

‘The Beautiful Place of Kyphi and Wine’

The Laboratory at Esna Temple

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THE SMALL LABORATORY at Esna temple¹ was built between the first and second columns of the hypostyle hall’s eastern screen wall [fig. 1]. Regarding its dimensions and location, the only Graeco-Roman parallels of the room are the ‘House of Morning’² (*pr-dw3t*) and the library³ (*pr md3t*) in the pronaos at Edfu.

The pronaos at Esna with the small laboratory was added to the Ptolemaic temple house during the reign of Tiberius at the earliest and Claudius at the latest.⁴ Based on the cartouches of the room, its decoration dates to the reign of Domitian. Thus, it is the latest of all known laboratories,⁵ and the only one which can be dated to the Roman Period.

1. Structure of the Decoration

The decoration of the laboratory is confined to the external wall surfaces. It consists of two architectural units, the façade and the external doorframe which also determine the structure of the decoration divided into two units [fig. 2].

The façade includes the usual elements of temple wall decorations, but in a smaller scale. The soubassement features papyrus and lotus flowers with blossoms and buds representing the marshes of the Delta and Khemmis, where Horus was nurtured, corresponding to the

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² See *Edfou* III, 330-38, pl. LXXXI (Room D’).

³ See *Edfou* III, 339-51, pl. LXXXII (Room E’), for a detailed analysis on the room, see F. WESPI, “Das Bücherhaus (*Pr-md3t*) des späten ägyptischen Tempels”, in S. Baumann, H. Kockelmann (eds.), *Der ägyptische Tempel als ritueller Raum. Theologie und Kult in ihrer architektonischen und ideellen Dimension. Akten der internationalen Tagung, Haus der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 9.-12. Juni 2015, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion* 17, Wiesbaden, 2017, p. 271-287.

⁴ J. HALLOF, “Esna”, in J. Dieleman, W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 2011, p. 3; Di. ARNOLD, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, Oxford, New York, 1999, p. 251.

⁵ The laboratories in the temples at Edfu (*Edfou* II, 189-229, pls. XLIII^{a-d}), Dendara (*Dend.* IX, 123-159, pls. DCCCLXXXVIII-DCCCXXXII), Kom Ombo (J. DE MORGAN, U. BOURIANT, G. LEGRAIN *et al.*, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l’Égypte antique* III: *Kom Ombo* II, Wien, 1909, Nr. 630-634), Philae (H. KOCKELMANN, E. WINTER, *Philae* III: *Die zweite Ostkolonnade des Tempels der Isis in Philae (CO II und CO II K)*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie* 78, Wien, 2016, Nr. 47-48) and Athribis (Chr. LEITZ, D. MENDEL, M. EL-BIALY, *Die Außenwände und westlichen Seitenkapellen des Tempels von Athribis*, Cairo, 2015, F 4-6) all dating to the Ptolemaic Period.

symbolism of hypostyle halls and Egyptian temples in general. The only scene of the façade displays the king offering *sntr*-incense to Khnum. Below and above the scene two bandeau texts are shown.

Turning to the decoration of the doorway, the lintel includes a cavetto cornice in the upper register with the usual winged disk combined with the two uraei, and also, two offering scenes are represented in the lower register. In the left scene, the king offers wine, while in the right scene, he presents *ntjw* to deities. The inscriptions of either doorjamb are arranged in two columns. These are the self-referential texts of the laboratory. While the left doorjamb defines the laboratory as a storeroom of different aromatic substances and alcoholic beverages, the right doorjamb defines the room as a residence of deities and briefly refers to the ritual activity linked to the room.

2. Translation

FAÇADE

UPPER BANDEAU

(*Esna* II, Nr. 119)

[... Domitian] *hr.k Hnmw* [...Domitian has come]⁶ to you, Khnum, lord of the gods,
nb ntrw [...] *m jdt.f* [...] with his fragrance.

OFFERING SCENE

(*Esna* II, Nr. 120)

TITLE AND FORMULA:

⁽¹⁾ *jr(t) sntr n b3 wr šfyt*
s3h(.tw) k3.f m tp-r3.f ⁽²⁾ *jmj*
sb(.tw) dbhw nw ht-ntr ⁽³⁾
jr(.tw) jr w nbw jn w^cb^c jmy
hrw.f hrt hrw nn 3b

KING:

⁽⁴⁾ [*Autocrator*] ⁽⁵⁾ [*Domitian*
 ... *ntj hw*] ⁽⁶⁾ [...] *nfr* [...] ⁽⁷⁾
jr nt-^c m Hwt-Hnmw

BEHIND HIM:

s3 n^h w3s nb h3.f mj R^c dt

KHNUM:

⁽⁸⁾ [...] *n t3 mj-*kd*.f* ⁽⁹⁾ [...] *b3*

TITLE AND FORMULA:

Burning *sntr*-incense for the ram, great of prestige whose ka is glorified by his spells. May⁷ the *wab*-priest who is on daily duty bring forth the requirements of the rite and perform every ritual daily without ceasing.

KING:

[Autocrator] [Domitian, the protector ...] perfect [...], who performs the ritual in the Mansion of Khnum.

BEHIND HIM:

All protection, life and prosperity may be behind him like Ra forever.

KHNUM:

[...] to the whole land,⁸ [...] ram, lord of Esna, the ram, [...] the sky, lord of life, who comes to those who call him, [...]

⁶ The correct restoration is probably *jj.n*, being part of the formula *jj.n.f hr.k* / *jj.n.j hr.k* regularly occurring in ritual scenes, however, the verb could also be missing, see e.g., *Edfou* VIII, 74, 1 and 75, 6 (D. KURTH, *Edfou* VIII, *ITE* I/1, Wiesbaden, 1998, p. 134, 136).

⁷ Cf. *Wb* I, 77, 5.

⁸ Based on context and attested epithets, a possible restoration is [*w^d mdw*] *n t3 mj-*kd**, who decrees to the whole land, cf. *LGG* VIII, 168a.

nb T3-snt b3 ⁽¹⁰⁾ [...] *pt nb* this land.⁹ There is no land that would not [...],¹⁰ who gives
nh jj n s ⁽¹¹⁾ [...] *t3 pn nn t3* advice¹¹ on the entire land.
šw ⁽¹²⁾ [...] *šhrwy m t3 (r)* [...] perfect [...] who made what exists, the first primordial
dr.f god, who fashioned the Ennead, who created all people on
⁽¹³⁾ [...] *nfr* [...] *jr wnnt* his potter’s wheel, the only god who became into million,
p3wty tpj ms psdt hnm hr-nb who created in the beginning.¹²
hr nhp.f ntr w^c hpr (m) hh
hnm m š3^c

LOWER BANDEAU

(Esna II, Nr. 121)

nh ntr nfr smn nt-^c m Hwt-jt The perfect god lives, who established the ritual of *Hwt-jt*,¹³
rwd r3.f hr 3hw nfrw.f sdf3 whose spells are rooted in the glory of his beauty,¹⁴ the
km3 htpw jwn.f s3h k3(w).f hr supplier¹⁵ who created food offerings, his brightness¹⁶
wdhw hb.f mn r-hnty glorifies¹⁷ his statue on the offering table, his festival
indures forever.

⁹ Based on context and attested epithets, a possible restoration is [sgsgs] *t3 pn*, [who regulates] this land, cf. LGG VIII, 718a.

¹⁰ Based on context and attested epithets, a possible restoration of the epithet is *nn t3 šw* [m ksw r rdwy hm.f], there is no land that would not [bow at the legs of] his [majesty] (LGG VIII, 607a).

¹¹ Restored as *𐎢𐎠𐎢*, for a similar spelling of the term *šhrw*, see Esna II, Nr. 17,61 and A.I.F. PICHEL, *Les hymnes au dieu Khnoum de la façade ptolémaïque du temple d'Esna*, *Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion* 20, Wiesbaden, 2018, p. 91.

¹² For the epithets *jr wnnt*, *p3wty tpj*, *ms psdt*, *hpr (m) hh*, *hnm m š3^c*, see LGG VIII, 206b, 311b, 594b, 601b, 608a-b, 616b; for a detailed analysis of the epithets *ntr w^c hpr m hh*, see D. KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram: Five Hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple*, YES 6, New Haven, 2006, p. 136-138; see also Esna II, Nr. 112, 2; for parallel examples, see the following epithets of Khnum: *ntr w^c hpr m ntr snw* (Esna VI, Nr. 507; D. KLOTZ, “Thoth as Textual Critic: The Interrupting Baboons at Esna Temple”, *ENiM* 7, 2014, p. 36) and *ntr w^c jrj sw m hh* (Esna II, Nr. 152, B); for a parallel example of the epithet *hnm hr-nb hr nhp.f*, see the epithet *hnm.n.f st tm hr nhp.f* (Esna II, Nr. 17, 40; A.I.F. PICHEL, *op. cit.*, p. 64-65); see also the epithet of Ra: [...] *sw hr nhp.f* (LGG VIII, 311a).

¹³ I.e., the temple of Esna.

¹⁴ See also the passage [...] *grg hr dw3w nfrw.f*, [...] is founded upon the praise of his beauty in the *Loyalist Teaching* (G. POSENER, *L'Enseignement Loyaliste, sagesse égyptienne du Moyen Empire*, Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IV^e Section de l'EPHE II. Hautes études orientales 5, Geneva, 1976, § 4.4); for a detailed analysis of the word *3hw*, see R.K. RITNER, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54, Chicago, 1993, p. 30-35.

¹⁵ For the epithet *sdf3*, see *Dend.* VI, 67, 2 (S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara V-VI. Index phraséologique - Les cryptes du temple d'Hathor*, OLA 132, Leuven, Paris, Dudley, 2004, p. 263; LGG VI, col. 732b-c).

¹⁶ Considering the meanings *colour*, *appearance* of the word *jwn* (*Wb* I, 52, 14-16), the determinative *☉* refers to the sun disk and its light, the manifestation of Khnum as a sun god; for a parallel example, see also the epithet of Ra: *jtn shd t3wy m jwn.f* (LGG VIII, 330a, 332b); in the theology of Esna, Khnum was identified with Ra, son of Neith (G. SCHREIBER, “Vallás és mágia az ókori Egyiptomban: az ellenség megsemmisítésének szertartása”, in Á.M. Nagy [ed.], *Az Olympos mellett. Mágikus hagyományok az ókori Mediterráneumban* I, Budapest, 2013, p. 36 [in Hungarian]; G. SCHREIBER, “Az isteni sír”, *Ókor* 7, 2008, p. 34 [in Hungarian]; for a detailed analysis of the theology of Esna, see Esna V and VIII; J. HALLOF, “Der Tempel von Esna – Ein Tempel für Zwei Götter”, in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.), 6. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Funktion und Gebrauch altägyptischer Tempelräume*. Leiden, 4.-7. September 2002, KSG 3,1, Wiesbaden, 2007, p. 119-131).

¹⁷ I.e. transfigures.

LINTEL

LINTEL, LEFT SCENE

(*Esna* II, Nr. 122)

TITLE:

⁽¹⁾ *ḥnk jrp n mwt[.f]*

KING:

⁽²⁾ *nsw-bjtj nb t3wy* ⁽³⁾ *Autokra(tor)* ⁽⁴⁾ *Domi(tian)*

MENEHIT: ⁽⁵⁾ *Mnhyt* ⁽⁶⁾ *nbt* *Hnty-t3*

NEBTU: ⁽⁷⁾ *Nbt-ww* [...]

TITLE:

Offering wine for [his] mother.¹⁸

KING:

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Autocra(tor) Domi(tian)

MENEHIT: Menehit, lady of *Hnty-t3*¹⁹

NEBTU: Nebtu [...]²⁰

LINTEL, RIGHT SCENE

(*Esna* II, Nr. 123)

TITLE:

⁽¹⁾ *šms ʕntjw [n Nt]*

KING:

⁽²⁾ *s3 Rʕ nb ḥ3w* ⁽³⁾ *Autocra(tor)* ⁽⁴⁾ *Domi(tian)*

NEITH:

⁽⁵⁾ *Nt wrt* ⁽⁶⁾ *mwt ntr nbt* ⁽⁷⁾ *T3-snt*

MENEHIT:

⁽⁸⁾ *t3 nt B3stt* ⁽⁹⁾ *ʕdt thnt*

HEKA:

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Hk3 p3 hy* ⁽¹¹⁾ *wr* [...]

TITLE:

Presenting *ʕntjw* [for Neith].²¹

KING:

Son of Ra, lord of appearances, Autocra(tor) Domi(tian)

NEITH:

Neith, the great, mother of god, lady of Esna.

MENEHIT:

Who belongs to Bastet, ichneumon,²² the bright one.


HEKA:

Heka, the great child [...]

DOORJAMBS

LEFT DOORJAMB

(*Esna* II, Nr. 124)

¹⁸ Restored as  (cf. *Esna* II, Nr. 145, 1).

¹⁹ The expression *Hnty-t3*, literally ‘foreland’, usually refers to the neighbourhood of Elephantine (*GDG* IV, p. 185) but as part of the epithet of deities of Esna (e.g., of Menehit, Neith and Heka), it could refer to the Third Upper Egyptian nome (*LGG* VIII, 241b, 569b) the term *hntj* rather taking the meaning *to be at the head of* in this case.

²⁰ Restored as .

²¹ Based on the representation of Neith.




²² For the same epithet of Bastet, see e.g., *Edfou* VII, 264, 2 (D. KURTH, *Edfou VII, ITE* I/2, Wiesbaden, 2004, p. 496, note 1; *LGG* VIII, 193a).



(1) [shd] n k3pt pw ʿpr(.w) m
ht nbt nfrt m dbhw nw jrt-Hr
jhm wr m ʿš3 sn[b]w m sšt3.f
m pr hr wdhw.f nn[j]b
mnh(?) h3w nbw nw Pwnt
šnwt nt T3-ntr jw.sn jry r st
tn ndm.wy hnm.s wr(.wy)
stj.s hq jdt.s hr-nb

(2) bw n jrp pw st nt jnmt th
sh^c m-hnt swnf jb pr m-hnw
[Swmj(?)] hpr m Jmt Hwt-jht
m-ʿb Knmt jnw nbw nw
Dsds htr r ʿryt tn ndm-jb th.s
nwh r-3w m r3-w3t.s

This is [the sanctuary]²³ of kyphi, provided with every good thing, with the requirements of the eye of Horus and the great jhm, with a great deal of sn[b]-plant,²⁴ with its secret,²⁵ and with what comes forth from his offering table: nn[j]b, mnh(?), all kinds of h3w-substances of Punt, and offerings of the God’s Land²⁶ which belong to this place. How sweet its scent and great its fragrance is. Its perfume delights everybody.²⁷

It is the place of jrp-wine, room of jnmt-wine and th-drink which makes the face delighted and the heart rejoice. (All) which come forth from [Suni]²⁸, created in Imet,²⁹ Hut-lhet³⁰ or in the Kharga Oasis,³¹ and all tribute of the Bahariya Oasis³² are assessed for this sanctuary. Its alcoholic

²³ Restored as  since the hieroglyphic sign  is the equivalent of the determinative  throughout the texts of the room, see also (S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara: le fonds hiéroglyphique au temps de Cléopâtre*, Paris, 2001, Q3).

²⁴ Restored as  .

²⁵ I.e. substances; for references of the secrecy of the recipes and the substances of the laboratories, see *jn.j nwd sšt3 n js* (...), *I* (i.e. the king) bring the secret nwd-ointment of the laboratory (...) (*Edfou* II, 218, 1); see also the introduction and the last clause of the recipe of the divine stone (ʿ3t-ntr) at Edfu where the text claims that *this is the secret that no one saw or heard but passed on by the old man to his child* (sšt3 pw n m33 n sdm jn rmt nb sw dj n j3w n hrd.f) (*Edfou* II, 214, 7-9), and that *this is the secret that no one knows* (sšt3 pw nn rh.f) (*Edfou* II, 215, 11-12).

²⁶ For a detailed analysis of the approximate span of Punt and the God’s Land, see J. COOPER, “The Geographic and Cosmographic Expression T3-ntr”, *BACE* 22, 2011, p. 47-66, fig. 1; S. BAUMANN, *Schatzkammern: Ihre Dekoration und Raumkonzeption in ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, *Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion* 19, Wiesbaden, 2018, p. 316-327, 370-373, Farbtafel 2; for Punt, see also D. MEEKS, “Locating Punt”, in D. O’Connor, St. Quirke (eds.), *Mysterious Lands, Encounters with Ancient Egypt*, London, 2003, p. 53-80.

²⁷ The word hq as a transitive verb is already attested in the *Coffin Texts* and still appears in the Graeco-Roman Period, see e.g., *CT* I, 184c [Spell 44] and *Edfou* III, 50, 1 (WPL, p. 695); for the expression shd hr, see *ibid.*, p. 896.

²⁸ See also *Edfou* VII, 115, 1; D. KURTH, *op. cit.*, p. 204, note 5; the term also frequently appeared as Senu (see e.g., *Edfou* II, 191, 12) and most likely referred to Pelusium. About the problem of its identification, see M. POO, *Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt*, *StudEg*, London, New York, 1995, p. 14, note 79; GDG I, p. 14-15; H.F. LUTZ, *Viticulture and Brewing in the Ancient Orient*, Leipzig, 1922, p. 11, note 2; in the laboratory of Edfu, it is associated not just with wine (*Edfou* II, 194, 14; 218, 13) but also with aromatic substances (*Edfou* II, 191, 12; 201, 3; 225, 2).

²⁹ Imet was a wine-producing region in the Eastern Delta already attested in offering lists in the Fifth Dynasty (W. BARTA, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, *MÄS* 3, Berlin, 1963, p. 64, 75); although its exact location is debated, often identified as Nebesheh (H.F. LUTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 11, note 1; *AEO* II, p. 170*-171*) and Buto (*Wb* I, 78, 12-5); for a detailed analysis of the problem, see M. POO, *op. cit.*, p. 13, note 78; see also GDG I, p. 73-74.

³⁰ Wine-producing region in the Third Lower Egyptian nome (M. POO, *op. cit.*, p. 100, W. HELCK, *Die altägyptischen Gaue, Beihefte TAVO B* 5, Wiesbaden, 1974, p. 153ff); it does not appear in the laboratories of Edfu and Dendara; for references from the temple of Edfu related to drunkenness, see D. KURTH, *op. cit.*, p. 154, note 2 and p. 208, note 2.

³¹ M. POO, *op. cit.*, p. 19; see also GDG V, p. 204-205; as a wine-producing region, Knmt also appears in the laboratories of Edfu (*Edfou* II, 208, 12) and Dendara (*Dend.* IX, 139, 7).

