Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt

Mu-Chou Poo
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ANCIENT EGYPT
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   (3.7) wns

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The culture of ancient Egypt has attracted the attention of modern scholars for almost two hundred years, if the discovery of the Rosetta Stone could be considered as a point of departure. The science of Egyptology, however, remained largely a European (including American-Canadian) enterprise. Scholars from Japan joined the effort only since the Second World War. In China, an early pioneer in this field was Hsia Nai (1910-1985), who studied under Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie and later became a leader of Chinese archaeology. As far as I know, only since the mid-1980s was Egyptology established as an academic discipline in the Northeastern Normal University in Ch'ang-ch'ien. Why? Why, given the population and scholarly tradition of China, did Egyptology receive such insignificant attention? Was it because ancient Egypt was too remote from modern China in every way — chronological, geographical and cultural? There must be some truth in this, although perhaps not the whole truth. As anyone with some understanding of modern Chinese history can probably point out, the repeated wars and political and social upheavals China had gone through since the Boxer Rebellion (1900), to give but a recent date, had given the Chinese educational system a distorted reception of Western scholarship. Science and democracy, as the advocates of a “new culture” of China in the 1920 and 30’s maintained, were what China needed to stand up as a modernized country amongst the “powers.” Whether science and democracy have since taken their roots, however, is a question I need not answer here. What I wanted to point out was that this emphasis on (Western style) science and democracy had resulted in a serious lack of attention to the Western humanistic traditions and scholarship. James Legge’s translation of the Chinese Classics appeared as early as 1861. A comparable translation of the works of Plato and Aristotle into Chinese, in contrast, has not yet been done. Today, when Chinese studies is widely established in the major American and European universities, few universities in China have any department or program devoted to the study of Western history and culture in general, let alone individual countries or regions. Thus the insignificant attention Egyptology has received seems to have found a reason: it is because of a general lack of interest in Western humanistic traditions due to various historical factors. I have, however, long suspected that there is something more to the reason for this phenomenon than merely “historical factors.” In my feeling — for sometimes only feelings can tell, there is in Chinese mentality a self-centric tendency that tended to push aside anything
culturally non-Chinese. Is this non-aggressive, or chauvinistic? I have no ready answer. The contemporary pan-Westernization social phenomena, however, are clearly not the result of true understanding or conscious selection and decision. They dialectically point to a general lack of understanding of the cultural heritage and value of the West as well as China itself. As for whether my assessment of Western interest in China and the East is only my own wishful thinking, is of course another subject for debate and reflection: how many Western classical scholars or historians have been interested in learning more about the non-Western world in a serious manner? What is the real motive that lies behind the apparent interest?

My own contact with Egyptology, in such an environment, was the result of my vague understanding of Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman history and a youthful impulse to learn more about the ancient West, plus good luck. I was a first year graduate student in the History Department at National Taiwan University when I decided to venture abroad and learn something non-Chinese. In late 1975, I sent out application letters to several universities in the United States. A few months later, I received a letter from Egypt, from a place called Gebel Silsila, accepting my application to the Department of Egyptology at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, and signed by a Professor Ricardo A. Caminos. Another several months later, in the fall of 1976, I sat in Wilbour Hall and began my venture in Egyptology with Professor Caminos. The next year, as Professor Caminos was to go off to Gebel Silsila for three consecutive years to complete his epigraphical work there, I was transferred to the Department of Near Eastern Studies at the Johns Hopkins University and studied with Professor Hans Goedicke. The present book is based on my dissertation written under Professor Goedicke's direction and submitted in June 1984. I have since then utilized the libraries of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago and Harvard University to revise my work.

In retrospect, the most difficult part I encountered in the study of Egyptology was not the technical aspects, but the cultural background, not only of the ancient Egyptians, but also of modern Western society. I am therefore grateful for my teachers to indulge me for some of my ignorances and idiosyncrasies and encourage me to pursue this difficult path. Egyptology now is a relatively neglected field even in the West, and will remain so if no strong contemporary relevancy can be established by scholars in the field. My effort in this field can only be said as quite insignificant compared to those of my teachers and other colleagues. I do believe, however, that my effort points to the fact that the barriers between Chinese humanity scholars and Western humanistic traditions are not unbreakable, that whatever historical or mental obstacles contemporary Chinese scholars may have inherited can not be taken as excuses for not making further effort in pursuing deeper understanding of the humanistic traditions of the West. For, as is often said, one who knows one, knows none. This is particularly true in the study of humanity.
Finally, I like to dedicate this book to my beloved wife Ping-chen Hsiung – poet, creative scholar, inspiring friend, one who pursues the art of living.

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R.O.C.
Abbreviations

Arg Ab = Archäologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden, (1960-).
AHAW = Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.
APAW = Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.
ASA = Abhandlungen der Sachsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.
ASE = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, Cairo, (1900-).
Bi Arg = Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, Brüssel, (1932-).
BdEt = Bibliothèque d’Etude, Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, Cairo.
BFAO = Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archeologie Orientale, Cairo, (1901-).
BSE = Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie, Paris, (1949-).
CGE = Chronique d’Égypte, Brüssel, (1926-).
CT = A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, 7 vols., Chicago, (1936-61).
Co = Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.
DAWW = Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.
Dend = E. Chassinat/F. Daumas, Le Temple de Dendère, 12 vols., Cairo, (1934-76).
Esna = S. Sauneron, Le Temple d’Esna, 8 vols., Cairo, (1963-).
FIFAO = Fouilles de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, Cairo, (1924-).
GM = Göttinger Mitteilungen, Göttingen, (1972-).
HAB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim.
JARCE = Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston, (1962-).
JSA = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London, (1914-).
JEGI = Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Égyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux, Leiden, (1933-).
JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago, (1942-).
LA = Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden, (1975-).
Philae I

Philae II

PM

Py

RDE
- Revue d’Égyptologie, Paris/Cairo, (1933-).

RT

SASK
- Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations, Chicago.

SHAW
- Studienhefte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.

UGAA
- Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Leipzig and Berlin, (1896-).

UrK

WBS

WZKM
- Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna, (1886-).

ZÄS
- Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig/Berlin, (1863-).
ABBREVIATIONS

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig/Wiesbaden, (1847-).
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Introduction

Across the world, various peoples since ancient times have consumed alcoholic drinks. Although the origin of the practice will never be known for certain, a search for the historical source of this impulse of human society has produced a variety of explanations. The ancient Chinese, for example, placed the creation of alcoholic beverage in the quasimythic time of the sage king Yii. In a Greek account of Plutarch, quoting Eudoxus, the Egyptians believed that wine originated from the blood of people who were killed in a battle against the ancient gods. The latter presents historiographic problems concerning Egypt, as we see later on. The Greeks themselves, though, believed that Dionysus invented wine. While it is unlikely that such accounts reveal the true origins of wine in the respective cultures, they nevertheless show that wine was important by virtue of its association with myth and legend. In the Chinese account, the wise Yii, after having tasted the wonderful drink, predicted that it could ruin future society. This is clearly a moral warning about the destructive power of drunkenness. Such teaching was historically apt, having been written after the downfall of the Shang Dynasty, notorious for imbibing. The Greek association of wine with Dionysus indicates that wine was a festive drink that induced ecstasy and inebriation, or savage and frenzied emotions. In Plutarch's account, wine was associated with blood, which was a valid association since in Greece and Egypt "wine" — in the sense of "grape wine" — was usually red. In a much different way from that of the Greeks and Egyptians, the ancient Chinese made their "wine" mainly from cereals. Consequently, the association of it with blood found in the Greek story and, as we discuss later, in Egyptian mythology, did not exist in the Chinese case. This does not deny the importance in Chinese, or other cultures, of wine or alcoholic beverages in religious ceremonies, or in political, social, economic, or literary contexts. It has been suggested that the production of grape wine in the area between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea contributed to the region's religious and ideological

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1 See discussion in Chapter 1.
3 Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 6, tr. by F. C. Babbitt, Plutarch's Moralia (Loeb Classical Library) V, (1936), p. 17. The implication of this account will be discussed in Chapter VI below.
4 Poo, "The Use and Abuse of Alcohol in Ancient China.
6 For the color of Egyptian wine, see Chapter 5 below.

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1 Grape wine was not introduced into China from the West until perhaps the eighth century A.D. See Poo, op. cit.
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This religious consciousness is interpreted through the symbolism of vines and wine:

(a) The vine itself, in its apparent 'death' in the form of a leafless cane in winter, and in its dramatic rebirth and growth in the spring, became a highly pertinent symbol for the death and rebirth of the god and for the whole agricultural cycle;

(b) in turn, the products of the vine came to take on symbolic and ritual significance, holding within them the secret of rebirth, since they could survive beyond the autumnal and winter 'death' of the parent vine in the form of dried fruit or wine;

(c) moreover, wine with its ability to intoxicate and engender a sense of 'other-worldliness' provided a means by which people could actually come into contact with the gods. As one and the same time it could also represent the dichotomy between 'good', when taken in small quantities, and 'evil', when taken in excess;

(d) fourthly, the cycle itself linked back to human fertility, through wine's ability to break down reason and social customs, and its consequent role as a catalyst for human intercourse.

These points will be relevant in the present study and, as we see in the following chapters, are corroborated in the Egyptian documents.

Moreover, the socio-economic and political implications of the production, control, and distribution of wine in early and primitive societies have often been discussed by anthropologists. Such studies, when literary evidence is inadequate enable us to grasp the mechanisms of wealth and the creation and maintenance of political authority as a cohesive cultural process.

The goal of the present study differs from the anthropological approach. As a literary civilization that has been studied intensively, ancient Egypt has yielded to us the outlines of its religious, political, economic, and social institutions. A study of wine in Egyptian society, from a socio-political or economic perspective, will perhaps not increase our understanding of the basic structure of Egyptian society and culture. Yet, despite the fact that we know a great deal about Egyptian culture, especially Egyptian religion, we know relatively little of the actual process through which an object of daily life, such as wine, was integrated into the religious system. Scholars have studied various ritual offerings in Egyptian religion, and clarified the religious significance of wine and its role in religious ceremonies.


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the offering objects. For example, the offering of oryx symbolized the subduing of
enemies;10 the offering of mirrors symbolized the authority of the sole recipient Hathor
over the sun and the moon;11 and the offering of lotus and papyrus symbolized the
control over life and prosperity.12 This study of wine offering, however, does more
than discuss the religious significance as seen in offering acts and liturgies. It is
specially concerned with an object’s daily use and its integration into the religious
system. By analyzing the offering liturgies in detail, I show how the religious
significance of wine was actually woven into rituals and how expressions were coined,
steretyped, and transmitted over a long span of time.

I begin the study with a survey of the use of wine in ancient Egypt, addressing
such problems as the development of viticulture in Egypt, the locations of the vineyards,
the religious and medical use of wine, as well as the attitude of the Egyptians toward
wine-drinking. These topics serve as a background for showing the position of wine
and wine-drinking in Egyptian society.

The second chapter studies representations of wine offering from the earliest time
to the end of the Graeco-Roman Period. The main objective is to clarify the
characteristics of these representations and set them against other kinds of offering.
This will afford a comparative view of the ritual act in the context of a larger religious
scenario. We discover, for example, that the ritual acts represented on monuments,
whether temple walls or stelae, do not necessarily represent actual rituals, but may
merely be decorative themes, albeit with religious import. It is also interesting to learn,
after repeated examples are found, that the significance of the offering often lay not in
the ceremonial settings, nor in the actors of the ritual with perhaps the exception of
Hathor, but in the offering-liturgies recited during the ritual.

The third and the fourth chapters tackle the subject of liturgies of wine offering
both in funerary and divine cults. The procedure used is to collect as comprehensively
as possible the various liturgies of wine offering and subject them to a detailed textual
study. Besides elucidating the religious significance of wine that has been hidden in
obsolete liturgies, especially those from the Ptolemaic Period, we also see details of
some basic offering-liturgies. These basic types of liturgy were composed of smaller
textual elements that provided a foundation for the structure of the liturgy and the
fundamental ideas of the offering. In discovering these basic textual elements, we may
understand how ritual texts were composed and transmitted, and how simple

11 C. Husson, L’Offrande du Miroir dans les Temples Égyptiens de l’Epoque Graco-Romaine (Lyon:
Audin, 1977).
12 Johanna Dittmar, Blumen und Blumensträusse als Opfergabe im alten Ägypten (Munich: Deutcher
Kunstverlag, 1986 = MAS), pp. 125 ff.; Marie-Louise Ryhiner, L’Offrande du Lotus dans les Temples
Égyptiens de l’Epoque Tardive (Rites Égyptiens VI) (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth,
1986).
mythological allusions to wine were woven into liturgies and acquired a more grandiose appearance.

The offering-liturgy is only half of the text pronounced during the ritual performance. The other half is the speech of the deities. The latter speech, a reply to the prayers of the officiating king, was expected by the king as a result of his offering. The fifth chapter thus deals with the replies of the deities. We learn that there are two levels of significance in the replies: one general, the other specific. It is in the specific replies that the special significance of wine offering is mentioned.

Having assembled historical and textual documentation of wine and wine offering in ancient Egypt, we use it to explore the significance of wine and wine offering in Egyptian religion. The sixth chapter begins by analyzing the mythological and theological associations of wine in Egypt that are the bases of the religious significance of wine offering. Among the various points discussed are the association of wine with Osiris, the Nile flood, the wine-press god Shesmu, blood, and the Hathor-Sekhmet legend of the destruction of mankind. The significance of wine offering, therefore, is its symbolization of the offering of the creative and rejuvenating power of the world. It was through the offering of wine that the king expected the blessings of the deities upon his personal happiness and political ambition.

In the conclusion, I return to the meaning of wine and wine offering in the context of Egyptian religion by presenting observations about the implication of this study for the study of Egyptian religion in general.
Chapter I
Wine in Egyptian Society

(1) The Development of Viticulture in Egypt

Among such ancient Egyptian alcoholic drinks as beer, date wine, and grape wine, there is little doubt that grape wine occupied a special position. It was the most expensive of the alcoholic drinks, therefore a prestigious drink for the upper class; moreover, it was considered divine and used widely in religious rituals, as we see in the following chapters.

Some claim that the domestication of the grape vine took place around 8000 B.C. between Asia Minor and Transcaucasia. However, it is not certain if evidence of the domestication of the grape vine necessarily implies viticulture, for not every place where grape vines were found, such as the Americas, produced wine before the modern era. The cultivation of wine for the purpose of vinification, it has been argued, was probably a special phenomenon that took place between the Caucasus, Eastern Turkey, and the Zagros range. Historical botanists hold the view that wine making originated in this region, before spreading to other parts of the Near East. In archaeology, evidence in Egypt points to the Late Pre-dynastic Period. The existence of large Pre-dynastic jars similar to the wine-jars found in the Early Dynastic Period suggests that wine had already been produced at an early stage. We cannot, however, determine if the Egyptians invented the art of vinification independently or learned from other people.

The earliest intact wine-jar with a royal seal comes from the reign of king Den of the First Dynasty. By the onset of the Dynastic Period, therefore, viticulture was surely an established part of Egyptian agriculture. Excavations of the tombs of the kings and nobles of the Early Dynastic Period have yielded large quantities of wine-jars, thus indicating a heavy use of wine both as drink and as funerary equipment among the Egyptians.

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3 Unwin, op. cit., p. 63.
4 For the wine-jars of the Archaic Period, see Emery, Archaic Egypt (1961), p. 208, Type 1-2; Vandier, Manuel d'Archeologie Egyptienne, vol. II, p. 776, fig. 599, "Winekrug" in Lexikon der Ägyptologie v.6, 1182-1186. For Prehistoric jars that are similar to wine-jars quoted above, see for examples Nagada jars: Petrie, The Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh (1912), pp. 43 to 51 n. 1.
privil eged classes. Even the common people would place wine-jars beside their coffins, presumably for their enjoyment in the netherworld. (Fig. 1)

Fig. 1  The Grave of a Commoner
(W. B. Emery, Archaic Egypt, p. 190)

Sources concerning viticulture in the Early Dynastic Period are scarce, and most are in the form of wine-jar stamps and cylinder seals. In order to facilitate identification and storage, the content and origin of the jars, especially those of the royal house, were usually specified by stamps. A number of wine-jar stamps from the reign of King Den state: "(Wine-)jar of the domain Hr-shnty-dw." The word "domain" is written with the sign of an enclosed wall which represents a walled-in area, very probably a garden. The whereabouts of this domain, however, is uncertain. Other seal stamps attest that there were vineyards located at this time in the Eastern and Western Nomes in the Delta: "wine-press of the Eastern Nome," "wine-press of the Western Nome." Wine was also produced under the administration of the pr-dsr (House of Lower Egypt) since the reign of 'd-ib,n and the pr-hd (House of Upper Egypt). 

7 Emery, Archaic Egypt, pis. 22, 23; fig. 81; id., Great Tombs II, pl. XVI,13.
8 P. Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Aegyptischen Friihzeit (1963), III Abb. 218, 306 A, B. The word "wine" is represented by &, a common determinative for wine, see Kaplony, op. cit., I, p. 253. In the particular cases cited above, however, Kaplony only speaks of "jar," op. cit., II, pp. 172, 174.
9 See the description of the garden of Methen, unit I, 159., also see note (25) below.
10 Kaplony, op. cit., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
12 See the description of the garden of Methen, unit I, 159., also see note (25) below.
13 Kaplony, op. cit., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
14 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
15 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
16 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
17 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
18 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
19 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
20 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
21 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
22 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
23 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
24 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
25 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
26 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
27 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
28 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
29 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
30 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
31 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
32 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
33 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
34 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
36 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
37 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
38 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
39 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
40 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
41 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
42 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
43 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
44 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
46 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
47 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
48 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
49 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
50 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
51 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
52 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
53 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
54 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
55 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
56 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
57 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
58 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
59 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
60 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
61 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
62 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
63 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
64 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
65 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
66 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
67 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
68 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
69 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
70 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
71 Ibid., II, p. 1124; III, Abb. 238.
Khasekhemui of the Second Dynasty, wine-jar stamps attest that wine was produced in the "House of Lower Egypt"14 in Buto: "vineyard (k3nw) of Pr-nsw"; in Memphis: "vineyard of Inbw-hd (Memphis)"16; and at El-Kab: "vineyard of grgt-Nhbt (El-Kab)."17 In the reign of Djoser of the Third Dynasty, wine was produced in Buto, which was specified as under the administration of the "House of Lower Egypt, belonging to the royal palace (k3nw e Pr-dsr Pr-nsw)."18 Wine was also produced in a domain of Djoser: Sb3-Hr-hnty-pt,19 which is thought to have been located at Khargeh Oasis,20 or on the edge of the western Delta.21 Another domain of Djoser, Stt,22 which also produced wine, was perhaps located in the same area.23

The inscriptions on the jar-stamps contain mainly titles and names of the officials and the domain; we are not informed of the size of the gardens or vineyards. It has been suggested that most of the vineyards in the Archaic Period belonged to the royal house.24 This, however, may be based on incomplete information: only wine-jars from royal domain were regularly stamped. Those from private vineyards might not have had identification marks, and thus would remain unknown.

The earliest description of private vineyards is found in the biography of Methen, a high official of Snofru's court. Methen had a domain "200 cubits long and 200 cubits wide, ... very plentiful trees and vines were set out, a great quantity of wine was made there." Moreover, "a vineyard of 1 3/4 + 2 c and 1 aurora within the wall was transferred to him" by royal command.25 The wine produced in Methen's vineyard was most probably for the consumption of his own household, although the possibility that he might have had to contribute part of the wine to the royal court should not be excluded.

Beginning in the Fourth Dynasty, representations of the activities in the vineyard were depicted in the tombs of the nobles. Frequently they showed remarkable details

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14 Ibid., II, pp. 1120, 1147; III, Abb. 209, 764, 765.
15 Ibid., II, pp. 1135-6; III, Abb. 711, 912.
16 Ibid., II, pp. 1135-6; III, Abb. 911, 917.
17 Ibid., II, p. 1197; III, Abb. 765.
18 Ibid., II, p. 1198; III, Abb. 768.
19 Ibid., I, p. 125.
20 H. Kern, "Ancient Egypt" (1961), p. 82.
that allow us a relatively complete view of the process of wine making. When grapes were picked, they were put into a vat, and were crushed by the feet of several men. After the juice was collected into jars, the residue in the vat was put into a wine-press made of a sack that was attached to two poles. The poles were then twisted by four men, two on each side. A fifth helper placed himself between the two groups of men, pushing at the two poles with his hands and feet. The juice pressed out in this way was collected into jars. Whether this juice was mixed with the first juice from the vat, however, is unclear in the representations.

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27 For scenes of grape picking, cf. Davies, The Mastaba of Ptahhetep (1900-1901), vol. I, pl. XIX; Petrie, Petrie at Medum (1897), pl. XV; Davies, The Rock Tombs of Gebrawi (1902), pl. XVII; Lepsius, Denkmaler II, 53b; Moussa-Altenmüller, Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep (1977), fig. 15.

28 Lutz, loc. cit., thinks it was made of wood. Montet, RT 35, pp. 117 ff.; id., "Scènes de la vie privée", pp. 265 ff., thinks it was made of stone (so Klebs, op. cit., p. 56); while Lesko, op. cit., p. 17, thinks it was made of baked mud or clay plastered with gypsum. No convincing evidence was presented by any of them.

29 Davies, Ptahhetep I, pl. XXIII; LD II, 53b, 61, 96, 111a; Moussa-Altenmüller, The Tomb of Nefert and Khety (1977), pl. 91; id., Nianchchnum, fig. 16.

30 Davies, Ptahhetep I, pl. XXIII; LD II, 13, 49b, 53a, 96, 111a; Petrie, Medum (1897), pl. XV; Moussa-Altenmüller, Nianchchnum, fig. 10; id., Nefert and Khety, pl. 8; Hassan, Errooroe of Egypt, III, 12; Lesko, op. cit., p. 17.

31 LD V, 13, 49b, 111a; Moussa-Altenmüller, Nianchchnum, fig. 30; Klebs, op. cit., pp. 57 ff.

The color of the wine produced by this method was mainly determined by whether the grape skins were fermented together with the juice. In most cases the grapes depicted in the tomb paintings are red, or of a dark color; moreover, the juice that was flowing out of the vats was of dark color, which means that it contained crushed skins. The wine produced from this kind of juice, therefore, would have been of various degrees of redness.

There are, indeed, a few representations in which grapes are depicted with lighter tones or a greenish color. White wine would have been produced from these types of grape, although the only literary evidence for the existence of white wine in Egypt comes from the Greek author Athenaeus. In view of the representations and the symbolic association based on the color red, it appears that in ancient Egypt wine was predominantly red.

Vintage scenes continued to be depicted in Middle Kingdom tombs. The essential procedures of wine-making were similar to those of the Old Kingdom, although minor technical changes did occur. For example, in the Old Kingdom, the vine was grown on a shelf made of two vertical poles that supported a horizontal one; it was in fact the basis for the hieroglyph of grape vine and vineyard: . A fan-like shelf was introduced in the Middle Kingdom. Further, the Old Kingdom sack-press was replaced by a more efficient kind; the sack was fixed between two poles which were firmly planted on the ground, another stick was attached to one end of the sack and wrung by two or three workers.

Vintage scenes were popular decorative motives in the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs at Thebes. This was particularly true of the tombs of the reigns of Thutmosis III, Amenophis II, and Thutmosis IV. The technique of wine-making generally
differed little from that of the Middle Kingdom, except that the vats for crushing grapes were constructed differently: those in the Old and Middle Kingdoms were low and flat,\(^46\) (Fig. 3) while the Eighteenth Dynasty vats were rectangular and thus could contain more grapes for crushing.\(^{47}\) In some of the representations the vintners are shown as foreigners: Nubian or Asiatic.\(^{48}\) In two tombs of the reign of Thutmosis IV, the vintners were designated as "pnhw". According to Save-Söderbergh, they were none other than the "Hapiru" people, who were taken to Egypt as prisoners of war.\(^{49}\) People of the Syrio-Palestinian area were known as able vintners, and as early as the Old Kingdom, Syrian wine was already imported into Egypt.\(^{50}\)

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\(^46\) Davies, Ptahhetep I, pl. XXIII; Newberry, op. cit., I, pl. XII; II, pl. XVI.

\(^47\) Wreszinski, after the archaeo-botanical Kalupraexcavations (1936), I, 500; Davies, Two Officials, pl. XXX; id., Siphone, pl. XLVIII.

\(^48\) N. M. Davies, Ancient Egyptian Paintings (1936), pi. XXVII.

\(^49\) Save-Söderbergh, "The prw as vintners in Egypt", Orientalia Suecana I (1952), pp. 5-6; id., "Four Eighteenth Dynasty Stela", p. 13. However, as the facial features of the vintners are that of the Egyptians, they could have been Egyptian mercenaries who were employed as vintners for the pressing of the grapes. Cf. J. Bottero, Le Probleme des Habiru (1954); M. Greenberg, The Habiru (1961); M. Weippert, Die Landnahme der Israelitischen Stämme in der Neueren Wissenschaftlichen Literatur (1971), pp. 68-82; R. de Vaux, JNES 27 (1968), pp. 222-228; Revue, ANEO 38 (1976), pp. 13-22.


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In the Kamose inscription, Kamose claimed: "I shall drink the wine of your vineyard that the Asiatic whom I captured pressed for me."\(^51\) This and other evidence
show that people from Asia were employed in Egypt for their various skills.52

The vintage scenes, however, gradually ceased to be a popular motif as tomb decoration. The scenes of worldly activities were becoming inappropriate for tomb decoration. Instead, funerary scenes and scenes with prospects of the after-life gained prominence.53

Naturally, the absence of vintage scenes in the Ramesside tombs does not imply an actual lack of viticulture and wine-making. Wine-jar labels discovered at the Ramesseum attest that wine was continuously supplied by the vineyards in the Delta.54

Under Ramesses III, a large number of vineyards were created throughout the country, mainly as the king’s donation to various temples.55 Ramesses III claimed in the Papyrus Harris I that:

I made for you (i.e. Amon) wine-gardens in the Southern Oasis (i.e. Khargeh) and the Northern Oasis (i.e. Bahria) likewise without number; others in the south with numerous lots; they were multiplied in the Northland by the hundred thousand. I supplied them with gardeners from the captives of the foreign countries; having lakes of my digging, supplied with lotus flowers, and with shedeh-drink and wine like drawing water, in order to offer to you in the “victorious Thebes.”57

In the donation lists contained in the same papyrus, the number of vineyards that the temples received were specified: Theban temples were endowed with 433 vineyards,58 Heliopolitan temples, 64,59 Memphite temples, 5,60 and various small temples were endowed with 11 vineyards.61 As we shall see below, most of these vineyards, as well as those that belonged to royal estates, were located in the Delta.

Our references concerning viticulture in the Late Period are meager. We do know,
in one instance, that King Taharga tried to introduce vineyards into Nubia. An inscription from the temple at Kawa states that in the year 8 of Taharga,

wine is trodden from the vines of this city (i.e. Kawa), it is more abundant than (that of) Bahria Oasis, and he (the king) appointed wine-growers for them, good wine-growers of the Mentiu of Asia.62

As we see, vineyards continued to employ Asians.

The last known viticulture scenes of the Pharaonic Period are preserved in the tomb of Petosiris, a high priest of Hermopolis who thrived at the turn of the Greek Period.63 Scenes such as the picking and treading of the grapes were represented in a fashion similar to those of the earlier era.64

Several historians have pointed out that after the Ptolemaic takeover of Egypt, an immediate problem was the settlement of the large number of Greek mercenaries.65 Since the Greeks were more familiar with viticulture than with grain growing, the Ptolemaic rulers found it appropriate to employ them as wine-growers.66 Additionally, the growing Greek population in the land of Nile demanded large quantities of wine, since wine was the daily drink for the common Greeks, as beer was for the Egyptian farmers.67 Many new vineyards were therefore planted, particularly under Ptolemy II.68 The most obvious result of this policy was that the Fayyum, which had never been of any known importance in wine production during the Pharaonic Period, became heavily involved in viticulture.69 Moreover, areas famous for wine in the Pharaonic Period, such as the Delta and the Oases, remained important in the Graeco-Roman Period, as we see below. The entirety of Egypt was thus adapted to viticulture. As numerous Greek papyri attest, vineyards were scattered throughout the country, from the Delta to Elephantine.70

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62 M. F. L. Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, p. 36, pl. 12, inscription IV.
64 Ibid., III, pl. 12.
66 Rostovzeff, loc. cit.
(2) The Location of the Vineyards

The word most commonly used for vineyard is k3nw/kamw.1 The basic meaning of this term is "garden", which usually included a pond, fruit trees, and grape-vines.2 Vineyard" in the sense of a garden exclusively designed for growing grape-vine seems to have been implied in the term "garden of wine (k3nw a irp)".3 A special term for vineyard in the offering liturgies is s3, which is derived from the word s3, i.e. garden, inundated land.

The following is an account of the chief vineyards of Egypt in historical times, to the Graeco-Roman Period.

(2.1) The Delta

As mentioned above, the wine-jar stamps of the Archaic Period attest the existence of vineyards in the Eastern and Western Nomos of the Delta.4 Specifically, the cities of Buto5 and Memphis6 possessed vineyards. In an offering list contained in the Pyramid Texts, "wine of Lower Egypt (irp mhw)"7 was probably a term for wine produced in the Delta in general. Some special kinds of wine from the Delta mentioned in the same list include:

irp lmt (wine of Imet, in the eastern Delta).8

4 Kees, Ancient Egypt, p. 91; Abd el-Ra'isi, op. cit., pp. 238-239. The representations of gardens are numerous; cf. PM I, 108; 150.
5 Papyrus Harris, 2, 19.
6 Kees, op. cit., III Abb. 238, 239.
7 Ibid., Abb. 311, 312, 318.
8 Ibid., Abb. 310, 317.
9 Pyr § 92 b, 106 b.
10 Pyr § 92 b. 150 b.
11 Pyr § 92 b. 106 b.
12 Pyr § 92 b, 150 b.
14 Papyrus Harris, 2, 19.
15 Kees, Ancient Egypt, p. 91; Abd el-Ra'isi, op. cit., pp. 238-239. The representations of gardens are numerous; cf. PM I, 108; 150.
16 Ibid., Abb. 311, 312, 318.
17 Ibid., Abb. 310, 317.
18 Pyr § 92 b, 106 b.
WINE AND WINE OFFERINGS IN THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT

irp Snw (wine of Syene, usually identified with Pelusium),79
irp H3m (wine of Ham, exact location uncertain, but generally considered to be located in the Western Nome in the Delta).80

From the late Old Kingdom onward, these kinds of wine became standard items in the offering lists of both private funerary cults and temple rituals.81 In the wine offering liturgies of the Graeco-Roman Period, wine from Iret, Syene, and Ham are still mentioned.82

Apart from the places mentioned above, wine-jar labels found at Molkata, Amarna, the tomb of Tutankhamun, and Ramesseum83 provide more information concerning the royal vineyards in the New Kingdom. A typical example of these labels is:

Year 37, sweet wine of the vineyard of "Ramesses-Mi-Amon," which is in the "Water of Amon." Chief vineyard keeper Pakhar.84

A view of the working of a vineyard in the Delta town Nay-Ramesses-Miamun can be found in a model letter preserved in the Papyrus Anastasi IV 6,11. The official who wrote the report was commissioned to collect wine and other products of this vineyard and to deliver them to the royal residence in the Eastern Delta, Pi-Ramesses-miamun:

Another communication to my lord. I have arrived at Nay-Rameses-miamun on the edge of the Ptri-waters with my lord's scow and with the two cattle-ferry belonging to the temple of Sethos II, in the Administration of the temple of Amon. I gathered together the whole of the vineyard-keepers of the

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79 Cf. Gauthier, Dist. geogr. V, p. 101-13; Basset, Reise nach der Grossen Oase, p. 60, and Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt IV, p. 374. H3m, identified with Meroe, which was mentioned by Strabo (VII:1, 14) and Abu-musa (V: 33) as good wine. However, it seems more likely that Meroe is to be identified with Meri-l, see note 80 below. Professor Goudèle suggests that Pelusium could have been a point where wine was imported from Palestine.

80 Gauthier, Dist. geogr. IV, p. 29; Gardiner, Dic. geogr. Ill, p. 97; Montet, Geographie I, p. 64. Sometimes H3m is written with an extra "w" in front, thus "Nh3tn", see Daumas, Les Mammisis, p. 212. Gauthier, Dist. geogr. III, p. 97.

81 Barta, Die Altaegyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur Griechisch-Römischen Epoche (1962) (MAS 3), p. 62, 75, 121, 124. The */«-wine (irp *bs) (Pyr § 92d) is probably wine in a kind of jar called *bs, as *bs is not a place name.

82 See texts translated in Chapter IV concerning the following terms: Type I (1); Type IV (4), (5), (9), Irregular (1); Type I (2); Type IV (4), (10), Irregular (5); Irregular (6); Type IV (4). 83 Molkata: Hayes, "Inscriptions from the palace of Amenhotep III" JNES 10, pp. 89ff. Amarna: Pendelbury et al., The City of Akhenaten I, p. 162; III, 165-66. The tomb of Tutankhamun: Cemy, Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamun (1965), pp. 1-4. Ramesseum: Spiegelberg, op. cit., p. 12.

84 Spiegelberg, op. cit., p. 20.
villages belonging to the temple of Sethos II in the administration of the temple of Amon, and found that the vineyard-keepers were 7 men, 4 lads, 4 old men, and 6 children, total 21 persons. For my lord's information, the whole of the wine which I found sealed up with the master of vineyard-keepers Tjatroy was: 1,500 jars of wine, 50 jars of fdh-wine, 50 jars of p3or-drink, 50 pdr-sacks of pomegranates, 50 pdr-sacks and 60 fcr?-baskets of grapes. I loaded them into the two cattle-ferries belonging to the temple of Amon, and sailed downstream to Pi-Rameses-miamun, "The great soul of Pre-Harakhti." I handed them over to the controllers of the temple of Sethos II, in the administration of the temple of Amon. I have written to let my lord be cognizant.85

In addition to the vineyards belonging to the royal and temple estates, private vineyards also contributed a portion of wine to the palace. Seventeen wine-jar labels found at Molkata, and twelve at Amarna,86 show that the wine was contributed from private vineyards. Except for four of these labels, which state that their product was from "The Western-River" and Tjel,87 there is no other indication concerning the location of these private vineyards. In view of the general scarcity of wine-jar labels that bear the names of Upper Egyptian vineyards, it is reasonable to assume that most private vineyards were located in the Delta. To give another example, in the reign of Siptah, a high official named Bay was the owner of an estate in the western Delta, which supplied wine to the Theban temple of Siptah.88

The following is a list of the locations of the vineyards in the Delta mentioned in the New Kingdom wine-jar labels.

