

A TYPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE LITURGY OF WINE OFFERING IN THE PTOLEMAIC TEMPLES

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ABSTRACT

In a recent article (*Rd'Ég* 37, 1986), K. Götte studied the inscriptions associated with the representations of the offering of wine in the temple of Edfu. Götte believed that the Ptolemaic kings seemed to have had different predilections of one group of epithets over the others, revealing the historical nature of their rule. Although her observation may be viable, without a more extensive investigation, however, it would be a little premature to accept her theory. This paper tries to deal with this problem in a different perspective, and utilizing material from all of the major Ptolemaic temples. My main argument is that, in the ritual of wine offering, and perhaps in other kinds of rituals as well, the Egyptian priests used a certain number of stereotyped liturgies while performing the ritual. These stereotyped liturgies, furthermore, were composed according to some set phrases that are often interchangeable among different types of liturgies. After an analysis of these stereotyped liturgies, we discovered that the scribe-priests in the Ptolemaic -- as well as earlier -- temples followed a long tradition in executing ritual inscription on the walls. For the modern Egyptologist who wished to glean some historical information from these texts, it is important to realize the existence of this scribal tradition, and to try to distinguish, if it is possible at all, between what is traditional-stereotyped, and what is particular and individual in the sources that he/she utilizes. The historical observation based on these sources could then stand on a firm ground.

I.

In a recent article, K. Götte studied the inscriptions associated with the representations of the offering of wine in the temple of Edfu.¹ According to

1. Karin Götte, "Eine Individualcharakteristik Ptolemaischer Herrscher Anhand der Epitheta-Sequenzen" *Revue d'Égyptologie*, Tome 37, (1986), pp. 63-80.

her, the epithets of the kings can be categorized into three groups, which represent the king's "politische Macht," "wirtschaftliche Versorgung," and "Frömmigkeit." Similarly, the epithets of Horus represent the god as possessing "Stärke und Herrschaft," as "schöpfer und Erhalter irdischen Lebens," and as "König der Götter." The gifts of the deities, corresponding to the above tripartite divisions, consist of the conferring of "politische Macht," "wirtschaftliche Unabhängigkeit," and the "Idealle Werte" of traditional kingship.² The epithets and phraseologies included in these three groups, are, in fact, compatible with the traditional Egyptian concepts of kingship as well as divinity. However, by calculating the number of the appearances of these concepts in the respective reigns, Götte believed that the Ptolemaic kings each had their different predilections of one group of epithets over the others, revealing the particular nature of their rule.³ Thus Ptolemy IV was shown mainly as a war-hero, a ruler of the world; Ptolemy VIII was shown as a benevolent provider for the country; and the later Ptolemies were more interested in their theological role. The choices of the epithets of Horus and the expressions for the divine gifts also tended to correspond to the characters of the respective rulers. These different emphases, argued Götte, reflected the different achievements of the Ptolemaic kings and were accountable in view of their actual deeds. Indeed, Ptolemy IV waged a successful war in Syria (the battle of Raphia, 217 B.C.), while the country was plagued with rebellions at the end of his reign. On the other hand, Ptolemy VIII cared about the economic welfare of the country, although he had accomplished little in foreign policy.⁴

Götte's thesis is rather attractive in that she tried to give new meanings to the often neglected parts of the temple inscriptions and set them in historical perspectives. However, a few problems arise as a result, or rather because of, her investigation. For one, her theory is based on only one kind of

2. C.f. Götte, op. cit., p. 77, Tafel 5.

3. Götte, op. cit., pp. 74-76, Tafels 2-4.

4. Götte, op. cit., pp. 66-69.

ritual found in one temple. And even in this one ritual, she did not seem to have exhausted all the data. For example, since the epithets of the kings and the deities are found not only beside the figures, but also in the liturgical texts, it is not impossible that some epithets are to be overlooked. By a preliminary examination of the texts I have collected for this paper, it seems that Götte did not include such royal epithets as *k3 s3 k3*, *‘h’ nfr n ‘nhw* (*Edfu* V, 99), and *‘h’ n t3w* (*Edfu* VII, 142), among others, in her discussion.

The criteria for grouping the various epithets and gifts, furthermore, are also not without problem, as sometimes the demarcation line between “political power” and “economic benevolence” is rather difficult to draw. Thus, if one compares the epithet “der ihre Abgaben herbeibringt” (Götte, Tf. 2.20), which Götte considered an epithet that denotes “wirtschaftliche Versorgung”, alongside with the epithets representing “politische Macht”, such as “der die Gaben der Welt herbeibringt” (Tf. 2.7) or “der die Abgaben der Asiaten einzieht” (Tf. 2.12), it seems difficult to grasp the difference between the nature of these epithets, whether political or economical, except for their geographical references. The same problem can be addressed to the divine gifts. What difference, to pick another example, could one detect between the gifts of “*hntyw-š* mit ihren Abgaben” (Götte, Tf. 3.13), which Götte considered a gift with political overtone, and “die Oasenbewohner mit ihren Abgaben” (Tf. 3.21), which she considered economical? Again, there seems to be no real difference between the essence of “Macht über alle Länder” (Tf. 3.1,) and the possession of “Königtum des Re” (Tf. 3.27), except, perhaps, the former was an active way to express of the king’s position, while the latter was a static one.

Moreover, although Götte argued, citing the decree of 144 B.C. (dealing partly with the relief of debts), that Ptolemy VIII devoted his attention on the securing of peace and prosperity, his reign was not entirely peaceful at all. In fact, his reign was at least as plagued with rebellions as that of Ptolemy’s IV, as the two rebellions, one in 130, the other in 118 B.C.,

clearly show.⁵ On the other hand, the economy of Egypt received the attention of the Ptolemaic kings as early as the beginning of the dynasty. Under Ptolemy II, in particular, the economy of the country started to grow and wealth increased rapidly, albeit for the benefit of the royal house. In the area of viticulture, which bears most direct relationship with the offering of wine, it was also under Ptolemy II that the Fayum and the oases were encouraged to develop this business.⁶ The fruits of Ptolemy's II policy were harvested in the reign of Ptolemy III, as reflected by the fact that the wine-producing vineyards of the oases first appeared in the inscriptions associated with the wine-offering scenes at this time⁷. In view of this, it is fair to say that one should also give some credit to Ptolemy III and his predecessors in the development of domestic economy. After all, it is worth pondering that, just because there was rebellion in the country, or because no significant progress was made in foreign policy, a Ptolemy IV would be persuaded not to present himself as a benevolent provider of the country, and a Ptolemy VIII would stop thinking of himself as a mighty and triumphant king. They have ample reasons to do just the opposite, if the examples of their Pharaonic predecessors were what they were emulating.

In general, the impression one gains from Götte's study is that, her contention is viable within the limits she set for herself. Yet without a more extensive investigation, it would be a little premature to decide whether the epithets of the kings and the gifts of the deities indeed reflect, however vag-

5. P. W. Pestman, *Chr d'Ég* vol. 40, (1965), 157-170. For a discussion of the nature of rebellions in the Ptolemaic period, see W. Peremans, "Les révolutions égyptiennes sous les Lagides" in H. Maehler & V. M. Strocka ed., *Das Ptolemäische Aegypten* (1978), pp. 39-50.

6. C. f. M. Rostovzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt* (1922), pp. 93ff.; id., *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941), pp. 351ff.; C. Preaux, *L'économie royale de Lagides* (1939), pp. 169ff.; A. K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (1986), p. 101. The Oases, of course, were known to have produced wine in the Pharaonic period. But not until the Ptolemaic period was a massive effort toward viticulture began to be made. C. f. Mu-chou Poo, *The Offering of Wine in Ancient Egypt* (1984) (University Microfilm), pp. 20-22.

7. C. f. *Urk* VIII, no. 4; M. C. Poo, op. cit., pp. 228-230, where the reference is made to Ptolemy IV, a typographical mistake.

uely, the reality of the individual characteristics of the Ptolemaic rulers. And, lest we forget, ritual scenes of the Roman period often adopted almost the same phraseologies as those of the Ptolemaic period.⁸ Are we to assume that these Roman texts also reflect the political personalities of the emperors? The problem lies mainly in our ignorance of the inner workings of the Egyptian temple decorations, such as the degree to which personal character and achievement of the Ptolemaic kings or the Roman emperors were incorporated into the texts, either by the king's command, or out of the initiative of the priests. That the temple inscriptions reflected to a certain degree the political program of the king, was a traditional practice. An example in the Ptolemaic period is found in the Birth-house of the temple of Isis at Philae.⁹ But this function or nature of the temple inscriptions is by no means an obvious one; each identification between the inscriptions and the historical reality has to be worked out separately. Furthermore, one also needs to know the degree to which textual tradition was transmitted and preserved, in order to help weighing the supposed "personal" factors in the inscriptions. It is toward shedding some light on this problem, i.e., the textual tradition of the offering liturgies, that the rest of this paper is devoted.

II.