³² M. POO, *loc. cit.*; in the laboratories at Edfu and Dendara, various wine-related products of the Bahariya Oasis appear, namely jnmt (*Edfou* II, 194, 14), jrt-Hr (*Edfou* II, 208, 12), šsp (*Edfou* II, 203, 12; 211, 15) referring to grape, grape seed or wine and nfrw-beverages (*Dend.* IX, 138, 16; 139, 7); on the Bahariya Oasis, see also A. FAKHRY, *The Oases of Egypt II. Bahriyah and Farafra Oases*, Cairo, 1974, p. 3-156.

beverage is joy entirely intoxicating whoever gets close to it.

RIGHT DOORJAMB

(*Esna* II, Nr. 125)

⁽¹⁾ *st tn nfrt ndmt pw nt Nwd-šps jwnn pw n Nt nbt Kpnj hnwt Pwnt [...n] n šhp n md jbr tj-šps hknw n h3w nbw nw Fkhr*


This beautiful place is the residence³³ of the Noble Distiller,³⁴ it is the sanctuary of Neith,³⁵ lady of Byblos,³⁶ mistress of Punt, [the chamber] of bringing *md*, *jbr*, *tj-šps* and *hknw*, and all kinds of *h3w*-substances of Fekeher.³⁷

⁽²⁾ *sh pn nfr st shn n Hdt-wrt mnkb n Hwt-hr nbt Šsmt [t] nt h3c sntr mnwr tst nt phrt k n Šsmw r ntf jr jr w nbw jm.f r shb Jwnyt m hnm ndm nn 3b*

This beautiful chapel is the dwelling place of the Great White,³⁸ residence of Hathor, lady of Shesemet,³⁹ the room of bestowing *sntr*- and *mnwr*-incense, and presenting curative substances(?)⁴⁰ that enter Shesemu, so that he⁴¹ performs all rituals therein to make Esna festive with sweet scent without ceasing.

3. Façade


The Offering Scene


The scene of the façade features Domitian burning *sntr*-incense for Khnum [fig. 3]. The emperor wears a cap crown provided with an uraeus, a *wsh*-collar, a double kilt, armlets and bracelets. He holds a *shtpj*-censer⁴² () with a papyrus umbel and an arm-shaped finial holding a pot of smoking incense on one end, a falcon head terminal on the other, and a cartouche-shaped container attached in the middle. With the falcon Horus head, the cartouche and the hand-shaped finial, the object itself represents the king offering incense to the deity,⁴³ moreover, incense, like other offerings was associated with and called the eye of Horus.⁴⁴

Khnum is seated on a throne wearing a composite version of the double feather crown

³³ Since the verb *ndm*, *settle* is probably an abbreviated form of the earlier verb *snđm* with the same meaning, the noun *ndmt* probably could also mean *residence*, *dwelling place* just as the noun *snđmt* (WPL, p. 567).

³⁴ *Nwd-šps* is an epithet of Shesemu (cf. *Wb* II, 226, 10-11) who is also called by his name at the end of the second column.

³⁵ For the phonetic value *pw* of the hieroglyphic sign , see D. KLOTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 33-56, esp. 41.

³⁶ The orthography of *Kpnj* probably refers to both Byblos and the perfumes coming from there, since although the word *Kpnj* means Byblos, the determinative here is oddly the sign .

³⁷ Fekeher usually occurs in ritual scenes of offering incense (D. KURTH, *Edfou VIII*, ITE I/1, Wiesbaden, 1998, p. 122); see also GDG II, p. 163.

³⁸ *Hd-wr*, *great white* is an epithet of Horus of Edfu (WPL, p. 694); the feminine noun here probably refers to Hathor, consort of Horus, as it does in other cases, see e.g., *s3bt-šwt* at *Dend.* IV, 8, 2 (S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara IV*, OLA 101, Leuven, 2001, p. 44-45).

³⁹ GDG V, p. 145-146.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Wb* I, 549, 1-12.

⁴¹ Considering the hieroglyph  as  with the value *t*.

⁴² Also called *ʿ-n-Hr* and *ntrj* in the laboratories of Edfu (*Edfou* II, 189, 15) and Dendara (*Dend.* IX, 129, 12, 130, 6).

⁴³ E. VASSILIKA, *Ptolemaic Philae*, OLA 34, Leuven, 1989, p. 105.

⁴⁴ For a *shtpj*-censer with the same iconography, see New York, Brooklyn Museum, inv. no. 72.8; for a detailed analysis on *shtpj*-censers and for a list of twenty pieces preserved in museums, see V.P. LAISNEY, "Les encensoirs égyptiens en forme de 'Bras de Horus' avec une insistance sur les moins connus", *Orientalia* 78, 2009, p. 229-257.

provided with a sun disk and an uraeus. He holds a *w3s*-sceptre in the right and an *ʿnh*-sign in the left hand. Between the deity and the king, a pile of offerings and ritual tools are shown supported by an offering stand. The scene is topped by the large-scaled hieroglyphic sign *pt* and a *hkr* frieze.

Cult Equipment on the Offering Stand: The Ritual Context of Aromatic Substances and Wine

Between the king and the deity, a list of offerings and ritual tools is shown [fig. 4]. The objects are arranged in a hierarchical structure displayed in four registers, three are shown on the stand and another one on the front surface of the stand.

In the uppermost register six objects are featured. The first two items at the right end are two spouted *nmst*-vessels (1-2) with god-headed lids portraying Neith and Khnum, the main deities of Esna.⁴⁵ Neith is represented as a woman wearing the red crown, and the ram-headed Khnum has the composite version of the double feather crown combined with a sun disk. *Nmst*-vessels were used for purification also appearing in the daily ritual⁴⁶ They contained the sacred water of the Nile which consecrated and revitalized everything. Thus, these two objects represented the deities who not only received but also created all offerings.

Behind them, the image of Maat (3) and a *wnšb*-sign (4) are shown. Both represented highly similar abstract ideas. While Maat was the personification of cosmic order,⁴⁷ the *wnšb*-sign referred to the cycle of ordered time and space by portraying Thot seated on a Maat-sign, also supported by the hieroglyph *hn*, which referred to the infinite time and space.⁴⁸ Thus, both these images represented the ultimate purpose and precondition of all rituals.

At the end of the register, a *shm*-sceptre (5) and an *ʿnh-dd-w3s-nb-hh*-sign (6) are shown. In

⁴⁵ On Khnum and Neith, the two creator deities of Esna, see S. SAUNERON, *Esna* V and VIII; J. HALLOF, “Der Tempel von Esna”, p. 119-131; G. SCHREIBER, “Vallás és mágia”, p. 36-37.

⁴⁶ K. EATON, *Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual: Performance, Pattern, and Practice*, Routledge Studies in Egyptology 1, London, New York, 2013, p. 166; in the daily ritual, *nmst*-vessels could be offered in sets of four or separately. In the latter case, the title of the ritual was *jnd-hr nmst* (*ibid.*, p. 187); spouted *nmst*-vessels became prevalent in the New Kingdom: A. MASSON, “Foundation Deposits”, in A. Villing, M. Bergeron, G. Bourogiannis *et al.* (eds), *Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt*, 2013, p. 14 (<http://www.britishmuseum.org/naukratis>) when representations of god-headed versions occurred as well (A. STUPKO-LUBCZYŃSKA, “On the Question of So-called Amun-vases: Observations from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari”, *EtudTrav* XXVIII, 2015, fig. 9a).

⁴⁷ Similar representations of offering Maat holding a feather in the hands and also wearing one on the head fixed with a ribbon became prevalent from the reign of Amenhotep III and the Amarna Period (M. HILL, *Royal Bronze Statuary from Ancient Egypt: With Special Attention to the Kneeling Pose*, *Egyptological Memoirs* 3, Leiden, Boston, 2004, p. 20), and appeared frequently in offering scenes till the Roman Period. Besides being a common type of amulet, small figures like that were worn by judges and high priests, tied around the neck (M.C. BETRÒ, *Heilige Zeichen. 580 Ägyptische Hieroglyphen. Die ganze Welt der Pharaonen wird verständlich und lebendig*, Wiesbaden, 2004, p. 85, 124; *Diodorus Siculus* I, 75, 5; on Maat as an offering, see also S. CAUVILLE, *Offerings to the Gods in Egyptian Temples*, Leuven, Paris, Walpole, 2012, p. 197-198).

⁴⁸ B.A. RICHTER, *The Theology of Hathor of Dendera: Aural and Visual Scribal Techniques in the Per-Wer Sanctuary*, Atlanta, 2016, p. 24, note 92; in this form, the sign first occurred in the New Kingdom with the value *šbt*. Before, it depicted a baboon seated in a sanctuary (E. GRAEFE, *LÄ* V, 1984, col. 547, s.v. Schebet); at Esna, it has the values *wnšb* and *wtj* (*Esna* II, Nr. 24; *Esna* VI, Nr. 478); however, in the Graeco-Roman Period, the values *wnšb*, *šbt*, *wtj* and *wšb* are all attested (E. GRAEFE, *loc. cit.*); for a detailed analysis on the interpretations of the sign and a discussion on the faience pieces preserved in museums, see Ch. SAMBIN, “Les objets *šbt* des musées”, *BIFAO* 87, 1987, p. 275-292; see also E. GRAEFE, *loc. cit.*, who argued that the earlier identification of the object as klepsydra is incorrect.

offering scenes, the *shm*, also called *hrp* or *ʿb3* was usually used by the king to consecrate the offerings.⁴⁹ Moreover, as a hieroglyphic sign, it frequently occurred in ritual scenes⁵⁰ with the value *hrp* referring to the act of *bringing* (the offerings to the deity), or with the value *shm* referring to the (divine) powers/ cult images of the temple.⁵¹ Lastly, the *ʿnh-dd-w3s-nb-hh*-sign at the end of the row represents *all life, stability and power for million of years*,⁵² i.e. all things the king could expect from the deities as a reward for performing the rituals. Hence, these two items allude to the ritual role of the king.

Thus, the top register features three pairs of the most significant cult objects providing a delicate summary of the theological background of any ritual. Even the arrangement of the objects recalls the visual structure of ritual scenes: the divine (1-2) and the human (5-6) side frame the unit (3-4) which alludes to the most essential nuances of their relationship.

The true significance of these six objects is also shown by the fact that each represents the image of a deity, except for the *shm*-sceptre, which, on the other hand, was an ideogram for the (divine) power referring to deity as discussed above.

As opposed to the clear structure of the top register featuring objects on a single baseline, the second and third registers display objects in a rather hectic way including several sub-registers.

The simple structure and the stillness of the uppermost register are required by their clear and strong message serving as an unshakeable base of any ritual. By contrast, the dynamism and liveliness of the second register allow for a comprehensive perception of the rich symbolism of the cult objects, their multifaceted uses, and the various possibilities of their classification.

The first three objects (7-9) of the second register are a rare, four-armed version of the falcon-headed *shtpj*-censer,⁵³ the cartouche-shaped container⁵⁴ and the mortar⁵⁵ (*šd*) with a pestle

⁴⁹ See e.g., *Esna* III, Nr. 200, 219, 226, 267; furthermore, it could also be an offering itself (F. DAUMAS, *Les mammis de Dendara*, PIFAO, Le Caire, 1959, p. 174. pl. 68); see also the bronze piece from the sacred animal necropolis of Saqqara bearing an inscription (*dj ʿnh wd3 snb n wʿb*) addressed to a *wab*-priest (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. no. JdE 91488; C.I. GREEN, *The Temple Furniture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara 1964-1976*, EES-ExcMem 53, London, 1987, p. 47, Nr. 104); in funerary context, being associated with Osiris and Anubis, the personification of the sceptre was also a frequent element in the mortuary iconography of the Third Intermediate Period (É. LIPTAY, “Kép és szöveg az egyiptomi kultúrában”, *Ókor* 7, 2008, p. 41-42 [in Hungarian]).

⁵⁰ See e.g., *Dend.* IX, 136, 1, 136, 10, 137, 7, 137, 18, 139, 12, 139, 16 in the laboratory of Dendara.

⁵¹ See e.g., *Dend.* IX, 137, 2, 139, 8, 139, 17 in the laboratory of Dendara.

⁵² Small pieces featuring similar combinations of hieroglyphic signs were frequent elements of burial assemblages; however, larger examples from temple context are also known: they were most probably ritual implements just like a 23.5 cm high faience piece from the temple of Taharqa at Gebel Barkal (London, British Museum, EA 54412; K. EATON, *op. cit.*, p. 128); on scenes of presenting the *ʿnh-dd-w3s*-sign, see E. WINTER, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, DÖAWW 98, Wien, 1968, p. 69-102.

⁵³ For further representations of the same type at Esna, see the two antithetically rendered large-scaled barque-scenes above the Ptolemaic gate of the rear wall of the pronaos where they are held by the two subsequent emperors after Domitian, Nerva and Traian (*Esna* VI, Nr. 543, 545); for a double censer arm now preserved in the August Kestner Museum, Hannover, see Chr.E. LOEBEN (ed.), *Die Ägypten-Sammlung des Museum August Kestner und ihre (Kriegs-)Verluste*, Museum Kestnerianum 15, Rahden, 2011, cat. no. B.0215.

⁵⁴ As discussed before, the smaller version of the same container was a standard element of the single-armed *shtpj*-censer and was used for incense pellets. As for the larger version, it is also attested in the laboratory of Edfu where it is placed under two vessels of incense pellets in a scene where the corresponding recipe concerns the making of kyphi (*Edfou* II, 211, 5-212, 10 pl. XLIII^a, register II). Several pieces used for aromatic substances are also preserved in museums, see e.g., Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. nos. JE 91441 (C.I. GREEN, *op. cit.*, p. 44, Nr. 93) and JE 61496 (A. EL-SHAHAWY, *The Funerary Art of Ancient Egypt: A Bridge to the Realm of the*

representing tools used for offering, storing and preparing substances kept in the laboratory. The next item in the register is a sistrum (*šhm*)⁵⁶ (10) which made the deity rejoice by imitating the rustling sound of papyrus stalks being shaken by the wind.

To the left of the sistrum, an *3ms*-sceptre⁵⁷ (11) and a *hd*-mace⁵⁸ (12) are depicted. They were often held by the king in the left hand in ritual scenes, but also appeared as offerings received by the god in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual.⁵⁹ Moreover, various types of sceptres (*w3s-hk3*- and *nh3h3*) occurred in the daily ritual, too, as it is attested in the Abydos Liturgy.⁶⁰

Next, two further adornments are depicted: a *wsh*-collar (16) and the double feather crown (*šwtj*) (14), which were also offered in the daily ritual.⁶¹ Moreover, the image of the feather crown can also be interpreted as a *psš-kf*,⁶² which was used for animation in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual.⁶³

This way, it is also linked to the next two items in the register, i.e., the *nw3*-adze⁶⁴ (15) and the *wr-hk3w*⁶⁵ (13) which were specifically used for animation in the Opening of the Mouth

Hereafter, Cairo, 2005, p. 229-230, Nr. 146).

⁵⁵ Similar mortars are attested in archaeological context as well (Fr. GODDIO, M. CLAUS (eds.), *Ägyptens versunkene Schätze: 5. April 2007 bis 27. Januar 2008, Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Bonn, München, 2007, p. 309, 376, cat. no. 138), see also B.G. ASTON, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms*, SAGA 5, Heidelberg, 1994, p. 158, no. 199-201, and A. MASSON, “Stone Vessels”, in A. Villing, M. Bergeron, G. Bourogiannis *et al.* (eds), *Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt*, 2013, p. 10-11; the Egyptian term *šd*, mortar, has several attestations in the laboratories of Edfu and Dendara appearing in the recipes of kyphi (*k3pt*) (*Edfou* II, 211, 9) and *ntjw* (*Edfou* II, 221, 8 and 10, 222, 1 and 11, 223, 9, 229, 10; *Dend.* IX, 125, 6-7, 126, 12).

⁵⁶ As opposed to the naossistrum (*sššt*), here an arched sistrum (*šhm*) is depicted with the stylized outlines of the face of Bat; sistra were originally fetishes of the bovine goddess Bat whose figure was incorporated by that of Hathor in the Middle Kingdom (on sistra, see L. MANNICHE, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1991, p. 63-64; E.R. RUSSMANN [ed.], *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*, London, 2001, p. 212-213; E. VASSILIKA, *OLA* 34, p. 108; L. KLEBS, “Die verschiedenen formen des Sistrums”, *ZÄS* 67, 1931, p. 61-62).

⁵⁷ The *3ms*-sceptre was thought to have a protective nature removing any impurity and danger (WPL, p. 10-11).

⁵⁸ Piriform *hd*-maces already appeared in the Predynastic Period (Nagada III, see e.g., the Scorpion mace head: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AN1896-1908.E3632) as an offering to the god; earlier, they were used only as weapons characteristic to the Nagada II period (G. ROBINS, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1997, p. 34; J. BAINES, “Origins of Egyptian Kingship”, in D.B. O’Connor, D.P. Silverman [eds.], *Ancient Egyptian Kingship, ProblÄg* 9, Leiden, 1995, p. 153).

⁵⁹ A.M. BLACKMAN, “The Sequence of the Episodes in the Egyptian Daily Temple Liturgy”, *JMEOS* 9, 1919, p. 29; K. GOEBS, “King as God and God as King” in R. Gundlach, K. Spence (eds.), *Palace and Temple. 5th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology*, KSG 4,2, Wiesbaden, 2011, p. 65; *Edfou* I, 166, XXIII.b.

⁶⁰ Preserved in the chapels of Harsiese, Isis, Osiris Wenennefer, Amun, Atum and Ptah in the temple of Sethi I at Abydos (E. TEETER, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge, 2011, p. 46-47).

⁶¹ According to the Abydos Liturgy, the priest adorned the deity with a protective *wsh*-collar and a feather crown before presenting him or her the sceptres (K. EATON, *op. cit.*, p. 182); on the symbolism of *wsh*-collars, see K. GOEBS, *op. cit.*, p. 71-72; the feather crown is also shown on the emblem of the Third Upper Egyptian nome with its centre at Esna, and being associated with Khnum appears on the Khnum-headed *nmst*-vessel in the top register.

⁶² Its interpretation as a *psš-kf* is also mentioned by S. CAUVILLE, M.I. ALI, *Le temple égyptien et ses dieux. Philae - Kom Ombo - Edfou - Esna - Dendara. Itinéraire du divin*, Leuven, 2017, p. 60; on *psš-kf*-knives, see A.M. ROTH, “The *psš-kf* and the ‘Opening of the Mouth’ Ceremony: A Ritual of Birth and Rebirth”, *JEA* 78, 1992, p. 113-147.

⁶³ See e.g., *Edfou* VII, 152, 13 pl. 164, D. KURTH, *Edfou VII, ITE* I/2, Wiesbaden, 2004, p. 275; E. OTTO, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* II, *ÄA* 3, Wiesbaden, 1960, p. 97, Scene 37.

⁶⁴ Also called *ntṛty*.

