

## Offering the *ij.t*-Knife to Haroeris in the Temple of Isis at Shanhūr

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It is a great pleasure to offer a contribution to celebrate Mark Smith, from whose teaching and knowledge I benefited greatly. I hope he will enjoy these notes on a rarely attested ritual.

The Roman-period temple of Isis at Shanhūr (pl. 17a) is located about 20 km north of Luxor on the east bank of the Nile. From 1989 until 2001 it was investigated by the KU Leuven.<sup>1</sup> In 2010 a final epigraphic campaign was undertaken in a joint project by Swansea University and KU Leuven to complete the recording for the second epigraphic volume of the Shanhūr temple, which will contain the scenes and inscriptions on the exterior walls, the Hypostyle Hall, and the lateral chapel.<sup>2</sup>

The exterior western and eastern walls of the temple were decorated under Claudius (41–54 CE) in three registers of twelve scenes, making a total of thirty-six scenes on each wall. The limestone, which is of inferior quality with many fossil inclusions, is quite weathered, but the reliefs were executed to a high standard.<sup>3</sup> The ritual scene discussed in this article, the offering of the *ij.t*-knife to Haroeris, is the seventh scene in the first register of the eastern exterior wall (no. 157; fig. 1, pl. 18). In its axially corresponding scene on the western exterior wall (no. 119; see fig. 7, pl. 18) the sword of victory (*hps n qn.t*) is offered to Horus. I present the texts here and analyse the rarely attested ritual of offering the *ij.t*-knife in a regional context that includes the corresponding scene at Shanhūr and their parallels in other temples.

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1. H. Willems, F. Coppens, and M. De Meyer, *The Temple of Shanhūr I: The Sanctuary, the Wabet, and the Gates of the Central Hall and the Great Vestibule* (1–98), OLA 124 (Leuven, 2003); J. Quaegebeur and C. Traunecker, with the collaboration of C. Casseyas, M. Chartier-Raymond, G. Creemers, P. Dils, and I. Roovers, "Chenhour 1839–1993: État de la question et rapport des travaux de 1992 et de 1993," *CRIPEL* 16 (1994), 167–209; J. Quaegebeur, "Le temple romain de Chenhour: Remarques sur l'histoire de sa construction et sur sa décoration," in D. Kurth (ed.), 3. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration*, ÄAT 33.1 (Wiesbaden, 1995), 199–226; J. Quaegebeur, "Excavating the Forgotten Temple of Shenhur (Upper Egypt)," in S. G. J. Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research* (London, 1997), 159–67; C. Traunecker and H. Willems, with the collaboration of M. Chartier-Raymond, F. Coppens, P. Dils, B. Gratién, D. Huyge, F. Muller, and I. Roovers, "Chenhour: Rapport des travaux de 1996 et 1997," *CRIPEL* 19 (1998), 111–46. For a recent overview see M. De Meyer and M. Minas-Nerpel, "Shenhur, Temple of," in E. Frood and W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2012), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/5hc3t8dh>.

2. *Shanhūr II*, to appear in 2017. We are very grateful to the Gerda Henkel Foundation (Düsseldorf, Germany) for generously funding the final phase of this project (2010–14). See M. Minas-Nerpel and M. De Meyer, "Raising the Pole for Min in the Temple of Isis at Shanhūr," *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 150–66.

3. See Quaegebeur and Traunecker, "Chenhour 1839–1993," 191–92.



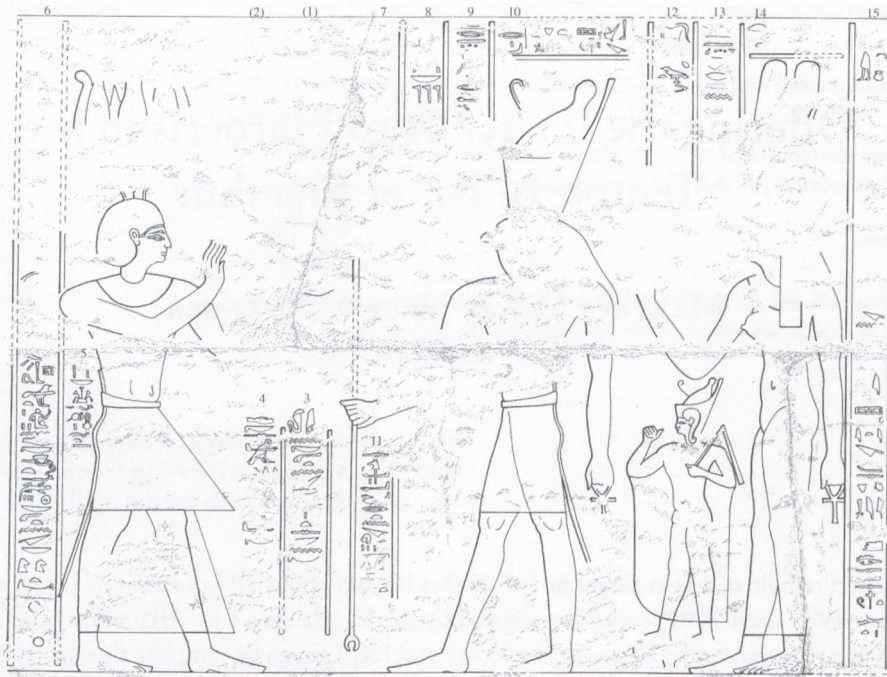


Fig. 1. Shanhūr, eastern exterior wall, no. 157 (drawing by T. L. Sagrillo)

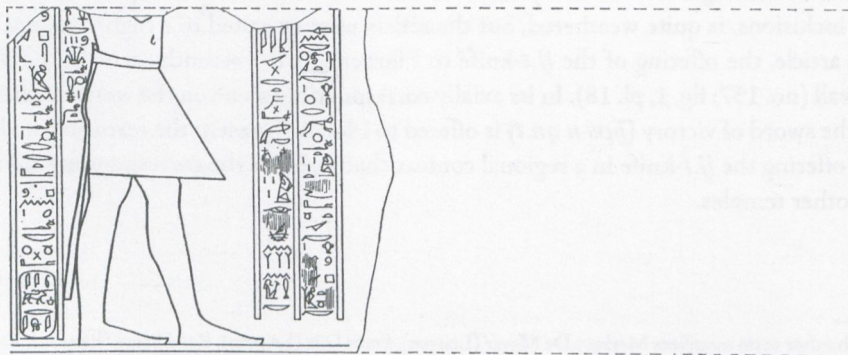


Fig. 2. De Morgan, Kom Ombo I 138

### The Texts of the Ritual (Shanhūr no. 157)

Claudius, facing three deities, wears a short kilt with triangular projection over a longer, diaphanous one, a tail, and a broad collar. Above a short, round wig can be seen the remains of a *hmhm*-crown, the “Roaring One,”<sup>4</sup> as befits the

4. S. Collier, “The Crowns of Pharaoh: Their Development and Significance in Ancient Egyptian Kingship” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles; UMI, 1996), 52, 68. See also E. Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae*, OLA 34 (Leuven, 1989), 120, 301–4; J. Helmbold-Doyé, “Kronen in der Bilderwelt der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit. Die Kronenfelder in den Gräbern 1 und 2 von Anfouchy (Alexandria),” SAK 42 (2013), 104–5.



context of the aggressive-protective offering. His right hand is raised, as was his left arm, which is destroyed from the elbow. According to his words (cols. 3–4), Claudius was presenting the *ij.t*-knife.

The first god, Haroeris, is depicted in anthropomorphic form with falcon head and double crown. In his left hand, which hangs down beside his body, he carries an <sup>c</sup>*nh*-sign. His right hand holds a staff, whose upper part is lost. Haroeris is followed by a child-god on a pedestal, probably the upper part of a *sm3 t3.wj*-group,<sup>5</sup> with a cape slung around his shoulder. His right finger points towards his mouth; in his left hand he holds a flagellum. His headgear consists of a double crown with sidelock. Behind him stands a goddess who wears a tight-fitting dress and a broad collar. Her headdress is quite damaged, but parts of the tripartite wig and two tall ostrich feathers are visible. In her left hand, which hangs down beside her body, she carries an <sup>c</sup>*nh*-sign. Her right hand is raised and mostly destroyed.

Royal name:

[1]–[2] Lost.

King's speech/scene title:

[3] *ij.t*<sup>6</sup>=*k*<sup>7</sup> *n*=*k*<sup>8</sup> *mdn*=*k* [*m*-<sup>c</sup>]=*i ds*?.*n*=*k*

[4] *šsp*=*k sj m*-<sup>c</sup> [...] <sup>c</sup>=*k*

[3] Your *ij.t*-sword is yours, your *mdn*-knife is [in] my [hand], you (have) cut? ...

[4] May you receive it from [me? ...] your arm.

Back protection formula:

[5] <sup>c</sup>*nh* *w3s nb h3*=*f mj r*<sup>c</sup> *d.t*

[5] All life and prosperity around him like Ra forever.

Royal framing column:

[6] [...] *bh3*<sup>9</sup> *wmt n dgj.t*=*f š3 sp.w nb mdn nb ph.tj* [...] <sup>10</sup>

[6] [...] the mass of enemies flees at seeing him, he of manifold actions, possessor of the knife, lord of power [...]