(1) The Western-River (, i.e. the Canopic branch of the Nile. A number of vineyards belonging to royal and temple estates were situated along the river since the reign of Amenophis IV.89 examples.

(2) The River-of-Pre (, i.e. the

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85 Payne, Anamry IV 6, 118; translation: R. A. Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies (1955), p. 155; Helck, Materialien, p. 1. The present translation follows that of Caminos, the only place that translates the name of the mortuary temple of Sethos II, in which cases I follow Helck, for the sake of brevity.
86 Helck, Materialien, pp. 530-31.
87 Helck, op. cit., p. 531; Pendelbury, op. cit., III, 117, 123.
Peleusium branch of the Nile.92 Vineyards existed along the banks since Ramesses II. 35 examples from Ramesseum.

(3) The River-of-Amon (\( \text{P3-mw-n-Imn} \)), i.e. the Mendesian branch of the Nile.93 Vineyards existed since Ramesses II. 3 examples from Ramesseum.

(4) The River-of-Ptah (\( \text{P3-mw-n-Pth} \)), i.e. the Rosetta branch of the Nile.95 Vineyards existed since Ramesses II. 21 examples from Ramesseum.

(5) The Supplier-of-Egypt (\( \text{K3-n-Kmt} \)). Vineyards existed in Pi-Ramesse since the reign of Ramesses II. 20 examples from Ramesseum.

(6) "K3" unidentified, possibly near Sais.98 9 examples from the reign of Ramesses II.

(7) The Beloved-of-Thebes (\( \text{Mr-W3st} \)), a vineyard to the west of Ka mentioned above. 70 examples from the reign of Ramesses II.

(8) The harbor (\( \text{T3 mnit} \), probably the harbor of Pelusium.99 3 examples from the reign of Ramesses II.

(9) "El©" (\( \text{Pr-hbyi} \)), in the central Delta.103 Vineyards existed since Amenophis III. 1 example.

(10) "Beginning-of-the-earth" (\( \text{Wpt-t3} \), in the northwestern corner of the Delta, also in the Third Lower Egyptian Nome.104 Vineyards existed since the reign of Amenophis III. 4 examples.

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92 Bietak, loc. cit.
93 Spiegelberg, loc. cit.; Helck, loc. cit.
94 Bietak, loc. cit.
95 Spiegelberg, loc. cit.; Helck, loc. cit.; Gardiner, op. cit., p. 260.
96 Bietak, loc. cit.
97 Papyrus Harris I, 8: 5; Montet, Geogr. I, p. 195; Spiegelberg, op. cit., p. 32; Helck, op. cit., p. 312.
99 Spiegelberg, loc. cit.; Gardiner, loc. cit., p. 32.
100 Spiegelberg, loc. cit.; Gardiner, loc. cit., p. 32.
101 Spiegelberg, loc. cit.; Gardiner, loc. cit., p. 32.
102 Spiegelberg, loc. cit.; Gardiner, loc. cit., p. 32.
103 Spiegelberg, loc. cit.; Gardiner, loc. cit.
104 Spiegelberg, loc. cit.; Gardiner, loc. cit., p. 32.
105 Spiegelberg, loc. cit.; Montet, Geographic I, p. 67.
106 Hayes, op. cit., p. 158; Pendlebury, loc. cit.; Montet, Geographic I, p. 87.
From the examples cited, it is obvious that the vineyards in the eastern Delta, i.e., (2), (4), (5), (8), and in the western Delta, i.e., (1), (6), (7), (10), (12), were the main production centers. The last place mentioned above, “Beginning-of-the-earth,” is probably to be identified with the Manetic area, or the city of Amarna, both of which are located in the northwestern extreme of the Delta. The wine produced in these vineyards was famous in the Graeco-Roman Period, as the Greek authors Athenaeus and Strabo testified. Athenaeus also mentioned a Tanisitic wine, from the region southwest of Alexandria, which he thought was superior to the Manetic wine. Another kind of fine wine, from Sebastopolis in the central Delta, is mentioned by Piny.

Since the classical authors were mainly interested in fine wines, their accounts of the various vineyards were highly selective. Even so, the picture they drew supports what is known from Egyptian sources: that the Delta generally produced good wine throughout the Pharaonic period down to the Graeco-Roman era.

(1.1) Upper Egypt

Compared with that of the Delta, information concerning vineyards in Upper Egypt is scarce. This may imply the existence of a relatively small number of vineyards. Among a large number of Archaic wine-jar stamps, only a few attest to the existence of vineyards in Upper Egypt, at El-Kab. The royal administration of Upper Egypt (Pr-hd) was also in charge of the production of wine, again probably on a smaller scale than that of the Pr-dsr in view of the relative small amount of evidence. The vineyards that were controlled by the Pr-hd, furthermore, could also have existed in the Lower Egypt. This is similar to the fact that, during the New Kingdom, Lower Egyptian vineyards could also be controlled by the Theban temples.

Beginning in the First Intermediate Period, “wine of Upper Egypt” (Ir.p sm’r) appears in the offering lists together with the above-mentioned Lower Egyptian wine. The Middle Kingdom tombs at Bami Hassan, Meir, and Thebes appear in the offering lists together with the above-mentioned Lower Egyptian wine.
display various vintage scenes that suggest the existence of private vineyards in the Upper Egyptian estates of the tomb owners. The new techniques depicted in these scenes, such as the improved wine-press and the different shelves for vine,\textsuperscript{117} suggest that the artists drew based on real models.

In the Theban tombs of the Dynasty XVIII, viticulture scenes, as noted above, were among the favorite decorative motifs.\textsuperscript{118} These representations indeed reflect the view of an ideal life in general and the attitude toward wine drinking in particular. The existence of such abundant vintage scenes also indicates that vineyards were a common feature in the private estates. For example, Ineny, a high official under Amenophis I, Thutmosis I and II, and Hatshepsut, possessed a garden on the west bank of Thebes that contained twelve vines.\textsuperscript{119} The small number of vines in this vineyard, however, suggests a pleasure garden rather than a production vineyard.\textsuperscript{120} The wine-jar labels discussed above show, moreover, that only a small portion of the wine consumed in the palaces and the temples in Upper Egypt was local production,\textsuperscript{121} while most of the needed wine came from the Delta.\textsuperscript{122} This indicates that the Theban area, or Upper Egypt in general, was not comparable with the Delta in wine production.

The Papyrus Harris I states that in the reign of Ramesses III a large number of new vineyards was planted in the Delta as well as in the south, and notes that the Theban temples were endowed with 433 vineyards.\textsuperscript{123} We are not informed of the locations of these vineyards. Nor is it certain if these were the new vineyards that were said to have been established in Upper Egypt. On the whole, due to climatic limitations, Upper Egypt is not the most favorable place for the growth of vine; it lies south of the 30th parallel, the southern limit for successful viticulture in the northern hemisphere.\textsuperscript{124} However, the wine produced in Upper Egypt, especially in the Theban area, had achieved a reputation. By the time of the Graeco-Roman Period, the wine produced in the Theban region was famous for its quality, as Athenaeus reported.\textsuperscript{125} Greek papyri,
furthermore, attest the existence of numerous vineyards in Upper Egypt, as far as Elephantine.126

2.1.II. The Oases

The oases were most likely known for their wine production as early as the Archaic Period.127 The domain of Djoser, "Sb3-Hr-hnty-pt," probably to be translated as "The-star-of-Horus-on-the-height-of-heaven," which contained vineyards, was identified with the Khargeh oasis.128 It should be noted, however, that the oases of Khargeh, or the western desert in general, was not an integrated part of Egyptian territory in the Old Kingdom.129 A royal domain located in Khargeh in the Archaic Period, therefore, would be very unusual. The location of this domain at the edge of the western Delta is perhaps more convincing.130 The first appearance of the term "wine of Bahria Oasis (Ir n Dsds)" occurs in the Middle Kingdom.131 The name of Khargeh Oasis (Knmt) appears even later, in the time of Thutmose III.132 Tomb paintings and inscriptions in this period mention wine from the oases.133 This is confirmed by the wine-jar labels from Amarna134 and Molkata.135 The oases at this time were organized and divided into two groups, which were under the control of the mayor of Abydos.136

After the interlude between Dynasties XIX and XX, during which period Egyptian control of the oases was lost,137 Ramesses III regained sovereignty over them and increased the number of vineyards.138 For how long Egypt was able to control the oases, however, is uncertain. Before the end of Dynasty XX, the Libyans had again captured the oases roads.139 Ties between Egypt and the oases were established again

126 Ricci, op. cit., p. 12.
127 Kees, Aegypten, pp. 50-51; id., Ancienne Egypte, p. 82; id., "Oasis", in Pawly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedia.
128 Note 122.
129 Goedicke, JNES 40, pp. 11, 19; id., MDIK 36, p. 173.
130 Above, note 23.
131 Scharff, ZAS 57, p. 45.
132 Davies, The Tomb of Puyemre I, pis. 31, 33; Newberry, The Life of Rekhmara (1908), pi. 13; Davies, Paintings from the Tomb of Rekhmire, p. 35, pi. 15.
134 Hayes, op. cit., p. 89.
136 Davies, The Oasis of Egypt II, p. 61; id., Reha Oasis I, pp. 13-19; For the situation of Egypt in the Chaotic Period, see Davies, "Wine", in Davies, Materialien, pp. 85-87, 107-108; also Davies, "Wine", in Davies, The Life of Rekhmara (1908), pis. 13-14.
137 Ricci, op. cit., p. 12.
in Dynasty XXII under Sheshok I. Being himself a descendant of oases dwellers, he
was well aware of the importance of the oases both militarily and economically. He
sent one of his officials "to organize the land of the oasis, after it had been found
to be in a state of rebellion and desolate." It was probably because of this effort
that his successor Osorkon I was able to report that "His (Amon's) tribute is Dakhla and
Kharga, being wine and libation, wine of Ham and Pelusium likewise." When
Tarhaqa of Dynasty XXV tried to introduce vines into Nubia, the wine of Bahria Oasis
was still famous in Egypt. "Wine is trodden from the vines of this city (Kawa); it is
more abundant than (that of) Bahria Oasis."

It was in Dynasty XXVI that the oases entered a period of prosperity. Psammetik
I, Apries, and Amasis all built temples at Bahria, in an effort to incorporate the oases
into the Egyptian cultural sphere. The building of the great temple of Hibis at
Kharga probably began under Amasis too. This prosperity was renewed under the
Ptolemaic rulers. By that time the oases were perhaps the most important vineyards
in Egypt.

Numerous references to the wine of Bahria, Kharga, and Farafra oases occur in
the wine offering liturgies found on the walls of Graeco-Roman temples. For example,
a frequent type of liturgy begins with such expressions as: "Take to yourself the wine
which came from Bahria, the Eye of Horus (i.e. wine) which came from
Kharga...." or "Take to yourself the Green Horus Eye from Bahria and
Kharga...." or "Take to yourself wine from Kharga, the Green Horus Eye from
Farafra..." In Graeco-Roman papyri, however, no vineyards in the oases were mentioned, a fact explained by the limited
scope of the papyri found in Egypt proper: only local vineyards were mentioned.

The tombs of the Graeco-Roman Period found at Dakhle Oasis show grape vines
as a decorative motif. Sometimes the deceased is in front of a vine laden with ripe

141 Fakhry, Bahria Oasis I, p. 19.
142 Naville, The Festival Hall of Osorkon II, pis. 31, 32; Staatliche, Ancient Records IV, p. 3.
143 Above, note 76.
144 Fakhry, Bahria Oasis I, p. 21.
145 Ibid.
147 Chapter IV, Type I, (15).
148 Chapter IV, Type I, (19).
149 Chapter IV, Type I, (23).
150 Ricci, op. cit., passim.
151 Fakhry, Denkmäler der Oase Dachle (1982), pis. VII.
grapes.152 These scenes suggest that the grape vine was used as a symbol of rejuvenation. They also imply an enjoyment of grapes and wine that occurred in the oases.

(3) Words Used to Designate Wine (Greco-Roman Period)

Throughout the Pharaonic Period the generic term for wine was "irp"153. It continued to be used in the Ptolemaic and Roman Period, and survived in Demotic,154 and in Coptic, "wp",155 and "wns".156 There is no definite etymological explanation for "wp".157

Beginning in the Ptolemaic Period, new terms frequently were used as designations for wine. These terms are found in the offering liturgies, which are inscribed together with the offering scenes on the temple walls. Since they are interchangeable with "irp",158 it is probable that they are also generic terms for wine rather than names for specific kinds of wine. Since no counterparts for them are found in Demotic159 or Coptic, these terms seem to have been used exclusively in the liturgies as ritualistic vocabularies.

152 Ibid.
153 Wbl 115.
154 Erichson, Demotische Glossar, p. 39.
156 It may have been connected with the word "wp"—"roun" (Wb II 404, 10-11). In the Pyramid Text, "wp" is written "w( irp)" (Pyr § 1257 a: They prevent you from rotting in accordance with this your name of Anubis...); in the Letter to the Dead (Wb II 414, 11); and in the Coffin Texts, written with a prothetic /, (Wb I 16, 3). As the method of making wine was first to trample the grapes into a "rotten" state, there might be some reason for the Egyptians to designate wine as "wp"—the drink that is made from "rotten"—i.e. fermented, grapes.
157 Dend IV 65: "Take to yourself the wine (wp) from Khargeh, the Green Horus Eye from Bahria...".
158 Of the terms discussed below, only "wns" appeared once in Demotic: Papyrus Vindob 6257, 13/30, quoted in the New word file for the Demotic Dictionary at the Oriental Institute, Chicago.
The above occurrences of s3, i.e. wine, are found only in the liturgies of wine offering in the Graeco-Roman Period. The word is orthographically and phonetically very close to another s3, i.e., inundated land, garden, field, trees, written variously as , , , which however appears already in the Pyramid Texts. It is conceivable that s3 as wine is etymologically connected with s3 as garden, for wine is the final product of viticulture, a garden activity.

Further evidence for this etymological connection comes from the liturgies of wine offering. In the New Kingdom, the phrase "rwd s3 nb m bw nb mr.k— all the gardens prosper in all the places you like" begins a wine offering liturgy. Here the word s3, written variously as , has always been translated as "garden." It is also frequently found in the Graeco-Roman offering liturgies in the following forms:

In the particular case of wine offering, it appears that this s3 represents not only "garden," but more specifically "vineyard," which is one form of "garden." This case is similar to another designation of vineyard— k3mw/k3nw. The word k3mw/k3nw originally referred to "garden" in general but later became the term for "vineyard,"

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159 Wb IV 399,7-400,9.
160 Pyr § 877a, 1912a, 1556a, 1222a.
161 See Chapter IV below.
163 Nelson, JNES 8, p. 213, fig. 10.
165 Nilsson, op. cit., p. 252; Dunham, Religious Rituals at Abydos, p. 179.
since the latter was the major part of a garden.166 That δί as wine and δί as vineyard or garden are closely related is further demonstrated by scribal mistakes. In several cases, the determinative for δί as wine is written with the plant determinative \( \frac{\text{σ}}{} \) \( \text{σ} \) while the determinative for δί as vineyard is written with the wine-jar.167 This change of determinative may be an indication that, in the mind of the scribe, the two words were essentially the same.168

The word δί-wine is also connected with a special kind of wine-vessel. This is a kind of shallow bowl, with papyrus and lotus buds rising in the midst (or on the edge) of it.169 In certain religious scenes, it is placed before the Hathor-cow as an offering.170 Several examples of this kind of bowl are actually decorated with a miniature figure of the Hathor-cow in the middle, and one of them bears votive inscriptions to the goddess Hathor.171 Because the cow was a special emblem for Hathor,172 the bowl was particularly suitable for wine offerings. In fact, one of Hathor's epithets was "Mistress of Drunkenness."173 From this point of view, this kind of bowl was probably a special wine-vessel used in wine offering rather than a flower pot, as some scholars suggest.174 When decorated with papyrus and lotus, they would look like the one represented in a wine offering scene at Philae that shows a cow standing in the papyrus and lotus rising from the bowl. (Fig. 6) In the representations of this type of bowl discussed above, the bowl resembles the hieroglyph δί: The WB quotes the last example, defines it as "a kind of wine-vessel," and gives the reading δί.175 Probably the designation of δί as wine was in part inspired by this kind of vessel, especially since the vessel was used in wine offering. In the Philae example mentioned above, the officiating king, who holds the δί-bowl, pronounces: "Ω (wine) for your ka..."
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"The Eye of Horus—Irt-Hr" was employed as a symbolic designation for offerings as early as the Pyramid Texts.178 The term "green-Horus-Eye" (irt Hr w3dt) is also found there. However, it represents the "green cb-fuit," not wine.179 It was only since the Ptolemaic Period that Green-Horus-Eye was employed as a designation for wine in the offering-liturgies.

There appears to be no specific geographical association for the "Green-Horus-Eye," since it is mentioned having come from such places as Khargeh,180 Bahria,181 Pyr § 96c, 107c, 108c. It was only since the Ptolemaic Period that Green-Horus-Eye was employed as a designation for wine in the offering-liturgies.

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178 Against the common opinion that "the Eye of Horus" represents the injured Eye of Horus in his conflict with Seth (Rudnitzky, Die Aussage über "das Auge des Horus," (1956), p. 34; Kees, Götterglaube, pp. 241ff.; Bonnet, RÄRG, pp. 314ff.; Vandier, La Religion Egyptienne, pp. 37ff.; Schott, Mythe und Mythenbildung im Alten Aegypten, pp. 71ff.; Morenz, Aegyptische Religion, pp. 87ff.), Professor Goedicke thinks that irt Hr should be translated as "what Horus has done." Thus there is no question of the "eye" of Horus, nor is it connected with the mythological story of the conflict of Horus and Seth. Helck also expresses a similar view concerning the eye, that the eye is the "doer"—irt Hr, ZÄS 80 (1955), p. 184.

179 Pyr § 96c, 107c, 108c.

180 Philæ II, 218; Esm, no. 515, 537 = Chapter IV, Type I, 166, (17), (19).

181 Dend II, 186, 219 = Chapter IV, Type I, (23), (54).
Edfu, is without any particular geographical connection. The contexts in which it appears, furthermore, make it clear that it is a designation for wine in general, and not a variety of wine.

It is obvious that in this designation the word "green" bears some symbolic significance. For it is unlikely that the wine offered was of green color, nor is it satisfactory to interpret w3dt as "dark color." As the word is written with the papyrus plant, the symbolic associations of the papyrus, i.e., freshness and prosperity, are implied. The papyrus is also a symbolic attribute of the deities, especially Hathor. The word w3dt, furthermore, is phonetically very close to wd3—prosperous. Thus, a pun on wd3 was probably implied in w3dt, because the two words shared the common meaning "prosperity." Based on the above observations, it is conceivable that when wine was designated as "Green Horus Eye," it also implied the rejuvenating power that creates prosperity.

There is no apparent etymology for this term. It is employed in the same context as that of the "Green Horus Eye," and although it may have been a special kind of wine, there is no further evidence to substantiate this. In view of the -ty ending and the double-jar determinative , it is also possible that inmty was originally a term for...

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82 Edfu VIII, 54 = Chapter IV, Type IV, (9).
83 Edfu I, 100, 254; Qarn, 87 – Chapter III, Type I-12, (3). (5).
84 For example: Philae II, 219, 12: "Take for yourself the good wine of Khargeh and Bahria, namely the Green Horus Eye." Philae II, 263, 9: 10: "Wine for your ka, O Horus son of Osiris, this Green Horus Eye is for Your Majesty.
85 As mentioned above, the wine in ancient Egypt was basically red.
86 Hour, "Les Cénotaphes de l'Egypte," JEA 50, 1964, p. 188.
87 Kees, op. cit., p. 428.
88 As mentioned above, the wine in ancient Egypt was basically red.
90 For example: Thebes IV, 2, 219, 12: "Take for yourself the good wine of Khargeh and Bahria, namely the Green Horus Eye." Philae II, 263, 9: 10: "Wine for your ka, O Horus son of Osiris, this Green Horus Eye is for Your Majesty."
a special container, and was could signify wine in general.

\[3pd\]

\[\text{(Urk VIII 11)}\]

\[\text{(Mam. Edfu 96)}\]

\[\text{(Eg) IV 7:15; 101)}\]

\[\text{(Dend IV 66)}\]

This term is also difficult to explain etymologically. It has the same phonetic value as \[3pd\]—bird,\[194\] but there is hardly any evidence to suggest a relationship between these two words. Possibly it derived from a word for a kind of jar that had a bird-like beak, such as the jar.

\[nfrw\]

\[\text{(V 62; Mariette, Dend IV 76)}\]

\[\text{(Dum. Kal. Inschr. 96)}\]

In a few instances wine is referred to as ""nfrw."" It may have been an abbreviated form of ""gfrwine"" (good wine), a term found already in the wine-jar labels of the New Kingdom.\[191\] Since it is also employed as a designation for beer,\[192\] it seems to be no more than a descriptive term with the basic meaning of ""good"" or ""fine."

\[h3t\]

\[\text{(Urk VIII 58)}\]

Etymologically \[h3t\] is connected with \[h3t\]—foremost, best,\[195\] thus it could mean ""the best (wine)."" It was also a descriptive term, with little religious implication.

\[\text{nfr}\]

\[\text{(Eg) I 171}\]

\[\text{26}\]
WINE IN EGYPTIAN SOCIETY

(4.1) As a prestigious drink

As we have seen, wine had been produced since the beginning of Egyptian history. The numerous viticulture scenes found in the tombs from the Old Kingdom and later indicate that wine and wine-drinking were important parts of the daily life of well-to-do Egyptians. If the offering list can be regarded as the “ideal menu” of the Egyptians, then wine was certainly indispensable. Five different kinds of wine are always mentioned together in the offering lists: irp mh (Lower Egyptian wine); irp ‘bs (wine in ‘W-jar); irp Imt (wine of Imet); irp Hsm (wine of Ham); irp Snw (wine of...)

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199 Germer, op. cit., pp. 91-92.
200 LD III, 200d.
201 See note 158 above.
202 Junker, WZKM 31, pp. 66-63.
203 Barta, op. cit., passim.
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Moreover, wine-jars are found in a funerary repast uncovered in an Archaic tomb.204 In daily life, the enjoyment of wine was restricted to the upper echelons of society. The royal court was a major center for its consumption, as indicated by the court’s numerous vineyards. The wine-jar labels found at Medinet and Amarna would have represented only a small portion of the wine actually consumed in the palace. The large amount of wine that the temples received as income, in addition to such endowments as those stated in the Papyrus Harris I,205 indicates that the priests and temple personnel were regularly provided. Thus Greek writers, for example, Herodotus and Plutarch, who claimed that the Egyptians used very little wine in daily life or religious ceremonies, must be discredited in spite of their importance as literary sources.206

In the houses of nobles, private wine cellars would indicate prestige. In the tomb of Antef, for example, a specially protected wine cellar in his estate is shown filled with large wine-jars.208 (Fig. 5) In tomb banquet scenes, wine-jars are placed near the guests,209 while the effect of excessive drinking was keenly expressed by the depiction of drunkards,210 or a wine-drenched guest vomiting at a banquet.211

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204 Pyr § 92a-94b; Barta, op. cit., passim.
205 Emery, A Funerary Repast in an Egyptian Tomb of the Archaic Period (1962).
207 See J. Hani, La Religion Égyptienne dans la Pensée de Plutarque, p. 3.
210 Newberry, Beni Hassan I, pp. 60-61; Wilkinson, Manners I, fig. 136.
211 Davies, Scenes from some Theban Tombs (1963), pl. VI; Darby, Food, fig. 14.13; Vandier, Manuel IV, fig. 99.
Soldiers could receive wine as a reward for their actions; the common workers, i.e., farmers, craftsmen, and servants in the rich households, on the other hand, had fewer opportunities to enjoy wine. Scholars generally agree that wine was not a daily drink for ordinary Egyptians, whose main drink was beer. The high price of wine must have curtailed the commoners' ability and desire to indulge. Exceptions may be found in such religious festivals as the Valley Festival, in which drinking and drunkenness played an important part. Herodotus reported that in the annual festival at Bubastis, more wine was drunk than in the whole year. The number of people involved in this festival was great — seven hundred thousand — according to Herodotus. The number is certainly exaggerated, but the account could have reflected one of the occasions in which commoners could drink and celebrate uninhibitedly. In the Graeco-Roman Period, especially since the reign of Ptolemy II, viticulture was encouraged by the state, and new vineyards were planted. The new vineyards, however, were mostly controlled by the Greeks, and the wine produced was mainly for the consumption of the growing Greek population in Egypt.

(4.1D) As Offerings

(4.1D.a) Funerary Offering

As early as the Archaic Period, the archaeological contexts of wine-jars demonstrate clearly that wine was not only enjoyed by the living, but also by the deceased. Furthermore, the tombs of the First Dynasty began to be decorated with offering lists, which included wine. Offering-table scenes show the deceased seated before an...
offering table, loaded with abundant food and wine.220 Throughout Egyptian history, the offering-table scenes and the offering lists became standard features in tomb decoration. Wine is invariably listed.221 (Fig. 6) In this respect, then, wine was simply a drink that was offered to the deceased for his consumption in the netherworld.222 It should be noted, though, that certain religious significance is already implied in the offering liturgies, as exemplified by those that are preserved in the Pyramid Texts.223

![Fig. 6 Offering List with Wine](G. T. Martin, The Tomb of Hetepka, pi. 27)

(4.II.b) Divine Offering

Wine was also one of the items offered to the deities in the temple rituals. Detailed documentation and discussion is presented in the following chapters.

(4.III) In Medical Treatment

From early times, the Egyptians used wine in medical treatment. Because of the alcohol it contains, it was interchangeable with beer in prescriptions.224 In general, wine

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220 Barta, op. cit., p. 7.
221 Barta, op. cit.; passim.
222 For the meaning of funerary equipment, see Morenz, Religion, pp. 21ff.; Comyn, Ancient Egyptian Religion, pp. 5ff.; Kees, IV, p. 72.
223 See Chapter III below.
served as a solution for other drugs; it is hardly ever employed alone to treat a patient. In the prescriptions found in the medical Papyrus Ebers, wine was used as an appetizer, as a vermifuge, for cure of asthma, and as urine regulator. Date-wine was used as an antiseptic for the nose, or even to hasten delivery. In theory, wine used internally could cause intoxication in the patient, yet an examination of the recipes shows that the amount of wine prescribed was far below an expected intoxication level. Wine could have been used to lower a fever, and, since it was expensive, perhaps as a psychologically "good" medicine. But wine was not indispensable medically: in the Hearst medical papyrus it is not prescribed at all. Besides medical usage, wine was also employed in embalming.

(5) The Attitude of Egyptians Toward Wine-Drinking

So far I have described the Egyptians' generally favorable attitude toward wine-drinking. The existence of vintage and banquet scenes on tombs, the references in the vineyards, and the remains of wine-jar labels show that wine-drinking was a natural enjoyment. To support this notion, I offer further evidence, mostly from non-religious inscriptions and literary texts.

In the story of Sinuhe, the pleasant aspect of wine-drinking is expressed through Sinuhe's description of the land of Yaa: "There is wine more than water," and "I drank wine with my meal everyday." Sinuhe could have been only trying to report the fact of life there, for the Syrio-Palestinian area was suitable for viticulture, and the wine produced in this area was famous in Egypt since the Old Kingdom. Still, he probably would not have mentioned this if wine-drinking was not regarded as a special 225 Ebell, op. cit., p. 10; Grapow, Grundriss der Medizine der Alten Aegypten IV, pt. 1, p. 49; Germer, op. cit., pp. 85-90.
226 Grapow, Grundriss IV, pt. 1, p. 50; Joachim, Papyrus Ebers (1890), prescriptions 284-293.
227 Ebers, prescription 81.
228 Ibid., prescriptions 334-335.
229 Ibid., prescription 27.
230 Ibid., prescription 761.
231 Ibid., prescription 799.
232 Grapow, op. cit., p. 49.
233 Germer, loc. cit.
234 Ibid. In the Hearst medical papyrus, for example, wine was not prescribed at all, which means that it was not indispensable.
235 Lexikon der Ägyptologie I, p. 343.
236 Sinuhe, B 86-88.
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treat in the daily life of the Egyptian people, even for one with the social status as that of Sinuhe's.

Naturally wine was a reward for soldiers. A stela of Sethos I from Ibrim states that "His (the king's) horses are sated with corn and his soldiers drunk with wine, through the victories of his strong arm."238 This image of wine-drinking after military success is also expressed in the Ramesside inscription. When the king set out to confront the Hyksos ruler in Avaris he said: "I shall drink the wine of your vineyard which the Asiatics whom I captured press for me."239 There are indications that wine was part of the regular supply for the soldiers in the New Kingdom. In the tomb of Ph-sp-hr,240 a deputy of the king (wdnw n nsw) and standard bearer (t_3y sryt) in the reign of Thutmosis II, wine is mentioned as one of the items supplied for soldiers. The scene shows the deputy inspecting soldiers and provisions,241 while the accompanying inscription reads:

Ushering the officials and the common soldiers to the palace in order to supply (them) with bread, beef, wine, cake, all kinds of vegetables, and all good things for satisfying the heart before the good god (i.e. the king), by the noble... Ph-sp-hr, the justified.242

Several banquet scenes from Eighteenth Dynasty tombs show the drinking of wine as a part of holiday celebrations. In a scene in the tomb of Nakht, for example, a girl offers wine to her parents during the Valley Festival: "To your health! Drink this good wine, celebrate a festive day with what your Lord has given you!"243 In the tomb of Ipuki and Nebamun, the deceased is presented with wine by his wife: "Take, drink, and make holiday within your house of eternity."244 In the tomb of User, a girl is shown presenting wine to User and his wife: "For your ka! Drink, be happily drunk, and make holiday!"245 In the tomb of another Nebamun, the deceased receives wine from his daughter, who addresses him: "For your ka! In life and health, you praised of Amun, in your beautiful house of eternity, your dwelling of everlastingness."246 In the tomb of

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238 R. Caminos, New Kingdom Temples of Buhen I, p. 85.
240 (Urk IV, 1459, 15-1460, 19, PM I, pp. 179-80.
242 (Urk IV, 1459, 20-1460, 3.
243 Schott, Wustentale, p. 889, n.127.
244 Davies, The Tomb of Two Sculptors, pls. v-vi. Translation: Lichtheim, JNES 4, p. 182.
245 Davies, Five Theban Tombs, pls. XXX-XXXVI; Lichtheim, op. cit., p. 163.
246 Davies, The Tomb of Two Officials, pls. XX-XXIII.
Horemhab, the deceased is presented with cups of wine by two women: “For your ka! Make holiday in your beautiful house of eternity, your dwelling of everlastingness.” Similar expressions appear in the tomb of Djyarkraaush. His daughters present him flowers and wine with these words: “For your ka! Make holiday, o scribe of the grain, in your house of justification which you have made for yourself on the outskirts of the city.”

The last five scenes are connected with banquets in which “make merry” songs are sung. These banquet songs are related to the songs of the harpers, which represented a special genre of literature of the end of Dynasty XVIII. Regardless of how the songs should be interpreted, there is no doubt that the Egyptians considered wine drinking an enjoyable event in this and the next world.

A favorable attitude toward wine drinking persisted through the Late Period and down to the Graeco-Roman era. In the biography of Nebne Run (Dynasty XXII), for example, he stated that:

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247 Boruiant, MISAO V, fac. Ill, pl. 1.
249 Lichtheim, op. cit., pp. 178ff.; Wente, JNES 21, pp. 118ff. For the date of this type of texts, see Goedicke, “The date of the Antef Song” in Assman ed., Fragen an die Altaegyptische Literatur, pp. 185ff.

