



Type: Report

Notes on the Sons of Horus

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Published: Provo, UT; FARMS, 1991



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GEE-91

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Notes on the Sons of Horus¹

John Gee

Note: The first Facsimile of the Book of Abraham has stirred much debate centered the identification of various figures and what the Egyptologists think they can and cannot be. For the time being we will leave aside the larger questions which this picture raises and concentrate on the four idolatrous gods under the lion couch. Egyptologists know these gods as the Sons of Horus or canopic jars (though the two are not necessarily identical as we shall see). Herein we will take the Egyptological point of view; he who hath eyes to see can make his own connections.

The standard interpretation of the Sons of Horus is that they are the guardians of the canopic jars, each with its own unique name, animal head, internal organ, cardinal direction,² and protective goddess. The beginning of this interpretation was first suggested by Richard Pococke in 1737³--nearly a century before Champollion--and has been repeated with minor accretions ever since.⁴ At the turn of this century, Petrie first served notice

¹This piece is an abridgment and adaptation of a paper the author submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master's degree in Near Eastern Studies at the University of California at Berkeley. Many thanks to Michael Lyon for his assistance in preparing the illustrations for this paper.

²This was first established in Henri Brugsch, *Die Geographie des alten Aegyptens* (Leipzig, 1857), 30-37.

³See William H. Peck, "The Constant Lure," *Ancient Egypt: Discovering its Splendors*, 16.

⁴Sources are easy to find so here we limit ourselves to the most important and available sources, listed in chronological order: E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians of Studies in Egyptian Mythology*, 2 vols. (London: Methuen, 1904, reprinted New York: Dover, 1969), 1:210, 456, 491-92, 2:106, 144; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, 2 vols. (New York: Dover, 1973, reprint of Medici Society, 1911), 2:26, 167; Gaston Maspero, *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology and Guide to the Study of Antiquities in Egypt* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1914), 191; Penelope Fox, *Tutankhamun's Treasure* (London: Oxford University

that the pre-dynastic cultures lacked the canopic jars,⁵ while Reisner later discovered the earliest canopic container⁶--widely differing from customary patterns--showing that the symbols did not remain stagnant throughout history, as is usually assumed. If the evidence of the intervening decade of fortnights necessitates a reevaluation of the Sons of Horus, such work will have to wait for a better mind to sort out the pieces; the present work is concerned principally with odds and ends. Better minds having been occupied with more important matters,⁷ your humble servant remains to "tell

Press, 1951), 27; RÄRG, 315-16; Barbara Mertz, *Temples, Tombs and Hieroglyphs: The Story of Egyptology* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1964), 102; Brigitte Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, Series 4, vol. 7 of *GO* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), 150; Matthieu Heerma von Voss, "Horuskinder," in *LdÄ*, 3:52-53; Dietrich Wildung and Günther Grimm, *Götter-Pharaonen* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1978), #58; *AAE*, 221; Manfred Lurker, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, tr. Barbara Cummings (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 37-38; Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, tr. John Baines (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), 283; A. Rosalie David, "Introduction," *Evidence Embalmed: Modern Medicine and the Mummies of Ancient Egypt*, ed. A. Rosalie David and Eddie Tapp (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 10; I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, 3rd. ed. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1985), 116, 125, 133, 169, 176-77, 187-88, 206-7, 213, 227-230; Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, ed. Carol Andrews, rev. ed. (London: British Museum Publications, 1985), 190-92; Janine Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 95-97; *UAK* 15-16.

⁵W. M. Flinders Petrie and J. E. Quibell, *Nagada and Ballas* (London: Quaritch, 1896), 60.

⁶Hermann Junker, *Giza I* (Wien and Leipzig: Hölder-Picher-Tempsky, 1934-38), 49, 51-54, 125.

⁷Actually, there have been other works by better minds which have discussed the evidence of the canopic jars into the same general schema, notably: *GEA*; Hugh Nibley, "Facsimile No. 1, by the Figures," *IE* (April 1969): 82-87; (Sept. 1969): 85-89; Edward Brovarski, *Canopic Jars*, vol. 1 of *Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, CAA

forth the ancient tale, so far as I know it."

"These are the Generations . . ."

Of the Sons of Horus--named Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehsenuf⁸--the Book of the Dead relates, "their father is Horus; their mother is Isis."⁹ Speculation on the meanings of their names has been both plentiful and creative. The names might have meant something like "the one on the throne" (*Im-st*), "the hidden one" (*Hp33*),¹⁰ "Praisers of his mother" (*Dw3-mwt-f*),¹¹ and "Purifier of his brethren" (*Qbh-snw-f*),¹² but these are just guesses. Whatever the names might have originally meant, the Egyptians themselves provided abundant folk etymologies and puns off the names of the Sons of Horus: Imseti--thought to be

(Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1978), 1-2; UAK 15-17; Peter Munro, "Bemerkungen zum Gestaltwandel und Ursprung der Horuskinder," *Fs. Mus. Berlin*, 195-204, the last came to my attention too late to contribute to this paper.

⁸PT 541 (§1333); 580 (§1548). The order given is the standard one variations in order are known but infrequent, the order is discussed in *GEA* 219.

⁹BD 112:6; cf. CT 157; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, 150.

¹⁰On the spelling throughout the Pyramid Texts which in Sethe's copy looks like *Hp33*, see *GEA* 221. For this spelling in the CT; see Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, 151. This spelling reappears in the Saite period on the canopic jar of Naseherenre, CCG 4150 in *RAC*, 107; and CCG 4180 (Dynasty 22-25?), in *RAC*, 130.

¹¹*GEA* 224.

¹²*Ibid.*, 224.

originally feminine¹³--has been connected with "to present,"¹⁴ "to incenerate,"¹⁵ "liver,"¹⁶ *imst* "dill or anise".¹⁷ Hapi has been connected with "to run,"¹⁸ "oar,"¹⁹ "to hide,"²⁰ "drake."²¹ Duamutef has been connected with "to praise,"²² "to bring dawn".²³ Qebhsenuf has been connected with "to refresh,"²⁴ and "to purify,"²⁵ "to travel."²⁶

If we have not power to ask their names, we also know but little about their cults. Hornung has observed that specific cult centers came later than the universal gods;²⁷ the sons of Horus are assigned specific cult centers after the Middle Kingdom:

¹³Imseti was "ursprünglich eine weibliche Gottheit, meist männlich dargesellt;" *UAK* 16.

¹⁴*ms*, CT 520.

¹⁵*s3m*, CIT XIX.

¹⁶*mist*; texts cited in *AEO*, 2:245*-49*.

¹⁷*GEA* 222.

¹⁸*hpw*, CT 521.

¹⁹*hpt*, CT 400.

²⁰*h3p*, CIT XIX.

²¹*hip*, *GEA* 221-22.

²²*dw3*, CT 522.

²³*sdw3*, CIT XIX.

²⁴*sqbb*, CT 523.

²⁵*qbh*, CT 523.

²⁶*sqd*, CIT XIX.

²⁷Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, 224.

Imsety and Hapy are associated with the cult center at Pe,²⁸ while Duamutef and Qebhsenuf are associated with the cult center of Hieraconpolis (Nekhen).²⁹ All of the Sons of Horus are associated with a mystery cult³⁰ which sacrifices pigs but prohibits those eating pig to participate.³¹ Initiations took place on the festival of the new moon when offerings were made to various dieties including the Sons of Horus.³² In Ptolemaic times,³³ the sons of Horus are associated with Medinet Habu³⁴ and the mystery cults there.³⁵

²⁸For the MK, see CT 157; cf. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargentexten*, 151; for later, see BD 112.

²⁹For the MK: CT 158; cf. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargentexten*, 151. For later: BD 113.

³⁰The use of the term "mystery cult" here accords with Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987); for definitions see pp. 1-11. How many of these there were in Egypt is beyond the scope of this paper.

³¹CT 157-58. For further identification with offering rituals see Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargentexten*, 151. The cult receives further mention in BD 99, 112-13. Other requirements of this cult mentioned in BD 151 are prohibition from goats, fish or women; cf. Manetho fragment 81, in Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* X.16; Herodotus, *Historiae* II.42.2. This sort of phenomenon is the subject of Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 83-134.

³²BD 141-42.

³³Fayza Mohammed Hussein Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*, 2 vols., vols. 14-15 of BA (Bruxelles: FERE, 1970-72), 1:16-17.

³⁴Papyrus BM 10209, 4:13-14, in Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*, 1:40; 2:21, 43 n. 147.

³⁵The mysteries are brought up in Papyrus BM 10209, 4:11-15, in Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*, 1:40; 2:21. More connections may be seen in BD 161. The purpose is deification: *di n=k irt-Hr ip tw msw-Hr ntr*; Papyrus BM 10209, 5:1-3; and the Amenirtas inscription, pp. 173-77, in Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary*

The Sons of Horus almost always act as a unit,³⁶ solo appearances being uncommon.³⁷ At least by the late period the Sons of Horus might be abbreviated by only mentioning the first one or two of them.³⁸ The Sons of Horus have no mythology.

The Canopic Connection

The early modern Egyptologists, lighting by lamps the way to the dusty dead, could hardly help but notice the ubiquitous canopic jars and figurines both depicted on and found in the tombs, "the overwhelmingly funerary character of most of the finds" being because nine-tenths of all Egyptian excavations have been conducted in the tombs.³⁹ Identifying the jars with the Greek legends of

Papyri of Nesmin, 1:40; 2:21; cf. Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 41.

³⁶GEA 218, 224.

³⁷The vast damage of the one Pyramid Text where Duamutef only is mentioned justifies regarding this passage as a mere fluke of preservation; PT 691 (§2135), in Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, supplement (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 56. In the Coffin Texts, Imsety is associated with a certain Gishgish, the keeper of the gate (CT 405; cf. GEA 224; but Faulkner notes that "'Imsety' is a corruption of imhty." Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 2:56.), while Hapy alone is associated with the oars of the ferry boat (CT 400), probably from association with *hpt*, "oar".

³⁸Petosiris 80:52, 60, in Gustav Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, 3 vols. (Caire: IFAO, 1923-24), 2:52. In the twenty-first Dynasty "there is a lack of concern about using the full group of four. Two or three only may be used." So Beatrice L. Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt in the Late Period: The Twenty-first Dynasty*, vol. 13 of *Religion and Society* (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), 114.

³⁹Alan H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford :Oxford University Press, 1961), 53.

Canopus, the helmsman of Menelaus,⁴⁰ with whom an Egyptian woman fell in love,⁴¹ and whom fiery flying serpents⁴² bit so that he died⁴³ and was buried on an island in the delta named after him⁴⁴ where Egyptians are said to have deified him worshipping him in the image of a large clay jar bearing his shape,⁴⁵ early Egyptologists gave the epithet "canopic" to those jars which often contained the internal organs of the deceased, a name which has

⁴⁰*kybernêtos, gubernator*; Conon Mythographus, *Fabulae* 8; Aelius Aristides, *Orationes* 36.108-9; Epiphanius, *Anacorat.* 106; Rufinus, *HE* XI.26; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae* XIV.3 (28); Nicander, *Theriaca* 312-13.

⁴¹Conon Mythographus, *Fabulae* 8; Epiphanius, *Anacorat.* 106.

⁴²Such as were supposed to be common in Egypt at the time, Numbers 21:4-9; Herodotus, *Historiae* II.75; Rufinus, *HE* XI.26.

⁴³Rufinus, *HE* XI.26.