5. The *sm3 t3.wj*-group is depicted in fuller form in several scenes at Shanhūr, e.g., scene 161 on the eastern exterior wall (offering lettuce to Min and Harpokrates); see Minas-Nerpel and De Meyer, "Raising the Pole for Min," pl. XXI.

6. For *ij.t* see *Wb.* I, 38, 11: "Art Messer oder Schwert"; P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA 78 (Leuven, 1997), 41, s.v. *it*, refers only to the "sanctuary at Letopolis." For *ij.t* as a knife and its connection to Letopolis see H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Denkschriften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 59, 1–2 (Vienna, 1917), 26–28, and discussions below (especially parallel text 3).

7. Although the cobra can be read as *k*, the suffix =*k* is not generally written with this sign at Shanhūr, but it is found at Coptos, see C. Traunecker, *Coptos: Hommes et dieux sur le parvis de Geb*, OLA 34 (Leuven, 1992), 188–92, no. 36, col. 1–2, where Geb is addressed: ... *snm*=*k htp.w* ... "may you eat the offerings ...". In Shanhūr 157, the cobra was well chosen, since it refers to *ij.t* not only as a knife, but also as a protecting and fierce goddess (see below, parallel text 3 with notes 31–32). Another solution would be to read the cobra in the Shanhūr-scene not as a suffix, but as a determinative, so that the king's words would read *ij.t n=k* ... ("The *ij.t*-sword is yours ..."), but this sounds less idiomatic.

8. There is no verb at the beginning of the king's speech, as often in ritual texts of the Graeco-Roman period. A nonverbal beginning is not uncommon at Shanhūr, see for example, scene 151, col. 3: *rsj=k (r) t3w mh.t.j=k (r) kk*, "Your south extends towards the wind, your north towards the darkness."

9. For *bh3* see *Wb.* I, 467, 8: "fliehen"; Leitz, *LGG* II, 809b: *bh3 n=f wmt*, "vor dem die dicke Masse der Feinde flieht"; Leitz, *LGG* IV, 797a: *hb n=f wmt*, "der die dicke Masse (der Feinde) durchdringt."

10. There are still two circular signs recognizable, but they do not make sense.



## Haroeris' name and titles:

- [7] *[dd mdw in hr wr ...]*<sup>11</sup>  
 [8] [...] *nb ntr:w*  
 [9] *dj r t3 m?[qsj? ...]*  
 [10] *rdj?/r3-ꜥ? ... šꜥ.t? nb(d)*  
 [7] [Words spoken by Haroeris ...]  
 [8] [...] Lord of the gods  
 [9] given to the land in (= who comes to) [Qus? ...]  
 [10] ? ... slaughter? of the evil ones.

## Haroeris' speech:

- [11] *swsr=i ꜥ.wj=k r dn tp.w [...]*  
 [11] I make your arms mighty in order to sever the heads<sup>12</sup> [of your enemies].


## Goddess's name and titles:

- [12] *dd mdw in [...]*<sup>13</sup> *wr.t [...]*  
 [13] *nb.t t3.wj ... n [...]*  
 [14] [...]  
 [12] Words spoken by [...] the great [...]  
 [13] Lady of the two lands ... [...]  
 [14] [...]

## Divine framing column:

- [15] [*šsp.n=i n=i*]<sup>14</sup> *ij.t [...]* *n[...]* *j ... šꜥj.t (r) hsb šntj.w?*<sup>15</sup> [...] *sj3 ...* [...]<sup>16</sup>  
 [15] [I receive for myself] the sword ... massacre (in order to) smash the enemies, ...

## Analysis

Though the word *ij.t* "knife" () is closely associated with Haroeris, who fought with it against the enemies of his father Ra,<sup>17</sup> the ritual of offering the *ij.t*-knife is rarely attested.<sup>18</sup> Very few parallel scenes survive: three in the temple of Sobek and Haroeris at Kom Ombo, one in the temple of Haroeris at Qus, and one in the West

11. The column is completely destroyed, but from the parallel scenes *Kom Ombo* I 276 and Berlin photo 138 (see below parallel texts 2 and 4) we can assume that it is Haroeris (rather than Horus).

12. In *Kom Ombo* I 276 Haroeris also imparts to the king the ability to fell his enemies as well as cutting off the heads of his foes (see below parallel text 2, col. 9).

13. The identity of the goddess is unclear; *3s.t* or even *hq3.t* could be restored in the lacuna.

14. Common formula at the beginning of the divine framing column of the first register of the eastern and western exterior walls, see for example scene 120, col. 10; scene 121, col. 15; scene 122, col. 9.

15. For *šntj.w* see *Wb.* IV, 520, 4–5: "Die Feinde." For *hsb* see *Wb.* III, 168, 4: "schlachten."

16. All signs after *sj3* and their meaning are unclear.

17. See for example *Kom Ombo* I 167, col. 7 (Haroeris carries the *ij.t*-knife in his right hand, among other weapons, when fighting against the enemies of his father Ra), or *Kom Ombo* II 635, col. 4 (Haroeris cuts the enemies' heads with the *w3.t*- and *ij.t*-knives). See further comments to parallel text 3 below.

18. See H. Beinlich, *Handbuch der Szenentitel in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit Ägyptens*, SRaT 3.1 (Dettelbach, 2008), 316: "Messer", who cites two scenes (Philae Photo 138 and *Kom Ombo* I 276). See also S. Cauville, *Offering to the Gods in Egyptian Temples* (Leuven, 2012), 226, no. 3: "The Sword of Horus of Letopolis" (referring only to *Kom Ombo* I 276 [on p. 207]).



Colonnade at Philae. I draw upon these texts and some iconographic details in order to interpret the ritual and its mythological context.

### Parallel Scene 1: *Kom Ombo* I 138

The ritual scene on Column VII (fig. 2) in the court of the temple of Sobek and Haroeris at Kom Ombo is badly damaged, with only the lower left area preserved, showing the lower body of Tiberius up to his right elbow and the texts right in front of and behind him. The deities, probably two, are destroyed, and the depiction of the offering itself does not survive either, but the *ij.t*-knife is mentioned, among other knives, in col. 2 of the king's speech, carved below his lost raised arms, so that it is safe to assume that the king originally held a knife in his hand, as in parallel scene 2 below (*Kom Ombo* I 276; fig. 3).

King's speech:

[1] *mn n=k s3h.t*<sup>19</sup>=*k hr shr hft.j.w*[=*k*] *mdn*<sup>20</sup>=*k hr wp itnw(.w)*=*k*

[2] *ij.t wr.t hwj h3k.w-ib irj=s*<sup>21</sup> *š<sup>c</sup>.t n sbj.w n hm=k*

[1] Take for yourself your *s3h.t*-knife while overthrowing [your] enemies,  
your *mdn*-knife while cutting up your opponents,

[2] ... the great *ij.t*-knife which strikes the rebellious (and) makes slaughter among the foes of your majesty.

Back protection formula:

[3] *nh w3s nb h3=f mj r<sup>c</sup> d.t*

[3] All life and prosperity around him like Ra forever.

Royal framing column:

[4] [...] *wp sbj.w n it=f r<sup>c</sup> r rdj.t t3 pn n s3=f nb (q)n.t* [(*tjbrjjs*)]

[4] [...] who cuts up the enemies of his father Ra in order to give this land to his son, lord of valour, (Tiberius).

The *ij.t*-knife (col. 2) seems to act at its own behest, almost like a personification, not as an instrument used by the king or a god. The identity of the god Haroeris, and probably also the offering of a knife, is confirmed in the horizontal *bandeau* of the column (*Kom Ombo* I 139), where the king is called "the heir of the sovereign (*ity*), the excellent son of the one who raises the arm (*s3 iqr hwj-<sup>c</sup>*)<sup>22</sup> ... beloved of Haroeris, strong of arm (*tm3-<sup>c</sup>*),<sup>23</sup> great of power, protector of his father Ra."

### Parallel Scene 2: *Kom Ombo* I 276<sup>24</sup>

Although this ritual scene on the eastern wall of the Hypostyle Hall of the temple of Sobek and Haroeris, in the first register between the two doors of the parallel axes, is also damaged, the raised right hand of Ptolemy VIII

19. For *s3h.t* see *Wb.* IV, 24, 13: "Messer." This knife is connected to Isis, who uses it against her enemies and gives it to Horus as a weapon against Seth, see M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, MÄS 11 (Berlin, 1968), 13, 197.

20. For *mdn* see *Wb.* II, 182, 10: "Messer."

21. The copy in *Kom Ombo* I 138 does not include the suffix =*s* (*hwj=s* and *irj=s*), which is recognizable on photographs.

22. For *s3 iqr hwj-<sup>c</sup>* see Leitz, *LGG* V, 57a.

23. For *tm3-<sup>c</sup>* see Leitz, *LGG* VII, 462c ff. As befits this context, the epithet is written with a knife determinative.

24. For a recent study of the scene see A. A. Ali, "Ein *iit*-Darreichen im Tempel von Kom Ombo," *BIFAO* 113 (2013), 19–31. He presents



Euergetes II, holding the *ij.t*-knife, and his lower body are clearly visible (fig. 3). This is the only ritual scene known to me in which the depiction of the *ij.t*-knife as an offering survives, presented to Haroeris, who is shown in anthropomorphic form with a falcon head.