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I spent my lifetime in heart's delight, without worry, without illness, I made my days festive with wine and myrrh.\(^{251}\)

Harsies, a second prophet of Amun (Dynasty XXII), was depicted as a person who loved wine:

Let him fill his mouth with food offerings, for he spoke truth in his service; let him drink your (Amun's) gift, for he loved drunkenness,...\(^{252}\)

In a biographical inscription of the Ptolemaic Period, a certain Wennofer claimed that:

I was a lover of drink, a lord (i.e. a possessor) of the festive day,... singers and maidens gathered together and made acclaim like that of Meret,... All together drunk with the Green Horus Eye (i.e. wine).\(^{253}\)

The Egyptians did express reservations concerning wine-drinking and drunkenness as a personal or social behavior. In the instruction of Anii, the sage warns against drunkenness for the indecent behavior that it would cause:

When you speak, nonsense comes out of your mouth; if you fall down and your limb breaks, no one will give you help.\(^{254}\)

In a letter to his student, a teacher admonishes:\(^{255}\)

If only you knew that wine is an abomination, you would abjure s\(sdh\), you would not set the beer-jar in your heart, you would forget t\(tnrk-dhnk.\)

Similar warnings are echoed by the wisdom of Ankhesench:\(^{256}\)

[Notes and references at the bottom of the page.]
Do not get drunk, lest you go mad.257

and in the Papyrus Insinger:

He who eats too much bread will suffer illness, he who drinks too much wine lies down in a stupor.258

All these examples, to be sure, are from didactic literature, in which modest conduct was always the central idea.259 Therefore, the main issue in these instructions is not wine-drinking per se, but excessive drinking and its consequences. Moderation is eloquently advocated by the author of Papyrus Insinger:

Wine, women, and food give gladness to the heart; he who uses them without loud shouting is not reproached in the street.260

A modest way of enjoyment, i.e., without loud shouting, is recommended. In other words, one should be conscious of his own behavior, so as to do nothing but what is fitting: "he who is moderate in his manner of life, his flesh is not disturbed."261 This modest conduct not only was voiced in the didactic literature, but also became a theme of biographies in the Late Period. A passage in the tomb inscriptions of Petosiris says: "Be aware of drunkenness, and do not cease to the last day."262 In the biography of Tainhotep (Ptolemaic Period), the deceased addressed her husband:

O my brother, my husband, friend, high priest, your heart shall not be weary (n wrd ib.k) by means of drink, eat, drunkenness, and lust. Celebrate the holiday, below your heart day and night, do not place care into your heart,

258 Lichtheim, op. cit., p. 190.
260 F. Lexa, Papyrus Insinger, 17: 10-16; Lichtheim, Literature III, p. 199.
262 I follow Lorton’s translation in JARCE 7, p. 48, as his explanations with regard to both text and context are more convincing than Lichtheim’s. That is, “Drink till drunk, while enjoying the feast day” (Lorton, op. cit., p. 43, similar, Lichtheim, Rosellini I, p. 161). There is nothing so the text, for example, but would suggest “Eat till in Lichtheim’s translation, and to render “m 3b n” literally “do not cease until”, into “while enjoying” is also dubious. “3b” could mean “wish” (Wb I 6,24-7,7), to extend this meaning into “enjoy”, however, lacks some justification. Even so, the “n” after “3b” is unexpected.
The attitude of this passage is somewhat ambiguous. Was the author trying to convey the idea that eating and drinking were not good and thus should be avoided, or was he encouraging these activities? The difficulty of understanding arises from the phrase "n wrd ib.k." It has been variously translated as "weary not," all of which imply an imperative mood. However, it is probably not an imperative, but a non-imperative form with future reference, thus we translate as "your heart shall not be weary." In contrast to the imperative mood, the non-imperative future tense "shall" — which shows neither disapproval nor encouragement, allows us to come to perhaps the original idea of the author: drink, food, drunkenness, and loving are things that one could enjoy, but should not overdo. Based on this understanding, one would say that Tjesthopt was wishing that her husband enjoy life but not grow weary from overindulgence. This attitude, then, was in accordance with what is found in the didactic literature.

Lastly, some indication of the Egyptians’ attitude toward wine-drinking can be gleaned from a number of personal names, all of which include the word "drunkenness" as an element. In four cases, the word constitutes a major part of the names Thy (M.K.), Thy (O.K.), Thy (O.K.), and Thy (M.K. & N.K.). These probably should be read as "The Drunkard." Another name, S3.t-th, is perhaps read as "Daughter-of-the-Drunkard." There would be little significance if these "Drunkard" names were nicknames, for nicknames are less serious. At least one of them, Thy, seems to be a regular name as far as its context: "His father, the henchman’s son Thy." The use of "th" or its derivatives as a regular name again attests a favorable attitude: people usually would not choose a name with unworthy meaning or undesirable implications.

263 Text published by Brugsch, Thesaurus V, 926.
264 Lichtheim, op. cit., p. 62.
265 Lorton, JARCE 1, p. 42.
266 Assman, op. cit., p. 79.
267 Gardiner, Grammar, 105.2; 144.2; 457.
268 Otto, op. cit., p. 193: "Dein Herz werde nicht müde ___".
270 Ibid., p. 383, 1.
271 Ibid., p. 382, 31.
272 In four other cases, this connected with the name of a king: Cheop-is-drunk (Smith, JNES 11, pp. 113ff.), Mycerinus-is-drunk (Reisner, Mycerinus, p. 275), Sahure-is-drunk (Borchardt, Sahure II, p. 86), Montuhotep-is-drunk (Ranke, Personennamen I, 385.4). Exactly what these names signified is obscure. It has been speculated (Brunner, ZAS 83, pp. 81ff.) that the drunkenness of the king might refer to a certain ritual significance, i.e., might relate to the story of "the destruction of mankind" and the Father.
In conclusion, one may say that the Egyptians held a favorable yet balanced attitude toward wine-drinking. This was fundamental for the use of wine as an offering item. Drunkenness was not encouraged if it would disgrace a person in public, though it was considered enjoyable. Further, it has been suggested that in certain religious festivals, such as the Valley Festival, the barrier between life and death was broken by drunkenness, and the relatives who celebrated the feast in the tomb could indulge in worldly pleasure together with their deceased kinsfolk. In fact, because wine and drunkenness possessed certain theological as well as mythological significance, to offer wine to the deities would mean more than an offer of enjoyment to the tongue, more than a means to break the barrier between the living and the dead, the secular and the divine.

Chapter II

Representations of Wine Offering on Royal Monuments

This chapter surveys chronologically the representations of wine offering on royal monuments and is divided into three sections. All of the extant examples from the Old and Middle Kingdoms are treated in the first section. The second section deals with material from the time of the New Kingdom to the end of the Pharaonic Period, and is subdivided into four parts: temples, royal statues, royal stelae (including obelisks and rock inscriptions), and royal tombs. Because of the large number of representations from this period, it is impractical to analyze them all, especially since many remain unpublished. We therefore examine only the essential features of the ritual act. The third section discusses examples from the Graeco-Roman temples.

(1) The Old and Middle Kingdoms

The earliest scene of wine offering found on a temple wall comes from the Pyramid temple of Sahure. The scene was originally done in the Old Kingdom and later adapted to a cult of Sekhmet. It shows the king offering wine to the goddess Sekhmet. Part of the inscription accompanying the scene is preserved: “Wine and libation for the ka of the Mistress of the Two Lands, Sekhmet of Sahure.” Although the cult of “Sekhmet of Sahure” is of a later date, it is nevertheless significant that in this scene Sekhmet was the recipient deity. Wine was a special object in connection with the worship of this goddess, due to the role she played in the mythological story “The Destruction of Mankind.” Despite the fact that the earliest version of this story dates to the New Kingdom, there is no compelling reason to deny its existence much earlier in time.

The offering of wine to the deities is not only represented on the temple walls, but also in three-dimensional forms. A statuette of King Pepi I, now in the Brooklyn...
Museum, shows the king in a kneeling position, with hands resting upon knees and holding two globular jars. On top of the base on which the king kneels is part of a cartouche: "Pepi, son of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, given life and power." On the right of the base, on the top, is inscribed Pepi’s prenomen "Mry-Re." Since there is no further inscription explaining the ritual act that Pepi I undertook, we cannot know what kind of liquid the two jars actually would have contained. Most likely it was wine. Evidence from later periods shows that two globular jars (the so-called nw-pots) were the most commonly used containers in wine offerings. The posture of the king also supports such an observation. Numerous relief scenes from later times show that in the ritual of wine offering, the king was often seen in a kneeling position and holding two round jars.

That this kind of kneeling statue of the king in the act of wine offering might have been an established type is suggested by a similar statue, perhaps of king Chephren, a fragment of which was found in the valley temple of Chephren at Giza, and by other finds in later periods.

Brooklyn Museum, no. 39.121; cf. Vandier, Manuel d’Archéologie Égyptienne, III, p. 36, pl. viii 3. For the latest publication of the texts, see James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum (1980), no. 60, pi. xxiv.

8 For the nw-pot in hieroglyphic writing, see Gardiner, Grammar, (1957) sign list, w 24. For some specimens of this kind of jars, see PM I, p. 665. There are, of course, exceptions to this observation. Sometimes the offering of water (kbh) was also represented with the king holding two nw-pots, cf. Lacau-Chevrier, Une Chapelle de Sesosiris 1er à Karnak, pis. 19, 22, 29. Very exceptionally, it was also used to contain other kinds of drinks, see Lacau-Chevrier, op. cit., p. 32, where a kind of bee-drink was offered in the nw-pot. In the Graeco-Roman period it was also used to offer beer. On the other hand, the nw-pot was also depicted being contained in jar, cf. Boon et al, Les Fouilles de Medamoud (FIFAO 9), pl. 41. For examples: PM II, p. 414 (37b) (24a); 328 (135a) in 3: 414 (37a/32) (24c); 341 (104a) (28c). See the discussion on the posture of the king below. The fact that the statues shows the king with arms on knees instead of raising in front of his face, was perhaps due to the nature of the material (limestone). The Egyptian sculptors had in general refrained from producing free rising arms for stone statues, see G. Steindorff, Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery, p. 6. See also Vandier, op. cit., pi. ciii 2; Aldred et al., L’Egypte de Crépuscule (1980), fig. 274.

10 Eva Martin-Pardey, Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiarum I (1976), pp. 70-73.

11 See section 2.14 below.
In the temple of Montuhotep I at Deir el-Bahari, the king is shown offering wine in two fragmentary scenes. He is depicted in a kneeling position in one scene and in a standing position in the other. Neither the accompanying text nor the figure of the recipient deity is preserved. Since very little of the ceremonial settings of these scenes is known, it is difficult to reach a better understanding of their significance.

On a stela found at Wadi Hammamat, Montuhotep I is shown offering wine to Min. The inscription above the figures reads: "Son of Re, Montuhotep, beloved of Min of Koptos, given life like Re('s) forever." The king wears the Red Crown, indicating that he is officiating in the capacity of the King of Lower Egypt. Since Montuhotep came from Thebes, and Min was the chief Upper Egyptian deity worshipped at Koptos, near the entrance to the Wadi Hammamat, the scene could have been a commemoration of the king’s paying tribute to Min after the whole country had been united. It is also possible that the offering was for the arrival of a quarry mission. The inscription contains little direct information concerning the purpose of the stela, and the suggestions here are merely possibilities. Nevertheless, this example shows that the wine offering ritual did not have to be connected with temple ceremonies; it could be enacted at certain locations outside of the temple.

Examples of wine offering performed in larger ceremonial settings are found on the monuments of Sesostris I. In his chapel at Karnak, which was built for the king’s first jubilee, various rituals were performed to commemorate this event. Two scenes among them (scenes 18, 22) depict the king offering wine to Amon-Min. In scene 18, the king, wearing the Double Crown, is in a standing position. In scene 22, he is shown without headdress in a kneeling position. The inscriptions in both scenes are essentially the same: a short title, "presenting wine — rdit irp," denoting the act, in addition to the epithets of the king and the speech of the god.

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13 Ibid., pl. 67.
14 According to Arnold, the deity is probably Atum, ibid., pl. 33.
16 Kees, Götterglaube, p. 201; Bonnet, RÀRG, pp. 461ff.
17 Winlock, The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom, pp. 30ff. In p. 24, Winlock quotes this stela but seems to think that it dates before the unification of the entire country. However, there is no direct evidence to support Winlock’s view, and it would be difficult to explain why he was wearing the Red Crown — the symbol of the king of Lower Egypt, as he came from Upper Egypt.
18 A stela found at Wadi Hammamat shows Sethos II offering wine to Min, a commemoration of a quarry mission. Cf. G. Goyon, Nouvelles Inscriptions Rupestres des Wadi Hammamat, pl. xxi, no. 79.
19 Lacau-Chevrier, op. cit.
20 Ibid., pl. 22.
21 Ibid., pl. 22.
Scene 18: Above Amen: Words spoken by Amen-Kamutef, foremost of Karnak:
I have given all life, stability, and luck to my son Hpr-k3-R', of my
body, my beloved, given life.
Behind Amen: All protection, life, stability, luck and health are behind
him.
Above king: Horus Life-of-births, the Two Ladies Life-of-births,
Sesostris. Sesostris, beloved of the god, lord of the temple, given
life.
Above the falcon: Behdety, the Great God, variegated of feathers, Lord
of Heaven, may he give life.

Scene 22: Above Amen: Words spoken by Amen-Re Lord of the Thrones of the
Two Land: I have given all life, stability, and luck to my son Hpr-
k3-R', in the presence of the Ennead.
Before Amen: Amen-Re, may he give all stability and luck.
Behind Amen: Protection, life, stability, and luck are behind him like
Re('s).
Above king: Horus Life-of-births, king of Upper and Lower Egypt,
Hpr-k3-R', Horus of Gold, Life-of-births, beloved of Atum in the
temple, given life forever.
Above Nekhbet: Nekhbet, the white one of Nekhen, Mistress of Upper
Egypt, may she give life and luck.
Between Amen and king: Offering wine.

Another wine offering scene is represented on a lintel found at Medamud.22 On
the right-hand side, King Amenemhet-Sobekhotep, who wears the White Crown, is
offering wine to Montu, the Chief deity of Medamud.23 The inscription before the
king reads: "Offering wine, so that he may make life to be given like Re('s)." On the
other side, he is offering milk to Montu and wearing the Red Crown. The crowns that
the king wears show that he was the ruler of both Upper and Lower Egypt. There is,
however, no evidence to suggest a fixed relationship between the offering objects and
the crowns that the king wears in the rituals. As we have seen in Sesostris I's chapel,
the king wears either the Double Crown or no crown at all in the offering of wine, and
the Double Crown in the offering of milk.

On the wall of Sesostris III's porch at Medamud,24 King Sobekemsaf, who

22 Bisson de la Roque-Clere, Les Fouilles des Medamoud (FIFAO 9), pl. VIII, pp. 34-35.
24 Bisson de la Roque, Medamoud, pl. 25.
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completed this chapel, is shown offering wine to Montu.25 The god responds to the offer by giving the symbols of life and stability (‘nh dd) to the king with the wls-scepter that he holds in hand.

Emerging from the above discussion are some of the essential features with regard to the representations of wine offering: (1) The ritual act may be represented on various parts of the temple: lintel, column, wall. It can also be represented through different media: wall reliefs, stelae, and sculptures. (2) A number of deities may be the recipients of wine offering. (3) The costumes of the king, especially his headdresses, do not seem to have a direct relationship to the things he offered. The king is shown wearing the White Crown, the Red Crown, the Double Crown, the nms-cloth, or no crown at all, in the ritual of wine offering. (4) The utensils used in wine offering are the nw-pots.26 (5) Finally, the offering scene is usually accompanied by texts describing the ritual act. They include the names and epithets of the god and the king, the speech of the deity, and a short offering formula such as "Offering wine, so that he may make life to be given like Re('s)," or simply "Offering wine." These features will be further explored in the next period, for which more material are available.

(2) From the New Kingdom to the End of the Pharaonic Period

As mentioned above, because of large amount of material available from this period, we shall discuss the topical features found in the representations of wine offering.

(2.1) The Posture and Headdress of the King

There are two kinds of postures for the king in wine offering: one standing, the other kneeling. In both postures the king holds two globular jars in front of himself. The globular jar, or nw-pot, is the conventional vessel employed in the offering of wine. In only a few cases the vessels used in wine offering are other kinds of jars, such as the nms-jar.28 The nw-pot can also be employed in offerings other than wine, such as water (kbh),29 although those occasions are extremely rare. Thus whenever a scene shows the king offering two nw-pots, even though no accompanying title of the act exists, the act most probably represents wine offering. The group of royal statues

25 The inscription before the king is the same as that of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep mentioned above: "Offering wine, so that he may life be given like Re('s)."
26 This does not exclude the possibilities that other kinds of utensils could be used, or that nw-pots being used in other kind of offerings, cf. note 8 above.
27 Above, note 25.
29 Chicago Photo, 7335, AvH 35, pl. vi; cf. note 8.

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showing the kneeling king holding two mw-pons30 is generally interpreted as an act of wine offering, although the inscriptions on the statues give only the royal names and epithets.

As with the Old and Middle Kingdom examples, there are several variations of the headdress of the king in the offering of wine. The king could wear the White Crown, the Red Crown, the Double Crown, the Blue Crown, the wra-cloth, the j/l/f-crown, or the r/u-crown. Sometimes the king wears no crown at all. Although the crowns represent different aspects of kingship,31 there is as yet no satisfactory explanation concerning the rationale behind the use of different crowns in the ritual of wine offering.32 (Fig. 9)

In certain cases, the crown that the king wears seems to have more to do with a symmetric representation of the ritual scenes on the wall than with the act itself. For example, above the lintel of the doorway of Room X in the sanctuary of the temple of Hatchepstus at Deir el-Bahari, Hatchepstus is shown wearing the White Crown and offering wine to Amon on the right. On the left, she is shown wearing the Red Crown and offering bread to Amon.33 The representations of the White and the Red Crowns are likely meant to be symbolic of her role as the ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt. They do not necessarily reflect a specific relationship between the White Crown and wine, on one hand, or the Red Crown and bread.

(Fig. 9) Amenophis III Offering Wine to a Goddess (R. Lepsius, Denkmaler, III, pl. 88)

30 Below, Section 2.IV.
31 Abubakr, Untersuchungen über die Aegyptischen Krönen (1937), passim.
32 Records of festival at Esna show that the king wore different crowns at different festival days in the Mammisi. Daumas, Les Mammisis des Temples Égyptiens (1958), pp. 244-252, explains the use of different crowns as having to do with the coronation of the young king-god and the ceremony of Hathor’s union with the sun-disc. The reason why a particular crown was chosen for a particular festival day, however, is not clear.
33 Naville, Deir el-Bahari, pl. cxxxiv.
In the Ptah temple of Ramesses II at Gerf Hussein, wine offering appears in a series of offering rituals on the wall of the offering hall. The order of the scenes is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offering:</th>
<th>Incense</th>
<th>Maat</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Wine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.-half Crown:</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.-half Crown:</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Blue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is obvious that the series follows a definite plan as far as the headdress of the king is concerned. The positions of the two White Crowns are symmetrical to that of the two Red Crowns, while the four Blue Crowns form two pairs. Thus it is most likely that the headdresses of the king in the scenes follow a decorative scheme, rather than a particular relationship between offerings and crowns.

(2.II) Scenes in the Temples

(2.II.a) The Positions of Wine Offering Scenes

The wine offering theme was so common that it is found on many parts of the temple, such as doorways, walls of the halls and chapels, and on columns.

(2.II.a.i) Doorways

Wine offering scenes are represented on doorways leading to various parts of the temple; these include the doorways of the sanctuary, the rooms of various cultic functions, and the gates and other entrances of the temple.

35 PM II, pp. 365 (131) (a)-(f); 105 (32); 200 (19), (24); 32 (97) (a)-(b).
36 PM II, 28 (48) (a)-(b); 413 (70) (a)-(b); 414 (70) (c)-(d); 414 (67) (a)-(b); 459 (21) (a)-(b); 413 (70) (a)-(b); 413 (67) (a)-(b); 301 (67) (a)-(b); 312 (67) (a)-(b); 240 (98) (a)-(b).
37 PM II, 28 (48) (a)-(b); 413 (70) (a)-(b).
38 PM II, 413 (70) (a)-(b); 414 (70) (c)-(d); 414 (67) (a)-(b); 240 (98) (a)-(b).
with the offering of incense,\textsuperscript{39} water,\textsuperscript{40} bread,\textsuperscript{41} milk,\textsuperscript{42} Maat,\textsuperscript{43} and food.\textsuperscript{44} (Fig. 10)

The offering scenes depicted on the jambs and thicknesses of the doorways also frequently form a left-right correspondence, and wine offering is found in opposition to the offerings of water,\textsuperscript{45} milk,\textsuperscript{46} and Maat.\textsuperscript{47}

(2.II.a.ii) Walls

The majority of wine offering scenes is located on the walls of various parts of the temple: the exterior walls of the temple,\textsuperscript{48} the pylon,\textsuperscript{49} the walls of the hypostyle...

\textsuperscript{39} PM II, 413 (42) (a)-(b).
\textsuperscript{40} PM II, 323 (446) a, 108 (246).
\textsuperscript{41} PM II, 315 (53) (a)-(f).
\textsuperscript{42} PM II, 91 (260) (b).
\textsuperscript{43} Gauthier, Seboua, pi. liv.
\textsuperscript{44} PM II, 241 (104) (a)-(b).
\textsuperscript{45} Calverly, Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos IV, 12; PM II, 65 (149) (j) 1.
\textsuperscript{46} PM II, 407 (98) (a)-(b).
\textsuperscript{47} PM VII, 101 (54) (a)-(c).
\textsuperscript{48} Temple of Ramesses III at Karnak: PM II, 34 (129) (a); PM II, 33 (119) (a); Reliefs and Inscriptions I, 105 (134); 107C, Temple of Luxor: PM II, 254 (235) (a). Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu: MH VII, 571-586.
\textsuperscript{49} PM II, 76 (154) (a)-(b); PM II, 43 (48) g 2; PM II, 306 (177) (b); PM II, 188 (183) (o) (b); PM II, 79 (23) (q) (d), (j) (h).
halls, the walls of the shrines of various deities, the walls of rooms with various cultic functions, including the slaughter room, the clothing room, and the altar room. When the walls are decorated according to symmetric plans, the offering of wine is positioned opposite the offerings of incense, water, milk, flowers, and Maat.

(2.II.a.iii) Columns
The columns and pillars in the temples are usually decorated with ritual scenes, including wine offerings. In the Ramesside Period, wine offering is one of the most frequently depicted ritual acts on the pillars and columns: these include the columns in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, in the temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, in the Ramesseum, in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, and in the hypostyle hall of the Great Temple of Amun at Thebes.

(2.II.b) The Inscriptions Accompanying the Scenes

(2.II.b.i) Title of the Act
The title of the offering act is inscribed in front of the figure of the king. Usually it is written in two forms: a short one: “Offering wine (nḥt š寂静),” and a long one, composed of two main parts: “Offering wine – nḥt š寂静; hr nḥt š寂静,” and “may he make...”
a 'given life' — \(\text{fr.dl. 'nh} \) 108. Between the two parts is the direction of the offering: ‘to his father — \(\text{n it.f} \) or 'to his mother — \(\text{n mwt.f} \)’. Slight variation is made by adding 'like Re, forever — \(\text{n R'} \) \(\text{dt} \), etc., to the end of the formula. The entire liturgy recited during the act of wine offering was also inscribed on the walls. However, only two examples have been found in the Pharaonic Period. One of them is in the temple of Seti I at Abydos,109 the other is in Karnak.110 They will be discussed in the next chapter.

(2.II.b.i) Replies of the Deities

An important part of the inscriptions accompanying the offering scene is the reply of the deity. The relationship between the officiating king and the recipient deity is best described as that of "do ut des," thus, the deity’s replies reveal the expectation of the king. The replies of the deities in wine offering in this period can be divided into several groups according to their content.

(a) Those Concerning the Personal Welfare of the King

In this type of replies, the basic vocabulary employed is: life — \(\text{'nh} \), luck — \(\text{w3s} \), health — \(\text{snb} \), stability — \(\text{dd} \), happiness — \(\text{3wt. ib} \). These basic terms can be combined to form various expressions. For example:

1) I have given to you all life and luck, all stability, all health, all happiness before me like (those of) Re’s forever. — \(\text{di.n.i.n.k 'nh w3s nb dd nb snb nb 3wt-ib nbt hr.i mi R'} \) \(\text{dt} \).111

2) I have given to you all life and luck, all health like Re’s. — \(\text{di.n.i.n.k 'nh w3s nb snb nb mi R'} \).112

3) I have given to you all health and all happiness. — \(\text{di.n.i n.k snb nb 3wt.ib nbt} \).113

4) I have given to you life, stability, and luck; your years are like the sand of the bank. — \(\text{di.n.i.x.k 'nh dd w3s rnpwt.k mi s' n wdbw} \).114

5) I have given to you all life, stability and luck, and all health. — \(\text{di.n.i.n.a 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb} \).

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109 David, op. cit., p. 179; Mariette, Abydos I, pi. 36.
110 Nelson, JNES 8, pp. 122ff. In addition to the temple inscriptions, several more wine-offering liturgies are found on papyri and stelae, for detailed information, see Chapter III, section 2.
111 PM II, 471 (35f) 3; similarly, PM II, 475 (102) 3.
112 PM II, 21 (41) 4; similarly, PM II, 102 (106) (a) II; PM II, 27 (41) II 4.
113 PM II, 26 (37) 6; similarly, PM II, 455 A (a) II.
114 PM II, 302 (106) (a) II.
115 PM II, 411 (28) (a) 6; PM II, 302 (107) 6.

48
(b) Those Concerning the Role of the King as a Victorious Ruler

The basic terms of this type of reply are: valor — kh, strength or victory — nfr, strength (physical) — phty, all the flat lands — dw nsw, and all the hill countries — hJswt nb.

For example:

1) I have given to you valor and strength. — di.n.i n.k kh nfr hJswt nb.

2) I have given to you valor against the south, strength against the north, and I gave you the fear of you in the heart of the Nine Bows. — di.n.i n.k kh r nfr nb nht dw nsw di.i b n sw w m njw.

3) I have given to you all the flat lands and all the hill countries united under your sandals. — di.n.i n.k kh nsw hJswt nbw dmd hr tps db nz.

4) I have given to you the flat lands in peace, that you subdue the Nine Bows. — di.n.i n.k kh nsw hJswt nbw.

5) I have given to you valor and victory against all the hill countries. — di.n.i n.k kh nfr nht r hJswt nbw.

6) I have given to you all the flat lands in submission. — di.n.i n.k kh nsw m ksw.m.

7) I have given to you the ocean under your sandals. — di.n.i n.k sn-wr hr tps db nz.

(c) Those Concerning the Longevity of the King

1) I have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands. — di.n.i n.k hh m nswt t3wy.

2) I have given to you the life-time of Re and the years of Atum. — di.n.i n.k R'h n R' m ltmP.

3) I have given to you the life-time of Re and your years are like the sand of the

74 For a discussion of kh, nfr, phty, see Chapter V, section 1.2.
75 PM II, 307, 30; PM II, 32, 87 (26); PM II, 405 (27) (a)-(b); PM II, 529 (172) 13.
76 PM II, 335 (121) 1 =— MH VII, 312; PM II, 814 (176) (a) 1.
77 PM II, 440 (56) (a)-(b) similarly, PM II, 431 (152) 3, PM II, 437 (98) (a)-(b) III, MH VII, 527, 595.
78 PM II, 26 (39) 3; PM II, 27 (48) 1 2.
79 MH VII, 344, 375.
80 MH VII, 349.
81 MH VII, 368, 374.
82 PM II, 405 (108); PM II, 26 (37) 1 2; PM II, 26 (39) 3; PM II, 188 (505) (4) IV; PM II, 490 (34) (a)-(b) III, MH VII, 301, 346; MH VII, 375.
83 PM VII, 340; 357, 355, 374; PM II, 439 (152) 3 — LD 41, 124, similarly, PM II, 411, (21) (a)-(b); PM II, 26 (27) 1 2, 6; PM II, 411 (120) (a)-(b); PM II, 44 (152) IV 4.
river bank. — di.n.i n.k '3 n R' npt 't n sncw. 56
4) I have given to you the life-time of Re in heaven. — di.n.i n.k '3 n R' m pt.11
5) I have given to you numerous jubilees. — di.n.i n.k dd-qa3 'O wtr.17
6) I have given to you the jubilee of Re. — di.n.i n.k bb-qa3 n R'.17
7) I have given to you the kingship of Re in heaven. — di.n.i n.k nswyt n R' m pt.17
8) I have given to you the throne of Geb, the office of Atum and the life-time of Re in heaven. — di.n.i n.k Gb nswyt n R' m pt.17
9) I have given to you your monument, established in heaven forever. — di.n.i n.k mnw.k mn mi pt dt.90

(2.II.b.iii) Comparison With Other Offerings

The title of a wine offering is usually given in a type of formula employed in all the offerings: "Offering X so that he may make a 'given life' — rdi X ir.f di 'nh, or variations. The replies of the deities, as mentioned before, reflect the expectation of the king and thus part of the purpose of the offering. The extent to which these replies are exclusively employed in wine offering or directly related to wine can be demonstrated by the following comparison with the replies of the deities in other offerings.

(a) The expressions of life, stability, luck, health, and happiness, in various combinations, are found in the replies of the deities in the offerings of incense, milk, and eye paint.

(b) Expressions that describe the king as a victorious ruler, i.e., valor, strength, and power, and those that depict the submission of foreign lands are found in the replies of the deities in the offerings of incense, milk, and food.

56 PM II, 305 (112)1 = MH V, 312.
57 PM II, 43 (54)1 = MH V, 490 (54) (d) (b); similarly, PM II, 430 (131) 2.
58 PM II, 490 (540) (c) (c); similarly, MH V, 372, 375, 386, 390, 394, 396.
59 MH VII, 572; MH V, 260-271; PM II, 505 (112) 4.
60 MH VII, 570, MH V column 43, MH V, 370; MH V, 376.
61 PM II, 309 (112) 4; similarly, MH VII, 576, PM II, 435 f (a).
62 MH II, 92 (146)1; similarly, MH V, 505.
63 MH IV, 231, MH VII, 596, MH III, 619 G.
64 MH V, 336.
65 MH V, 294; MH VII, 579C.
66 MH VII, 353 A.
67 MH V, 137.
68 MH V, 227; MH V, 312 A.
flow,100 incense, and libation.101

(c) The expressions that deal with the lifetime of the king, e.g., "the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum," or "eternity as king of the Two Lands," are found in the replies of the deities in the offerings of Maat,102 flower,103 food,104 incense, and libation.105

It is clear from the above comparison that the replies of the deities in wine offering are not exclusively employed for this act alone. However, it has to be stressed that although these replies may have only reflected a general expectation of the king in making an offering, still, each offering has its own significance. This is clear when one examines the offering liturgies. The ideas expressed in the liturgies distinguish the offering of wine from other kinds of offering. This is dealt with in the next chapter.

(2.II.c) The Ritual Context

Having discussed the positions and the accompanying inscriptions of the wine offering scenes, we turn to the ritual context, i.e., the occasions in which wine was offered to the deities.

(2.II.c.i) As Part of Known Rituals

As numerous offering texts indicate, wine was always a part of the food offerings to the deities.106 Therefore, it is surprising to learn that in the daily temple rituals, wine was not offered in a separate ritual act,107 but often constituted an individual act in some other rituals or ceremonies.

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100 MH V, 294.
101 MH V, 262.
102 MH VII, 570 A; MH III, 176.
103 MH III, 178.
105 MH V, 391.
106 MH III, 171; MH III, 144.
108 Barta, Opferliste, passim.
109 Cf. Moret, Rituel de Culte Divin Journalier en Egypte (1902); Blakemore, JMEOS 8 (1919), pp. 21-51. However, see section 3.2 below on the possible role of the daily offering of wine in the temple of Edfu.
WINE AND WINE OFFERING IN THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT

(2.II.c.i.a) Ritual of Amenophis I

Wine offering was an episode in the Ritual of Amenophis I, a ritual on behalf of the deified king. It was adopted from the ritual of offerings performed in the temple of Amon at Karnak. The ritual is partially depicted on the walls of the temples of Karnak, Abydos, and Medinet Habu, and is also preserved in three papyri in London, Cairo, and Turin. The offering of wine, according to the sequence of acts in the papyri, and corroborated by scenes depicted on the temple walls, constitutes the twelfth episode of the ritual. The offering liturgy employed in this act is the only type of wine offering liturgy preserved from the Pharaonic Period, and is one of the major types of wine offering liturgy employed in the Graeco-Roman temples.

(2.II.c.i.j) Foundation Ceremony

Wine offering is represented among a series of scenes depicting the foundation ceremony. These are located on the exterior wall of the bark shrine of Thutmosis III in the small temple of Medinet Habu. According to a study of this ceremony, however, it appears that wine offering was not a part of the regular ritual acts. In the present case, therefore, the offering of wine was probably a deviation from the norm. The same may be said of a wine offering scene at Karnak depicted on the exterior wall of the Bark shrine of Hatshepsut, who is offering wine to Amon.

(2.II.c.j) The Festival of Min

In the festival of Min, wine was offered to Min during the "Prt" procession, which is attested by pictorial as well as textual evidence. Because the officiating king

109 Nelson, op. cit.
110 Gardner, op. cit., pp. 78-106.
112 Bacchi, Rituale di Amenhotpe I (1942).
113 Nelson, loc. cit.
114 Cf. Chapter IV, Type II.
115 PM II, 468 (42) 5.
116 Montet, Kemi 17, pp. 74-100.
117 PM II, 89, 163. The original position of this shrine was on the site of the sanctuary of Philip Arrhidaeus. For a recent publication, Cf. Lacau-Chevrier, Une Chapelle d’Hatshepsout (1977).
118 MHV, 210, 202, 207; Gauthier, Le Fête du Dieu Min (1931), pp. 153, 152; Bleeker, Die Geburt eines Gottes (1929), fig. 17.
119 Gauthier, op. cit., pp. 26, 159.
is depicted in miniature before the legs of the statues of Min, it is difficult to tell in which part of the ceremony the wine offering took place.

(2.II.c.i.i.5) The Coronation Ceremony

Wine was offered to the god (Amon) in the coronation ceremony depicted on the wall of the great Hypostyle Hall in the temple of Amon at Karnak. According to a study of the coronation ceremony, after the king was introduced into the presence of his father, and the divine decrees proclaimed, the king first presented Maat, and then wine and myrrh, to his father Amon.

(2.II.c.i.e) Heb-Sed Festival

Wine offering scenes are found in the Heb-sed temple of Amenophis II at Karnak. Although the exact sequence of events in this festival is not certain, wine-jar labels from Mohata confirm that special wine was prepared. Wine offerings are also found on the stelethesis of Thutmose I, III, and Ramses II, which were erected in commemoration of the Heb-sed. (See section 2.III.)

(2.II.c.i.f) Valley Festival

On the north wall in the sanctuary of the temple of Hatsheput at Deir el-Bahari, Hatsheput (later changed into Thutmose III) is shown offering wine before the bark of Amon. This is an act performed during the Valley Festival when the bark of Amon visited the west bank of Thebes. The same may be true of the wine offering scenes depicted in the bark shrine of Thutmose III in the small temple of Medinet Habu, or Amenophis III offering wine to the bark of Amon in the Luxor temple, or Sethos I at Karnak. It has been pointed out that in the Valley Festival wine was offered not only to the deity by the king, but also to the deceased by their kinsfolk. A

120 Cf. note 118.
121 PM II, 49 (160) II 6.
122 Ibrahim, The Chapel of the Throne of Re (1975), pp. 18-19. Ibrahim suggests that the offering of wine is a fertility rite (p. 20) without giving further evidence or explanation.
123 PM II, 185 (568) II; 186 (571).
124 Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods (1948), pp. 79ff.
125 Hayes, JNES 10, pp. 89ff.; Helck, Materialien, pp. 530-31.
126 Naville, Dier el-Bahari, pi. CXLI = PM II, 365 (132) 2.
127 Schott, Wüstentale, p. 842.
128 PM II, 469 (46) 1.
129 Nelson, JNES 8, pl. xix.
130 PM II, 45 (155) V 1.
131 Schott, op. cit., pp. 842ff.
large quantity of wine was consumed by the participants during the celebration.