⁴⁴Conon Mythographus, *Fabulae* 8; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae* XIV.3(28); Dionysius "Periegetes," *Periêgêsis* 11-13; Tacitus, *Annales* II.60.

⁴⁵Rufinus, *HE* XI.26; Georgius Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium* I.570.9-16. In later times he had a large and flourishing cult at Alexandria (Epiphanius, *Anacorat.* 106; Rufinus, *HE* XI.26), as well as his own temple (Flavius Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* II.7; Dionysius "Periegetes," *Periêgêsis* 11-13; Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* 41), until the cult was destroyed by Theophilus (Rufinus, *HE* IX.26; Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* 41-42). In all fairness to the earlier Greeks, it must be said that the earliest informant to this particular myth (Conon mythographus) was born at the turn of the era, long after Menelaus and the Pharaohs (see "Conon," in N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd. ed. [Oxford: Clarendon, 1970], 278). That the Canopus legend refers to the worship of a pottery jar containing Nile water in the city Canopus; see Hanna Philipp, *Mira et Magica* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1986), 34, 123; Tafel 3 (Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin-Charlottenburg 9790, 2nd century A.D.), 54 (ibid 9791, Mediaeval).

stuck ever since.⁴⁶ The ancient Egyptians called them *qbw n wt* "mummy jars".⁴⁷

The earliest known canopic container--a square box with four compartments rather than a jar--Reisner discovered in the tomb of Hetepheres, a Fourth Dynasty queen buried at Giza.⁴⁸ Although before the Fourth Dynasty the Egyptians made no attempt to remove the viscera from the deceased during mummification,⁴⁹ during that dynasty they began to eviscerate the dead placing packets containing the internal organs in square niches carved into the corners of the tombs.⁵⁰ Junker speculated that this first attempt to preserve the visceral organs in natron in their own separate box resulted from insufficient time to hew the tomb out

⁴⁶This is generally considered a misnomer; see David, "Introduction", 10; Lurker, *Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 38; *A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1964), 147; *AAE*, 221.

⁴⁷Jac. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 243. The mention in Papyrus Berlin 10485 of buying 3 canopic jars (*ibid.*, and n. 180) is significant because complete sets of four canopic jars are the exception rather than the rule. Only 2 attestations of this term are known to this author. The translation of *wt* as mummy will be discussed later.

⁴⁸Junker, *Giza II*, 49, 125; Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, 125; *GEA* 216.

⁴⁹Alan Jefferey Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1982), 35-36; Barbara Adams, *Predynastic Egypt*, 64; *GEA* 216.

⁵⁰Junker, *Giza II* 49, 51-54, 125; Barbara Adams, *Egyptian Mummies*, vol. 1 of *SE* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1984), 13-14.

completely.⁵¹ This innovation soon became standard practice as use of canopic jars began to be widespread during the Fifth Dynasty.⁵²

Nevertheless, though the canopic jar became widely used in the funerary equipment, no evidence exists to connect it with the Sons of Horus until the First Intermediate Period. The earliest canopic jars, when not boxes, were plain, though uniquely shaped,⁵³ jars unadorned by either dedicatory inscriptions, or stoppers in the shapes of either men or animals (Figure 1),⁵⁴ though Pepi II's canopic jars have his own name and titles on them.⁵⁵ During the First Intermediate Period, in a tomb dating from Dynasties 9-10, the first canopic jars with human-headed lids and with inscriptions commending the care of each separate organ to a different one of

⁵¹Junker, *Giza II*, 49, 51-54, 125. Michael Lyon points out to me that this can be argued only if we assume that work on the tomb did not begin until the death of the individual which is very unlikely.

⁵²GEA 217, without any inscription, *ibid.*, 224; Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt*, 36-37; Eva Martin-Pardey, *Eingeweidegefäße, Lieferung 5 of Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, CAA* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1980), nos. 2154 (IVth Dynasty), 14-15, 2414-15, 2418-21, 2433-36, 2633, 2635-38, 2690, 3103-6, 3208-11, 3229-34, 3244-46, 3248-51, 3848/1-4, 3926-27; Junker, *Giza II*, 125; *Giza III*, 8, 15, 150, 214, Tafeln IXb, XIIa. The practice of evisceration was not universal, see Adams, *Egyptian Mummies*, 15-16.

⁵³Canopic jars are generally recognizable because "the shape of the usual canopic jar was seldom used for pottery or bronze vessels." Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, 412.

⁵⁴Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt*, 36-37; Martin-Pardey, *Eingeweidegefäße*, nos. 14-15, 2154, 2414-15, 2418-21, 2433-36, 2633, 2635-38, 2690, 3103-6, 3208-11, 3229-34, 3244-46, 3248-51, 3848/1-4, 3926-27; Junker, *Giza III*, Tafeln IXb, XIIa; Sethe, "Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung," 217.

⁵⁵CCG 5020, in RAC, 199 and CCG 5022, in RAC, 400.

the Sons of Horus⁵⁶ appear, although the identification of the Sons of Horus with the canopic jars "was not complete until Dynasty 12,"⁵⁷ as even in the Middle Kingdom plain stoppers are still used sometimes.⁵⁸

The Pyramid Texts also make no connection between the Sons of Horus and the canopic jars.⁵⁹ The Pyramid Texts do say that the Sons of Horus represent parts of the body but therein the king is told, "Thy hand is Hapy and Duamutef; . . . thy two feet are Imsety and Qebhsenuf,"⁶⁰ an association which remains through the Coffin

⁵⁶Brovarski, *Canopic Jars*, 1. The oldest canopic jars in the Turin Museum are nos. 19068-69, both of which are XIIth Dynasty and have human heads; see Claudia Dolzani, *Vasi Canopi*, 2nd series, vol. 4 of *Catologo del Museo Egizio di Torino* (Milano: Cisalpino-Golaconda, 1982), 43-44. Baines and Málek (*AAE*, 221) date this innovation to the Middle Kingdom.

⁵⁷Brovarski, *Canopic Jars*, 2.

⁵⁸CCG 4978-79, 4986-88, 4998-5001, in *RAC*, 383-90.

⁵⁹One debatable passage is PT 573 (§§1482-83), in Raymond O. Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 228; cf. the translation in *AEL*, 1:49-50. The translation "jar-stands" in Faulkner is tentative, but for Lichtheim it is *fait accompli*. But this would be the only place where *hnty* ever meant "jar-stands". The determinative indicates that this is some sort of structure. PT 573 (§§1482-83) should read "Commend N to this Great and noble one . . . to establish his shrine (or booth) upon the land for N is one of these four gods: Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebhsenuf." On the reading of *hnty* here, cf. *hntt*, in Patricia Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study* (London: Kegan Paul, 1984), 12; the passages discussed in Alan H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Heiratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 Recto)* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), 46-47 might also be applicable here; Translate Admonitions of Ipuwer 6:5-7 as "The writings of the sacred shrine have been remove, those things which were secret have been divulged! The rituals are divulged and the performances and embraces are profaned because they are mentioned by men!"

⁶⁰PT 215 (§149); cf. 688 (§§2078-79).

Texts of the Middle Kingdom.⁶¹

During the New Kingdom the texts depict the Sons of Horus in their classical function of guarding the deceased and protecting the internal organs as Canopic Jars. In the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys we read, "The Sons of Horus guard your body, and daily bless your ka."⁶² The Book of the Dead states, "Anubis has assigned them to protect the burial of Osiris."⁶³ Elsewhere, Horus asks the Sons of Horus be "with me so that they might protect my body."⁶⁴ In the Twenty-First Dynasty, canopic jars are rare.⁶⁵ But in Dynasties 22-25 the canopic jars did not contain the internal organs of the deceased but were only dummy jars having only a minimal cavity or no cavity at all (the Germans call these

⁶¹CT 761; cf. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargentexten*, 151.

⁶²The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys 10, in *AEL*, 3:120, see note 11 on page 121. Cf. the unique inscription of CCG 4322 (Dyn. 20?), in *RAC*, 218-19: *dḏ mdw in Hpi ii=i m s3 h^cw hr irt-t m3^c-hrw^c m=k ib k3 ntt k3 n pr st=f rn št3 m-b3h ntrw st3=k ntrw dw3t pr3y=k r hrw snfw=k* "Words said by Hapi: I have come as a protector of members making thee justified that thou mayest know the heart of the ka whose secret name in the presence of the gods of the Duat is 'Embrace-of-the-house-of-his-throne', that thou mayest ascend to heaven, that thou mayest be made to breathe."

⁶³BD 17:38-39, in Lepsius, *Todtenbuch der Ägypter*, Plate VIII; Hermann Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden = Urk 5* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915-17), 40-47; A. W. Shorter, *Copies of the Book PR(T)-M-HRW*, vol. 1 of *Catalogue of Egyptian Religious Papyri in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1938), 104.

⁶⁴or belly, *ht*. BD 113:6; cf. BD 137A.

⁶⁵Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 120.

"Scheinkanopen"),⁶⁶ the internal organs were generally repacked into the abdominal cavity of the mummy with figurines of the sons of Horus.⁶⁷ From the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, the practice of embalming the viscera in canopic jars resumed,⁶⁸ and the deceased grasped the faience amulets of the Sons of Horus in his hands along with the winged heart scarab.⁶⁹ During the Roman Period Sheinkanopen were again the rule.⁷⁰

Since the Sons of Horus guard the canopic jars which contain the viscera of the deceased, it might be useful to know which Son of Horus protected what internal organ, and some sources even enumerate such. Assembling the evidence, a difficult task, presents another picture. To learn that a canopic jar is "empty"⁷¹ is only slightly more useful than discovering that it

⁶⁶Brovarski, *Canopic Jars*, 3-4. The same situation appears in Dynasty 5 where the canopic jars of Nebty-kha-merer "wohl nie etwas enthalten hat;" but this may be because "das Grab der Prinzessin Nebti-cha^c-merer ist . . . nie benutzt worden;" Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal der Königs Ne-User-Re^c*, 131, 31.

⁶⁷Warren R. Dawson and P. H. K. Gray, *Mummies and Human Remains*, vol. 1 of *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum* (London: British Museum 1968), xii-xiii. The process begins in Dynasty 21; Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 114.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Grab des ^cAnch-Hor II*, 211-12, 203, Tafel 135. Unfortunately though we have molds for other faience figures, we have none for the sons of Horus; see Christian Hermann, *Formen für ägyptische Fayencen: Katalog der Sammlung des Biblischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg Schweiz und einer Privatsammlung*, vol. 60 of *OBO* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), vii-viii, et passim.

⁷⁰Dawson and Gray, *Mummies and Human Remains*, xiii.

⁷¹RAC 6 et passim.

contains "mummified human entrails, wrapped in linen."⁷² So much we had assumed. But if the catalogues of canopic jars do not determine the contents, it is because viscera "are very difficult to distinguish in a shrunken, desiccated state."⁷³ Additionally studies of the organs in the canopic jars belie the standard simplified correlations.⁷⁴ The confusion in the canopic jars is mirrored by the turmoil in the literary sources where Imseti might be identified with the spleen, or liver; Hapi, with the liver, the lungs, or the spleen; Duamutef, with the lungs, the liver, the heart, or "the other (*p3 ky*)"; and Qebhsenuf, with the intestines (*mhtw*, *imy-ht*), or the belly (*ht*);⁷⁵ or they might be assigned to different divinities entirely.⁷⁶ Gardiner, who assembled the literary evidence, concluded that "there is only one point in which all seven texts are in perfect agreement, namely that *mhtw* (var. *imy-ht*, dem. *mht*) occupies the last place, which is that belonging to Kebhsnewef when ever the sons of Horus are mentioned."⁷⁷ And in general, "the archaeological evidence [is] not in accord with

⁷²Ibid., 10 et passim. This is one of the better sources.