⁶⁵ Originally it was a snake-headed rod, the ram-headed version seen here is a later version (WPL, p. 241).

Ritual.⁶⁶ In temple context, the Opening of the Mouth Ritual was performed during the foundation ceremonies⁶⁷ and also on statues and other cultic objects with the image of the deity to animate them before placing them in the temple.⁶⁸ After that, the ritual was regularly performed on various occasions, especially on New Year's Day.⁶⁹ After taking the statues out from the crypts, they had to be animated before bringing them to the roof to unite them with the sun rays. Thus, the representations of the *nw3*-adze and the *wr-ḥk3w* refer to the magical power of cultic objects, especially those appearing in the top two registers.

In the third register, mostly vessels containing libations, oils, and ointments are depicted. The items are arranged in three sections. The right unit is ruled by the number three. It is divided into three parts by three lotus flowers (17-19) leaning over libation vessels. First, a spouted *hs*-jar (20) is shown, then a *hnm*-vessel (21) supported by a stand, and below the third lotus flower, a group of three jars are represented apparently referring to wine (22),⁷⁰ beer (23)⁷¹ and milk (24)⁷² based on their ideographic use in offering scenes in the hypostyle hall at Esna. By contrast, *hs*- and *hnm*-jars appear in ritual scenes concerning purification, thus, here most probably referring to water, even as hieratic dockets attest that in real life, *hs*-jars often contained wine⁷³ just as the *hnm*-vessels which were also used for oils.⁷⁴ Thus, this unit shows all four main types of libation offerings. Water libation was the most essential of all libation and food offerings, thus, it could be a substitution for all the offerings.⁷⁵ Besides purification, it was offered to be drunk by the deity having a regenerative effect.⁷⁶

The effects of alcoholic beverages are detailed by the second column of the left doorjamb

⁶⁶ E. OTTO, *op. cit.*, p. 80-87, Scenes 26-27.

⁶⁷ Hacking up the earth with the *nw3*-adze connected the temple with Nun by reaching the primordial waters, thus, it was a standard item found in foundation deposits (A. MASSON, "Foundation Deposits", p. 11; see also e.g., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 25.3.40-43: W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art II: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080 B.C.)*, New York, 1990, p. 84-85).

⁶⁸ C. TRAUNECKER, "Le 'Château de l'Or' de Thoutmosis III et les magasins nord du temple d'Amon", *CRIPEL* 11, 1989, p. 96, fig. 4.

⁶⁹ W. WAITKUS, "Zum funktionalen Zusammenhang von Krypta, Wabet und Goldhaus", in D. Kurth (ed.), 3. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration*, *ÄAT* 33.1, Wiesbaden, 1995, p. 283-303, esp. p. 287, note 32, and p. 288, note 36; *Esna* V, p. 126.

⁷⁰ See e.g., *Esna* II, Nr. 122. Although *nw*-vessels usually referred to wine in ritual scenes, sometimes they appeared as water containers M. POO, *StudEg*, p. 43-44; H. SCHLÖGL, *Geschenk des Nils, Ägyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz*, Basel, 1978, p. 32; accordingly, *nw*-jars for wine and oils are attested in archeologic context as well (see e.g., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 18.8.15. (C.H. ROEHRIG, "Two Jars", in C.H. Roehrig, R. Dreyfus, C.A. Keller (eds.), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, New York, New Haven, 2005, p. 187-188 cat. no.106).

⁷¹ See e.g., *Esna* III, Nr. 11, 312; it is noteworthy that in other temples similar vessels could also refer to wine (see e.g., in the laboratory at Dendara: *Dend.* IX, 138, pls. DCCCLXXIX, DCCCLXXXVIII).

⁷² See e.g., *Esna* VI, Nr. 482.

⁷³ See e.g., Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, inv. no. E14368A.

⁷⁴ As attested by various sources e.g., by inscriptions in New Kingdom tombs (N. DE G. DAVIES, A.H. GARDINER, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt (no. 82)*, *TTS* 1, London, 1915, pl. XVI) or in the temple of Hatshepsut (A. STUPKO-LUBCZYŃSKA, "Reading the Offering Procession in the Chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari", *SAK* 46, 2017, p. 235, fig. 1); a vessel *hnm* *wrt* also appears in two recipes in the laboratory at Edfu where it is used for mixing various ingredients (*Edfou* II, 203, 13, 212, 3).

⁷⁵ On the role of water-libation in funerary context, see J. ASSMANN, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, Ithaca, London, 2005, p. 355-363.


⁷⁶ M. POO, "Liquids in Temple Ritual", in J. Dieleman, W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 2010, p. 4-5.

(*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 2). Furthermore, wine was associated with vitality and regeneration since the produce of grapes depending on the inundation equated with Osiris. Moreover, depictions refer to its association with blood. While the great quality of wine was proven by listing the regions of its origin in temple inscriptions, the quality of beer seems to have depended on the proper cooking method using the prescribed ingredients in the exact measurements.⁷⁷

Nutritious milk providing physical strength is the fourth type of libation offerings. Because of its white colour, it was also thought to have a purifying effect. Finally, the lotus flower represented here was associated with rebirth and was offered either on its own⁷⁸ or used as an ingredient for various aromatic substances.⁷⁹

The middle unit of the register displays four groups of jars in four sub-registers each including four vessels. The two top sub-registers feature four *nmst*- (25-28) and four *dšrt*-jars (29-32). Purification rituals performed with four *nmst*- and four *dšrt*-vessels were part of the daily⁸⁰ and the Opening of the Mouth Ritual.⁸¹ In offering scenes, the connection between the four *nmst*- and four *dšrt*-vessels are expressed by the antithetical rendering of their scenes.⁸²

The four *ʕrf*-sacks below usually referred to eye paint (33-36) in temple ritual scenes and were also offered in the daily ritual to protect the eyes of the deity, which was essential in the creation process, and thus in maintaining the cosmic order.⁸³

Finally, below the *ʕrf*-sacks, four *mrḥt*-vessels are shown in the bottom sub-register referring to ointments or oils (37-40). Open-shaped, straight or concave-sided tall ointment jars corresponding to the hieroglyphic sign  were already attested in the Early Dynastic Period.⁸⁴ The open shape was practical for ointments with a more solid consistency. Shorter versions were used in everyday life until the Middle Kingdom,⁸⁵ and occurred without cease in ritual context, for instance in foundation deposits till the New Kingdom.⁸⁶

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2-3.

⁷⁸ *Edfou* IX, pl. XLj; for a detailed analysis of lotus flowers, their symbolic and related offering scenes, see M.-L. RYHNER, *L'offrande du lotus dans les temples égyptiens de l'époque tardive*, *RitesEg* VI, 1986, Bruxelles, *passim*; see also J. DITTMAR, *Blumen und Blumensträuße als Opfergabe im alten Ägypten*, *MÄS* 43, München, 1986, p. 47-50; Chr.E. LOEBEN, S. KAPPEL, *Die Pflanzen im altägyptischen Garten: Ein Bestandskatalog der ägyptischen Sammlung im Museum August Kestner*, Rahden, 2009, p. 117-119.

⁷⁹ In the laboratory of Edfu, it appears as an ingredient of *md* which was one of the nine *mrḥt*-oils used in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual (*Edfou* II, 210, 1-2).

⁸⁰ K. EATON, *Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual*, p. 181; see e.g., the episodes of the Karnak Liturgy of the daily ritual preserved on two papyri of the 22nd Dynasty, one dedicated to Amun (pBerlin 3055) and the other to Mut (pBerlin 3014, p3053): *ibid.*, p. 176.

⁸¹ E. OTTO, *ÄA* 3, p. 37-44, Scenes 2-3.

⁸² See e.g., the relevant scenes in the Nile chapel at Dendara (*Dend.* XI, 78, 94, pls. XLIV, XLVI) and in the Osiris chapel at Edfu (*Edfou* I, 163, 170, pls. XXIIIa-b); see also the model of set of four spouted *nmst*-vessels attached to a base now preserved in Boston (Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 72.2978).

⁸³ On the green (*w3dt*) and black eyepaint (*msdmt*), see WPL, p. 205, 468; in temple context, they usually appear in pairs offered by the king (see e.g., *Edfou* II, 286, XLVb); besides, usually but not invariably in sets of four, *ʕrf*-sacks also frequently appeared on the vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 17 shown below the funerary bier (see e.g., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 35.9.20: H. KOCKELMANN, “Drei Götter unterm Totenbett. Zu einem ungewöhnlichen Bildmotiv in einer späten Totenbuch-Handschrift”, *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 77-78, 86, fig. 10).

⁸⁴ B.G. ASTON, *SAGA* 5, p. 99, fig. 20.

⁸⁵ Do. ARNOLD, *LÄ* II, p. 484-486, s.v. Gefäße; see e.g., H. SCHLÖGL, *op. cit.*, p. 43, no. 133-34; A.P. KOZLOFF, “Egyptian Stone Vessels in Cleveland”, *BCMA* 73, 1986, p. 331, fig. 13.

⁸⁶ For examples, see B.G. ASTON, *op. cit.*, p. 104; see also e.g., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nos. 25.3.46a,b, 25.3.47a,b: C.H. ROEHRIG, “Two Flared Ointment Jars”, in C.H. Roehrig, R. Dreyfus, C.A. Keller (eds.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, New York, New Haven, 2005, p. 144-145; New York,

At the end of the register, two feathers (41-42) are depicted symbolizing the Maat, and the offering of an ostrich feather was also part of the Opening of the Mouth Ritual.⁸⁷ Feathers appear in all three registers: in all, four pairs of feathers are represented alluding to fullness. In two cases, they form a feather crown (1, 13), and in the two other cases, they are depicted separately. In the top register, they appear on the head and in the hands of the figure of Maat (3), and in the third register, they are depicted on their own. In parallel with the last two items (*nw3*-adze and *wr-hk3w*) of the second register referring to the magical power of cultic objects in general, here, these two feathers have a similar all-encompassing role: all the offerings placed on the large-scaled hieroglyphic sign *tm* on the offering stand belong to the Maat.

Furthermore, the first items (1-2, 7-9, 20-21) of all three registers are related to purification either being vessels of the sacred water of the Nile or being tools for burning incense.⁸⁸ On the other hand, if one considers the meaning of the last items of each register (5-6, 15-16, 41-42), the whole pile will be perfectly summarized: all cultic objects and offerings are pure (1-2, 7-9, 20-21), consecrated (5), (the divine images are) animated (15-16) and they are all form parts of the Maat (41-42).

In the third register, all vessels are well attested not only in archaeological context but also in the classical repertoire of hieroglyphic signs [table 1]. By contrast, the vessels depicted in the fourth register are characteristic of hieroglyphic texts of the Graeco-Roman Period, and even then, they appeared rarely, mostly as phonograms. Without regular ideographic attestations in temple scenes, they do not refer to a specific ritual nor to a specific material. Thus, they rather allude to the everyday ritual practice in a different, more practical than strictly theological way.

The first two items in the register are two *situlae* (43-44) usually made of metal and used for ritual purposes both in funerary and temple context. It was also a common votive offering mostly containing water or milk.⁸⁹ The next vessel is an alabastron (45) used for oils.⁹⁰ In the laboratories, it also appears at Edfu containing *hknw*-oil.⁹¹ The third item in the register is a bowl (46) placed on a stand and then, two unguentaria (47-48) are displayed.⁹²

Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 25.3.45a,b: W.C. HAYES, *op. cit.*, p. 84-85.

⁸⁷ E. OTTO, *op. cit.*, p. 99-100, scene 39.

⁸⁸ For purification, incense was burnt, and water was poured on the floor, offering tables and stands before the ritual, and also, statues were washed with the sacred water of the Nile to prepare them for receiving the offerings.

⁸⁹ A. MASSON, "Bronze Votive Offerings", in A. Villing, M. Bergeron, G. Bourogiannis *et al.*, *Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt*, 2013, p. 11; A. RICKERT, *Gottheit und Gabe: Eine ökonomische Prozession im Soubassement des Opettempels von Karnak und ihre Parallele in Kôm Ombo*, *Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion* 4, Wiesbaden, 2011, p. 131-132.

⁹⁰ They were first attested in Egypt in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (B.G. ASTON, *op. cit.*, p. 166), and were made of materials like stone (W.M.F.I. PETRIE, *Stone and Metal Vases*, *BSAE-ERA* 59, Warminster, 1937, pl. XXXVII) and glass (J.D. COONEY, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum IV. Glass*, London, 1976, p. 1068, no. 1048-9).

⁹¹ *Edfou II*, 200, 1, pl. XLIIIc.

⁹² Glass unguentaria were unique pieces, the manufacture of which flourished in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and then after a decline suggested by the lack of archaeological evidence in the Third Intermediate Period, the number of glass unguentaria increased again in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, so that after a decline in the fourth century BC, they become prevalent again in the Ptolemaic Period (R.J. FORBES, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, Leiden, 1955, p. 123-124 and 129-130); for a glass piece with pointed base, see J.D. COONEY, *op. cit.*, no 1735.

Inscriptions of the Façade

The façade consists of three texts: those of the offering scene (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 1-2) and the two bandeau texts above (*Esna* II, Nr. 119) and below (*Esna* II, Nr. 121).

Although the upper bandeau text almost completely perished, the extant parts and parallel examples clarify that it concerns the king’s ritual role ‘who has come to Khnum’, apparently to perform various pious acts.

The inscriptions of the offering scene consist of the three usual parts: the texts accompanying the offerings, the king and the deity. The adjoining texts of the offerings (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 1-3), i.e., the title and formula of the ritual partly refer to the main theme of the scene (*jrt sntr n b3 wr šfyt*) and partly to the cult equipment (*dbhw nw ht-ntr*) shown on a stand between the king and the god. They were used on a daily basis when the great *wab*-priest performed the rituals (*jr jrw nbw jn w^cb ʕ3 jmy hrw.f hrt hrw nn 3b*).⁹³

The inscription accompanying the king (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 4-7) consists of two cartouches, two rows of epithets, and the standard protective formula behind his figure. Although the upper row of epithets (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 6) is largely damaged, and thus cannot be interpreted, the row below (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 7) refers to the king as the one who performs the rituals in the temple (*jr nt-ʕ m Hwt-Hnmw*). Besides, the key elements of this passage are linked to various sections of the inscriptions of the room.⁹⁴

The accompanying texts of the figure of Khnum are arranged in two units. One is shown before and above, and another one behind his image. The text before his image (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 8-12) consists of five columns referring to Khnum as the lord of the whole land, however, the inscriptions are largely damaged.

The other unit behind Khnum consists of a single column (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 13). Since the upper part of the column is destroyed, it cannot be analysed as a whole. Nevertheless, the lower, intact part includes six epithets and their relation is worth to examine for a better understanding of the text. The text is a hymn praising Khnum as a creator god.⁹⁵ The chain of these six epithets has a concentric structure (abc-cba) as they are arranged in the form of an introverted parallelism [table 2].


The broadest meaning belongs to the pair a¹-a² (*jr wnnt*, who made what exists – *hnm m š3ʕ*, who created in the beginning) which is enlightened by b¹-b² (*p3wtj tpj*, the first primordial god – *ntr w^c hpr (m) hh*, the only god who became into million) and by c¹-c² (*ms psdt*, who fashioned the Ennead – *hnm hr-nb hr nhp.f*, who created all people on his potter’s wheel) from different angles.

The climax of the text is undoubtedly the last epithet, *hnm m š3ʕ*. Its depth lies in its

⁹³ C.f. title of the daily ritual on P. Berlin 3055 I, 1: *h3t ʕ m r3w nw ht-ntr jrt n pr Jmn-R^c nsw ntrw m hrt hrw nt r^c nb jn w^cb ʕ3 jmy hrw.f*, for an analysis, see W. GUGLIEMI, K. BUROH, “Die Eingangssprüche des täglichen Tempelrituals nach Papyrus Berlin 3055 (I, 1-VI, 3)”, *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, *Egyptological Memoirs* 1, Leiden, 1997, p. 106-107.

⁹⁴ See the connections between the passages *s3h(.tw) k3.f m tp-r3.f* (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 7) and *rwd r3.f hr 3hw nfrw.f* and *jw.f s3h k3.f hr wdhw* (below the scene of the façade, *Esna* II, Nr. 121), between *jmy sb(.tw) dbhw nw ht-ntr* (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 2) and *ʕpr(.w) ht nbt nfrt m dbhw nw (...)* (first clause of the left doorjamb, *Esna* II, Nr. 124, 1), and also between *jr jrw nbw jn w^cb ʕ3* (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 3) and *šsmw (...)* *jr(.tw) jrw nbw* (last clause of the right doorjamb, *Esna* II, Nr. 125, 2).

⁹⁵ On creation hymns at Esna, see A.I.F. PICHEL, *Les hymnes au dieu Khnoum*, *passim*; Ph. DERCHAIN, D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN, *La création: poème parietal / Die Schöpfung: ein Wandgedicht: la façade ptolémaïque du temple d’Esna - pour une poétique ptolémaïque*, *RitesEg* 10, Turnhout, Bruxelles, 2004, *passim*.

simplicity. First, the determinative  of the verb *hnm*⁹⁶ summarizes the whole hymn showing the ram-headed Khnum as he creates (everything) on his potter wheel. Furthermore, the locution *hnm m š3ʕ*, *who created in the beginning* is homophone with the locution *Hnm m š3ʕ*, *Khnum existed in the beginning*. On the one hand, *hnm m š3ʕ* emphasizes the active role of the primordial god in parallel with *c*¹-*c*² (*ms psdt* and *hnm hr-nb hr nhp.f*), the one *who fashioned the Ennead*, and *who created all people on his potter's wheel*. The active synonymous verbs of *c*¹ and *c*² (*ms* and *hnm*) introduce two objects (*Ennead*, *people*) forming a complementary pair, and in *c*², even the tool of creation is noted. On the other hand, the homophone locution *Hnm m š3ʕ* highlights the passive side of the primordial god in parallel with *b*¹-*b*² (*p3wtj tpj* and *ntr wʕ hr (m) hh*), *the first primordial god* and *the only god who became into million*. It is also worth noting how *b*² deepens the meaning of *b*¹ by pointing out that the contrast of the one and the million lies in the concept of the primordial god.

Turning to the lower bandeau text, it concerns the ritual role of the deity. The hymn praises Khnum not only as the recipient but also as the creator and provider of all offerings.

The text is a paradigm of *parallelismus membrorum*. It is again arranged as an introverted parallelism of six members (abc-cba) [table 3].

The first epithet of the hymn (*a*¹), *smn nt-ʕ m Hwt-jt*, *who established the ritual of Hwt-jt*, echoes the passage [Domitian] (...) *jr nt-ʕ m Hwt-Hnmw*, *who performs the ritual in the Mansion of Khnum* of the offering scene (*Esna* II, Nr. 120,7) intensifying its message by changing the subject and the predicate (Khnum instead of Domitian, and *smn* instead of *jr*). On the other hand, the sixth epithet of the hymn, *hb.f mn r-hnty*, *his festival indures forever*, (*a*²) declares the same idea as an infallible principle. The three-stepped development of this line of thought is well illustrated by using the verbs *jr*, *smn* and *mn*.