(2.II.c.ii) New Year Celebration
In the small temple at Abu Simbel, Ramesses II is shown offering wine to Amun-Re132 and Re-Horakhty133 in the celebration of the New Year, or the Coming of the inundation.134

(2.n.c.ii) As Part of Unidentified Rituals
The above discussion shows that some of the wine offerings depicted on the walls belong to rituals or ceremonies actually performed in temples. A greater number of wine offering scenes, however, cannot be readily identified as belonging to any known events, although it is quite possible that this is only due to our lack of information. Consider, for example, a scene which is depicted on the same wall on which the ritual of Amenophis I is displayed in the Great temple of Amon at Karnak.135 In it, Sethos I offers wine to Amon and Amenet among a series of offering acts that does not represent an identifiable ceremony. Yet, in view of the fact that they are depicted at approximately the same location as that of the ritual of Amenophis I, it is likely that they belonged to an important ceremony.

In another example, two wine offering scenes are depicted on the southern exterior wall of the Bark shire of Hatchepсут at Karnak. The Queen is shown offering wine to Amon in the fourth register136 and to Tefnut in the sixth register.137 Between these two scenes, in the fifth register, is the festival of Opet,138 in which the bark of Amon is shown traveling between Karnak and Luxor. The acts of wine offering, depicted among a series of offering scenes, may or may not represent a part of the festival of Opet. Their positions, however, suggest that they belong to rituals the importance of which is comparable to that of the festival of Opet.

The same argument can be applied to another wine offering scene depicted on the wall of the Hypostyle Hall in the temple of Amon at Karnak.139 Here Sethos I is shown offering wine to Amon, while the next register of the same wall depicts the...
Representations of Wine Offering in Ritual Movements

One may assume that the ritual contexts of the wine offering scenes depicted in temple shrines and rooms are suggested by the functions of the rooms. In the sanctuary of the small temple at Medinet Habu, for example, Thutmose III is shown offering wine, among other offerings, to Amon.140 These offerings are undoubtedly intended for the worshipping of Amon. Yet there is no clear relationship between the offerings. It is uncertain whether they belonged to a set of rituals or were independent acts. Another example is Ramesses III, who is shown offering wine to Amon and Weret-hekau in the shrine of Ptah in the Great Temple at Medinet Habu.141 We cannot tell what kind of ritual would require the offering of wine to Amon and Weret-hekau in the worshipping of Ptah.

Similar to the above situation, when wine offering scenes are depicted in rooms with known cultic functions, such as the "offering room,"143 the "slaughter room,"144 the purification room,145 and the "clothing room,"146 wine offering should be part of the food preparation or the rituals for vestment and purification. The exact relationship between the wine offering scenes depicted and the rituals performed in each room, however, is difficult to establish. As a study of the relationship between the wall reliefs and the function of the rooms shows, the themes of the reliefs do not necessarily reflect the function of the rooms.147 When wine offering scenes are depicted in seven out of the nine storage chambers in the southwestern side of Thutmose III's Festival temple at Karnak,148 it is difficult to imagine that anything more than a basic expression of piety is meant.

As a Decorative Theme

The above discussion raises a question: what if an "unidentified" ritual, in which wine offering is a part, did not exist at all? In this case, it is most probable that the offering of wine depicted on the wall represents a decorative theme for the temple relief, without reference to any ritual or ceremony actually performed in the temple. Based on a study of the ritual scenes in the temple of Edfu, Alfoldi maintains that theoretically...
the ritual scenes represent exactly the rites that were performed at that spot in the

temple. Yet it is difficult to substantiate this in each case. The most obvious
evidence of wine offering as a decorative theme are those scenes depicted on the

columns and pillars. For example, it has been demonstrated that the scenes (wine

offering included) depicted on the columns in the Hypostyle Hall in the Amon Temple

at Karnak follow a definite pattern of decoration. Furthermore, there is no doubt

that the many wine offering scenes found on the columns in the Great Temple at

Medinet Habu, on the Osiride pillars in the second court of Ramesses II, and on the

pillars in the Great Temple at Abu Simbel are decorative in nature. Another

example of wine offering as decorative function is found on the exterior wall of the

Great Temple of Medinet Habu. On the outer face of the southern side of this wall,

wine offering scenes are depicted no less than thirty times. On the inner face, the

same scene is depicted eleven times. They were probably part of the worship for the

various deities, but the sheer number of the wine offering scenes also suggests that

they served basically as a decorative theme, especially since they are all represented in

a miniature scale on the friezes.

According to a study by Osing, moreover, at least two sets of decorative patterns

can be identified from New Kingdom temple reliefs. One pattern shows the repetition

of offering in the sequence: wine-milk-incense-water; the other shows the repetition of:

Maat-wine-water-food.

These decorative patterns, to be sure, were not arbitrary creations, but formulated

according to principles. In the first pattern, wine-milk and incense-water symbolized

two pairs of opposing yet complementary ideas. Wine and milk symbolized exhilarating

joy and peaceful nourishment. Their colors are red and white—which in turn are the

colors for Lower and Upper Egypt. Incense (i.e., air) and water, on the other

149 Alliot, Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou, p. 5.

150 Ibid.

151 Helck, MD1K 32 (1976), pp. 57-65.

152 See note 63.

153 See note 62.

154 See note 61.

155 MH VII, 571-586.

156 MH VII, 540, 542, 544, 545, 546, 551, 555, 560, 565, 566, 570.


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hand, symbolized two rejuvenating powers. The second pattern is also composed of two pairs of ideas. The offering of Maat represented the offering of the abstract principle, or order, of the world. The offering of wine was to present the material for the appeasement of the deity, a necessity for the maintenance of a peaceful world. Water, as a substance, is formless, thus abstract; food, on the other hand, is the material counterpart of the abstract water. Thus water is the counterpart of meat, and food the counterpart of wine. Despite this religious association, however, the scenes themselves are arranged mainly as decorative motives.

Lastly, the scenes depicted on the lintels and jambs of the doorways, although important in terms of their positions, hardly represent any special ritual performed in the temple. This is clearly shown by many double scenes found on the lintels and the symmetric arrangement of the same scenes on the jambs and thicknesses. In these cases, the wine offering, as well as other kinds of offering, served as decorative themes. Moreover, there is a basic visual difference between the scenes depicted on the doorways and those on the walls. As the beholder approaches the doorway, the scenes on the doorway remain still; while as he passes by the wall, the scenes depicted on the wall change as he moves from one point to the next. Thus in the eyes of the beholder, the scenes on the doorway are static compared with those on the walls, which can be described as "narrative." There is more reason to assume, therefore, that the static scenes would become decorative, as they are only statements of the king's piety rather than part of a narrative depiction of ritual in progress.

(2.III) Scenes Represented on Stelae and Obelisks

Wine offering is depicted on numerous royal stelae. On a rock stela found at Sinai, Thutmosis III and Hatshepsut are shown offering wine to Hathor in commemoration of a mining operation. A stela from Wadi Hammamat shows Sethos II offering wine to Min, in commemoration of a mission to the quarries. On the Kuban Stela, wine offering is often depicted on the walls in juxtaposition with the offering of Maat, see section 3.1. In the Hathor-Sekhmet myth, it is an appeasement for the goddess Sekhmet, who represents the untamed nature. The appeasement of Sekhmet, therefore, means the restoration of the cosmic order. Cf. Junker, Die Onurislegende, pp. 128-29; id., Die Auszug des Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubia, pp. 9-17. See Chapter VI below.

161 Wine offering is often depicted on the walls in juxtaposition with the offering of Maat, see section 3.1. In the Hathor-Sekhmet myth, it is an appeasement for the goddess Sekhmet, who represents the untamed nature. The appeasement of Sekhmet, therefore, means the restoration of the cosmic order. Cf. Junker, Die Onurislegende, pp. 128-29; id., Die Auszug des Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubia, pp. 9-17. See Chapter VI below.
162 PM II, 106 (327): 80 (307) (a)-(b); 200 (19); 200 (24); Naville, Dier el-Bahari, pl. cxviii; PM II, 418 (105) (a)-(b).
163 PM II, 188 (585) (b) IV; Calverly, op. cit., pis. 15, 37; PM II, 307 (19) (f)-(g); 418 (105) (a)-(b).
165 O. Gayon, Nouvelles Inscriptions Rupestres des Wadi Hammamat, pl. xxxiii, no. 95.
which commemorates the attempt of Ramesses II to supply water by digging wells along the desert road from the Nile to the gold mines of Wadi Alaki, the king is shown offering wine to Min.\footnote{166 Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions II, p. 355.}

Wine offering could also be depicted on stelae commemorated to military campaigns. Examples include two stelae of Thutmose II,\footnote{167 Urk IV, 763, 1227.} two stelae of Amenophis II,\footnote{168 Ibid., 1287, 1299.} one of Amenophis III,\footnote{169 Ibid., 1657.} one of Sethos I.\footnote{170 Kitchen, op. cit., I, 40.} To commemorate building activities, moreover, wine offering is depicted on the stelae of Amenophis III\footnote{171 Urk IV, 1319.} and Amenophis III.\footnote{172 Ibid., 1646.} Lastly, wine offering is also shown on the stelae with "rhetoric" or "poetical" texts,\footnote{173 Kitchen, op. cit., II, 224, 306, 310; Urk IV, 619.} and texts with religious content.\footnote{174 Kitchen, op. cit., I, 232, 287, II, 704.} The above examples show that wine offering was depicted on stelae with various kinds of text. Furthermore, the fact that wine offering is depicted on a stela with one textual type does not exclude the possibility that other kinds of offering scene could have the same type. The best
example to demonstrate this point is the two "poetical stelae" of Thutmose III. With almost identical texts, one of the stela depicts Thutmose III offering wine to Amon, while the other shows the king offering incense and libation. It appears, therefore, that the ritual scenes depicted on the stelae are not conditioned by the nature of the text. In other words, the texts on the stelae have no fixed relationship with the accompanying ritual scenes. The inscriptions accompanying the wine offering scenes on the stelae are similar to those found on the temple wall.

Another kind of free-standing monument that bore offering scenes is the obelisk. On the northern obelisk of Hatshepsut at Karnak, Amon is shown receiving wine from Thutmose I and III. The offering formulae follow the conventional model: "Offering wine to Amon, given life," and "Offering wine so that he may make a 'given life,'". On the obelisk of Thutmose I, which was inscribed by Thutmose III, the king is shown offering wine to Amon in a kneeling position. At Luxor, two obelisks of Ramesses II are found with scenes of the king offering wine to Amon. Two more obelisks from Pi-Ramesses show Ramesses II offering wine to Amon and Shu. Since all these obelisks were erected in commemoration of the royal jubilees, the wine offering scenes as well as other offerings depicted could have represented part of the ceremony. Again, there is no explicit evidence for this. In view of the decorative function of the offering scenes discussed above, it would be difficult to establish the association of the offering act with the ceremony more than as an allusion to a generally festive mood in addition to whatever religious significance that wine offering entailed.

(2.IV) Scenes Represented by Royal Statues

It has been mentioned above that a type of royal statue shows the king in a kneeling

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175 Urk IV, 619.
176 Ibid., 610.
178 LD III, 24.
179 LD III, 22.
186 See section 2.II.c.iii above.
position of wine offering.187 Two examples have been found from the Old Kingdom.188 From the New Kingdom onward, more examples are found. The kings who are represented by this kind of statue are: Amenophis I,189 Thutmose II,190 Hatshepsut,191 Thutmose III,192 Amenophis II,193 Thutmose IV,194 Ramesses II,195 Ramesses IX,196 Smendes,197 Osorkon,198 Shabaka,199 Taharqa,200 and Ahoris.201 There are minor variations in this type of statue. A group of twelve statues belonging to Hatshepsut shows only one big wine-jar, in the shape of the nes-pet, in front of the kneeling figure.202 A bronze statue of Osorkon I shows the king offering wine with arms raised in a standing position.203 The ritual contexts of these statues are unfortunately difficult to fathom.

(2.V) Scenes Represented in the Royal Tombs

The scenes depicted in the New Kingdom royal tombs present some special problems concerning wine offering. In all the royal tombs of Dynasty XVIII, with the exception of Horemhab, no wine offering is depicted. In fact, there is no representation of any of the offering rituals that the king performs in the temples. Instead, in the royal tombs, we see the king’s descent into the tomb, his meeting with the deities and receiving life
from them, along with excerpts from the book of *Imdu-duat.* This situation changes at the end of Dynasty XVIII, when wine offering scenes appear in the tomb of Horemhab. The king, Horemhab, is shown offering wine, and only wine, to various deities. The offering formulae are short:

To Hathor: "Offering wine, presenting *wm7-*jar."205

To Hathor: "Offering wine to the lady of the Two Lands, that she may act like Re."206

To Anubis: "Offering wine to the Lord of the sacred Land (*t3-dsr, i.e. cemetery*) forever and ever."207

To Osiris: "Offering wine to the Lord of Eternity, so that he may act like Re Every day."208

The replies of the deities are:

Hathor-of-the-West: "I give you the throne of Osiris, may you be satisfied."209

Harsies: "I give you the throne of your father Osiris."210

Ixis: "I give you the kingship of *Wn-nfr (Osiris)."211

Anubis: "I have come and I am your protection every day."212

Henceforth wine offering scenes are depicted in the tombs of Ramesses I,213 Sethos II,214 Merenptah,215 Sethos V,216 Tawesert,217 and Ramesses III.218 The deities who are shown in these scenes are: Nefertem, Hathor, Isis, Pah, Re-Horakhty, Thoth, Osiris, Anubis, and Harsies. There is as yet no apparent explanation for this change in

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204 Cf. PM I, 554, pillars; 549 (1)-(5); 560 (5); 550-551.
206 Ibid., pl. 15.
207 Ibid., pl. 18.
208 Ibid., pl. 20.
209 Ibid., pl. 3.
210 Ibid., pl. 19.
211 Ibid., pl. 14.
212 Ibid., pl. 18.
213 PM I, 534 (5). Ramesses I offers to Nefertem.
214 PM I, 537 (12) 1, (13) 3, Sethos I offers to Hathor. PM I, 540 (30) 3, (31) 3, Sethos I offers to Isis. PM I, 530 (30) 3, (31) 3, Sethos I offers to Hathor.
215 PM I, 532 (2) 1 = LD III, 204c, Sethos II offers to Nefertem.
216 PM I, 527 (2) 1, Tawesert offers to Re-Horakhty.
217 PM I, 526 (49)-526, pillar A (6)-8, Ramesses III offers to Thoth.
the decorative styles in the royal tombs, especially concerning the depiction of the offering of wine.

(3) Graeco-Roman Temples

The Graeco-Roman temples preserved a wealth of reliefs with ritual scenes, ceremonies, mythological themes, or even religious drama.\(^{219}\) Worldly activities of the king, such as battle and hunting, which can often be found on Pharaonic temples, are excluded.\(^{220}\) Some changes also occurred in the representations of ritual scenes. Very often the entire offering liturgy, which in the earlier periods was in general not included in the scene, is inscribed in front of the king’s figure.\(^{221}\) These liturgic texts provide us with rich information concerning the meaning of the rituals. The replies of the deities also tend to be more specific and correspond to the contents of the offering texts.\(^{222}\) As for the iconography, the headaddresses of the king became more elaborate and sometimes appear to be the creation of the scribe-artist.\(^{223}\) The following is an account of the wine offering scenes represented in the major Graeco-Roman temples.

(3.1) Philae

The earliest standing building at Philae is the porch built by Nectanebo I. On the western exterior wall, he is shown offering wine to Khnum, with the caption "Offering wine to his father Khnum, Lord of Elephantine." The epithet of the god is "Khnum, Lord of Elephantine, residing in Abaton," and his speech is "I have given to you all life and luck; I have given to you valor."\(^{224}\) The content of the texts follows the old formula; the epithet of Khnum reflects his characteristics as a local deity at Philae in the Late Era.\(^{225}\) There are altogether ten wine offering scenes on the wall and the columns of the west colonnade of the First Court.\(^{226}\) Most of them contain short texts,
and some are without offering formulae. These scenes appear among a series of offering scenes that is typical of the Graeco-Roman Period, but unfortunately there is no indication of the ceremonial context for these various offering rituals.

On the eastern wall of the sanctuary of the birth-house, wine offering is depicted twice. Since the reliefs on the northern wall of the same room depict the decree of Amon-Re concerning the birth and enthronement of Horus, it is logical to assume that the scenes depicted on the other two walls (west and east) would represent part of the event. However, the reliefs in each room of the birth-house, except those of Room II where the birth scenes are depicted, are arranged in a way so that scenes on the east wall correspond to those on the west wall as far as the number and gesture of the figures involved are concerned. In particular, wine offering are juxtaposed with the offerings of incense, food, Maat, oil, and eye paint.

In the temple of Isis, wine offering scenes appear on the lintels of all the doorways along the central axis of the temple. In the two side-sanctuaries, wine was again offered in adoration of Isis and Nephtys. On the eastern wall of Room V, a wine offering scene is accompanied by a long hymn to Isis. A similar scene but with a shorter text is found on the western wall of Room VII. On the exterior walls of the temple, four more wine offering scenes are depicted.

**3.10 Edfu**

Unlike the temple of Isis at Philae, wine offering scenes rarely appear on the doorways in the temple of Horus at Edfu. However, it is frequently found on other parts of

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227 For example, PM VI, 106 (23x35) = Berlin Photo, no.113, Nero offers to Sobek and Horus.
229 Ibid., 114.
230 Ibid., 28-49.
231 Ibid., 116.
232 Ibid., 202-204, 252-314.
233 Ibid., 250-52.
234 Ibid., 150-152.
235 Ibid., 142-46.
236 Ibid., 14-36.
237 Ibid., 244 (361)-(362), (368)-(369).
238 Ibid., 244 (363)-(364).
239 Benedite, *Le Temple de Philae*, p. 27.
240 Ibid., p. 44.
241 PM VI, 245 (372), (376)-(377), (382)-(383), (384)-(385).
the temple, on the walls of the corridor surrounding the sanctuary — "couloir
mysterieux,"\textsuperscript{243} the rooms surrounding the sanctuary,\textsuperscript{244} the outer vestibule,\textsuperscript{245} the
inner hypostyle hall,\textsuperscript{246} the outer hypostyle hall,\textsuperscript{247} the exterior of the naos,\textsuperscript{248} and
the interior and exterior of the enclosure wall.\textsuperscript{249} The recipient deities are primarily
Horus and Hathor. Occasionally, Khons, Re-Horakhty, Harsomtus, and Wadjet are also
depicted. (Fig. 12)

Fig. 12 A King Offering Wine to Khnum, Hathor and Harsomtus
(H. Junker & E. Winter, \textit{Philae II}, p. 122)

In the "couloir mysterieux"\textsuperscript{250} as well as in the "chapel of the throne of Re,"\textsuperscript{251} wine offering is depicted as part of the coronation ceremony.\textsuperscript{252} On the lower register of the eastern half of the inner face of the pylon, the annual visit of Hathor of Dendera to Edfu is depicted.\textsuperscript{253} In the scene of the mooring together of the two banks of

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{243} Efe I, 71, 100, 108.
\bibitem{244} Efe I, 144, 234, 258, 287, 294.
\bibitem{245} Efe I, 461, 445.
\bibitem{246} Efe II, 38, 41, 100, 115.
\bibitem{247} Efe III, 123, 132, 176, 180, 240, 241, 242, 253, 258.
\bibitem{248} Efe IV, 101, 113, 124, 279, 280.
\bibitem{249} Efe VI, 101, 113, 124, 279, 280.
\bibitem{250} Efe I, 100, 310, 106.
\bibitem{251} Efe II, 294, 103, 295, 2, 285, 258, 287.
\bibitem{252} Ibrahim, \textit{The Chapel of the Throne of Re} (1974), pp. 130ff.
\bibitem{253} Efe V, 130, pls. CXXV ff.
\end{thebibliography}

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Hathor and Horus, the king is shown offering wine to the deities. In a text describing the activities in the hall of offerings, wine is mentioned as part of the offering presented to the god:

This beautiful gate of the Great Seat (i.e., Edfu) is to supply the altar of the Lord of gods with all the beautiful things which come from Nepyt: A thousand of bread, tens of thousand of food which come from the store-house, for every ‘Open-the-face’ ceremony. Likewise are presented ‘ail-beef, mbkq-beef, brds. They are fattened for the alars of He-of-the-dappled-plumages, to permeate his residence with their fragrance, to fill for him the altar with wine and sdh-drink, to present to him ol...

The text does not mention whether this offering is a daily event or only meant for special occasions. However, since the text does mention that the offering is for every ‘open-the-face’ ceremony, which is a ritual held every morning when the shrine of the deity is opened, it is reasonable to believe that the offering is meant to be part of the daily supply for the deity. This suggests that although the daily temple ritual held at Edfu contained no separate act of wine offering, wine was still part of the drink and food presented daily to the deity.

In another text describing a festival celebrated at the end of the year, wine is mentioned as part of the offerings presented in the temple:

The sanctuary is supplied with all the good things by His Majesty: water, bread, beer, Green-Horus-Eye (i.e. wine), milk, cake, sdh-drink, without number.

Wine is mentioned again as part of the offerings in the ceremony of the first day of the “Festival of Edfu.”

Dendera

The temple of Hathor at Dendera was constructed according to a plan similar to that of Edfu. Wine offering scenes appear twice on the lintels. On the exterior wall of the sanctuary and the corridor around it is an array of offering scenes, among which wine...
WINE AND WINE OFFERING IN THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT

offering is depicted nine times.260 Most of these offerings are standardized, showing the king before one or several deities. On the frieze of the southern exterior wall of the sanctuary, the king is shown in a kneeling position offering wine before eighteen different deities. The same scene is depicted on the northern exterior wall, showing another eighteen.261

Besides the scenes appearing in the rooms around the sanctuary,262 in the inner and outer vestibules,263 wine offering scenes also appear in the crypts.264 In one of the crypts, a wine offering is accompanied by a long building text.265 Another scene on the southern wall of the outer vestibule is accompanied by a hymn to Hathor, in which she is praised as the “Mistress of Wine.”266 As is demonstrated in the next two chapters, the epithet of Hathor refers to the mythological story of the destruction of mankind. The drunkenness of Hathor was an important theme in this story. More allusions are found in the liturgies, which are studied below.

(3.IV) Esna

The great religious festivals described in the texts found in the temple of Khnum at Esna required the offering of wine on many occasions.267 In these texts, wine is usually mentioned together with such offerings as water, bread, beer, vegetable, and meat. The texts are inscribed on the central sections of the eighteen columns in the Hypostyle hall.268 The lower sections of the columns are covered with scenes of offering rituals. As Sauneron observed,269 these scenes may have represented moments in the festival activities and corresponded to the texts above the scenes. This correspondence between texts and scenes, however, is not entirely verifiable in each case. On columns 6, 9, and 10, wine offering is depicted. The scene on column 6 shows the king offering wine to Nebtu and Heka.270 However, wine offering is not specifically mentioned in the

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260 Dendera I, 99, 109, 171, 184, 154, II, 15, 40, 43, 44.
261 Dendera I, 123, 134.
262 Dendera II, 88, 186, 219; III, 58, 120, 179; IV, 3, 19.
263 Dendera III, 63, 36, 36, 97.
264 Dendera V, 42, 71, 93, 18, 122, 199, 196.
265 Dendera VI, 255. Due to the size of the crypts, the performance of any kind of ritual in them is hard to imagine.
266 Junker, ZAS 43, pp. 107-119.
267 Sauneron, Esna I, no. 196.9; 207.15; 207.10; 228.2; 284.10. The inscriptions from Esna are quoted by the numbers assigned them by Sauneron.
268 Esna I.
270 Esna IV, 204.
liturgy above Heka.\textsuperscript{271} The scene on column 10 may indeed correspond to the inscription above it, in which the offering of wine is mentioned several times.\textsuperscript{272} The wine offering scene on column 9, again, does not seem to have direct relationship with the inscription, which contains three liturgies for the offering of lotus.\textsuperscript{273} This scene, however, is directly opposite to the wine offering scene on column 10,\textsuperscript{274} and the deities in both cases are Khnum and Nebtu. When compared with the scenes on the other columns, it becomes clear that the plan of the decorations was to assign the scenes on the opposite columns with the same offering or the same number of deities.\textsuperscript{275} Thus the scene on column 9 was depicted to form a symmetrical pair with the scene on column 10, without having any direct relationship to the inscriptions.

This observation confirms again that the offering scenes depicted in the temples are not always records of temple rituals, and that decorative effect was an important part of the function of the ritual scenes.

(O.V) Kom Ombo

Despite its ruinous condition, the double temple of Sobek and Horus at Kom Ombo preserved representations of wine offering. A considerable number of scenes appear on doorways.\textsuperscript{276} Wine offering scenes also appear on the columns in the court,\textsuperscript{277} in the Hypostyle hall,\textsuperscript{278} in the outer vestibule,\textsuperscript{279} and in Room 23 in the back of the sanctuary.\textsuperscript{280} Since most of the walls are destroyed, very little can be said of the

\textsuperscript{271} Esna no. 242.
\textsuperscript{272} Esna no. 284.8, 10, 14.
\textsuperscript{273} Esna nos. 272-274.

That the design of the scenes were made not only to correspond to the texts above but also to give a symmetrical view is demonstrated by a comparison of the scenes on the columns 3, 4 and 15, 16. The two opposite scenes on column 3 (no. 219) and 4 (no. 220) show the king offering the scepter and incense to two deities, one male, the other female. The two scenes on columns 15 (no. 361) and 16 (no. 371), which are opposite to each other, although depicting different offerings, have three deities as recipients, with Khnum, Menhyt and Heka on column 15 and Khnum, Nebtu and Heka on column 16. It appears therefore that the designer had composed a symmetrical plan for the columns. For the problems of the decoration on the columns, see Helck, MDOG II, pp. 9-14. For the wine offering scenes on the doorways, see nos. 276-277.

\textsuperscript{276} De Morgan, Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de l'Égypte Antique, v. II, III. The scenes are quoted by the numbers assigned to the scenes. For the wine offering scenes on the doorways, see nos. 340, 354, 374, 380, 389, 522, 566-568, 645, 746, 832-833.

\textsuperscript{277} Kom Ombo, no. 120.

\textsuperscript{278} Kom Ombo, no. 239, 286, 290, 307.

\textsuperscript{279} Kom Ombo, no. 601.

\textsuperscript{280} Kom Ombo, no. 926.
ceremonial context. The offering texts are in general very short, which is different from most of the other Graeco-Roman temples. Another characteristic of these wine offering scenes is that the recipient deities are almost exclusively Sobek, Horus, and their respective triads.

(J.VI) The Temple of Opet at Karnak

In the temple of Opet, built by the Ptolemaic kings over an earlier structure to the west of the temple of Khons at Karnak, wine offering scenes appear on the jambs and lintels of the doorways, and with the representations of the procession of Nile gods and genii on the exterior wall. Several wine offering scenes also appear in the sanctuary and other rooms in connection with mythological representations, such as the interment and resurrection of Osiris, the birth of Horus, and the birth of Osiris.

(4) Summary

The above survey of the representations of wine offering from the earliest time to the Ptolemaic Period shows that the ritual was depicted on the walls of the temples, on stelae and obelisks, and in royal tombs. As temple relief, wine offerings constituted parts of some ceremonial and ritual scenes that are actually performed in the temples. However, frequently it is difficult to relate the scenes with any known rituals. Furthermore, there is evidence showing that the offering scenes are employed as decorative motifs in the temple reliefs, which do not necessarily reflect rituals actually performed.

The wine offering act depicted on the stelae bear no particular relationship with the purpose of the stelae. The scenes serve more as symbols of the king’s piety than as records of rituals actually performed. The obelisks, on the other hand, were erected

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281 However, enough of the texts have been preserved for our understanding of the theological system of the temple. See A. Gutbub, Textes Fondamentaux de la Theologie de Kom Ombo (1973).
282 The offering texts of the temple of Kalabsha are also very short, see Gauthier, Le Temple de Kalabchah, pp. 33, 42, 66, 89, 100, 101, 127, 134, 136, 151, 152, 163, 304.
283 For the deities worshipped at Kom Ombo, see Gutbub, op. cit., pp. xvi-xvii.
284 de Wit, Opet III, p. vii, the work began under Nectanebos I.
285 de Wit, Opet II, pp. 12, 61, (50-51).
286 Ibid., pp. 202-204.
287 Ibid., II, 144-153, 168ff.
288 Ibid., II, 144-153, 167ff.
289 Ibid., II, 167-168, 169ff.
290 Cf. section 2.II.c.ii.
specifically for the royal jubilee. It is possible that the scenes depicted on the obelisks may have represented ritual acts in the celebration.

The offering scenes depicted in the royal tombs belong to a special category. They represent not only the king's piety toward the deities, but also his expectation of a blissful after-life. This expectation is confirmed by the replies of the deities, which focus on the well-being of the king after death.

Our study of the texts accompanying the wine offering scenes in the Pharaonic Period shows that, whether or not the scenes represent rituals actually performed, no significant difference between the accompanying texts can be found. As most of the titles denoting the act proclaimed, the aim of the offering was to please the deity, "so that he may make a 'given life.'" The replies of the deities, on the other hand, consist of several kinds of stereotyped blessings. Furthermore, both the offering formulae and the replies were employed not only in the offering of wine, but also in a number of other kinds of offering. Therefore, these texts can be seen as only a kind of general statement, with no specific reference to the meaning of the offerings. Of course, this does not imply that the offering of wine, or of any other items, had no particular meaning.

It is only in the liturgies that the significance of the individual offering is alluded to. In the Pharaonic Period, as we mentioned above, the liturgies are rarely found on the temple walls. This situation changed in the Graeco-Roman Period, when liturgies were often inscribed together with the offering scenes, and the replies of the deities also became more specific. These liturgic texts provide us with a wealth of information concerning the significance of the offering of wine. This is dealt with in the following chapters.

291 Cf. section 2.II.b.ii.
292 Cf. section 2.II.b.i.
293 Cf. section 2.II.b.ii.
Chapter III
Wine Offering Liturgies
in Funerary and Divine Cults

(1) Funerary Rituals

The earliest funerary offering liturgies are found in the Pyramid Texts. Such texts are usually composed of two parts. The first is an invocation to the deceased king that pronounces his name and describes briefly the ritual act. The king is either expected to act on his own behalf: “Take the Eye of Horus” (Py 60f.), or the lector priest is to act for him: “[the priest] bring you the Eye of Horus” (Py 54a). The second part is a description of the offering itself — a loaf of bread (Py 66a), a jar of beer (Py 64c), or a measure of wine (Py 64e), or a measure of wine in “a h3ts-jai of white mnw-stone.”

There are altogether nine liturgies for wine offering in the Pyramid Texts. Originally they belonged to two different sets of funerary ritual: the rituals performed for the funerary statue, i.e., the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth, and the food-offering rituals. The liturgies of these two rituals, however, were confounded when they were incorporated into the Pyramid Texts and became a continuous body of text. Throughout the Pharaonic Period, the textual tradition of the Pyramid Texts was preserved in the royal as well as the private funerary offering rituals. For example, in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Sen-woser-ankh, the offering liturgies employed in the Pyramid Texts were copied with little variation; all nine wine offering liturgies were preserved. Five of these liturgies, furthermore, are found in the tomb of Hamhat, and the Coffin Texts preserved four. The ritual of Amenophis I also incorporated these texts as part of the offering liturgies. As late as Dynasty XXVI, the same liturgies are found in the tomb of Panaamenpet.1

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1 Barta, Opferliste, p. 60. For a discussion of the nature of the Pyramid Texts, see Barta, Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte für den Verstorbenen König (MAS 39) (1981), especially pp. 69ff.
2 Py 30 a-b, 36 a-b, 39 a-b, 92 a-b, 93 a-b; Py 94 a-b, 94 c-d, 106 b.
4 Barta, Opferliste, pp. 60-61.
5 See Sethe, Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte I, pp. ix-x.
6 Hayes, The Mastaba of Sen-woser-anch (1937), pl. Ill, IV; lines 85, 90, 102, 242, 243, 244, 245, 256, 274.
7 MMAFO I, pp. 117-139.
8 de Buck, Coffin Texts VII, 129-30, 141 a-3.
The texts of wine offering liturgies employed in funerary rituals are given below, followed by a translation and commentary on the texts.

1. (a) Pyr § 36a-b, (b) CT VII 139f., (c) Senwoserankh, 85, (d) Patumemep, 32.

(a) W N! (b) Take (c) to yourself the Eye of Horus (d) which has been freed (e) from Seth!
You shall take (f) (it) to your mouth, you shall open your mouth with it. — Wine, a h3ts-
Note:
(a) The receiver of the offering is invoked. Here the different royal names are
represented by N.
(b) Mn, imperative. The expression mn n.k is commonly used in the offering liturgies
in the Pyramid Texts: cf. Gardiner, Gr. 336. The Coffin Text has di.n.k — “I
give to you,” the “I” refers to the lector priest. The change from — to — is
consistent in the texts preserved in the Coffin Texts. See CT VII 138ff. It could
not have been due to miscopying, but must be a minor deviation from the standard
formula.
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(c) Patuamenap has ṭnp, an apparent corruption of ṭnp.

(d) ṭnp, "which has been freed," is a perfective passive participle, cf. Griffiths, The conflict of Horus and Seth, p. 4, n. 1. CT has ṭnp, a phonetic change of ṭnp. See Kepros, AEO 11, p. 155; MBR II 283.8; Faulkner, CT II, p. 76, m. 19.

(e) ṭtjk, prospective sgd.f. Cf. Kepros, AEO 11, p. 154. Patuamenap has ṭjk; the "n" is probably a corruption caused by a misreading of the hieratic sign of "n."