⁷³AEO, 2:250*.

⁷⁴George Elliot Smith, cited in AEO, 2:248*, noting that "even here there was some inconsistency." Goff is more emphatic: "Of the four divinities none is systematically associated with a particular organ" (*Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 114). She notes as an example, that an image of Hapy is placed with the intestines in the mummy of Djedptahiuefankh, and with the liver in that of Tausertempnesu (ibid., 115).

⁷⁵AEO 2:245-47*.

⁷⁶AEO 2:247*.

⁷⁷Ibid., 2:247*.

the philological."⁷⁸

"The Soft Sway of Undefinable Omnipotence

O'er our Strong Male-stuff"

Still, the gruesome contents of the canopic jars, dead and done, survive through the woman-nature protected by various goddesses.⁷⁹ The general scheme⁸⁰ has perhaps been most clearly expressed in the inscriptions found on canopic jars of the 26th Dynasty:

Words spoken by Isis: I incenerate (*s3m*) the enemies that I might protect Imseti who is in me. The protection of Osiris N is the protection of Imseti, for Osiris N is Imseti.

Words spoken by Nephthys: I shall hide (*h3p*) the secret that I might watch over Hapi who is in me. The protection of Osiris N is the protection of Hapi, for Osiris N is Hapi.

Words spoken by Neith: I bring dawn (*sdw3*) and dusk every day while guarding Duamutef who is in me. The protection of Osiris N is the protection of Duamutef, for Osiris N is Duamutef.

Words spoken by Serget to your ka: I cause my protection to travel (*sqd*) every day while guarding Qebhsenuf who is in me. The protection of Osiris N is the protection of Qebhsenuf, for Osiris N is Qebhsenuf.⁸¹

⁷⁸Ibid., 2:250*.

⁷⁹The inscriptions leave no question about the role of the goddesses as protectors of the Sons of Horus. There is no basis for the assertion that the Sons of Horus were married to the goddesses; William MacQuitty, *Abu Simbel* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1965), 176. The debate over whether the canopic jars represent the protective goddesses (*GEA* 226-30; cf. *UAK* 15-16) or the Sons of Horus (Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 139) need not concern us here; the evidence weighs against Sethe except at certain time periods where it is ambiguous.

⁸⁰Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, 1:456; Wildung and Grimm, *Götter-Pharaonen*, #58.

⁸¹CIT XIX.

The general patterns, however, "not seldom" have exceptions,⁸² as the following chart illustrates (s = standard; x = exception):

Guardian\Son of Horus	Imseti	Hapi Duamutef	Qebehseneuf
Isis	s ⁸³	x ⁸⁴	x ⁸⁵
Nephthys	x ⁸⁶	s ⁸⁷	
Neith	x ⁸⁸	s ⁸⁹	x ⁹⁰
Serqet		x ⁹¹	x ⁹²
			s ⁹³

⁸²GEA 226 n. 61.

⁸³Dynasty 12: CCG 4006, in RAC, 3-4. Dynasty 13: CCG 4007, in *ibid.*, 4-5; CCG 4019, in *ibid.*, 11-12. Dynasty 18: CCG 4094, in *ibid.*, 59-60. Dynasty 26: WKMAS 9066, in Reiser-Haslauer, *Die Kanopen II*, 95-99; CCG 4098, in RAC, 63; CCG 4102, in *ibid.*, 66-67.

⁸⁴CCG 4518 (Dynasty 18), in RAC, 287; CCG 4085 (Dynasty 19), in *ibid.*, 52-53.

⁸⁵CCG 4727 (Dynasty 13), in RAC, 359-60; CCG 4326 (Dynasty 19), in *ibid.*, 221-22.

⁸⁶CCG 4728 (Dynasty 13), in RAC, 360-61.

⁸⁷Dynasty 12: CCG 4005, in RAC, 3. Dynasty 13: CCG 4008, in *ibid.*, 5-6; CCG 4020, in *ibid.*, 12-13. Dynasty 18: CCG 4095, in *ibid.*, 60-61. Dynasty 26: CCG 4099, in *ibid.*, 64; CCG 4103, in *ibid.*, 67-68.

⁸⁸CCG 4733 (Dynasty 12), in RAC, 366-68; CCG 4729 (Dynasty 13), in *ibid.*, 361.

⁸⁹Dynasty 12: CCG 4048, in RAC, 28-32, Plate LXXXI; use the plate because the text on pp. 30-31 is incorrect. Dynasty 13: CCG 4009, in *ibid.*, 6; CCG 4021, in *ibid.*, 13. Dynasty 18: CCG 4096, in *ibid.*, 61-62. Dynasty 26: CCG 4100, in *ibid.*, 65; CCG 4104, in *ibid.*, 68-69.

⁹⁰CCG 4519 (Dynasty 18), in RAC, 288.

⁹¹CCG 4740 (MK), in RAC, 377-81; CCG 4980 (MK), in *ibid.*, 384.

⁹²CCG 4196 (Dynasty 13), in RAC, 142-43; CCG 4730 (Dynasty 13), in *ibid.*, 361; CCG 4325 (Dynasty 19), in *ibid.*, 231.

⁹³Dynasty 12: CCG 4048, in RAC, Plate LXXXI, pp. 28-32. Dynasty 13: CCG 4010, in *ibid.*, 6-7; CCG 4022, in *ibid.*, 13-14. Dynasty 18: CCG 4097, in *ibid.*, 62. Dynasty 26: WKMAS 9088, in Reiser-Haslauer, *Die Kanopen II*, 100-2; CCG 4101, in RAC, 65-66;

Great Ennead (<i>psdt-c3t</i>)	x ⁹⁴			
Great Ennead (<i>psdt-wrt</i>)		x ⁹⁵		
Geb and <i>Hnty-hty</i>	x ⁹⁶	x ⁹⁷		
Shu	x ⁹⁸			
Tefnut		x ⁹⁹		
Geb			x ¹⁰⁰	
Nut	x ¹⁰¹			x ¹⁰²
Sendjet		x ¹⁰³		
<i>Rnnwrt</i>				x ¹⁰⁴

In the tomb of Ramses VI the 7th gate of the Book of the Night, Sia and Isis go with Duamutef, Qebhsenuf and Nephthys, while Serket, Hapi, Imseti, Tefnut and Sendet go together.¹⁰⁵ In Dynasty 26, Imsety and Duamutef could go with Isis while Hapy and Qebhsenuf go with Nephthys.¹⁰⁶ Some of the odder pairings occur side by side

CCG 4105, in *ibid.*, 69-70.

⁹⁴CCG 4048 (Dynasty 12), in *RAC*, Plate LXXXI, pp. 28-32.

⁹⁵CCG 4048 (Dynasty 12), in *RAC*, Plate LXXXI, pp. 28-32.

⁹⁶CCG 4049 (Dynasty 12), in *RAC*, 32-33.

⁹⁷CCG 4049 (Dynasty 12), in *RAC*, 32-33.

⁹⁸CCG 4981 (MK), in *RAC*, 384-85.

⁹⁹CCG 4981 (MK), in *RAC*, 384-85.

¹⁰⁰CCG 4981 (MK), in *RAC*, 384-85.

¹⁰¹CCG 4740 (MK), in *RAC*, 377-81; CCG 4980 (MK), in *ibid.*, 384.

¹⁰²CCG 4981 (MK), in *RAC*, 384-85.

¹⁰³CCG 4740 (MK), in *RAC*, 377-81; CCG 4980 (MK), in *ibid.*, 384.

¹⁰⁴CCG 4740 (MK), in *RAC*, 377-81; CCG 4980 (MK), in *ibid.*, 384.

¹⁰⁵Alexandre Piankoff, *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit*, vol. 13 of *BdE* (Caire: IFAO, 1942), 62.

¹⁰⁶Bietak und Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor II*, 207 and Tafel 139; cf. CCG 4735 (undated), in *RAC*, 369-71; CCG 5003 (Dynasty 18 cat's coffin), in *ibid.*, 392-94.

with the standard ones.¹⁰⁷

"After the Manner of the Egyptians"

Although several inscriptions indicate that the protection of the internal organs is one purpose of the canopic jars, there can be other purposes as well.¹⁰⁸ Predynastic burials were usually filled with offerings for the deceased.¹⁰⁹ In the Old Kingdom pottery jars in the burial shaft "were probably used in the offerings during the funeral rites."¹¹⁰ During Dynasties 9-10, when the canopic jars began to be associated with the Sons of Horus, the Sons of Horus also start appearing in *htp-di-niswt* offering formulae.¹¹¹ The inscriptions on the first appearance of the Sons of Horus on canopic jars are simply the name of the

¹⁰⁷E.g. the canopic jars of *hmn-htp* (CCG 4727-30, in *RAC*, 359-61) as opposed to his canopic chest (CCG 4731, in *ibid.*, 362-64); see also, CCG 4980 (MK), in *ibid.*, 384.

¹⁰⁸"Historians often do not see any other interpretation which fits the facts as well as their own does; but if we consider that even in the field of physics, with its larger and more reliable stock of facts, new crucial experiments are needed again and again because the old ones are all keeping with both of two competing and incompatible theories, . . . then we shall give up the naive belief that any definite set of historical records can ever be interpreted in one way only." Karl R. Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 2:266.

¹⁰⁹Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, 145, 134-39; Edwards, *Pyramids of Egypt*, 32.

¹¹⁰Ahmed M. Mousa and Hartwig Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-Hay*, vol. 5 of *AV* (Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 1971), 43.

¹¹¹The Sons of Horus suddenly being included in four percent of the offering formulae, traces of them also appear of the formula in the eleventh dynasty; Winfried Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, Heft 24 of *ÄF* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1968), 227.

individual diety to which each organ was dedicated.¹¹² A canopic jar of K3j from the eleventh dynasty contains a *htp-di-niswt* offering formula to Imseti;¹¹³ and the cases for the canopic jars are generally inscribed with offering formulae.¹¹⁴ Thus during the First Intermediate Period, the Egyptians might have viewed the canopic jars as offerings to the Sons of Horus.

The association of the canopic jars with the Sons of Horus might have been effected about by a change in understanding of one of the Pyramid Texts. In the ritual offering of the red bull¹¹⁵ representing the enemy, various gods are offered various parts of the slain bull, "his intestines¹¹⁶ are for the these four gods,

¹¹²GEA 224-25, 1*.

¹¹³Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 43, citing William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 2 vols. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1953-57), 1:322. Hayes indicates that this one was part of a complete set but there is only a picture of the one. The inscription reads: *htpt di niswt htp Imsti prt-hrw n imy-r3 sš K3y rn[...]*. Other jars with *htp-di-nswt* formulae are WKMAS 3161, 3562, 3563, 3564 (all 22nd Dynasty, Osorkon II), in Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer, *Die Kanopen I, Lieferung 2 of Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien: Ägyptisch-orientalishche Sammlung*, in the series CAA (Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 1989). Sethe claims that this formula does not appear until at least the twenty-first dynasty; GEA 9*.

¹¹⁴UAK 66-67.

¹¹⁵The rite of the red ox was practiced until late times in Egypt; see Mariette, *Dendérah*, 4:Pl. 85b. Cf. The rite of the red cow among the Israelites; Numbers 19:1-10; see also David P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1987), 131, 169-72, 185 n. 38, 216-17, 221-22. The Red Cow is used to purify those contaminated by corpses.