The second epithet (*b*¹) *rwḏ r3.f hr 3hw nfrw.f*, *whose speech is rooted in the glory of his beauty*, of the hymn, corresponds to the passage *s3h(.tw) k3.f m tp-r3.f*, *whose ka is glorified by his spells* of the offering scene (*Esna* II, Nr. 120,1), and is completed by the fifth epithet (*b*²) *jwn.f s3h k3.f hr wdhw*, *his brightness glorifies his statue on the offering table*, of the hymn. Members *b*¹ and *b*² relate to the passage *s3h(.tw) k3.f m tp-r3.f* of the offering scene as a complementary pair: his (i.e. the god's) *ka* is indeed glorified (transfigured) by the spells, however, the ultimate source of this magical power is the god himself in his form of the sun. The glory of his sunshine is not just the object and the source of the recitation, but the sunrays as the manifestation of the god directly transfigure the statue itself. The puns by the repetition of the same words (the preposition *hr*, and the noun *k3*) and also the use of the terms *s3h* and *3hw* derived from the same root (*3h*) create a peculiar harmony between the three statements.

Finally, the simplest, third epithet of the hymn, *sdf3 (c*¹*)* is linked with the fourth epithet *km3 htpw (c*²*)*. Though no corresponding passage can be noted in the intact parts of the offering scene, the hymn of the creator god Khnum behind his image is noteworthy.

Although this introverted parallelism is a form of mirroring, it is only true to a certain extent in this case. The second elements are indeed restatements of the first, however, the second component of each pair is deeper and more intense resulting in an increased dynamism in the second half of the hymn. The structural unity of the hymn is further provided by the relation

⁹⁶ Cf. *Dend.* IX, 31, 15 and S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara: le fonds hiéroglyphique*, C35; D. KURTH, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische I: Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken*, Hützel, 2008, p. 140, no. 71, see also D. MEEKS, *Les architraves du temple d'Esna, PalHier* 1, Le Caire, 2004, § 92, where it is regarded as the determinative of the synonymous terms, *nhp* and *kd*.

between each pair. While a^1 and a^2 claim that the ritual is ultimately maintained by the god, b^1 and b^2 say that it is also the god who ‘glorifies’ (transfigures) both the statue and the recitations. Lastly, c^1 and c^2 claim that even the creator of the offerings is the god himself. Thus, the dynamism of the hymn decreases from a^1 through b^1 till c^1 and then, it increases through c^2 and b^2 till a^2 where it reaches its climax stating that the festival of the deity remains till eternity. This statement is also the climax of the texts of the entire façade, summarizing what is inscribed on the bandeau and in the offering scene.

4. Doorway

Scenes of the Lintel

The lintel features two offering scenes. On the one side, Domitian offers wine in two *nw*-jars in the left scene [fig. 5]. Although the scene is damaged, the width of the scene suggests that three deities would have been represented. The first is the lion-headed Menhit wearing a sun disk provided with a uraeus, adorned with a bracelet and holding a *w3s*-sceptre in the right hand. The rest of her image is destroyed. Unfortunately, none of the representations of the second and third deity remained intact. Nevertheless, according to the adjoining inscription, Nebtu would have been shown behind Menhit. These two local goddesses of Esna were equated with Hathor and Tefnut likewise representing the peaceful and the wild sides of the same goddess and also associated with alcoholic beverages.⁹⁷ Since Menhit/Nebtu was the consort of Khnum and the mother of Heka,⁹⁸ the third deity of the scene must have been Heka, the child as Khnum would have been seated at the front. Between the king and the deities three cups of beverages are represented on an offering table. A bouquet of lotus flowers leans over the vessels, and next to the leg of the table, the partially destroyed images of further offerings are shown.

On the other side, Domitian presents *ḥntjw*-myrrh in the sphinx-shaped *smswn*-vessel⁹⁹ in the right scene [fig. 6]. The first deity is Neith, the main goddess of Esna. She wears the red crown, and faint outlines of a *wsh*-collar, armlets and bracelets are also shown. As usual, she holds a *w3s*-sceptre, a bow and two arrows in the left hand and an *ḥnh*-sign in the right. She also appears in the inscriptions of the doorjambs associated with aromatic substances of Punt and the God’s Land. Behind her is the partially destroyed image of the lion-headed Menhit wearing a tripartite wig and holding a *w3s*-sceptre. Finally, only a small part of the *w3s*-sceptre remained intact of the perished representation of the third deity who would have been the child god, Heka based on the accompanying inscriptions. Between the king and the gods further offerings are depicted. Three objects are featured on a table; however, they are depicted in such a small scale that can hardly be identified: nevertheless, one of them is probably an *ḥrf*-bag and there is a cup, too containing three pieces of an unrecognizable substance. Above the table there is a bouquet of lotus flowers, and under it there are two stalks of lettuce.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Accordingly, Hathor appears in the inscriptions of the doorjambs in relation with wine (*Esna* II, Nr. 125, 2).

⁹⁸ *Esna* VIII, Nr. 27-31; G. SCHREIBER, “Vallás és mágia”, p. 34-37; J. HALLOF, “Der Tempel von Esna”, p. 119-131; A.M. ABDEL-RAHMAN, “The Dance for Appeasing Menhyt-Nebtou at Esna”, in O. El-Aguizy, M.S. Ali (eds.), *Echoes of eternity: Studies presented to Gaballa Aly Gaballa*, *Philippika* 35, Wiesbaden, 2010, p. 149-162.

⁹⁹ Showing the king himself presenting the offering just like the *shtpj*-censer on the façade.

¹⁰⁰ Based on the pattern of the surface, they are stalks of lettuce and not the conical beer jars also frequently represented under offering tables.

The king wears a double kilt, a *wesekh*-collar, armlets and bracelets in either scene; however, he has the white crown in the right, southern and the red crown in the left, northern scene.

In comparison with the sophisticated depictions of the scene of the façade and its proportions of canon, the figures of the lintel scenes are much bulkier and shorter, also, the depictions are crowded and executed in a rather crude way.¹⁰¹ The reason for this difference lies mainly in the technical difficulties of executing depictions in raised relief in such a small scale which was required by the small width of the narrow doorway of the room.

The ears and hands of the figures are oversized, the necks are disproportionately thin, the *w3s*- and *ʿnh*-signs are too thick, and the outlines in general are less curved, which is especially striking at the waist and the ankles of the king. All the fine details, such as the various patterns of garments and adornments shown in the façade scene, are missing here. Although a small horizontal interval between the figures is characteristic to all scenes of the temple, the figures otherwise are slender, and the scenes are much taller which makes them look airy and delicate. On the contrary, the lintel scenes are not only narrow but also short, the elements of the scenes often touch one another both vertically and horizontally.

Texts of the Doorjambs (Esna II, Nr. 124-125)

The external surfaces of the two doorjambs are occupied by self-referential texts.¹⁰² The inscriptions of this genre directly refer to the function of the room, and thus are of great significance. The text of either doorjamb is arranged in two columns with parallel structures based on the principle of *parallelismus membrorum*, consisting of several synonymous and complementary pairs [table 4-5].

The inscriptions of the left doorjamb (*Esna II*, Nr. 124) define the chamber as a storeroom of various substances. Making a complementary pair, while the first column details aromatic substances, the second mentions alcoholic beverages [table 4]. Both columns start with a brief definition of the room (*[shd] n k3pt pw* and *bw n jrp pw*). They mention one of the most commonly used aromatic substances, kyphi (*k3pt*) and the most commonly used term for wine, *jrp* to represent the two types of materials kept in the room. These are followed by listing further substances of the laboratory. In the first column, the phrase *ht nbt nfrt* introduces a group of four items: the requirements of substances (*dbhw nw jrt-Hr jhm wr*), the numerous kinds of *snbw*-plants (*ʿš3 [snbw]*), its secret (*sš3.f*) (i.e. its substances), and everything that comes forth from the offering table of the deity (*pr hr wdhw.f*), (for instance) *nnjb* or *mnh(?)*-plants. On the other hand, the parallel unit of the second column lists different kinds of alcoholic beverages, at first *jmnt*-wine and *th*-drink (parallel with *nnjb* and *mnh* of the first column). They are followed by two brief clauses (*sh^{cc} m-hnt* and *swnf jb*) about their benefits. Since the main indicator of quality is the place of production in the case of wine, well-known wine-producing regions (*Snw*, *Jmt*, *Hwt-jht*, *Knmt*, *Dsds*) are listed referring to high-quality wines. The first four places are introduced by two parallel expressions *pr m-hnw* and *hpr m*. As a group of four, they symbolize completion and fullness¹⁰³ just as the four

¹⁰¹ On the contemporary canon of proportions, see G. ROBINS, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art*, Austin, 1994, p. 160-181.

¹⁰² Just like in the laboratory at Edfu (*Edfou II*, 191, 2-192, 4), however, at Edfu, two further self-referential texts are displayed: these are the two bandeau inscriptions of the room (*Edfou II*, 194, 3-195, 9 and 195, 12-196, 6); in the laboratory at Dendara, the self-referential texts are featured on the upper bandeau beneath the frieze.

¹⁰³ On the symbolism of the number four, see C. DE WIT, “Les génies des quatre vents au temple d’Opet”, *ChronEg* 63, 1957, p. 35-37; M.J. RAVEN, “Egyptian Concepts on the Orientation of the Human Body”, *JEA* 91,

items introduced by the expression *ht nbt nfrt* in the first column.

On the other hand, the fifth region, *Dsds* (the Bahariya Oasis) appears in another construction (*jnw nbw nw Dsds*), which is, in turn, parallel with the expressions *h3w nbw nw Pwnt* and *šnwt nt T3-ntr* of the second column. Complementing each other, the first column names regions of aromatic substances as opposed to wine. Finally, the section is closed by a conclusion in either column (*htr r ʕryt tn* and *jw.sn jry r st tn*) reflecting and reassuring the first clauses of the texts (*[shd] n k3pt pw* and *bw n jrp pw*).

In either column, the last section describes the benefits of the offerings kept in the laboratory. The first column emphasizes the great and sweet scents of aromatic substances which make everyone rejoice (*ndm.wy hnm.s wr stj.s hd jdt.s hr-nb*), while the second column praises the intoxicating effect of alcoholic beverages which likewise make everyone rejoice who gets close to the room (*ndm-jb th.s nwḥ r-3w m r3-w3t.s*).

The inscriptions of the right doorjamb (*Esna* II, Nr. 125) define the laboratory as a residence of deities and refer to its connection with temple rituals. The two columns start with a similar phrase (*st tn nfrt* and *sh pn nfr*) praising the chamber using the adjective *nfr* [table 5]. Since this is the only word throughout the texts of the doorjambs that appears at the same point of two parallel columns, it highlights even more the beauty and perfection of the room. Linking the texts of the two doorjambs, this attribute summarizes the whole content of the left doorjamb (*Esna* II, Nr. 124) and at the same time, explains the following phrases of either column on this doorjamb (*ndmt pw nt Nwd-šps jwnn pw n Nt* and *st shn n Hdt-wrt mnkb n Hwt-hr*). These phrases define the room as a dwelling place of deities calling the chamber *ndmt*, *jwnn*, *st shn* and *mnkb*. At first, an epithet appears in each column referring to deities: *the Noble Distiller* (*Nwd-šps*) and *the Great White* (*Hdt-wrt*), the former referring to Shesemu and the latter to Hathor. These are followed by *Neith, lady of Byblos and mistress of Punt* (*Nt nbt Kpnj hnwṯ Pwnt*), and *Hathor, lady of Shesemet* (*Hwt-hr nbt Šsmt*). While Byblos and Punt are allusions to aromatic substances coming from these regions, Shesemet is a wine-growing region and Hathor is also connected with alcoholic beverages. To sum up, this brief list of deities includes two epithets of Neith and two of Hathor who are both named, and besides, this unit starts with an epithet of Shesemu, ends with the word *Shesemet*, which, being a pun, is a subtle allusion to Shesemu as well, who on the other hand has not been named yet.

The next section of each column lists aromatic substances brought in the laboratory. While this is the last section of the first column, the second has one more, which is the final conclusion and the climax of the inscriptions of the laboratory. It briefly touches various themes, refers to the offerings, Shesemu, the rituals, Esna, and also the effects and uses of substances. Moreover, it is the most accurate description of the function of the chamber. Accordingly, all the above-mentioned offerings *enter Shesemu, so that he performs all rituals therein to make festive Esna with sweet scent without ceasing* (*ʕk n Šsmw r ntḥ jr jrjw nbw jm.f r shb Jwnyt m hnm ndm nn 3b*).


The inscriptions of the doorjambs of the laboratory at Esna are finely composed theological texts. In total, ten geographical names (*Pwnt*, *T3-ntr*, *Snw*, *Jmt*, *Hwt-jht*, *Knmt*, *Dsds*, *Kpnj*, *Šsmt*, *Jwnyt*) appear on the doorjambs with the name of Esna occurring the last as the climax of the texts. Likewise, referring to the room itself, ten different terms (*shd*, *st*, *bw*, *ʕryt*, *ndmt*, *jwnn*, [...n], *sh*, *mnkb*, [*t*]) are used capturing various nuances of the function of the room.

Among all, the most frequent one is *st* occurring four times in total, once in each column just like the word *ndm*,¹⁰⁴ thus providing a brief definition of the room: *st ndm*. It is sweet, just like the scents of the aromatic substances stored in the room. It is also the place of joy, *ndm-jb* as regarded in relation with wine, and most importantly it is a sacred place being a dwelling place, i.e. *ndmt* of the deity.¹⁰⁵

5. List of Substances

In the following list, all the substances mentioned in the texts of the room are discussed. For a better understanding, their attestations in the laboratories of Edfu and Dendara are also considered and noted if relevant.

Aromatic Substances

jbr (Esna II, Nr. 125,1 ▽ )

Wb I, 63, 10-14.

Ebbell identified *jbr* as ladanum extracted from the leaves of Cretan rockrose (*Cistus creticus* L.),¹⁰⁶ however, Germer expresses her doubt seeing no unequivocal evidence.¹⁰⁷ Wilson suggests that later it may have become a more general term for ointments and balsams.¹⁰⁸

It is known since the Old Kingdom and was found in the double Middle Kingdom tomb of Ita and Henemet at Dahshur in a box containing the seven sacred oils, and also *jbr* which was placed into the box as the eighth oil.¹⁰⁹ Medical texts refer to it as a medicine used against headache and to prevent grey hair.¹¹⁰

In various consistencies, it appears in the texts of the laboratories as well. On the one hand, it was a plant substance. According to the plant catalogue at Edfu, it was a type of dry *ʿntjw*-myrrh also equated with *ḥdw* (Edfou II, 206, 1).¹¹¹ It was soft on the inside (Edfou II, 206, 1)

¹⁰⁴ Twice as an attribute of the word *hnm*, scent, once in the word combination *ndm-jb*, and once as *ndmt* taking the meaning of *dwelling place*.

¹⁰⁵ For the concept of the whole temple being the dwelling place and the residence of the deity, see S. BAUMANN, “Der Tempel als Haus Gottes: Bemerkungen zu Raumstruktur und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln”, in S. Baumann, H. Kockelmann (eds.), *Der ägyptische Tempel als ritueller Raum: Theologie und Kult in ihrer architektonischen und ideellen Dimension: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Haus der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 9.-12. Juni 2015, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion* 17, Wiesbaden, 2017, p. 17–35.

¹⁰⁶ B. EBBELL, “Die ägyptischen Drogennamen”, *ZÄS* 64, 1929, p. 48; on *Cistus creticus* L., see M. SERPICO, “Resins, Amber and Bitumen”, in P.T. Nicholson, I. Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge, 2000, p. 436-437.

¹⁰⁷ R. GERMER, *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, PhD diss., Hamburg, 1979, p. 175-176; see also J.P. ALLEN, *Middle Egyptian Literature: Eight Literary Works of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge, 2015, p. 38, and A. RICKERT, *Gottheit und Gabe*, p. 108.

¹⁰⁸ WPL, p. 60; see also G. CHARPENTIER, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l'Égypte antique*, Paris, 1981, p. 68-69, no. 110.


¹⁰⁹ Ita and Henemet were probably daughters of Amenemhat II, who were interred during the reign of Amenemhet III (W. GRAJETZKI, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom. The Archaeology of Female Burials*, Philadelphia, 2014, p. 49, 53).

¹¹⁰ For examples, see R. GERMER, *op. cit.*, p. 174-175; *id.*, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen, Philippika* 21, Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 23-24; *GrMed* VI, p. 23-25.

¹¹¹ For a parallel version, see Athribis F 6,3.

indicating its great quality, and its colour was light red, similar to the colour of the sundisk during the season of peret (*Edfou* II, 206, 2). It was thought to have come from *T3-ht* (*Edfou* II, 206, 2) and also from the Valley of the Myrrh (*Edfou* II, 217, 16).

On the other hand, it was a hand-made ointment or oil (*Edfou* II, 197, 15) cooked by Shesemu (*Edfou* II, 219, 2-3) and Horus (*Dend.* IX, 158, 6). Several passages refer to its sweet fragrance (*Edfou* II, 226, 14) which was the scent of the deity (*Edfou* II, 225, 3) and which belonged to the flesh of the god (*Edfou* II, 193, 9). A peculiar type of it (*jbr n nhb*, *Edfou* II, 225, 3) was probably made with the addition of *nhb*-lotus also known for its sweet and strong smell. It was used to anoint the statue of the deity. Appearing among the eight *mrht*-oils at Dendara, it was used to protect the ka of the deity during processions (*Dend.* IX, 130, 8) while the divinity was the most vulnerable leaving the safety of the sanctuary and going out into the profane world.

jhm (Esna II, Nr. 124,1 )

Wb I, 119, 2.

The term *jhm* appears in the New Kingdom¹¹² in the description of the Punt expedition of Hatshepsut along with *sntr* and *msdmt* (black eyepaint),¹¹³ and occasionally also occurs in medical context;¹¹⁴ however, Wilson notes that it is not sure whether the substance *jhm* occurring in medical texts is the same as those attested in temple context.¹¹⁵ Ebbell identifies it as *Styrax benzoin*¹¹⁶ in contrast to Chassinat, who suggests that it was probably the *Balsamodendron myrrha*.¹¹⁷ Germer also rules out *Styrax benzoin* being native in Southeast Asia.¹¹⁸

The plant catalogue at Edfu identifies it as a type of dry *ꜥntjw*-myrrh which is red on the outside but white on the inside (*Edfou* II, 206,12).¹¹⁹ It also mentions that *t3w*-pellets are produced from *jhm* (*Edfou* II, 206,10) and that it is associated with Punt (*Edfou* II, 206,11-12). Furthermore, it occurs as an ingredient in a short recipe of making dry *ꜥntjw*-myrrh (*Edfou* II, 219,6).

