

## Harmotes

Among the gods listed on a Berlin papyrus (BGU, VI, 1216) is Harmotes, identified by Schubart in the original publication only as a previously unknown form of Horus (1). The papyrus, dated about 110 B. C., records a survey of land for tax purposes, much of it belonging to temples. Two similar passages on the list, lines 43-48 and 155-161, mention Harmotes. The former passage reads as follows:

43 ἄρτου καὶ φακῆς Ἄρμώτου καὶ Ἄρπο  
44 χράτου Θεῶν μεγίστων λ  
45 τοῦ ἐν Ἀφροδίτης πόλει ἱεροῦ Ἄρμώτου  
46 καὶ Ἄρποχράτου θεῶν με(γίστων) ρ  
46 Ὁσεῖριος τοῦ ἐν Ψεννώθρει ις L δ ἡ ις  
47 τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἄρμωτιείου δ

43 of bread and lentil-meal of Harmotes and Harpo-  
44 crates, greatest gods, 30 (arourae);  
45 of the shrine in Aphroditopolis of Harmotes  
46 and Harpocrates, greatest gods, 100 (arourae);  
47 of Osiris in Psennothis, 16-15/16 (arourae);  
48 of the Harmotieum in Alexandria, 4 (arourae) . . .

Harmotes is paired with Harpocrates, the child Horus, in the temple at Aphroditopolis and perhaps at another place, depending on the interpretation of lines 43 and 44 (2). The shrine of Harmotes at Alexandria mentioned in line 48 does not appear in any other document

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(1) SPIEGELBERG, in *APF* 7 (1924) 184, VISSER, *Götter und Kulte im Ptolemäischen Alexandrien* (Amsterdam, 1938), p. 25, and CALDERINI, *Dizionario dei Nomi Geografici e Topografici dell'Egitto Greco-Romano* (Cairo, 1935), p. 94, mention the name as a form of Horus, but without identifying it further; neither PAULY-WISSOWA's, *Realencyclopädie* nor BONNET's, *Reallexikon* has an entry titled «Harmotes». This note was written during a year at Brown University on grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and Williams College. I owe special thanks to Prof. Ricardo Caminos and Mrs. Caroline N. Peck for helpful comments and suggestions.

(2) Schubart suggested Memphis; SPIEGELBERG, *loc. cit.*, argued for Aphroditopolis.

and probably represents an Egyptian shrine, basically free from Hellenizing influence (1).

The existence of at least two shrines of Harmotes invites speculation on the nature and meaning of this form of Horus, and it is the purpose of this note to suggest that the Greek form represents the Egyptian *Hr-m3ty*, Horus of the two eyes. Among Egyptian words for « eye », the common *irt* and the rather less frequent *mrt* (2) could both be used with specific reference to the Eye of Horus. The reading *m3t* is not attested in the singular sense of one « eye », but appears only in the dual form *m3ty*, in the late and Ptolemaic periods (3). These occurrences refer specifically to the twin eyes of heaven, the sun and the moon.

At Sheden (Pharbaethos, Hurbeit) in the eastern Delta, a « Horus of the Two Eyes » was worshipped under the Egyptian title *Hr-mrty* (4) and was in fact the chief deity of the town. *Hr-mrty* is portrayed on a relief at Denderah as a falconheaded god with headdress of horns, sun-disk and uraeus, and bearing in his hands two *w3t*-eyes, accompanied by the legend, « *Hr-mrty*, lord of Sheden, who brought the eye of Re to him and rescued Osiris in Sheden » (5). Closely related is the falcon god of Letopolis, *Hnty-irty*, who by the end of the Old Kingdom had been assimilated to Horus as the god in possession of his eyes, with his counterpart *Hnty-n-irty*, the god without his eyes (6). Since the Egyptian texts interpret the two eyes as the sun and the moon (7), this form of Horus was the god of heaven generally identified (especially at Letopolis) with Haroeris, the « great » or elder Horus (8).

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(1) VISSER, *loc. cit.*

(2) ERMAN and GRAPOW, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1926), II, 107, 10-15.

(3) *Wörterbuch*, II, 11, 12.

(4) BONNET, *Reallexikon der Aegyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin 1952), p. 270, *s.v.* « Harmerti ». Cf. *Wörterbuch*, II, 107, 13-15.

(5) LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin 1849), IV, 58b; commentary by JUNKER, *Die Onurislegende* (Vienna, 1917), p. 46.

(6) LEFÉBURE, in *Sphinx* 7 (1903) 25-30 and 9 (1906) 19-20; JUNKER, *Der Sehende und der Blinde Gott* (SBAW, 1942, Heft 7); BONNET, *Reallexikon*, pp. 133-134, *s.v.* « Chenti-irti ». GRIFFITHS, in *CdE* 33 (1958) 193, translates the title, « He whose eyes are to the fore, *i.e.* who is keen-sighted above all others ».

(7) GRAPOW, *Das 17. Kapitel des Aegyptischen Totenbuches und seine Religiöse Bedeutung* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 34-35.

(8) BONNET, *Reallexikon*, pp. 133-134.

Haroeris was not the only form of Horus associated with the sun, of course; even his complementary aspect, the child Horus (Harpocrates), was acknowledged as a solar god and worshipped as such. Apparently the pair mentioned in the papyrus, Harmotes and Harpocrates, represented two corresponding forms under which Horus the god of sun and sky was imagined — the elder Horus of the Two Eyes, and the child-god Harpocrates. The papyrus even gives a slight hint as to cult practice, since the lentils mentioned there recall Plutarch's statement (*De Iside et Osiride*, 377c) that lentils were offered to Harpocrates.

The holdings of the temple at Aphroditopolis amount to 130 arourae and are among the largest on the papyrus. From this the gods' importance appears to have been considerable, at least locally. Theophoric names confirm the impression that Harmotes enjoyed limited, but real, popularity: from the Ptolemaic period men with the name « Harmotes » appear on documents from Philadelphia (1), Heracleopolis (2), and perhaps Hibeh (3). In addition a Hellenistic monument from Xanthus refers to an Harmatis, daughter of Mausolus and sister of Hoplon (4). The name continues to be attested sporadically into the Byzantine era (5).

There is too little evidence to do more than guess about the cult of Harmotes in later Ptolemaic Alexandria, except to note that it was apparently independent of Harpocrates and that its diminutive holdings (as well as the fact that no other sources for Alexandrian topography mention it) imply that it was a small shrine rather than a major temple. His Egyptian name and the Egyptian conception of the « two eyes » help place Harmotes within the native religious tradition; hence it is very likely that his shrine stood in the native quarter of the city.

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(1) BGU, VII, 1530, 9. Cf. also the 'A[ρ]νοῦθις of PCairo Zenon, 59650.

(2) BGU, VIII, 1809, 4.

(3) The toparch Harimouthes of PYale, I, 33.

(4) SEG, XIX, 870.

(5) 'Αρμωτ... , SB, I, 4814. 'Αρμάτιος, SB, I, 1834. 'Αρμάτου, SB, III, 7167 and VI, 9231. 'Αρμ[ο]υθ... , PCol., II, 1a4, 9. 'Ορμουθ(ιός), OStras, I, 554. Perhaps also 'Ερματύτ(ος), SB, VIII, 9705 and 9730; 'Εμροῦθις, PSI, IX, 1039, 50; and ['Ε?ρ]μούθεως, PMich, V, 329, 5.