¹¹⁶*imyt mph* is a *hapax legomenon*; for discussion on the meaning of the word see Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 235; GEA 217; Hildegard von Deines and Wolfhart Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, 2 vols., Band 7 of *Grundriss der Medizin der*

the sons of Horus whom he loves: Hapi, Imseti, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuf."¹¹⁷ During the First Intermediate Period that this cattle slaughtering ritual could possibly have been taken as applying to the "cattle of the gods":¹¹⁸ men. Since the internal organs were already being removed during mummification, it would be a simple matter to offer this to the Sons of Horus.¹¹⁹

alten Ägypter (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), 1:273-81. Cf. *mnph* (*Wb* 2:79), *ph* (*Ibid.*, 1:533), *phwy* (*Ibid.*, 1:535), and *nphw* (*Ibid.*, 2:249). The root of all these words is probably *nphw* which, as well as being the "cow's udder" is also a "part of the human abdomen (in the region of the genitalia) of both men and women: perhaps the groin." The context of the cattle parts mentioned in the Pyramid Text and the possible etymology of the word suggest that the *imyt mph* were the the exta.

¹¹⁷PT 580 (§§1546-50); Sethe (*GEA* 217) sees this as the origin of the entrusting of the entrails to the Sons of Horus. See also Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, 151. The entire PT 580 (§§1543-50) reads: "O slayer of my father who smote one greater than himself, thou hast slain my father; thou hast smitten one greater than thyself. O my father Osiris, for thee have I slain him who slew thee like an ox. I have smitten him who smote thee for thee like a wild bull. I have broken up him who broke thee up for thee like a long-horned bull, after whom thou wast like a subjected bull, and he who racked thee is racked animal himself. He who shot thee a bull which has been shot. He who assaulted thee is a ox. I have cut off his head; I have cut off his tail; I have cut off his hand; I have cut off his feet. His upper foreleg is for Kheperi; his lower foreleg is for Atum, the father of the gods. His haunches are for Shu and Tefnut; His jaws are for Geb and Nut. His thighs are for Isis and Nephthys; calves are for Khenty-irty and Herty. His back is for Neith and Serget; his front is for Sekhmet the great. His exta are for these four gods, the sons of Horus whom he loves: Hapi, Imseti, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuf. His head, tail, hands and feet are for Anubis and Osiris Khenty-amentiu. What the gods have left are for the Souls of Nekhen and Pe. I have partaken that we may partake of the red bull in order to traverse the lake which Horus made for his father."

¹¹⁸"The Instruction of Merikare," 131, in *AEL*, 1:106.

¹¹⁹A related text from the Ptolemaic Period has the human (or divine) enemy sacrificed and his internal organs offered to Bast; see *Das Buch von der Abwehr des Bösen*, line 53, in Siegfried Schott, *Urkunden des mythologischen Inhalts*, = *Urk.* 6 of (Leipzig:

This condition obtained to some extent during the Middle Kingdom. Some canopic jars contain the inscription: "Thou art revered before Imseti [or another Son of Horus], inasmuch as I [the god] am with thee."¹²⁰ Later canopic jars were often incised with the following: "Oh Isis [or another goddess], watch over both Imseti [or another Son of Horus] who is with thee, and NN who is revered by Imseti."¹²¹

During later periods, when offerings to the Sons of Horus are again attested,¹²² there are other indications that the person mummified was considered to have undergone a symbolic sacrificial death and that the viscera were considered to be offerings to the Sons of Horus. In the Opening of the Mouth ceremonies of the eighteenth dynasty, when the Sons of Horus receive offerings for the first time since the First Intermediate Period,¹²³ the

Hinrichs, 1929), 83.

¹²⁰CIT IIa.

¹²¹CIT III and IV, discussed on pp. 226-27. The most synonymous meanings of the prepositions (*m* and *hr*) should be taken, thus: "with"; See Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd. ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 124-25, 128, §§162.7a, 167. At latter times, this interchange does not take place and *m* is the only preposition used.

¹²²Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 227-28; BD 141. The Sons of Horus are betimes depicted on the stele but not mentioned in the inscription, as on that of Tausirdinesnakht (*T3-Wsir-di-n-s-nht*), Parma Museum 180, in *CEMAP* 110-12, Tav. XXV and Inaros (*Ir.t.Hr-r-w*), Parma Museum 181, in *ibid.*, 112-14, Tav. XXVI. Some Inscriptions in Glyptothèque ny Carlsberg 635, 894 in Otto Koefoed-Peterson, *Recueil des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de la Glyptothèque ny Carlsberg*, vol. 6 of *BA* (Bruxelles: FERE, 1936), 65-67.

¹²³Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 227-28.

preists who will later lug the guts into the neighbor room attack the priest¹²⁴ who, preparing to mummify the body, first makes a slit into the belly to remove the viscera, as a murderer.¹²⁵ It was during the eighteenth dyansty, according to Manetho, that human sacrifice ceased in Egypt,¹²⁶ although earlier human sacrifice (Figure 3) had been supposed to be a standard practice.¹²⁷ Herodotus, at a still later time, in describing mummification, depicts the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, where first the nose is touched "with an iron hook" and "then after splitting the side of the belly with a sharp Ethiopian stone, they draw out from it all the entrails."¹²⁸ Afterwards other priests "four men with the names of <the children> of Horus written on their upper arms" wrap the deceased in "red linen anointed with prime Libyan oil."¹²⁹ In the Twenty-First Dynasty, the incision was covered with lotus

¹²⁴This is different from the Pyрмаid Texts where the Sons of Horus act as priests in the rite of Opening of the Mount. PT 670 (§1983); cf. GEA 217. The text is damaged here. See also Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 140 citing PT §§1983, 734, 1333, 552, 149.

¹²⁵Opening of the Mouth, scenes 13, 15, in Eberhard Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, 2 vols., Band 3 of *ÄA* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960), 1:33-35, 37-38; 2:63-67; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothêkê historikê* I.91 (102); Dorothy J. Thompson, *Memphis Under the Ptolemies* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), 155-56.

¹²⁶Manetho, fragment 85, in Porphyrius, *De Abstinencia* II.55.

¹²⁷Manetho, fragment 86, in Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 73.

¹²⁸Herodotus, *Historiae* II.86.3-4; cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothêkê Historikê* I.91 (102).

¹²⁹BD 137A.

and leaf-shaped plates showing the *wḏ3t*-eye and the sons of Horus.¹³⁰ Whether or not this sort of human sacrifice took place or not would be difficult to detect at best because mummification is the sacrifice.¹³¹ The removal of the organs is characteristic only of Herodotus' first class mummification,¹³² the same one which those whom a crocodile killed, or who drowned in the Nile were required to receive at the hands of the priests.¹³³ Those whose life the gods had taken, the priests could offer in the temple *post mortem*.¹³⁴

This sacrificial embalming takes place on a lion-shaped bedstead,¹³⁵ called an *3tt*¹³⁶ (Late Egyptian *ytit*)¹³⁷

¹³⁰Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 114, and plate 27, figure 48; also citing Montet, *Psousenès*, p. 148 No 527, p. 1 CXII. The plate shown is from the mummy of Henuttawy.

¹³¹There is some sort of human sacrifice attested in Egyptian records, some of which is by burning, and others by "a death penalty in ritual disguise." Most of these penalties are inflicted for cultic crimes; and all the references are before the beginning of the New Kingdom which agrees with Manetho's statement. See Anthony Leahy, "A Protective Measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75 (1989): 41-60; Harco Willems, "Crime, Cult and Capital Punishment (Mo'alla Inscription 8)," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76 (1990): 27-54, quote from p. 34.

¹³²Herodotus, *Historiae* II.86-87.

¹³³Herodotus, *Historiae* II.90.

¹³⁴Herodotus, *Historiae* II.90.1.

¹³⁵Winifred Needler, *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period in the Royal Ontario Museum*, Royal Ontario Museum Occasional Paper 6 (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1963), 4-7. Needler can find "no beds in the tomb pictures of the Middle Kingdom which can be definitely indentified as beds of daily life;" *ibid.*, 5.

examples of which are thought to date back to the Third Dynasty at the time of Djoser.¹³⁸ Even though the lion couch was a regular, required part of the funerary equipment,¹³⁹ only four couches have survived,¹⁴⁰ being normally destroyed after use due to their impurity.¹⁴¹ In lion couch scenes, as Westendorf has shown, the

¹³⁶Needler, *Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period*, 4; confirmed by the labels on the inscriptions in Mariette, *Dendérah*, 4:Pl. 70-71, esp. 90.

¹³⁷Jac. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, 239-40, with hesitation.

¹³⁸Wildung and Grimm, *Götter-Pharaonen*, #3. Wildung reports that this lion couch was used for embalming in the Third Dynasty, though embalming is normally thought to have started in the Fourth Dynasty. More cautious are Mohammed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo Official Catalogue* (Mainz and Rhein: Von Zabern, 1987), #18, who note that the Djoser Complex corridor 42 has a lion altar and suggest that the objects in question are sacrificial altars. Cf. Needler, *Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period*, 4. Jaromir Malek and D. N. E. Magee, "A Group of Coffins Found at Northern Saqqara," *BSEG* 9-10 (1984-85): 170-71 suggest that these lion couches belong to the Late Period and were used in animal mummification.

¹³⁹See Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, 239-42.

¹⁴⁰They are the Akhmim (now in Cairo), Berlin, Edinburgh and Toronto couches; see Needler, *Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period*, 4, 7. There is also a golden lion couch in Tutankhamun's tomb.

¹⁴¹Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, 240. The blood defiles the sanctuary according to Muhammed and Sourouzain, *Egyptian Museum Cairo*, #18. Cf. Wright, *Disposal of Impurity*, 107-10, 115-31, 147-59, 219, 245. Habachi's objections in Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, 240 n. 169, that the alabaster lion couches were not disposed of can be met with by noting that alabaster, being stone can be purified while the wooden lion couches would have to be destroyed, there being no way to remove the blood stains from the porous wood; cf. Wright, *Disposal of Impurity*, 93-113.

bier equates with Nut¹⁴² who spreads herself over the Sons of Horus.¹⁴³ Thus the placing of the canopic jars under the bier can represent the supports of heaven and the Sons of Horus as wind gods can become syncretized with the god Thoth as a wind god.¹⁴⁴ The situation goes back to the Middle Egyptian Coffin Texts where it is described rather than depicted.¹⁴⁵ Lion couch scenes "appear for the first time in the 18th Dynasty, and become very popular for tomb walls in the 19th and for painted coffins cartonnage, shrouds, stelae, etc., in Late Dynastic and Greek and Roman times."¹⁴⁶ During the New Kingdom the Sons of Horus frequently appear in lion couch scenes.¹⁴⁷ In the Late Period not only are the Sons of Horus depicted in lion couch scenes under the

¹⁴²"Totenbahre = Himmelsgöttin", an equation attested as far back as the Pyramid Texts; Wolfhart Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, vol. 10 of *MÄS* (Berlin: Hesslin, 1966), 14.

¹⁴³CT 525; the scene described in the text in de Buck, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 6:118 represents the bier situation much better than the translation in Faulkner (*Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 2:151) would suggest. Cf. Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 235, for the Twenty-First Dynasty.