ꜥntjw (Esna II, Nr. 123,1 )

Wb I, 206, 7-207, 3.

ꜥntjw was identified as myrrh, the yellow-red lumps of resin of various species of

¹¹² G. CHARPENTIER, *op. cit.*, p. 106-7, no. 173.

¹¹³ *Urk.* IV, 329, 8.

¹¹⁴ See P. EBERS 155, 652; W. WESTENDORF, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin* II, *HdO* 36, Leiden, Boston, Köln, 1999, p. 658; *GrMed* VI, p. 59; R. GERMER, *Philippika* 21, 2008, p. 32-33.

¹¹⁵ *WPL*, p. 101.

¹¹⁶ B. EBBELL, “Die ägyptischen aromatischen Harze der Tempelinschrift von Edfu”, *AcOr* (L) 17/2, 1939, p. 107.

¹¹⁷ É. CHASSINAT, *Un papyrus médical copte*, *MIFAO* 32, Le Caire, 1921, p. 53-54.

¹¹⁸ R. GERMER, *Untersuchung*, p. 177.

¹¹⁹ For a parallel version, see Athribis F 5, 18.

Commiphora by Steuer,¹²⁰ followed by Wilson,¹²¹ Loeben and Kappel¹²² and by Lucas and Harris, who suggested that at least in the Graeco-Roman Period, *ḥntjw* was used to denote further substances as well.¹²³ Germer notes that in some cases, the term *ḥntjw* probably referred to the resin of various species of *Boswellia*, too.¹²⁴ What can be established is that both *ḥntjw* and *sntr* were used to denote species of the torchwood (*Burseraceae*) family.

It is already attested in the Pyramid Texts (§512a-b [PT 318]) and appears in the description of the Punt expedition of Hatshepsut.¹²⁵ Occurring in the Book of the Dead Spell 100-101, it is prescribed to be mixed with green pigment and used as a tint to write the spells against Apophis protecting the barque of Ra on a blank roll which is then to be placed on the breast of the dead.¹²⁶ It was also used in mummification,¹²⁷ and occurs in medical texts as an ingredient of various ointments and powders, and incense.¹²⁸ For instance, it was used for treating the eyes¹²⁹ but also as an incense which was burnt to cleanse the house, cloths, etc.¹³⁰

ḥntjw is by far the most common substance in the laboratories. It is attested more than 100 times at Edfu and more than 30 times at Dendara. It is offered by the king in four scenes at Edfu (*Edfou* II, 192,18, 197,4, 219,13-14, 224,12-13), six at Dendara (*Dend.* IX, 136,17, 139,11, 141,11, 149,14-15, 153,3, 155,7) and one at Esna (*Esna* II, Nr. 123,1). In these representations, *ḥntjw* appears in various consistencies. It is usually depicted in a jar, often in a *smswn*-vessel in the shape of a sphinx or a man holding the vessel.¹³¹ The titles of rituals with these vessels are *šms ḥntjw, offering ḥntjw-myrrh* (*Edfou* II, 192,18, 197,4; *Dend.* IX, 136,17, 149,15-15) just like in the laboratory at Esna. Moreover, *ḥntjw* is burnt by the king as an incense in two scenes at Dendara where the titles of the rituals are *rdjt ḥntjw ḥr ḥt, putting ḥntjw upon the fire* in both cases (*Dend.* IX, 141,11, 155,7). It is also mentioned as an incense placed on fire (*rdt ḥntjw ḥr sdt*) (*Edfou* II, 199,7) and being burnt (*k3p*) (*Edfou* II, 199,11) at Edfu.

The process of making *ḥntjw* is also recorded in the laboratories. It is the most detailed recipe at Edfu (*Edfou* II, 220,16-224,9) and the only recipe at Dendara (*Dend.* IX, 124,18-126,15) which is actually the first half of the same recipe at Edfu. They concern the cooking of first-quality dry *ḥntjw-myrrh* of *nnjb*, and the full recipe at Edfu includes numerous steps including the making of 11 moist masses taking 180 days and three dry masses of *nnjb* taking 180 days. Regarding its consistency, *ḥntjw* of *nnjb* was an unguent which was made to anoint (*wrh*) the bodies of the deities (*Edfou* II, 224,4). At Edfu, another abbreviated recipe in the soubassement (*Edfou* II, 219,7-8) concerns the making of first-quality dry *ḥntjw-myrrh* also with *nnjb* among its ingredients.

¹²⁰ R.O. STEUER, *Myrrhe und Stakte*, Wien, 1933, *passim*; R.O. STEUER, "Stactē in Egyptian Antiquity", *JAOS* 63, 1943, p. 279-284.

¹²¹ WPL, p. 162-163.

¹²² Chr.E. LOEBEN, S. KAPPEL, *op. cit.*, p. 178-179.

¹²³ A. LUCAS, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, London, 1962⁴, p. 92-93.

¹²⁴ R. GERMER, *Philippika* 21, 2008, p. 45.

¹²⁵ *Urk.* IV, 329, 3-4.

¹²⁶ R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, Aylesbury, 1985², p. 98-99.

¹²⁷ G. ABDEL-MAKSoud, A.-R. EL-AMIN, "A Review on the Materials Used During the Mummification Processes in Ancient Egypt", *MAA* 11, 2011, p. 138.

¹²⁸ For numerous further examples of the medical use of *ḥntjw*, see W. WESTENDORF, *HdO* 36, 1999, p. 129-131, 133; *GrMed* VI, p. 99-104; R. GERMER, *op. cit.*, p. 43-45.

¹²⁹ E.g., P. Ebers 339, 367, 377, 387; *GrMed* VI, p. 100-101.

¹³⁰ E.g., P. Ebers 852; *ibid.*, p. 100.

¹³¹ See e.g. *Edfou* IX, pl. XLIIId.

Regarding *ṣntjw* as a plant substance, the inscriptions at Edfu include a detailed catalogue of 16 types of *ṣntjw* (Edfou II, 205,12-207,5).¹³² The text also notes that 11 of them were used for making concoctions of temple rituals, whereas 5 of them were of lower quality (two of which coming from Kush) and were not supposed to be used in temples (Edfou II, 206,13-14).¹³³ The catalogue originates almost each type from the body of a deity. While the types of great quality come forth from the body of Osiris (Edfou II, 205,14), Atum (Edfou II, 206,2), Horus (Edfou II, 206,4), and Ra (Edfou II, 206,5), those of lower quality come forth from the body of Seth (Edfou II, 206,14, 206,16, 207,4). While the finest types were claimed to be soft on the inside, the others are stiff. Their colours vary according to their species regardless their quality. They could be white, light red (*mṛš*), red, gold or black.

Furthermore, *ṣntjw* is among the ingredients of *ṣt-nṯr* (Edfou II, 214,13) and at the end of the recipe, first-quality dry *ṣntjw*-myrrh is prescribed to make the finished concoction harder if it is found to be too soft (Edfou II, 215,7).

mnwr (Esna II, Nr. 125, 2: )

Wb II, 79, 6.

Mnwr was a type of incense already attested in the Pyramid Texts.¹³⁴ According to the texts of the laboratories, it was burnt (*pḏ* and *snṯr*) to *permeate* (*stj*) the limbs of the god (Edfou II, 209, 8) with its fragrance, to *appease* (*shṯp*) (Dend. IX, 142, 11) and *purify* (*twr*) the deities with its sweet scent (Edfou II, 230, 9-10, Dend. IX, 148, 11) and also the whole *Mansion of Horus* was censed with it (Edfou II, 218, 5). Correspondingly, *mnwr* as a verb meant *to purify with incense or water*.¹³⁵

It was closely linked with *snṯr*.¹³⁶ A couple of times they are mentioned together in the laboratories, too (Edfou II, 209, 8; Esna II, Nr. 125, 2) and in some cases, they seem even to be synonyms or the category of one included the other: in a scene of offering *snṯr*, the text mentions the king censng *mnwr*-incense (Dend. IX, 148, 11).

Based on the texts at Edfu, *mnwr*-incense came forth from the eye of Horus and also from ‘the claws’¹³⁷ of the One who binds the bows’ (i.e. Nekhbet) referring to its region of origin at El-Kab.

¹³² For a translation of the catalogue also noting the parallel sections at Athribis, see Chr. LEITZ, “Aromatische Substanzen”, in A. Rickert, B. Ventker (eds.), *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien: die Soubassements in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit 1, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 7*, Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 500-512.

¹³³ Nevertheless, several recipes in the laboratories do contain second-quality *ṣntjw* as well; namely the recipes of first-quality dry *ṣntjw*-myrrh of *nnjb* (Edfou II, 221, 9, 221, 13, 222, 1; Dend. IX 125, 7, 126, 11), *mḏ* (Edfou II, 227, 15) and *tj-šps* (Edfou II, 230, 2).

¹³⁴ §116a [PT 200].

¹³⁵ *Wb* II, 79, 7-8.


¹³⁶ See also G. CHARPENTIER, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques*, p. 334-335, no. 524; WPL, p. 427.


¹³⁷ *Wb* I, 235, 10-11, for the same orthography of *ṣgṣwt*, *talon*, *crawl*, see Dend. IX, 187, 4 (S. CAUVILLE, *op. cit.*, D50A); Aufrère suggests *m-hnw(.s)* *ṣkṣ* instead of *m-hnw* *ṣgṣwt* (S.H. AUFRÈRE, “Nature et emploi des parfums et onguents liturgiques en Égypte ancienne”, *ERUV* III, p. 222).

mnḥ (?) (*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 1: )

Wb II, 83, 8.

Mnḥ, denoting papyrus, in the form of *mnḥj* is already attested in the Fifth Dynasty mastaba of Neferenptah in a marsh scene parallel with *wḏ3*.¹³⁸ It appears in medical context as well, in the locution *kf3w nw mnḥ*: the *leaves of papyrus* were used in a medicine for internal use.¹³⁹ Although originally it might referred to the stalk of the papyrus plant,¹⁴⁰ *mnḥ* was a synonym for *w3ḏ*, *papyrus* (*Cyperus papyrus*) at Edfu as suggested by Wilson.¹⁴¹

However,  would be an unusual orthography, and probably should be read as *m nḥd* instead. The context does not provide any further detail on the substance being a list of miscellaneous offerings stored in the laboratory. The term *nḥd*¹⁴² denoting an unidentified¹⁴³ aromatic substance was first attested in the New Kingdom and is characteristic to medical texts.¹⁴⁴ It was an ingredient of medicines for external and internal use healing various illnesses of the eyes, head, etc.¹⁴⁵ In the laboratories, the description of *nḥd* is included in the plant catalogue at Edfu according to which it was a red sweet-scented dry *ḥntjw* with great moisture also called *ntrj*, *mḥmḥm* and *bšš* (*Edfou* II, 206, 3-4).¹⁴⁶ There is one more attestation at Edfu and Dendara: they are parallel texts both referring to *nḥd* as one of the substances of the laboratory, being *more numerous than sand* (*Edfou* II, 193, 6, *Dend.* IX, 132, 1).

mḏ (*Esna* II, Nr. 125, 1: )

Wb II, 185, 11-19.

The term *mḏ* was used to denote certain types of substances but it was a collective noun for oils and ointments in general,¹⁴⁷ too, as the following references of the laboratories show.

Mḏ on its own (without being part of a locution or being related to other substances) appears in titles of six ritual scenes at Dendara (*Dend.* IX, 137, 18, 143, 3, 144, 13, 151, 3, 157, 3, 158, 14), which are invariably *ḥnk mḏ* with a single exception which is *jrt mḏ* (*Dend.* IX, 158, 14). By contrast, it does not appear in the title of any rituals at Edfu. It was a sweet-scented substance applied on the body (*Dend.* IX, 150, 3, 159, 2,) and the hair (*Edfou* II, 190, 2) of the deity and the verbs *anoint* (*gs*, *sgnn*, *sjn*) and *sprinkle* (*fd*) also clarify that it was an ointment or oil depending on the context.

According to a recipe at Edfu (*Edfou* II, 226, 3-17) the main ingredient of *mḏ*-ointment of the

¹³⁸ H. ALTENMÜLLER, "Arbeiten am Grab des Neferherenptah in Saqqara (1970-1975)", *MDAIK* 38, 1982, p. 14, Tafel 2.

¹³⁹ *GrMed* VI, p. 246; see also G. CHARPENTIER, *op. cit.*, p. 338-339, no. 529.

¹⁴⁰ *WPL*, p. 432; J. DITTMAR, *Blumen and Blumensträusse*, p. 51.

¹⁴¹ *WPL*, p. 432.

¹⁴² *Wb* II, 304, 3-4.

¹⁴³ See R. GERMER, *Untersuchung*, p. 179, who refuses the earlier identification of *nḥd* as the resin of *Dorema ammoniacum*; see also *GrMed* VI, p. 311-312 also regarding it as an unidentified substance.

¹⁴⁴ R. GERMER, *loc. cit.*; see also *WPL*, p. 537; G. CHARPENTIER, *op. cit.*, p. 408-409, no. 642.

¹⁴⁵ See e.g., P. Ebers 299, 336, 387.


¹⁴⁶ For a parallel version, see Athribis F 6,4.

¹⁴⁷ See also *WPL*, p. 484-485; G. CHARPENTIER, *op. cit.*, p. 368-389, no. 584.

First Festival was *mrḥt*. It details how a purified bull is slaughtered so that the butcher takes its *mrḥt*-fat (*Edfou* II, 227, 4-8), which is the base of the *md*-ointment in question. This *mrḥt*-fat is then cooked by the distiller, and after that, it is placed into the treasury for an entire year. Concurrently, the *mrḥt* of the previous year is brought out to be cooked and mixed with several ingredients including wine (*Edfou* II, 227, 8-11). The recipe even details that it was applied to the statue of the deity by means of an electrum fingerstall (*Edfou* II, 227, 11-12)¹⁴⁸ providing protection against any impurity of direct human contact to both the statue and the ointment. Besides, this type of *md* was also used to burn the torches in the mansion of the god (*Edfou* II 227, 12-13).

Another type of *md* was one of the nine *mrḥt*-oils used in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual (*Edfou* II, 210, 1).¹⁴⁹ Its abbreviated recipe at Edfu lists its ingredients, namely a pinch of *ndm*, the essence of *sšn*-lotus and *ḥḏw*-substances (*Edfou* II, 210, 1).

The term *md* as a collective noun also appears in the laboratories. At Edfu, the clause of the recipe of *tj-šps*-oil calls the prepared concoction *md* (*Edfou* II, 230, 3-4). Another reference mentions that the king brings *ḥbb*-vessel filled with *tj-šps* of *ndm*-tree to rub the limbs of the deity with *md*-ointment (*Dend.* IX, 130, 5-6: *jn.f n.t ḥbb n tj-šps ndm (...) r sḥn ḥw.t m md m dt.f*). Moreover, in the plant catalogue at Edfu, the text notes that the various types of great quality *‘ntjw* listed in the catalogue are mixed into a single mass which is ‘a noble *md*-ointment to revive the bodies of the gods with the scents of their bodies’ (*Edfou* II, 208, 6-8). Finally, the title ‘presenting *md*-ointment’ (*Dend.* IX, 159, 14) is followed by the utterance ‘bringing *mrḥt*-oil to you’ suggesting that in this case, they are either identical, both denoting, for instance, sacred ointments in general, or *mrḥt* could also be a collective noun here including *md*.

nn[j]b (*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 1: )
Wb II, 276, 9-14.

Nnjb was identified by Loret as styrax tree, however, its exact identification is debated: styrax, i.e. *Liquidambar orientalis* Mill. and storax, i.e. the resin of *Styrax officinalis* L. are both mentioned in the literature.¹⁵⁰ It was noted that while the latter was common in Egypt, it does not produce resin; however, the former is exceptionally rare in archeological context.¹⁵¹

It occurs 39 times at Edfu but only three times at Dendara, and all three attestations have parallel versions at Edfu (*Dend.* IX 126, 3 is parallel with *Edfou* II, 220, 16; *Dend.* IX, 126, 4 is parallel with *Edfou* II, 221, 1; and *Dend.* IX, 132, 2 is parallel with *Edfou* II, 193, 6).

The texts at Edfu include the recipes of first-quality dry *‘ntjw*-myrrh of *nnjb* (*‘ntjw šw tpj n nnjb*) (*Edfou* II, 220, 16-224, 9, 219, 6-8) as discussed above and first quality *tj-šps* of *nnjb* (*tj-šps tpj n nnjb*) (*Edfou* II, 229, 1-230, 4), both used for anointing the body of the deity. As it


¹⁴⁸ S. H. AUFRÈRE, *op. cit.*, p. 239; S. SAUNERON, “Macrobe: Saturnales VII, 13 (9)”, *BIFAO* 58, 1959, p. 31.

¹⁴⁹ *Md* also appeared in the Embalming Ritual (S. SAUNERON, *Rituel de l'embaumement. Pap. Boulaq III. Pap. Louvre 5.158.*, Cairo, 1952, p. 4, 2).

¹⁵⁰ V. LORET, “Étude de droguerie égyptienne”, *RecTrav* 16, 1894, p. 148-152; WPL, p. 524; G. CHARPENTIER, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques*, p. 394-395, no. 624; R. GERMER, *Philippika* 21, 2008, p. 85, who also notes that the identification of *nnjb* is uncertain.

¹⁵¹ On the confusion of *Liquidambar orientalis* and *Styrax officinalis*, see M. SERPICO, “Resins, Amber and Bitumen”, p. 437; A. LUCAS, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, p. 95.

is suggested by their names, *nnjb* was the main ingredient of both substances. The two recipes were highly similar, and the intricate process of each included the making of three *nnjb*-masses (*Edfou* II 222,14, 230,1), and the recipe of *tj-šps* also included *nnjb*-flour which was added to the concoction (*Edfou* II, 230,1, 230,3). In the plant catalogue at Edfu, three types of *nnjb* used in temples coming forth from the eye of Re, Horus, and Osiris are also listed.¹⁵²

hknw (*Esna* II, Nr. 125, 1: )

Wb III, 180, 5-9.

Hknw was one of the seven sacred oils appearing as a group from the Old Kingdom.¹⁵³ The term also appeared as an ingredient in medical context,¹⁵⁴ and its Coptic reflex, **ⲉⲁⲃⲓⲛ** (S), **ⲁⲃⲓⲛ** (B) meant *scented herb, mint*.¹⁵⁵ In the Graeco-Roman Period, the term *hknw* denoted a certain type of oil, however, references in the laboratories suggest that it also meant juice in general.

