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

MARTINA MINAS-NERPEL (SWANSEA)

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 Shanhûr (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. 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 Shanhûr temple, which will contain the scenes and inscriptions on the exterior walls, the Hypostyle Hall, and the lateral chapel. 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. 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 (*ḥps 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 Shanhûr and their parallels in other temples.

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2. Shanhûr 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 Shanhûr," ZÄS 140 (2013), 150–66.

The Texts of the Ritual (Shanhûr 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," as befits the

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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 "**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* *tl*. *wj*-group, 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 "**nh**-sign. Her right hand is raised and mostly destroyed.

Royal name:
[1]–[2] Lost.

King’s speech/scene title:
[3] *ij.t*=\(^{k}\) \(*n=k* \(*mdn=k* \[*m.\]=i \*ds?.n=k*
[4] \(*sjk \*m.\) \[*s\]=k
[3] Your *ij.t*-sword is yours, your *mdn*-knife is [in] my [hand], you (have) cut? ...

Back protection formula:
[5] "**nh** \(*w/s nb h3=f mj \*r^{\theta} \*d.t*

Royal framing column:
[6] […] *bh3? wmt n \*dgj. \*f* \*\*s3* \*sp.w nb \*mdn nb pb.tj […]\(^{10}\)
[6] […] the mass of enemies flees at seeing him, he of manifold actions, possessor of the knife, lord of power […]

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


7. Although the cobra can be read as *k*, the suffix =\(^{k}\) is not generally written with this sign at Shanhûr, 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: … *smn=k htp.w \*w* "may you eat the offerings …" In Shanhûr 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 Shanhûr-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 Shanhûr, see for example, scene 151, col. 3: *rsf=j \(*r* \*\*pfr \*mh.tj\(*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 der dem dicke Masse der Feinde flieht": Leitz, *LGG IV*, 797a: *h* \(*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 ...]11
[8] [...] nb ngr:w
[9] dj r t3 m?qs?i ... s5.t? nb(d)
[10] [Words spoken by Haroeris ...]
[8] [...] Lord of the gods
[9] given to the land in (= who comes to) [Qus? ...]

Haroeris' speech:
[11] swsr= i s.wj= k r dn tp.w [...]
[11] I make your arms mighty in order to sever the heads12 [of your enemies].

Goddess's name and titles:
[12] dd mdw in [...]13 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] [sspn=i n=i]14 ij.t [...] n [...] j ... s5j.t (r) hsb sntj.w?15 [...] sj ... [...]16
[15] [I receive for myself] the sword ... massacre (in order to) smash the enemies, ... .

Analysis

Though the word ij.t "knife" (𓊐𓊧) is closely associated with Haroeris, who fought with it against the enemies of his father Ra,17 the ritual of offering the ij.t-knife is rarely attested.18 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

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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; 𓊐𓊧 or even hqj: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 sntj.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 wdj.t- and ij.t-knives). See further comments to parallel text 3 below.
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 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*\(^{30}\=k\) *hr shr hft.j.w[\(-k\)] mdn\(^{20}\=k\) *hr wp itnw(w)=k*
2. *ij.t wr.t hwj h3k.w-ib irj=s\(^{21}\) *\(s^c.t n sbj.w n hm=k\)
3. 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. \("mh w\(s\) nb h3=f mj r^v d.t"
3. All life and prosperity around him like Ra forever.

Royal framing column:

4. […] *wp sbj.w n it=f r\(^c\) r rdj.t t\(^3\) pn n s3=f nb (q)n.t [(\(tjjbrj\jt)\]
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 ban wanted 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-?)* … beloved of Haroeris, strong of arm *(im\(^3\)-?),* great of power, protector of his father Ra.”

Parallel Scene 2: Kom Ombo I 276\(^{24}\)

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...

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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*, MÁS 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-?* see *Leitz*, LGG V, 57a.
23. For *im\(^3\)-?* see *Leitz*, LGG VII, 462c ff. As befits this context, the epithet is written with a knife determinative.
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-]bjitj [(iw=f n ngr:wj pr:wj stp n pth irj] m3^c.t r=f shm ≈nh n jm]n p: njr mnh
2. s3 r=f [(ptwl)m]jjs ≈nh d.t mj] p[tj] 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. [nhr w:s nb h=f] mj r=f d.t
4. [All life and prosperity around him] like Ra forever.

King's speech:

4. *hnk ijt n it=f sps *pr:n=f s(y/w?)\textsuperscript{c} m wd3.tj=fj
5. 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-ic.tj npr c3 nb nb.t
6. nb ijt hrj-ib hm sw s1 r=f hr tmz-c
7. c3 ph.tj nb s7.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
9. 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
10. I give you the power to fell your enemies and to cut off the heads of the foes of your person.