¹⁴⁴The discussion of the evidence is found in Edouard Naville, "Le dieu Thoth et les points cardinaux," *ZÄS* 15 (1877): 28-31; *RÄRG*, 316. picks up the theme and rehashes the evidence. This is graphically rendered on the burial Sledge of Chonsu, CCG 27302; cf. BD 161; Mariette, *Denderah* 4:70. We should expect that if they were holding up the bier which represents Nut they should syncretize with Shu who is also a wind god.

¹⁴⁵CT 520-25; all examples of these text passages come from canopic chests.

¹⁴⁶Needler, *Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period*, 6.

¹⁴⁷A. Rosalie David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos (c. 1300 BC)* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1973), 180.

deceased,¹⁴⁸ but also on the coffins themselves.¹⁴⁹ In Ptolemaic Egypt, though not always present, lion couch scenes do not completely disappear.¹⁵⁰

Most lion couch scenes demonstrate an ambiguity between whether the scene shows the mummification or resurrection of the individual, this ambivalence presenting one of the difficulties with understanding such scenes. The couch with two lion's heads¹⁵¹ is the gate between life and death, just as the double-lion god *Rwrwty* is the gate between life and death;¹⁵² *Rwrwty* is

¹⁴⁸Manfred Bietak und Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor II*, 207 and Tafel 139! The dating on this tomb is 26th Dynasty. See also Geoffrey Thorndike Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis North Saqqara 1964-1973*, vol. 4 of *Texts from Excavations* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1979), #179, p. 54, plate 48 (Dynasty 26-27). Cf. hypocephalus not always there, see *ibid.*, #163, plate 45.

¹⁴⁹Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor II*, 203 and Tafel 135; Parma Museum 101, in *CEMAP* 33-35, Tav. XIX.

¹⁵⁰Achille Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano Series A*, 2 vols. (Del Banco di Sicilia: Fondazione Ignazio Mormino, 1961), 1:23, 31, and figures 18, 2-22, 24-25, 30, 38-40, 45, 51, 57, 61, 83-91 are about as close as one comes to representations of the four sons of Horus with the exception of *ibid.*, Series C, vol. 2, figure 340, a late style representation of "un altare" which is a "cataletto di forme leonine" which is missing Duamutef, for some unexplained reason; there is no significant discussion in C.1:176-177. On the Toronto lion couch, the Sons of Horus are both present and absent in the painted miniature lion couch scenes; Needler, *Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period*, Plates I-II (I, right side with; II left side without). Note the change on the coffin of *Wsir Wr*, Parma Museum 101, in *CEMAP* 33-35, Tav. XIX.

¹⁵¹The preserved examples of lion couches either have two lion heads on them or come in pairs.

¹⁵²Dieter Jankuhn, "Steckt hinter dem Gott 'Rwtj' eine Erinnerung an den rituellen Königsmord?" *GM* 1 (1972): 11-14. This article needs to be corrected along the lines of L. Störk,

the god of the slaughter-house,¹⁵³ and the companion of Atum,¹⁵⁴ who sees that the king is exalted.¹⁵⁵ The priest of Rwrwty is the "chief of the embalming house."¹⁵⁶ The priest¹⁵⁷ embalming the mummy is usually depicted as Anubis,¹⁵⁸ and Anubis masks which the priests worn in performing their office have been preserved (Figure 2).¹⁵⁹ Anubis, the jackel-headed god, is the *imy-wt*,¹⁶⁰ the one in the place of embalming,¹⁶¹ who from the

"Gab es in Ägypten einen rituellen Königsmord?" *GM* 5 (1973): 31-32.

¹⁵³"Inasmuch as thou makest flourish the offering table of N, thou makest flourish the slaughter-house for inasmuch as N is hungry, Rwrwty is hungry." PT 400 (§696).

¹⁵⁴PT 301 (§447).

¹⁵⁵"Exalt N's ka to the god, lead him to Rwrwty, make him mount up to Atum." PT 688 (§2081).

¹⁵⁶Mastaba of Kamhasut, cited in Jankuhn, "Steckt hinter den Gott 'Rwty' eine Erinnerung an den rituellen Königsmord," 14.

¹⁵⁷*ḥtmw-ntr wyt, ḥtmw-wyt, or simply wjt*, Wolja Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954), 80.

¹⁵⁸Christine Seeber, "Maske," *LdÄ* 3:1197; Barbara Watterson, *The Gods of Ancient Egypt* (London: Batsford, 1984), 174; The Tomb of Iry-Nufer in Robert S. Bianchi, *Museums of Egypt* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1980), 134-35. For texts, see Günther Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten* (Jena: Diederichs, 1915), 297-305.

¹⁵⁹Hildesheim Museum 1585, in Hans Kayser, *Das Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim* (Hamburg: de Gruyter, 1966), 70. Seeber, "Maske," 3:1196-99: "Die Darstellungen ermöglichen in der Regel keine Unterscheidung zwischen Gottheiten und eventuell maskierten Priestern in Götterrollen" and the *wt*-priest wears it in the embalming ritual.

¹⁶⁰*Wb* 1:378-80; *CDME*, 71.

¹⁶¹*wt* always has something to do with embalming: as a verb it means "to embalm, to dry out, to wrap up"; as a noun it is the mummy cover whether coffin or badages; as an agent noun it is the embalmer; as a place it is the "place of embalming"; see James P.

earliest times had been associated not only with kingship, but "was involved in ritual killings when 'Upper and Lower Egypt were received'."¹⁶²

Other evidences that the evisceration of the mummy was at that time considered a symbolic sacrifice dedicated to the Sons of Horus might be adduced during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. Not only do the offering formulae appear again,¹⁶³ but the verso of Leiden Papyrus I 384--a papyrus more famous for containing the Egyptian Myth of the Sun's Eye--contains a text in Demotic and Greek illustrated with a lion couch scene with Anubis embalming the mummy (Figure 4); the text says, "Burn N to ashes. . . . Burn N until she come unto me, N, immediately, immediately, quickly, quickly, I adjure you, gods of the dead, by the dead kings,¹⁶⁴ the god Balsamos,¹⁶⁵ the jackel-headed god¹⁶⁶ and the gods who are with

Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, vol. 2 of *Bibliotheca Aegyptia* (Malibu: Undena, 1984), 605, 607; *Wb* 1:378-80; *CDME*, 71; *DLE* 1:134-35; Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 80; even Coptic OYEITE "desiccated", Walter E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1939), 495; Jaroslav Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 218.

¹⁶²Thomas J. Logan, "The origins of the *Jmy-wt* Fetish," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990): 69.

¹⁶³Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 227-28.

¹⁶⁴*Neukon*, the same word is used in Manetho for the Egyptian kings who immediately preceded the First Dynasty; Manetho, *Aegyptiaca* fragments 2.2, 6, 7a.

¹⁶⁵possibly Baal-shamin, "lord of the heavens", a late form of Hadad (Akkadian Adad), syncretized with Zeus. Baalshamin originated in Phoenicia, but his cult spread to Sīa, Batanée, Palmyra and Dura on the Euphrates. The cult is best attested in Palmyra. He is generally associated with the dieties Aglibol, Malakbel, and

him."¹⁶⁷ Immediately below the scene are the words, "Let Abraham who . . . upon . . . wonder marvelously, (ωριχ-θαμβιτω αβρααμ ο επι[...])."¹⁶⁸ These, however, are not conclusive evidences, merely subsidiary ones.

In the New Kingdom, "the deceased and his wife are often seen paying homage to [the Sons of Horus]."¹⁶⁹ Perhaps this was because they were part of the ennead; though unlike other major gods of the ennead,¹⁷⁰ the Sons of Horus were not called upon in

Allath; see Paul Collart, "Baalshamin," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zürich: Artemis, 1981), III/1:75. His presence here indicates that his influence reached Thebes in Upper Egypt whence Leiden Papyrus I 384 came. Baal-shamin was the creator in the Phoenician pantheon, see Philo of Byblos, fragment B, in Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelica* I.10.7, in Harold W. Attridge and Robert A. Oden, Jr., *Philo of Byblos The Phoenician History: Introduction, Critical Text, Translation, Notes*, vol. 9 of *Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 40; cf. 81 n. 49.

¹⁶⁶*Kynocephalos*, common epithet of Anubis; see Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanorum religionum* 2.2.

¹⁶⁷Papyrus Leiden I 384, cols. 16-17, in *PGM* 2:86. The Demotic text is in Janet H. Johnson, "The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden I 384," *OMRO* 56 (1975): 29-64, Plates VIII-XIII, the quoted section is on p. 44-45, Plate XIII. The best picture is the photo in Preisdanz, *PGM*, 2:Tafel II.

¹⁶⁸Papyrus Leiden I 384, col. 17, in *PGM*, 2:86. Oddly enough, this is considered a love charm! On this now see John Gee, "References to Abraham Found in Two Egyptian Texts," *Insights: An Ancient Window* (September 1991): 1, 3. Cf. Papyrus Graecae Magicae 1:195-222, 36:295-311, in *PGM* 1:12; 2:173.

¹⁶⁹Abdul-Qader Muhammed, *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes* (Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices, 1966), 236.

¹⁷⁰See the comments of Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, 145-46, 222.

oaths.¹⁷¹ In the 21st Dynasty, Ramses III exploited the relationship of the Sons of Horus with Horus,¹⁷² by identifying his own sons who predeceased him with the Sons of Horus thus equating himself with Horus and emphasizing his own legitimacy to the throne.¹⁷³ This serves as an example of how in the New Kingdom the Sons of Horus come into their own as part of the coronation ceremony representing the four quarters of the earth over which the king has been made ruler.¹⁷⁴ The Sons of Horus were equated with the four corners of the earth (Figure 5), but the attempts to identify which went with which are pointless as the conflicting evidence allows for "no overall system (*kein allgemeingültiges Schema*)."¹⁷⁵

"Come From the Four Winds"

¹⁷¹They have no part of "die sakrale Schwurformel . . . des Tempeleides;" see Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempel-eide*, 2 vols., vol. 6 of *ÄA* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963), 1:24-26.

¹⁷²See the discussion in Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, 145-147 which emphasizes an obvious point which has too often been overlooked.

¹⁷³See Friedrich Abitz, *Ramses III in der Gräbern seiner Söhne*, vol. 72 of *OBO* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986), 62-67. The texts on the walls also connect the Sons of Horus with coronation and legitimation of the king.

¹⁷⁴See Abitz, *Ramses III in der Gräbern seiner Söhne*, 62-67; *RÄRG*, 315-16; Matthieu Heerma von Voss, "Horuskinder," in *LdÄ*, 3:53; cf. Paul Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* (Caire: IFAO, 1962), 289, n. 4; *GEA* 217.

¹⁷⁵*UAK* 16; von Voss, "Horuskinder;" see also Nibely, "Facsimile No. 1, by the Figures," 86, 87, n. 118; Goff (*Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 140-41) denies that the Sons of Horus are connected with the four corners of the earth.

Sacrifice, according to Burkert, "betrays an underlying anxiety about the continuation of life, but it is just as necessary for new life to be able to start again."¹⁷⁶ A major function of the Sons of Horus consists of assisting in the resurrection of the deceased.¹⁷⁷ The sons of Horus withhold the hunger (associated with Tefnut) and thirst (associated with Shu) from the belly and lips of the deceased,¹⁷⁸ providing him with the bread and water of life.¹⁷⁹ In the Coffin Texts, the Sons of Horus not only provide sustenance to the deceased¹⁸⁰ but also clothing.¹⁸¹ The Sons of Horus guarding the visera of the deceased is well known but in the Book of the Dead, the "chapter of not allowing a man's heart to be taken from him in the other world" is accompanied with

¹⁷⁶Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 16.