Royal name

[1] [nswt-]bjtj ([iw<sup>c</sup> n ntr.wj pr.wj stp n pth irj] m3<sup>c</sup>.t r<sup>c</sup> shm n<sup>c</sup>h n jmn) p3 ntr mn<sup>c</sup>h

[2] s3 r<sup>c</sup> ([ptwlm]jjs n<sup>c</sup>h d.t mrj p[t]h) nb qn

[1] King of [Upper-] and Lower Egypt ([Heir of the two Epiphanes, chosen by Ptah, who performs] the maat of Ra, living image of Amun), the excellent god

[2] Son of Ra ([Ptolem]aios, may he live forever, beloved of P[*t*]ah), lord of power.

Back protection formula:

[3] [n<sup>c</sup>h w3s nb h3=f] mj r<sup>c</sup> d.t

[3] [All life and prosperity around him] like Ra forever.

King's speech:

[4] hnk ij.t n it=f šps r<sup>c</sup>pr.n=f s(y/w?)<sup>25</sup> m wd3.tj=fj

[4] Offering the *ij.t*-knife to his august father, after equipping it with his two eyes.

Haroeris' name and titles:

[5] dd mdw in hr wr hnt.j-ir.tj ntr r3 nb nb.t

[6] nb ij.t hrj-ib hm šw s3 r<sup>c</sup> hr tm3-<sup>c</sup>

[7] r3 ph.tj nb š<sup>c</sup>.t m t3 dr=f

[5] Words spoken by Haroeris, foremost of the two eyes, great god, lord of Ombos,

[6] possessor of the *ij.t*-knife, who resides in Letopolis, Shu, son of Ra,  
Horus, strong of arm,

[7] great of power, lord of the slaughter in the entire land.

Haroeris' upper speech:

[8] dj=i n=k ph.tj r shr hft.j.w=k sbj.w=k hr.w n wnn=sn

[8] I give you the power to fell your enemies. Your foes are fallen, they do not exist.

Haroeris' lower speech:

[9] dj=i n=k ph.tj r shr hft.j.w=k hsq tp.w sbj.w n.w hm=k

[9] I give you the power to fell your enemies and to cut off the heads of the foes of your person.

a new drawing (Abb. 2c on p. 28), which he kindly allowed me to reproduce here as fig. 3, since it includes more of the text than *Kom Ombo* I 276. I am also grateful to him for sending me his manuscript in April 2014 shortly before its publication. My transliteration and translation are based on his photographs and drawing (Abb. 2a–c).

25. The dependent pronoun is written  $\overline{\text{111}}$  (for a photograph see Ali, "Ein *it*-Darreichen," Abb. 2a). It is not entirely obvious to what it refers. Ali, "Ein *it*-Darreichen," 20, reads it *sy*, with reference to the *ij.t*-knife. This solution makes sense, but ignores the plural strokes. Could one read it *sw*, imagining that *ij.t* was construed as masculine because infinitives ending in *-t* are grammatically masculine? So "after equipping it (= the *ij.t*-knife) with the *wd3.tj*" would mean that the *ij.t*-knife then corresponded to the picture where it is shown with an *wd3.t*-eye.



The soubassement inscription of *Kom Ombo* I 275, located below the offering of the *ij.t*-knife (*Kom Ombo* I 276), consists of a hymn to the *wd3.t*-eye, also celebrating the *ij.t*-knife.<sup>26</sup> Their close connection, further discussed below (see parallel text 3), is thus established.

### Parallel Scene 3: *Kom Ombo* II 938

At *Kom Ombo*, the *ij.t*-knife also receives attention in the central scene of the back wall of the temple in the “emperors’ corridor,” the outer corridor at the back of the temple, which was decorated in the Roman period (fig. 4).<sup>27</sup> The knife is not depicted as an offering in a pharaoh’s hand, but in a monumental form on a pedestal, positioned directly in front of Haroeris, facing Sobek and his sceptre, which is decorated with the head of a lion. Between these two symbols of power, exactly in the middle of the temple and thus on the same axis as *Kom Ombo* I 275–76 (parallel text 2), is a *tableau* of six columns of inscription (*Kom Ombo* II 939; fig. 5), comprising two hymns, one to Sobek (three lines facing right) and one to Haroeris (three lines facing left).

As in the offering scene *Kom Ombo* I 276, the monumental knife is adorned with the *wd3.t*-eye.<sup>28</sup> Haroeris borrowed from his counterpart Horus or Haroeris of Letopolis a knife called *ij.t* like the sanctuary at Letopolis itself.<sup>29</sup> The two hymns of *Kom Ombo* II 939 elucidate the close relations of Sobek and Haroeris and the syncretistic understanding of their characters in the Roman period.<sup>30</sup> At the end of the second column of his hymn, Haroeris is designated as “Horus, strong of arm, possessor of the *ij.t*-knife as the mighty one of Ra” (*hr tm3-ꜥ nb ij.t m nḥt n rꜥ*). In this case, *ij.t* is written

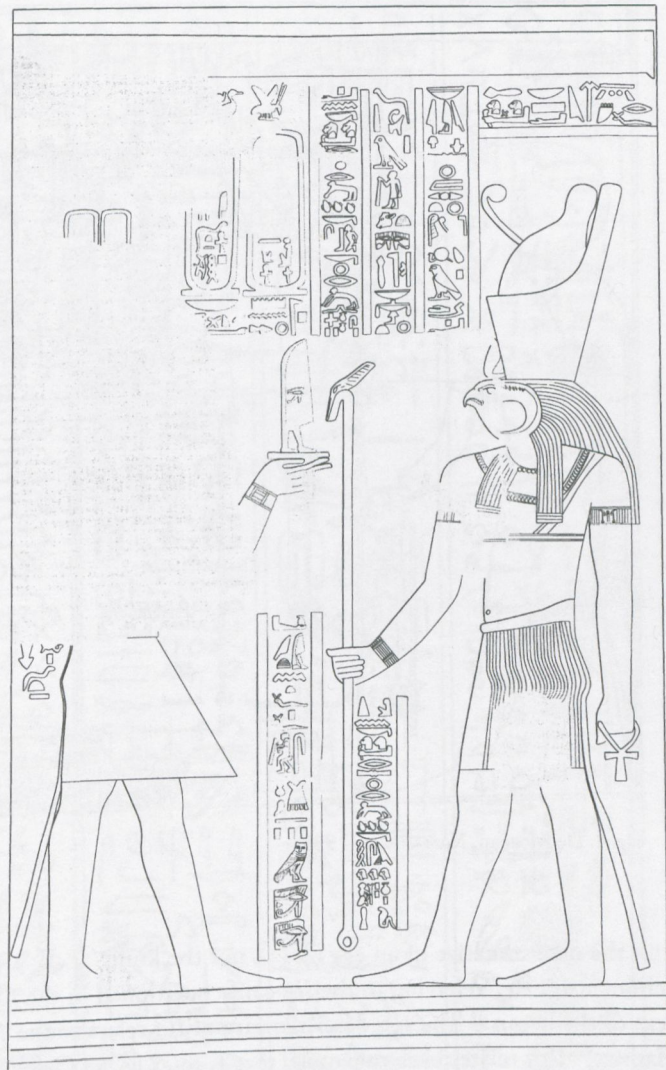


Fig. 3. Ali, “Ein *ijt*-Darreichen,” Abb. 2c on p. 28 (*Kom Ombo* I 276)

26. For further comments on the description of the knife’s magical force, see A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo*, BdE 47.1 (1973), 41–42, note j; 73–74, note n; 110–1, note n. See also Ali, “Ein *ijt*-Darreichen,” 23 (with a translation).

27. PM VI 197 (227). For the context of the emperor’s corridor see M. Minas-Nerpel, “Egyptian Temples,” in C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), 376–77 (with further references).

28. The *wd3.t*-eye was not included in *Kom Ombo* II 938, but see Ali, “Ein *ijt*-Darreichen,” Abb. 2a–c.

29. See Junker, *Onurislegende*, 26–8. On the *ij.t*-knife, see Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, 110–11, note n: “L’épée *ijt*, qui porte le nom d’un sanctuaire situé à Létopolis ou ses environs.”

30. For translations see H. Junker, “Ein Doppelhymnus aus Kom Ombo,” ZÄS 67 (1931), 51–55; A. Barucq and F. Dumas, *Hymnes et prières de l’Égypte ancienne*, LAPO 10 (Paris, 1980), 166–68, 430–32.



