

Cooking and Cooker Scenes in Ancient Egyptian Middle Kingdom Private Tombs

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Abstract

Amongst many other accomplishments, the ancient Egyptians are famous for the quality of their tomb decorations. These cover a range of different motifs, from scenes of daily life to the most solemn ceremonies for the dead during the transition to the hereafter. How the food was prepared or cooked in ancient Egypt? This is the most important question asked today. Both the living and the dead were nourished by food and drink, so they were necessity and a pleasure much appreciated by the ancient Egyptians. Scenes connected with food and eating are commonly featured in tomb scenes. Cooking and eating scenes were rare in ancient Egyptian tombs, and temples. Food was baked, boiled, stewed, fried, grilled, or roasted, but other than that very little is known about its preparation. Egyptian food was cooked in simple clay pots, using wooden utensils and stored in jars. All these depictions served a ritual purpose, and the reason that ordinary activities were represented was to ensure that the familiar order of life would be perpetuated after death. This paper addresses important questions; Why they depicting these scenes in their tombs? What is meant here? What are the types of preparing food? Who was depicted as a cooker, men or women? And finally, where is the place of the cooking scene inside the tombs? This paper aims to focus on the ancient Egyptian Cook and Cooker scenes in Middle Kingdom Private Tombs.

Keyword: Ancient Egypt, Cooking, Eating, Middle Kingdom, Meal, Noble, Tomb.

Introduction

Very little is known about cooking and cooker in ancient Egypt, as no Egyptian cookery book has yet been discovered.¹ The ancient Egyptians

¹ Manniche, L., (1989), *Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, British Museum Publication Limited, 40; David, R., (1999), *The Handbook to Life in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press,

cover their tombs by a range of different motifs, from scenes of daily life to the most or supervising solemn ceremonies for the dead during the transition to the hereafter.² The Old, Middle, and New Kingdom tomb owners portrayed themselves preparing and delivering all manner of food stuffs. Middle and New Kingdom monarchs depict many activities of the bakery, brewery and butcher's yard, and offering the god plates of bread, meat, and vegetables.

Only rich people ate meat regularly, while ordinary people did not. Many workers kept pigs and ate fish, even though they were told by the priests that pork and fish were unclean.³ Meat was either stewed or roasted.

The staple food was bread and beer, supplemented by onions or other vegetables and dried fish. Herodotus said that: "*The ancient Egyptian eats loaves of bread of coarse grain. They make their beverage from barley, for they have no vines in their country. They eat fish raw, sun-dried or preserved in salt brine*".⁴

In the Tale of *Sinuhe* the protagonist, who had become a tribal chief, recounts: "*Loaves were made for me daily and wine as daily fare, cooked meat, roast fowl, as well as desert game. For they snared for me and laid it before me, in addition to the catch of my hounds. Many sweets were made for me, and milk dishes of all kinds*".⁵

The kitchen was often a corner of the courtyard or on the flat roof; at any rate it was open to the air and generally just lightly roofed with branches. Cooking was done in clay ovens as well as over open fires. For lighting the fire, a special kind of wood was imported from the south.

364- 366; the oldest cookery book called "Apicius", it is a collection of Roman cookery recipes, usually thought to have been compiled in the late 4th or early 5th century AD and written in a language that is in many ways closer to Vulgar than to Classical Latin, See, Apicius, (1977), *Cookery and Dining in Imperial Rome*; Harrap, (1974), *Roman Cookery Book*; New Impression edition; Strouhal, E., (1992), *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge University Press, 125.

² Samuel, D., (1999) *Brewing and Baking in Ancient Egyptian Art*, in H., Walker (ed), *Proceedings of The Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1998*", Walkerprospect Books.

³ Even the workers at Deir el Medina, certainly better off than the ordinary peasant, received meat supplies mostly on special festive occasions only, Malaise, M., (1988), *Les animaux dans l'alimentation des ouvriers égyptiens de Deir el-Médineh au Nouvel Empire*, dans L. Bodson (éd), *L'animal dans L'alimentation Humaine: Les critères de choix. Actes du Colloque International de Liège*, 26- 29 nov. 1986, Paris, *Anthropozoologica*, 2e n° spécial), 70.

⁴ Herodotus, *Histories* 2, 77.