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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 (for a photograph see Ali, "Ein *ilt*-Darreichen," Abb. 2a). It is not entirely obvious to what it refers. Ali, "Ein *ilt*-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 *wdj.t*-eye, also celebrating the *ij.t*-knife.26 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).27 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 *wdj.t*-eye.28 Haroeris borrowed from his counterpart Horus or Haroeris of Letopolis a knife called *ij.t* like the sanctuary at Letopolis itself.29 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.30 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-c nb ij.t m nht n r*). In this case, *ij.t* is written

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28. The *wdj.t*-eye was not included in *Kom Ombo* II 938, but see Ali, “Ein *itt*-Darreichen,” Abb. 2a–c.
with the determinative of an egg (𓀌𓀝), not the knife (𓀊𓀝). Junker translated "Der Herr der 'Kommenden' als Schützer des Re," referring to the ijt-knife mentioned in the Onuris legend and the monumental knife depicted next to the hymn. The egg determinative of ijt refers to the personification of the knife as a goddess, probably Hathor. 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 wd.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]). 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 wd.t-eye.

32. Gutbub, Textes fondamentaux, 429 (with references).
The knife is thus closely connected with the Horus-eye, which is also understood as a punitive weapon:34 the knife in the hands of the falcon god of Letopolis is seen as his wdl.t and it is at the same time the ij.t.

34. See H. Kees, "Zu den ägyptischen Mondsagen," ZÄS 60 (1925), 4 (with further references). See also Kom Ombo II 635, col. 4 (Haroeris cuts the enemies’ heads with the wdl.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): 

The knife is also attested on a limestone stela of unknown provenance, now housed in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (pl. 17b). 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. 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 ijt-knife, placed on a pedestal and facing the god. As in Kom Ombo II 938, it is adorned with the wdjt-eye. This votive stela attests the close connection of Haroeris and the ijt-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, and the armoured Horus could be seen as the victorious emperor.

Parallel Scene 4: Philae, Western Colonnade, Berlin photographs 138–139

In an unfinished ritual scene at the southern end of the western colonnade, Tiberius, who wears a hnhm-crown similar to Claudius’ in Shanhûr, 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, possessors of the ijt-knife, who resides in Letopolis, ..., lord of qbw, lord of the Abaton, lord of Philae,” who is accompanied by Sobek, Tasenetnefert-Tefnut, Hathor, and Panebrawy (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 ijt-knife, is now destroyed, but Champollion could still see it. 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 wdjt-eyes are presented to Haroeris, Tasenetnefert, and Panebrawy (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 and 5 km north of Shanhûr. 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, Onuristegende, 28, 150.
36. AM 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 Helmold-Doyé for kindly supplying the photograph as well as the permission to publish the object.
38. See Bonnet, Reallexikon, 313–14. See also G. Bénédicte, „Une nouvelle représentation d’Horus légionnaire,” RA 3 (1904), 111–18.
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.43 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"),44 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.45 The deity is completely gone.

The king's garments set 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,46 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 Philometer and Cleopatra II (*Kom Ombo* II 810).47 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.48

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),49 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 i.j.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 pylons of the temple of Horus at Edfu.50 Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos, who does not wear the

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

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 tolemaische 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. Warde, "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. Cafer-Pfeiffer, "Zur Reflexion tolemaischer Geschichte in den ägyptischen Tempeln aus der Zeit Ptolemaios IX. Philometer./Soter II. und Ptolemaios X. Alexander I. (116–80 v. Chr.), Teil 1: Die Bau- und Dekorationsstilistik," *JEH* 1.1 (2008), 56.


49. PM VI 189 (74).

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

This scene type, which refers to confirmation of rule by recording 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 $hps$-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 $hps$-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 $hps$-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.\footnote{A scene on the inner face of the gate of Tiberius at Medamud; D. Valbelle, "La porte de Tibère dans le complexe religieux de Médâ-}
The offering of the *ij.t*-knife, however, survived, as did the presentation of the *hps*-sword. At Shanhûr these two rituals are located in the matching positions on the eastern and western external walls. Below I present the texts of *hps*-offering.

Axially Corresponding Scene (Shanhûr no. 119)

In the seventh scene on the western exterior wall (fig. 7: pl. 18), the sceptre of vigour or the sword of victory (*hps n qn.t*) is presented. This ritual corresponds with the aggressive aspects of the king and the power of overcoming his foes described in Shanhûr 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, 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 crowned, 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 ""nḫ-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 ""nḫ-sign. Her left hand is raised.

