i>ꞥ- w- s</i>
<i>hr ib m</i> [...] | [...]-maat, LPH
content in [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[hry] [k3]mwy nfr-mnw</i> | [...]
[Vine]yard [Supervisor] Nefermenu |

DeM 136 (6424, Koenig 1980: Pl. 54-54a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[n] t3 hwt nsw bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c</i>
<i>-mr-<i>imn</i></i> [ꞥ] [...] | [...]
[of] the domain of the King of UL Egypt
Usermaatre-Meryamun, [L] [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[hr]y k3m[w]</i> [...] | [...]
Vineyar[d] [Super]visor [...] |

DeM 137 (6425, Koenig 1980: Pl. 54 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[n] p3 k3mw n pr n3 ms nsw</i> [...] | [...]
[of] the Vineyard of the estate of the King's
Children [...] |
| 2 | [...] | [...] |

DeM 138 (6426, Koenig 1980: Pl. 54 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[pr] imn</i>
<i>nty m hr</i> | [...]
Amun's [estate]
that is in the necropolis |
| 2 | [...]
<i>hry k3myw tnr</i> [...] | [...]
Vineyard Supervisor Tener [...] |

DeM 139 (6427, Koenig 1980: Pl. 54-54a)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] | [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[hry] [k3m]yt pt-t3-ry</i> [...] | [...]
Vineyar[d] [Supervisor] Petetjary [...] |

DeM 140 (6428, Koenig 1980: Pl. 54-54a)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>qrt [hry] k3[m]y mhd-mnw</i> | [...]
through Vineya[rd] [Supervisor] Mehedmenu |
|---|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|

DeM 141 (6429, Koenig 1980: Pl. 55 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>
<i>irp n hrw [...]</i> | Year 5
Wine of day [...] |
| 2 | <i>nty m mw n pr^c-[...]</i> | that is on the water of Pre-[...] |

DeM 142 (6430, Koenig 1980: Pl. 55-55a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] [<i>ḥḥ</i>] <i>m rnpt n nsw bit [...]</i> | [...] [Millions] of Years, of the King of UL Egypt
[...] |
|---|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 143 (6431, Koenig 1980: Pl. 55-55a)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 37 [...]</i> | Year 37 [...] |
| 2 | <i>irp nfr nfr n [...]</i> | Very good wine of [...] |

DeM 144 (6432, Koenig 1980: Pl. 55-55a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 39</i>
<i>irp n p[3] [...]</i> | Year 39
Wine of th[e] [...] |
| 2 | <i>m drt hry k3[m]y [...]</i> | through Vineya[rd] Supervisor [...] |

DeM 145 (6433, Koenig 1980: Pl. 55 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>m drt [hry] k3mw pth-m-[ḥb-r^c]</i> | [...] through Vineyard [Supervisor] Ptahem-[hebre]
[...] |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 146 (6434, Koenig 1980: Pl. 55 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 65</i>
<i>irp n hrw 3 n pr imn</i>
<i>m drt hry [...]</i> | Year 65
Wine of day 3 of the estate of Amun
through [...] Supervisor [...] |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 147 (6435, Koenig 1980: Pl. 55 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] <i>n p3 k3[mw] [...]</i> | [...] of the vineya[rd] [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>-mr-imn [c-w]-s m pr imn [...]</i> | [...] -Meryamun, [LP]H, in Amun's estate [...] |

DeM 148 (6436, Koenig 1980: Pl. 55-55a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 5</i>
<i>irp n [...]</i> | Year 5
Wine of [...] |
|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|

DeM 149 (6437, Koenig 1980: Pl. 56-56a)

- | | | |
|---|------------------|------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 2</i> | Year 2 |
| | <i>irp [...]</i> | Wine [...] |

DeM 150 (6438, Koenig 1980: Pl. 56-56a)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 14</i> | Year 14 |
| | <i>irp n [...]</i> | Wine of [...] |
| 2 | <i>m itr imntt [...]</i> | from the Western River [...] |

DeM 151 (6439, Koenig 1980: Pl. 56 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | [...] - <i>r^c nsw ntrw</i> [...] | [...] -Re, King of the Gods [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>ḥ3ti-3y</i> [...] | [...] Hati-ay [...] |