¹⁷⁷CT 761, 549, 520-23. "Knit thyself upon thy bones, unite thy flesh;" CT 519. Goff lists six situations in which the Sons of Horus are associated with the resurrection in the 21st Dynasty: 1- with the lion couch; 2- in the field of reeds; 3- standing before Nut; 4- on the solar bark traveling thorough the heavens; 5- accompanying the goddess of the West before the Hheart sign; and 6- "within the coils of a great saving serpent." (Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 235.

¹⁷⁸PT 338 (§§552-53); *GEA* 217.

¹⁷⁹In this case bread and beer, Pyramid Text 373 (§§654-57). For parallels to this phenomenon see Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980, vol. 3 is a reprint of vol. 3, 3rd. ed. Göttingen: Dieterich'schen, 1856), 3:18 (30); see the Mesopotamian Adapa story in "Adapa," tr. E. A. Speiser, in James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 3rd. ed. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 101-103; cf. Isaiah 55:1; John 4:10-14; 6:26-58; 7:37-39.

¹⁸⁰CT 751, 917.

¹⁸¹Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargentexten*, 151.

a vignette of the Sons of Horus.¹⁸² They watch a man's heart so that it may be weighed in the balance while they look on.¹⁸³

The judgment scene from the Book of the Dead also illustrates the association of the Sons of Horus with the resurrection.¹⁸⁴ In this scene, which first appears during the reign of Amenophis III,¹⁸⁵ they stand before Osiris on a blue lotus,¹⁸⁶ the symbol of the morning of creation,¹⁸⁷ and thus also of rebirth,¹⁸⁸ and justification.¹⁸⁹ Not only does the scene represent the resurrection of the dead,¹⁹⁰ but introduces a moral dimension

¹⁸²BD 27.

¹⁸³Parma Museum 104 showing BD 29A, in *CEMAP* 36-38.

¹⁸⁴The general notion is that this phenomenon "belibt unklar;" Beatrix Geßler-Löhr, "Zur Schreibung von $m3^c$ -*hrw* mit der Blume," *GM* 116 (1990): 36, 43 n. 73.

¹⁸⁵Geßler-Löhr, "Zur Schreibung von $m3^c$ -*hrw* mit der Blume," 35.

¹⁸⁶Hart, *Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, 204, identifies this as always being the blue lotus, as does Geßler-Löhr, "Zur Schreibung von $m3^c$ -*hrw* mit der Blume," 33-36. That such a point makes a difference, see W. Benson Harer, Jr., "Pharmacological and Biological Properties of the Egyptian Lotus," *JARCE* 22 (1985): 52.

¹⁸⁷Johanna Dittmar, *Blumen und Blumensträuße als Opfergabe im alten Ägypten*, Heft 43 of *MÄS* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1986), 132; cf. Marie-Louise Ryhiner, *L'offrande du Lotus dans les temples égyptiens de l'époque tardive*, vol. 4 of *Rites Égyptiens* (Bruxelles: FERE, 1986), 220-21.

¹⁸⁸Dittmar, *Blumen und Blumensträuße als Opfergabe im alten Ägypten*, 133; Ryhiner, *L'offrande du Lotus*, 221-22.

¹⁸⁹Geßler-Löhr, "Zur Schreibung von $m3^c$ -*hrw* mit der Blume," 27.

¹⁹⁰Geßler-Löhr, "Zur Schreibung von $m3^c$ -*hrw* mit der Blume," 36-37; Ryhiner, *L'offrande du Lotus*, 221-22.

because the candidate can come forth in the morning¹⁹¹ of the resurrection until after the judgment wherein he is found "justified a million times."¹⁹²

In their capacity both as resurrectors of the dead and as wardens of the purity of the deceased,¹⁹³ the Sons of Horus are depicted as defeating the serpent (cf. Figure 3). Thus, in the Coffin Texts, as precursor to representations in the Amduat, the Sons of Horus are associated with the back of Apep.¹⁹⁴ On a statue in the Lowie Museum, Imseti and Hapi are shown, the first holding two lizards and the second grasping a snake.¹⁹⁵ In the late Mythological Papyri, the sons of Horus are often shown wrapped

¹⁹¹"To call the blue lotus day blooming is actually imprecise. It does open at sunrise; however, it follows the pattern of our familiar morning glory and is tightly closed before noon. This suggest that scenes of ritual or daily life such as the sumptuous New Kingdom banquets (in which the lotus is portrayed in open bloom) must have taken place in the morning." Thus Harer, "Pharmacological and Biological Properties of the Egyptian Lotus," 52; cf. Ryhiner, *L'offrande du Lotus*, 222.

¹⁹²Geßler-Löhr, "Zur Schreibung von m^3^c -*hrw* mit der Blume," 33.

¹⁹³The Sons of Horus seem to have played some small role in the ritual reenactment of the drowning of Osiris; see Pyramid Text 423 (§§765-767); cf. Shabako Stone 11a, 19-21a, 62-63. See also BD 17:38-39, where the Sons of Horus are assigned to protect Osiris after his cleansing in the $w^c b t$, which is not a "tomb" as translated by Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 29; see Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 160, where it is near the portico of the temple, and part of the temple complex; cf. *DLE*, 1:108. A set of canopic jars in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, depict the guarding of the Sons of Horus as a $w^c b$ purification ceremony; see Albert Lyons, *Medicine: An Illustrated History* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1978), ills. 129-34.

¹⁹⁴CT 1126.

¹⁹⁵Henry Frederick Lutz, *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1930), 1, pl. 1; cf. Leclant *Montouemhat*, 123-24.

by a snake,¹⁹⁶ from which one emerges in the resurrection.¹⁹⁷ Immediately after these precursors to the resurrection Apep is bound, Re emerges after visiting the dead,¹⁹⁸ and Osiris rises from the dead.¹⁹⁹ In the vignette from the seventeenth chapter of the Book of the Dead, the order is reversed: The Sons of Horus gather around that the dead may arise from his tomb (Figure 6),²⁰⁰ Re, as a cat, defeats the serpent, and Re-Kheperi takes off on his solar bark.²⁰¹ In chapter 112, the Sons of Horus accompany Horus "that a man might be resurrected (*sw3ḏ*, grow green), and rebellion might be extinguished, . . . when he becomes a great god"²⁰² The deceased addresses these gods, in Chapter 137A:

"(O) children of Horus--Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, and

¹⁹⁶Alexandre Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* (New York: Bollingen, 1957), 2:2 (Her-Weben, 7 (Tent-diu-Mut), 10 (Pa-di-Amon), 13 (Bau-Mut-r-Nekhtu). Goff says of this scene that the Sons of Horus stand "within the coils of a great saving serpent. Taht the serpent is conceived as a psychopomp is made clear by one scene where it is shown in its home within the mountain from which the dead body of Osiris is coming to life" (*Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 235).

¹⁹⁷Peter A. Piccione, "Mehen, Mysteries, and Resurrection from the Coiled Serpent," *JARCE* 27 (1990): 43-52.

¹⁹⁸CT 1126.

¹⁹⁹Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri*, 2:2 (Her-Weben, 7 (Tent-diu-Mut), 10 (Pa-di-Amon), 13 (Bau-Mut-r-Nekhtu).

²⁰⁰Cf. BD 151; Petosiris 143:4-6, in Lefebvre, *Tombeau de Petosiris*, 2:98; Petosiris 135:4-6 in *ibid.*, 2:94; Petosiris 141:4-6 in *ibid.*, 2:97. Duamutef has been destroyed; Petosiris 129, in *ibid.*, 2:92.

²⁰¹BD 17.

²⁰²BD 112:7-9.

Qebhsenuf--exert ye your protection over your Father Osiris Presiding of ther the Westerners, exert ye your protection over N., as from now on. Do ye away with the foulness of Osiris Presiding over the Westerners, that he may live with the gods. Smite (for) him Suty [Seth] (and save N.) from him from dawn on, (even though) Horus is able to save his Father Osiris himself. Him who did this against your Father, dispossess ye him."²⁰³

The serpent might be replaced by a turtle, as in Book of the Dead 161, where "the turtle dies" that Re might live, and the four winds shown as Ibis-headed dieties holding staffs which support the heavens²⁰⁴ open four holes in the sky (*pt*) that they might "enter into his [the corpse's] nostrils"; "the bones of Osiris N. are united; . . . the (re)assembled (members) (of Osiris N.) surpass . . . his original state."²⁰⁵ After his resurrection, the deceased himself was considered one of the children of Horus, of which no specific number is mentioned.²⁰⁶

In Late Period Egypt, the Sons of Horus were associated with various parts of the soul. Imsety brings the Ka; Hapy, the heart (*ib*); and Duamutef, the Ba; Qebhsenuf, the mummy (*s^{ch}*).²⁰⁷ Bringing the gods together allows the deceased to rise from the

²⁰³BD 137A.

²⁰⁴Cf. the Sledge of Khonsu, from Deir el-Medinah, CCG 27302.

²⁰⁵Qebhsenuf is identified with the north wind here; BD 161.

²⁰⁶PT 413 (§§734-736), 368 (§§636-38), 364 (§§618-20).

²⁰⁷RÄRG, 316; cf. Tomb of Petosiris 82:38-61, in Lefebvre, *Tombeau de Petosiris*, 2:61-62. Naville, "Le dieu Thoth et les points cardinaux," 30. This suggests Deuteronomy 6:5, note the variations in Matthew 22:37 and Luke 10:27. The variants to the last show that this reading was particularly problematical because it did not square with the Old Testament version of the scripture.

dead and ascend to the sky.²⁰⁸

"As the Heavens are Higher than the Earth"

The Hebrew Psalmist was surely not the only one to "consider thy heavens" and link them with the divine; long before the Israelites existed as a nation, the Egyptians placed the Sons of Horus in the heavens. In the Pyramid Texts the Egyptians identified the Sons of Horus among the circumpolar stars. In a spell advocating the preexistence of the Ka, various parts of the body (e.g. head, face, ears, eyes, nose, teeth) are identified with the various circumpolar stars: "Thy hand is Hapy and Duamutef. Inasmuch as thou biddest ascend to heaven thou ascendest. Thy two feet are Imsety and Qebhsenuf. Inasmuch as thou biddest descend to the Under-heaven²⁰⁹ thou descendest."²¹⁰ What we might have in Pyramid Text 215 is the first mention of the Big Dipper, or Great Wain, long before Homer;²¹¹ one is certainly reminded of

²⁰⁸BD 17 vignette; the purposes of Petosiris 82:32-61 are "that thou mayest rest" and "that thou mayest see Re every day", in Lefebvre, *Tombeau de Petosiris*, 2:61-62.

²⁰⁹This is written with the heaven sign (N1 in Gardiner's Sign List) upside down.

²¹⁰PT 215 (§§148-49); cf. PT 688 (§§2078-79).