In a paper delivered at the Fourth International Congress of Egyptologists in Munich, 1985,¹⁰ I made the suggestion that, one way to approach the last problem mentioned above is to conduct detailed analyses of the offering liturgies.¹¹ In the ritual of wine offering in particular, an analysis of the

8. C.f. Poo, op. cit., Chapter 4.

9. C.f. H. Goedicke, *Die Darstellung des Horus* (1982), pp. 177-187

10. M. C. Poo, "The Liturgy of Wine-Offering in the Ptolemaic Temples".

11. The offering liturgies were usually inscribed following the title of the offering, and were introduced by *ḏḏ mdw*. However, sometimes *ḏḏ mdw* was omitted. In still other occasions, the liturgies could be written after the epithets of the officiating king. In one incident, two different types of liturgies were inscribed in one wine-offering scene, one after the title of the offering, the other after the epithets of the king. This fact supports our observation made below, namely, that there seemed to be no obvious rule in the employment of the different types of wine offering liturgies in different ceremonies. C.f. *Edfu* I, 100, i.e., no. 4 in Type I and no. 2 in Type V below.

phraseologies employed in the liturgical texts shows that, at least five different types of liturgies could be distinguished for the Ptolemaic temple texts.¹² One among them is also found in the Pharaonic period as early as the beginning of the New Kingdom.¹³ Thus it is safe to say that, similar to the transmission of texts between the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts, and the Book of the Dead, the liturgies used in the Egyptian temples had also undergone a long and unbroken process of transmission. Furthermore, in addition to the five "standard types," there are a number of "irregular texts," in which only part of the phrases found in the standard types are employed together with some uncommon ones. The following is a preliminary attempt at analyzing the wine-offering liturgies, both the standard texts and the irregular ones. As it is clear from a glance at the texts, it is sometimes impossible to arrive at a clear-cut definition for each component part of the text. However, it is also quite evident that each of the texts can often be divided into several blocks of material in view of the meaning and function that they served in the liturgy. And some of these blocks are often similar to, or even identical with, the respective blocks in other texts of the same "type," either in the phrases used, or in the meaning and function they occupied in the text. In the following study, I have given each block an alphabetic letter designation, in order to show the component parts of each type of texts, as well as the textual relationship between different types.

TYPE I

This type of liturgy can be divided into five component blocks, which I designated as A, B, C, D, and E. The criteria for the division of each block are the following:

(A) An address to the deity: "Take to yourself (*mn n. k*) the wine."

12. C.f. M. Poo, *The Offering of Wine in Ancient Egypt*, Chapter III.

13. In the so-called "Ritual of Amenophis I", c.f. E. Bacchi, *Il Rituale di Amenhotep I* (1942), pp. 20f. Other versions of the same text appear in Nelson, *JNES* 8, pp. 212ff.; A. Mariette, *Abydos* vol. I, (1869), pl. 36; D. Dunham, *The Royal Cemeteries at Kush* vol. III, *Nuri*, (1960), fig. 201-203; Poo, op. cit., pp. 98-110.

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Variations are built on the different designations of wine, such as "Green Horus Eye," Š3, or *Inmt*. The geographical origins of the wine, such as the oases of Khargeh and Bahria, are often mentioned as further qualifications.

(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 in expressing the idea of "to offer" --*wdn*, *wđt*, *phr hnk*, *s'rt*, in, etc.. The idea, although not the exact wording, presented in this part is similar to that of part B' in type II below.

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

(D) In this part, the *raison d'être* of the offer is expressed. It contains the expectations of the officiating king, such as "may you drink (*swr*) it," "may you be powerful (*shm*) through it," "may your mouth be opened (*wḫ*) with it," or "may your heart be happy (*ḥ*)." This part is the main body of the liturgy, since it informs the deity about the king's piety as well as the significance of the offer.

(E) The last part of type I is a concluding remark about the offer: "It is pure".

It is clear that, although we distinguish five different elements in this type, this does not mean that every one of these elements is to be found in each text. In fact, so far as the texts that we have gathered here are concerned, not a single one contains all of the five elements. This is understandable, as only elements A and D formed the main body of the text, while B, C, E are of lesser importance. To say that this type of texts are composed of five elements is only to show that there are five distinct elements that could be used in the composition of this type of liturgy. Similar situations can be found in the subsequent types.

TYPE I ¹⁴

	A	B
1) Ptolemy III <i>Urk VIII</i> n. 4	mn n.k irp pr m Dsds irt Hr pr m Knmt Take to yourself wine which comes from Bahria, the Eye of Horus which comes from Khargeh,	wdn.i (a) n k3.k which I have offered to your ka,
2) Ptolemy III <i>Urk VIII</i> n. 58	mn n.k h3t (d) pr m 3ht.k isw (e) rwd m s3.k Take to yourself wine which comes from your field, and the vines which flourish in your vineyard,	Imt Snw hn' Hwt-ih̄t (f) Phw-'w (g) hr sbtt nw... Kmt m 'b T3.wy-Fnhw (h) ms n.k st m dmd.sn Nebesheh, Pelusium, Hwt -ih̄t, and the Northern- most district carry flowers of..., Egypt united with Phoenicia, brought to you altogether.
3) Ptolemy IV <i>Philae II</i> 132	mn n.k irt Hr Take to yourself the Eye of Horus,	
4) Ptolemy IV <i>Edfu I</i> 100	mn n.k irp irt Hr w3dt Take to yourself wine--the Green Horus Eye,	
5) Ptolemy IV <i>Edfu I</i> 144	mn n.k š3 m st ib.k rdw n̄r Take to yourself wine from your favorite place, the divine fluid	wdn. <i> (j) n.k m t3 [mh̄.i] n.k irt Hr m irp w'b which I offered to you from the land, I fill the Eye of Horus for you with pure wine.
6) Ptolemy IV <i>Edfu I</i> 234	mn n.k š3 m st ib.k Take to yourself wine from your favorite place.	wdt. <i> n.k m t3 r ir hrw.k mh̄. <i> n.k irt Hr m irp w'b which I ordered for you from the land as your provision, I fill the Eye of Horus for you with pure wine,

14. The abbreviations used in the following tables are:

(A second edition of volume I has been published in 1984. Whenever applicable,

(2) *Dend*: E. Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendere*, 8 vols. (1934-)

(4) *Philae I*: H. Junker, *Der Grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philae* (1958)
in Philae (1965)

(7) *Esna*: S. Sauneron, *Le Temple d'Esna*, 8 vols., (1963-)

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TYPE I

C	D	E
	<p>šm.k im.sn (b) ḥ^c(c) r.f imyw-ḥt.k</p> <p>may you be powerful through it, indeed, those who are in your following are rejoiced.</p>	
	<p>wp r3.t m.sn</p> <p>may your mouth be opened with it.</p>	
	<p>ḥ' .k m km3 n.k swr.k m ḥnkt.k s'm.k</p> <p>m irp.k (i) ḳbh ḥ'w.k m ḳbh.k</p> <p>may you be rejoiced with what is created for you, may you drink your beer, may you drink your wine, may your limbs be purified by your libation.</p>	
	<p>s'm.k im r mr.k</p> <p>may you drink at your wish.</p>	
	<p>'m.k r [m] r. [k]</p> <p>may you drink at your wish.</p>	

(1) *Edfu*: De Rochemonteix-E. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfu*, 15 vols., (1897-).

I have utilized the corrections contained in the second edition.)

(3) *Urk VIII*: K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Aegyptischen Altertums v. VIII*.

(5) *Philae II*: H. Junker & E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis*

(6) *B Ph*: G. Benedite, *Le Temple de Philae*, MMFAO XIII, fasc. I, (1893)

7) Ptolemy IV <i>Edfu</i> I 258	mn n. k irp irt Hr w3dt Take to yourself wine-- the Green Horus Eye,	
8) Ptolemy IV <i>Edfu</i> I 448	mn n. k irt Hr w3dt Take to yourself the Green Horus Eye,	sh̄tp. i h̄3t. k m km3 n. k b'ḥ. i n. k w̄3t m pr m. s. . . I appease your heart with what is created for you, I fill the Sound Eye for you with what came out from it. . .
9) Ptolemy VI <i>Philae</i> II 408	mn n. k irp fdt nt R' r nd Itm (k) mn. n. k irt Hr Take to yourself wine, the sweat of Re, in order to protect Atum (?), take to yourself the Eye of Horus,	
10) Ptolemy VI <i>Esna</i> n. 38	mn n. t š3 Take to yourself wine,	r sh' ' ib. t in order to please your heart,
11) Ptolemy VIII <i>Opet</i> , 87	mn n. k irt Hr w3dt Take to yourself the Green Horus Eye,	
12) Ptolemy IX <i>Edfu</i> V 45	mn [n. t irp] m š3. [t] Take to yourself wine from your vineyard,	phr. <i> m [hr. t] which I presented before you,
13) Ptolemy IX <i>Edfu</i> V 99	mn n. t š3 Take to yourself wine,	
14) Ptolemy IX <i>Edfu</i> V 150	mn n. k š3 h̄pr m Knmt Take to yourself the wine which is produced in Khargeh,	

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	<p>b'ḥ k3.k m k̄m3 n.k Imt Snw ḥnḥ Hwt-ih̄t ḥrp. n.k swt m̄i dmd. sn</p> <p>may your ka be filled with what is created for you, Imet, Pelusium and Hwt-ih̄t, may you administer them in their entirety</p>	
	<p>wp r3.k m. s</p> <p>may your mouth be opened with it.</p>	
	<p>wp r3 n k3.ṯ m irt Ḥr w3dt</p> <p>may the mouth of your ka be opened with the Green Horus Eye.</p>	
	<p>b'ḥ n k3.k m...</p> <p>fill your ka with...</p>	
	<p>swnm ḥmt.ṯ wnf [ḥr] .ṯ ḥtp ib.ṯ 'nh̄ n̄rw nb m sn̄r ḥr st 'nh̄.s m th̄</p> <p>may Your Majesty eat, may your face be happy, may your heart to satisfied. (As) all the gods live on incense burning, she (Hathor) lives on drunkenness.</p>	
<p>špst nbt Imt</p> <p>O Noble One, Mistress of Imet,</p>	<p>nwh̄ ḥmt.ṯ sšm.ṯ th̄...</p> <p>may Your Majesty drink, may you proceed intoxicated...</p>	
<p>bik špss</p> <p>O Noble Falcon,</p>	<p>wḏ3.k wḏ3.ṯ db3.ṯ m dbḥ srwḏ n.k sw m Stḥ b3.k m. s ws.k (1) m. s n̄r. k m. s r n̄rw nb</p> <p>your Wedjat-Eye is sound and supplied with provision, secure it for yourself against (lit. from) Seth, may you be powerful through it, may you... through it, may you be divine by means of it more than any god.</p>	