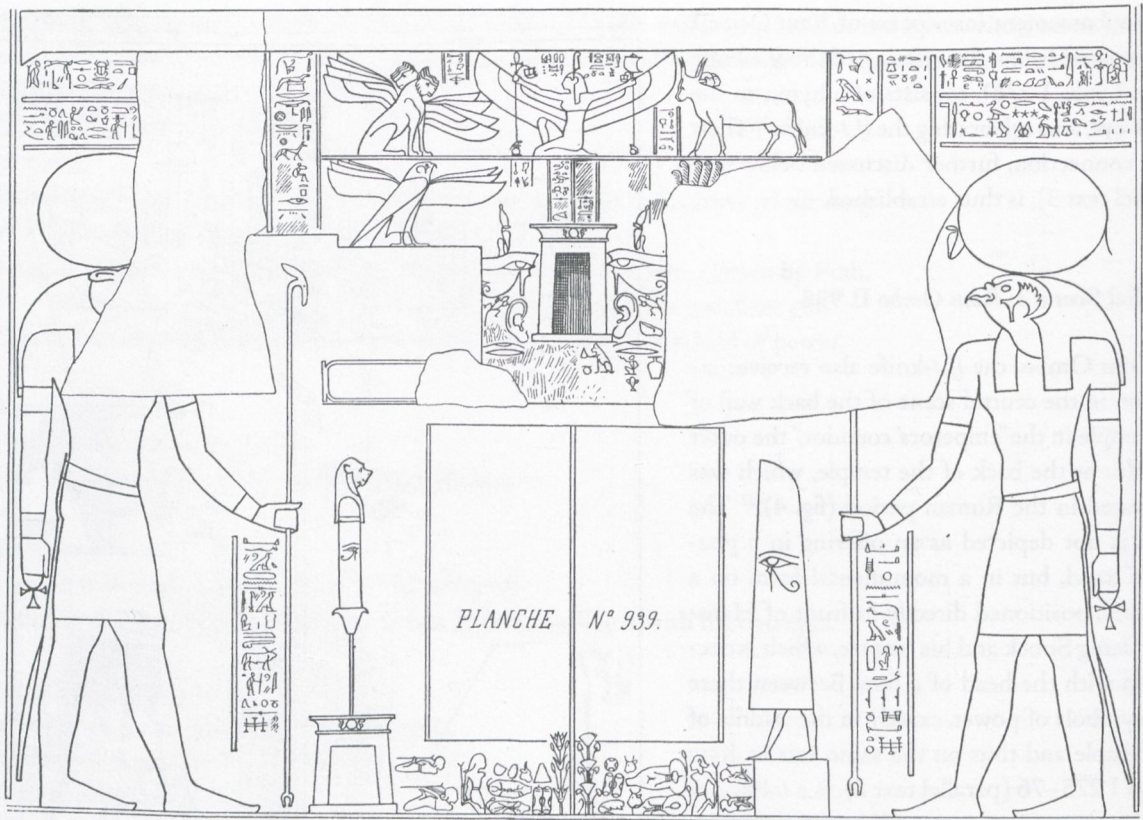


Fig. 4. De Morgan, *Kom Ombo II 938*

with the determinative of an egg ( $\text{𓆎}$ ), not the knife ( $\text{𓆏}$ ). Junker translated “Der Herr der ‘Kommenden’ als Schützer des Re,” referring to the *ij.t*-knife mentioned in the Onuris legend and the monumental knife depicted next to the hymn.<sup>31</sup> The egg determinative of *ij.t* refers to the personification of the knife as a goddess, probably Hathor.<sup>32</sup> This relates back to parallel text 1, col. 2 (*Kom Ombo I 138*), where the knife seems to act as an emblematic personification rather than being used as an instrument.

In columns 1 and 3 of his hymn (*Kom Ombo II 939*, fig. 5), Haroeris is called *hnt.j-ir.tj*, “foremost of the two eyes”, a common epithet, referring to the two eyes of the sky god as a falcon, whose cult-centre was originally Letopolis; later he was also worshipped in Kom Ombo and Qus (see also parallel scene 5). The two eyes, the sun and the moon, as well as the *wd3.t*-eye play an important role in Haroeris’ cult, who was initially a universal god; as *hnt.j-ir.tj* he became Ra’s son (see parallel text 2 [*Kom Ombo I 276*], col. 6; parallel text 4 [Philae]).<sup>33</sup> The eyes are mentioned in the king’s speech in *Kom Ombo I 276* (parallel text 2, col. 4), where the knife is equipped with them. The monumental knife in *Kom Ombo II 938* displays the *wd3.t*-eye.

31. Junker, “Ein Doppelhymnus aus Kom Ombo,” 54. See also Junker, *Onurislegende*, 50.

32. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, 429 (with references).

33. See H. Junker, *Der sehende und blinde Gott (Mhntj-irtj und Mhntj-n-irtj)*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Abteilung, Heft 7 (München, 1942), esp. 22–29; Junker, *Onurislegende*, 40–41, 149–51. See also S. A. B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary IV* (New York, London, and Toronto, 1952), 52–53.



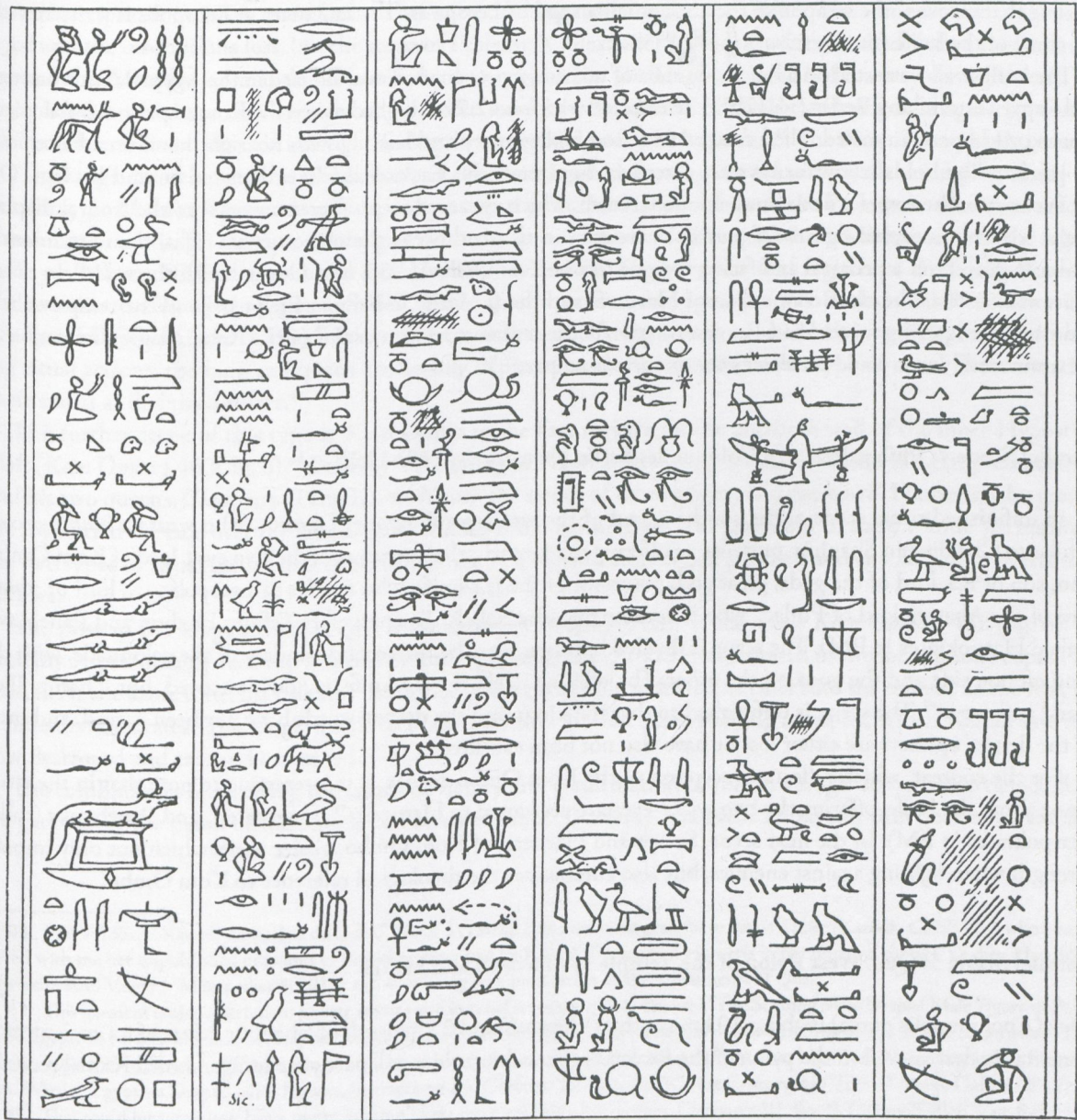





Fig. 5. De Morgan, *Kom Ombo* II 939

The knife is thus closely connected with the Horus-eye, which is also understood as a punitive weapon:<sup>34</sup> the knife in the hands of the falcon god of Letopolis is seen as his *wḏ3.t*  and it is at the same time the *ij.t* 

34. See H. Kees, "Zu den ägyptischen Mondsgen," *ZÄS* 60 (1925), 4 (with further references). See also *Kom Ombo* II 635, col. 4 (Haroeris cuts the enemies' heads with the *wḏ3.t*- and *ij.t*-knives), see n. 17 above.



the “one that returns,” the weapon of the ancient falcon god of Letopolis. The sanctuary at Letopolis is written with the name of the knife (or *vice versa*): .<sup>35</sup>