⁵ Lichtheim, M., (1973), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, , vol. 1, 227

Tomb of Baqt I, Beni Hassan, 11th Dynasty (No. 29)

On the middle part of the 1st register at the east wall of the tomb of Baqt I at Beni Hassan, there is a sitting man roasting a goose.⁶



Figure 1: Sitting man roasting a goose, Baqt I tomb, Beni Hassan, 11th Dynasty, (No. 29)

Newberry, P. E., *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. XXXVI (a).

Tomb of Baqt II, Beni Hassan, 11th Dynasty, (No. 33)⁷

On the top row of the east wall, there is a cooking scene in the tomb of Baqt II at Beni Hassan. A row of men; at the right hand side of the scene, two of them in sitting position, one roasting a geese and another one maybe cleaning another by putting it in boiling water.



Figure 2: Cooking scene, Baqt II tomb, Beni Hassan, 11th Dynasty, (No. 33)

Newberry, P. E., *Beni Hassan*, II, 39, pl. XXXVI (a).

The other two men at the left standing: one roasting geese, and another one looks like the supervisor behind him. **Tomb of Antef, Al 'Asasif, 11th Dynasty, (TT 386)⁸**

⁶ Newberry, P. E., (1893), *Beni Hasan*, ASE, II, Egypt Exploration Society, London, 39, pl. XXXVI (a).

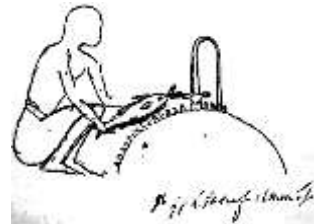
⁷ Newberry, P. E., *Beni Hasan*, ASE, II, 32- 34, pl. XXX.

⁸ P.M, I, 437; Arnold, D., (1971), *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f, 1: Die Architektur, Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970*, 1, *ÄrchVer*, 4, Mainz: von Zabern; Jaros-Deckert, B., (1984), *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f, 2: Die Wandmalereien der XI. Dynastie, Grabung im Asasif 1963-1960*, 5, *ÄrchVer*, 12, Mainz: von Zabern; Kampp, F., (1966), *Die Thebanischen Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*,

In Antef tomb at Luxor, there is a grilling scene of a fish and a man is depicted sitting and holding a fish.

Figure 3: Grill fish, Antef tomb, Al 'Asasif, 11th Dynasty (TT 386)

Peters-Destéract, M., Pain, bière et toutes bonnes Choses, fig. 275



Tomb of Dagi,⁹ Sheikh 'Abd al Quannah, (End of the 11th Dynasty, (TT 103)

At the east side of the 7th entrance, there is a fragment of a defaced cooking scene but brewing operations can still be seen on the wall.



Figure 4: Fragment of cooking scene, Dagi tomb, Sheikh 'Abd al Quannah, (TT 103).

Davie, N. de G., *Five Theban Tombs*, 35, pL XXXI. 1.

A well-preserved scene in (TT.60) of the same period shows a composite fragment of a scene of cooking.¹⁰

Theben, 13, 2 vols, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Phillip von Zabern, 604; Rummel, U., (2007), *Western Thebes: The Tomb of Intef (TT 386) in the Asasif*, in Rummel, U., (ed.), *Meeting the Past: 100 Years in Egypt*, German Archaeological Institute of Cairo, 1907-2007, Catalogue of the Special Exhibition in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, 19th November 2007 to 15th January 2008. Cairo, DAIK, 157-159; Schenkel, W., (1995), *Zur Typologie des Felsfassadengrabes*, in Assmann, J., Dziobek, E., Guksch, H., and Kampp, F., (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, SAGA, 12, Heidelberg, 169- 183.

⁹ He had many titles (Royal Chancellor, Sole Companion, Superintendent of the Double Treasuries of Silver and of Gold, Superintendent of the Double Granary, and Superintendent of the Two Bath-Rooms).

¹⁰ Davie, N. de G., (1913), *Five Theban Tombs (Being Those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemawäy and Tati)*, Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 21st memoir, 35, pl XXXI. 1.

Tomb of Amenemhat,¹¹ Beni Hassan, 12th Dynasty, (No. 2)

Amenemhat was married to *Hetepet*, a mistress of the house and daughter of a governor, and the couple had a son called Khnum-hotep.¹² There is a cooking scene in this tomb of Amenemhat on the south side, west wall of the main chamber.