At Esna it is mentioned along with *mḏ*, *jbr* and *tj-šps* as offerings of the laboratory (*Esna* II, Nr. 125, 1). At Dendara, *hknw* appears among the eight oils (*nḥnm*, *tw3*, *jbr*, *b3k*, *hknw*, *stj-ḥb*, *ḥ3tt-nt-š* and *ḥ3tt-nt-M3nw*) offered by the four ram-headed gods of the laboratory (*Dend.* IX, D 129, 14, 149, 3-4). These eight oils including *hknw* appear among the nine *mrht*-oils used in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual at Edfu (*Edfou* II, 210, 1-3) where an abbreviated recipe also mentions that the *hknw*-oil contained *mnnn*(-asphalt), fresh *sntr*, dry *sntr*, *ḥḏw*-substances, and branches of sycamore tree. The nine *mrht*-oils at Edfu included the so-called ‘seven sacred oils’ (*ḥ3tt(-nt)-š*, *ḥ3tt(-nt)-Tḥnw*,¹⁵⁶ *sft*,¹⁵⁷ *stj-ḥb*, *hknw*, *nḥnm*, *tw3*)¹⁵⁸ and also *b3k* and *mḏ* as the eighth and ninth oil. The seven sacred oils were also used in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual. Among others, they are represented on Old Kingdom tomb walls,¹⁵⁹ on the decoration of Middle Kingdom coffins¹⁶⁰ and from the New Kingdom, they appear on funerary papyri.¹⁶¹ An eighth oil occurred occasionally already in the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Hetepheres at Giza,¹⁶² and they were placed as part of the funerary assemblage until the Graeco-Roman

¹⁵² *Edfou* II, 207, 5-11, 208, 6-8; see also Athribis F 6,15; Chr. LEITZ, “Aromatische Substanzen”, p. 508-509, 511.

¹⁵³ On *hknw*, see also WPL, p. 683; G. CHARPENTIER, *op. cit.*, p. 490-491, no. 784-785.

¹⁵⁴ P. EBERS 813; *GrMed* VI, p. 383-384.

¹⁵⁵ W.E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1939, p. 321.

¹⁵⁶ *H3tt(-nt)-M3nw* appearing in the texts of Edfu was a term for *ḥ3tt(-nt)-Tḥnw* used in the Graeco-Roman Period (*Wb* III, 28, 11-12).

¹⁵⁷ *Sft* which is one of the nine *mrht*-oils at Edfu can be derived from *sft*.

¹⁵⁸ On the seven sacred oils, see S. TAWFIK, “Die Alabasterpaletten für die sieben Salböle im Alten Reich”, *GöttMisz* 30, 1978, p. 77-84; B. KOURA, *Die ‘7-Heiligen Öle’ und andere Öl- und Fettamen: Eine lexikographische Untersuchung zu den Bezeichnungen von Ölen, Fetten und Salben bei den alten Ägyptern von der Frühzeit bis zum Anfang der Ptolemäerzeit (von 3000 v.Chr. - ca. 305 v.Chr.)*, *AegMonast* 2, Aachen, 1999, *passim*, esp. p. 10-72.

¹⁵⁹ In the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Iymeri at Giza, the list of the seven sacred oils is featured next to the representations of the making of *mrht*-oils (M. SERPICO, *op. cit.*, p. 465, fig. 18.22).



¹⁶⁰ They appeared in the *Coffin Texts* as well, (*CT* VII, 134a-136i [Spell 934]), however, appeared in this form on coffins only in a few cases (W. GRAJETZKI, *Tomb Treasures*, p. 53).

¹⁶¹ I. SHAW, *Ancient Egyptian Technology and Innovation*, London, 2012, p. 84.

¹⁶² G.A. REISNER, W.St. SMITH, *A History of the Giza Necropolis II: The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops*, Cambridge (MA), 1955, p. 42, fig. 41; I. SHAW, *loc. cit.*

Period.¹⁶³ Small tablets with seven small depressions for each oil also occurred in the Old Kingdom.¹⁶⁴ The seven sacred oils appeared in the daily ritual as well,¹⁶⁵ and nine oils appeared on the Amun papyrus of the daily ritual.¹⁶⁶

On the other hand, the term *h3w* taking the meaning *juice* also appears several times in the recipe of *ʿntjw* (*Edfou* 221, 3, 222, 5, 6-7, 223, 4, 9, 15; *Dend.* 125, 12, 126, 6, 13-15). In this case, *h3w* was not a specific oil or substance but rather a general term for any liquid mixture that was needed to be made during the process. It contained pulverized *nnjb* and *ʿntjw* softened with wine (*Edfou* II, 223, 1-4, 7-9) in one case, and it referred to the boiled juice of the fruit of *ndm*-tree diluted by water (*Edfou* II, 221, 3-8) in another. Regarding its use in this recipe, it was a term similar to *ht*, *mass*, but with a different consistency. Besides, *h3w* also denoted the pulverized or squeezed juice of different plant substances. It referred to the juice of *ʿntjw* (*Edfou* II, 206, 6), and the juice of *ndm* tree (*Edfou* II, 219, 7) as well.

h3w (*Esna* II, Nr. 124,1; 125,1:  . . . )

Wb III, 219, 1-2; 221, 1-10.

The locution *h3w nbw nfrw nw T3-ntr*, *all kinds of great h3w-substances of the God's Land* already appears in the description of the Punt expedition of Hatshepsut,¹⁶⁷ and also existed in Coptic as *ⲱⲟⲟⲩ* (S), *incense, perfume*.¹⁶⁸ In Graeco-Roman laboratories, *h3w* is attested in similar contexts referring to sweet-scented substances (*Edfou* II, 193, 6, 196, 5, 201, 15, 214, 13, 219, 7, D 150, 13-14)¹⁶⁹ associated with Punt (*Dend.* IX, 129, 13, 137, 2, 148, 14) and the God's Land (*Dend.* IX, 150, 13-14) at Dendara, and with Punt (*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 1) and Fekeher (*Esna* II, Nr. 125,1) at Esna. Based on the texts at Edfu, they were brought together with their trees to the temple suggesting that they were some kind of plant substance, probably leaves.¹⁷⁰ It is also clear that *h3w* was a collective noun: in the recipes of kyphi at Edfu, 7 *h3w*-substances (*gnn*, *šwt Nmtj*, *šb*, *dd3 n kdt*, *tj-šps*, *ʿg3j* and *dbʿ*) are pulverized and sieved (*Edfou* II, 203, 9, 211, 8-9), and in one of these recipes, 3 more *h3w*-substances (*prš*, *mrht* (n) *nʿr* and *pkr*) appear (*Edfou* II, 211, 11). Moreover, *h3w* occur in the recipes of *ʿntjw* (*Edfou* II, 219, 7, 221, 10) and *ʿ3t-ntr* (*Edfou* II, 214, 13).

The term *h3w* also occurs in recipes of medicines for internal use attested in the locutions *h3w*

¹⁶³ See e.g., New York, Brooklyn Museum, inv. no. 49.52.1a-b-.7a-b.

¹⁶⁴ B. KOURA, *op. cit.*, p. 40-44; I. SHAW, *loc. cit.*; see e.g. Liverpool, Liverpool Museum, inv. no. M13815.

¹⁶⁵ W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* II, p. 117.

¹⁶⁶ K. EATON, *Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual*, p. 64-67.


¹⁶⁷ *Urk.* IV, 329, 2; for other New-Kingdom and Late Period attestations of *h3w* with a similar meaning, see B. KOURA, *op. cit.*, p. 232-233.

¹⁶⁸ W.E. CRUM, *op. cit.*, p. 601a; W. VYICHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven, 1983, p. 274a.

¹⁶⁹ On its interpretation as incense, see S. TÖPFER, *Das Balsamierungsritual: Eine (Neu-)Edition der Textkomposition Balsamierungsritual* (pBoulaq 3, pLouvre 5158, pDurham 1983.11 + pSt. Petersburg 18128), *Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion* 13, Wiesbaden, 2015, p. 148; Chr. LEITZ, “Aromatische Substanzen”, p. 496.

¹⁷⁰ See also WPL, p. 702 and J.-Cl. GOYON, “Thèbes: Khonsou, Thot et la monarchie pharaonique après la Troisième Période de Transition. La fête de Thot du 19 du premier mois de l’année et les rites de confirmation du pouvoir royal à Karnak, Edfou et Philæ (I)”, in Chr. Thiers (ed.), *D3T 2, CENiM 8*, Montpellier, 2013, p. 86g.

(nw) *nhb*,¹⁷¹ the (edible) root¹⁷² of lotus and *h3w* (nw) *šspt*, the leaves of melon.¹⁷³

sn[b] (*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 1: )

Wb III, 160, 8-10.

As the word *snb* suggests, it was used to denote a health-giving, curative and protective plant. It appears as a heraldic plant of Lower Egypt probably denoting papyrus (*Cyperus papyrus*), and it was used as an amulet for its apotropaic qualities.¹⁷⁴ Along with other plants, *snb* was twined and knotted seven times,¹⁷⁵ and tied on for protection of the king also occurring in his purification ritual.¹⁷⁶

Furthermore, *snb* is attested in the Embalming Ritual,¹⁷⁷ and the seeds of *snb* () appear as an ingredient of medical recipes.¹⁷⁸

In the laboratories, it appears neither in the extensive texts of Edfu nor Dendara but has a possible attestation at Esna (*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 1) occurring in a list of aromatic substances in a fragmentary form due to the damage of the wall.

sntr (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 1: )

Wb III, 180, 18-181, 17.

Sntr was one of the most common aromatic substances. Loret identified it as the resin of terebinth (*Pistacia terebinthus* L.)¹⁷⁹ followed by many;¹⁸⁰ on the contrary, Germer¹⁸¹ and

¹⁷¹ E.g. P. Ebers 209, 224; *GrMed* VI, p. 389-390.

¹⁷² W. WESTENDORF, *HdO* 36, 1999, p. 208 and R. GERMER, *Untersuchung*, p. 26 who notes that the translation of *h3w* as leaves in the case of lotus suggested by Deines and Grapow is less likely.

¹⁷³ E.g. P. Ebers 219, 271; *GrMed* VI, p. 389-390 who translate it as leaves of cucumber, however, since then, botanical studies have proved that cucumber was not introduced to Egypt until about the Arab Conquests (H.S. PARIS, J. JANICK, "The Cucumis of Antiquity: A Case of Mistaken Identity", *Cucurbit Genetics Cooperative Report* 33-34, 2010-2011, p. 1-2); for *šspt* translated as melon in recipes, see W. WESTENDORF *op. cit.*, p. 263.

¹⁷⁴ Ph. DERCHAIN, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051)*, Bruxelles, 1965, p. 168-171; WPL, p. 859; P. KOEMOTH, "Snb, le papyrus ou le cordon en papyrus de Pé", *GöttMisz* 130, 1992, p. 33-43; M. SMITH, *The Carlsberg Papyri 5: On the Primaeval Ocean*, CNIP 26, Copenhagen, 2002, p. 100; G. CHARPENTIER, *op. cit.*, p. 592-593, no. 960; J. DITTMAR, *Blumen und Blumensträusse*, p. 52-53.

¹⁷⁵ R. GERMER, *Philippika* 21, 2008, p. 116.

¹⁷⁶ J.F. QUACK, "Conceptions of Purity in Egyptian Religion", in C. Frevel, C. Nihan (eds.), *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism, Dynamics in the History of Religions* 3, Leiden, 2012, p. 133.

¹⁷⁷ S. SAUNERON, *Rituel de l'embaumement*, p. 36, 3-4.

¹⁷⁸ P. Ebers 811; E. STROUHAL, B. VACHALA, H. VYMAZALOVÁ, *The Medicine of the Ancient Egyptians*, Cairo, New York, 2014, p. 120.

¹⁷⁹ M.V. LORET, *La résine de térébinthe (« sonter ») chez les anciens Égyptiens*, RAPH 19, Cairo, 1949, *passim*.

¹⁸⁰ See e.g., R.L. VOS, *The Apis Embalming Ritual: P. Vindob. 3873*, OLA 50, Leuven, 1993, p. 97; M. SERPICO, "Resins, Amber and Bitumen", p. 436, 442.

¹⁸¹ R. GERMER, *Untersuchung*, p. 69; see also WPL, p. 876; Chr. E. LOEBEN, S. KAPPEL, *Die Pflanzen*, p. 176-177.

Lüchtrath¹⁸² among others suggested that it was frankincense, the resin of *Boswellia* species. Steuer noted that its meaning probably changed over time.¹⁸³

It already occurs in the Pyramid Texts,¹⁸⁴ and is widely attested in funerary, temple and medical context. It appears in the Embalming Ritual,¹⁸⁵ it was used as varnish¹⁸⁶ on coffins and other elements of the funerary assemblage, and also occurs in numerous recipes of medicines for internal and external use.¹⁸⁷

In the laboratories, it appears in four titles of rituals at Dendara (*Dend.* IX, 135, 9, 142, 6, 148, 6, 156, 4) and in one at Esna (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 1), all of which are *jrt sntr*, burning *sntr-incense*. The locution *jrt sntr* has further attestations in the laboratory of Dendara (*Dend.* IX, 135, 12-13, 142, 10, 156, 7), however, it does not appear at Edfu. Furthermore, the word *sntr* occurs several times as a verb, *to cense* (*Edfou* II 199, 2, 200, 10, 202, 2, 218, 6; *Dend.* IX, 142, 11) with the same orthography (𓄢𓄣).

The recipe of *ṭw*-pellets of *sntr* appears at Edfu (*Edfou* II, 226, 9-10). It contains natron of both el-Kab and Wadi Natrun and also *sntr* in melted (*s3k*)¹⁸⁸ pieces which on the other hand also appear among the ingredients of the Upper Egyptian *ṭw*-pellets of el-Kab (*Edfou* II, 226, 6), the Lower Egyptian *ṭw*-pellets of Wadi Natrun (*Edfou* II, 226, 8), *ʕt-ntr* (*Edfou* II, 214, 12) and *stj-ḥb* (*Edfou* II, 210, 2) which was one of the nine *mrḥt*-oils used in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual (*Edfou* II, 210, 1). Besides, fresh (*w3d*) and dry (*šw*) *sntr* is attested in the recipe of *ḥknw*-oil (*Edfou* II, 210, 3), and fresh *sntr* is included in the recipe of kyphi (*Edfou* II, 212, 4).

k3pt (*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 1: 𓄢𓄣𓄢𓄣)

Wb V, 104, 1-3.

K3pt or kyphi in Greek, was one of the most common incenses in Egypt.¹⁸⁹ In contrast to *sntr* and *ʕntjw* which referred to raw resin and cooked substances as well, the term *k3pt* only denoted a certain type of hand-made incense.

¹⁸² A. LÜCHTRATH, “Das Kyphirezept”, in D. Kurth (ed.), *Edfu: Bericht über drei Surveys; Materialien und Studien, ITE: Begleittheft 5*, Wiesbaden, 1999, p. 108-109.

¹⁸³ R.O. STEUER, *Über das wohlriechende Natron bei den alten Ägyptern: Interpretation, Darstellung und Kultur des sntr*, Leiden, 1937, p. 279.

¹⁸⁴ §27a-c [PT 35].

¹⁸⁵ S. SAUNERON, *op. cit.*, p. 18, 2, 43, 3-4.

¹⁸⁶ M. SERPICO, R. WHITE, “The Use and Identification of Varnish on New Kingdom Funerary Equipment”, in V.W. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, London, 2001, p. 36.

¹⁸⁷ See e.g., P. EBERS 23, 165, 508; *GrMed* VI, p. 449-454; R. GERMER, *Untersuchung*, p. 69-82; *id.*, *Philippika* 21, 2008, p. 117-122; W. WESTENDORF, *HdO* 36, 1999, p. 64-65, 129-31, 232, 261, 323.

¹⁸⁸ A. LÜCHTRATH, *loc. cit.*; D. KURTH, *Edfou VI, ITE: Abteilung I: Übersetzungen 3*, Gladbeck, 2014, p. 288, note 3.

¹⁸⁹ The literature on kyphi is extensive, see e.g., M.V. LORET, “Le kyphi, parfum sacré des anciens égyptiens”, *JournAs* 10, 1887, p. 76-132; Ph. DERCHAIN, “La recette du kyphi”, *RdE* 28, 1976, p. 61-65; W. HELCK, *LÄ* III, 1980, col. 902-903, s.v. Kyphi; A. LÜCHTRATH, *op. cit.*, p. 97-145; L. MANNICHE, *Sacred Luxuries: Fragrance, Aromatherapy and Cosmetics in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1999, p. 47-59; M.C. BETRÒ, “Il kuphi e i suoi ingredienti (I)”, *EVO* 14-15, 1991-1992, p. 43-53; WPL, p. 1082; M.J. RAVEN, R.J. DEMARÉE, “Ceramic Dishes Used in the Preparation of Kyphi”, *JEOL* 39, 2005, p. 39-94.

It is first attested with its ingredients in the Papyrus Ebers,¹⁹⁰ Berlin 3038¹⁹¹ and Harris I.¹⁹² Besides, the ingredients of kyphi occur on hieratic dockets of ceramic dishes used for the preparation of kyphi¹⁹³ and they are also known from the Graeco-Roman Period laboratories of Philae and Edfu. Although some of the ingredients and their numbers varied, they were mostly the same as those recorded by classical authors such as Dioscurides,¹⁹⁴ Galen¹⁹⁵ and Plutarch.¹⁹⁶

According to the texts of the laboratories, kyphi was a specific type of incense burnt during rituals (*Edfou* II, 199, 11, 200, 10, 210, 13), also called the great eye of Horus (*jrt-Hr wrt*) by a reference at Edfu. Moreover, it was also used in everyday life for refreshing the house, clothes, etc.¹⁹⁷

Its significance and common use in temples are suggested by several references in the laboratories. Firstly, it is the only substance that has three elaborate recipes in the laboratories, one at Philae¹⁹⁸ and two at Edfu (*Edfou* II, 203, 7-208, 10 and 211, 5-212, 10). Secondly, both recipes detail the making of 100 deben of kyphi (*Edfou* II, 203, 7 and 211, 5) which was a large amount, especially taking into consideration that e.g., the recipes of *ʕntjw* and *tj-šps* are about the cooking of 1 hin¹⁹⁹ of *ʕntjw* (*Edfou* II, 220, 16) and 1 hin of *tj-šps* (*Edfou* II, 229, 1-2). Third, the laboratory at Esna is called [*šḥd*] *n k3pt*, [the sanctuary] of *k3pt*-incense (*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 1) in the topic sentence of the self-referential texts of the room featuring kyphi to represent all the aromatic substances kept in the room. Nevertheless, it is not attested in the laboratory at Dendara at all and neither does it appear in any titles of rituals in the laboratories. At Edfu, the two recipes belong to scenes of presenting the things of *Trt* (*Edfou* II, 210, 9, 230, 7).

tj-šps (*Esna* II, Nr. 125, 1: )

Wb V, 243, 5-14.