The knife is also attested on a limestone stela of unknown provenance, now housed in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (pl. 17b).<sup>36</sup> The object, which is 42.2 cm high, dates to the Roman period and depicts Horus or Haroeris in raised relief, dressed as a Roman legionary and leaning with his right hand on a lance.<sup>37</sup> In his left hand he holds a bow; arrows are placed in a quiver on his back. A shield is depicted behind his legs. On his falcon head he wears a *nemes* and a double crown, which is carved in profile, in contrast to the frontal display of the anthropomorphic figure. Of particular interest in this context is the object to his right, the monumental *ij.t*-knife, placed on a pedestal and facing the god. As in *Kom Ombo* II 938, it is adorned with the *wḏ3.t*-eye. This votive stela attests the close connection of Haroeris and the *ij.t*-knife in Roman Egypt beyond the temple reliefs and ritual scenes. Horus, clad as a Roman warrior, became almost a patron saint of the Roman legionnaires,<sup>38</sup> and the armoured Horus could be seen as the victorious emperor.<sup>39</sup>

#### Parallel Scene 4: Philae, Western Colonnade, Berlin photographs 138–139<sup>40</sup>

In an unfinished ritual scene at the southern end of the western colonnade, Tiberius, who wears a *hmhm*-crown similar to Claudius' in Shanhūr, presents an offering to Haroeris, the “foremost of the two eyes, lord of Kom Ombo, Shu, son of Ra, lord of the gods, great god, possessor of the *ij.t*-knife, who resides in Letopolis, ..., lord of *qbhw*, lord of the Abaton, lord of Philae,” who is accompanied by Sobek, Tasetnefert-Tefnut, Hathor, and Panebtawy (called Harpokrates in PM). The scene is divided into two parts by the second window of the colonnade, with the king on one side and the gods on the other. The offering itself, the *ij.t*-knife, is now destroyed, but Champollion could still see it.<sup>41</sup> The scene is unfinished so that the king's and the deities' words have not been carved, and most of the deities' epithets are either lost or have also not been executed.

For the context, which reflects a reception of the Kom Ombo-scenes, it is interesting to note that in the ritual scene above the knife-offering the two *wḏ3.t*-eyes are presented to Haroeris, Tasetnefert, and Panebtawy (called Harpokrates in PM). In the next scene, Sobek and Haroeris of Kom Ombo receive wine, which not only imparts strength when fighting against enemies, but also emphasises the theological reference to Kom Ombo.

#### Parallel Scene 5: Qus, West Pylon of the Temple of Haroeris and Heket

Qus (Apollinopolis parva) is about 10 km south of Coptos<sup>42</sup> and 5 km north of Shanhūr. Most of its ancient monuments are destroyed, but the pylon of the Ptolemaic period temple is still partly standing. Ahmed Kamal recorded

35. See Junker, *Onurislegende*, 28, 150.

36. ÄM 17549. The stela was bought in 1905. I am very grateful to Alexandra von Lieven for drawing my attention to this object, and to Jana Helmbold-Doyé for kindly supplying the photograph as well as the permission to publish the object.

37. See H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 313–14, fig. 79. See also K. Parlasca, “Falkenstelen aus Edfu. Bemerkungen zu einer Gruppe zerstörter Reliefs des Berliner Museums,” in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin, 1974), 483–87, esp. 487 and pl. 87a.

38. See Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 313–14. See also G. Bénédite, “Une nouvelle représentation d'Horus légionnaire,” *RA* 3 (1904), 111–18.

39. D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt. Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton, 1998), 3–4.

40. PM VI 208 (23)–(24). *Wb.*-Zettel 681–83. I am very grateful to Erich Winter for giving me access to the Berlin photographs 138–139. See also H. Junker, *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien*, *Abhandlungen der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* (Berlin, 1911), 67–68.

41. J. F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives I* (Paris, 1844), 168.

42. On Haroeris of Qus and his connections to Coptos, see Traunecker, *Coptos*, § 103, 126–28, 234; Junker, *Der sehende und blinde Gott*, 58–63.



some inscriptions in 1902, one of which refers to the king receiving the *ij.t*-knife.<sup>43</sup> The scene is now badly damaged and the inscriptions lost, but the torso of Ptolemy X Alexander I wearing a fringed cloak (often misleadingly termed the “Macedonian mantle”),<sup>44</sup> is still clearly recognizable. The king’s left hand holds a very damaged staff; his right hand is raised and once received or presented an object. Behind the pharaoh stands a female figure, preserved from neck to feet and dressed in a tight-fitting dress, probably one of his queens.<sup>45</sup> The deity is completely gone.

The king’s garment sets the scene clearly in the context of confirming his rule, in parallel examples mostly by receiving the *hb-sd* or by recording his annals or regnal years. In this type of scene, the Ptolemaic ruler wore exactly this fringed mantle, for example on the gate of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, where Khonsu records the regnal years of Ptolemy III Euergetes I and Berenike III,<sup>46</sup> or at Kom Ombo in the first register of the façade between the two sanctuaries, where Khonsu, Sobek, and Haroeris confirm the regnal years of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Cleopatra II (*Kom Ombo* II 810).<sup>47</sup> In contrast to traditional offering scenes, in which the king is depicted performing ritual actions, the king and queen are usually depicted on the divine side in this type of scene, demonstrating their status as divinized rulers.<sup>48</sup>

In a further scene of this type at Kom Ombo in the first register on the northern wall of the inner Hypostyle Hall (*Kom Ombo* I 462; fig. 6),<sup>49</sup> Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II wears the fringed mantle when Haroeris presents him and his two queens, Cleopatra II and III, with both the sword of victory (*hps*) and the *hb-sd*. Haroeris, who grants the royal triad the rule over the world, bears, among other epithets, *nb ij.t* (“possessor of the *ij.t*-knife”). This links the two types of ritual scenes that confirm the rule of a Roman emperor as pharaoh and enable him to overthrow his foes.

The pose of the king’s hands at Qus is the same as Ptolemy VIII’s in the scene *Kom Ombo* I 462 (fig. 6), so Ptolemy X presumably received a sword or knife, probably the *ij.t*-knife, mentioned in the inscriptions copied by Kamal. At the same time, his rule was confirmed and he was fully inducted as ruler into the temple, as the fringed mantle demonstrates. The king’s words to Haroeris below his left hand holding a scepter, which Kamal saw, are now destroyed and cannot be checked.

The combination of receiving the sword of victory and confirmation of rule in a single scene is also depicted in the gateway of the pylon of the temple of Horus at Edfu.<sup>50</sup> Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos, who does not wear the

43. PM V 135. A. Kamal, “Le pylône de Qous,” *ASAE* 3 (1902), 228. I am most grateful to Anaïs Tillier (Karnak; CFEETK), who kindly shared with me her unpublished drawings of the scene described by Kamal. She studied Haroeris in her doctoral thesis (“Le dieu Haroeris,” Université Paul Valéry – Montpellier 3, 2012) and is working on a publication of the monuments of Qus.

44. This garment is also attested on private statues and in relief scenes, see R. S. Bianchi, “The Striding Male Draped Male Figure of Ptolemaic Egypt,” in H. Maehler and M. Strocka (eds.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions, 27.–29. September 1976* (Mainz, 1978), 95–102; idem, “The Striding Male Draped Male Figure of Ptolemaic Egypt” (PhD diss.; New York University, 1976). See also A. A. Warda, “Egyptian Draped Male Figures, Inscriptions and Context: 1st Century BC–1st Century AD” (DPhil thesis; Oxford, 2012).

45. This could be a goddess, but a queen is more likely, most probably his mother, Cleopatra III. See S. Caßor-Pfeiffer, “Zur Reflexion ptolemäischer Geschichte in den ägyptischen Tempeln aus der Zeit Ptolemaios IX. Philometor./Soter II. und Ptolemaios X. Alexander I. (116–80 v. Chr.), Teil 1: Die Bau- und Dekorationstätigkeit,” *JEH* 1.1 (2008), 56.

46. P. Clère, *La porte d’Évergète à Karnak, 2<sup>e</sup> partie*, MIFAO 84 (Cairo, 1961), pl. 43. See also M. Minas-Nerpel, “Macht und Ohnmacht. Die Repräsentation ptolemäischer Königinnen in ägyptischen Tempeln,” *APF* 51 (2005), 134–25, Abb. 5. For the context of the annals and the confirmation of power see R. Preys, “Roi vivant et roi ancêtre. Iconographie et idéologie royale sous les Ptolémées,” in C. Zivie-Coche (ed.), *Offrandes, rites et rituels dans les temples d’époques ptolémaïque et romaine*, CENiM 10 (Montpellier, 2015), 149–84.

47. PM VI 194 (158). A. Gutbub (ed. D. Inconnu-Bocquillon), *Kôm Ombo*. Vol. 1: *Les inscriptions du naos (sanctuaires, salle de l’ennéade, salle des offrandes, couloir mystérieux)* (Le Caire, 1995), 13–15, no. 14.

48. See E. Winter, “Der Herrscherkult in den ägyptischen Ptolemäertempeln,” in H. Maehler and M. Strocka (eds.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten: Akten des internationalen Symposions, 27.–29. September 1976* (Mainz, 1978), 153. See also Preys, “Roi vivant et roi ancêtre.”