Figure 5: Cooking Scene, Amenemhat tomb, 12th Dynasty, Beni Hassan
Newberry, P., *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. XII.

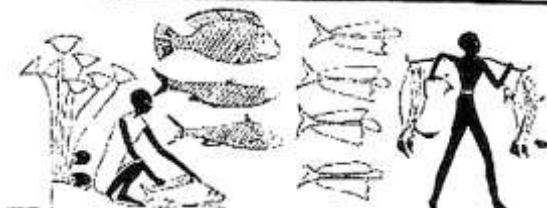


Figure 6: Cleaning fish, Amenemhat tomb, 12th Dynasty, Beni Hassan
Newberry, P., *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. XII

¹¹ Often reported with his short form *Ameny*, was an ancient Egyptian "Overlord of the Oryx Nome" (the 16th Nome of Upper Egypt) and chief priest during the reign of pharaoh Senusret I of the 12th Dynasty.

¹² Newberry, P., (1893), *Beni Hasan*, Part I, London, 12– 14; However, any relationship between Amenemhat and the ruling family of governors founded earlier by Khnum-hotep I is unknown, and it was proposed that he could rather have been a member of the previous family of local governors. In any case, he administered his governorate from the city of Men'at Khufu from Year 18 to at least Year 43 of Senusret I, *See: Grajetzki, W., (2006), The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt: History, Archaeology and Society.* London, Duckworth Egyptology, 113- 114.

In this tomb also, there is another scene of cleaning a fish using a knife by a man.

Tomb of Antefoker, Thebes, 12th Dynasty, (No. 60)¹³

A complete cooking scene was found in this tomb with preparation of bread and beer.¹⁴ An overseer hold a stick, encourages his workers. Here, there are four registers and to the right is a composite view.¹⁵

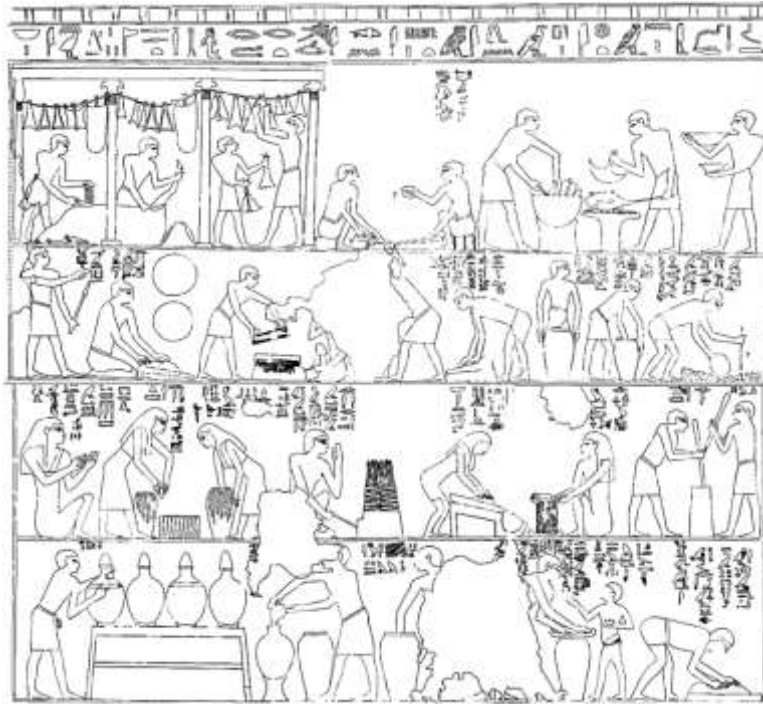


Figure 7: Cooking Scene, North wall, Antefoker tomb, Thebes, 12th Dynasty, No. 60)

¹³ Davies, N. de G., Gardiner, A. (1920), *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I and of his Wife Senet*, The Theban Tombs Series, 2nd memoir, EES, London; Kampp, F., (1996), *Die Thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, Theben, 13, 2 vols, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 275-277, fig. 163; Polz, D., (1990), *Bemerkungen der Grabbenutzung in der Thebanischen Nekropole*, MDAIK 46, 301-336; P.M, I, 121- 123.