15) Ptolemy XI <i>Edfu</i> VII 267	mn n.k irp ḥpr m Knmt irt Ḥr pr m Dsds inmty nn w3ḏwy dpt... Take to yourself the wine which is produced in Khargeh the Eye of Horus which comes from Bahria, and this wine, how fresh is the taste,...	
16) Ptolemy XII <i>Philae</i> II, 28	mn n.ṯn irp nfrw n Knmt Dsds irt [Ḥr] w3ḏt Take to yourself the fine wine of Khargeh and Bahria, the Green Horus eye,	
17) Caracalla <i>Esna</i> , n. 515	mn n.k irt Ḥr w3ḏt n Knmt Take to yourself the Green Horus eye of Khargeh,	
18) Geta <i>Esna</i> n. 524	mn n.k š3 rwḏ m st.k wnš pr m.k Take to yourself the strong wine from your place, and the wine which is presented (lit. came) to you,	
19) Commodus <i>Esna</i> n. 527	mn n.ṯ irt Ḥr w3ḏt m Dsds Knmt Take to yourself the Green Horus Eye from Bahria and Khargeh,	
20) ? <i>Dend I</i> 99	mn n.ṯ inmty Take to yourself wine,	
21) ? <i>Dend I</i> 134	mn n.ṯ irt Ḥr pr m Knmt Take to yourself the Eye of Horus which comes from Khargeh,	
22) ? <i>Dend II</i> 88	mn n.ṯ inmty Take to yourself wine	ḥnk.i n k3.ṯ which I offered to your ka,

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	<p>[] ib.k ḥ'.k ḥn' špst ḥnwt k3.k nṯr</p> <p>may your heart..., may you rejoice together with the Noble One, Mistress of your divine ka.</p>	
	<p>wp r3.ṯ m.s</p> <p>may your mouth be opened with it.</p>	
	<p>dp.k im.sn ḥ'' ib.k rnp.k nwḥ 'wy.k m mr.k</p> <p>may you taste it, may your heart be rejoiced, may you be rejuvenated, may your hands drink with what you love.</p>	
	<p>ip ib.t n b3k <n> Knmt ḥntš [k.ṯ] nṯr [m] ḥnm.sn nt nbt ṯḥ wḥm nwḥ š3'. tw ir ḥb n k3.ṯ nṯrt</p> <p>may your heart reckon the product of Khargeh, may your divine ka be rejoiced with its sweet smell of the Mistress of drunkenness, repeat drinking, as one begins to celebrate for your divine ka.</p>	
	<p>swr.ṯ m.sn b'ḥ.ṯ m.sn ḥtp ḥmt.ṯ ḥr irt Ḥr</p> <p>may you drink it, may you be filled with it, may Your Majesty be satisfied with the Eye of Horus.</p>	
	<p>swr.ṯ m.sn r nw n mr.ṯ ḥtp ḥmt.ṯ m ḥrw.ṯ</p> <p>may you drink it when you wish, may Your Majesty be satisfied with your provision.</p>	
ḥk3t nfr.wy nfrw.ṯ O Ruler, how beautiful is your beauty,	<p>swr.ṯ m.sn ḥ'' ib.ṯ rw dndn m ḥr.ṯ</p> <p>may you drink it, may your heart be rejoiced, may anger be removed from your face.</p>	

23) ? <i>Dend II</i> 186	<p>rwḏ š3 (m) pr m Knmt irt Hr w3ḏt m Dsds ḥbnt (n) nb n T3- nṯr (o)</p> <p>⟨Take to yourself⟩ wine from Khargeh and the Green Horus Eye from Bahria, and all the ḥbnt-wine of the God's Land,</p>	<p>s'rt. n. i m ḥr. t r štp ib. t</p> <p>which I have presented before you, in order to appease your heart,</p>
24) ? <i>Dend II</i> 219	<p>mn n. k š3 pr m Knmt irt Hr w3ḏt m Dsds</p> <p>Take to yourself wine which comes from Khargeh, and the Green Horus Eye from Bahria,</p>	
25) ? <i>Dend II</i> 225	<p>mn n. t inmty</p> <p>Take to yourself wine,</p>	
26) ? <i>Dend III</i> 120	<p>mn n. t ḥbb ḥr irt Hr w3ḏt iptn n Knmt Dsds</p> <p>Take to yourself the ḥbb-jar containing this Green Horus Eye of Khargeh and Bahria,</p>	
27) ? <i>Dend III</i> 179	<p>mn n. k irk Hr pr m Knmt inmty nn n Knmt</p> <p>Take to yourself the eye of Hours which comes from Khargeh, this wine from Khargeh,</p>	<p>in. tw. w n. k ḥnk. tw. w m b3ḥ. k</p> <p>it is brought to you, it is offered before you,</p>
28) ? <i>Dend IV</i> 65	<p>[mn n. k i]rp m Knmt irt Hr w3ḏt m T3-iḥw ḥbb nb nw... 3w (?) nn 3pḏ (r) n Knmt Dsds ḥbnt nb n T3-nṯr</p> <p>Take to yourself wine from Khargeh, the Green Horus Eye from Farafra, all the ḥbb jars of... 3pḏ-wine of Khargeh and Bahria, and all the ḥbnt- wine from the God's Land,</p>	<p>iw. w pḥr m b3ḥ. k</p> <p>it is presented before you,</p>

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	<p>ḥꜥ ḥm.ṯ inmty nn n Imt Nh3mt swr.ṯ m.sn</p> <p>may Your Majesty be rejoiced, this wine of helmet and Ham, may you drink it,</p>	<p>iw.w w‘b(p)</p> <p>it is pure.</p>
	<p>swr.k m.sn wnf ḥr.k rw [dndn] m ib.k</p> <p>may you drink it, may your face be happy, may anger be removed from your heart.</p>	
<p>Iwnt m pr-rḥyt(?)</p> <p>O Hathor in...</p>	<p>b‘ḥ.ṯ m.sn r mr.ṯ shmt m.sn swr.ṯ m.sn nwḥ ḥmt.ṯ ḥn‘ isw.ṯ (q)</p> <p>may you be filled with it as you wish, may you be powerful through it, may you drink it, may Your Majesty drink together with your company.</p>	
	<p>ḥꜥ ḥmt.ṯ m r3-‘wy.ṯ wp n.ṯ r3.ṯ m.sn</p> <p>may Your Majesty be rejoiced with your action, may your mouth be opened for you with it,</p>	<p>iw.w w‘b</p> <p>it is pure.</p>
	<p>wp r3.k m.sn</p> <p>may your mouth be opened with it,</p>	<p>iw.w w‘b</p> <p>it is pure.</p>
	<p>swr.k im.sn ḥꜥ‘ ib.k irt Ḥr m irp</p> <p>may you drink it, may your heart be rejoiced (through) the Eye of Horus, namely, wine,</p>	<p>iw.w w‘b</p> <p>it is pure.</p>


Type I notes:

(a) The first person suffix pronoun *i* is written with a diacritical stroke, c.f. H. W. Fairman, *ASAE* 43, p. 247; H. Junker, *Grammatik der Dend-erertexte* (1906), 48, 3.

(b) For *shm m* as “be powerful through” or “be powerful by means of,” c.f. *Wb* IV 247, 1-5. The *sn* is rendered “it” in the following texts as a collective noun for wine.

(c) For the orthography of *h‘‘*, see Junker, *SPAW* (1905), 42.



(d) The term *h3t*  might be derived from “*h3t* -- foremost, best,” *thu* smeans “best wine”.

(e) The word *isw*  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.

(f) *Hwt-ih̄t* is the region in the Third Lower Egyptian Nome in the Western Delta, c.f. P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte Ancienne*, vol. I (1957), 66ff.; W. Helck, *Die altaegyptischen Gaue* (1974), 153ff.; K. Zibelius, *Aegyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches* (1978), 149-151.

(g) *Phw-‘w* probably refers to the northernmost region, similar to the term *phw-t3*, c.f. H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Nomes Géographiques Contenus dans les Textes Hiéroglyphiques* vol. II (1927), 147.; *Wb* I 539, 2. For the meaning of ‘ as “border” or “frontier region,” c.f. ‘*rsy* -- “the southern region” (Pyr. §§ 1084; 1087), and ‘*m̄ty* -- “the northern region” (Pyr. §1000).

(h) For the meaning of *T3.wy Fn̄hw* as “Phoenicia”, c.f. Gauthier, op. cit., II, 161; H. R. “Does Fenkhu=φοίνιξ?” *Recueil de Travaux* 34, 35f.; Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr.* (Aeg. Abh. 5, 2nd ed.) (1971), pp. 272-273.

(i) The second edition of *Edfu* I restores a , while according to the parallels (i.e. *hnkt.k* and *kb̄h.k*) 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 *fdt R' r nd Itm* is obscure, c.f. H. Junker E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philae* (Österreich Akk. Wiss. Denkschriften-Sonderband) (1966), 409, 1-4.

(l) The meaning of *ws* is unknown to me.

(m) Although the beginning of this text is written *rwḏ š3*, which at first seems to belong to another type (type II or III below), a closer look at the text 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 *rwḏ š3* formulations in type II and III.

(n) *Hbnt* 𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎣, the term for a kind of large jar for beer, wine, and honey, etc., c.f. *Wb* II 487, 13-18.

(o) *T3-ntr* 𐎢𐎠𐎣𐎢𐎠𐎣, "God's Land", when used in connection with imported wine, it usually refers to northern Syria rather than Punt, c.f. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Aegyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr.* pp. 272ff.

(p) Literally: they are pure. 𐎡𐎢𐎠 can also be read *iw.sn*, c.f. Junker, *Grammatik*, 50.

(q) For the group of signs 𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎣𐎢𐎠𐎣, read *isw*, "courtiers." For 𐎡 = 𐎢, see Fairman, *BIFAO* 43, 11.