(f) npw-hd — wine in a jar of white mnw-stone, has been mistaken as a designation of "white wine" by some scholars: Erman, Life in Ancient Egypt (1894), p. 196; Blackman, MT III, 30; Darby, Food, pp. 607-08. For a technical discussion of npw-hd, cf. H. Talou, MDO 3, pp. 68-69.

(2) (a) Pyr § 36c, (b) Senmut, 89, (c) Patuamenap, 33

(a) W. 36c: ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp

(b) ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp

(c) ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp ṭnp

Translation:
O N! Open your mouth (a) for a filling in you (b) ! — Wine, a ṭtjk-jar of black mnw-stone.

Notes:
(a) In order to conform to the mood of the offering liturgies, wp r3 is better translated as an imperative instead of a passive sdm.f: "your mouth is opened."

(b) Faulkner translates ṭmk as "with that of which you have full measure." (Faulkner, PT, p. 109). He refers to the use of ṭmk in "mḥ ṭmk" — "full measure of" (Peasant R 35) and maintains that "the king’s mouth is opened to take a full draught of wine." His translation, however, is problematic. If, according to his suggestion, ṭmk is to mean "full measure of," it ought to be followed by the substance of whatever is to be measured, whether "all the good products" in Peasant R 35, or wine in the present context. However, the text has mḥ ṭmk, translated as "full measure of you," which does not make good sense. ṭmk should therefore be taken as a nominally used perfective active participle, "that which has filled," or "a filling," refers to the wine. The "n" before ṭmḥ is taken as "n." — see U. Edel, Altorientalische Grammatik, I, 123. See also Rudnický, Aussage, p. 43.
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(3) (a) *Pyr § 39a-b, (b) Senwoserankh, 102.

(b) \( \text{Nhmt.n.k, sdmw.n.f} \)

Note:

(4) (a) *CT VII* 139g

Translation:
O! This N! I give you the Eye of Horus which was fastened on the brow of Horus. Open your mouth with it. — A jar of mmv-stone containing wine.

Notes:
(a) *PT* has "open your mouth with it". *Patumemwep* has nhmt n.k. — "that which has
filled your father*. Senwoserankh has mḥf m ∙ g 3; i is a mistake for k.
(b) There is a pun between mḥf "to fill" and "rjp mḥf", wine of Lower Egypt.

(6) (a) Pyr §92c-d, (b) Senwoserankh, 243, (c) Hamhat, 19, (d) Patuamenap, 125

(a) $\exists\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}$
(b) $\exists\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}$
(c) $\exists\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}$
(d) $\exists\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}$

Translation:
Of N! Take to yourself the Eye of Horus. What they (a) have spit out, prevent him
(b) from swallowing (c) it. — Two 'm-jars of wine, (d)

Notes:
(a) Mḥf.n.n implies uses mḥf.n.f relative form. Sn refers to the Seth-folk, cf.
Rednitzky, op. cit., p. 35. Patuamenap has ḫm.f.
(b) ḫm is an imperative, with following ḫm.f see similar constructions in Pyr § 828,
1257, 1654; CT I, 304. For the meaning of ḫm, cf. Garnot, Hommage, pp. 219-30.
(c) Senwoserankh and Hamhat have ‘m sy, a textual corruption of ‘m.f sy.
(d) The word ḫm is chosen as a pun for the kind of wine jar ('bs) that is offered here.
For ‘bs as wine-jar, cf. Siut, pi. 1, 50; N. Davies, The Tomb of Antefoker 11,
32. Sethe, Übersetzung und Kommentar II, p. 199, Suggests that ḫm means "bubble up"
or "foam up," which refers to a special kind of wine.

(7) (a) Pyr § 93a-b, (b) CT VII 141g, (c) Senwoserankh, 244, (d) Hamhat, 16,
(e) Patuamenap, 126.

(a) $\exists\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}$
(b) $\exists\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}$
(c) $\exists\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}$
(d) $\exists\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}\,\overline{\text{mḥf}}$

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Translation:
O! Take to yourself the pupil which is in the Eye of Horus (a), open your mouth
with it. — Two bowls of wine of Imt. (b)

Notes:
(a) CT: "I give you the Eye of Horus, open your mouth with it, the pupil which is in
the Eye of Horus, may you eat it." For the use of the pupil as the metaphor for a
(b) For the location of Imt, see Chapter II, section 2.

(a) PYR § 93c-d, (b) CT VII 143b, (c) Sennoerenith, 245, (d) Hamhar, 18,
(e) Patamenap, 127

Translation:
O! Take to yourself the Eye of Horus, which he has caught (a), open your mouth
with it. — Two bowls of the wine of Ham. (b)

Notes:
(a) H3m.n.f, sdmw.n.f relative form, is found in (b) (c) (d) (e), while (a) has h3m.n.f. (c)
has h3m.f. For the meaning of h3m, see Jusserand, Osirislegenden, p. 137; Kaplony,
MNH I, p. 155, n. 81; Rudolfsky, op. cit., Chapter 4.
(b) For the location of Ham, see Chapter II, section 2. The word "caught (h3m)" is a
pun on the wine of Ham.

(a) PYR § 94a-b, (b) CT VII 141, (c) Sennoerenith, 246, (d) Hamhar, 17,
(e) Patamenap, 128
Translation:

O! N! Take to yourself the Eye of Horus! It will not be separated (a) from you. —
Two bowls of Pelusium wine.

Notes:
(a) Sew, be separated. WB IV 157, 3, a word related to mi — to cut off. For further discussion, cf. Sethe, Dramatische Texte, 173; Goedicke, MIO 8, p. 358, n. 92; Kaplony, MIO 11, p. 157, n. 81. CT has juf fr-mi k n sn.k hr.s, "you will not be passed over with it" (cf. Faulkner, CT III, p. 744). But here the corruption of the text is obvious when compared with the other versions: k sn.k hr.s becomes k sn.k, Sew is again a pun on the name of the wine — op Sew. For Sew, see Chapter 1, Section 2.

(b) (a) Pfr § 106b, (b) Sethe, 274

Translation:

O! N! Take to yourself the Eye of Horus! Open your mouth with it — Wine of Lower Egypt.

Comments on the Texts:
The Pyramid Texts consistently identify the offerings with the Eye of Horus. In the funerary offering liturgies, the deceased king was identified with Osiris and received...
offering from the living king, his son, who was identified with Horus,\(^{11}\) while the offering itself was identified with the Eye of Horus.\(^{12}\) Thus, "Horus has received his eye from Sety, he has given it to you (Osiris)."\(^{13}\) This motif is also present in the wine offering liturgies mentioned above: "O Osiris N! Take to yourself the Eye of Horus which has been freed from Seth! You shall take it to your mouth, you shall open your mouth with it."\(^{14}\) Or, "O Osiris N! Take to yourself the Eye of Horus which has been freed from Seth..."\(^{15}\)

More characteristic of the wine offering liturgies is the frequently employed expression "open the mouth — \(wp\, r3\)." In the Pyramid Texts, this expression appears in three different kinds of ritual: (1) the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth; (2) the embalming ritual; and (3) the food offering ritual.\(^{16}\) Texts numbers 1 to 3, quoted above, are part of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth, while numbers 5 to 10 are part of the food-offering ritual.\(^{17}\) Wine was said to be able to open the mouth of the statue of the deceased, which suggests that it was considered to have rejuvenating power.\(^{18}\) Only after the mouth was opened did the deceased have the chance to come back to life and enjoy the offering.\(^{19}\) The idea that wine could "open the mouth" not only persisted in the funerary offering liturgies but also was a common expression found in wine offering liturgies of divine cults in the Graeco-Roman temples.\(^{20}\)

(2) Divine Cults in the Pharaonic Period

The offering liturgies are imbedded in funerary rituals and their texts draw upon myths concerning the conflict of Horus and Seth. The situation of the liturgies became more complex when wine offering was employed in divine cults and ceremonies. In the texts we see that wine offering carried a number of theological and mythological associations besides that of Horus-Seth. The liturgies, however, are rarely recorded together with the scenes in the Pharaonic temples. In fact, only two liturgies of wine offering are

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\(^{12}\) For discussions on the Eye of Horus, see Chapter I, note 178.

\(^{13}\) Py \(\text{§ 591b}\).

\(^{14}\) Text (1).

\(^{15}\) Text (3).

\(^{16}\) Otto, \(\text{op. cit.}\), 4-5.

\(^{17}\) Barta, \(\text{Opferliste}\), pp. 78-79.

\(^{18}\) Ibid., pp. 40ff.

\(^{19}\) For examples, see Chapter IV, Type I, (9) (15) (16).

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found on the temple walls: one in Karnak,22 (Fig. 13) the other in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos.23 (Fig. 14) In addition, parallel texts are preserved in a papyrus now kept in the Cairo and Turin museums,24 and on three stelae of the Ethiopian kings from Nuri.25 All of the texts are slightly different versions of one basic text, which was employed in the "Ritual of Royal Ancestors," or the "Ritual of Amenophis I," as he was defined in the ritual.26 Evidence from the Graeco-Roman era shows several types of wine offering liturgies in the divine cults, the one found in the ritual of Amenophis I being only one among them.27 Whether all these different types of wine offering liturgy were employed in the Pharaonic Period or not is not certain. The different versions in the ritual of Amenophis I are given below.28

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22 Nelson, JNES 8, pp. 212ff.
23 Mariette, Abydos I, pi. 36.
25 Dunham, The Royal Cemeteries at Kush, v. Ill, Nuri, figs. 201-203.
27 Type III in Chapter IV below.
28 Abbreviations for the sources:
K = Karnak, Nelson, JNES 8, p. 213, fig. 10.
A = Abydos, Mariette, Abydos I, pi. 36.
C = Papyrus in Turin & Cairo, Bacchi, II rituale di Amenhotpe, p. 20.
N1 = Dunham, Nuri, fig. 210.
N2 = Ibid., fig. 212.
N3 = Ibid., fig. 212.
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A

C

N1

N2

N3

A

C

N1

N2

N3

A

C

N1

N2

N3

A

C

N1

N2

N3

A

C

N1

N2

N3

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Translation:
May all the vineyards prosper as you wish, (a) may the inundation rejoice at what is in it. (b) I fill for you the Eye of Horus with wine. (c) It is pure! (d) May the two gates of Heaven open; may the two gates of earth open; (e) may Osiris-N be purified upon the arms of Hapy; (f) may Thoth cause Osiris-N to drink his water, his beer, his wine, his libation, (h) which are in his hand.... (i) May he drink them, for they are pure (j) as when Geb prevailed over the Noble Ones on the day when he seized the Two Lands (K). Hail to you, N! I have come to you today. Come! I shall do for you what Horus has done for his father Osiris in the temple of Mn-m3't-R' (L).

Notes:
(a) rwd s3 nb n mrt.k, so the Nuri texts. Karnak has rwd s3 n mr pn, probably to be read as rwd s3 n mr pn as the title in the Abydos version: "may the vineyards prosper for this god." Cairo-Turin version has "n" after "s3", which lends further support for our reading. Nuri 211 has a vocative "Wsr O! Osiris!" after mrt.k. For the meaning of s3 in vineyard, see Chapter I, (3a).
(b) h" b'h n imy.f. Nelson’s translation of the Abydos text reads: "the gardens prosper and the god rejoices, overflowing with what he has eaten," and his translation of the Karnak text reads: "The god rejoices overflowing with his eating." (JNES 8, p.212) Both translations are problematic. It is unlikely that h" can be read as wnm n.f- "what he has eaten." And to read h" as "his eating" is also doubtful especially in view of the seated god determinative. Instead, a comparison with other versions, especially Nuri 210, 211, and the Graeco-Roman versions (see Type III in the next chapter), confirms the correct reading imy.f. The antecedent of h" can only be the inundation, and h" is used as a collective term. "What is in it" therefore, refers to the flood of the inundation. That the inundation is personified in this text is confirmed by the Cairo-Turin version: h" b'h py b'h n imy.f— "How joyful is Hapy, (namely) the inundation, for what is in it." This version also demonstrates that h" starts a new phrase. When compared with the Nuri versions, it is clear that h" b'h can only be a sdm.f form and is independent of what goes before. Nelson’s reading "the god rejoices," therefore, is impossible. The Cairo-Turin version, partly shows m m n.f. This might be the reason why Nelson translates sm.f as "his eating." It could have been a misreading of the hieratic signs, for m is almost identical with s in hieratic script. Cf. Müller, Historische Paläographie I (1909), no.864.
(c) mh n k tr hr m n p. The supply of l after mh is justified by the n of the Karnak text and two parallel texts from the Graeco-Roman Period: mh n (Ezna, no. 483), mh n s (P) (Ezna, no. 485). The "I" refers to the officiant, i.e., the king in K. A. C. and the lector priest in N1-N3. The N version read: "I fill for you, O Osiris-King, the Eye of Horus with wine."
(d) m.w w`h, literally: they are pure. "They" is a collective term for the wine. The Karnak version has w`h m.n; m.w was omitted, probably for lack of space on the wall, cf. Nelson, op. cit., fig. 10. The Abydos version continues with "O, Ptah-Sokar-South-of-His-Wall, drink! It is pure." The Cairo-Turin version continues with "may you be powerful through it. Ho! King! It is very pure! Repeat four times." Shm.k m.s is a common phrase in wine offering liturgies in the Graeco-Roman Period.

(e) w`3.wy pt ss w`3.wy t3. This expression appears as early as the Pyramid Texts (§ 518a, 1078a). The gates of the sky are opened in order that the deceased Osiris-King may ascend to the sky to be with the gods. In the Coffin Texts, similar expressions appear in the same context, i.e., the resurrection of Osiris (CT Spells 225, 226, 837, 866). One spell in the Book of the Dead, however, assigned this expression to a somewhat different context: "Open sky, open earth,... to Re, that he may ascend from the horizon" (BD 130a). Here the doors of the sky and the earth are opened not for the resurrection of Osiris, but for the daily travelling of Re.

(f) kbh Wsir-N tp `3.wy H' py, so the Nuri texts. "The arms of Hapy" probably refers to the two banks of the Nile, thus the expression may actually mean "May Osiris-N be purified on the banks of the Nile during the inundation." The Abydos and Cairo versions show an interesting interpolation with the previous clause. Instead of `3.wy kbh Wsir-N, these two versions have `3.wy kbh n N (ob sky)...." The gates of heaven (kbh) are opened for N (or Ptah-Sokar)." The t3 sign after `3.wy was somehow lost during the transmission of the text, and kbh, which should begin a new phrase, was reinterpreted as the word for heaven, and the sky sign was subsequently added. Thus this must have been a mistake due to the fact that "open are the gates of heaven" and "open are the gates of earth" are antithetical statements, while in the Abydos or Cairo-Turin version, "open are the gates of heaven, open are the gates of the sky for N," the antithetical symmetry is lost. Nelson, op. cit., p. 214, renders the Abydos version as "open are the doors < of the earth, with > libation for Ptah-Sokar...." This attempts to amend the atcs to gain the antithetical construction, but fails to recognize the nature of the problem, and does not account for the sign after kbh. Both the Abydos and Cairo-Turin versions then continue with Wsir-N tp `3.wy H' py — "Thoth is upon the arms of Hapy" (so Nelson). This is again another interpolation of the text caused by the previous mistake. As the Nuri texts have it, the phrase next to `3.wy H' py is (obsky) di.f swr N — "May Thoth cause N to drink." The scribes of the Abydos and Cairo versions, after having mistaken kbh as "heaven," thus "the gates of heavens are opened for N," were unable to account for the following tp `3.wy H' py. Therefore they placed Wsir-N, which comes immediately after H' py, before tp, in order to supply a subject for the meaningless phrase. Even so, "Thoth is upon the
arms of Hapy" still does not make much sense.

(g) Abydos and Cairo-Turin versions have Re-Harakhty instead of Thoth, which had already been moved forward. See note (f). For the connection between Thoth and the inundation, see Drioton, "Le roi defunt, Thoth, et la crue du Nil," in Egyptian Religion I (1933), pp.39-51; see also Chapter V below.

(h) dhwty di.fswr N m mw.f m irp.fm kbh.f. The "in mw./refers to Thoth. The Abydos version has kbh.f irp.f mw.f, omitting all the prepositions m. The Cairo-Turin version has irp.f mw.f — "this his wine and his water."

(i) imy '.fim.sn, only in the Nuri versions. The meaning of im.sn is not clear. It is probably influenced by the im.in in swr.fim.sn below.

(j) swr.fim.sn iw.w w'b, only in the Nuri versions.

(k) mi shm Gb m pw iry.i hrw pn mi iry.i n.k ir.n Hr n it.fWsir hr ib Hwt-Mn-M3't-R'. Only in Abydos and Cairo-Turin versions. wsir is a prospective sdm.f relative form. The Abydos text has wsir after iry.i, which can only be a demonstrative pronoun "this." The Cairo-Turin papyrus continues with a few more fragmentary phrases after Wsir.

Comments on the Text:
The several versions of the liturgy of wine offering studied above show that they followed a firm textual tradition. However, the idea expressed is different from that in the funerary liturgies. It reveals that in the divine cult, the significance of the offering rests not so much on the resurrection of the recipient, since the gods or the deified kings already possessed eternal life, but rather on the prosperity of worldly affairs and the strength of spiritual power.

In this liturgy, the concern over worldly prosperity is revealed in such expressions as "may all the vineyards prosper at your wish, may Inundation rejoice at what is in it." It may be suggested that the prosperity of the vineyards symbolizes the prosperity of the world. And as the inundation comes according to its time, worldly affairs are assured a balanced course. As a result, the product of the vineyards, i.e., wine, may be offered to the deity: "I fill for you the Eye of Horus with wine, it is pure." Here the Eye of
Horus is explained by Nelson as representing the altar, and to fill the altar with wine would be a sympathetic magical act to influence the yield of the vineyards. Alternatively, the filling of the Eye of Horus with wine could also refer to the healing of the injured Eye, since wine symbolized the life-giving blood. The whole expression could be a metaphor for the restoration of the right order in the cosmos.

The text also mentions the benefit that wine may bring to the recipient: the gates of heaven and earth may be opened for him, so that he may travel as freely as Re does. After he drinks the offering, he also obtains the power of Geb, and prevails over the world. The expression *shm* — to be powerful, is very often encountered in the wine offering liturgies of the Graeco-Roman Period, as we shall see in the following chapter.

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30 For the assimilation of blood with wine in Egyptian religion, see Chapter VI below.
31 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead, p. 105, spell 130a: "Open sky, open earth. Open west, open east. ... Open doors, open gates, to Re, that he may ascend from the horizon."
Chapter IV
Wine Offering Liturgies
in the Ptolemaic Temples

The Ptolemaic temples are a rich source of ritual and ceremonial texts. Numerous studies of the religion of Egypt prior to the Ptolemaic Period have depended heavily upon these texts. We must assume that the Egyptian priests in the Ptolemaic Period still possessed the theology and textual traditions of the Pharaonic Period. This must be true only in large part; there is no reason to claim that the assumption is total. For example, it has been argued that the lotus-offering ritual occurred mainly in the Ptolemaic temples and contained a special reference to the deities related to the sun-god.1 As discussed above in the case of wine offering, however, we found a long tradition since the Old Kingdom onward. In terms of textual tradition, there is also no doubt that the liturgy of wine offering employed in the Ptolemaic temples originated in the Pharaonic Period. The most direct evidence is the liturgy found in the Ritual of Amenophis I, studied in the last chapter. After examining the Ptolemaic wine-offering liturgies, it is identified as belonging to one of several major types of text. The other types, although bearing no direct connection with earlier texts, would probably also have taken root in the Pharaonic Period.

(1) Five Textual Types

The "types" of text mentioned here refer to distinct "formulae" of wine offering liturgy found in various Ptolemaic temples. They are part of the texts inscribed on the ritual scenes, usually before the officiating king, and following the title of such offerings as "offering wine." They constitute the speech of the king to the deity — the direct statement of the king concerning the reasons for the offering. Thus they contain important information. Previous studies of the rituals of the Ptolemaic Period usually followed a convention in which first was selected the relevant ritual scenes, then came translations of the entire accompanying text, including the epithets, the cartouches, and the deities' replies.2 This is a comprehensive way of presenting the text, but it lacks systematic analysis.3 These studies usually gave a "synthesis" of the meaning of the offering, quoting from the texts translated, without, however, offering a clearer view

1 Ryhiner, L'Offrande du Lotus, pp. 218ff.
2 For examples, see Ph. Derchain, Le Sacrifice de l'Oryx; C. Husson, L'Offrande du Miroir; D. Kauth, Den Himmel Stützen-; J. Dittmar, Blumen und Blumensträusse als Opfergabe im Alten Ägypten; M.-L. Ryhiner, L'Offrande du Lotus dans les Temples de l'Époque Tardive.
3 A notable exception is E. Winter, Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit.
of the inner structure of the texts themselves. Here, we employ a different method of approaching the offering texts: through analysis of the speech contained in the liturgies and the structural relationship among the texts.

After breaking up the texts into smaller component parts, we find that many can be divided into several "blocks," each contain recurring phrases. Each of these "blocks," furthermore, serves a particular function in constructing the meaning of the text. When different texts are thus broken down into component blocks, we begin to recognize that there are several major stereotypes. Each type of text is composed of a certain number of "blocks" with the same textual function in a regular manner. Moreover, while the phraseology in each "block" may recur, it is not necessarily identical in each instance. Because of similar textual function, we group them into the same block. From a glance at the texts, we know that it is often impossible to arrive at a clear-cut division, much less a definition, of the component parts. However, the general characteristics of the different types of text are clearly recognizable once an effort is made to group the textual components into blocks. It is important to note that besides the major stereotypes there are several "irregular types" of text wherein certain familiar "blocks" found in the regular texts are mixed with uncommon phraseology.

In order to facilitate the understanding of the structure of different types of wine offering liturgy, as well as textual relationships, we assign alphabetical letters for each of the independent textual "blocks," thus creating at least five distinct types:

Type I: A B C D E
Type II: F G B' D E
Type III: H C I D E
Type IV: J C K D E
Type V: L B' C D

In the following, we try to define each textual block and analyse the texts accordingly. A translation of the texts in each type, broken down into component blocks, follows.
Type I

This type of liturgy can be divided into five different blocks (A B C D E):

(A) An address to the deity: "Take to yourself (mn n.k) the wine." Variations within this formula are built on the different designations of wine, such as "Green Horus Eye," ë3, or ëm. The geographical origins of the wine, such as the oases of Khargeh and Bahria, are often mentioned as further qualification.

(B) The relationship between the offering and the recipient deity is defined as an offering of the king, by stating the fact that the king has offered it before the deity. Various words are used to express the idea of "to offer" — wdn, wdt, phr, hnk, s'rt, in, etc. The idea, although not the exact wording, presented in this part of the text is similar to that of block B' in type II.

(C) The names and epithets of the deity are invoked here.

(D) The objective of the offering is finally stated in this part. It usually contains the expectations of the officiating king in making the offering, which informs the deity about the piety of the king, and reveals the significance of the offering ritual as well as the offered object itself. This part is the main body of the offering liturgy, because it appears in all five types.

(E) The last element is a concluding remark concerning the purity of the offering: "It is pure."

Although we distinguish five elements in this type, it does not mean that every one is to be found in each case. In fact, as far as the texts that we have gathered here are concerned, not a single one contains all five. To say that this type of text is composed of five elements is to assert the potential for five elements in the composition of this type of liturgy employing the order "A B C D E." If one or two elements in this order are missing, it is not surprising, since only elements A and D are indispensable and constituted the main body, while B C E are of lesser importance in terms of the meanings they carry in the liturgy.
## Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Ptolemy III</td>
<td>mn n.k ty pr w3 m Dsdt pr fr yr n. Knw</td>
<td>mn n.k irp pr m Dsdt pr fr yr n. Knw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Take to yourself wine which came from Bahria, the Eye of Horus which came from Khargeh.</td>
<td>which I have offered to your ka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Ptolemy III</td>
<td>mn n.k kht (d) pr m 3ht.k isw (e) rwd pr m s3.k</td>
<td>mn n.k h3t (d) pr m 3ht.k isw (e) rwd m s3.k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Take to yourself wine which came from your field, and the vines which flourish in your vineyard,</td>
<td>Take to yourself wine which came from your field, and the vines which flourish in your vineyard,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Ptolemy IV</td>
<td>mn n.k ty pr fr yr n. Knw</td>
<td>mn n.k ty pr fr yr n. Knw</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Take to yourself the Eye of Horus.</td>
<td>Take to yourself the Eye of Horus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Ptolemy IV</td>
<td>mn n.k ty pr fr yr n. Knw</td>
<td>mn n.k ty pr fr yr n. Knw</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Take to yourself wine—the Green Horus Eye.</td>
<td>Take to yourself wine—the Green Horus Eye.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5) Ptolemy IV</td>
<td>mn n.k fr yr n. Knw s3 m ib. k rdw ntr</td>
<td>mn n.k fr yr n. Knw s3 m ib. k rdw ntr</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Take to yourself wine from your favorite place, the divine efflux,</td>
<td>which I have ordered for you from the land as your provision, I fill the Eye of Horus for you with pure wine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Ptolemy IV</td>
<td>mn n.k fr yr n. Knw s3 m ib. k rdw ntr</td>
<td>mn n.k fr yr n. Knw s3 m ib. k rdw ntr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Take to yourself wine from your favorite place,</td>
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<tr>
<td>shw.k im on (b) l&quot;u (c) s.f by.wt.k</td>
<td>May you be powerful through it; indeed, those who are in your following rejoice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wp r3 t m.sn</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'.k m km3.n.k swr.k m hnkt.k s'm.k</td>
<td>May you rejoice at what you have created; may you drink your beer; may you drink your wine; may your limbs be purified by your libation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'm.k im r m.r.k</td>
<td>May you drink at your wish.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'h.k im r m.r.k</td>
<td>May you drink at your wish.</td>
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Type I
### Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt

#### Type I

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ptolemy IV Edfu L.298</td>
<td>Take to yourself wine—the Green Horus Eye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ptolemy IV Edfu L.448</td>
<td>Take to yourself the Green Horus Eye,</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>I appease your heart with what is created for you; I fill the Sound Eye for you with what came out from it...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ptolemy VI Philae S.408</td>
<td>Take to yourself wine, the sweat of Re, in order to protect Amen (C); take to yourself the Eye of Horus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ptolemy VIII Opet S.87</td>
<td>Take to yourself wine,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>in order to please your heart.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ptolemy IX Edfu V.45</td>
<td>Take to yourself wine from your vineyard,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>which I have presented [before you].</td>
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WIN OFFERINGS LITURGIES IN THE PTOLEMAIC TEMPLES

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**Type 1**

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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a. b. c. d. e. f. h. i. j. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. u. v. w. x. y. z.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

May your ka be filled with what is created for you, Imet, Pelusium and Hwt-iht; may you administer them in their entirety.

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<td>3</td>
<td>a. b. c. d. e. f. h. i. j. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. u. v. w. x. y. z.</td>
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May your mouth be opened with it.

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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a. b. c. d. e. f. h. i. j. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. u. v. w. x. y. z.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

May the mouth of your ka be opened with the Green Horus Eye.

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<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a. b. c. d. e. f. h. i. j. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. u. v. w. x. y. z.</td>
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</table>

May your Majesty eat; may your face be happy, may your heart be satisfied.

(As) all the gods live on incense burning, she (Hathor) lives on drunkenness.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>a. b. c. d. e. f. h. i. j. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. u. v. w. x. y. z.</td>
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### Type I

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<tr>
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<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13) Ptolemy IX  Edfu V,99</td>
<td><code>mn n. j. (j)</code></td>
<td>Take to yourself wine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14) Ptolemy IX  Edfu V,150</td>
<td><code>mn n. k. s3</code></td>
<td>Take to yourself the wine which was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>produced in Khargeh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15) Ptolemy XI  Edfu VII,267</td>
<td><code>mn n. k. irp hpr m Knmt</code></td>
<td>Take to yourself the wine which is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>produced in Khargeh, the Eye of Horns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>which came from Bahria, and this wine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How fresh is the taste,...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16) Ptolemy XII  Philae II,28</td>
<td><code>mn n. j. irp s3r w3dt n Knmt</code></td>
<td>Take to yourself the Green Horus Eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from Khargeh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17) Caracalla  Esna, n.515</td>
<td><code>mn n. j. irp w3dt n Knmt</code></td>
<td>Take to yourself the Green Horns Eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from Khargeh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18) Geta  Esna, n.524</td>
<td><code>mn n. j. irp s3r n Knmt</code></td>
<td>Take to yourself the strong wine from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>your place, and the wine which is</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>presented (lit. came) to you.</td>
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### Type I

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<th>C</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O Noble One, Mistress of Imet.</td>
<td>May your Majesty drink; may you proceed intoxicated...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your Wadj-Eye is sound and supplied with provisions; secure it for yourself from Seth; may you be powerful through it, may you... through it; may you be divine by means of it more than any god.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May your heart...; may you rejoice together with the Noble One, Mistress of your divine ka.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May your mouth be opened with it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May you taste it; may your heart rejoice; may you be rejuvenated; may your hands drink with what you love.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>19) Commodes Esna 6.527</td>
<td><em>sn n.t irt Hr w3dt m Dsds Knmt</em></td>
<td>Take to yourself the Green Horus Eye from Bahria and Khargeh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20) ? Dead 1.99</td>
<td><em>sn n.t inmty</em></td>
<td>Take to yourself wine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21) ? Dead 1.334</td>
<td><em>sn n.t irt Hr pr m Knmt</em></td>
<td>Take to yourself the Eye of Horus which came from Khargeh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22) ? Dead 11.88</td>
<td><em>sn n.t inmty</em></td>
<td>Take to yourself wine, <em>s'rt.n.i m hr. tr shtp ib.t</em> which I have offered to your ka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23) ? Dead 11.188</td>
<td><em>sn n.t irt Hr w3dt m Dsds hbnt (m) bn n T3-ntr (o)</em></td>
<td>Take to yourself wine from Khargeh and the Green Horus Eye from Bahria, and all the *hbnt-*wine of the God's Land. which I have presented before you, in order to appease your heart.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
May your heart reckon the product of Khargeh; may your divine ka rejoice with its sweet smell of the Mistress of drunkenness; repeat drinking, as one begins to celebrate for your divine ka.

May you drink it; may you be filled with it, may Your Majesty be satisfied with the Eye of Horns.

May you drink it when you wish; may Your Majesty be satisfied with your provision.

May Your Majesty rejoice, this wine of Imet and Ham; May you drink it.

O Ruler, how beautiful is your beauty;

May Your Majesty rejoice, this wine of Imet and Ham; May you drink it.
### Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24)</td>
<td>Dend II,219</td>
<td>\textit{mn n. k} \textit{irt Hr} \textit{pr m Knmt} \textit{Dsd}\textit{s} \textit{w3dt} \textit{m Dsds} &lt;br&gt; Take to yourself wine which came from Khargeh and the Green Horus Eye from Bahria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25)</td>
<td>Dend II,225</td>
<td>\textit{mn n. mwy} \textit{irt Hr} \textit{w3dt} &lt;br&gt; Take to yourself wine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26)</td>
<td>Dend II,120</td>
<td>\textit{mn nJ inmty} \textit{irt Hr} \textit{w3dt} \textit{iptn n Knmt} \textit{Dsd}\textit{s} &lt;br&gt; Take to yourself the \textit{iptn} containing this Green Horus Eye of Khargeh and Bahria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27)</td>
<td>Dend II,179</td>
<td>\textit{mn n. k} \textit{irt Hr} \textit{pr m Knmt} \textit{inmty} \textit{nn n Knmt} \textit{hbb hr} \textit{irt Hr w3dt} \textit{iptn n Knmt} \textit{Dsd}\textit{s} &lt;br&gt; Take to yourself the eye of Horus which came from Khargeh, this wine from Khargeh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28)</td>
<td>Dend IV,85</td>
<td>\textit{mn n. k} \textit{ire} \textit{m Knmt} \textit{pr m Hwt-t3-ihw} \textit{hbb nb nw ... 3w (?) nn 3pd (q) n Knmt} \textit{Dsd}\textit{s} \textit{hbnt nb n T3-nt_r} &lt;br&gt; Take to yourself wine from Khargeh, the Green Horus Eye from Farafra, all the \textit{hbb} jars of... \textit{3pd}-wine of Khargeh and Bahria, and all the \textit{hbnt}-wine from the God's Land.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Who Offers Libations in the Ptolemaic Temples

#### Type I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nw k m ubf h r f n nh</em> w nk n k</td>
<td>May you drink it; may your face be happy; may anger be removed from your heart.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Iwnt m pr-</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O Hesbt n</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>h t m sn r m rt sh m sn sw r t m sn m</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>h t hmt m r3-wy t wp n t r3 t m sn</em></td>
<td>May Your Majesty be rejoiced with your action; may your mouth be opened for you with it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sw r t im sn h t ib t rt Hr m irp</em></td>
<td>May You drink it; may your heart be rejoiced through the Eye of Horus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>namely, wine.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**About the Table:**
- The table lists offerings made in the Ptolemaic temples.
- **Type I** offerings are highlighted.
- Each offering includes a libation (drinking) formula and a blessing.
- The offerings are divided into columns for ease of reference.
- Specific terms and phrases are highlighted to indicate their importance or uniqueness.
Notes to Type I:
(b) For shm m as “be powerful through” or “be powerful by means of,” cf. Wb IV 247, 1-5. The m is rendered “it” in the following texts as a collective noun for wine.
(c) For the orthography of k, see Junker, SPAW (1905), 42.
(d) The term h3t is probably derived from h3t - foremost, best, thus means “the best wine.”
(e) The word iw is given the meaning of “reed” in Wb I 127, 21-22. In the present context, however, it probably refers to the vines in the garden.
(g) Pnyg-’v probably refers to the northernmost region, similar to the term pnyg-’, cf. H. Gauthier, Dictionnaire des Noms Geographique vol. II, 147; Wb I 539, 2. For the meaning of v as “border” or “frontier region,” cf. the expression ‘nsy, “the southern region” (Pyr § 1084, 1087), and ‘mhty, “the northern region” (Pyr § 1000).
(h) For the meaning of T3.wy Fnhw as “Phoenicia,” see Gauthier, op. cit., II, 161; Helck, Die Beziehungen Aegyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausand vor Chr., 272-273.
(i) The second edition of Edfu I restores a –, while according to the parallels (i.e. hmr and bht-n) it seems to be a mistake for -. 
(j) The first person suffix pronoun i is assumed according to the parallel text no. 1 above.
(k) The meaning of fdn is obscure. See Junker & Witten, Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philae, 409, 1-4.
(l) The meaning of wi is unknown to me.
(m) Although the beginning of this text is written wdn, which at first seems to belong to another type (Types II or III), a closer look shows that, except for this expression, the rest of the text fits into the general scheme of Type I. The scribe was probably influenced by the wdn formulations in Types II and III.
(n) hmr “God’s Land,” when used in connection with imported wine, it usually refers to northern Syria rather than Punt; cf. Helck, Die Beziehungen Aegyptens, 272ff.
(p) “they are pure.” The signs can also be read nsw; cf. Junker, Grammatik, 50.
Type II

The second type of wine offering liturgy also consists of five component blocks, although in fact only the first half differs from the structure of type I. The five components are designated as F, G, B', D, and E.