¹⁴ For more information, See, Obsomer, C., (1995) *Sesostris Ier. Étude chronologique et historique du règne*, *Connaissance de l'Égypte ancienne*, Bruxelles, 163, 165- 172.

¹⁵ Darby, W. J., et al, (1977), *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, 2 vols, Academic Press, London, New York and San Francisco, 509, figs. 12.4, 12.5, 12.7

Peters-Destéract, M., (2005) op.cit, fig. 12.4

On the 1st register there are many scenes like preparation of meat scene and a butcher shop.¹⁶



Figure 8: Worker activities, Antefoker tomb, Thebes, 12th Dynasty, (No. 60)

Peters- Destéract, M., op. cit, figs. 24- 26, 33 (a)

To the right of this scene:

¹⁶ Madeleine Péters-Destéract thinks that this represents the tenderizing of the meat before cooking the pieces which were a little hard, but one can also imagine that these two men are thinning the pieces destined for drying, *See*, Peters-Destéract, (2005), M.,op. cit, 209.

1. Boiling of the meat: A man leaning over a large container adds a piece on a bone, whilst with the other; he stirs the soup with the aid of a stick. Notice that the container rests on a white furnace.
2. Roasting: The gutted and plucked fowl is skewered on a wooden stick.



On the 2nd register, the activities are under the control of a foreman encouraging his workers with the words: "[Men of the] workshop, give the dues to his Ka".¹⁷

On the 3rd register (the middle one of the three dealing with the making of bread and beer), while on the 4th register are scenes of bread and beer making.¹⁸

Tomb of Tehuti-Hetep,¹⁹ el-Bersheh, Sesostris II., Sesostris III, 12th Dynasty, (No. 1)



Figure 9: Woman mixing or pounding grain, Tehuti-Hetep tomb, el-Bersheh (No. 1).

Newberry, P. E., *El Bersheh, The Tomb of Tehuti-Hetep*, Part, 1, pl. XXXI, 7

¹⁷ Davies, N. de G., Gardiner, A. (1920), *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sésostris I and of his Wife Senet*, 14, pl. IX.

¹⁸ The questions arise, is this batch of bread destined for eating or for the preparation of beer? The answer is not obvious because, as already stated, all the scenes of the bread making and beer making are in a confusing mess.

¹⁹ He is the great chief of the Hare Nome. This tomb contains a main chamber, with small shrine at the inner end, for more information, *See*, Giffith, F. L., Newberry, P. E., (1895), *El Bersheh, The Tomb of Tehuti-Hetep*, Part, II, ASE, 4, London, 17- 26.

In the right hand side wall of the inner chamber, there are many fragments, one of them have a scene of loaves of bread on mats, then a woman mixing or pounding grain, and finally, the white and green *shest* are being prepared.²⁰

The tomb of Urarna II, Sheikh Said, (No. 25)²¹

On the south wall of the outer chamber, there is a preparation for the meal had begun and cooking is in active preparation. There is one roast a bird over the coals upon a spit, while assistance prepares another one for the fire. Joints are also beginning boiled in a cauldron set in a large pottery furnace.

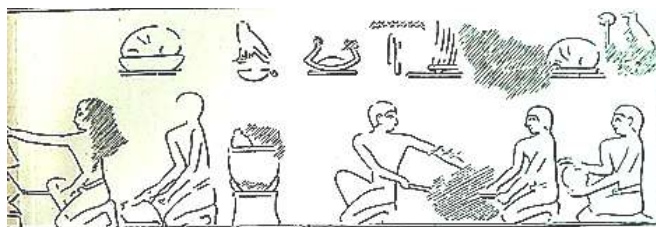


Figure 10: Cleaning and roasting, Tomb of Urarna II at Sheikh Said (No. 25)

Davie, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said*, part of pl. X



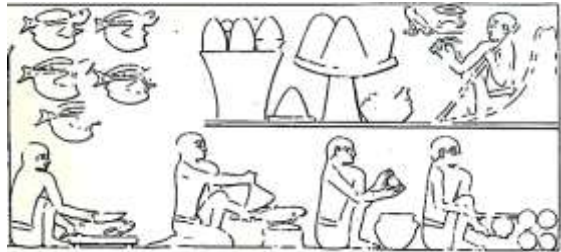
There are three other cooks are engaged in baking cakes; one seems to be kneading them, while others toast them over the fire on rods. After they finish, the dished set out on low tables and carried in by attendants.