(r) *3pd* 𐎢𐎠𐎣𐎢𐎠𐎣 is a description for wine. In the present context, it is mentioned together with wine contained in the *hbb*-jars and *hbnt*-jars, one suspects that *3pd* is originally a kind of jar.

TYPE II

Five different blocks of material may be distinguished for the second type of the liturgy of wine offering. They are designated as elements F, G, B', D, E.

(F) This element is composed of two parallel statements which are built on the verbs *rwḏ* (prosper) and *3ḥ3ḥ* (flourish): "The vineyard in the district of Dendera (or other places) prospers" and "it flourishes in your favorite place." Sometimes the word for "prosper" (*rwḏ*) is omitted in the first sentence, thus

the rest of the sentence became the anticipatory subject of the second statement.

(G) This second part consists of various phrases describing the prosperous conditions of the vineyard. The main verbs employed are *k3'* (to sprout), *ksw* (bend down), *dns* (load), and *wđh* (bear fruit), all of them referred to the flourishing state of the vine.

(B') This part describes the ritual act that was taking place, "one comes to you and offers in your presence," as the grapes were made into wine and offered before the deity, or placed into the storage. We have already mentioned the functional similarity between this group of phrases and element B in type I, i.e., they both reconfirmed the relationship between the king and the deity through the king's action. In view of the different phrases that are actually employed here, we designated this group of phrases as B', i.e., the variant of B.

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

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TYPE II

	F	G
1) Ptolemy IV <i>Edfu</i> IV 113	<p>rwḏ š3 ḥnty (a) ww M33-Ḥr 3ḥ3ḥ. f r. f m st-ib. k</p> <p>The vineyard prospers in the district of Edfu, indeed, it flourishes in your favorite place,</p>	<p>k3'.f(b). šsp ksw m 3tp. f dns. t is ḥr wnš</p> <p>it sprouts with leaves, bends down with its load, and burdens under the grapes,</p>
2) Ptolemy X <i>Edfu</i> VII 75	<p>[rwḏ] š3 ḥnty ww <m> st. k 3ḥ3ḥ. t ir. f m st ib. k</p> <p>The vineyard prospers in the district of your throne, flourishing in your favorite place,</p>	<p>wnš (c) nn ksw. t ḥr 3tp... mi Ḥ'py</p> <p>these grape-vines bend under the load,... like Hapy,</p>
3) Ptolemy X <i>Edfu</i> VII 141	<p>š3 3ḥ3ḥ. t m ww špst</p> <p>The vineyard flourishes in the district of the Noble One,</p>	<p>... m 3tp. sn wḏḥ. sn m wnš wrt r nsu</p> <p>... with their load, they bear fruit with more grapes than sand,</p>
4) Ptolemy XI <i>Edfu</i> VII 211	<p>š3 3ḥ3ḥ. t m M33-Ḥr</p> <p>The Vineyard flourishes in Edfu,</p>	<p>ḥ' b'ḥ m-ḥt im. f wḏḥ. sn wnš wrt r wdbw</p> <p>the inundation rejoices at what is in it, they bear fruit with more grapes than (the sand of) the river banks,</p>
5) Ptolemy XI <i>Edfu</i> VII 278	<p>rwḏ š3 ḥnty ww m M33-Ḥr 3ḥ3ḥ. f ḥnty imy st ib. k</p> <p>The vineyard prospers in the district of Edfu, it flourishes in your favorite place,</p>	<p>ksw. t m šsp dns m wnš k3'.f n. k m 3tp (g)</p> <p>it sprouts with leaves, burdens with grapes, bend down with load for you,</p>
6) ? <i>Edfu</i> VI 315	<p>š3 ḥnty ww m M33-Ḥr</p> <p>The vineyard in the district of Edfu,</p>	

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TYPE II










B'	C	D
ii. tw ḥr.k ḥnk.tw m b3ḥ.k irt Ḥr m irp one comes to you and offers the Eye of Horus in your presence, namely, wine.		
	swr.k m.sn šhm.k m.sn t3 dr. f nhm may you drink it, may you be powerful through it, as the entire land rejoices.	
hm.sn (d) m irp r wd3t.t n nbt.sn r nhbt(e) wrt nbt I3m [phr] (f). sn m niwt k3.t they are made into wine for your storage, for their Mistress, for the great Hathor, Mistress of I3m. They are presented in the town of your ka,	shm.t m.sn wnf ib.t h'“ hmt.t m mr.t may you be powerful through it, may your heart be happy, may Your Majesty be rejoiced with what you like.	
hm.sn r irp r wd3t.k they are made into wine for your storage,	wpr3.k m.sn shm.k m.sn swr.k m.sn may your mouth be opened with it, may you be powerful through it, may you drink it,	w.w w'b it is pure.
ms.tw m b3ḥ.k m ht imy.f one offers in front of you with produce from it,	wpr3.k m irp may your mouth be opened with wine,	iw.w w'b it is pure.
	snwh.k m.f r dr ib.k may you drink it according to your wish.	

7) ? <i>Dend</i> ii 15	<p>rwđ š3 ħnty ww m I3t-di(h) 3ħ3ħ. f irf m st ib. i</p> <p>The vineyard prospers in the district of Dendera, it flourishes indeed in your favorite place,</p>	<p>ķ3'. f m šsp ksw m 3tp. f dns sk ħr wnš</p> <p>it sprouts with leaves, bends under its load, burdens under the grapes,</p>
8) ? <i>Dend</i> III 188	<p>rwđ š3 ħnty ww m T3rr 3ħ3ħ. t irf m st ib. k</p> <p>The vineyard prospers in the district of Dendera, flourishing indeed in your favorite place,</p>	<p>ķ3'. f m šsp ksw. t ħr wnš</p> <p>it sprouts with leaves, bends down with grapes,</p>
9) ? <i>Dend</i> IV 3	<p>rwđ š3 ħnty ww špst 3ħ3ħ. t irf m st ib. s</p> <p>The vineyard prospers in the district of the Noble One. flourishing indeed in her favorite place</p>	
10) ? <i>Dend</i> VI 122	<p>rwđ š3 ħnty ww m T3rr 3ħ3ħ. t irf m 3tp. sn</p> <p>The vineyard prospers in the district of Dendera, flourishing indeed with its produce,</p>	<p>wđħ (i). sn m wnš wrt r mnħ</p> <p>they bear fruit with great quantity of grapes,</p>
11) ? <i>Dend</i> VI	<p>rwđ š3 ħnty ww m T3rr 3ħ3ħ. t irf m I3t-di</p> <p>The vineyard prospers in the district of Dendera, flourishing indeed in Dendera,</p>	<p>ii. f m 3ħt ksw m 3tp. f tnn. t (j) sk m prt i3t (k) wnš sk n rħ tnw. sn nfr. t m ħt. f nb...</p> <p>it comes forth from the earth, bends down with its load, grows indeed with the fruit of the mount, namely numerous grapes, beautiful in all its produce,...</p>
12) ? <i>Dend</i> VII, 151	<p>š3 3ħ3ħ. t m š3 n špst</p> <p>The vineyard flourishes as the vineyard of the Noble One,</p>	<p>ħ'' b'ħ m ħt imy. f wđħ. sn m wnš wrt r š3</p> <p>the inundation rejoices at the vines in it, they bear fruit with more grapes than sand,</p>

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<p>ii. tw m b3h. t hnk. tw n k3. t irt Hr m irp</p> <p>one comes in your presence, and offers to your ka the Eye of Horus with wine,</p>		<p>iw. w w' b</p> <p>it is pure.</p>
<p>r hrw. k m r^c nb</p> <p>as your food everyday.</p>		
	<p>swr. t m. sn shm. t m. sn wp r3. t m. sn</p> <p>may you drink it, may you be powerful through it, may your mouth be opened with it,</p>	<p>iw. w w' b</p> <p>it s pure.</p>
<p>irp. sn phr r hrw. k</p> <p>their wine is presented as your provision,</p>	<p>wp r3. k m. sn sw ib. k n šnnw irt Hr m irp. s</p> <p>may your mouth be opened with it, may your heart be free from grief (lit. evil), the Eye of Horus with its wine,</p>	<p>iw. w w' b</p> <p>it is pure.</p>
		<p>iw. w w' b</p> <p>it is pure.</p>
<p>hm. sn m irp r wd3. t</p> <p>they are made into wine for your storage,</p>	<p>wp r3. t m. sn shm. t m. sn swr. t m. sn</p> <p>may your mouth be opened with it, may you be powerful through it, may you drink it,</p>	<p>iw. w w' b</p> <p>it is pure.</p>

Type II notes:

- (a) For *hnty* in the sense of "in," c. f. Junker, *SPAW* (1905), 20.
- (b) *ḥ3* ' generally means "spit out." Here it is used figuratively to describe the sprouting of the vine in a short period.
- (c) *wnš* is originally a term for edible fruits, including grapes, c. f. R. Germer, *Untersuchungen über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Aegypten* (1979). 91f.. Only once is *wnš*  found in the Pharaonic period with the meaning of "wine" (Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* v. III, 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, it came to signify vine, grapes, and wine in different contexts, c. f. Junker, *WZKM* 31, 66f.
- (d) The word *hm* is restored according to parallels in no. 4 and no. 12 of this type. The meaning of *hm*, however, is not certain. It might have been connected with the word *hmt*- "craft," in the sense of "production" or "produce." Thus the text here could be translated as "they are made into wine".
- (e) The sign  is read as *nhbt* here. *Nhbt wrt* refers to Hathor in the present text.
- (f) Restore: .
- (g) *ksw.t m šsp dns m wnš ḥ3' .f n.k m 3tp* is obviously a mistake made by the scribe. The correct reading *Ḳ3' .f m šsp dns m wnš ksw.t n.k m 3tp* is confirmed by comparing the parallels in no. 1 and no. 7.
- (h) *I3t-di* is a term originally used for the Mammisi of Dendera, later employed as a designation for the entire nome, c. f. F. Daumas, *Les Mammisis des Temples Egyptiens* (1958), 197, n.4.
- (i) I read the group of signs    as *wḏh*,  being a mistake of . C. f. the writing for *wḏh* in no. 12 below.
- (j) Here the word *tnn*  -- "lift up" is used in the sense of "growing up."