²¹¹Homer *Iliad* XVIII.487-89; *Odyssey* V.272-275. It should be noted that the Babylonians also referred to the Big Dipper as the wain or wagon in Sumerian times, the term ^{mul}mar-gid-da meaning "the long wagon" and representing the Big Dipper; see *NUTBF* 89 n. 313, 108, 110-111; as well as MUL.APIN I.i.15-18, II.i.68, in Hermann Hunger and David Pingree, *MUL.APIN: An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform* Beiheft 24 of *Afo* (Horn, Austria: Berger und Söhne, 1989), 22-23, 87, 137. The earliest suggested date for the composition of the MUL.APIN texts is about 2500 B.C. which would still be roughly contemporary with the Pyramid Texts depending on

the later identification of the Sons of Horus with the *mshtyw*, Ursa Major.²¹² This link is likely for the rest of the deities mentioned, who are identified as circumpolar stars (*ihm-sk*); and the Big Dipper, even in those days was among the circumpolar stars.²¹³ The four stars of the constellation Ursa Major,²¹⁴ which Bonnet considered to be the Sons' of Horus original function,²¹⁵ also represent the Opening of the Mouth instrument

the chronology followed; see *ibid.*, 9-12; *NUTBF* 2 n. 10; *AAE* 8, 33-35; Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt*, 18; Richard J. Gillings, *Mathematics in the Time of the Pharaohs* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1972, reprinted New York: Dover, 1982), 260; Peter J. Huber, "Astronomical Evidence for the Long and against the Middle and Short Chronologies," in Paul Ånström, ed. *High, Middle or Low?* (Gothenburg: Ånströms, 1987), 5-17. At any rate, the earliest attested MUL.APIN text is 687 B.C., much later attested than the Pyramid Texts (Hunger and Pingree, *MUL.APIN*, 9); and the MUL.APIN text is more likely dated to 1350 B.C.; see *NUTBF* 34-49.

²¹²See *EAT* 3:189. The identification is made on the ceiling of the tomb of Petosiris and nine stars of the constellation are so named: Isis, Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebhsenuf, *M3n-it-f*, *Ir-qt-f*, *Ir-rn-f-ds-f*, *H3qw*; see *ibid.*, 3:65, 196-97. Cf. Mariette, *Denderah*, 4:pls. 51-55. Goff (*Symbols in Ancient Egypt*, 140) seems to think that the Sons of Horus represent the constellation Leo, but the passages he cites say nothing of the sort.

²¹³Giorgio de Santillana and Hertha von Dechend, *Hamlet's Mill* (Boston: Godine, 1969), 59, 141-46, especially the illustration opposite p. 142: The time when the Big Dipper will not be one of the circumpolar stars is yet future. The Egyptians thought of the Big Dipper as permanent; see Papyrus Harris I 42:6-7, in Wolja Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I: Hieroglyphische Transkription*, vol. 5 of *BA* (Bruxelles: FERE, 1933), 47.

²¹⁴Called the *d3d3t h3 Wsir* "Council around Osiris" or the *hpš mht* "northern foreleg (Big Dipper)"; *BD* 17:35. The "seven glorified ones (*3hw*)" of the Big Dipper are Imseti, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebhsenuf, *M3-it-f* "He who sees his father", *Hr-bq-f* "He who is under the moriga tree", *Hr-hnty-n-irty* "Horus whose forehead has no eyes"; *BD* 17:38.

²¹⁵*RÄRG* 315; *GEA* 218.

(*stp, msht*).²¹⁶

Comparative evidence from other cultures must be used cautiously lest such seething brains, such shaping fantasies apprehend more than cool reason ever comprehends, and the scholar be accused of seeing Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt.²¹⁷ Nevertheless, one might make a connection with the Chinese *pi* and *ts'ung* (also called the *suan-ki* and the *yü-heng*). These two jades objects appear to have been used in ancient China to sight the polar star. When the edge of the *pi*, which represented heaven, lined up with Ursa Major then looking through the *ts'ung* would locate the polar star.²¹⁸ The *ts'ung* also had room for another

²¹⁶Cf. Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*, 2:39 n. 116; *CDME* 118. See also, *EAT* 1:28, Plates 4-6, 8-9, 14, 16-21, 23-24; 3:184-89, Plate 1. This is not the only Old Kingdom association the Sons of Horus seem to have with the Opening of the Mouth ritual. PT 715 (§§2220-21); C. Juoco Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion*, vol. 26 of *Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 132-33; PT 368 (§§636-38), 364 (§§618-20), 544-47 (§§1338-42). The Opening of the Mouth goes back even earlier than the Old Kingdom; Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, 2:4-6.

²¹⁷Actually, according to Eliade, the "very work" of a historian of religions is "to keep himself informed about the research of his colleagues, specialists in other areas, assimilating and confronting their findings, and finally integrating them in order to better understand" his own work (*ibid.*, 90-91, 94, 93). Obviously, in this paper we have only the beginnings of such a work, and at this point, not even that, the first step being to note parallels. Also, we have made it a point of methodology not to go looking for parallels lest "in the night, imagining some fear, how easy is a bush supposed a bear!" We cannot help but think like Hippolyta that "all the story of the night told over, and all their minds transfigur'd so together, more witnesseth than fancy's images, and grows to something of great constancy; but howsoever, strange and admirable."

²¹⁸See Henri Michel, "Les Jades astronomiques chinois: Une hypothèse sur leur usage," *Musées Rouyaux d'Art et d'Histoire Bulletin* 31 (1947): 31-38; Henri Michel, "Astronomical Jades,"

pi circle on the lower end; thus both an upper and lower heaven could be represented, the square *ts'ung* representing the earth and its four quarters--even as early as the Pyramid Texts, the Sons of Horus are associated with the orientation of the four corners of the earth and used to orient the pyramid.²¹⁹ The resultant Chinese device is a dead ringer for a set of chariot wheels, the chariot being a widely known motif for ascension into heaven.²²⁰ This would all be irrelevant if an eminent Egyptologist had not claimed similar things for the Pyramids of Egypt.²²¹ This, however, is mere speculation--such tricks hath strong imagination--for there is at present no evidence for any connection between these coincidentally similar phenomena, and it is doubtful that any could ever be adduced.

Oriental Art 2 (1950): 156-59; Henri Michel, "Chinese Astronomical Jades," *Popular Astronomy* 58 (1950): 222-30; on similar polar sighting tubes in the western tradition, see Robert Eisler, "The Polar Sighting-Tube," *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 2 (1949): 312-32. Many thanks to Michael Lyon for drawing my attention to this material as well as some of his unpublished refinements on Michel's thesis.

²¹⁹See particularly Joachim Spiegel, *Das Auferstehungsritual der Unas-Pyramide*, vol. 23 of *ÄA* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), 356, commenting on PT 254.

²²⁰2 Kings 2:11; more on this later. For the Mesopotamian "chariot of the king of the gods" whose "name is Venus" see K9008 + 83-1-18,141, in W. G. Lambert, "A New Fragment from a List of Antediluvian Kings and Marduk's Chariot," in *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 276-79.

²²¹See Edwards, *Pyramids of Egypt*, 105, 100, 275-80. This author has yet to discover whether one could actually see the polar stars from inside the pyramid.

The Sons of Horus permit mobility,²²² whether running the deceased's errands, or fetching "this boat which Khnum built, which is in this waterway of the *htm* bird."²²³ They are the four legs or beams holding up the boat of Sokaris; these legs are shaped like the *sn* sign, thus in carrying the boat of Sokaris (which equates with Osiris himself) in the festival of Sokaris,²²⁴ "they support his life."²²⁵ In the Coffin Texts also, they not only bring the boat for the deceased (presumably for the Sokaris Festival),²²⁶ but they are the four openings in the boat,²²⁷ the "ribs" of the boat,²²⁸ and the rowers of Hetep.²²⁹ In this connection the

²²²PT 215 (§§148-49); cf. *GEA* 217-18.

²²³PT 522 (§1228), 670 (§§1983-84).

²²⁴PT 644-45 (§§1823-24), 648 (§§1828-29); cf. CT 397; PT 368 (§§636-38), 364 (§§618-20).

²²⁵C. Jouco Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals: Enactments of Religious Renewal*, vol. 13 of *Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 80-81.

²²⁶CT 397; cf. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargentexten*, 150-51.

²²⁷CT 398; cf. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargentexten*, 151.

²²⁸CT 404. This is repeated with lacunae, and reordering the epithets 2, 4, 1, 3, in CT 405; cf. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargentexten*, 151. The original order is used in BD 99:18. This last chapter is an astronomical text as is shown by the identification of the "mooring post" with the "Lady of the Two Lands"; BD 99:6; cf. de Santillana and von Dechend, *Hamlet's Mill*, 414-16; *EAT* 2:7. Neugebauer's and Parker's discussion of the hippopotamus constellation which holds the mooring post (*ibid.*, 3:184-88, figs. 27-31) is lacking in this regard (*ibid.*, 3:189-90). Also mentioned are the *hps* (BD 99:7; *EAT* 3:190-91), etc. The *mnit*, mooring post, being an hour star (*ibid.*, 2:7, 36-46, 52-54) cannot be a circumpolar star.

Coffin Texts give them the following names: "He who plunders," "He who acts as a robber," "He who sees his father," and "He who makes his own names."²³⁰ In the Book of the Day (Ramses VI), they ride the solar bark with other dieties.²³¹ Perhaps this is all best summarized at the end of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony from the Eighteenth Dynasty:

"O Sons of Horus, go under your father; bear ye him up! He shall not retreat from you, O Sons of Horus, go your father, bear ye him up! O N, Horus hath granted thee that his sons might be under thee, that they might bear thee and that thou mayest have strength through them. O Sons of Horus: Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebhsenuf, go ye under your father, and bear ye him up! O N, they bear thee like Horus in the *hnw*-bark. He exalts thee as a god in thy name of Sokar. O N, thou are united like Upper and Lower Egypt, as Horus through whom thou art united."²³²

"What, Are There Masques?"

The Sons of Horus are usually detected by their iconography. The forms, however, under which they appear change over time. They are not represented at all in the Old Kingdom, when the canopic

²²⁹CT 466 (probably *htp* being a pun off *hpt* "oar"); cf. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargentexten*, 151. Lüscher suggests that the Sons of Horus might be present, unlabeled, as the four rowers on the corners of the boat in Middle Kingdom ship models; UAK 16; cf. Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 235.

²³⁰CT 404. This is repeated with lacunae, and reordering the epithets 2, 4, 1, 3, in CT 405; cf. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargentexten*, 151. Note that those too are circumpolar stars; EAT 3:196-97.

²³¹*Hr-wr*, *Hr-smsw* and *Ir-wpt-f-ds-f*. Alexandre Piankoff, *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit*, BdE 13 (Cairo: IFAO, 1942), 8.

²³²The scene is labeled "Causing the statue to be lifted to his burial; nine friends bear (it) upon their arms." Opening of the Mouth, scene 73, in Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, 1:199-203, 2:165-66.

jars were simple jars. "Canopic jars with human-headed lids were an innovation of the Heracleopolitan Period," first appearing in a tomb dating from Dynasties 9-10.²³³ The canopic jars of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom generally have human heads,²³⁴ which may indicate that the Egyptians viewed their gods anthropomorphically;²³⁵ however, the Sons of Horus are all depicted on contemporaneous coffin chests with falcon heads like Horus.²³⁶ During the 18th Dynasty and even the 19th

²³³Edward Brovarski, *Canopic Jars*, 1. The oldest canopic jars in the Turin museum are nos. 19068 and 19069, both of which are XIIth Dynasty, and have human heads; see Dolzani, *Vasi Canopi*, 43-44.

²³⁴All having human heads according to David "Introduction," 10; Brovarski, *Canopic Jars*, 1. Exceptions in CCG 4705-6, 4978-79, 4986-88, 4998, 5000-1, in RAC 353-54, 383, 386-87, 390.