²⁰ Newberry, P. E., (1895), *El Bersheh, The Tomb of Tehuti-Hetep*, 1, ASE, 3, London, pl. XXXI, 7

²¹ He is a man held many titles like the royal acquaintance and the governor of the great house, Davie, N. de G., (1901), *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said*, Egypt Exploration Fund. Archaeological Survey of Egypt., 10th memoir, 14, pl. X.

Figure 11: Cleaning and grill fish.

Davie, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, part of pl. XII



To the right of the wall scene, there is another cooking preparation scene in the same tomb. On the shore, in shade of the reeds, a comrade sits splitting open and cleaning on a broad the newly-caught fish. Others prepare their repast by broiling fish over the coals or making cakes. The meal of the superintendent is evidently of a less makeshift character.²²

Tomb of *Ukh-htp*, Meir, 12th Dynasty (No. B. 4)

Despite considerable evidence relative to all aspects of cattle's, beef and butchering little is known about the cooking of beef in ancient Egypt. One might accept roasted beef to have been the most common method of preparation, considering many scenes of Egyptian cooks roasting fowl.²³

Scenes of roasting are very rare, but we have an example from the tomb of "*Ukh-Htp* the son of *Ukh-Htp* at Meir".²⁴ This scene lies to the left of the 2nd register of the east wall 'north of the entrance'. A cook squats on the floor beside a large pan or brazier full of glowing charcoal over which he is roasting a duck transfixing on a spit.

²² LD, II, 77; Klebs, L., (1915), *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches: (2980 - 2475 v. Chr.)*, Material zur ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte, Heidelberg, 67, abb. 55.

²³ Darby, W. J., and Others, (1977), *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, 2 vols, Academic Press, London, New York and San Francisco, 150, fig. 6.24

²⁴ *Ibid*, 152, fig. 3.44

Figure 12: Roasting scene,
Tomb of *Ukh-Htp*, Inner room,
east wall, north of entrance, 2nd
register

Blackman, M., *The Rock Tombs at Meir, The Tomb Chapel of Ukh-Hotp the son of Ukh-Hotp*, pl. XXIII

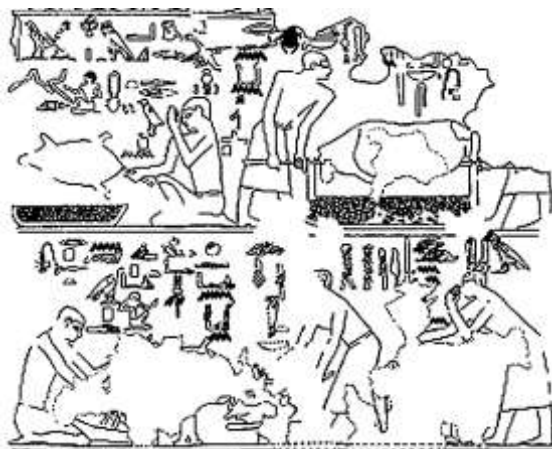


Figure 13: Roasting scene, Tomb of *Ukh-Htp*, Inner room, east wall, north of entrance, 2nd register

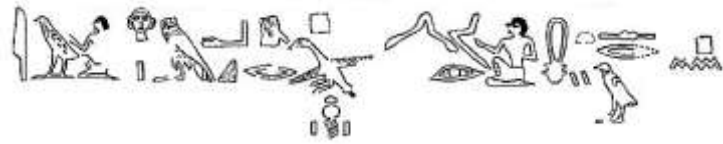
Blackman, M., *The Rock Tombs at Meir*, vol. 3, pl. XXXI

He holds free hands in front of his face to protect it from the glare of the fire. To the right hand side, there are two scullions roasting a small ox up on a revolving spit over a brazier similar to but larger than the one already mentioned.