DeM 152 (6440, Koenig 1980: Pl. 56-56a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 37</i> | Year 37 |
| | <i>irp n [...]</i> | Wine of [...] |
| 2 | [...] <i>imy-r pr p[<i>t</i>]h-mr</i> [...] | [...] Overseer of the estate P[ta]hmer- [...] |

DeM 153 (6441, Koenig 1980: Pl. 56-56a)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 32</i> | Year 32 |
| | <i>irp n p3</i> [...] | Wine of the [...] |
| 2 | <i>nty m</i> [...] | that is in [...] |

DeM 154 (6442, Koenig 1980: Pl. 56-56a)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 36</i> | Year 36 |
| | <i>irp n p3</i> [...] | Wine of the [...] |
| 2 | [...] [<i>k3mw</i>] [...] | [...] [Vineyard] [...] |

DeM 155 (6443, Koenig 1980: Pl. 56-56a)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 14</i> | Year 14 |
| | <i>irp</i> [...] | Wine [...] |
| 2 | <i>m itr imntt</i> | from the Western River |
| | [<i>hry</i>] <i>k3m[w]</i> [...] | Vine[yard] [Supervisor] [...] |

DeM 156 (6444, Koenig 1980: Pl. 56 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[<i>ḥ3t sp 34</i>]
[<i>ḥ3t</i>]p [...] | [...]
[Year 34]
[Wi]ne [...] |
| 2 | [...]
[<i>drt</i>] <i>ḥry k3mwyt nb-</i> [...] | [...]
[through] Vineyard Supervisor Neb-[...] |

DeM 157 (6445, Koenig 1980: Pl. 56 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[<i>ḥ3t</i>] <i>sp</i> [...] | [...]
Ye[a]r [...] |
| 2 | <i>nty ḥr imntt</i> [...] | that is on the west [...] |

DeM 158 (6446, Koenig 1980: Pl. 57-57a)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 13</i>
<i>irp n</i> [...] | Year 13
Wine of [...] |
| 2 | [...] | [...] |

DeM 159 (6447, Koenig 1980: Pl. 57-57a)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 21</i>
<i>irp n t3</i> [...] | Year 21
Wine of the [...] |
| 2 | <i>m drt ḥry k3m[y]</i> [...] | through Vine[yard] Supervisor [...] |

DeM 160 (6448, Koenig 1980: Pl. 57-57a)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp 46</i>
<i>irp n pr</i> [...] | Year 46
Wine of the estate [...] |
| 2 | <i>m drt ḥry k3myt</i> [...] | through Vineyard Supervisor [...] |

DeM 161 (6449, Koenig 1980: Pl. 57-57a)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[<i>pr</i>] <i>mn-m3^ct-r^c</i> [...] | [...]
[the estate] Menmaatre [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>imnt</i>
<i>ḥry k3mw</i> [...] | Western [...]
Vineyard Supervisor [...] |

DeM 162 (6450, Koenig 1980: Pl. 57 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
[<i>nsw</i>] <i>bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c</i>
<i>ḥ-w-s m pr imn</i>
<i>m drt imy-r</i> [...] | [...]
the King of [U]L Egypt Usermaatre-Setepenre,
LPH, in Amun's estate
through the Overseer [...] |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 163 (6451, Koenig 1980: Pl. 57-57a)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[ḥ3]t sp 34</i>
<i>irp n [...]</i> | [...]
[Ye]ar 34
Wine of [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[nsw] bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c [...]</i> | [...]
the King of [U]L Egypt Usermaatre-Setepenre
[...] |

DeM 164 (6452, Koenig 1980: Pl. 57-57a)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[ḥ3t] sp 9</i>
<i>irp [...]</i> | [...]
[Year] 9
Wine [...] |
| 2 | <i>r-ḥt ḥry k3[mw] [...]</i> | under the authority of Vine[yard] Supervisor [...] |