(k) The term *pṛt-i3t* --“fruit of the mount” refers to the grapes in this context.

TYPE III

This type of liturgy is a short version of the wine offering liturgy found in the “Ritual of Amenophis I.”¹⁵ Except for two,¹⁶ most of the texts of this type contain only the first half of the New Kingdom versions.¹⁷ We can still distinguish five blocks of texts in this type: H, C, I, D, E.

(H) This part is a statement about the prosperous condition of the vineyards. The liturgy opens almost invariably with *rwḏ š3 nb*, “All the vineyards prosper”. The word *š3* is often qualified with *m bw ib.k* (in your favorite place), or *m bw nb mr.k* (in all the places you like).

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

(I) This part contains two main statements: “the inundation rejoices in it (i.e. the vineyard)” (*ḥ' b'ḥ im.f*); and “I (i.e. the king) fill the Eye of Horus for you with wine”. The “Eye of Horus,” in the present context, probably refers to the offering altar, otherwise it usually refers to the wine. The last phrase, on the first look, could also be considered as belonging to element B, as indeed it was found in Type I, 5, 6. However, the fact that in the present context it is usually associated with *ḥ' b'ḥ im.f* suggests that the two phrases could be seen as established couplets.

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

(E) The last part is also the same as the other two types: the confirmation of the purity of the wine.

15. C.f. note 13.

16. G. Benedite, *Le Temple de Philae*, MMFAO XIII, fasc. I, (1893), 27, 44=no. 1 & 2 in Type III.

17. A separate study of the New Kingdom texts will soon be presented.

TYPE III

	H	C
1) Ptolemy II <i>B Ph</i> 27	rwḏ š3 nb mr. t All the vineyards upi like prosper,	Ist wrt mwt ntr nbt Irk O Isis the Great, mother of the gods, Mistress of Philae,
2) Ptolemy II <i>B Ph</i> 44	rwḏ š3 nb All the vineyards prosper	n Ist wrt mwt ntr nbt for Isis the great, mother of the god, Mistress of Philae,
3) Ptolemy IV <i>Edfu I</i> 71	rwḏ š3 m bw i3b. k ḥpr šsp m st ib. k The vineyard prospers in your favorite place, the grapes grow in the place you like,	twr (a) Špss irt Hr wrt O Noble One, great Eye of Horus,
4) Ptolemy IV <i>Edfu I</i> 109	rwḏ š3 m bw i3b. k ḥpr šsp m st ib. k (Same as above)	
5) Ptolemy VIII <i>Ph II</i> 94	rwḏ šnw nb mr. k All the trees (i. e. vines) you like prosper,	ntr '3 pr m Ist O great god who was born to (lit. came forth from) Isis,
6) Caracalla <i>Esna</i> n. 479	rwḏ š3 nb n bw nb mr. k All the vineyards prosper in all the places you like,	
7) Caracalla <i>Esna</i> n. 483	rwḏ š3 nb mr. k All the vineyards you like prosper,	
8) Caracalla <i>Esna</i> n. 458	rwḏ š3 nb m bw nb mr. k (same as no. 6)	Mnw nsw ntrw O Min, King of gods,

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TYPE III

I	D	E
<p>ḥ' b'ḥ n im. t mḥ n. t s3 R' Ptlmy irt Ḥr m irp. s</p> <p>may the inundation rejoice for what is in you, the son of Re Ptolemy fills for you the Eye of Horus with its wine,</p>		<p>iw. w w'ḃ</p> <p>it is pure.</p>
<p>ḥ' b'ḥ im. f mḥ. i n. k irt Ḥr m irp</p> <p>may the inundation rejoice in it, I fill for you the Eye of Horus with wine,</p>		<p>iw. w w'ḃ</p> <p>it is pure.</p>
	<p>ḥ'' ib. k m ?(b) nb. f</p> <p>may your heart be rejoiced with all its...</p>	
<p>mḥ. <i>(c)</i> n. k irt Ḥr m irp. s w'ḃ</p> <p>I fill the Eye of Horus for you with its pure wine,</p>	<p>s'm. k šm. k im</p> <p>may you drink and be powerful therein.</p>	
	<p>ḥntš ib. k m irt Ḥr w3ḏt</p> <p>may your heart be re-joiced with the Green Horus Eye.</p>	
<p>ḥ' b'ḥ im. f mḥ. k irt Ḥr m irp</p> <p>may the inundation rejoice in it, may you fill the eye of Horus with wine,</p>		<p>iw. w w'ḃ</p> <p>it is pure.</p>
<p>ḥ'' b'ḥ n snwt mḥ. i n. t. irt Ḥr m irp</p> <p>may the inundation rejoice at your plants (lit. trees), I fill the Eye of Horus for you with wine,</p>		<p>iw. w w'ḃ</p> <p>it is pure.</p>
<p>ḥ' b'ḥ im. f mḥ n. k s3 R' pr-3 irt Ḥr m irp. s w'ḃ</p> <p>may the inundation rejoice in it, the son of Re Pharaoh fills the Eye of Horus for you with its pure wine,</p>	<p>šm. f im. sn s'm. f im. sn</p> <p>may he be powerful through it, may he drink it,</p>	<p>iw. w w'ḃ hrw pn</p> <p>it is pure today</p>

Type III notes:

(a) For $\text{𐤠} \text{𐤡} \text{twr}$ in the sense of "look," "behold," c.f. A. M. Blackman, *JEA* 29, 7, n. h.

(b) The reading of $\text{𐤠} \text{𐤡}$, plants or flowers (?), is uncertain, c.f. *Wb* III 221, 1-7.

(c) That the first person suffix pronoun is represented by the diacritical stroke after $m\dot{h}$ is indicated by the texts in no. 7 below, where i is written out, and by no. 1 above, where the king's name is written. C.f. note (a) in Type I above.

TYPE IV

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

(J) This type of liturgy usually opens with "Wine for your ka" ($\text{š3 } n \text{ k3. k}$), with minor variations, which is followed by the invocation to the deity, i. e., 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 texts, D and E need not to be mentioned again, as they are identical with the previous types.

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TYPE IV

	J	C	K
1) Ptolemy VI <i>Edfu</i> IV 124	šsp r šsp.k The offering is for your temple,	šnbty s3b šw O Falcon, variegated of feathers,	
2) Ptolemy VII <i>Edfu</i> IV 101	š3 mr. tn m3' hr k3. tn ntr wbs hsp. sn m M33-Hr The wine you like is offered to your divine ka, its vineyard flourishes in Edfu,		irt Hr nt Imt srnp ib.k hn' inmty pr m Dsds the Eye of Horus of Imet, which rejuvenates your heart, together with wine which came from Bahria,
3) Ptolemy VII <i>Edfu</i> III, 132	M33-Hr b'h hr š3 n k3.k Edfu is filled with wine for your ka,		
4) Ptolemy IX <i>Edfu</i> V 51	š3 m3' . t n k3 . k The wine is offered to your ka.	šnbty [] gs-pr O Falcon,... the temple,	inmty nn n Knmt Dsds Imt Snwt hn' Nh3mt this wine of Khargeh, Bahria, Imet, Pelusium and Ham.
5) Ptolemy IX <i>Edfu</i> V 64	š3 n k3 . k The wine is for your ka,	hry ntrw 'hm šps Šhmt msw O leader of the gods, August god, borne to Sekhmet,	inmty nn n Imt Snwt irt Hr w3dt n Dsds this wine of Imet and Pelusium, the Green Horus Eye of Bahria,
6) Ptolemy X <i>Ph I</i> 171	š3 n k3 . k The wine is for your ka,	Špst hnwt ntrwt O Noble One, Mistress of the goddesses,	wrḥ . f irp n st . t it (the vineyard) produces wine for your place
7) Ptolemy XII <i>Edfu</i> VIII, 44	š3 n k3 . k hnty ww n M33-Hr The wine is for your ka in the district of Edfu,		irt Hr w3dt <r> ḥft-hr. <k> inmty šm3 the Green Horus Eye before you, and the wine of Upper Egypt,
8) Ptolemy XII <i>Edfu</i> VIII, 46	š3 n hm . k hnty ww n wḥst The wine is for your ka in the district of Edfu,		irt Hr r ḥft-hr . k irp n šm3 mhḥw inmty n Knmt the Eye of Horus before you, the wine of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the wine of Khargeh,

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TYPE IV


D	E
<p>šw. n ib. k n snw sšm. k m-ḥt. <k> šnw. k m-ḥt. k šm. k r Msn m ḥntš mk 3ḥ3ḥ. sn m ḥnty M33-Ḥr swnm. n. k st n. k imy. sn</p> <p>may your heart be free from grief, your followers are after you, your courtiers are behind you, may you go to Mesen in joy, lo, they (the vines) flourish in Edfu, may you drink it, it belongs to you.</p>	
<p>šḥm. tn m. sn wnm. tn m. sn nwḥ. tn m. sn</p> <p>may you be powerful through it, may you taste (lit. eat) it, may you drink it,</p>	<p>iw. w w'b it is pure.</p>
<p>nwḥ ḥm. k m irt Ḥr swr. k m. sn iw. sn n šḥm. k wp r3. k sk m inmty</p> <p>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.</p>	
<p>swr. k m. sn šḥm. k m. sn wp r3. k m. sn</p> <p>may you drink it, may you be powerful through it, may your mouth be opened by means of it,</p>	<p>iw. w w'b it is pure.</p>
<p>šḥm. k m. sn swr. k m. sn šny. k m bw w' (a)</p> <p>may you be powerful through it, may you drink it, may your courtiers be united (lit. in one place).</p>	
<p>nwḥ ḥmt. t m. sn</p> <p>may Your Majesty drink it,</p>	<p>iw. w w'b ḥnwt it is pure, O Lady.</p>
<p>swr. k m. sn m dbḥ ḥn' nwbt nbt Iwnt ḥry-tp ḥnty I3t-di m ptr. s</p> <p>may you drink it as provision, together with the Golden One, Mistress of Dendera, foremost of I3t-di in her vigilance.</p>	
<p>šḥm. k m. sn ḥn' ḥry-tp wrt špst ḥnty pr špst</p> <p>may you be powerful through it, together with the Great Leader, the Noble One in the house of the Noble One.</p>	