49. PM VI 189 (74).

50. PM VI 123 (16). Edfou VIII 62–63; J. Quaegebeur, “Une scène historique méconnue au grand temple d’Edfou,” in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci (eds.), *Egitto e storia antica dall’ellenismo all’età araba. Bilancio di un confronto, Atti del colloquio internazionale, Bologna, 31 Agosto–2 Settembre 1987* (Bologna, 1989), 595–608; Minas-Nerpel, “Macht und Ohnmacht,” 148.



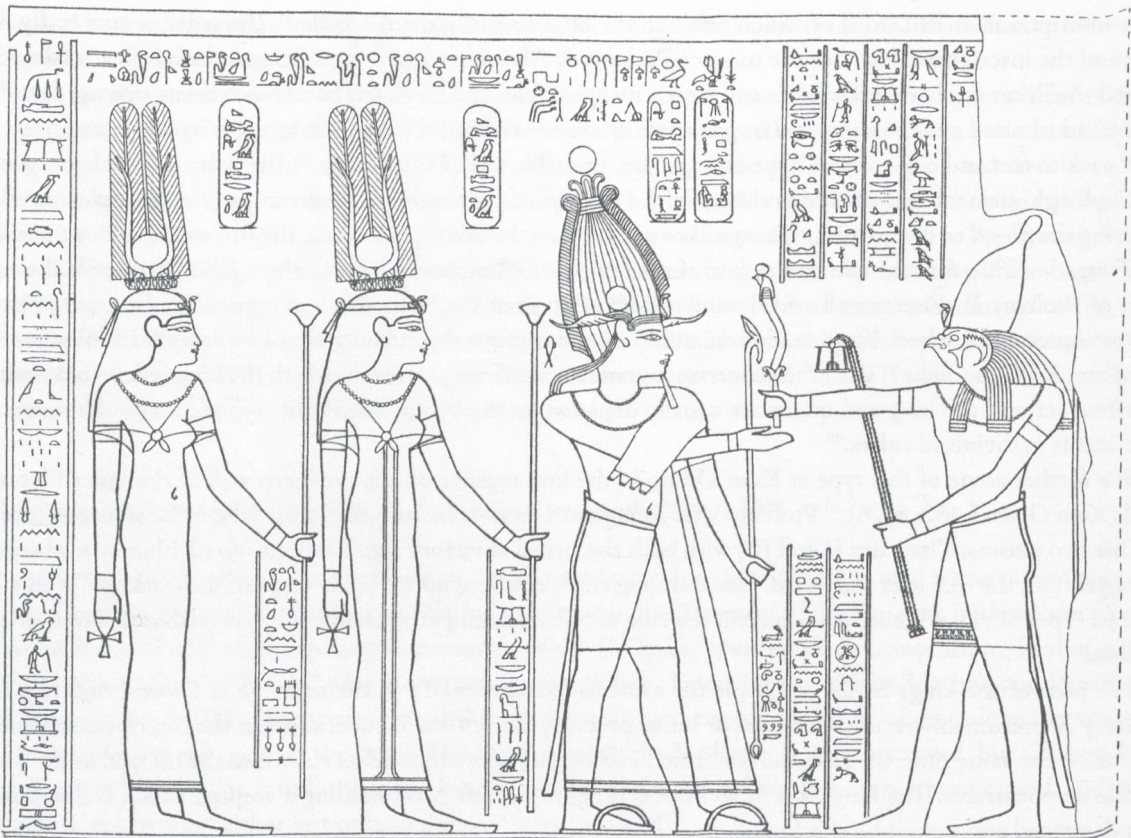


Fig. 6. De Morgan, *Kom Ombo I 462*

fringed mantle but a short kilt, receives the sword from Horus and is followed by Seshat, who carries two *hb-sd*-symbols. The queen, Cleopatra VI Tryphaina, stands behind the goddess.<sup>51</sup>

This scene type, which refers to confirmation of rule by recording regnal years or presenting the *hb-sd*-symbol, was evidently revised under Ptolemy VIII, as demonstrated in *Kom Ombo I 462*, where Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and his queens receive the *hpš*-sword and *hb-sd* at the same time, in contrast to Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II (*Kom Ombo II 810*), who do not receive the *hpš*-sword as their annals are recorded. On the pylons of Qus (Ptolemy X) and Edfu (Ptolemy XII), the kings also receive the sword of victory in addition to the annals. The evolution of this scene suggests that the idea of vigour became increasingly important in the politically unstable later Ptolemaic period. At Qus, the local theology further influenced the iconography, it seems, so that the *hpš*-sword was replaced by the *ij.t*-knife, since the latter is clearly connected with Haroeris and the destruction of enemies, and at the same time with the transmission of power. This combination is visible in the framing column of *Kom Ombo I 138*, col. 4 (parallel scene 1 above), where the slaughter of the enemies is directly linked with the reward of the land, that is, the rule over Egypt.

After Ptolemy XII, the scene of confirmation of rule by recording the regnal years is no longer attested, neither under Cleopatra VII nor under Roman emperors, except for one example under Tiberius at Medamud.<sup>52</sup>

51. For the context see Minas-Nerpel, "Macht und Ohnmacht," 148–49; Preys, "Roi vivant et roi ancêtre."

52. A scene on the inner face of the gate of Tiberius at Medamud; D. Valbelle, "La porte de Tibère dans le complexe religieux de Méda-



The offering of the *ij.t*-knife, however, survived, as did the presentation of the *hps̄*-sword. At Shanhūr these two rituals are located in the matching positions on the eastern and western external walls. Below I present the texts of *hps̄*-offering.

### Axially Corresponding Scene (Shanhūr no. 119)

In the seventh scene on the western exterior wall (fig. 7; pl. 18), the sceptre of vigour or the sword of victory (*hps̄ n qn.t*) is presented.<sup>53</sup> This ritual corresponds with the aggressive aspects of the king and the power of overcoming his foes described in Shanhūr no. 157. Claudius, wearing a short kilt with triangular projection, a tail, and a broad collar, again faces two deities. Above his short wig, adorned with a uraeus at the front, the remains of a *hmhm*-crown—the same crown as in no. 157—are visible. This crown is related to the *3tf* and might be associated with renewal,<sup>54</sup> which would suit the cultic connotations of this scene; it also relates to the vigour which is bestowed on the king in both scenes. His right arm is stretched out and he presents a partly preserved scimitar. His left hand holds a staff and a mace, now mostly destroyed.

The first god, Horus, is depicted in anthropomorphic form with falcon head and double crown, very much like Haroeris in the corresponding scene. Since his epithets are lost, it is unclear which form of Horus is depicted. In his left hand, which hangs down beside his body, he carries an *nh̄*-sign. His right hand holds a *w3s*-sceptre. Behind him stands a goddess, wearing a tight-fitting dress and a broad collar. Her headdress consists of a wig, vulture headdress with a uraeus, and a Hathor crown resting on a circlet. In her right hand, which hangs down beside his body, she carries an *nh̄*-sign. Her left hand is raised.

Pharaoh/Emperor: Claudius (41–54 CE)

[1] *nswt bjty nb t3.wj* [(*tjbrs kltwtjs*)]

[2] *s3 r<sup>c</sup> nb [h<sup>c</sup>.w (kjsrs ntj) h̄wj [grmnjks 3trgrtr]]*

[1] King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands [(Tiberios Klaudios)]

[2] Son of Ra, Lord of [Appearance (Kaisaros) Sebastos [Germanikos Autokrator)]

King's speech:

[3] *h̄3=i h̄ry.w=k [m h̄3w] n r3-<sup>c</sup>-ht<sup>55</sup> šsp n=k sw h̄<sup>c</sup>.n=k*

[4] *...=k r<sup>c</sup>=i*

[3] I fight your enemies [with the weapon] of the battle. You take it after you have appeared,

[4] you ... from my arm.

Royal framing column:

[5] *[... h̄ps̄?] pw ntj nb dr ... h̄ft.j.w=k hrw ky h̄r it ky<sup>56</sup>*

[5] [...] it is the [scimitar?] of the lord of all ... your enemies on the day of combat.

moud," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron* I, BdE 81 (Cairo, 1979), 82–83.

53. See Beinlich, *Handbuch der Szenentitel* I, 430–31: "Sichelschwert des Sieges"; Cauville, *Offering to the Gods in Egyptian Temples*, 227: "sceptre of vigour."

54. Collier, "The Crowns of Pharaoh," 52, 68. In *Kom Ombo* I 462 (fig. 8), the scene of confirming the rule and receiving the *hps̄*-sword, Ptolemy VIII wears the *3tf*-crown.

55. For *r3-<sup>c</sup>-ht* see Wb. II, 394, 12: "Kampf." For *h̄3w n r3-<sup>c</sup>-ht* "weapons of war" see Wilson, *Lexikon*, 572.

56. For *hrw ky h̄r it ky* see Wilson, *Lexikon*, 1084 (literally "day of one seizing another"). See also Edfou VI 63, 1.