(F) The beginning expression is composed of two parallel statements built on the verbs wtd (prosper) and nh (flourish), such as "The vineyard in the district of Dendera (or other places) prospers" and "it flourishes in your favorite place." At times the word wtd is omitted in the first sentence, thus the rest of the sentence becomes the anticipatory subject of the second statement (see text no. 2).

(G) The second part of the text consists of various phrases describing the prosperous conditions of the vineyards. The main verbs employed are k3 (to sprout), ksw (bend down), dns (to load), and wdh (to bear fruit), all of which refer to the flourishing state of the vine.

(B') This part describes the ritual act that was taking place. Thus we find sentences such as "one comes to you and offers in your presence." The function of this group of phrases in the liturgy was to reconfirm the relationship between the king and the deity through the king’s action; they are similar to block B in type I. However, in view of the different phrases that are actually employed here, we consider them a variant of B, thus the letter B' is given as designation.

(D) The fourth textual component in type II also deals with the wish of the king, which is virtually identical with the fourth component of type I.

(E) Similarly, a concluding remark about the purity of the offering is found as the last element of type II, and it appears far more frequently than it does in type I.
## Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>Ptolemy IV, Edfu IV.115</td>
<td>The vineyard prospers in the district of Edfu. Indeed, it flourishes in your favorite place.</td>
<td>It sprouts with leaves, bends down with its load, and burdens under the grapes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>Ptolemy X, Edfu VII.75</td>
<td>The vineyard prospers in the district of your throne. Flourishing in your favorite place.</td>
<td>The grape-vines bend under the load, ... like Hapy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>Ptolemy X, Edfu VII.141</td>
<td>The vineyard flourishes in the district of the Noble One.</td>
<td>With their load, they bear fruit, with grapes more than sand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>Ptolemy XI, Edfu VII.213</td>
<td>The vineyard flourishes in Edfu.</td>
<td>The inundation rejoices at what is in it. They bear fruit with more grapes than (the sand of) the river banks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>Ptolemy XI, Edfu VII.278</td>
<td>The vineyard prospers in the district of Edfu. Indeed, it flourishes in your favorite place.</td>
<td>It sprouts with leaves, burdens with grapes, bends down bended by you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>Edfu VI.315</td>
<td>The vineyard in the district of Edfu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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102
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type II</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>B</strong></td>
<td><strong>C</strong></td>
<td><strong>D</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{hr.k hnk.tw m b3h.k irt Hr m irp})</td>
<td>May you drink it; may you be powerful through it as the entire land rejoices.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{swr.k m.sn shm.k m.sn t3 dr.fnhm})</td>
<td>May you be powerful through it; may your heart be happy; may Your Majesty rejoice with what you like.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{hm.sn (d) m irp r wd3t.t n nbt.sn r nhbt(e) wrt nbt 13m <a href="f">phr</a>.sn m n^wt k3-t})</td>
<td>They are made into wine for your storage, for their Mistress, for the great Hathor, Mistress of Life. They are presented in the town of your ka.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{shm.t m.sn wnf ib.t h&quot; hmt.t m mr.t})</td>
<td>May you drink it according to your wish.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ms. tw m b3h. kmht  imy.f})</td>
<td>One offers in front of you with produce from it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{wp r3. k m.sn shm.k m.sn wr.k m.sn})</td>
<td>May your mouth be opened with it; may you drink it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{iw. w w'b})</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{nwh. k m.f r dr ib. k})</td>
<td>May you drink it according to your wish.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{wp r3. k m irp})</td>
<td>May your mouth be opened with wine.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{iw. w w'b})</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{in.w w#})</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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WINE AND WINE OFFERING IN THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>Dend III,15</td>
<td>( \text{rd113 f m sp st} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>Dend III,188</td>
<td>( \text{rd113 f m sp st} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9)</td>
<td>Dend IV,3</td>
<td>( \text{rd113 f m sp st} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10)</td>
<td>Dend VI,122</td>
<td>( \text{rd113 f m sp st} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11)</td>
<td>Dend VI,139</td>
<td>( \text{rd113 f m sp st} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12)</td>
<td>Dend VII,151</td>
<td>( \text{rd113 f m sp st} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Type II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One comes in your presence, and offers to your ka the Eye of Horus with wine.</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their wine is presented as your provision.</td>
<td>May you drink it; may you be powerful through it; may your mouth be opened with it.</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are made into wine for your storage.</td>
<td>May your mouth be opened with it; may you be powerful through it; may you drink it.</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes to Type II:

(b) k3 generally means "to spit out." Here it is used figuratively to describe the sprouting of the vine in a short period, a term well chosen to describe the nature of the vine.
(c) wns is originally a term for edible fruits, including grapes; see R. Germer, Untersuchungen über Arzneimittel im Alten Aegypten (1979), 91 f. Only once is wns found in the Pharaonic period with the meaning of "wine" (Lepsius, Denkmaler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien v. Ill, 200 d). In Demotic, it also appears once with the meaning of grapes or wine (Papyrus Vindob 6257, 13/30, quoted in the "New Word File" for the Demotic Dictionary in the Oriental Institute, Chicago). In the offering liturgies of the Graeco-Roman Period, by an extension of meaning, the word came to signify vine, grapes, and wine in different contexts; cf. Junker, WZKM 31, 66 f.
(d) The word wns is restored according to parallels in texts no. 4 and no. 12 of this type below. The meaning of heyu, however, is not certain. It might have been connected with the word wns = "craft," in the sense of "production" or "produce." Thus the text here could be translated as "they are made into wine."
(e) The sign ḫ is read as ḫb here. ḫb wrt refers to Hathor in the present text.
(f) Restore: ḫb .
(g) k3'.fn.k m ssp dns m wns k3'.fn.k m 3tp is obviously a mistake made by the copier.
   The correct reading is k3'.fn.k m ssp dns m wns k3'.fn.k m 3tp is confirmed by comparing the parallels in texts nos. 1 and no. 7.
(h) Išt-di is a term originally used for the Mammisi of Dendera, later it was employed as a designation for the entire nome. See F. Daumas, Les Mammisis des Temples Egyptens (1958), 197, n.4.
(i) I read the group of signs ḫb as wdh; the sign ḫb is taken as a mistake for ḫb .
   Cf. the writing of wdh in no. 12 below.
(j) Here the word ḫb = "lift up" is used in the sense of "growing up."
(k) The term ḫb -  "fruit of the mount" refers to the grapes in this context.
Type III

This type is a short version of the wine offering liturgy found in the "Ritual of Amenophis I." Exception for two (nos. 1 and 2), most texts of this type contain only the first half of the New Kingdom versions. We can still distinguish five blocks of texts in this type: H, C, I, D, E.

(H) This contains a statement about the prosperous condition of the vineyards. The liturgy opens almost invariably with \textit{rwd IY nbf}, "all the vineyards prosper." The word \textit{IY} is often qualified with \textit{nb bw lbk} "in your favorite place," or \textit{nb bw nb nrk} "in all the places you like."

(C) Following the statement about the vineyard is an invocation to the deity.

(I) This block contains two main statements: \textit{h' b'h im.f} "the inundation rejoiced in it (i.e. the vineyard)," and \textit{mh.i n.k im ffr m irp} "I (i.e. the king) fill the Eye of Horus for you with wine." The Eye of Horus here probably refers to the offering altar, otherwise it usually refers to the wine. The last phrase, at first look, could also be considered as belonging to element B, as indeed it was found in Type I, nos. 5 and 6. However, the fact that in the present context it is usually associated with \textit{h' b'h im.} suggests that the two phrases can be seen as established couplets.

(D) The fourth part, as expected, is identical with the two previous types. It contains the good wish of the king: that the deity rejoice in the drinking of wine.

(E) The last part is also the same as the other two types: confirming the purity of the wine.
### Wine and Wine-Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt

#### Type III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>II</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ptolemy II B Ph, 27 1st wrt mwt ntr nbt</td>
<td>Osiris, the Great, Mother of the gods, Mistress of Philae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ptolemy II B Ph, 64 1st wrt mwt ntr nbt</td>
<td>Osiris, the Great, Mother of the gods, Mistress of Philae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ptolemy IV Edfu 1, 71 rwd s3 m bw i3b.k hpr ssp m st ib.k</td>
<td>Osiris, the Great, Mother of the gods, Mistress of Philae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ptolemy IV Edfu 1, 109 (same as above)</td>
<td>Osiris, the Great, Mother of the gods, Mistress of Philae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ptolemy VIII Ph II, 5, 11 ph 1st wrt mwt ntr nbt</td>
<td>Osiris, the Great, Mother of the gods, Mistress of Philae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Caracalla Esna n. 479 rwd s3 nb mr. k</td>
<td>Osiris, the Great, Mother of the gods, Mistress of Philae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Caracalla Esna n. 483 (same as no. 6)</td>
<td>Osiris, the Great, Mother of the gods, Mistress of Philae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Caracalla Esna n. 485 rwd s3 nb mr. k</td>
<td>Osiris, the Great, Mother of the gods, Mistress of Philae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type III</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h' b'h n im.t mh n.t s3 R' Ptlm'y irt Hr m irp.s&quot;</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h' b'h n im.fmh.i n.k irt Hr m irp&quot;</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h&quot; ib.k m ?(b) nb.f&quot;</td>
<td>May your heart rejoice in all its...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;hnts ib. k m irt Hr w3dt&quot;</td>
<td>May your heart rejoice at the Green Horus Eye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h' b'h n snw.t mh.i n.t irt Hr m irp&quot;</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h' b'h n snw.t mh.i n.t irt Hr m irp&quot;</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h' b'h n snw.t mh.i n.t irt Hr m irp&quot;</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h' b'h n snw.t mh.i n.t irt Hr m irp&quot;</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h' b'h n snw.t mh.i n.t irt Hr m irp.s&quot;</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h' b'h n snw.t mh.i n.t irt Hr m irp.s&quot;</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h' b'h n snw.t mh.i n.t irt Hr m irp.s&quot;</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h' b'h n snw.t mh.i n.t irt Hr m irp.s&quot;</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h' b'h n snw.t mh.i n.t irt Hr m irp.s&quot;</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WINE AND WINE OFFERING IN THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Notes to Type III:

(a) For $\text{tw}r$ in the sense of "look," "behold," cf. A.M. Blackman JEA 29, 7, note b.
(b) The reading of $\text{dj},$ plants or flowers, is uncertain. Cf. Wb iii 221, 1-7.
(c) That the first-person suffix pronoun is represented by the diacritical stroke after $\text{mh}$ is indicated by the texts in no. 7 below, where $\text{i}$ is written out, and by no. 1 above, where the king’s name is written. Cf. note (a) to Type I above.

Type IV

This type equally contains five elements: J, C, K, D, E.

(J) This opening expression invariably uses the word $\text{J},$ such as $\text{J n k3.k},$ and follows with the invocation to the deity, which is the next textual element, C.
(K) After the invocation, the geographical origins of the wine are specified, although in several instances different expressions, such as "this Eye of Horus is for your Majesty," were used. The latter are all late Ptolemaic and Roman versions. The last two blocks of textual elements, D and E, are identical with the previous types.
<p>| 1) Ptolemy VI | Edfu IV,124 | J | C | K |
| Edfu IV,124 |  | Jy n Aq.K | | The offering is for your temple, |
| | | | | O Falcon, Variegated of feathers. |
| 2) Ptolemy VII | Edfu IV,131 | J | C | K |
| Edfu IV,131 |  | Jy n Mr.tn t M3 Hr | | The wine you like is offered to your divine ka; its vineyard flourishes in Edfu, |
| | | | | the Eye of Horus of Imet, which rejuvenates your heart, together with wine produced in Bahria. |
| 3) Ptolemy VII | Edfu III,132 | J | C | K |
| Edfu III,132 |  | Mr.tn M3 [ n k3.K | | Edfu is filled with wine for your ka. |
| 4) Ptolemy IX | Edfu V,51 | J | C | K |
| Edfu V,51 |  | Jy n Mr.tn t M3 Hr | | The wine is offered to your ka, |
| | | | | O Falcon,... |
| 5) Ptolemy IX | Edfu V,64 | J | C | K |
| Edfu V,64 |  | Jy n Mr.tn t M3 Hr | | The wine is for your ka, |
| | | | | O leader of the gods, August god, born to Sekhmet. |
| 6) Ptolemy X | Ph 1,171 | J | C | K |
| Ph 1,171 |  | Jy n Mr.tn t M3 Hr | | The wine is for your ka, |
| | | | | O Noble One, Mistress of the goddesses. |
| 7) Ptolemy XII | Edfu VIII,49 | J | C | K |
| Edfu VIII,49 |  | Jy n Mr.tn t M3 Hr | | The wine is for your ka in the district of Edfu, |
| | | | | the Eye of Horus Eye from Bahria, the Green Horus Eye before you, and the wine of Upper Egypt. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May your heart be free from grief; your followers proceed after you; your courtiers are behind you; may you go to Mesen in joy; lo, they flourish in Edfu; may you drink it; it belongs to you.</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May you be powerful through it; may you taste (lit. eat) it; may you drink it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May Your Majesty drink the Eye of Horus; may you drink it; it is for your power; may your mouth be opened by means of wine.</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May you drink it; may you be powerful through it; may your mouth be opened by means of it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May you be powerful through it; may you drink it; may your courtiers be united (lit. in one place).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May Your Majesty drink it.</td>
<td>O Lady!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May you drink it in provision, together with the Golden One, Mistress of Dendera, foremost of Jn.w.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>K</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>Ptolemy XII Edfu VIII,24</td>
<td>$s3 (n $m.k) hnty w3-n $m.k$</td>
<td>The wine is for your ka in the district of Edfu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>O Noble One, Mistress of the goddesses, it belongs to you; it has power in you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>This wine from Khargeh and Bahria, the Green Horus Eye of Edfu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9)</td>
<td>Ptolemy XII Edfu VIII,24</td>
<td>$s3(b) n k3.t$</td>
<td>The wine is for your ka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>O Great One, Mistress of the goddesses, it flourish in your favorite place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10)</td>
<td>Ptolemy XII Ph 1,40</td>
<td>$s3 n k3.t$</td>
<td>The wine is for your ka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>O Great One, Mistress of the goddesses,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11)</td>
<td>Ptolemy XII Ph 1,203</td>
<td>$s3 r hh.t$</td>
<td>The wine is for your throat,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>O Noble One, Mistress,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12)</td>
<td>Augustus Ph II,212</td>
<td>$s3 n k3.t$</td>
<td>The wine is for your ka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>O Horus son of Osiris, this Eye of Horus is for Your Majesty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13)</td>
<td>Augustus Ph II,268</td>
<td>$s3 n k3.t$</td>
<td>The wine is for your ka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>O Mistress of the Two Lands, this Eye of Horus is for Your Majesty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type IV</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May you be powerful through it, together with the Great Leader, the Noble One in the house of the Noble One.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May you drink it, O Golden One, Mistress of Dendera; the goddesses are following you; all the gods live on incense burning; the Golden One lives on drunkenness.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May Your Majesty drink it, as it is pure; may your heart be happy with what you like, rejoices, O Mistress of Biggeh, it is offered to your ka everyday.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May you drink it; may your heart be happy; may your ka drink that which comes from you; I offer it before you daily in order to please your heart with what you love.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type IV</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14) Tiberius</td>
<td>( s_{3}) in ( k_{3})</td>
<td>( s_{3}) in ( W_{3})</td>
<td>( s_{3}) in ( k_{3})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see no. 12)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15) ?</td>
<td>Dend V, 44</td>
<td>( s_{3}) in ( D_{3})</td>
<td>( s_{3}) in ( m_{n})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The wine is for your joy (lit. belly).</td>
<td>Minimum, drink to your satisfaction with the Eye of Horus.</td>
<td>The wine which is produced in your vineyards, they have more wine than water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16) ?</td>
<td>Dend V, 31</td>
<td>( s_{3}) in ( k_{3})</td>
<td>( s_{3}) in ( m_{n})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The wine is for your ( k_{a}).</td>
<td>O Noble One, Mistress of Wine.</td>
<td>The Green Horus Eye of Bahria, wine of Sakh, Tent, Kharga, Pelusium, and ( t_{w})-( w_{t}) in your provision.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17) ?</td>
<td>Dend VI, 18</td>
<td>( s_{3}) in ( t_{y}_{k})</td>
<td>( s_{3}) in ( t_{y}_{k})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The wine is for your statues.</td>
<td>O Falcon, Lord of wine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D</strong></td>
<td><strong>E</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi₅ h₅ wi₅ smo₅</td>
<td>i₅ w₅ w₅ b₅ wi₅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>May you drink it; may you be powerful through it; may your mouth be opened by means of it.</strong></td>
<td><strong>It is pure.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi₅ wi₅ wi₅ wi₅ wi₅ wi₅ wi₅</td>
<td>w₅ w₅ w₅ w₅ w₅ w₅ w₅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>May you drink it; may your face be happy; may anger be removed from your heart.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi₅ wi₅ wi₅ wi₅ wi₅ wi₅ wi₅</td>
<td>w₅ w₅ w₅ w₅ w₅ w₅ w₅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>May your throat receive it as provision; may your courtiers go around you carrying the gifts of Khargeh. Receive it to your bosom, for I brought your wine.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes to Type IV:

(a) I read the group of signs 5^1 3_1 as sny.m bw m.
(b) The signs ^/ should be read S3, i.e., "wine." For a discussion of the various
writings of S3 as "vineyard, garden," and discussions of other words for wine
employed in the Ptolemaic Period, see Chapter I above.
(c) For S3r, I read Snkr (?) a foreign region, location uncertain.
(d) For nfrw, read jkr, in the sense of "bringing gift to someone." cf. Wb III 301,9.

Type V

Finally, I have grouped together six texts that may belong to a particular type of wine
offering liturgy. There are only four blocks of structural elements: L, B', C, D.

(L) The unifying element in these texts is the opening sentence structure. It begins with
an anticipatory subject, "this wine" (jfr m, lnn m, jfr m, or eff m), which
is followed either by a pseudo-verbal construction, "(it) is offered to you," "(it) is
brought to your ka," or by a relative clause, "which I have brought as tribute," or
"which I have offered in your presence."

(B') Some of the texts continue with descriptions of the ritual act: "I offer it to you
under the divine isd-tree," or "it is mixed before your temple," although they do
not have expressions in common. The general concept of this part is comparable
to that in element B of type I.

The remainder of type V texts consists of elements C and D. Only in text no. 3 is
the element E also present.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type V</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>Ptolemy IV Edfu L.86</td>
<td>This wine is offered to you from the land of sweet odor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>Ptolemy IV Edfu L.100</td>
<td>This wine is produced for you in the prosperous land, in your favorite place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>Ptolemy IX Edfu V.298</td>
<td>This fine wine is for your provision.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>Ptolemy X Edfu V.166</td>
<td>This wine which I have offered in your presence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>Dend V.40</td>
<td>This wine which I have brought as tribute and gift upon my hands is offered as intoxication for the land of Dendera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>Dend V.62</td>
<td>This wine is brought to your ka, it comes forth to appease your heart; Khargah and Bahria offer before you, Pelusium and Hwt-iht carry their gifts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Type V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>nw² k nw k w³.nn². h² nn². nw² h² nn².</strong>&lt;br&gt;May you protect your eye which I have offered before your Necropolis with your... your heart wishes that it sees the treasure(?).</td>
<td><strong>km².k m²n² h² nn².</strong>&lt;br&gt;May the land thrive, and its fruit flourish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H³ h³ n² k m²n² h² nn².</strong>&lt;br&gt;O Horns the Great, mighty ruler of the region of Lower Egypt.&lt;br&gt;wine,... and wine of Abenet. May your mouth be opened with it, (it is) pure.</td>
<td><strong>t³ w³ d m²n² h² nn².</strong>&lt;br&gt;May you drink it so as to appease your heart, may Your divine Majesty rejoice with your food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nw² d h² nn².</strong>&lt;br&gt;O King of gods in Wehat.&lt;br&gt;How sweet is its taste (lit. beauty) to the nose of the Leader of the gods, Sekhmet, in happiness.</td>
<td><strong>m³ n² h² nn².</strong>&lt;br&gt;May you drink it so as to appease your heart, may Your divine Majesty rejoice with your food.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WIN AND WINE OFFERING IN THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Notes to Type V:

(a) For 𓊛𓊛, I read hm; cf. WB III 278, 2.
(b) The reading of 𓊛 in uncertain.
(c) The meaning of m33 thn is unclear, perhaps "to see the beauty" of the goddess.
(d) The basic meaning of wd is "to emit," cf. Edfu IV, 379, 4. Here refers to the production of wine.
(e) The group of signs 𓊛 is for 'bnt, the capital of the Oryx nome of Upper Egypt; cf. Guatier, Dictionnaire des Nomes Geographique, v. I, 141. For 𓊛, a phonetic sign of n, cf. Fairman, BIFAO 43, 72; S. Sauneron, Enea VIII, 163, no. 241; 164, no. 242.
(f) The location of wh't is uncertain.
(g) The word hr is written 𓊛 instead of 𓊛; cf. Coptic hr.
(h) The restoration of 𓊛, fits into the lacuna.

After examining five types of wine offering liturgy, it is clear that each is distinguished by the combination of structural elements. In particular is the distinctive opening expression. However, the five types also shared expressions and structural elements. Of the twelve tabulated blocks of structural elements, B and B' appear together in three types; C and E appear in four types; while D appears in all five. Because C is the invocation to the deity, and E is only a short declaration of the purity of the offering, only B, B', and D can be considered as the essential elements of wine offering liturgy.

In another sense, the liturgies display a remarkable conservatism in textual transmission over time and space. As mentioned, Type III appears in the New Kingdom, and, judging from the Ptolemaic texts, remains essentially unchanged over a thousand years. No one type, furthermore, can be clearly associated with a specific temple. This is shown by the following table, which summarizes the distribution of the five types of text in various temples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Edfu</th>
<th>Dendera</th>
<th>Karnak</th>
<th>Esna</th>
<th>Philae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The texts referred to by this table include only liturgies that are inscribed with offering scenes. Needless to say, there are a large number of offering scenes that contain nothing more than the title of the act, such as "ird tpt," without the accompanying liturgies. The stated sums are only a reference, and should not be considered to represent the total of known wine offering scenes in the Ptolemaic Period. With this in mind, it is nevertheless clear that the temples of Edfu and Dendera possess the richest variety of the five textual types. It does not mean that the texts found in the temples of Kamak or Elana are less diversified. As we see in the following, when the "irregular" wine offering liturgies are taken into consideration, the Kamak temples are proven to contain a number of irregular texts. In general, no one temple dominates a particular type of text, thus indicating a well-diffused textual tradition among the priesthood of the various temples.

Chronologically, the different types are also evenly distributed throughout the Graeco-Roman Period, as the next table shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Periods</th>
<th>Textual Types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemy II</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiberius</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caracalla</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gera</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commodus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other*</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Undated texts from Dendera

Were there in fact any differences among the wine offering liturgies of the various temple ceremonies? We start by comparing the distribution of the five textual types...
within the various arts of the temples of Edfu and Dendera, the best preserved and documented Ptolemaic temples. As the next table shows, as in the case of temple complexes, we also do not see a direct association between one textual type and a specific temple room or location. In addition, it is clear that various rooms contained more than one type. This was probably because of the variety of ceremonies that included wine offering. The letters below represent the room and location numbers as used in Chassinat’s publication of the two temples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Edfu</th>
<th>Dendera</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>C E I R H' J'</td>
<td>B D G H K M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>C' F' I' J'</td>
<td>C M N V Cryp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>R C M N V Cryp.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>C C' F' H' K'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>C H' J'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The foregoing suggests that in wine offerings the employment of a certain type of liturgy was determined neither by the content of the liturgy, nor the particular ceremonial circumstances. This corroborates the earlier observation in Chapter II concerning the wine offering scenes in the Pharaonic temples.

If these analyses of selected data reflect the historical pattern at large, then apparently there is textual randomness: we do not know why a particular textual type was chosen at a particular moment and temple location. However, it is conceivable that given the fact that five liturgical stereotypes are found in different temples and periods, the scribe-priests responsible for the decoration of the temple walls would have in their possession model-texts of offering liturgies, perhaps similar to the papyrus containing the Ritual of Amenophis I. Such model-texts would have contained all the essential structural elements. The scribe-priests could have copied what was given in the model. Or, perhaps even more likely, he would have produced a somewhat different version, as evidenced by our study. Different versions reflect in part a desire for innovation, as well as simply the need to fill blank spaces available on the walls.

The scribe-priest could exert a certain degree of liberty. Consider element G in type II. The main phrase used consists of the sequence: k3' t ssp, ksw m 3tp.f and dns hr wns (nos. 1, 7). In one text, however, the scribe wrote ksw hr wns (no. 8), which is obviously an elision of ksw m 3tp.f and dns hr wns. On another occasion, the scribe mistakenly wrote ksw m 3tp dns m wns k3' fn.k m 3tp (no. 5), switching the positions of k3' fn.k and ksw, although grammatically there was nothing wrong with it.
(2) Irregular Texts

The textual liberty that the scribe-priest may have enjoyed in composing the liturgy is further confirmed by the existence of what might be termed irregular texts. For example, variation could occur by arranging the standard sequence of elements:

(1) D/i VIII, no.2, Ptolemy III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mn n.k sp dt H</em></td>
<td><em>k</em>b k3.k m (mn) u.k n.k</td>
<td><em>k</em>b b.k n.k sp <em>h</em>py m-fl.1 <em>flbrt nip 'wy.i</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take to yourself the wine — Green Horus Eye.</td>
<td>may your ka be filled with what you have created.</td>
<td>I purify it for you; Happy proceeds me; That is upon my arm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This text would be classified as belonging to type I, except for the fact that element D comes before B'. Sometimes the opening expression is "omitted," leaving only two elements to constitute the entire liturgy:

(2) Philae I, 232, Ptolemy VI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>s'r.n.f mmv hrt.f (a) irt H</em></td>
<td><em>swr.f r mr hm.f iu.n.f tr.k mr th.k m.f</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He (the king) has offered the mmv-jar; its content being the Green Horus Eye.</td>
<td>may be the god's drink according to what His Majesty wishes. He (b) has come to you; may your heart be pleased with it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) hrt.f is written "", where f refers to the mmv-jar. Junker, Philae I, 232, translates the entire phrase rather vaguely: "him eisen ... krig ölferen."
(b) "He" refers to the king, as the god is now addressed.

Or, the entire text may contain an elaborated version of one element:
May you be dignified with wine; may you be rejuvenated with wine; the Eye of Horus has removed your evil; may you drink Pelusium wine; may you seize Imet; Egypt submits before you.

May your heart be happy; may you receive the dignity; may you drink what is made for you as you wish.

At times it is difficult to relate a text to any of the five types, although some of the phrases are quite familiar. The following are texts composed of various structural "blocks" that were seen before, as well as some ad hoc or "irregular" phrases. It is clear that our attempt at drawing lines between different parts of the texts is not always without uncertainty, yet the general picture cannot be missed. These irregular texts incorporated the standard elements without following the structural sequence of the types. In order to show the structure of these texts, we use the letter X to denote all those irregular textual elements that cannot be identified with the twelve standard elements.

For the reading of $\tilde{\phi}$ as $\phi$, see Blackman & Falconer, JEA 36, 67.

The Green Horus Eye overflows for your ka.

May you drink it as you wish.

The God's Land and Bahria, Pelusium, Ham, Hwt-iht, in the region of Imet — I collected them for you, and they serve your ka. I lead them to you, with their tributes.
### (5) Edfu IV, 280, Ptolemy VI, (J X D I)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13°</td>
<td>th.k bryy n s3 fr huh k wnt n m</td>
<td>J X D I</td>
<td>s3 r hh.k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s3 fr s3 ...s3</td>
<td>sug'k sryh s3 fr s3 m ss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it goes to  ...wine,</td>
<td>may you cut off the testicles of him who transgress your soil, this wine for driving away your enemies and repelling evil therefrom. Hail to your Sound Eye! Your eyes belong to you; may you see with them,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13°</td>
<td>th.k bryy n s3 fr huh k wnt n m</td>
<td>J X D I</td>
<td>s3 r hh.k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s3 fr s3 ...s3</td>
<td>sug'k sryh s3 fr s3 m ss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (6) Urq VIII, no. 331, Ptolemy VI (X C H' X C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>H'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h.n.t br.k</td>
<td>jmn h's nps wtr hr sh</td>
<td>zmrj.k 3' m 3 lw jyf'k b'h m sw dh k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have come to you,</td>
<td>O Amon-Re, August god, who begat everything,</td>
<td>I cause the vineyard to flourish in the place where you like, and the inundation is your favorite place.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (6) Urq VIII, no. 331, Ptolemy VI (X C H' X C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h.m.t b'r.k</td>
<td>h.b'hr.k m 2'p h'br dh phw m Knh h.r. m n b'i'n.k 2'hto n n k.n sps r bhw dh.k &lt; m.n &gt; pr m.s.k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lower Water is yours, Jnet supplies your altars with fowl. The residents of the harbor of Egypt are taxed for Your Majesty, their offerings are for your august ka, in order to appease your heart with what came out from you,</td>
<td>O you who illuminates the Two Lands, powerful of arm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt**

(7) Urk VIII, no. 129, Ptolemy VI (X C B X)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h n i h r k</td>
<td><em>Imn R’ n w’ ir ng bnmk3.s</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have come to you, O Amon-Re, the sole god who made the sky, who created the earth,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h n i k A D a h s T3 m nve f</td>
<td>T3 n y P h n3 s w’ p h n b n k n k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I bring to you Bahria and the God’s Land with its gifts, Farafra with its produce, wine of Lower Egypt for your ka. The Phoenicians are in submission, their lord is yours; their products belong to you, you are the one who has control; to you belongs what is in them.

(8) Urk VIII, no. 148, Ptolemy VI (H C X)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r w g D h h m r k</td>
<td>h h’ h r k</td>
<td>T3 n y P h n3 s w’ p h n b n k n k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the vineyards you like prosper, O Horakhty, and they belong to you. All together.

(9) Edju IV, 252, Ptolemy IX (J’ B C X D)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>z D h h h m k k k k</td>
<td>m s i b k</td>
<td>3 h l f w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the vineyards prosper for your ka. I offer to Your Majesty, O He-of-the-dappled-plumage,
X

Knmt DnSn Nb3jn hr rw3 n.k lk.sn ret

Khargeh, Bahria, Pelusium and Nsm are
presenting their products daily, Hw-t-hr and
Imet gathered together, serving your desire
at the beginning of the seasons.

C

May you drink it; may
your anger pass away; may
your heart rejoice at what
is in them.

(10) Edfh VI, 380, Ptolemy IX (B C D)

B

C

B

I offer to you
drunkenness,
Nwbt Nbt th
Mistress of
drunkenness,
shpt k3.t m irt Hr w3dt
I appease your ka with
the Green Horus Eye.

D

I come to you; my arms are carrying
wine. I pour for you the best of it
(wine), at its prime
moment,
swr.tn m h" ibw.tn
may you drink
with what your
hearts rejoice in.

(11) de Wit, Les inscriptions du temple d‘Opet à Karnak, 21, Ptolemy XII (B D)

B‘

D

I come to you; my arms are carrying
wine. I pour for you the best of it
(wine), at its prime
moment,
yor.gn m b" ibw.gn
may you drink
with what your
hearts rejoice in.
WINES AND WINE DIVINITY IN THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT

(12) de Wit, Opet, 177, Augustus (H X)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hrwd s nb mr.k</td>
<td>hnw m s nb mr.k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All the vineyards you like</td>
<td>on the day when you appear in your city.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(13) Dend IV, 19, Roman (X D)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>j3 wJw; i wJw; Hn wJw</td>
<td>swT m sn j3 br n'r nh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The vineyards thrive; their grapes are excellent; their juice is clear in its substance.</td>
<td>May you drink it; may you rejoice (lit. shine) daily.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(14) Dend VIII, 50, Roman (A X D E)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mt n[t irp ...]</td>
<td>33 Km.w D w3br</td>
<td>swT m 3w-wb ... irp</td>
<td>iw.w w3b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take to your self wine ...</td>
<td>the land, Khargeh and Bahria are carrying your wine.</td>
<td>Drink with contentment of heart, ...with wine.</td>
<td>It is pure.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

130
The result of the above analysis of the component elements of irregular texts can be summarized in the following chronological table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Structural Elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemy III</td>
<td>Urk VIII, 2</td>
<td>A D B'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemy III</td>
<td>Urk VIII, 15</td>
<td>X D B'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemy VI</td>
<td>Urk VIII, 280</td>
<td>J X D I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemy VIII</td>
<td>Urk VIII, 154</td>
<td>F'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX Edf IV</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>J B C X D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X Edf VI</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>B C B D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII Opet</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>B' D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustus Opet</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>H X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Dend</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>X D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Dend VIII</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>A X D E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some observations may be offered here with regard to irregular texts. First, as the table shows, at least eight (A, B, C, D, E, H, I, J, or their variants) out of the twelve (A to L) standard structural elements can be identified. The elements that appear most frequently are B, C, and D. Furthermore, at least one of the twelve standard elements can be found in each of the irregular texts. Chronologically, these texts appear as early as the reign of Ptolemy III, and down to the Roman Period. The fact that these irregular texts appear in various major temples and over a long span of time concurrently with the standard types of liturgy suggests that, on the one hand, those scribe-priests who executed the texts on the walls were conscientious about their work: the major textual traditions, represented by the five types, were meant to be followed.
On the other hand, in view of the numerous variations of expression in the liturgies, there is little doubt that the scribes manipulated the texts, at least in most cases. They did not copy exactly what they had at hand (probably a manual of liturgical texts), but tried to create their own versions of texts. In the same temple, therefore, the scribe-priests often would not copy verbatim when providing for a recurring ritual. Of all the texts translated in the present study, there is only one instance where two texts are identical (type IV, nos. 12, 14). Thus the desire of scribes for innovation, or for a demonstration of their erudition, was expressed not only by producing variants of the usual liturgical elements, but also by bolder creations of new irregular texts. In this case, the individual liberty of the scribes in creating their own liturgical texts was greater than that of the scribes who merely copied the Coffin Texts or the Book of the Dead.