DeM 165 (6453, Koenig 1980: Pl. 57 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>irp n p3 k3[mw] [...]</i> | [...]
Wine of the vine[yard] [...] |
| 2 | <i>wsr-[...]-[r^c]-[...]^c-w-s m pr imn</i>
<i>nty [...]</i> | User-[...]-[re]-[...], LPH, in Amun's estate
that is [...] |
| 3 | <i>r^c-ms-sw-[...]</i> | Ramses-[...] |

DeM 166 (6454, Koenig 1980: Pl. 58-58a)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[ḥ3]t sp 17</i>
<i>irp n p3 k3mw [...]</i> | [...]
[Ye]ar 17
Wine of the vineyard [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[wsr-m3^ct-r^c]-stp-[n]-r^c ^c-w-[s] [...]</i> | [...]
[Usermaatre]-Setepenre, LP[H] [...] |

DeM 167 (6455, Koenig 1980: Pl. 58 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>nty ḥr imntt pr r^c-[...]</i> | [...]
that is on the west of the estate of Re-[...] |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|

DeM 168 (6456, Koenig 1980: Pl. 58-58a)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | <i>ḥ3t sp [...]</i> | Year [...] |
| 2 | <i>m pr i[m]n [...]</i> | in A[m]un's estate [...] |

DeM 169 (6457, Koenig 1980: Pl. 58 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[ḥ3t] sp 7</i>
<i>irp n p3 [...]</i> | [...]
[Year] 7
Wine of the [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>[ḥw]t p3 nh [...]</i> | [...]
the Protector of the [Temp]le (?) [...] |

DeM 177 (6465, Koenig 1980: Pl. 59-59a)

- 1 [...] *[nsw] bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c* [...] the King of [U]L Egypt Usermaatre-Setepenre
 ꜥ-w s m [...] LPH, from [...]
- 2 [...] *hr-f* [...] Heref

DeM 178 (6466, Koenig 1980: Pl. 59-59a)

- 1 [...] *n p3* [...] [...] of the [...]
- 2 [...] *-stp-n-r^c ꜥ-w-s m pr [imn]* [...] [...] -Setepenre, LPH, in [Amun's] estate [...]

DeM 179 (6467, Koenig 1980: Pl. 59-59a)

- 1 [...] *p3 k3mw n t3 hwt nt* [...] [...] the Vineyard of the Temple of [...]
- 2 [...] *-ms-sw-mr-imn ꜥ-w-[s]* [...] [...] ses-Meryamun, LP[H] [...]

DeM 180 (6468, Koenig 1980: Pl. 59-59a)

- 1 [...] *[i]rp n pr r^c-[...]* [...] [...] [W]ine of the estate of Re-[...]

DeM 181 (6469, Koenig 1980: Pl. 59 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- 1 [...] *[hry k3mw] imn-m-int* [...] [...] [Vineyard Supervisor] Amuneminet

DeM 182 (6470, Koenig 1980: Pl. 59 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- 1 [...] *n k3mw n r^c-ms-sw-mr-imn* [...] [...] of the Vineyard of Ramses-Meryamun [...]
- 2 [...] *m drt hry k3mw* [...] [...] through the Vineyard Supervisor [...]

DeM 183 (6471, Koenig 1980: Pl. 59 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- 1 *h3t sp 11* Year 11
 irp 3[rw] [...] Wine of Tjaru [...]
- 2 *[hry] k3mw i-[...]* Vineyard [Supervisor] I-[...]

DeM 184 (6472, Koenig 1980: Pl. 60 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- 1 [...] *k3[mw] n t3 hwt nt h3 rnpt nsw bit* [...] Vine[yard] of the Temple of Millions of Years
 wsr-m3^ct-r^c-mr-imn ꜥ- [...] of the King of UL Egypt Usermaatre-Meryamun
 L[...]
- 2 [...] *m itr imntt* [...] [...] from the Western River
 m drt hry k3[mw] pn-rnw [...] [...] through Vine[yard] Supervisor Penrenu [...]