Also here, on the 3rd register, there is another kitchen scene.²⁵ An assistant cook seated upon the ground in plucking a water fowl; upon a table in front of him is another similar bird trussed and ready for cooking, while on the other hand side of the table, there is another cook scene, who holds in one hand a fan and in the other a spit on which the duck is transfixed.²⁶

²⁵ For more about the kitchen, See, Peters-Destéact, M., *Pain, bière et toutes bonnes Choses*, 115- 118.

²⁶ Blackman, M., (1915), *The Rock Tombs at Meir, The Tomb Chapel of Ukh-Hotp the son of Ukh-Hotp*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt, vol. 3, 24th Memoir, London, Egypt Exploration Fund, 30- 31, pls. XXIII, XXXI, XXXVII, 3.



iw. i Hr maq Dr pAt n mA i mity srw pn

I am on fire since the beginning of the world. I have never seen a goose like this one!²⁷

Tomb of Ankhtifi, El-Moalla²⁸

From a square pillar at Ankhtifi tomb, there are a lot of cooking scenes and food preparation and brewing.²⁹



Figure 14: Roasting scene, Tomb of Ankhtifi, El-Moalla

Stela in Egyptian museum (No. 1562)



²⁷ Collier M., and Manley, B., (2003) *How to Read Egyptian Hieroglyphs: A Step-by-step Guide to Teach Yourself*, University of California Press, 1st Edition, 1, 6, ref. 5.

²⁸ Located of the River Nile's East Bank, about 32 km south of Luxor.

²⁹ Peters-Destéract, M., *Pain, bière et toutes bonnes Choses*, 217- 218.

Figure 15: Cooking scene, Egyptian museum (CG 1562)

Borchardt, L., Drei Hieroglyphenzeichen, ZÄS, 44, 78, abb. 3.

There is a plucking and roasting on a stela in the Egyptian museum (CG1562).³⁰ Four men in sitting position; the 1st one at the right holding a goose on his right hand and the other two in the middle face to face also roasting geese while the last one plucking a goose.³¹

Relief in Egyptian museum (JE. 91095)³²

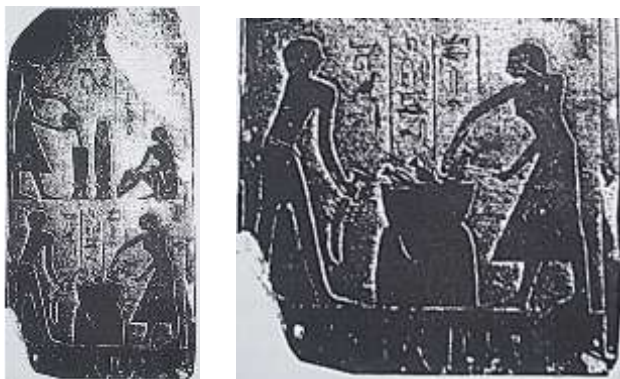


Figure 16: Cooking scene (boiling scene), Painted Limestone relief, Ihnasya El Medina, Middle Kingdom

There is a cooking scene on a painted Limestone relief from Ihnasya El Medina from the Middle Kingdom period, depicting a man tending pieces of meat on a pot with rod grasped in one hand and holding one piece with the other hand.³³

³⁰ Arnold, D., (2008) *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, D'Auria, H. (ed) Leiden & Boston, fig. 7.

³¹ Borchardt, L., (1907), Drei Hieroglyphenzeichen, ZÄS, 44, 78, abb. 3.

³² Davies, N. de G., (1920), *The Tomb of Antefaker*, pl. VIII.

³³ El Weshahy, (2001) M., *Representation and Preparation of Soups in Ancient Egyptian Art*, Culinary Arts and Sciences III: Global and National Perspectives, 325.

Tomb of unknown person (TT. 175)³⁴



Figure 17: Cooking scene, TT. 175.

Manniche, L., *Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, 54.



Figure 18: Cooking scene, TT. 175.

Manniche, L., *Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, 50.

At the right wall of the right part of the tomb, there is a scene for cooking and preparing food. There is a man in the top right stirs a substance in a large pot on the fire, as a solid mass of unguent is depicted with the finished products; it seems that the man melting the fat to be used for this kind of unguent in order to be able to mix it with the material fragment. His left hand is placed on a tall jar, and there is another man in front of the jars to the left is busy with a sieve.