9) Ptolemy XII <i>Edfu</i> VIII, 54	š3(b) n k3.ṯ The wine is for your ka,	Špst ḥnwt nṛwt n .ṯ imy ḥk3 .f m .ṯ O Noble One, Mistress of the goddesses, it belongs to you, it has power in you,	inmty nn n Knmt dsds irt Ḥr w3ḏt m M33-Ḥr this wine form khargeh and Bahria, the Green Horus Eye of Edfu,
10) Ptolemy XII <i>Ph I</i> 40	š3 n k3.ṯ The wine is for your ka,	wrt ḥnwt nṛwt O Great One, Mistress of the goddesses,	3ḥ3ḥ.f m ḥnty st ib.ṯ it flourishes in your favorite place,
11) Ptolemy XII <i>Ph I</i> 207	š3 r ḥḫ.ṯ The wine is for your throat,	špst ḥnwt O Noble One, Mistress,	
12) Augustus <i>Ph II</i> 212	š3 n k3.k The wine is for your ka,	Ḥr s3 Wsir O Horus son of Osiris,	irt Ḥr nn ḥr ḥm.k this Eye of Horus is for Your Majesty,
13) Augustus <i>Ph II</i> 268	š3 n k3.ṯ The wine is for your ka,	nbt T3 .wy O Mistress of the Two Lands,	irt Ḥr nn ḥr ḥm.ṯ this eye of Horus is for Your Majesty.
14) Tiberius <i>Ph II</i> 204	š3 n k3.k (same as no. 12)	Ḥr s3 Wsir	irt Ḥr nn ḥr ḥm.k
15) ? <i>Dend II</i> 44	š3 r š3š3t.ṯ The wine is for your enjoyment,	Špst ḥnwt nwh r mnḫ .ṯ m irt Ḥr O Noble One, Mistress, drink to your satisfac- tion with the Eye of Horus,	inmty pw pr .n .f m š3 .ṯ irp .sn wr r mw namely the wine which is produced in your vineyards, they have more wine than water,
16) ? <i>Dend V</i> 71	š3 r k3.ṯ The wine is for your ka,	Špst ḥnwt š3 O Noble One, Mistress of wine,	irt Ḥr n Dsds n Snkr (c) Imt Knmt Snwt Ḥwt-ḥt r ḥrw.t the Green Horus Eye of Bahria, wine of <i>Snkr</i> , Imet, Khargeh, Pelusium and Ḥwt-ḥt, as your provision.
17) ? <i>Dent VI</i> 18	š3 n šsp.k The wine is for your status,	ḥm nb š3 O Falcon, Lord of of wine,	


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<p>swr. <u>t</u> m .sn nwbt nbt Iwnt ir. tw. f n_rwt hr š3 .<u>t</u> 'nh n_rw nb m sn_r hr st 'nh nwbt n t_h</p> <p>may you drink it, O Golden One, Mistress of Dendera, the goddesses are following you, all the gods live on inense burning, the Golden One lives on drunkenness.</p>	
<p>nwh hm. <u>t</u> m .sn iw. <sn> w 'b wnf ib. t n mr. <u>t</u> h' r. <u>t</u> hnwt m Snmt š3' .tw .f n k3 .<u>t</u> 'r nb</p> <p>may Your Majejts dirnk it, as it is pure, may your heart be happy with what you like, Rejoice, O Mistress of Biggeh, it is offered to your ka everyday.</p>	
<p>hkn 'wt. <u>t</u> m. <sn></p> <p>may your limbs be rejoiced by means of it.</p>	
<p>sdb. k m. sn wnf ib. k nwh k3. k m pr m. k s_r. i sn m b3h. k m hrt hrw r sh^{cc} ib. k m mr. k</p> <p>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.</p>	
<p>sdb. k m. sn wnf ib. k nwh k3. k m pr m. k s_r. i sn m b3h. k m hrt hrw r sh^{cc} ib. k m mr. k</p>	
<p>swr. <u>t</u> m ,sn shm. <u>t</u> m .sn wp r3. <u>t</u> m. sn</p> <p>may you drink it, may you be powerful through it, may your mouth be opened by means of it,</p>	<p>iw. w web it is pure.</p>
<p>swr. <u>t</u> m. sn wn hr. <u>t</u> dr dndn m-h_t ib. <u>t</u></p> <p>may you drink it, may your face be happy, may anger be removed from your heart.</p>	
<p>šsp sw h_h. k m hrw šm šny. k m sn. k hr šsp n Knmt šsp st r st3t. k hnt. i (d) š3. k</p> <p>may your throat receive it as provsion, may your courtiers go around you carrying the gifts of Khargeh, Receive it to your bosom, for I brought your wine.</p>	

Type IV notes:

(a)  read *šny. k m bw w'.*

(b)  'š3' should be read š3, i. e. "wine." For a discussion of the various writings of š3 as wine, and its relationship with š3 as "vineyard, garden," and discussions of other words for wine employed in the Ptolemaic period, namely *Irt-Hr-w3dt*, *Inmty*, *3pd*, *nfrw*, *ḥ3t*, *šsp*, and *wnš*, c. f. Mu-chou Poo, *The Offering of Wine in Ancient Egypt* (1984) (Ph. D. dissertation, John Hopkins University), pp. 23-32.

(c) For  read *Snkr* (?), a foreign region, location uncertain.

(d)  read *hnt*, in the sense of bringing gift to someone, c. f. *Wb* III 301, 9.

TYPE V

Finally, I have grouped together six texts, which might have belonged to a particular type of liturgy.

(L) The unifying element in these texts is the opening sentence structure: it begins with an anticipatory subject, "this wine" (*šsp nn*, *inmty nn*, *š3 nn*, or *nfrw nn*), 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", "which I have offered in your presence."

(B') After the first element, some of the texts continue with more descriptions of the ritual act: "I offer it to you under the divine ished-tree," "it is mixed before your temple," although none of them share the same expression. The general concept presented in this part is comparable to that in element B of type I. The rest of the text in this type consists of elements C and D. In one text (no. 3), the element E (it is pure) is also present.

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TYPE V









	L	B'
1) Ptolemy IV Edfu I 86	šsp nn wdn. t n. k m t3 ḥm (a) This wine is offered to you from the land of sweet odor,	
2) Ptolemy IV Edfu I 100	inmty nn wd (d) n. k m t3 rwd m bw i3b. k This wine is produced for you in the prosperous land, in your favorte place,	wdn. i n. k sw ḥr nḥt-išt nṛ I offer it to you under the divine ished-tree,
3) Ptolemy IX Edfu V 298	š3 nn nfr ḥr ḥrw. k This fine wine is for your provision,	
4) Ptolemy X Edfu VII, 166	inmty nn ḥnk. n. i m b3ḥ. k This wine which I have offered in your presence,	
5) ? Dend II 40	inmty nn in. n. i m inw m ḥnk ḥr (g) 'wy .i wdnt m tḥ r t3 m i3t-di This wine which I have brought as tribute and gift upon my hands is offered as intoxication for the land of Dendera,	3bḥ. n. f ḥr ḥm. t it is mixed before your temple,
6) ? Dend V 62	nfrw nn [in]. t (h) n k3. k This wine is brought to your ka,	pr. sn r štp ib. k Knmt Dsds ḥnk. sn m ḥr. k Snwt Ḥwt-iḥt ḥr inw. sn it comes forth to appease your heart, Khargeh and Bahria offer before you, Pelusium and Ḥwt-iḥt carry their gifts,

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TYPE V

C	D
	<p>nd .k irt .k wdn .i hr̥tt .k. hr̥... (b) .k mr ib .k m33 .f ṭhn̄ (c)</p> <p>may you protect your eye which I have offered before your Necropolis with your... your heart wishes that it sees the treasure (?)</p>
	<p>‘nh̄ t3 w3d̄ prt .f</p> <p>may the land thrives, and its fruit flourish.</p>
<p>Hr wr ḥk3 nḥt n špt T3-mḥw O Horus the Great, mighty ruler of the region of Lower Egypt,</p>	<p>irp... ḥn̄‘ irp ‘bnt(e) wp r3.k m.sn w‘b wine (of)...and wine of Abent, may your mouth be opened with it, it is pure.</p>
<p>nsw nṯrw ḥnty wh̄t (f) O King of gods in Wehat,</p>	<p>šsp st m-‘ .i šḥm.k m.sn... .k ḥr.sn r‘ nb receive it from my hand, may you be powerful through it, may you...before it everyday.</p>
	<p>sn̄dm.wy nfrw.f n fnd̄ n ḥrpt nṯrw šḥmt m 3w-ib</p> <p>how sweet is ts taste (lit. beauty) to the nose of the Leader of the gods Sekhmet, in happiness.</p>
	<p>swr.k m.sn r šḥtp ib.k ḥc ḥm.k nṯr m ḥrw.k</p> <p>may you drink it so as to appease your heart, may Your divine Majesty rejoice with your food.</p>

Type V notes:

- (a) For , I read *hm*, c.f. *Wb* III 278, 2.
- (b) The reading of  is uncertain.
- (c) The meaning of *m33 tñn* is unclear, perhaps "to see the beauty"?
- (d) The basic meaning of *wd* is "to emit", c.f. *Edfu* Iv, 379, 4. Here it is used in the sense of the production of wine.
- (e)  is for 'bnt, the name of the capital of the Oryx nome of Upper Egypt, c.f. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Nomes Geographiques*, v. I, 141. For , a phonetic sign of *n*, c.f. Fairman, *BIFAO* 43, 72; S. Sauneron, *Esna* VIII, 163, no. 241; 164, no. 242.
- (f) The location of *wh't*  is uncertain.
- (g) The word *hr* is written  instead of , c.f. Coptic $\eta\epsilon$.
The restoration of *in*  fits into the lacuna.