King's speech:
[3]  *ḥ3=i hry:w=k [m h3w] n r3-ḫt  šsp n=k sw ḫj:j.n=k
[4]  ...=k r c=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]  [.. *hps?*] pw nj nb dr ... hfr:j:w=k hrw ky hr i ty k56
[5]  [..] it is the [scimitar?] of the lord of all ... your enemies on the day of combat.

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54. Collier, "The Crowns of Pharaoh," 52, 68. In *Kom Ombo I* 462 (fig. 8), the scene of confirming the rule and receiving the *hps*-sword, Ptolemy VIII wears the *3tf*-crown.
55. For r3-ḫt see Wh. II, 394, 12; "Kampf." For h3w n r3-ḫt "weapons of war" see Wilson, *Lexikon*, 572.
56. For hrw ky hr i ty k see Wilson, *Lexikon*, 1084 (literally "day of one seizing another"). See also *Edfu* VI 63, 1.
Horus' name and titles:
[6]–[9] lost except for isolated signs.

Horus' speech:
[10] \(dj=i\ n=k\ [q]\)\(nw\ \)\(hr\ \)\(pr\)-c\(\)\(mj\ \)nn-wn
[10] I give you the strength like Horus, mighty like Nenwen.

Goddess's name and titles:

Divine framing column:
[12] […] \(n\ […]\) \(wn\ […]\) \(nb\ qnw\ […]\) \(hjt^5\ […]\) \(ntr\ […]\) \(n\ sbj.w\ r\ s.t=sn\ sswsr\ […]\ mj\ […]\) \(=sn\)
[12] […] lord of strength, … battle … god … of the enemies in their place … strengthen …

57. Probably [\(r^\times\)-c] \(hjt\), "combat," as attested in the king’s speech in col. 3 (see n. 55).
Offering the ijt-Knife to Haroeris in the Temple of Isis at Shanhur

Synthesis

Shanhur 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.\(^{58}\) Qus, with its principal god Haroeris, is close by and might have had some influence on the decoration at Shanhur, inspiring the inclusion of the very rare ijt-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 Shanhur 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 ijt-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 Shanhur, these two scenes are the ones most concerned with the confirmation of rule and defence of the temple and thus of the cosmos.\(^{59}\) The question arises whether it is a coincidence that a child-god is included in the ijt-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 (\(dw\) or \(m33\ nfr\)) in front of the Great Goddess and Mut. In no. 158, Claudius offers the \(wnsb\) 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 (\(irj\ sns\)), 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 \(wnsb\).

In scene no. 181 in the third register, above nos. 157 (the ijt-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Register</th>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>Summary of the ritual scenes discussed on the eastern external wall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>Adoration ((dw) or (m33\ nfr)) before the Great Goddess and Mut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>157</td>
<td>Claudius offers the the ijt-knife to Haroeris, a child-god, and a goddess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>158</td>
<td>Claudius offers the (wnsb) to a goddess</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{58}\) See Shanhur I 15–16, with references to earlier discussions.

\(^{59}\) See Shanhur 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, \textit{Le temple d'Esna VII} (Le Caire, 2009), nos. 570 and 619. In both scenes Domitian smites enemies.
Martina Minas-Nerpel

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

In order to understand the context and interrelation of these scenes at Shanhûr, 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.60 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 psdl.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 ijt, written with the knife and city-determinative. The ritual of offering incense is also very close to the knife-offering at Shahhur (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 Shahhur (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 ijt-knife" (hnt.j-ir.tj nb ijt), 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 wmsb-offering, which is in the scene next to the ijt-offering at Shahhur (no. 158). As at Shahhur, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>North/South</th>
<th>Summary of the rituals at Kom Ombo, inner hypostyle hall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western wall:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>465</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>King leaves the palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>440</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>King introduced to Sobek by Montu and Atum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>464</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>King purifies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>439</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>King introduced to Sobek by Nekhbet and Wadjit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>463</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>King crowned by Nekhbet and Wadjit before Haroeris nb ijt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>438</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>King receives hbs-d from Haroeris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern wall (corresponding southern side is destroyed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>462</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>King receives hbs-d and hps-scimitar from Haroeris nb ijt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern wall:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>461</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>&quot;ijt-offering for Haroeris nb ijt, accompanied by Tasenetneferet who burns enemies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>437</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>&quot;ijt-offering for Sobek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the northern scene of column VI of the same room, the inner hypostyle hall, Haroeris of Qus receives the hps (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 ijt-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 ijt and the hps-scimitar. At Shahhur, offerings of the ijt and the hps-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.
a) Shanhūr temple overview
(photograph by M. De Meyer)

b) Stela ÅM 17549. © Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin.
Plan of Shanhûr temple (Shanhûr I, pl. 3), with nos. 119 and 157 indicated.