³⁴Manniche, L., (1988), *The Wall Decoration of Three Theban Tombs (TT 77, 175, 249)*, Museum Tusculanum Press, 38, fig. 32, 36, Manniche, L., (1989), *Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, 50, 54, 56.

Tomb of Sn-Ms, Qubet el Hawa, Middle Kingdom, Aswan³⁵

There is a cooking scene in this tomb. Also men appear boiling and roasting.



Figure 19: Cooking scenes, Sn-Ms tomb, Qubet el Hawa, Middle Kingdom, Aswan

De Morgan, *Cat. Des Mon*, 179 {middle}

Conclusion

At the end, cooking scenes were depicted on Middle Kingdom private tomb walls. Men are appeared more than women in these scenes and maybe this refer to the cooking scene as a part of the slaughtering scenes which were done by men during ancient Egypt.

Table 1: Diagram of the Cooking and Cooker scenes in the selected tombs

Fig. No.	Tomb No.	Tomb Owner	Location	Dynasty	Cooking			Place	Man	Woman
					Boiling	Roasting	Bread and beer			
1	29	Baqt I	Beni Hassan	11 th		X		East wall	X	
2	33	Baqt II			X	X		East wall	X	
3	386	Antef	Assasif			X			X	
4	103	Dagi	Sheikh 'Abd al Qurna		X				East side of the 7 th entrance	

³⁵Manniche, L., *The Wall Decoration of Three Theban Tombs (TT 77, 175, 249)*, 38, fig. 32, 36, Manniche, L., *Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, 50, 54, 56.

5, 6	2	Amenemhat	Beni Hassan	12 th	X			South side, west wall, main chamber	X		
7, 8	60	Antefoker	Sheikh 'Abd al Qurna		X	X	X		X	X	
9	1	Tehuti-Hetep	Bersheh					X	Right wall of inner chamber		X
10, 11	25	Urarna II	Sheikh Said		X	X		South wall of outer chamber	X		
12, 13	4	Ukh-htp	Meir	12 th		X		Left of the 2 nd register of the east wall 'north of the entrance	X		
14		Ankhtifi	El-Moalla		X	X		Square pillar	X		
15		Stela	Egyptian museum (CG. 1562)	Middle Kingdom			X		X		
16		Relief	Egyptian museum (JE. 91095)		X					X	
17, 18	175	Unknown			X				Right wall of right part of the tomb	X	
19	A.10	<i>Sn-Ms</i>	Qubet el Hawa		X	X				X	

So the question here, was the man skillful than woman in cooking during the Middle Kingdom? Why men and women did not appear together in many cooking scenes? Why the ancient Egyptian did not depict the eating scenes like cooking scenes in the selected tombs?

The boiling scenes in the selected tombs appear 9 times, in all tombs except at tombs of Baqt I, *Tehuti-Hetep* (Bersheh), *Ukh-htp* (Meir), while roasting scenes appears 9 times, in all tombs except at tombs of Dagi (Sheikh 'Abd al Qurna), Amenemhat (Beni Hassan), *Tehuti-Hetep* (Bersheh), and in the tomb of an unknown person.

Boiling and roasting appears together 5 times, while the Bread and beer making appears twice at Antefoker tomb (Sheikh 'Abd al Qurna) and *Tehuti-Hetep* tomb (Bersheh).

The eating scenes are rare, so maybe the Egyptian artist depict the stages before eating and the owner of the tomb will eat in the afterlife. We can note that they boiling and roasting geese more than meat, because only rich people ate meat regularly, while ordinary people did not eat much meat, and really, we know that poor people lived mainly on bread and vegetables, such as onions, radishes, cucumber and garlic.

Cooking and cooker figures in the Middle Kingdom private tomb were rare, but it may be very important to know the secret daily life of the ancient Egyptians. The ancient Egyptian knows boiling and roasting for meat, geese and also fishes like what we are doing nowadays in our life.

The ancient Egyptian did not depict the eating scenes like cooking scenes, because the workers in the kitchen have to prepared cook not to eat it. It is cooking for the owner of the tomb, so the ancient Egyptian artist has not the chance to depict the eating scene like the cooking scenes.

The most important note is that the women appeared only two times at the cooking scenes, all of them in the scenes of bread and beer making, and also women did not appear a lone in any cooking and eating scenes in the selected tombs.

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