As we have already seen the five different types of liturgies of wine offering, the structural relationships among them can be shown in the following table I:

Table I: The structures of different types of wine offering liturgies

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

It is clear from viewing this table that, there are unifying elements as well as individual characteristics among these types. Each type is clearly distinguishable by the employment of different opening expressions. Yet every one of them also incorporates at least one or two elements that are shared by all. Thus they are still united in relation to a single ritual, the offering of wine. Of the 12 elements presented in the table, B and B' together appear in three types, C and E appear in four types, while D appear in every one of the five

types. As 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 that characterize the liturgies of wine offering.

The special significance of wine-offering rests, first of all, on the emphasis on the existence of a prosperous world. This is expressed by describing the thriving condition of the vineyard, since a successful wine-harvest was symbolic of agricultural well-being in general. Thus in type II there is the expression š3 3ḥ3ḥ.t -- "the vineyard flourishes," and the abundant production is described as ḥ3 '.f m šsp ksw m 3tp.f dns sk hr wnš -- "it sprouts with leaves, bends under its load, burdens indeed under the grapes" (II, 7). While in type III, the term used for the prosperity of the vineyard is *rwḏ* š3, and the successful harvest is ensured by the timely inundation: ḥ^c b^cḥ im.f -- "may the inundation rejoice in it (i.e. the vineyard)" (III, 2).

Otherwise, the prosperity of the country could be suggested by the fact that all the wine-producing regions were contributing to the deity: "Take to yourself the wine from Khargeh and the Green Horus Eye from Bahria, and all the ḥbnt-wine of the God's Land (i.e. northern Syria)" (I, 23), or "The wine is offered to your ka, ... these wine from Khargeh, Bahria, Imet, Pelusium, and Ham." (IV, 4) Some of these places, such as Imet, Pelusium, and Ham, are known to be wine producing regions as early as the Old Kingdom¹⁸, others such as the oases of Bahria, Khargeh, and Farafra, or the far-away countries such as "God's Land," were mentioned in the wine-offering liturgies only since the Ptolemaic period. The mentioning of these places in the texts was not only a way of expressing the prosperity of the world under Egyptian domination, but could also be a reflection of political reality of Egypt in the Graeco-Roman period. Although, as we have cautioned above, the degree to which these could be seen as reflections of the successful political action under a particular reign is not easy to establish.

Secondly, the recipient deities were expected to acquire certain benefits

18. C. f. Poo, *op. cit.*, Chapter I.

from the offering. By drinking the wine, the deity was expected to achieve "contentment of heart" (*h' ' ib*), and was "to be powerful (*shm*)" through the wine, and that "anger be removed from the heart (*dr dndn m-ht ib*)" (IV 16). In the offering to Hathor in particular, it is mentioned that "all the gods live on incense burning, she (Hathor) lives on drunkenness." (I 12, IV 9). These expressions seem to have been employed exclusively in the liturgies of wine-offering, and thus might have particular bearing on the significance of wine in the Egyptian religious ideas.¹⁹

These liturgies, furthermore, display a remarkable conservatism in textual transmission. We have already noted that type III appears already in the New Kingdom, and remains essentially unchanged down to the Graeco-Roman period. Within a certain type, furthermore, there appears to have been no significant difference between the texts found in one temple or the other. This is shown by table II, which summarizes the distribution of the five types of liturgies in various temples:²⁰

Table II: Distribution of texts in various temples

TYPE	EDFU	DENDERA	KARNAK	ESNA	PHILAE
I	9	9	3	4	2
II	6	6	1		
III	2			3	3
IV	8	3			3
V	4	2			

19. C.f. G. Piccaluga, "Plutarco, de Is. 6, Il vino nella religione dell'antico Egitto" *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 37 (1966), pp. 47-60; Poo, op. cit., Chapter V.

20. The texts collected here include only those liturgies that are inscribed together with the offering scenes. Needless to say, there are a number of offering scenes which contain nothing more than the title of the offering act, such as "*rdit irp*", without presenting the liturgies. The number count here, therefore, is only a reference, and should not be considered as representing the total known wine-offering scenes in the Ptolemaic period.

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In general, it is clear that the temples of Edfu and Dendera possess the richest variety of texts as far as the "standard" wine offering liturgies are concerned.²¹ It is also obvious that no one temple dominates a particular type of text.

If the chronological factor is taken into consideration, it is again clear that texts of the early Ptolemaic period appear essentially the same as those found in the Roman period, as table III shows:

Table III: Chronological distribution of the texts

TYPE		I	II	III	IV	V
Ptolemy	II			2		
	III	2				
	IV	5		2	1	2
	VI	2	1	1		
	VIII	1			2	
	IX	3			2	1
	X		2		1	
	XI	1	2			
	XII	1			5	
AGUSTUS					2	
TIBERIUS					1	
CARACALLA		1		3		
GETA		1				
COMMODOS		1				
Other*		9	6		3	2

* These are texts without dating from Dendera

21. However, it is to be noted here that this does not necessarily mean that the texts found in the Karnak temples are all monotonous. On the contrary, when some of the "irregular" wine-offering texts are examined, the Karnak temples prove to have contained a rich variety of wine-offering liturgies.

As for the question whether or not there was any difference between the wine-offering liturgies used in different temple ceremonies, a tentative answer could be obtained by comparing the distribution of the five types of liturgies in the various parts of the temples of Edfu and Dendera, as these two are relatively better preserved and documented than other temples. As table IV shows, different types of texts could appear in one particular room or location in the temple, while the same type of text could be found in different locations, where the offerings of wine were presumably employed in different ceremonies.

Table IV: Distribution of the texts within the temples

TYPE	EDFU	DENDERA
I	C E I J R H' J'	B D G H K M
II	F' I' J'	C M N V Cryp.
III	B C	
IV	C' F' H' K'	C Cryp.
V	C H' J'	C Cryp.

*The letters represent the location numbers in Chassinat's publications of the two temples.

The above observation suggests that, as far as the offering of wine is concerned, the employment of a certain type of liturgy was determined neither by the content of the liturgy, nor by the particular ceremonial circumstances. To my mind at least, the reason why a certain type of text was chosen at a particular occasion is not yet known to us.

III

From the above investigation, it is clear that, in the liturgy of wine-offering, there were at least five standard types of texts that the scribe-priest of the Ptolemaic temples could have followed when he wanted to decorate a particular ritual scene. He would have in hand a roll of papyrus, which

contained all the essential elements, or, more likely, a model text, of a given type (or types) of liturgy. He could then have copied what was given in this reference text. Although, more often than not, he would have produced a somewhat different version, which was probably due to his desire for innovations, as well as to the practical considerations given to the blank space on the wall available for him to execute the text.

To give an example of the degree of liberty that the scribe-priest could have exerted, let us consider element G in type II. The main phrases used in this part consist of the sequence of *ḳ3' .f ššp*, *ksw m 3tp.f* and *dns hr wnš* (II 1, 7). In one text, however, the scribe wrote a *ksw hr wnš* (II 8), which is obviously a combination of *ksw m 3tp.f* and *dns hr wnš*. In another occasion, the scribe made a mistake when he wrote *ksw.t m ššp dns m wnš ḳ3' .f n.k m 3tp* (II 5), wherein he switched the positions of *ḳ3' .f* and *ksw. t*, although grammatically there was nothing wrong with it.

This liberty that the scribe could have in composing the liturgy is further confirmed by the existence of what we would call "irregular" texts. For example, variation could be built on a different arrangement of the "standard" sequence of elements:

(1)

A	D	B'
mn n.k irp irt Hr w3dt	b 'ḥ k3. k. m ḳm3t n.k	ḳbh. i n.k sy H 'py m-ḥt. i Dḥwty tp 'wy. i
Take to yourself the wine--Green Horus Eye,	may your ka be filled with what is created for you,	I purify it for you, Hapy is after me, Thoth is upon my arms.


**Urk* VIII, no. 2. Ptolemy III

The above text could have been classified as belonging to type I, except for the fact that element D comes before B'. Sometimes the opening expression is "omitted":

(2)

B	D
s 'r. n. f mnw hrt. f (a) irt Hr w3dt	swr. f r mr hm. f iw. n. f hr. k mr ib. k m. f
He (the king) has offered the mnw-jar, its content being the Green Horus Eye,	may he (the god) drink according to what His Majesty wishes. He(b) has come to you, may your heart be pleased with it.

**Philae* I, 232. Ptolemy VI.

(a) *hrt. f* is written , where *f* refers to the *mnw*-jar. Junker, *Philae* I, 232 translates the entire phrase rather vaguely: "ihm einen...-krüg öpfern".


(b) "He" refers to the king, as the god is now addressed directly.

Or, the entire text may contain an elaborated version of one element:

(3)

D
šps. k m š3 rnp. k m irp irt Hr rw. n. s dw. k swr. k m Snw 3m. k m Imt B3wy (a) w 'h. t hr. k wnf ib. k šsp. k šft nwḥ. k ir n. k mr. k
May you be dignified with wine, may you be rejuvenated with wine, the Eye of Horus has removed your pain (lit. 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.