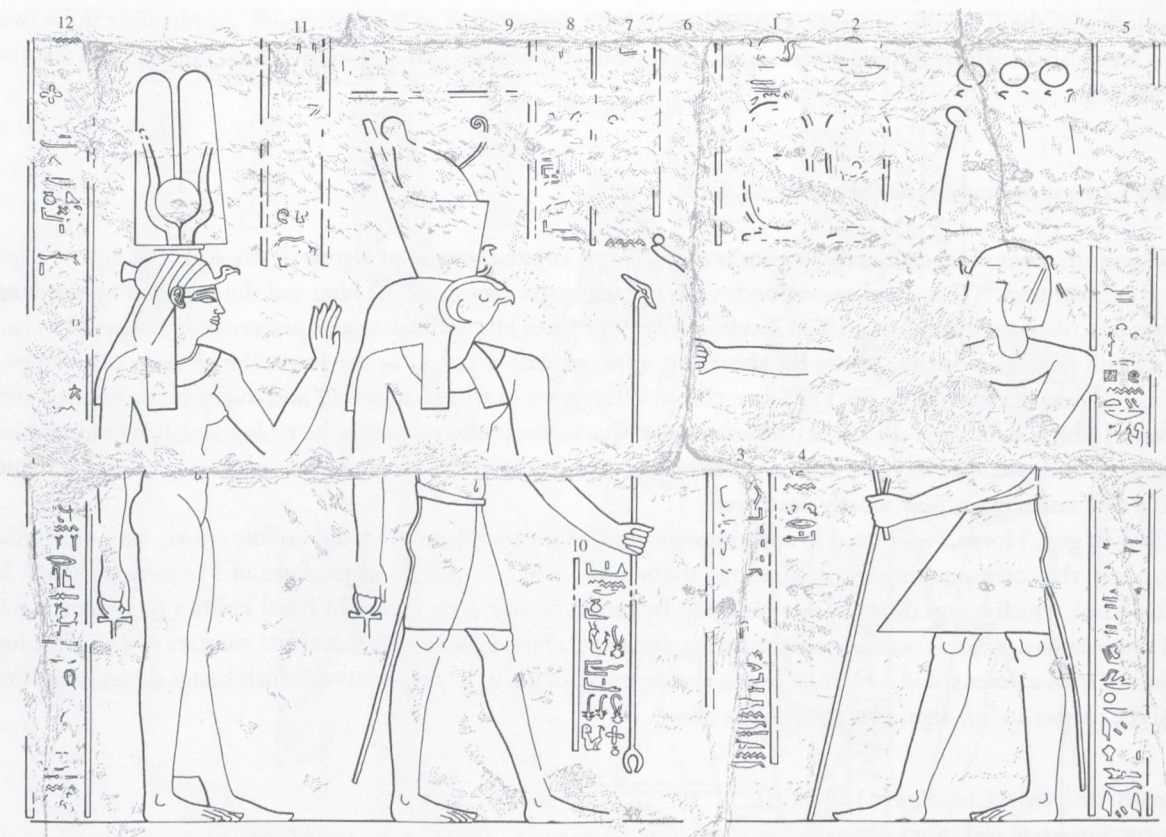


Fig. 7. Shanhūr, western exterior wall, no. 119 (drawing by T. L. Sagrillo)

Horus' name and titles:

[6]–[9] lost except for isolated signs.

Horus' speech:

[10] *dj=i n=k [q]nw mj hr pr-<sup>c</sup> mj nn-wn*

[10] I give you the strength like Horus, mighty like Nenwen.

Goddess's name and titles:

[11] lost except for isolated signs.

Divine framing column:

[12] [...] *n* [...] *wn* ... *nb qnw* [...] *ht*<sup>57</sup> [...] *ntr* [...] *n sbj.w r s.t=sn swsr* ...*mj* [...] ...=*sn*

[12] [...] ... lord of strength, ... battle ... god ... of the enemies in their place ... strengthen ...

57. Probably [*r3-<sup>c</sup>*]*ht*, "combat," as attested in the king's speech in col. 3 (see n. 55).



## Synthesis

Shanhūr may be a small temple in comparison to those of Kom Ombo or Philae, but the area's cult topography is highly distinctive, being influenced by both Theban and Coptite theology.<sup>58</sup> Qus, with its principal god Haroeris, is close by and might have had some influence on the decoration at Shanhūr, inspiring the inclusion of the very rare *ij.t*-offering-scene on the walls of the Roman period temple, a ritual that is closely connected to Haroeris. Qus is perhaps also mentioned in Haroeris' name and title in the scene (no. 157, col. 9).

The pair of scenes at Shanhūr discussed here are roughly in the middle of each exterior wall (pl. 18), more or less at the level of the small vestibule (room II) on the central axis or room X on the western side. Directly behind the eastern scene of offering the *ij.t*-knife is the court (room IV), which leads to the *wabet*. The question arises whether such aggressive-protective scenes guard specific points of reference within the temple. As far as one can tell from what is preserved on the eastern and western exterior walls at Shanhūr, these two scenes are the ones most concerned with the confirmation of rule and defence of the temple and thus of the cosmos.<sup>59</sup> The question arises whether it is a coincidence that a child-god is included in the *ij.t*-scene.

The scenes on either side of the knife-offering (no. 157) on the eastern exterior wall are rather more peaceful: in no. 156, the ritual action is lost, but the inscriptions point towards adoration (*dw3* or *m33 ntr*) in front of the Great Goddess and Mut. In no. 158, Claudius offers the *wnšb* to a goddess. This offering symbolises the cycle of regular time and cosmic order, which fits well into the context of transmission of power and slaughter of enemies.

In scene no. 169 in the second register, directly above no. 157, Claudius offers the white and red crowns to Horus and another goddess, thus guaranteeing the union of the two parts of the country and cosmic order. The main beneficiary is Horus, the embodiment of kingship. The scenes on either side are quite damaged. The ritual of no. 168 before two goddesses is lost, but the surviving text in the royal framing column suggests a ritual involving incense (*irj sntr*), an indispensable and central ritual in Egyptian temples, as is the scene below (no. 156), of adoration in front of the Great Goddess and Mut. In no. 170, Claudius probably offers a *wsh*-collar to the Great Goddess. The reciprocal gift to the king is lost, but in other examples kingship and magical protection are often mentioned. This corresponds well with the scene below, the offering of the *wnšb*.

In scene no. 181 in the third register, above nos. 157 (the *ij.t*-offering) and 169 (offering of the white and red crowns), Claudius presents food to Sobek and Hathor, thus guaranteeing the prosperity of Egypt, since the reciprocal offering of Hathor is "I give you offerings ... that which the heaven gives and the land produces [...]." The neighboring scenes continue the context of the lower registers: in no. 180 Claudius offers incense to Isis and Nephthys, while in no. 182 Claudius offers a naos-shaped pectoral to Mut, who offers magical protection for both the goddess and the king in return.

Register	Scene	Summary of the ritual scenes discussed on the eastern external wall
1	156	Adoration ( <i>dw3</i> or <i>m33 ntr</i> ) before the Great Goddess and Mut
	157	Claudius offers the the <i>ij.t</i> -knife to Haroeris, a child-god, and a goddess
	158	Claudius offers the <i>wnšb</i> to a goddess

58. See *Shanhūr* I 15–16, with references to earlier discussions.

59. See *Shanhūr* II (in preparation), nos. 113–48 (36 ritual scenes on the western exterior wall), 151–86 (36 ritual scenes on the eastern exterior wall). The text edition will also include an analysis of the decoration programme. The bottom exterior registers of a temple without a pylon can be expected to have aggressive scenes. See for example the two large scenes on the southern and northern exterior walls of the Hypostyle Hall of the temple of Khnum at Esna: S. Sauneron, *Le temple d'Esna* VII (Le Caire, 2009), nos. 570 and 619. In both scenes Domitian smites enemies.



2	168	Ritual before two goddesses lost; incense mentioned in the framing column
	169	Claudius offers the white and red crowns to Horus and a goddess
	170	Ritual destroyed; Claudius probably offers a <i>wsh</i> -collar to the Great Goddess
3	180	Claudius offers incense to Isis and Nephthys
	181	Claudius presents food to Sobek and Hathor
	182	Claudius offers a naos-shaped pectoral to Mut

On the western exterior wall, the neighbouring scenes of presenting the sword of victory (no. 119) depict the rituals as follows. In no. 118, Claudius probably purifies before a child-god and two goddesses. Purification is an indispensable preliminary to any ritual, and the purpose is stated in the divine framing column: "You make my place sacred against all pollution so that I may rest in it" (*dsr=k s.t=i r s3.t nb(.t) htp=i im*). Purification is referred to again in the ritual scene above in the second register, where Claudius presents two goddesses with four vessels (no. 130). In no. 120 the king offers the *wd3.t-eye* to a goddess, presumably Isis; this fits the context of the *ij.t* well (see parallel text 3).

In the two registers above no. 119, Claudius presents Harsiese and Isis with marsh plants of Upper and Lower Egypt (no. 131, second register) and offers unguent (*mrh.t*) to a seated god and standing goddess (no. 143, third register). The emphasis of these scenes is clearly on kingship.