DeM 185 (6473, Koenig 1980: Pl. 60-60a)

- 1 [...] *mn-m3^ct-[r^c] ʿ-w-s [m] [...]* [...] Menmaatre, LPH, [from] [...]
 2 [...] *p3-mḥdw* [...] Pamehdu

DeM 186 (6474, Koenig 1980: Pl. 60-60a)

- 1 *ḥ3t sp 23* Year 23
irp n hrw 3 n p3 k3[mw] [...] Wine of day 3 of the Vine[yard] [...]
 2 *nty m twnw [...]* that is in Heliopolis
[...] m dṛt [hry] [...] [...] through [...] [Supervisor] [...]

DeM 187 (6475, Koenig 1980: Pl. 60-60a)

- 1 [...] *[h]ry k3mwyt ʿpr-bn [...]* [...] Vineyard [Super]visor Aperben [...]
 2 [...] *n t3 ḥwt wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c* [...] of the domain of Usermaatre-Setepenre
ʿ-w-[s] [...] LP[H] [...]
 (*ʿpr-bn* looks like Tut 1, semitic name?)

DeM 188 (6476, Koenig 1980: Pl. 60-60a)

- 1 [...] *sti-mr-n-ptḥ m pr imn* [...] Seti-Merenptah, in Amun's estate
nty m [...] that is from [...]

DeM 189 (6477, Koenig 1980: Pl. 60-60a)

- 1 [...] *m rnpt nsw bit wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-[n]-* [...] in Years of the King of UL Egypt Usermaatre-
r^c [...] Setep[en]re [...]

DeM 190 (6478, Koenig 1980: Pl. 60 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- 1 *ḥ3t sp 37* Year 37
 2 *irp n itr imnt [...]* Wine of the Western River [...]

DeM 196 (6484, Koenig 1980: Pl. 62)

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>irp n t3 hwt</i>
<i>nsw r^c-[...]</i> | [...]
Wine of the domain of
King Ra-[...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>m pr</i>
<i>nty hr mh^{ty}</i>
<i>hr[y] n šnwt (?) [...]</i> | [...]
from the estate
that is in the north
Granary Supervis[or](?) [...] |

DeM 197 (6485, Koenig 1980: Pl. 62 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 6</i> | Year 6 |
| 2 | <i>irp n pr imn-r^c [...]</i> | Wine of the estate of Amun-Re [...] |
| 3 | <i>hry k3mwy [p3]-[...]</i> | Vineyard Supervisor [Pa]-[...] |

DeM 198 (6486, Koenig 1980: Pl. 62 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>n p3 k3m[w] n hwt ntr [...]</i> | [...]
of the Vineyard of the Temple [...] |
| 2 | [...]
<i>hry k3myt t3y [...]</i> | [...]
Vineyard Supervisor Tjay [...] |

DeM 199 (6487, Koenig 1980: Pl. 62 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]
<i>[hry] [k]3mw ip3y</i> | [...]
[Vi]neyard [Supervisor] Ipay |
|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|

DeM 200 (6488, Koenig 1980: Pl. 62 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | [...]- <i>ms-sw^t</i>
<i>irp n pr r^c-[...]</i> | [...]-mesut
Wine of the estate of Ra-[...] |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|

DeM 201 (6489, Koenig 1980: Pl. 62 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | <i>k3mw [...]</i> | Grape harvest [...] |
|---|-------------------|---------------------|

DeM 202 (6490, Koenig 1980: Pl. 63 [hieroglyphic transcription])

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>h3t sp 3</i>
<i>irp [...]</i> | Year 3
Wine [...] |
| 2 | <i>m drt hm-ntr imn [...]</i> | through the Priest of Amun [...] |

DeM 203 (6491, Koenig 1980: Pl. 63 [hieroglyphic transcription])

1	<i>ḥ3t sp 4</i>	Year 4
	<i>ī[r]p [...]</i>	W[i]ne [...]
	<i>ḥr spṯ [itr] k3 [...]</i>	on the shore of the [River] of the Ka [...]

DeM 204 (6492, Koenig 1980: Pl. 63 [hieroglyphic transcription])

1	<i>[...] pr imn-r^c nsw ntrw</i>	[...] the estate of Amun-Re, King of the Gods
2	<i>[...] ḥry k3mw r^c-ḥwy</i>	[...] Vineyard Supervisor Rehuy

DeM 205 (6493, Koenig 1980: Pl. 63 [hieroglyphic transcription])

1	<i>[...] irp n ḥpšy n [...]</i>	Wine of Khepeshy (name of a city?) of [...]
2	<i>[...] p3- [...]</i>	[...] Pa- [...]