The different versions of texts, standard or irregular, attest another important fact: the scribe-priests in the Graeco-Roman temples, even into the late period, were highly competent in the traditional Egyptian religious literature, otherwise they could not have produced texts with so many subtle variations. Through these variants, we can feel the lively activity of the scribe-priests who, despite the changing outside world, kept religious traditions much alive.

Our study of wine offering liturgies is significant for the study of Egyptian religion. It is important to be able to discern the textual tradition that the scribes followed if we want to understand ritual texts preserved in the temples. After establishing the existence of five textual types of wine offering liturgy, it is logical to assume that the scribes who were responsible for other parts of the temple decorations would also have special reference-texts with which to work. It is not difficult to find supporting evidence for this, although an extensive study is not possible here. In the ritual of the mirror-offering, for example, a significant number of the offering liturgies are seen to contain stereotyped phrases.4 Or, in the ritual of the killing of the oryx, the reappearing sentences such as "all the oryxes of the desert are killed before you" and "the enemy of the Eye is slaughtered before you" clearly suggest the existence of reference manuals.5 When ritual texts are subjected to detailed analyses, we may begin to understand the essential ingredients of liturgies and therefore the core meanings of the offerings. We can then see how these ingredients were organized into a set of coherent texts that could convey the particular religious significance of the offerings.

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4 Sentences such as these are found at Edfu (once) and Dendera (three times). See C. Husson, L'Offrande du Miroir dans les Temples Égyptiens de l'Époque Graeco-Romaine (1977), doc. 7, 29, 34, 38; Mu-chou Poo, "The liturgies of the offering of mirrors: a structural analysis," in the Proceedings of the 6th Congresso Internazionale di Egitologia (1993), pp. 347–350.
5 See Ph. Derchain, L'Offerire de l'Oryx, texts 3, 8, 13, 16, 19; 2, 8, 12, 13 respectively.
Chapter V
The Replies of the Deities
in Wine Offering Scenes

The scenes of wine offering, or any other kind of offering, demonstrate the principle of "do ut des" both graphically and verbally. When the king is shown presenting his offering to the deity, his act is accompanied by the title of the act: "Offering wine to his father, may he make a 'given life.'" When the deity receives the offering, the scene is accompanied by speeches that state the blessings and rewards given in return to the king: "I have given to you all life, stability, and luck," or "I have given to you valor." Because the inscriptions are human creations and are put on the wall in accordance with the will or wish of the sovereign, or of the priests, it is apparent that the rewards and blessings were anticipated by the officiant from the deity. Theoretically, therefore, the replies should reveal a central concern of the king in performing the ritual.

In the Pharaonic Period, the replies of the deities usually contained stereotyped blessings applicable not only to wine offering, but also to other kinds of offering. It is difficult, as a result, to subtract from these replies any theme particularly related to the wine offering.

The situation changed in the Graeco-Roman Period, as the temple inscriptions became more elaborate not only in the offering liturgies (see Chapter II), in the epithets of the deities and the kings, but also in the replies of the deities. These replies are often specific about material and spiritual benefits the deity would confer upon the king. Most importantly, many of the replies are directly related to the offering itself. By studying them, light can be shed on the specific aspirations behind each offering.

The replies of the deities in wine offering scenes of the Graeco-Roman Period can be divided into three major types: (a) those conferring the king’s rulership; (b) those bestowing material benefits; and (c) those assuring spiritual enjoyment.

(1) The Confirmation of Kingship

The king’s rulership is a major theme. Three different aspects can be identified, (a) the promise to hand over the right of the throne to the officiating king; (b) the promise to...
give the king certain qualities that were symbols of royalty: (c) the promise to allow the
king to rule over all lands and peoples.

1.1.1 Bequest of the Throne
In conferring kingship to the king, the deities could confirm the gift directly:

I give you the kingship of Horus, together with his wish. (Urb VIII, no.58)
O Leader of the land, foremost of the living. (Urb VIII, no.58)
I give you . . . great kingship in pleasant rulership. (Urb VII, no.60)
I give you the White Crown so that you may be king of Upper Egypt, and the
Red Crown, so that you may be king of Lower Egypt. (Edfu VI, 316)
I give you the throne of Geb and the inheritance of Wn-hr(l). (Opet, 87)
I give you great kingship, established forever. (Esna, no.485)

Sometimes implicit expressions suggesting the same idea were preferred:

I give you appearances before the Nine Bows who have gathered under your
sandals. (Edfu I, 294)
I give you your heart, being satisfied upon its seat, repelling the plot (ib) of your
enemies. (Dend VII, 152)

When the royal inheritance was mentioned, it was referred to as "The kingship
of Horus," and "The throne of Geb and the inheritance of Wn-hr(l)." The relationship
between the king and the god Horus was one of the most important issues of Egyptian
theology and political ideology. The king, as often stated, was the embodiment of
Horus.5 It has also been pointed out that the king, when alive, acted as an earthly
representative of Horus.6 He was the bearer of the divine office, that of the king,
represented by the word nswt.7 These two views do not necessarily contradict each
other. The former emphasizes more the theological aspect of kingship, the latter the

5 Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods (1946), pp. 398.
6 Goedicke, Der Weg des Königs (1960), pp. 87ff; Posener, De la divinité du pharaon (1960),
pp. 197ff.
7 Goedicke, op. cit., p. 17.
THE REPUTES OF THE DEITIES IN WINE OFFERING SCENES

political. The kingship of Horus, " demi nfr," therefore, was an expression that propagated the legitimacy of the king's rule. The throne of Geb, therefore, was an expression that propagated the legitimacy of the king's rule. The throne of Geb is a designation for the rulership of the successive kings on earth. The throne of Geb thus is a designation for the rulership of the successive kings on earth. The use of Wn-hr as a divine name, probably "He-who-is-clear-of-vision," or "An-open-minded-one," is unprecedented. The writing employs a seated-god determinative, yet there is no such deity in the Egyptian pantheon. The throne of Geb, therefore, was an expression that propagated the legitimacy of the king's rule. The throne of Geb is a designation for the rulership of the successive kings on earth. The use of Wn-hr as a divine name, probably "He-who-is-clear-of-vision," or "An-open-minded-one," is unprecedented. The writing employs a seated-god determinative, yet there is no such deity in the Egyptian pantheon. The throne of Geb, therefore, was an expression that propagated the legitimacy of the king's rule. The throne of Geb is a designation for the rulership of the successive kings on earth. The use of Wn-hr as a divine name, probably "He-who-is-clear-of-vision," or "An-open-minded-one," is unprecedented. The writing employs a seated-god determinative, yet there is no such deity in the Egyptian pantheon. The throne of Geb, therefore, was an expression that propagated the legitimacy of the king's rule. The throne of Geb is a designation for the rulership of the successive kings on earth. The use of Wn-hr as a divine name, probably "He-who-is-clear-of-vision," or "An-open-minded-one," is unprecedented. The writing employs a seated-god determinative, yet there is no such deity in the Egyptian pantheon. The throne of Geb, therefore, was an expression that propagated the legitimacy of the king's rule. The throne of Geb is a designation for the rulership of the successive kings on earth. The use of Wn-hr as a divine name, probably "He-who-is-clear-of-vision," or "An-open-minded-one," is unprecedented. The writing employs a seated-god determinative, yet there is no such deity in the Egyptian pantheon.
in general: nine being a number for "reality," i.e., plural multiplied by plural (three times three in hieroglyphic writing system). The earliest representation of the idea that the king tramples the Nine Bows under his sandals is in a statue of Djoser, found near his Step Pyramid at Saqqara. References to the king’s subduing the Nine Bows are found in the Pyramid Texts and in the royal inscriptions from the Middle Kingdom onward. Those listed as the "Nine-people" changed along with the understanding the Egyptians had about the outside world. Thus the gathering of the Nine Bows refers to royal sway over the entire human world.

"Repelling the enemies" alludes to the concept that the world began with the suppression of the evil force — chaos, as a result of which order came about. But suppression of the evil force and the restoration of order is not an action completed, but a mission requiring execution by each king upon ascension to the throne. The death of the previous king, or Osiris, would have been an interruption of the order of the cosmos, causing the evil Seth to prevail. Repelling the enemies, therefore, is another way of stating the success of the new king in reestablishing order, i.e. his successful enthronement.

The king was termed "the Leader of the Land (hry-tp t3)" and "Foremost of the living (hnty-‘nhw)." The term hry-tp t3.w — Leader of the lands, is first found in the inscription of King Neferhotep. Hry-tp by itself could also be used as a verb, "to administer." In the New Kingdom, hry-tp t3.wy was both a common epithet for deities, including Amon-Re, Osiris, Horus, Montu, and Khons, and an epithet for the king. *Hry-tp 13 qf.f,* moreover, is a title for the viziers of this period.

19 For the origins and the geographical identities of the Nine Bows, see Uphill, "The Nine Bows" AJHB 19 (1907), p. 90ff.
20 *ASAE* 27 (1927), p. 183, figs. 4, 6.
21 *Pyr* § 22a, 336, 436, 586, 785, 787, 800.
22 Uphill, op. cit.
26 *Urk* VIII, no. 60, Table l., (1)
27 M. Papir, Der Große Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos (MPAO 32/2) (1929), p. 3; Bismarck, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
Although the form "hry-tp t3 (singular)" is only found in the Ptolemaic Period in the above text, it appears to be only a variant of the three hry-tp titles just mentioned.

The phrase "hnty- 'nhw," as a royal epithet, was often used beginning in the New Kingdom.32 Sometimes it was a descriptive expression rather than an epithet.33 It is significant that the king should be designated as the "Foremost of the living." This designation, albeit an unobtrusive one, delineates the sphere of authority of the king clearly — he was to rule only those who live on earth. In using the two titles "Leader of the Land" and "Foremost of the living," the king's earthly, or human, aspect, as opposed to his divine character, was emphasized.34 The expression "sovereign of the land of the living (hry-tp t3 n 'nhw)" may be seen as a shortened phrase combining the two epithets.

(1.II) Assignment of Royal Attributes

When the deities bestowed symbols of rulership on the king, the appropriate textual expressions can be analyzed into two groups. One consists of such sentences as "I give to you all life and luck before me" (Philae II, 142), in which life ('nh) and luck (w3s) are the two central concepts.

In the Pharaonic Period the granting of life, luck, and stability ('nh, w3s, dd) is one of the most common forms of the reply of the deities offering scenes.36 The tradition continued in the Ptolemaic temple inscriptions, although the signs 'nh dd w3s often were shown being offered by the king to the deity — a new context.37

The other group of expressions emphasizes various kinds of power with which the king is endowed:

I give you the power (nht) of Horus in your mind and the strength (phty) of Montu in your arms. (Urk VIII, no. 129)

32 Wb I 201, 10; Decr IV, 40; Edfu VIII, 75.
33 For example, Edfu II, 76, speech of Mut: "I give to you appearance shining over the Two Lands like Re presiding over (hnty) the living". Edfu I, 200, Isis: "... may your power be great among (hnty) the living; you shall have no equal in the Two Lands". See also Winter, op. cit., p. 72.
34 Otto, Gott und Mensch, pp. 63ff., especially p. 72.
36 See Chapter II, section 3.II.b, i, ii.
37 This is due to a re-interpretation of the Osirian mythology, in which the 'nh and w3s signs are re-interpreted as symbols for Shu and Tefhut, the parents of Osiris, who is represented by the dd pillar. See Winter, Untersuchungen zu den Aegyptischen Tempelreliefs der Griechisch-Roemischen Zeit (1968), pp. 69ff. Shu and Tefhut are originally the grand-parents of Osiris in the Heliopolitan theological system. The change from grand-parents to parents is not strange in Egyptian mythological thinking, see Winter, op. cit., p. 77.
I give you all valor (kn). (Philae I, 137)

I cause that Your Majesty be powerful (shm). (Edfu V, 51)

I give you all strength (wsr). (Philae II, 109)

On the surface, it appears that the words nht, phty, knt, shm, and wsr all share the essential idea of power or might. More careful scrutiny shows that they represent different manifestations of power.38 While kn and phty both express power or physical feats of a personal nature, kn emphasizes the intellectual aspect. Thus the adjective kn, from which kn is derived, possesses the meaning of capable, or experienced, as reflected in the title "Able steward of the king (imy-r' pr kn n nsw),"39 or in such expressions as "experienced in council (kn shr),"40 "capable in his office (kn m jdb3w.j),"41 "experienced with his fingers (kn m db3w.j),"42 or "capable in education (kn m shpr)."43 In the expression "kn n gb.f," kn could mean "practical experience."44 Phty, on the other hand, emphasizes the physical aspect.45 The most graphic demonstration of this physical aspect of power is the fact that it is also employed as the word for testicles or sexual power.46 The word nht, while conveying the basic meaning of being powerful, power, might, is often connected with military issues, as in the expressions "victorious campaign — wdjt nt nht,"47 "feast of victory — hsb nht,"48 "The victorious army — ms' nht,"49 or simply "victory — sp n nht."50

38 A study of the subtle distinction between the expressions of "power" is wanting. The following discussion is focused on those special meanings that each expression bears. For it is only by so doing that the subtle differences between one "power" and the other can be discerned.
39 Wb V 42, 8.
40 Wb V 43, 8.
41 Wb V 43, 13.
42 Wb V 43, 10.
45 Ward, JNES 37, p. 24, n. 9; te Velde, Seth, p. 38. "phty "great of strength" is an epithet often given to Seth (LD III, 146, 2; Papyrus Anastasi II 2, 6; Papyrus Harris, 60, 5); Montu (GIR VII, no. 3, 9); Thoth (Pahor Photo 1444). Yet the very fact that phty could also mean the creative power of a deity (Wb I 539, 11); P. Anastasi VII, 9; P. Berlin 3486, 33.6) clearly indicates the difficulty of translating this Egyptian word into modern languages. Cf. the discussion of the translation of Maat in Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, pp. 54-55, or of 3h, ibid., pp. 63-64.
46 Wb II 316, 18.
47 Wb II 316, 20.
48 Wb II 317, 8.
49 Wb II 318, 19.
Snh is usually used as an attribute of deities and kings. In expressions such as “violent — šmn ḫr,” “lordly, proud — šmn ḫr,” “one who has power over his action — šmn ḫr,” or the many expressions with šmn m — “have power (or control) over (someone),” šmn obviously represents more of an abstract or spiritual power, which can not be found in lmr, phty, or nht. Finally, the word wsr stresses personal strength as well as material wealth. None of the above terms for “power” or “might” can be called an exclusively royal characteristic; together, however, they illustrate the king’s omnipotence.

(1.13) Endowment of Land and People

After the king was given the right to the throne, and the qualities necessary for rule, namely life, luck, and power, his kingship would not be complete without the existence of subjects. Thus he was also given land and people to rule. The deities would extend their sanction in a general fashion:

I give you Egypt so that you may rule the foreign countries and protect the Two Lands. Those that Aten shines upon are given to you, so that your power be great over the living as when Geb prevailed over the people. (Edfu I, 235)

I give you Upper and Lower Egypt in happiness. (Philae I, 182)

I give you all the lands under your throne. (Philae II, 169)

I give you the oasis dwellers as your serfs, carrying wine. (Edfu IV, 125)

The king’s sphere of power thus encompassed not only the entirety of Egypt but all foreign lands. Egyptians as well as foreigners carried gifts and tributes to the king. This idea certainly expresses the traditional ideal that the king should rule the entire world. Yet oftentimes in particular wine offerings the deities were more...
specific about the particular places they intended to bestow.

I give you Bahria as possession for Your Majesty, and (the people of) Khargeh
gathered together as your serfs. (Edfu VII, 212)

I give you the ... of Khargeh, carrying their tributes,... Pelusium and Ham
carrying their produce. (Edfu VIII, no. 151)

I give you (the people of) "Phoenicia (T3.wy Fnhw)" with their gifts and (the
people of) Lebanon (Hnt-s) with their wonderful things. (Edfu I, 448)

I give you the God’s Land (T3-ntr) with what is produced in it. (Opet, 177)

Bahria, Khargeh, Ham, and Pelusium are famous for wine-production, as discussed in
Chapter I. The Syrio-Palestinian areas of "Phoenicia," Lebanon," and "the God’s
Land" (i.e. northern Syria),58 are also famous for the same thing; as early as the Old
Kingdom, wine was imported from Syria.59 What is noteworthy is that prior to the
Graeco-Roman Period, none of these places is mentioned in wine offering liturgies, or
in the deities’ replies. The reason why they suddenly gained prominence in Graeco-
Roman texts is an interesting one to be discussed later.60

In addition to the above-mentioned types of replies, in which wine-producing
areas are specified as the gifts of the deities, the deities also would endow vineyards and
fields to the king:

I give you all the vineyards in all the places you like. (Esna, no. 524)

I give you vineyards and many fields, bearing grapes for your storage as tribute.
(Edfu III, 177)

I give you your fields, provided with provisions, so that you may eat what you
like. (Edfu VIII, 55)

The thing offered was wine, thus to state that the king possessed all the vineyards was
another way of granting kingship over the earth.

Dividing the replies concerning the confirmation of kingship into three groups

58 For T3.wy-Fnhw, see Gauthier, Dict. Geogr. II, p. 181; for T3-ntr "the God’s Land", cf. Helck,
Richteilungen, p. 262; for Hnt-s "Lebanon", see Gauthier, op. cit., IV, p. 81.
59 Helck, Richteilungen, p. 35.
60 Cf. discussion in Chapter VI section 2.
THE RULES OF THE DEITIES IN WINE OFFERING SCENES

should not imply that each reply made by a deity could be only of one type. While it is so in most of the cases, some exceptions do exist. For instance, one of the replies reads: “I give you vineyards in all the places which you love, so that you may repeat drunkenness daily.” (Esna, no.525) Here the donation of gardens and the promise of drunkenness, although belonging to two different types of reply in our categorization, are nevertheless mentioned together. In another example, the deity says: “I give you valor against the south and victory against the north: all the lands and all the foreign countries are subdued under your sandals, like that of Re’s.” (Philae I, 138) This is a combination of the bestowing of royal attributes and the donation of lands. A third example actually includes all three categories.

I give you all the life and luck, all the health and all the happiness; all the foreign countries under your sandals, while you appear upon the throne of Horus forever. (Philae II, 408)

(2) The Donation of Material Benefits

The last section discussed the donation of land and tributes from all countries. Although the tributes can be seen as material benefits, in fact it was the king’s rulership that was emphasized. In the context of granting material gifts, the expressions employed in the replies are:

I give you all the food and all the gifts. (Philae II, 142)
I give you all the provisions. (Philae II, 142)
I give you all the sweets upon the earth, all the flowers which come from the field. (Edfu VI, 252)
I give you provisions upon the table, may you receive all kinds of good things. (Edfu VII, 88)
I give you the beloved (things). (Philae II, 150)

Food, provisions, sweets, flowers, all kinds of good things, or simply the “beloved,” are the representations of the material things promised by the deities. An example more specifically related to the offering of wine reads:

I give to you all the grapes upon their branches and overthrow the enemies for Your Majesty. (Edfu III, 253)
The gift of grapes apparently points to the material source of wine. The second half of the quotation, "to overthrow the enemies" for the king, seems to be unrelated to the first half, and belongs to the type discussed above (1.1). However, it is perhaps worth seeing this whole reply as reminiscent of the character of the wine-press god Shesmu, who, as a giver of grape juice, is also represented as a god who kills the king’s enemies — themselves represented as the grapes in the wine-press.61

On the whole, the giving of material benefit was the theme least taken up in the deities’ replies; only a small number of examples are known.

(3) The Assurance of Spiritual Enjoyment

When the king offers wine to the deity, hopefully the deity will drink the wine and be pleased:

May you drink (the wine); may your heart rejoice; may anger be removed from your face. (Dend. II, 88)

May you be powerful (shm) with it (i.e. the wine); may your heart be happy; may Your Majesty be rejoiced with what you like. (Edfu VII, 141)

The replies of the deities contain similar goodwill. It has been mentioned that the word “powerful — shm” was an important attribute to be bestowed upon the king. And as an assurance of spiritual enjoyment, the deity also granted joy (h") to the king:

I give you daily rejoicing without end. (Philae II, 43)

I give you your heart to rejoice daily, exulting on your throne. (Edfu III, 195)

However, this is but only one among various expressions used in this regard. On a number of occasions, the king is granted “happiness — 3wt-ib,” as in the following example:

I give you happiness daily without distress for Your Majesty. (Dend. I, 100)

In some other cases, the king is to have delight (pli3-ib)62 and to “fulfill the desire —

61 Cf. Chapter VI, section 1.
THE REPIES OF THE DEITIES IN WINE OFFERING SCENES

sms-ib, i.e., to have an enjoyable life:

I give you joy daily and delight (ph3-ib) without end. (Edju IV, 113; VII, 212; Dend. IV, 3)

I give you joy daily, following the desire without end everyday. (Edju VIII, no.58; 148)

Most important of all, however, is a promise of unceasing joy from drunkenness:

I give you drunkenness upon drunkenness (th whm th) without end. (Philae I, 226)

I give you drunkenness upon drunkenness and make your heart happy with the Eye of Horus (i.e. wine). (Dend. II, 219)

It has been pointed out that drunkenness was considered by the Egyptians as an enjoyment in life. Since drunkenness would not have been seen as a material gain, it may have been seen, then, as spiritual. The frequent mentions of it in the replies of the deities and the fact that in the wine offering liturgies drinking and drunkenness are among the most common things that the king wished the deities to enjoy indicate first that attaining spiritual enjoyment was of great importance to both the deities and the king. Second, drinking and drunkenness may have played a significant religious role. We shall return to this last point in the next chapter.

4) Greeting and Acceptance of the Offering

The replies and gifts of the deities presuppose that the deities had already accepted the king’s offering. Their acceptance is usually inscribed behind the deities in a vertical column that separates one scene from the other, the so-called “Randzeilen.”

63 For sms-ib meaning either “following conscience” or “serve desire,” see Lorton, JARCE 7, pp. 41ff.; 8, pp. 53ff. Lorton’s thesis, however, is questioned by Assmann in Frage an die Aegyptische Literatur (1978), pp. 37ff.; 41. This interpretation is in consonance with the context of the speech itself. In the present context, sms-ib would be understood as “to follow the desire” instead of “to follow the conscience,” in order to be coherent with the expressions such as “I give you joy daily.” Cf. also Otto, Die Biographischen Inschriften der Ägyptischen Spätzeit (1954), pp. 70 ff.

64 Cf. Chapter I, section 5.

65 Winter, Untersuchungen, pp. 45ff.
WINE AND WINE OFFERINGS IN THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT

(5) Summary

The above discussion has shown that the replies of the deities in wine offering fall into three main categories (not including the greetings and the acceptance): the confirmation of rulership, the donation of material benefits, and the assurance of spiritual enjoyment. Thus we gain an overview of the major concerns of the king in making the offering. Among these replies, some are general statements, and some are specific in their relation to wine, the offered item. The confirmation expressions may equally apply to other kinds of offering. Thus “I give you great kingship as a possessor of joy” appears in a scene where Maat is offered. The same idea, although the exact wording might be different, is also found in the offerings of the sitarum: “I give you your kingship as the king of the Two Lands”; in the offering of food: “I give you great kingship upon the throne of Re”; in the offering of Maat: “I give you great office of kingship over...”

66 Ibid., pp. 53-54.
67 Particularly since the reign of Ptolemy VIII, Winter, loc. cit.
68 Ssp.n.i “I have accepted” is found in most of the texts, while a few of them have ssp.i, which can be rendered as a perfective sdm.f with a future reference: “I shall accept,” or a present reference: “I accept,” or a past reference: “I accepted.” (Gardiner, Grammar, 450) In view of the fact that the majority of the texts are in the past tense ssp.n.i, it is more likely that ssp.i should also be seen as a past tense. This is perhaps an example that supports the idea that in the Ptolemaic temple inscriptions the distinction between sdm.f and sdm.n.f has largely ceased to have any real significance (Fairman, B1FAO 43, p. 57). That ssp.n.i is rendered as past tense is due to the fact that in most of the texts, ssp.n.i is followed by swr.i or s'm.i. Since certain difference in tense must have existed between them or the different forms would not be used so frequently, ssp.n.i would be a relative past tense, while ssp.i or s'm.i would be a relative present sdm.f. When rendered this way, the deity’s speech would imply that the king’s offer has already been accepted.
69 Urk VIII, nos. 3-4.
70 Philae I, 232, 8.
71 Edfu I, 258, 3; Philae I, 143, 145.
the living," to mention but a few examples. Similarly, such royal attributes as life, luck, power, and valor are employed in the replies in various offerings. For example, the giving of life and luck is found in the offerings of water,73 Maat,74 food,75 and incense.76 And the bestowing of valor (knt) and victory (nht) is found in the offerings of ointment77 and incense.78

The granting of land and people to rule, moreover, is also a common theme in the replies of the deities and appeared in such offerings as wnsb: "I have given to you all the lands in peace"79; myrrh: "I give you the God’s Land with all that comes from it"80; ointment: "I have given to you all the lands"81; and incense.82 It is only when the particular geographical areas were mentioned that the replies became exclusively related to the offering of wine. The giving of, e.g., Khargeh, Bahria, Ham, Pelusium, or the many vineyards is found only in the replies to the offering of wine.

This division between the general and the specific is also discernible in the endowment of material benefits and the assurance of spiritual enjoyment. Among material gifts, the bequest of provision is found in the offering of food and gifts,86 while the spiritual enjoyment such as happiness (3wt-ib), rejoicing (ph3-ib), delight (phi-ib), are frequently found in the offering such as necklace,87 milk,88 sistrum,89 and incense.90 Only the gift of grapes and the enjoyment of drunkenness are, of course,
Emerging from the above observation is the fact that there are two levels of significance in the deities' replies. In the general statements, the deities conferred on the king the expected blessings and gifts. The statements that are specifically related to wine, on the other hand, revealed the aim of such offerings: the king was to be given the means to produce more wine, i.e., good vineyards and the wine-producing regions; and he should share enjoyment of wine with the deity. The vineyards and wine-producing regions were mentioned probably for political purposes, while drunkenness possessed certain religio-mythological significance. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

91 Exceptionally, the gift of drunkenness can also be found with other offerings, cf. Philae II 45, 10, offering of mirror to Hathor.
Chapter VI

The Significance of Wine and Wine Offering in Egyptian Religion

The previous chapters investigated the social and historical background of wine and wine drinking in Ancient Egypt. Observations about the ritual context and textual analyses of liturgies were made. These can act as a foundation for understanding the significance of wine and wine offering in Egyptian religion. In this chapter we investigate the general significance of wine in Egyptian religion, and then take up the specific meaning of the ritual of wine offering.

(1) Mythological and Theological Associations of Wine

When Plutarch quoted Eudoxus about the significance of wine in Egypt, he reported that the Egyptians thought wine was:

The blood of those who had once battled against the gods, and from whom, when they had fallen and had become commingled with the earth, they believed vines to have sprung. This is the reason why drunkenness drives men out of their senses and crazes them, inasmuch as they are then filled with the blood of their forebears.

The idea that vines grew out of the bodies of the enemies of the gods and therefore grape wine represented their blood appears to be based in Greek tradition. It may have been derived from the legends concerning the giants who fought Dionysus. The connection between blood and the (red-) grape wine, furthermore, is not only based on the color red, but, as the story suggests, because drinking an enemy’s blood restills the savagery of human conflicts. However, there is a possible connection between Plutarch’s report and the Egyptian myth of the “Destruction of Mankind.” In this legend, the blood-thirsty Hathor, who was sent by Re to destroy mankind, was given red-colored beer to drink as a substitute for the blood of human rebels. The rebellious humans might have alluded to, as Plutarch mentioned, “those who had once battled against the gods.” It should be pointed out that, unlike the Dionysiac orgies, which

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3. Ibid., p. 277.
also could have been the Greek background of Plutarch’s report.4 Hathor did not go mad after drinking the intoxicant but was appeased. Although beer is used in the Hathor legend, the intoxicating effect, which could also be achieved by wine, is the main theme. The wine-blood imagery, moreover, has a long tradition in Egyptian religion, as seen below. On the whole, the accounts of Greek authors about the Egyptian practice of wine-drinking were accurate only in a very limited way and referred to special occasions.5

(1.1) A Divine Drink

In the Pyramid Texts, wine is a part of the funerary offerings,6 and it is the principal drink of the king after he ascends to heaven:

If you wish to live, O Horus in charge of his staff of justice, you shall not close the doors of the sky, you shall not shut off its door-leaves before you have taken the ka of the king to the sky, among the nobles of the god, to those whom the god loves, who lean on their staffs, who guard Upper Egypt, who are clad in red linen, who live on figs, who drink wine, who are anointed with unguent. (Pyr § 815a-816d)

Another Passage further indicates that wine was the drink of the gods:

The king is one of those four gods, the children of Geb,7 who traverse Upper Egypt, who traverse Lower Egypt, who stand with their staff, who are anointed with the best unguent, who are clad in red linen, who live on figs and drink wine. (Pyr § 1510a-1511b)

A similar passage states:

He (the king) shall make his meal8 from figs and wine which are in the garden of the god. (Pyr § 1112c-d)

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4 Kerenyi, Dionysos (1976), pp. 273-74; Otto, Dionysos, Myth and Cult (1963), tr. by R. B. Palmer, pp. 147-48; M. F. Nielsen, Greek Folk Religion (1962), p. 59. Dionysus, however, was not the only god in Greece who was connected with wine, cf. Kerenyi, op. cit., pp. 73ff., 152ff.
6 Chapter II, section 1.
7 Msw ntr, according to Sethe, Übersetzung und Kommentar, p. 459. Faulkner, PY, p. 231, translates “whom Geb fashioned.”
The king, furthermore, expects to ascend to heaven so that

The drink-supply of the king is from the field of offerings; his food offering is among you, you gods, the water (i.e. drink) of the king is wine, like that of Re.

(Pyr § 130b-c)

As the provision of the gods, wine is endowed with a divine essence.

1.3 Osiris, the Flood, and Wine

In addition to being a divine drink, the Pyramid Texts associate wine with specific deities: Osiris and Shesmu. It is said that "Osiris has come as Orion, Lord of wine during the Wag-festival" (Pyr § 820a), and that Osiris is "The Lord of wine through" the inundation, his seasons have recognized him, his times have remembered him. (Pyr § 554a-b) Why is Osiris called "Lord of wine," and what are the relationships between this appellation and the terms Orion, inundation, and Wag-festival?

The Wag-festival was celebrated on the 17th, 18th or 19th of Thoth, the first month of inundation.12 It was a funerary feast, but the exact significance of it has not been fully understood.11 It could have been connected with the celebration of the coming of the flood, and the resurrection of life which the flood brought.12 During the celebration, the consumption of wine was naturally part of the event, and it is suggested that the celebration can be described as "a kind of orgy."13 Osiris, who controlled the fate of the dead,14 was the central figure in the festival celebrating resurrection. The epithet "Lord of wine" that Osiris bears, therefore, could be interpreted as the "possessor of wine" in the feast.

The association of Osiris with Orion and Sothis was another factor that connected him with wine. In a number of spells in the Pyramid Texts, Osiris is identified with Orion,15 while Sothis is variously said to be the mother,16 sister,17 or the daughter18 of Osiris. Why is Osiris called "Lord of wine," and what are the relationships between this appellation and the terms Orion, inundation, and Wag-festival?
of Osiris, or even identified with him. These two heavenly bodies, especially Sothis, whose heliacal rising is a sign of the impending yearly inundation, were symbols for the prosperity of agricultural life. The flood is said to have brought abundant food and grain (Pyr § 1085f.), and provided bread and beer for the hungry and the thirsty. (Pyr § 1063). The close relationship between Orson, Sothis, and Osiris indicates that Osiris was also responsible for the inundation and consequently the prosperity of the vegetation which was dependent upon the high water. Thus a passage in the Pyramid Texts reads:

It is Sothis, your daughter whom you love, who has made your fresh plants in this her name of Fresh One (\textit{rnpt}), who leads this king when he comes to you. This king has come to you. O Lord of heaven, this king has come to you, O Osiris. (Pyr § 965a-966a)

In view of this relationship between Osiris and the inundation and the flourishing of vegetation, the "seasons" and "times" in the passage "Lord of wine through the inundation, his seasons have recognized him, his times have remembered him" (Pyr § 1524a-b) should refer to the seasonal ripening of the grapes. This is also what the epithet of Oiris — "Lord of wine through the inundation" (Pyr § 1524a) means: Osiris was the possessor of wine through the help of the annual flood and the resultant lush growth. A Middle Kingdom text confirms this: "More is its wine than water, when the inundation rises." The grape vines, in fact, symbolize the resurrection of Osiris and the return of a new life-cycle. Thus the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom period often employed grape vines as decorative motive. The most famous among them is the
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"tenth of vines" at Sheikh Abd el Qurna. Grape vines also appear in funerary scenes, or before Osiris, obviously referring to the new life which Osiris was to possess. As late as the Graeco-Roman Period, tomb paintings in the Dachla Oasis still displayed bush vines, not only as decorative motifs, but also as a symbol of resurrection.