Register	Scene	Summary of the rituals scenes discussed on the western external wall
1	118	Claudius probably purifies in front of a child-god and two goddesses
	119	Claudius presents Horus and a goddess with the sword of victory
	120	Claudius offers the <i>wd3.t-eye</i> to a goddess, presumably Isis
2	130	Claudius presents two goddesses with four vessels (purification)
	131	Claudius presents Harsiese and Isis with marsh plants of Upper and Lower Egypt
	132	Claudius presents the Great Goddess with offerings now lost
3	142	Ritual (lost) before a deity and a goddess
	143	Claudius offers unguent ( <i>mrh.t</i> ) to a god and a goddess
	144	Ritual mostly lost, but adoration ( <i>m33 ntr</i> ) before god likely

In order to understand the context and interrelation of these scenes at Shanhūr, a brief analysis of the Kom Ombo scenes referred to earlier is helpful. The offering of the *ij.t*-knife (parallel text 1; *Kom Ombo* I 138) is in the southern of two scenes on column VII in the court. We can observe the following points about the neighbouring or corresponding columns.<sup>60</sup> On the neighbouring column VI, the southern scene (*Kom Ombo* I 135) is badly damaged and the offering lost, but the words of the king imply the destruction of enemies. In the divine framing column, Haroeris is "protector of the ennead" (*nd n psd.t*) and "slayer of foreign lands" (*sm3 h3s.wt*). The god mentioned in the *bandeau* beneath (*Kom Ombo* I 136) is also Haroeris, slayer of foreign lands. In column V Haroeris switches to the north side of the column (*Kom Ombo* I 131), where in the royal framing column the enemies are also slaughtered and Haroeris is called lord of Letopolis. In this scene the king receives the *hb-sd*-jubilees, as expressed in the divine words, creating the same association of transmission of power and legitimation as mentioned above.

60. For a plan of the court and the columns, see *Kom Ombo* I 78. The southern half of the court comprises columns I–VIII, the northern half columns IX–XIV.



Column XIII on the northern side of the court, corresponds with the southern column V. In the well-preserved scene *Kom Ombo* I 155, Tiberius offers incense to Haroeris and Heqet. Among other epithets, Haroeris is *nb ij.t*, written with the knife and city-determinative. The ritual of offering incense is also very close to the knife-offering at Shanhūr (nos. 168 and 180 on the eastern exterior wall).

On the neighboring column XII, the ritual of the scene *Kom Ombo* I 153 shows Harsiese receiving the red and white crowns, an offering that we find directly above the knife-offering at Shanhūr (no. 169). In addition, the *bandeau* of the column (*Kom Ombo* I 154) presents the king as beloved of Haroeris, “foremost of the two eyes, possessor of the *ij.t*-knife” (*hnt.j-ir.tj nb ij.t*), again written with the knife and city-determinative. In the corresponding column IV on the south side, Panebtawy and a further child-god receive the two uraei with the red and white crown. The second scene on this column is a *wnšb*-offering, which is in the scene next to the *ij.t*-offering at Shanhūr (no. 158). As at Shanhūr, the exercise of kingship is thus confirmed.

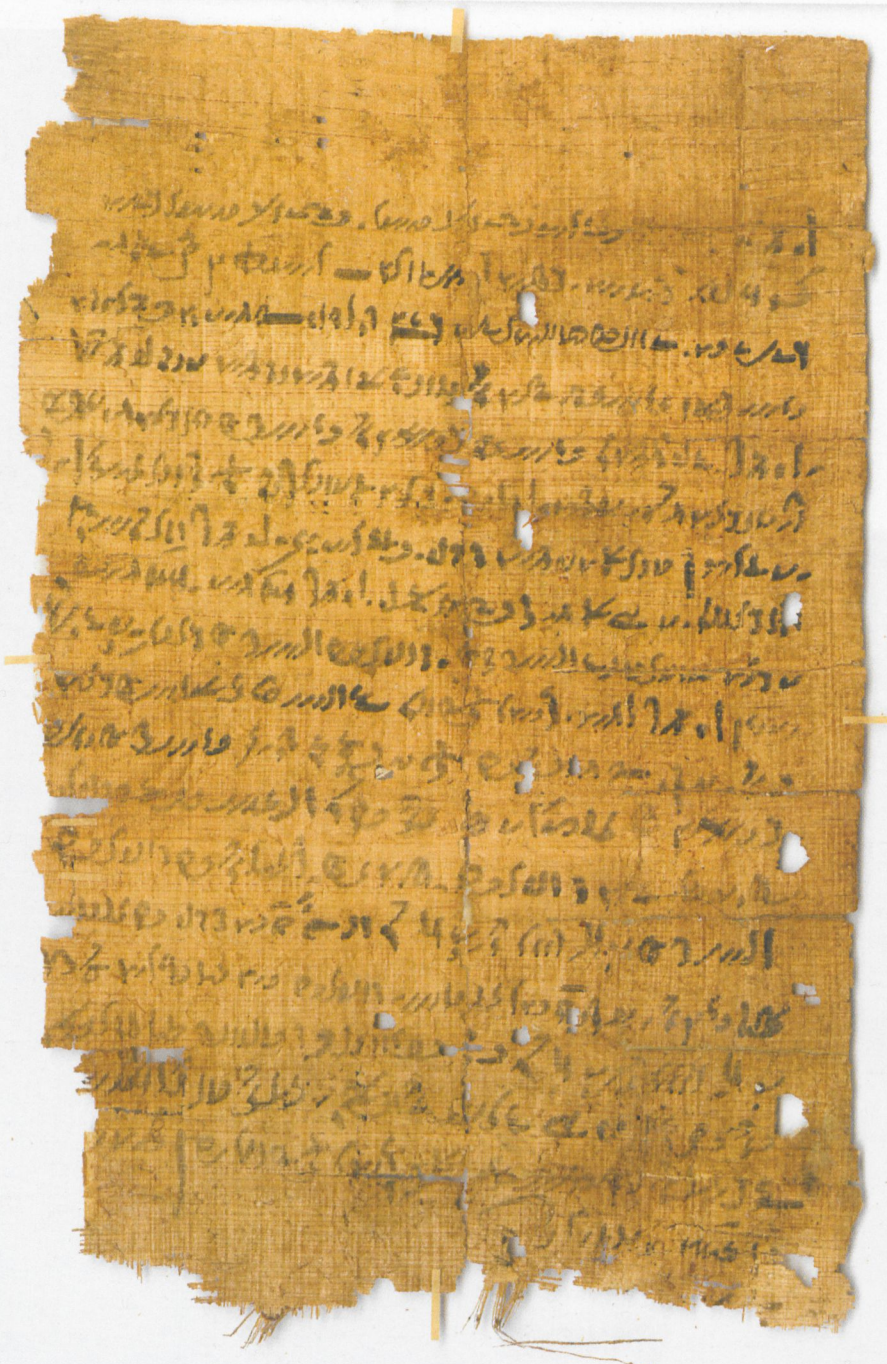
In the inner hypostyle hall is the scene in which Haroeris confirms the rule of Ptolemy VIII and his two queens, Cleopatra II and III (*Kom Ombo* I 462), combining the ideas of kingship and vigour. This scene forms part of a sequence of scenes linked to coronation in the first register of the hall, to be read alternately north and south:

Scene	North/South	Summary of the rituals at Kom Ombo, inner hypostyle hall
<i>Western wall:</i>		
465	North	King leaves the palace
440	South	King introduced to Sobek by Montu and Atum
464	North	King purifies
439	South	King introduced to Sobek by Nekhbet and Wadjit
463	North	King crowned by Nekhbet and Wadjit before Haroeris <i>nb ij.t</i>
438	South	King receives <i>hb-sd</i> from Haroeris
<i>Northern wall (corresponding southern side is destroyed)</i>		
462	North	King receives <i>hb-sd</i> and <i>hps̄</i> -scimitar from Haroeris <i>nb ij.t</i>
<i>Eastern wall:</i>		
461	North	<i>ꜥꜣb.t</i> -offering for Haroeris <i>nb ij.t</i> , accompanied by Tasenetferet who burns enemies
437	South	<i>ꜥꜣb.t</i> -offering for Sobek

In the northern scene of column VI of the same room, the inner hypostyle hall, Haroeris of Qus receives the *hps̄* (*Kom Ombo* I 494). In the southern scene of the same column (*Kom Ombo* I 495) Heqet of Qus receives the *menat*. She is the one who creates the king's successor, as is mentioned in scene *Kom Ombo* I 155 (column XIII of the court, see above). Heqet is also the mother of Haroeris, possessor of the *ij.t*-knife.

The scene at Qus can be understood in this context. Ptolemy X receives vigour and is legitimised in a scene of annals that combines the *ij.t* and the *hps̄*-scimitar. At Shanhūr, offerings of the *ij.t* and the *hps̄*-scimitar are distributed in two corresponding scenes that together display these two royal functions. The recording of regnal years or annals seems no longer to be important: this type of scene was not needed for the Roman pharaoh. He was, however, in need of the ability to slaughter enemies and to protect the temple, thus Egypt, from all evil.





Papyrus BM EA 10858. © The Trustees of the British Museum.





a) Shanhūr temple overview  
(photograph by M. De Meyer)



b) Stela ÄM 17549. © Ägyptisches Museum  
und Papyrussammlung Berlin.



Plan of Shanhūr temple  
(*Shanhūr I*, pl. 3), with nos.  
119 and 157 indicated