DeM 206 (6494, Koenig 1980: Pl. 63 [hieroglyphic transcription])

1	<i>[...] [irp] n t3 ḥwt mn-m3^ct-r^c ^c- [...]</i>	[...] [Wine] of the domain of Menmaatre L [...]
2	<i>[...] [mn]-m3^ct-[r^c] ḥry k3mw [...]</i>	[...] [Men]-maat-[re], Vineyard Supervisor [...]

DeM 207 (6495, Koenig 1980: Pl. 63 [hieroglyphic transcription])

1	<i>[...] [ī]rp nfr nfr n p3 k3mw</i>	[...] Very good [w]ine of the Vineyard
	<i>nty [...]</i>	that is [...]

DeM 208 (6496, Koenig 1980: Pl. 63 [hieroglyphic transcription])

1	<i>ḥ3[ṯ] sp [...]</i>	Ye[ar] [...]
2	<i>m itr imnt [...]</i>	from the Western River [...]

DeM 209 (6497, Koenig 1980: Pl. 63 [hieroglyphic transcription])

1	<i>[...] w3st [...] r^c-ms-sw</i>	[...] Thebes [...] Ramses
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Černý 8; Carter No: 411; Cairo JE 62309	Tut 8
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Černý 14; Carter No: 180; Cairo JE 62316	Tut 14
Černý 15; Carter No: 560; Cairo JE 62308	Tut 15
Černý 16; Carter No: 508; Cairo JE 62313	Tut 16
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Černý 18; Carter No: missing; Cairo JE 62321	Tut 18
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Černý 25; Carter No: 563; Cairo JE 62319	Tut 25
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Figures

- Fig 1. *Scene of wine production from Intef's tomb (No 155) in Thebes* (T. Säve-Söderberg *Private Tombs at Thebes. Four eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Oxford, 1957: Pl. XIV-XV) [Chapter 1].
- Fig 2. *Wine making from the tomb of Bakt III^d in Beni Hassan, 11th dynasty* (Newberry 1893: Pl. VI; Tallet 1995: 482-485; cf. Murray 2000: 593). [Chapter 4.2.1].
- Fig 3. *Scene of pressing out the wine must from tomb 15 in Beni Hassan* (J. F. Champollion, *Les monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie IV*, Paris, 1845, Pl. 389/3; cf. Tallet 1995: 459-492) [Chapter 4.2.1].
- Fig 4. *Scene of possibly heating and filtrating crushed grapes from tomb 15 in Beni Hassan* (J. F. Champollion, *Les monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie IV*, Paris, 1845, Pl. 389/4; cf. Tallet 1995: 459-492) [Chapter 4.2.1].

Abbreviations

<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.</i> Kairo.
<i>ADIK</i>	<i>Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo</i> <i>Ägyptologische Reihe.</i> Glückstadt.
<i>BSEG</i>	<i>Bulletin Société D'Égyptologie.</i> Geneve.
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie Orientale.</i> Kairo.
<i>BOREAS</i>	<i>Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near East</i> <i>Civilizations.</i> Uppsala.
CoA I-III	The City of Akhenaten I-III. London.
<i>DLE</i>	<i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian Volume I-V.</i> Berkeley
EES	Egyptian Exploration Society. London.
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen.</i> Göttingen.
<i>IFAO</i>	<i>Institut français d'archéologie orientale.</i> Cairo.
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i> USA.
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.</i> New York.
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i> London.
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i> Chicago.
KÊMI	Revue de Philologie et D'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Coptes. Paris.
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie.</i> Wiesbaden.
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung</i> <i>Kairo.</i> Wiesbaden.
<i>MÄZ</i>	<i>Münchner Ägyptologische Studien.</i> Berlin.
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensa Analecta.</i> Leuven.
<i>Wb</i>	<i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache I-V.</i> Leipzig.
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.</i> Leipzig.
ÄgFo	Ägyptologische Forschungen. Glückstadt, Hamburg.

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