An interesting parallel associates Sothis/Osiris with wine and is reflected in the Greek view that Sothis (the Greeks called it Sirius) is the bringer of vine and wine. This may have been based upon the observation of the rising of Sirius and the subsequent ripening of the grape vine. It is difficult to ascertain if this was the case in Egypt. The parallel, however, indicates that the relationship of Osiris through Sothis with wine was not an accident.

The Greek author Diodorus reported that according to Egyptian legend Osiris was the inventor of viticulture and taught the Egyptians the production of wine. However, although Osiris was connected with wine by his function in the Wag-festival and his relationship with the inundation, there is no independent Egyptian source to substantiate Diodorus' story. He may have been influenced by the religious syncretism of the Hellenistic age, and identified Osiris with Dionysus.

(I.III) Wine and Shesmu

In the Pyramid Texts, the wine-press god Shesmu assumes two different roles. In his original role, he is responsible for the bringing of wine: "Shesmu comes to you (Osiris) bearing wine {mw irpw})." Due to the special nature of the wine-press, which presses out the juice of the grapes and thus exhibits a destructive power, Shesmu became associated with the image of a "slaughterer." (Pyr § 403) The same image appears

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\[\text{References}\]

2. BIFAO 79 (1979), pl. LXXXV.
6. Kees, op. cit., p. 582.
7. Faulkner, PT, p. 235, translates as "grape juice.

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in the Coffin Texts\textsuperscript{33} and in the Book of the Dead\textsuperscript{34}. A more explicit statement (a Coffin Text version of the above quoted Pyramid Text) further indicates the identity of Shesmu as a “slaughterer”: “It is Shesmu, red of timbers (i.e. the poles of the wine-press which were stained with red grape-juice) who slaughters them for me.” (CT VI, 179) Thus the red color of the juice of the grapes was likened to blood. The image of Shesmu as slaughterer is vividly portrayed in two illustrated papyri from the New Kingdom. There, human heads are shown placed in the wine-press, while blood is dripping out of the sack.\textsuperscript{35} (Fig. 15) The idea undoubtedly originated from the function of the wine-press, as human heads are likened to the grapes in the sack,\textsuperscript{36} while their blood was likened to grape-juice. This image of the crushing of grapes in the process of wine-making may not have been unique in the ancient imagination, as a passage in the Old Testament attests:

I have trodden the wine-press alone, ... I trod them (i.e. people who sinned against God) in my anger and I trampled them in my wrath; their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my garments, and I have stained all my raiment. (Isaiah 63: 3)

Furthermore, grape-juice is once referred to in Ugaritic literature as the “blood” of the grapes.\textsuperscript{37}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{Fig_15_Human_Heads_in_Wine_Press}
\caption{Fig. 15 Human Heads in Wine Press (S. Schott, ZÄS 74, Taf. VI)}
\end{figure}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[33] de Buck, Coffin Texts, I, 125; VI, 8, 32, 179, 340.
\item[34] Allen, The Book of the Dead, p. 30, spell 176-61.
\item[35] Schott, “Das blutrünstige Keltergerät” ZÄS 74 (1938), pp. 88-93, Taf.VI a, c; also Homung, Alteegyptische Höllenvorstellung (ASAW 59 Hf.3) (1968), p. 20; Zandee, Death as an Enemy, pp. 253-16.
\item[36] Schott, op. cit., explains the heads as the souls of the enemies.
\item[37] Pritchard, ANET (1955), p. 135.
\end{footnotes}
The assimilation of grape-juice, or wine, with blood is a recurring theme in Egyptian religion. The main basis for this assimilation was their common color. A Demotic magical papyrus states that a mixture of blood, wine, grape-juice, and other ingredients can be used as a potion. This mixture, furthermore, is identified with the blood of Osiris elsewhere in the spell.

An offering liturgy of the Ptolemaic Period states that the king "fills the Eye of Horus with its blood, who pours lnmt (i.e. wine) for the ka of the Lord of Heaven." Here the acts of pouring and offering wine symbolize the filling of the Eye of Horus with its blood. Probably this refers to the myth of the conflict of Horus and Seth, in which blood was shed when the Eye of Horus was injured. In the Book of the Dead, there is an expression which refers to this episode: "The hand of his healing blood from the Eye of Horus is thy name." Again, in another wine offering liturgy, the king pronounces: "I fill for you the wd3t-e ye with what came out from it." "What came out from" the eye should also refer to the blood of Horus. Moreover, the myth of filling or healing the Eye of Horus, also a metaphor for the restoring of cosmic order, for the eye represents divine life and energy.

Wine and the Appeasement of Hathor

In the myth of "The Destruction of Mankind," another alcoholic drink, beer, is associated with blood. The texts come from the tombs of Sethos I and Ramesses III in two parallel versions. It is stated that when the aging Re was angry at mankind, who...
had rebelled against him, he decided to send his eye – which is his daughter, the lioness
goddess Hathor, also known as Sekhmet – to kill them. She promptly began to carry
out her task. Subsequently, Re changed his mind and decided to save the remnants of
mankind. He therefore ordered to make large quantities of beer mixed with red dye so
that it resembled human blood. The beer was then poured into the field where Hathor
stayed at night. When she proceeded upon another session of slaughtering in the
morning, Hathor was pleased to see the "bloody" inundation of the field and
subsequently drank the beer, became drunk, and forgot about the killing.

The story continues. Re next ordered that intoxicating drinks be made for Hathor
on feasts of the year. Thus her story became a traditional explanation for the origin of
the festival of Hathor and for the use of intoxicating drinks in the celebration.47

The story is contained in a larger mythological tale, "The Book of the Heavenly
Cow,"48 the earliest version of which is found inscribed on the shrines of Tutankhamun
in excerpts.49 The fact that it was employed in excerpts indicates that the complete text
had been in existence and use for a considerable time. Allusion to the Hathor-Sekhmet
episode, for example, is found in "The Instruction for Merikare": "He (the god) view
his enemies, and punished his children, because they had contrived to rebel."50 The
appearance of Sekhmet with dance and music is also alluded to in the story of
Sinuhe.51 As early as the Old Kingdom, the appeasement of Hathor with dance and
music is represented in the mastabas of Qar, Idu,52 and Mereruka.53 The possibility
that these scenes might have reflected the existence of the Hathor-Sekhmet myth in the
Old Kingdom, therefore, should not be excluded, especially in view of the wine offering
scene preserved in the cult of Sekhmet at Giza.54

The use of wine to quell the wildness of the lioness goddess is found in another
cycle of stories about the Eye of Re, or Hathor-Tefnut, which is preserved in various

47 Bleeker, "Hathor and Thoth" (1973), p. 91; E. Hornung, "Untersuchungen zu Wesen und Kult der
gottin Sekhmet" (1976), p. 708.
48 First brought to notice by Naville, "TSBA" (1876), pp. 1-19; (1885), pp. 412-420; later published
by C. Pinault, "Le Livre de la vache de ceil" (1941), pp. 57-115. Translation by Roeder,
"Urkunden" (1925), pp. 141-143. Cf. Luft, "Beitrage zur Historisierung der Götterwelt und der
49 Piankoff, op. cit., pp. 142-143.
50 Volten, "Zwei altaegyptische Politische Schriften" (1945), p. 74. 1. 133; Helck, "Merikare", p. 84.
52 Simpson, "The Mastabas of Qar and Idu" (1976), fig. 38.
53 Brunner-Traut, "Das Besänftigungslied in Sinuhe (B 269-279)" (1955), pp. 5-11.
54 Cf. Chapter II, note 5.
versions in Graeco-Roman temples. In this myth, the god-head Re missed his daughter Hathor-Tefnut, whom he called his eye. He commanded that she be brought back from the Nubian desert to Egypt. Paralleling the story of "The Destruction of Mankind," Thoth and Shu carried out the mission. After Hathor was brought back to Egypt, her wild and blood-thirsty nature remained unchanged. Thus she needed to be regularly appeased by the performance of music, dance, and the offering of wine.56

(Fig. 16)

**Fig. 16 Nefertari Offering Wine to Hathor**

(Wall Paintings of the Tomb of Nefertari, p. 8)

(1.VI) Wine, Hathor, and the Inundation

At Dendera, a festival of "the Drunkenness of Hathor" was celebrated on the 20th of Thoth,7 one day after the Wag-festival which, as mentioned above, was also connected with wine. The calendar of festivals at Edfu further alludes to the relationship between Hathor and the inundation:

From 19 to 21 Tybi: Festival of the navigation of the goddess. ... Celebrate the same on 28 Tybi, until 4 Mechir. One celebrates for this goddess. It is her

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56 Junker, *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubia* (APA-WO (1911)).
58 *Ir.tw n ntrt tn*, I follow Germond's rendering.

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father Re who created it for her when she came from Bugum (Nubia), so that the inundation (Hapy) is given to Egypt, with all the wonders of 73-mry at the time of Spring (prt), so that she may turn her back to Nubia.\textsuperscript{59}

The epithets of Hathor also suggest this relationship:

- She who causes Hapy to come over the fields.\textsuperscript{60}
- She introduces Hapy to purify Her Majesty.\textsuperscript{61}

The coming of Hapy to Egypt is concomitant with the coming of the flood. The relationship between the flood, Hathor’s epithet “Mistress of Drunkenness,” and the festival of the “Drunkenness of Hathor” can be explained from three different perspectives. First, as many Greek and Roman writers already noted, the Nile water turned red — the color of wine — during the inundation season.\textsuperscript{62} This is due to the ferrous alluvium washed into the Nile from the Atbara branch.\textsuperscript{63} That the Nile color could resemble that of wine is corroborated by a Graeco-Roman story in which the Nile water was once turned into wine.\textsuperscript{64}

What Hathor brought, therefore, was wine represented in two ways: the red-colored Nile with its wine-like appearance and the flood that provided fertile alluvial soil for the grape harvest. In this sense, Hathor as “Mistress of Drunkenness” could refer to the idea that she was the giver of wine and therefore of drunkenness. Second, in the story of “the destruction of mankind,” Hathor was appeased through the red beer that flooded the field. This image could have been inspired by the flooding of the Nile valley by red water, another reason why the festival of “the Drunkenness of Hathor” was celebrated at the beginning of the inundation. Lastly, the word “drunkenness” might be explained as a metaphor for the physical world. This is suggested by a passage in one of the liturgies: “All the gods live by incense burning, the Golden One (i.e. Hathor) lives by drunkenness.” (Edfu VIII, 54) The contrast between the spiritual (incense burning) and the physical (drunkenness) is quite obvious here. Hathor was the Mistress of the world through identification with the “Heavenly Cow,”\textsuperscript{65} and thus the


\textsuperscript{60} Dend IV, 32, 8.

\textsuperscript{61} Dend IV, 21, 7-8.

\textsuperscript{62} See the classical sources quoted in Bonneau, \textit{La Crue du Nil} (1964), pp. 35ff.

\textsuperscript{63} Desroches-Noblecourt, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 304-05.

\textsuperscript{64} Bonneau, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 291; 304-05.

\textsuperscript{65} Hornung, \textit{Der Ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh}, pp. 90ff.
epithet “Mistress of Drunkenness” would be proper for her in view of the previous points.

The appeasement of Hathor by means of wine, music, and dance furthermore symbolized the victory of civilization over untamed nature. Before Hathor came to civilized Egypt, she was a wild, frenzied lioness. After she made contact with the symbols of civilization, namely music, dance, and wine, she became the benevolent Bastet. This change of nature, however, did not mean that she had already abandoned her untamed character. This is why she needed constant appeasement. Hathor’s double nature reminds one of the character of the inundation, which is violent when it arrives and benevolent when it settles. In fact, the lioness whom Thoth brought back from afar could have been a metaphor for the inundation itself. It would be, as Gémond points out, “a mythological translation of the natural phenomenon.”

To sum up the mythological association of wine with the Hathor-Sekhmet-Tefnut cycle of myth: wine was one of the things that was able to appease the goddess. Because the goddess herself could be identified with the inundation, which in turn was responsible for abundant wine, it was appropriate to offer wine as an object sacred to Hathor. It symbolized her coming to Egypt. The color of the Nile during inundation, furthermore, suggests the color of wine, or the red-colored beer in the myth of the “Destruction of Mankind.” This adds one more level of significance to the symbolic value of wine, for it was now identified with the creative power – the inundation itself.

(1.VII) Thoth and Wine

In the Hathor-Tefnut myth, Thoth of Pnubs is in charge of the offering of wine to Hathor, thus he is also called “Lord of wine.” In the liturgy of wine offering, beginning from the New Kingdom down to the Graeco-Roman era, Thoth and Hapy (i.e. inundation) are depicted as the givers of wine and purification: “may Osiris-N be purified upon the arms of Hapy, may Thoth cause that Osiris-N drink his water, his beer, his wine, ...” Whether this role of Thoth is connected with the role of Thoth

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66 Cf. Junker, Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut; cf. id., Der Oberlauf, for the general significance of the Eye of Re and the symbolism of the inundation on the profile of civilization versus untamed nature.
68 Junker, Der Auszug, p. 32; Bonnet, RÄRG, pp. 80ff.
70 Gémond, loc. cit.
71 Junker, Der Auszug, p. 44.
72 For the reading of Hapy as inundation, see de Buck, Orientalia Neerlandica (1948), pp. 11ff.
73 See Chapter III, section 2.
of Pnubs in the Hathor-Tefnut myth is uncertain. The liturgy, however, suggests a close relationship between Thoth and Hapy (the inundation). In this regard, it is significant that the first month of the inundation season is Thoth, and the festival of drunkenness is also celebrated in this month.74

(I.VIII) Seth and Wine

In a text from the temple of Edfu, wine is said to be the gift of Seth, which is offered to Horus by the king:

The king has come to you, O Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven. He brought to you Seth with his wine, from among the best of the vineyards of Khargeh, in his hand, containing the Green Horus Eye (wine), in order to please your heart through it. May you drink, may you rejoice, so that their hearts be happy.75

Because Seth was worshipped at the Oases,76 the text could be an allusion to this fact; wine was considered the gift of Seth, Lord of the Oases.77

One form of the name of Seth is Sth, which can be seen as composed of a causative s-prefix and the word th—drunkenness, intoxication.80 It could therefore be translated as “He-who-causes drunkenness.” Indeed, Seth is once represented as the intoxicating power of beer:

Seth will be irrestrainable when he wishes to conquer the heart in this his name of beer. He confuses the heart to conquer the heart of the enemy, the evildoer, the male and female dead person.81

This passage suggests that the pun on Seth’s name — Sth — was in the mind of the scribe. When drunkenness is associated with Seth in this way, it assumes a function and

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74 Schott, Ägyptische Festdaten, pp. 38, 42, 49.
75 “f”, see Fairman, Arch 43, p. 205, no. 5.
76 Sth: a kind of jar? This word might have some relationship with one of the designations for wine — 3pd. For 3pd might have been a certain kind of wine-container also. See Chapter I, 3.IV, Chapter IV, Type I notes.
77 Edfu I, 469.
78 te Velde, Seth, pp. 115ff.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid., pp. 6-7.
significance different from that of the drunkenness of Hathor. For Hathor, drunkenness is a means of appeasing the heart of the goddess — she was the receiver of drunkenness and it is beneficial to mankind. The drunkenness given by Seth, on the other hand, causes turmoil, because Seth is the instigator of confusion.82

(2) The Significance of Wine Offering

Having discussed mythological associations of wine, we may turn our attention to the significance of the offering in religious rituals. As discussed in Chapter IV, the offering liturgies can be categorized into several main types according to content. One type of liturgy could be addressed to various different deities, yet a variety of types also could be addressed to one deity. This suggests that the significance of wine offering is not always closely connected with the deity for whom it is performed. Instead, the significance lies mainly in the act itself — by virtue of the mythological, theological, and other implications in the liturgical texts. It has also been shown that in general the meaning of an offering ritual is composed of two major parts: the service to the deity, and the blessings expected from the deity.83 The latter is expressed through the speeches of the deity in response to the offering. Consequently, we may discuss the significance of the offering of wine in the following order: first, mythological and theological allusions found in the offering liturgies, and then blessings expected from the deities.

(2.1) Mythological and Theological Allusions

The significance of wine in the myths concerning "the destruction of mankind" and the home-coming of Hathor-Tefnut to Egypt has been discussed above. In the offering liturgies, we found the following expressions:

May anger (dndri) be driven away from your heart.84
May your anger pass away.85
May your heart rejoice, may anger be removed from your face.86

82 te Velde, op. cit., p. 7.
83 See Chapters III - V.
84 Dend V, 71 = Chapter IV, Type IV (16), addressed to Hathor.
85 Edfu VI 252 = Chapter IV, section 2, "irregular texts" (9), addressed to Horns.
86 Dend II 88 = Chapter IV, Type I (22), addressed to Isis; similar, Type I (24), addressed to Harsomtus.

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The "anger" should refer to the wild temper of Hathor in the myths. However, two of the liturgies quoted here are addressed to Horus and Isis, who do not seem to have played any role in the Hathor-Sekhmet myths. It is likely that these expressions originally refer to the Hathor-Sekhmet myths and were used in wine offerings to Hathor-Sekhmet. Later, they became conventional expressions in the priestly writings and were employed in wine offering liturgies that had no direct relationship with the myth. The significance of the offering act might have been derived from various mythological associations. However, once it became one element in the "grammar" of the temple decoration, it could be associated freely with various deities. A curious text mentions the "evil—du" of the deity:

May you be dignified with wine, may you be rejuvenated through wine— the Eye of Horus has removed your evil. May you drink the wine of Pelusium; may you seize Imet; Egypt submits before you; may your heart be happy. May you receive the dignity; may you drink what is made for you as you wished. Again, although this liturgy is addressed to Horus, it may have originally been addressed to Hathor. It would be difficult otherwise to explain the "evil" of the deity, except to see it as a reference to the malevolent intention of Hathor when she set out to destroy mankind, or to drink the blood and eat the flesh of her enemies. The appeasement of Hathor is specifically mentioned in a liturgy:

I offer to you drunkenness, O Golden One (Hathor), Mistress of Drunkenness, I appease (šḥtp) your ka with the Green Horus Eye (wine).

Another text depicts the special relationship between Hathor and drunkenness:

May Your Majesty eat, may your face be happy, may your heart be satisfied (ḥtp). All the gods live on incense burning, she (Hathor) lives on drunkenness.

The role of Thoth of Pnubs in the Hathor-Tefnut myth has been mentioned above: he is the giver of wine to appease Hathor. In the liturgy of wine offerings, Thoth was mentioned as having the same capacity: "May Thoth cause Osiris-N to drink

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88 Edfu III, 176 = Chapter IV, section 2, "irregular texts" (3).
89 Junker, Auszug, pp. 7-8.
90 Edfu V, 380 = Chapter IV, section 2, "irregular texts," (10).
91 Edfu V, 45 = Chapter IV, Type I (12); similar, Type IV (9).
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his water, his beer, his wine, his libation, which are on his hand..."92 The king is also said to have control over the flood and Thoth:

Take to yourself wine — the Green Horus eye, may your ka be inundated with what you have created. I purify it for you: Happy is after me, Thoth is upon my arms (?).93

The inundation itself, moreover, is associated with wine through its rejuvenating power. It is personalized in the liturgies:

All the vineyards prosper in all the places you like, Inundation rejoices in them, the son of Re — Pharaoh — fills the Eye of Horus for you with its pure wine.94

A very common expression in the liturgies of wine offering is "may you be powerful through it (wine)."95 This could have been a pun on the name of Sekhmet if viewed through the Hathor-Sekhmet myths. It may also have been simply a description of the condition after wine-drinking. This condition of being "powerful," however, is perhaps more than a state of mind or physical prowess after the stimulation of alcohol. Rather, it refers to a rejuvenating power that was embodied in wine. Thus a text reads:

The wine you like is offered to your divine ka; its vineyards flourish in Edfu, the Eye of Horus (i.e. wine) of Imet which rejuvenates your heart,

Similarly, another text reads:

May you be dignified through wine (s3); may you be rejuvenated through wine.97

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92 Cf. note 71 above.
93 Urk VIII, no.2 = Chapter IV, section 2, "irregular texts," 1.
94 Esna, no.485 = Chapter IV, Type III (8).
95 For example, Edfu V, 150 = Chapter IV, Type I (14); Edfu VII, 35 = Chapter IV, Type II (2).
96 Edfu IV, 101 = Chapter IV, section 2, "irregular texts," 1.
97 Edfu III, 156 = Chapter IV, section 2, "irregular texts," 3.
Another expression appearing frequently in the wine offering liturgies refers to wine’s ability to “open the mouth” of the deity:

The vineyards prosper in the district of Dendera, flourishing indeed with their produce; their fruits with great quantities of grapes; their wine is presented as your provision. May your mouth be opened through it (wine); may your heart be free from distresses.

The expression “opening of mouth” originated from the ritual of the “Opening of the Mouth”, performed for the funerary statue in order to restore life to the deceased. To open the mouth, therefore, is symbolic of rejuvenation. It is in this sense that this expression is employed in the wine offering liturgy, and wine is considered an instrument for new life.

The nature of wine, furthermore, was once defined as the “divine efflux — rdw ntr”, probably referring to the essence of the god:

Take to yourself the wine from your favorite place, the divine efflux that I offered you from the land. I fill for you the Eye of Horus with pure wine; may you drink as you wish.

This “divine efflux,” according to another wine offering liturgy, is what came from the god:

O Amon-Re, August god, who begot everything, I cause the vineyards to flourish in the place where you like, inundating in your favorite place; the lower water (i.e. the lower course of the Nile) is yours. Imet supplies your altars with fowl; the residents of the harbor of Egypt gathered for Your Majesty. Their offerings are for your August ka, in order to appease your heart with what came out from you. O you who shines over the Two Lands, powerful of arm.

It might also refer to the divine blood, as one text addressed to Horus reads:

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98 Dend VI, 122 = Chapter IV, Type II (10); similar, Dend III, 130 = Chapter IV, Type I (28).
99 For the ritual of the “Opening of the Mouth”, see E. Otto, Das Aegyptische Mundöffnungsritual (König, Abh. 3) (1960).
100 Edfu I, 144 = Chapter IV, Type I (5). See the discussion of “rdw ntr” in Blackman, ZÄS 50, pp. 69-75.
101 Chapter IV, section 2, “irregular texts,” (6).
102 Chapter IV, Type I (8); similarly, Type I (4).

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Take to yourself the Green Horus Eye, may your heart be appeased with what you have created. I have filled for you the sdḫ-eye with what came out from it.

What came out from the eye is the divine blood of Horus. Thus in one text the king is said to be:

The heir of Re, who makes the vineyard prosperous in his favorite place, who makes his vineyard rejoice with what is in it, who fills the Eye of Horus with its blood (wtr), who pours wine (inmt) for the ka of the Lord of Heaven.

The wine is, in the final analysis, the creation of the god:

Take to yourself wine — the Green Horus Eye, may your ka be inundated with what you have created.

Take to yourself wine — the Green Horus Eye. May you rejoice through what you have created; may you drink your gift (?); may you drink your wine; may your limbs be purified through your libation.

The rejuvenating and creative power that wine symbolizes, moreover, is reflected in the designation of wine as “Green Horus Eye.” The term Green Horus Eye, which combines “the Eye of Horus” (or “the deed of Horus”) with the green papyrus plant, implies a rejuvenating power that creates prosperity.

All these symbolic associations, therefore, point to a basic fact concerning the significance of wine in the offering ritual, namely that wine was a creative and rejuvenating power. This is further confirmed in the mythological roles—wine’s association with the inundation and the blood, both different manifestations of the creative and life-giving power.

(2.11) Blessings Expected from the Deities

It is natural that the replies of the deities contain elements unrelated to the objects
offered. The blessings that the king expected usually concerned his personal welfare, which does not necessarily relate to wine. In the Pharaonic Period, the replies of the deities are so stereotyped that it is almost impossible to differentiate the blessing in one offering act from another, despite the fact that each offering had its own significance.

As seen in Chapter V, in the Graeco-Roman Period blessings of the deities in wine offering can be divided into three main categories: confirmation of kingship, donation of material benefits, and assurance of spiritual enjoyment. It has also been pointed out that there are two levels of significance in the replies: the general and the specific. Through the general statements, the deities conferred on the king blessings and gifts commonly expected of the deities in response to an offering. It is through statements specifically related to wine that additional light is cast upon the wine offering ceremony.

In the offering liturgies, the wine that the king offered to the deity is said to have come from various regions:

Take to yourself the wine which comes from your field, and the vines which flourish in your vineyard. Imet, Pelusium, House-of-the-cattle (Hwt-iht), the northern frontier with flowers of ... Egypt, united with "Phoenicia," they are brought to you all together.

Take to yourself the wine which comes from Khargeh and the Green Horus eye from Bahra, and all the hbnt-Wme, of the God’s Land, which I have presented before you in order to appease your heart. May Your Majesty rejoice through this wine of Imet and Ham; may you drink it. It is pure.

In the replies, it is exactly these places that the deities promise to give to the king. Among them Imet, Ham, and Pelusium were famous for their production of wine since the Old Kingdom. "The-house-of-the-cattle (Hwt-iht)," as it was situated in the western Delta, would have been part of the wine production region since the New Kingdom. It was in this period that the Western Delta in general became one of the...
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important areas of viticulture. The mentioning of these places, therefore, would have reflected a long tradition in viticulture.

The oases of Bahria, Khargeh, and Farafra are also known to have been wine-producing regions during the Pharaonic Period. However, the relationship between Egypt and the Oases was an unstable one during most of that period, and it was perhaps only after Dynasty XXVI that closer ties were established, as witnessed by the beginning of construction at the great temple of Hibis at Khargeh. The mention of Lebanon (Hnt-s), the God's Land (T3-nt_r), or "Phoenicia" (T3.wy-Fnhw), all referring to northern Syria, is more problematic. The Syria-Palestinian area was known to be suitable for viticulture, and there is evidence that Syrian wine was imported into Egypt as early as the Old Kingdom. This, however, was probably only occasional commerce without substantial results. During the New Kingdom, the control of the kings of Dynasties XVIII and XIX over the Syria-Palestinian area was mostly nominal. Syrian vintagers were certainly employed in the Egyptian vineyards at this time, but Syrian wine was still a rare item even in this period of busy commercial exchange. In view of this fact, the frequent appearance in the liturgical texts of place names in Syria, as well as in the Oases, in connection with wine-producing, deserves our attention, especially since prior to the Ptolemaic Period these places (i.e. the Oases and the Syrian states) were never mentioned in wine offering liturgies.

The story of Alexander the Great's visit to the Siwa Oasis inquiring for the oracle of Amon is well known. It is at the Bahria Oasis, however, that his name was found inscribed on the wall of a temple dating to his reign. This is certainly a sign of the official interest in the oases. The Ptolemaic and Roman rulers, in general, followed a policy that kept the oases in a state of well-being, as never before in the Pharaonic Period. Mentions of wine from the oases, therefore, may very well have reflected the well-being of these regions, a fact that made the Ptolemaic rulers proud. From this point of view, the appearance of the oases in the liturgies of wine offering was probably a conscious decision of the scribe-priests to accord with the royal intention

114 Chapter I, section 2.1.
115 Chapter I, section 2.III.
116 Ibid.
118 Helck, op. cit., p. 33.
120 Helck, Beziehungen, p. 360.
121 Helck, Materialien, p. 530.
122 Fakhry, ASAE XL, pp. 823-828.
123 Fakhry, The Oases of Egypt II, p. 65.
and the historical events of the new era. Of importance, furthermore, is the fact that the earliest appearance of Khargeh and Bahria in wine offering liturgy was from the reign of Ptolemy III.124 This suggests that the policy of developing the oases only began to see results after two generations of rulers.

Similar historical rationale can be applied to the mentioning of the Syrian states. Ever since the end of Dynasty XX, Egypt completely lost control over the Syro-Palestinian area. It was only under Ptolemy I that Ptolemais and Syria were again in Egyptian control.125 By the time of Ptolemy II, Ptolemais and Syria were firmly possessed by Egypt.126 To mention these places as wine-producing regions for Egypt, despite the fact that the Ptolemaic government exercised a strict protective policy against imported wine,127 was perhaps a reflection of political and historical reality. Again, it was only since Ptolemy III that these places were mentioned in the liturgies of wine offering.

The domestic policy of the Ptolemaic rulers with regard to viticulture had something to do with this history. The early Ptolemaic rulers, especially Ptolemy II, encouraged the cultivation of vine in Egypt. Their program served two purposes: to settle the large number of Greek mercenaries into a profession that was more familiar than grain farming, and to meet the demand for wine by the increasing Greek population.128 Such great stress on regional place names of wine-producing and vineyards in the liturgies, therefore, may have reflected the favorable attitude toward wine and viticulture.129

The other specific blessing that the deity conferred on the king is the giving of "drunkenness":

\[\text{\textsuperscript{124}} \text{Chapter IV, Type I (1).} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{125}} \text{F. E. Peters, \textit{The Harvest of Hellenism} (1970), p. 154.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{126}} \text{Ibid., p. 159.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{127}} \text{H. I. Bell, \textit{Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest} (1948), p. 47.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{128}} \text{Chapter IV, Type I (2).} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{129}} \text{Ibid.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{130}} \text{That to a certain degree the temple inscriptions reflect political programs of the king was an established tradition in ancient Egypt. The example of the Ptolemaic Period is found in the Birth-house of the temple of Isis at Philae, cf. H. Goedicke, \textit{Die Darstellung des Horus} (1982), pp. 177-187. Also see E. Gilli, \textit{"Ein Individualisa-turzusammenh\"anget Ptolemaischer Herrscher Anhang der Epitheta-Formeln\textquoteright}\textit{ArchAeg}} (1986), pp. 60-65, who maintains that the epithet used by the king in the wine offering rituals in the Ptolemaic temples reflect actual political programs.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{16}} \text{Ibid.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{16}} \text{This is a certain degree the temple inscriptions reflect political programs of the king was an established tradition in ancient Egypt. The example of the Ptolemaic Period is found in the Birth-house of the temple of Isis at Philae, cf. H. Goedicke, \textit{Die Darstellung des Horus} (1982), pp. 177-187. Also see E. Gilli, \textit{"Ein Individualisa-turzusammenh\"anget Ptolemaischer Herrscher Anhang der Epitheta-Formeln\textquoteright}\textit{ArchAeg}} (1986), pp. 60-65, who maintains that the epithet used by the king in the wine offering rituals in the Ptolemaic temples reflect actual political programs.} \]
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I give to you drunkenness upon drunkenness and delight without end to it.\textsuperscript{131}

I give to you drunkenness upon drunkenness, and make your heart happy with the Eye of Horus.\textsuperscript{132}

There is a close relationship between drunkenness and religious ecstasy, which we must take into account in comprehending the meaning of drunkenness:

In ancient times drunkenness and ecstasy went together. The intoxicant had a sacred significance, not so much because it provided pleasure, but particularly because it was the medium through which contact could be effected with the world of gods.\textsuperscript{133}

For the officiating king, therefore, drunkenness was a means through which he could not only honor the goddess Hathor-Sekhmet, but also come into the presence of the divine being in a spiritual ecstasy granted by the deities.

\textsuperscript{131} Philae I, 226.
\textsuperscript{132} Dend II, 219.
\textsuperscript{133} Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, p. 51, \textit{id.}, "Rausch und Begeisterung" in \textit{The Sacred Bridge}, pp. 159-179, \textit{cf.} also Schott, Wüstenwege, p. 842. As Mari, a group of prophets were said to have employed intoxicating drink to induce ecstasy, \textit{cf.} Huffman, in Biblical Archaeologist Reader III, p. 311.
Conclusion

In the above discussion, I have tried to show the significance of wine in the context of Egyptian religious beliefs. For the most part, the wine of myth and theology was associated with the inundation and with blood, both symbolic of the creative and rejuvenating power of the world. Wine was also the intoxicating power through which the goddess Hathor-Sekhmet-Tefnut was appeased.

These qualities found expression in the ritual act through the offering liturgy, which alluded to various aspects of myths as well as theological and symbolic meanings associated with wine. When wine was offered to the deity, it was not merely an offering of divine drink, but an offering of the creative and rejuvenating power — an act that contributed to the restoration or maintenance of cosmic order. It was also an offering of appeasement to the deity, thus a means of protecting men from the gods.

The offering of wine, furthermore, carried political implications. In the Pharaonic Period, through the offering of wine, the king expected to be granted an eternal reign, with life, luck, stability, health, and happiness, so that the entire world be in peace under his rule. It is recognized that this was also true of other offerings, and similar blessings were expected from the deities. Thus one can not claim that the political implication of wine offering is different from that of other offerings. Yet in the Graeco-Roman Period, i.e., in those cases where the wine-producing regions were mentioned in the liturgical texts, this political claim of the king might actually have reflected historical reality.

To conclude, this study has attempted to establish an understanding of the meaning of but one ritual among many in ancient Egyptian religion. A simple object of daily use, with connections to myth and theology, natural phenomena, and specific physical properties besides, was charged with symbolic meanings. Moreover, the study has shown not only the significance of one object in Egyptian religion, but even more importantly, part of the inner workings of the religious system. Our analysis of liturgical texts yielded different textual elements, each containing perhaps only a fragment of related meanings. They were organized and structured by the Egyptian priesthood to form the sometimes opaque and cryptic texts.

When pronounced in the temple, the texts could conjure a sense of awe and great expectation that far exceeded what the individual elements carried by themselves. Although we should not overstress the artificiality of the liturgical texts, studies of other kinds of offering might eventually prove that, as far as religious ceremonies are

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3 For example, Fox, "The Liturgies of the Offering of Mirrors: A Structural Analysis."
concerned, the Egyptian priesthood played a major role in not only carrying out the rituals, but also organizing and establishing the norm of religious texts and practices. In analyzing Egyptian religion, therefore, ideas, or meanings, should not be considered as "simply there" and historically mute. They should instead be seen as the conscious recreation of the priesthood, who gave integrated meanings to primordial, vague, and disjointed senses and memories that Egyptian culture had determined. This priestly reworking of the religious materials should be recognized and differentiated from the raw materials per se, such material as biographical texts. A discussion of these differences, however, lies outside the scope of this study.4

4 An attempt at analyzing the relationship between the "theological" texts that the priests must have been familiar with and the "secular" texts, i.e., the private funerary stelae, has been provided by M.-Th. Derchain-Urtel, Priester im Tempel (1989).
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