The term *tj-šps* was used to denote a plant substance but also a cooked ointment or oil just like *ʕntjw* and *sntr*.

As a plant substance it was identified as camphor tree (*Cinnamomum camphora* or *Ocotea usambarensis*),²⁰⁰ and cinnamon (*Cinnamomum Zeylanicum* or *Cinnamomum cassia*),²⁰¹

¹⁹⁰ P. Ebers 852, 98, 12-14b.

¹⁹¹ P. Berlin 3038, 6, 6-11.

¹⁹² P. Harris I, 53a, 4-9.

¹⁹³ M.J. RAVEN, R.J. DEMARÉE, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹⁴ Dioscurides, *De materia medica* I, 24.

¹⁹⁵ Galen, *De antidotis* II, 2.

¹⁹⁶ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, §80.

¹⁹⁷ P. Ebers 852, 98, 12-14b; W. WESTENDORF, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁹⁸ H. KOCKELMANN, E. WINTER, *Philae* III, no. 48.

¹⁹⁹ Which in this case seems to equal about 5 deben: as Raven and Demarée noted, based on the kyphi recipes of Edfu and Philae, “2 hin is c. 950 gram, and 10 deben is c. 910 gram” (M.J. RAVEN, R.J. DEMARÉE, *op. cit.*, p. 90).


²⁰⁰ A. LÜCHTRATH, *op. cit.*, p. 121-122; L. MANNICHE, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, Austin, 1993, p. 88-89; see also WPL, p. 1124-1125.; G. CHARPENTIER, *Recueil des matériaux épigraphiques*, p. 790-791, no. 1339.

²⁰¹ L. MANNICHE, *loc. cit.*


however, Germer noted that the identification is uncertain.²⁰² Nevertheless, all the above-mentioned species belong to the laurel family (*Lauraceae*) which is hence probably related to *tj-šps*.

It appears in the *Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor* (162-164) and it denotes a sweet-scented substance. Moreover, it occurs in temple, funerary and medical context as well. It was used in mummification,²⁰³ and its root and wood occur as ingredients in medical recipes.²⁰⁴

In the laboratories, it appears in a title of a scene (*hnk tj-šps, presenting tj-šps-oil*) at Edfu (Edfou II, 228, 4) where the king is represented with a sphinx-shaped *smswn*-vessel in his hand. Behind the scene is the recipe of first-quality *tj-šps* of *nnjb* inscribed (Edfou II, 229, 1-230, 4) which was used to anoint the body of the god (Edfou II, 229, 1). Although it did contain *tj-šps* (Edfou II, 229, 10) and a great deal of *nnjb*, the ingredient used in the largest quantity was *ntjw*-myrrh. *Tj-šps* also appears in the recipes of *ntjw* (Edfou II, 221, 1-2, D 125, 5, 126, 5), *md* (Edfou II, 227, 14) and it was one of the 7 *h3w*-substances of kyphi (Edfou II, 203, 8, 211, 6). It was also called *ht-ndm* (Edfou II, 211, 6) and correspondingly, *tj-šps* of *ndm* (*tj-šps ndm*) appears in the recipe of *3t-ntr* (Edfou II, 214, 9, 215, 8).

It is also attested once in the laboratory of Esna in a list of offerings kept in the room (Esna II, Nr. 125, 1). The determinative  and the other elements of the list (*md*, *jbr* and *hknw*) suggest that here the term *tj-šps* refers to the cooked oil.²⁰⁵

Wine-Related Substances

jnmt (Esna II, Nr. 124, 2: )

Wb I, 97, 1-3.

Jnmt was probably a type of wine, however, the inscriptions mention various wine-growing regions, such as Imet, Suni, the Bahariya and Kharga Oases in connection with *jnmt*.²⁰⁶ Wilson notes that the term probably comes from the term *jnm* referring to coloured, i.e. red wine as opposed to white.²⁰⁷ Poo suggests that the frequently occurring dual *tj*-ending and the double-vessel determinative in the spelling of the word probably refers to its original use denoting a specific type of double vessel which concurrently alluded to its contents, i.e. wine.²⁰⁸

In the laboratories, *jnmt* appears as wine of the Bahariya Oasis (Edfou II, 194, 14). Hathor is called the lady of *jnmt* in the geographic procession of the soubassement decoration at Edfu where she appears as an offering bearer presenting wine, which was used to sweeten and soften various aromatic substances (Edfou II, 218, 10-14). Along with *jrp* and *th*, it also appears at Esna as one of the substances of the laboratory making the face delighted and the

²⁰² R. GERMER, *Untersuchung*, p. 346-347.

²⁰³ P. Rhind I, 3, 9; S.L. CHAPMAN, *The Embalming Ritual of Late Period Through Ptolemaic Egypt*, PhD diss., Birmingham, 2016, p. 60.

²⁰⁴ P. Ebers 555, 852; *GrMed* VI, p. 549-550; R. GERMER, *op. cit.*, p. 343-347; *id.*, *Philippika* 21, 2008, p. 151-152.







²⁰⁵ For the connections between *tj-šps* and *md*, see also the description of *md*.

²⁰⁶ See e.g., Edfou V, 51, 17-52, 1.

²⁰⁷ *WPL*, p. 84.

²⁰⁸ *Wb* I, 97, 1-3; for references, see M. POO, *StudEg*, p. 25-26; see also *WPL*, p. 84.

heart rejoice (*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 2).

jrp (*Esna* II, Nr. 122, 1; 124, 2:      )

Wb I, 115, 5-8.

The term *wine* already occurred in offering lists of the Second Dynasty as *jr* and from the Third Dynasty on as *jrp*.²⁰⁹ It was a general term for wine made from grapes, i.e. the fruit of *Vitis vinifera* L.²¹⁰ referred to by the terms *šsp*, *j3rrt*, *š3* and *wnš*. It was also often followed by its region of origin indicating its specific type,²¹¹ and frequently extended with the adjective, *nfr nfr*, *twice good*.²¹² It appeared in medical recipes as an ingredient of medicines for internal and external use.²¹³ Existing in demotic as *jrp*²¹⁴ and in Coptic as *ⲉⲣⲡ*²¹⁵ its meaning remained basically the same.

It is also the most frequently occurring term for wine in the laboratories, attested twenty times at Edfu, four times at Dendara and twice at Esna. It appears in the ritual *hnk jrp*, *offering wine* at Dendara (*Dend.* IX, 138, 4) and Esna (*Esna* II, Nr. 122, 1).²¹⁶

At Edfu, it is attested in the recipes of kyphi (*Edfou* II 203, 11,12; 211, 13; 212, 1), *ntjw* (*Edfou* II, 221, 2, 8; 223, 4, 9, 10, 15; 224, 1; *Dend.* IX, 125, 6; 126, 5), *tj-šps* (*Edfou* II, 229, 4, 8, 9, 230, 2), *3t-ntr* (*Edfou* II, 215, 9) and *md* (*Edfou* II, 227, 9, 15). It was usually added to dry plant-substances to soften them before being cooked, but in the recipe of *tj-šps* it is blended into the half-cooked concoction as well (*Edfou* II, 229, 8).

jrt-Hr (*Esna* II, Nr. 124,1:                         )

Wb I, 107, 14-19.

The locution *jrt-Hr*, *the eye of Horus* is already attested in the Pyramid Texts²¹⁷ alluding to various offerings²¹⁸ including wine²¹⁹ just as in the Ptolemaic Period.²²⁰ In the laboratories, *jrt-Hr* occurs several times referring to aromatic substances (*Edfou* II, 198, 6; 210, 13; *Dend.* IX, 136, 17; 141, 15; 142, 12) and wine (*Edfou* II, 203, 13; 212, 1; 218, 10, 12, 13; *Dend.* IX, 138, 16; 139, 3; 152, 10).²²¹ As a reference to wine, it occurs as an ingredient in the recipes of

²⁰⁹ W. BARTA, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, MÄS 3, Berlin, 1963, p. 17, fig. 1-2; for further Old Kingdom examples, see *ibid.*, p. 17, fig. 3-5.

²¹⁰ R. GERMER, *Philippika* 21, 2008, p. 32.

²¹¹ M. POO, *op. cit.*, p. 24-25; L. KEIMER, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, Hamburg, Berlin, 1924, p. 157; *WPL*, p. 95-96; for a list of its numerous attestations, see G. CHARPENTIER, *op. cit.*, p. 100-103, no. 168.

²¹² On the term *jrp nfr*, see M. POO, *op. cit.*, p. 26; for examples in the laboratories, see *Edfou* II, 221, 2, 221, 8, 223, 4, 223, 15, 229, 4.

²¹³ See e.g., P. Ebers 12, 657; *GrMed* VI, p. 47-50.

²¹⁴ *CDD* 11.1, p. 194-198.

²¹⁵ W.E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary.*, p. 66b-67b; W. VYCICHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 54b-55b.

²¹⁶ Wilson notes that the title of the ritual of offering wine at Edfu is also invariably *hnk jrp* (*WPL*, p. 95).

²¹⁷ §87a [PT 142], §96c [PT 162], §107b [PT 187], §108c [PT 190].

²¹⁸ See e.g., §103a [PT 177], §105a [PT 182], §107b [PT 187], §108a [PT 188].


²¹⁹ §106b [PT 185].

²²⁰ *WPL*, p. 98; see also G. CHARPENTIER, *Recueil des matériaux épigraphiques*, p. 96-97, n°. 162.

²²¹ See chapter 4.4.2, *jrt-Hr/ jrt-Hr w3dt*.

kyphi (*Edfou* II, 203, 13; 212, 1) softening and sweetening various aromatic substances, which use of the eye of Horus is mentioned by further references as well (*Edfou* II, 218, 10-13). On the other hand, it is offered for the deity as an actual drink at Dendara (*Dend.* IX, 138, 16).

Since it appears in a list of offerings kept in the room at Esna (*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 1), it can refer to either wine or aromatic substances, or most likely it is an allusion to both.

th (*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 2: )

Wb V, 325, 10-14.

The term *th* was mainly associated with Hathor denoting drunkenness and alcoholic beverages²²² related to the goddess and the *thy*-festival celebrated on the 18th-20th day of the month of Thot²²³ when *wsh*-collars were also made of *thw*- and *jbw*-plants for Hathor.²²⁴ Germer notes that alcoholic beverages were probably also made from *thw*-plants.²²⁵ Unfortunately, this plant substance has not yet been identified, but according to the texts of the laboratories, it was one of the ingredients of *tj-šps* (*Edfou* II, 229, 4) and *stj-ḥb*, which was one of the nine *mrht*-oils (*Edfou* II, 210,2) used in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual (*Edfou* II, 210,1, 210,8). It is also attested in the Embalming Ritual, its juice (*mw*) being used for the green ink with which the figures of Isis and Nephthys were drawn onto the bandages.²²⁶ Besides, its seeds or fruit (*pṛt*) appeared in medical recipes for treating leg swellings.²²⁷

It is attested twice at Esna, too (*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 2) where it probably referred to a certain kind of alcoholic beverage or to alcoholic drinks in general occurring together with wine and associated with intoxication.

The Relation Between Aromatic Substances and Wine

Both aromatic substances and wine have a significant role in the self-reflective texts of the doorframe. Since no recipe appears at Esna, wine is not mentioned as an ingredient of aromatic substances, instead, the similar effects of the two are emphasized; moreover, the whole structure of the decoration of the doorframe builds upon this complementary pair. The analogy between the last sentence of either column sums up the connection between the two materials:

ndm.wy ḥnm.s wr stj.s ḥd jdt.s ḥr-nb, *How sweet its (i.e. the laboratory's) scent, great is its fragrance. Its scent makes everybody rejoice* (*Esna* II, Nr. 124, 1).

th.s nwḥ r-3w m r3-w3t.s, *Its (i.e. the laboratory's) th-beverage makes the heart rejoice*

²²² WPL, p. 1148-1149.

²²³ On the *thy*-festival celebrated in honour of the return of Hathor from Nubia at least from the Middle Kingdom, see S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara: les fêtes d'Hathor*, OLA 105, Leuven, Paris, Sterling (VA), 2002, p. 50-59; A. SPALINGER, "A Chronological Analysis of the Feast of *thy*", *SAK* 20, 1993, p. 289-303.

²²⁴ *Edfou* V, 169, 17; A.M. BLACKMAN, H.W. FAIRMAN, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu II/C: The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies: A Sacred Drama (Concluded)", *JEA* 30, 1944, p. 18-19; WPL, p. 1149.

²²⁵ R. GERMER, *Untersuchung*, p. 347; *id.*, *Philippika* 21, 2008, p. 157; see also *Wb* V, 325, 7-9.

²²⁶ S. SAUNERON, *Rituel de l'embaumement*, p. 30, 8; for a similar use, see also *ṛntjw*.

²²⁷ Papyrus Berlin 3038, 127,128; R. GERMER, *Untersuchung*, p. 347.

intoxicating whoever gets close to it. (Esna II, Nr. 124, 2).

Both make everyone rejoice bringing enjoyment with a peculiar, at least mildly intoxicating feeling: the aromatic substances with their heady scents and the alcoholic beverages with their intoxicating effect. Thus, the finest wines and aromatic substances are able to create a direct connection between the human and divine sphere by truly expressing the sacred nature of the gods.

The same idea appears in funerary context where banquet scenes of tombs feature guests being provided with perfumes, alcoholic beverages and sweet-scented flower garlands for the same effect and creating a direct connection between the living and the dead.²²⁸

It is also worth mentioning that in the laboratory of Dendara, exactly these three types of offerings (wine-related beverages, aromatic substances and garlands)²²⁹ appear in register II,²³⁰ even if their similar effects are not mentioned in the inscriptions.

6. The Function of the Room

According to the self-referential texts of the chapel appearing on the doorjambs, various aromatic substances (incenses, oils, ointments, plant ingredients) and wine-related, alcoholic beverages were stored in the room. Moreover, it is regarded as the dwelling place of various deities, namely Neith, Hathor and Shesemu, who are all connected with aromatic substances and wine in the text. On the complete decoration of the room, deities appear: Khnum and Neith, the two main deities of the Esna temple, and also Nebtu/ Menehit, who were equated with Hathor appearing in the texts and Heka, the child of Khnum and Nebtu/Menehit. Besides, a single deity occurs, Shesemu, who appears in the laboratories at Edfu and Dendara as well, both in the texts²³¹ and his figure is featured in offering scenes as well.²³² Shesemu is also the only deity who is not related to the local theology at any of these places. He was associated not only with aromatic substances as numerous references in the laboratories attest,²³³ but also with wine.²³⁴

Concurrently, the relevant chapter of the *Book of the Temple*²³⁵ details the list of deities

²²⁸ On banquet scenes and on the connection between aromatic substances and wine, see M.K. HARTWIG, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419-1372 BCE*, *MonAeg* 10, *Série IMAGO* 2, Turnhout, Bruxelles, 2004, p. 98-103.

²²⁹ Along with scenes of offering Maat.

²³⁰ *Dend.* IX, pls. DCCCLXXIX-DCCCLXXXI.

²³¹ *Edfou* II, 210, 12-14; 217, 7-9; 219, 2-3; 220, 1-7; 228, 6; *Dend.* IX, 129, 11; 136, 1; 137, 2-3, 7, 18-19; 138, 1-2; 143, 6-7; 150, 2; 151, 7; 157, 4; 158, 10; 159, 8.

²³² *Edfou* IX, pl. XLIII^a, western wall, middle register; *Dend.* IX, pl. DCCCLXXX.

²³³ See e.g. the epithets *nwd mrht*, who cooks *mrht*-ointment (*Edfou* II, 220, 4), *hrj-tp js*, foremost of the laboratory (*Edfou* II, 217, 6), *sntr st wrt*, who censes the great throne (*Edfou* II, 220, 6), *shb js n bjk n nbw m 3tf n T3-ntr*, who makes the laboratory festive for the falcon of gold with *3tf*-incense of the God's Land (*Edfou* II, 220, 5), *snwh md*, who cooks *md*-ointment (*Dend.* IX, 137, 5), *shtp hmw.sn m hnm.sn*, who appeases their majesties with their scents (*Dend.* IX, 137, 6-7).

²³⁴ As opposed to aromatic substances with which he was associated only from the New Kingdom (for its first occurrence in this role, see R.A. CAMINOS, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script*, Oxford, 1956, p. 32, pl. 13, 2.5; A. RICKERT, *Gottheit und Gabe*, p. 106, note 352), his association with wine is already attested in the Pyramid Texts (§1552a [PT 581]) (A. RICKERT, *op. cit.*, p. 106, note 351); see also M. POO, *Wine and Wine Offering*, p. 151-152; Cl. TRAUNECKER, *The Gods of Egypt*, Ithaca, NY, 2001, p. 67.

²³⁵ J.F. QUACK, "Das Buch vom Tempel und verwandte Texte. Ein Vorbericht", *ARG* 2, 2000, p. 7; *id.*, "Die Götterliste des Buches vom Tempel und die gauübergreifenden Dekorationsprogramme", in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.), 6. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Funktion und Gebrauch altägyptischer Tempelräume*, Leiden 4.-7.

associated with the various rooms of the temple. Although this section is largely fragmentary and there is no information on the laboratories,²³⁶ it does prove that the list of deities represented in the various rooms and halls of temples was prescribed. Thus, the regular occurrence of Shesemu in the laboratories cannot be a coincidence.

The triad of Shesemu, the king and the priest seems to be a characteristic feature of temple laboratories. Although the rituals were enacted by the king in theory, and by the priest in practice, they were actually performed by the god Shesemu, who was also the one who cooked the various aromatic substances. In the case of laboratories, Shesemu was the one who transformed the duality of the king and the priest into an indissoluble triad and fulfilled it with divine power.

All these factors suggest that the small room of the hypostyle hall at Esna was a laboratory²³⁷ even if the term *js*, *laboratory* appearing in their self-referential inscriptions at Edfu²³⁸ and Dendara²³⁹ does not appear at Esna.

The decoration of the façade, on the other hand, displays the ritual context and the use of the substances kept in the room. They were used during various rituals, the most common of which, i.e., the daily ritual is mentioned by the inscriptions, and also by the cult objects featured on the offering stand. On the other hand, depictions of tools of animation (e.g., the *nw3-adze* and the *wr-ḥk3w*) on the same stand refer to the Opening of the Mouth Ritual during which aromatic substances and wine were also commonly used. The small size and the situation of the room built in a relatively unprotected spot of the temple, in the outer hypostyle hall suggest that such valuable cult objects as the image of Maat, etc., represented on the offering stand were most likely not kept in the room. Although the possibility that some further objects were stored in the chamber cannot be ruled out, the representation of the pile of offerings featured on the façade does not prove that these cult objects were actually kept in the room.²⁴⁰

All that can be established with certainty is that the chamber was a small laboratory, where aromatic substances and wine were stored in a small amount necessary for various rituals.