**Edfu* III, 176. Ptolemy VIII

(a) For the reading of  as *B3wy*, see Blackman & Fairman, *JEA* 36, p. 67.

At times it becomes difficult to relate a text to any of the five standard types, although some of the phraseologies are quite familiar. In the following translations, I tried to distinguish some standard elements from these irregular texts, although not always successful.

(4) irt Hr w3dt b'hty n k3.k swr.k m.sn r dr ib.k T3-ntr Dsds Snw
(D) (B')
H3m Hwt-iht m bw Imt gm.i n.k st b3k.sn.n k3.k šms.i n.k st hr inw.sn

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. (*Urk* VIII, no. 15. Ptolemy III)

(5) ii.n.i hr.k Imn-R' ntr šps wtt ht nb srwd.i š3 m bw [mr].k b'h m
(C) (H')
st-ib.k hnt hr (a) n.k m Imt sd3 h3wt.k m 3pd hr-ib phw n Kmt htr.sn n
 hm.k '3bt.sn n k3.k šps r štp ib.k <m> pr m.k psd t3.wy šm'
(C)

(a) *hnt hr* is written

I have come to you, O Amon-Re, August God, who begot everything. I cause the vineyard to flourish in the place where you like, and the inundation in your favorite place. The Lower Water is yours, Imet 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, O you who illuminates the Two Lands, powerful of arm. (*Urk* VIII, no. 131. Ptolemy VI)

(6) ii.n.i hr.k Imn-R' ntr w'ir pt km3 t3 in.i n.k Dsds T3-ntr m inw.f
(C) (B)
T3-iht hr b3k.sn irp šm' irp mh w n k3.k T3.wy-Fnhw m w3h tp nb.sn m.k
 n.k km3.sn twt hrp n.k imy.sn

Mu-Chou Poo

I have come to you, o Amon-Re, the sole god who made the sky, who created the earth, I bring to you Bahria and the God's Land with its gifts, Farafra with its produce, wine of Upper Egypt, 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. (*Urk* VIII, no. 129. Ptolemy VI)

(7) rwḏ š3 nb mr.k Hr-3ḥty ... (a) ḥnꜥ Ḥwt-iḥt ... b3k.sn m
(H) (C)

dmd. sn

All the vineyards you like prosper, O Horakhty, and *Hwt-iḥt* ... their product all together. (*Urk* VIII, no. 148. Ptolemy VI)

(8) š3 r ḥḥ.k š3s.f r š3 ... š3 tb.k šwty n š3s ḥsb.k wnš nn nt rw
(J)

sbiw.k ḏr ḏw iry ḥ3 wḏ3t.k irty.k n.k dg3.k m.sn ḥ' b'ḥ n im.k
(D) (I)

The wine is for your throat, it goes to ... wine, may you cut off the testicles of he who transgresses your soil, this wine of driving away your enemies and repelling evil therefrom. Hail to your Sound Eye! Your eyes belong to you, may you see with them, the inundation rejoices for what is in you. (*Edfu* IV, 280. Ptolemy VI)

(9) š3 nb 3ḥ3ḥ.sn n k3.k ms.i n hm.k s3b šw Knmt Dsds Snw Nḥ3m ḥr
(J') (B) (C)

tw3 n.k ḥt.sn r' nb Ḥwt-iḥt Imt dmd m sp ḥr šms ib.k tp trw swr.k m.sn
wn dndn.k ḥ' ib.k m imy.sn
(D)

All the vineyards flourish for your ka, I offer to Your Majesty, O He-of-the-dappled-plumage, Khargeh, Bahria, Pelusium and Ham are presenting (i.e. carrying) their products daily, *Hwt-iḥt* and Imet gathered together, serving your desire at the beginning of the seasons, may you drink it, may your anger pass away, may your heart be rejoiced with what is in them (i.e. the

vineyards). (*Edfu* VI, 252. Ptolemy IX)

(10) wdn.i n.t th Nwbt Nbt th shtp.i k3.t m irt Hr w3dt hntš hm.t m
 (B) (C) (B) (D)

i3b.t wnf hr.t m mr.t h' r.t m hr ifd (a) n R' m33.f m.sn

(a) For the "four faces", c.f. Ph, Derchain, *Hathor Quadriforms*, (1972).

I offer to you drunkenness, O Golden One Mistress of drunkenness, I appease your ka with the Green Horus Eye, may Your Majesty rejoice over what you desire, may your face be happy with what you love, rejoice with the four faces of Re (when) he sees with them. (*Edfu* IV, 380. Ptolemy X)

(11) ii.i hr.tn 'wy.i hr irp ttf.i n.tn h3t.sn r nw.sn swr.tn m h' 'ibw.tn
 (B') (D)

I come to you, my arms are carrying wine, I pour for you the best of it (i.e. the wine), at its prime moment, may you drink with what your hearts rejoice over. (de Wit, *Les Inscriptions du temple d'Opet à Karnak*, 21. Ptolemy XII)

(12) rwđ š3 nb mr.k hrw h'.k m niwt.k
 (H)

All the vineyards you like flourish on the day when you appear in your city. (de Wit, *Opet*, 177. Augustus)

(13) š3 w3rh.t wnš.sn 3ht mw.sn bk.t m dt.sn swr.tn m.sn thn hr.tn
 (D)

r' nb

The vineyards thrive, their grapes are excellent, their juice is clear in its substance, may you drink it, may you rejoice (lit. your faces shine) daily. (*Dend* IV, 19. Roman)

(14) Mn [n.t irp...] t3 Knmt Dsds hr irp.t swr m 3w-ib ... m irp
 (A) (D)

iw.w w'b
 (E)

Take [to yourself wine] ... the land, Khargeh and Bahria are carrying your wine, drink with contentment of heart ... with wine, it is pure. (*Dend*

VIII, 50)

(15) rwḏ š3. k 3ḥ3ḥ. sn m ḥr. k nfr

(F')

Your vineyards prosper, they flourish before your beautiful face. (*Urk*
VIII, no. 154. Ptolemy VIII)

The result of the above attempt at analyzing the component elements of the irregular text can be summarized in table V:

Table V: The structures of come irregular wine-offering liturgies

Ptolemy	III	Urk	VIII,	2	A	D	B'		
	III	Urk	VIII,	15	X	D	B'		
	VI	Urk	VIII,	129	X	C	B	X	
	VI	Urk	VIII,	131	X	C	H'	X	C
	VI	Urk	VIII,	148	H	C	X		
	VI	Philae	I,	232	B	D	X		
	VI	Edfu	IV,	280	J	X	D	I	
	VIII	Edfu	III,	176	D				
	VIII	Urk	VIII,	154	F'				
	IX	Edfu	IV,	252	J	B	C	X	D
	X	Edfu	VI,	380	B	C	B	D	
	XII	Opet,		21	B'	D			
Augustus		Opet,		177	H	X			
Roman		Dend	IV,	19	X	D			
Roman		Dend	VIII,	50	A	X	D	E	

* "X" represents those phrases and expressions that are not identifiable with the standard elements.

Some observations may be offered here with regard to the irregular texts. First, as table V shows, at least eight (A B C D E H I J or their variants) out of the twelve (A to L) standard elements can be identified. The elements

that appear more frequently are: B C D. Furthermore, at least one standard element can be found in any of these irregular texts. From a chronological point of view, these irregular texts appear as early as in the reign of Ptolemy III, and down to the Roman period, although it is notable that the ratio of irregular texts in comparison with the standard texts appears rather high in the reign of Ptolemy VI. (c.f. table III)²² The fact that these irregular texts appear in various major temples and over a long span of time alongside the standard texts suggests that, on the one hand, those scribe-priests who executed the liturgical texts on the walls were rather conscious about their work: the major textual traditions, represented by the five standard types, were to be followed. On the other hand, however, the desire of certain independently-minded scribes for innovation, or for a demonstration of their erudition, was also fulfilled not only by producing variant versions of the standard types, but also by a bolder determination of composing the irregular texts.

Thus we have been able to demonstrate that, one important factor in the understanding of the ritual texts preserved in the temples is the textual tradition that the scribes followed. After we have established the fact that certain standard types of texts existed for the liturgy of wine-offering, it is logical to assume that the scribes who were responsible for the other parts of the temple decorations would also have their particular reference-texts to work with.²³ They had their tradition to follow, and they could perhaps also have expressed

22. Again, one has to keep in mind that these figures could not be seen as statistically significant.

23. It is not difficult to find evidence to support this observation, although a comprehensive study is not possible at this moment. In the ritual of the offering of mirrors, for example, a number of the offering liturgies are easily identifiable as containing stereotyped phrases. Sentences such as *ḥn n ḥr. s bnr. (w) n spty. s šrtj. s m sšn n šmw* are found at Edfu (once) and Dendera (trice). See C. Husson, *L'Offrande du miroir dans les Temples Égyptiens de l'Époque Graeco-Romaine* (1977), doc. 7, 29, 34, 38. Or, in the ritual of Killing the oryx, sentences such as "toutes les antilopes du désert sont abattues devant toi" (text 5, 8, 13, 16, 19) or "l'ennemi de l'oeil est massacre devant toi" (text 2, 8, 12, 13) [see Ph. Derchain, *L'Sacrifice de l'Oryx* (1961)] clearly suggest the existence of certain reference manuals for the composition of the liturgies.

some personal innovatins. For the modern Egyptologist who wishes to glean some historical information from these texts, therefore, an understanding of the basic textual traditions and variations of the inscriptions that he uses in his investigation seems indispensable. Only after the textual traditions have been analyzed, could he realize what is traditional, and what is individual and particular in his sources. His historical observation based on the sources could then stand on a firm ground.²⁴

24. C.f. the treatment of a different genre of texts, the military documents, by A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (1982).