September 2002, KSG 3,1, Wiesbaden 2007, p. 213-235, esp. p. 214-225.

²³⁶ Chr. LEITZ, “Aromatische Substanzen”, p. 483, note 2 mentioning that Joachim Quack also confirmed that the fragments of the *Book of the Temple* known by him do not mention the laboratories.

²³⁷ See also D. KLOTZ, *ENiM* 7, 2014, p. 41, nr. 9.b who also calls the room ‘laboratory’.

²³⁸ The self-referential texts in the laboratory at Edfu consist of the inscriptions of the two bandeau texts (*Edfou* II, 194, 3-195, 9; 195, 12-196, 6) and also of the inscriptions of the external doorjambs (*Edfou* II, 191, 2-192, 4); for the attestations of the term *js* in these texts, see *Edfou* II, 191, 10, 17; 192, 2; 194, 3, 14, 15; 195, 14; the texts detailing the building history and the construction of the Edfu temple inscribed on the stone enclosure wall also refer to the laboratory by the term *js* (*Edfou* VII, 17, 6; D. KURTH, *Edfou* VI, *ITE* I/3, Gladbeck, 2014, p. 23).

²³⁹ The self-referential texts in the laboratory at Dendara include the upper bandeau text (*Dend.* IX, 131, 15-132, 11); for the attestations of the term *js* here, see *Dend.* IX, 131, 14, 15; 132, 7.

²⁴⁰ Sauneron and Cauville suggest the contrary (*Esna* II, Nr. 225; S. CAUVILLE, M.I. ALI, *Le temple égyptien et ses dieux*, p. 60).

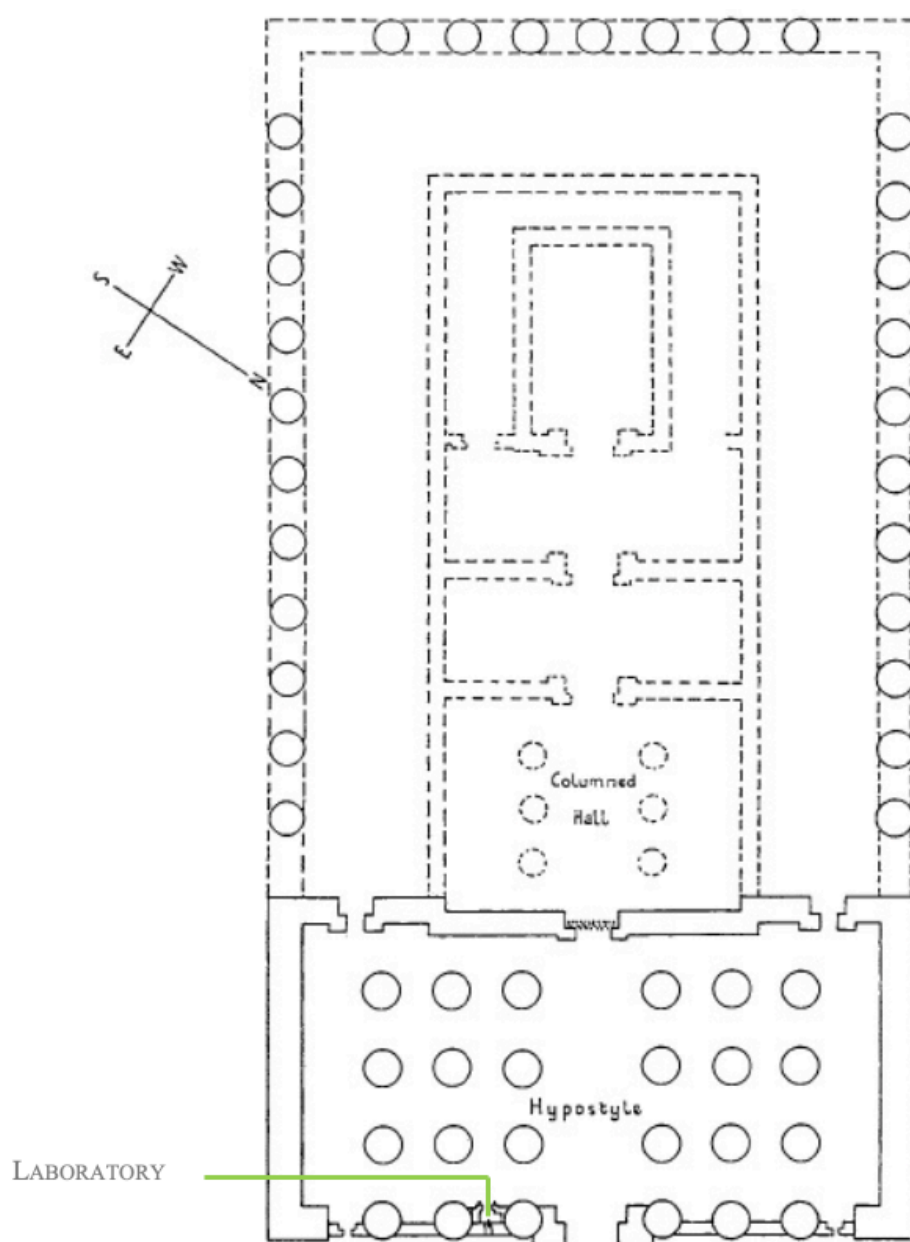


Fig. 1. Laboratory in the temple of Khnum at Esna. (After PM VI, 112).



Fig. 2. The decoration of the laboratory at Esna. (Photo by the author).

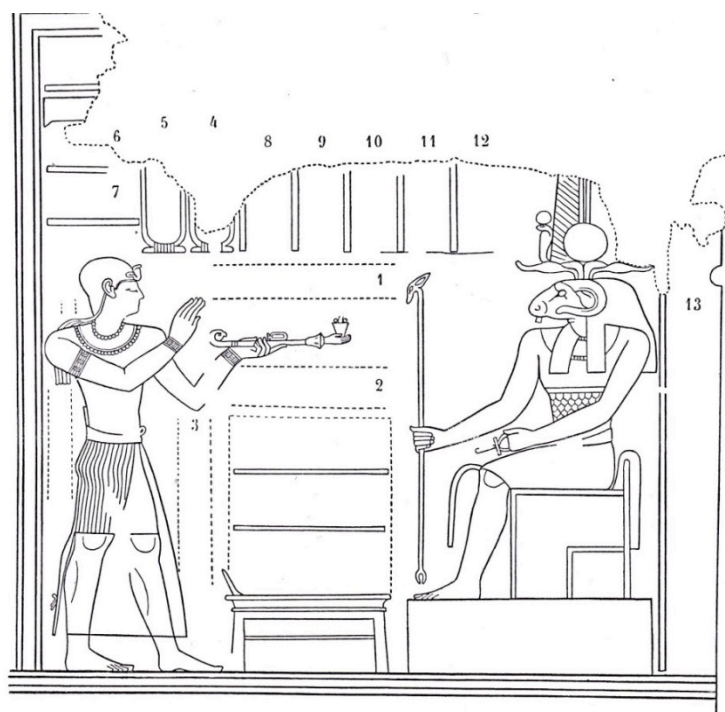


Fig. 3. Scene of the façade of the laboratory: *Esna II*, Nr. 120, p. 227).

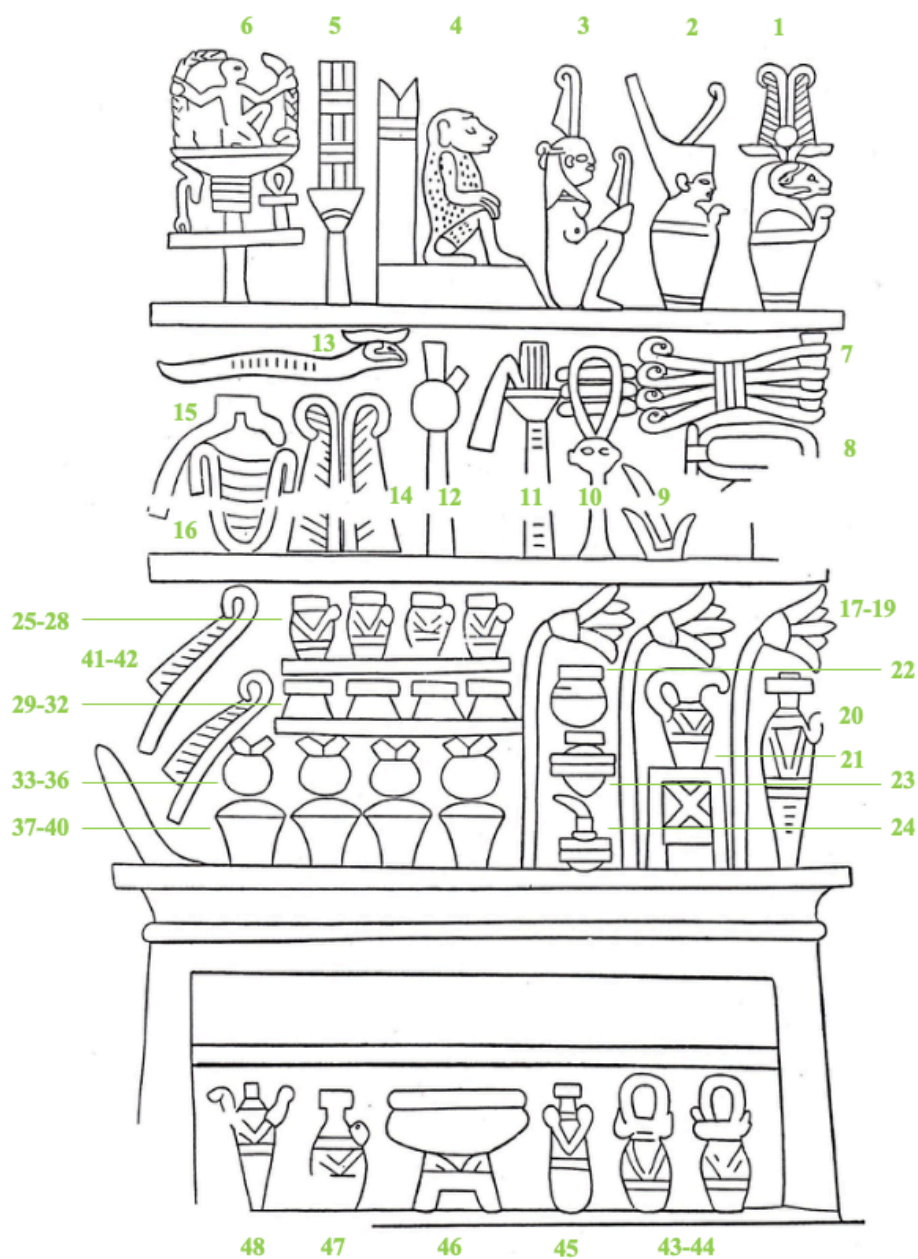


Fig. 4. List of cultic equipment on the façade (After *Esna* I, p. 162, fig. 6 = *Esna* II, Nr.120, p. 228).

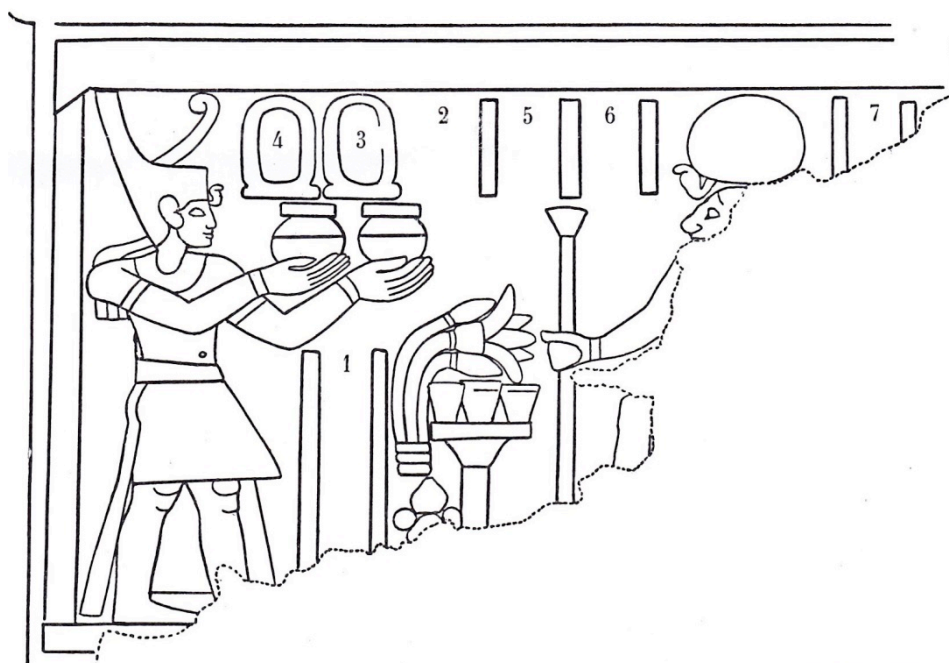


Fig. 5. Offering wine: left scene of the lintel (*Esna II*, Nr. 122, p. 230).



Fig. 6. Offering 'ntjw': right scene of the lintel (*Esna II*, Nr. 123, p. 231).



























| | | | |
|---------|---|----------------|----------------------------|
| (1-2) |  | W70 (modified) | <i>nmst</i> |
| (3) |  | C10D | <i>M3^ct</i> |
| (4) |  | E46 | <i>wnšb</i> |
| (5) |  | S42 | <i>ḥb3, ḥrp, šhm</i> |
| (6) |  | C11G S176 | <i>ḥḥ-w3s-dd-ḥnḥ-nb</i> |
| (7) |  | R42 (modified) | <i>štpj</i> |
| (8) |  | V10 | <i>šnw, rn</i> |
| (9) |  | R7 (modified) | <i>sntr, b3</i> |
| (10) |  | Y18 | <i>šhm</i> |
| (11) |  | S44A | <i>3ms</i> |
| (12) |  | T3A | <i>ḥd</i> |
| (13) |  | I27 | <i>wr-ḥk3w</i> |
| (14) |  | S78 | <i>šwty</i> |
| (15) |  | U19A | <i>nw</i> |
| (16) |  | S91A | <i>wsh</i> |
| (17-19) |  | M9 | <i>nḥb, sšn</i> |
| (20) |  | W14A | <i>ḥs</i> |
| (21) |  | W9B | <i>ḥnm</i> |
| (22) |  | W24 | <i>nw, jrp</i> |
| (23) |  | W59 | <i>ḥnkt</i> |
| (24) |  | W20 | <i>jrtt</i> |
| (25-28) |  | W106 | <i>nmst 4</i> |
| (29-32) |  | W11A | <i>dšrt</i> |
| (33-36) |  | V33 | <i>sšr</i> |
| (37-40) |  | W2b | <i>mrḥt</i> |
| (41-42) |  | H6B | <i>m3^ct, šw</i> |

Table 1. List of the hieroglyphic signs corresponding to the cult objects on the offering stand of the façade (for the numbers of the objects, see fig. 4).

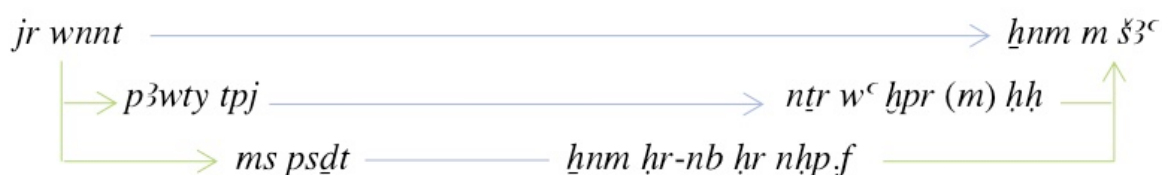


Table 2. Structure of the fragment of the hymn behind the figure of Khnum (*Esna* II, Nr. 120, 13).

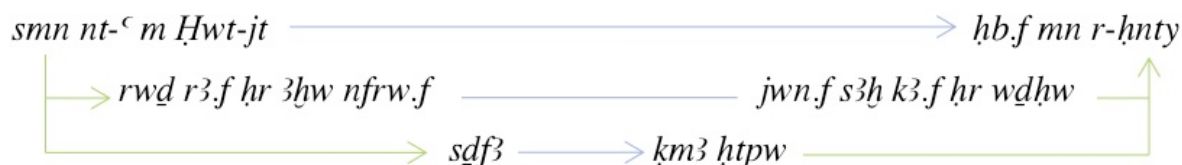


Table 3. Structure of the bandeau text below the scene of the façade (*Esna* II, Nr. 121).

| Nr. 124,1 | | Nr. 124,2 |
|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| [shd] n k3pt pw 3pr(.w) m | | bw nw jrp pw st nt |
| ht nbt nfrt | m dbhw nw | jrt-Hr |
| | | jhm wr |
| | m 33 snbw | jmnt |
| | m s3t3.f | th |
| | m pr hr wdhw.f | |
| [nnjb] | | pr m-hnw [Snw] |
| [mnh?] | | sh3c m-hnt |
| | | swnf jb |
| | | hpr m |
| | | Hwt-jht |
| | | m-3b Knmt |
| h3w nbw nw Pwnt | | jnw nbw nw Dsds |
| šnwt nt T3-ntr | | htr r 3ryt tn |
| jw.sn jry r st tn | | |
| ndm.wy hnm.s | | ndm-jb th.s jm3 |
| wr(.wy) stj.s | | |
| hd jdt.s hr-nb | | nwh r-3w m r3-w3t.s |

synonymous pairs between the two columns

complementary pairs between the two columns

Table 4. Structure of the text of the left doorjamb (*Esna* II, Nr. 124).

| Nr. 125,1 | Nr. 125,2 |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <i>st tn nfrt</i> | <i>sh pn nfr</i> |
| <i>ndmt pw n Nwd-šps</i> | <i>st shn (pw) n Hdt-wrt</i> |
| <i>jwnn pw n Nt</i> <i>nbt Kpnj</i> | <i>mnkb (pw) n Hwt-hr nbt Šsmt</i> |
| <i>hnwt Pwnt</i> | |
| <i>md</i> | |
| <i>[...n] n shp n</i> <i>jbr</i> | <i>sntr</i> |
| <i>tj-šps</i> | <i>‘[t] nt h3^c (n)</i> <i>mnwr</i> |
| <i>hknw</i> | |
| <i>n h3w nbw nw Fkhr</i> | <i>(nt) tst nt phrt</i> |
| | <i>‘k n Šsmw nt (pw) jr jr w nbw jm.f</i> |
| | <i>r shb Jwnyt m hnm ndm nn 3b</i> |

synonymous pairs between the two columns

complementary pairs between the two columns

Table 5. Structure of the text of the right doorjamb (*Esna* II, Nr. 125).