²³⁵Another indication is Herodotus' statement concerning the one god of the Egyptians whom "the painters and sculptures draw (*graphousi*) and carve (*glyphousi*)" with animal parts "although they do not imagine him to really be that way but like the other gods;" (Herodotus *Histories* II.46.2.); cf. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, 107-109, 124-25; Manetho, *Ton Physon Epitome* frag. 82, in Diogenes Laertius, Proem. §10. The Sons of Horus provide a counter-argument for the notion that "of all the changes that occurred in Egyptian imagery, the greatest was from purely animal forms, through half-human forms, to purely human forms. Such changes went along with the evolution of an urban culture and an increase in population." Virginia Lee Davis, "Pathways to the Gods," in *Ancient Egypt: Discovering its Splendors* (Washington D. C.: National Geographic Society, 1978), 161. Yet another example of how Egypt "rückläufig entwickelt" Siegfried Schott, "Nachwort," in Kurt Sethe, *Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben: Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Schrift*, vol. 12 of UGAA (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939, reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), 80.

²³⁶See de Buck *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 6:117; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, 150; also CCG 4740, in RAC 377-81, Plates LXXXIV-LXXXVI; and CCG 4980, in *ibid.*, 383-84, Plates LXXXIX-XC.

Dynasty, the canopic jars generally still have human heads,²³⁷ though the earliest examples where the heads vary according to the son of Horus concerned are "three canopics of the beginning of Dynasty 18 in New York."²³⁸ The pivotal Amarna Period where canopic jars has either human-headed or plain jar-lids, as they were in the Old Kingdom.²³⁹ "Immediately after the Amarna Period (the reign of Tutankhamun or Ai)"²⁴⁰ there begins to be a shift to depicting the Sons of Horus as four separate figures, each with its own head: Duamutef with the head of a jackal, Qebhsenuf with the head of a falcon, Imseti with the head of a human, and Hapi with the head of a baboon.²⁴¹ The forms of the Sons of Horus were quite mutable,²⁴² for the Book of the Dead and other later funeral papyri depict the Sons of Horus all as *Wd3t*-eyes rowing

²³⁷A good example of this is Cairo Museum entry no. SR41 = CCG 4251, a canopic jar of Sennedjem, which is human headed but dedicated to Duamutef; or the human headed canopic jar with a dedication to Hapy in C. N. Reeves, "Miscellanea Epigraphica," SAK 13 (1986): 167-68. The change in heads is dated to the Ramesside Period; AAE 221; GEA 217.

²³⁸Brovarski, *Canopic Jars*, 3; see also *Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, 147.

²³⁹For what is supposed to be Akhenaton's canopic jars (which are human-headed), see Geoffrey T. Martin, "Notes on a Canopic Jar from King's Valley Tomb 55," *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 2 vols., vol. 97 of *BdE* (Cairo: IFAO, 1985), 2:111-24, plates I-III. For the plain jar lids, see N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, 6 vols. (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1903-08), 3:17 and plate XXIV.

²⁴⁰Ratié, *Papyrus de Neferoubenef*, 23.

²⁴¹For references see *supra* note 5.

²⁴²See UAK 16; Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 139.

oars with snakes attached;²⁴³ a motif described as early as the Coffin Texts.²⁴⁴ To show the wide variety of forms, we again resort to a chart (once again, s = standard form; x = exception):

Head Shape\	Son of Horus	Imseti	Hapi	Duamutef	Qebehsenuf
Human		s	x ²⁴⁵	x ²⁴⁶	x ²⁴⁷
Baboon		x ²⁴⁸	s	x ²⁴⁹	
Jackal		x ²⁵⁰	x ²⁵¹	s ²⁵²	x ²⁵³

²⁴³BD 148.

²⁴⁴CT 404-5, 466.

²⁴⁵CCG 4187 (Dynasty 26), in RAC 135-36, Jan Assman, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, Band 6 of *Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970*, vol. 13 of AV (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1977), 94; Tafel 43, 45, Farbtafel A; Parma Museum 186 (Dynasty 26), in CEMAP 116, Tav. XXVII; Reeves, "Miscellanea Epigraphica," 167-68.

²⁴⁶CCG 4188 (Dynasty 26), in RAC 136-37; Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 124-27, Pl. XL.

²⁴⁷EAT 3:196; WKMAS 3959 (19/20 Dynasty), in Reiser-Haslauer, *Die Kanopen I*, 133-38; WKMAS 9092 (Lybian), in *ibid.*, 115-18; CCG 4189 (Dynasty 26), in RAC 137; Assman, *Grab der Mutirdis*, 94, Tafeln 43, 45, Farbtafel A; Papyrus Parma 104, in CEMAP 104, Tav. X.

²⁴⁸Papyrus Parma 104 (Dynasty 18), in CEMAP 37; Tav. X.

²⁴⁹WKMAS 3602 (22-25th Dynasty), in Reiser-Haslauer, *Die Kanopen I*, 81--84; WKMAS 9093 (Lybian), in *ibid.*, 119-22; David, *Macclesfield Collection*, E31.

²⁵⁰WKMAS 3957 (19/20th Dynasty), in Reiser-Haslauer, *Die Kanopen I*, 123-28; Parma Museum 187 (26th Dynasty), in CEMAP 116, Tav. XXVII; CCG 4237 (Roman period), in RAC 165-66.

²⁵¹WKMAS 3603 (22-25th Dynasty), in Reiser-Haslauer, *Die Kanopen I*, 85-88; WKMAS ÄS 8284 (late 26th Dynasty), in *ibid.*, 71-75; Lutz, *Statues*, Pl. I; Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 124 n. 1, Pls. XXXVII-XXXVIII.

²⁵²"consistently jackal-headed" EAT 3:196.

²⁵³WKMAS 3578 (22-25 Dynasty), in Reiser-Haslauer, *Die Kanopen I*, 49-52; CCG 4225 (19th Dynasty), in RAC 158-59; CCG 4163 (19-20th Dynasty), in *ibid.*, 118-19; CCG 4182 (22-25th? Dynasty), in *ibid.*,

Falcon	x ²⁵⁴	x ²⁵⁵	x ²⁵⁶	S
Lion	x ²⁵⁷	x ²⁵⁸		x ²⁵⁹
Fish				x ²⁶⁰

Sometimes, even in the later period, the Sons of Horus may still be represented as all human,²⁶¹ there is even one representation of the Sons of Horus where they are shown as a jackal, a falcon, a bull and a snake;²⁶² and two canopic jars in the Cairo Museum

131-32; CCG 4178 (23-26th Dynasty), in *ibid.*, 129.

²⁵⁴WKMAS 9066 (26th Dynasty), in Reiser-Haslauer, *Die Kanopen II*, 95-99; WKMAS 9095 (26th Dynasty), in Reiser-Haslauer, *Die Kanopen II*, 125-29; CCG 4164 (19th-20th Dynasty), in *RAC* 120.

²⁵⁵Rosalie David, *Macclesfield Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* (Warminster, Wits: Aris and Phillips, 1980), E30 (Dynasty 18); Papyrus Parma 104 (Dynasty 18), in *CEMAP* 37, Tav. X; Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 223 citing Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* 22, vignette 2, p. 171.

²⁵⁶"falcon-headed as usual [sic!]" *EAT* 3:199; Cairo Museum CG 4224 (NK), in *RAC* 157-58; CCG 4181 (22-25th? Dynasty), in *ibid.*, 130-31; CCG 4177 (23-25th Dynasty), in *ibid.*, 128.

²⁵⁷*EAT* 3:196.

²⁵⁸*EAT* 3:196.

²⁵⁹"Qebhsenouf est représenté avec une tête de lion, au lieu d'une tête de faucon ce qui est, semble-t-il, le seul exemple connu." Ratié, *Papyrus de Neferoubenef*, 23, Pl. III, BD 151A.

²⁶⁰"Qebhsenouf erscheint meist als Fisch (Tilapia);" Assman, *Grab der Mutirdis*, 94 n. 98 (Dynasty 26); Ingrid Gamer-Walkert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten*, Band 21 of *ÄA* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), 123-24; LeClant, *Montouemhat*, 125.

²⁶¹See BD 151, in Lepsius, *Todtenbuch der Ägypter*, Plate LXXIV. This is particularly noteworthy because Chapters 17 and 148 (Plates VII, IX, LXX) show the Sons of Horus with their typically variegated zoocephalic heads.

²⁶²Coffin cover in the Rosacruzian Museum in San Jose. No museum number was given for this Ptolemaic piece.

have bull-headed stoppers.²⁶³ Thus the Egyptians established a precedent for mutating the forms of these dieties, just as they modify the forms of others.

A "magical"²⁶⁴ papyrus from the fourth century A.D. contains a reference to the sons of Horus in their aspect as wind deities. Although their names have changed, they are still recognizable:

"[Come] to me, lord Hermes, like the children to the womb of wom[e]n. Come to me, lord Hermes, gather the foods of gods and men to me, N. O lord Hermes give me grace, food, daily victory, elegance of form, strength over everything and all the names which thou hast in heaven: Lamfthenouôthi, Ouasthenouôthi, Oamenôth, Enomouch. These are those which I know in the four corners of the sky and also the forms which thou hast. In the east thou hast the form of an ibis; in the Lybia²⁶⁵ thou hast the form of a dog-faced animal; in the north thou hast the form of a snake, in the south thou hast the form of a wolf. Thy plants are the grape, the date-palm, and the olive.²⁶⁶

²⁶³CCG 4725 and 4726, in RAC 359.

²⁶⁴"Magic" is a loaded term, pejoratively applied to material which is often not understood by the scholars who make the appellation; see David E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), II.23.2:1509-13; Sam Eitrem and Johan Harm Croon, "Magic," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 637-38. For sundry definitions, see Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper and Brothers, 1978), 68-80, 139; Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 106-7.

²⁶⁵The word here, λιβι, is the etacised form of λιβυη "the west bank of the Nile" according to Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick MacKenzie, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 1047. On etacism see Anna Elbina Morpurgo Davies, "Pronunciation, Greek," *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 884.

²⁶⁶British Museum Papyrus 122.2-12 (= PGM VIII.1-2), in F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1893, reprinted Milano: Cisalpino-Goloardica, 1973), 116. Edward N. O'Neil has mistranslated this passage in Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 145.

The Sons of Horus are present in this Greek magical papyrus but they appear in altered form. Hermes, the Greek Thoth,²⁶⁷ is a wind god with whom the four winds are here equated. This parallels the sons of Horus who are equated with Thoth in his aspect of the wind god.²⁶⁸ The association with the internal organs and the corners of the earth are also present. Other scholars have noticed the changing of names and forms of the Sons of Horus according to the nation and time period,²⁶⁹ but here we will look only at one other development of this phenomenon.

No Near Eastern civilization exists in a complete cultural vacuum. As sure as there were exchanges of goods,²⁷⁰ ideas were also exchanged across national boundaries. Beginning with the New

²⁶⁷Herodotus, *Histories* II.51.1, 4; Plato, *Phaedrus* 59 (274C-275B); Aristoxenus Tarentius, *De arithm.*, in Stobaeus, *Eclogai*; Cicero, *De natura deorum* 22 (56); Philo Byblius in Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* I.9.24.

²⁶⁸"Thoth n'est souvent pas autre chose que le dieu du vent." Naville, "Le dieu Thoth et les points cardinaux," 28; Constant De Wit, "Les Génies des Quatre Vents au Temple d'Opet," *CdE* 32 (1957): 25-39.

²⁶⁹When foreign gods are imported into or exported from Egypt, their names often change; see Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, 257, 166-68; Alessandro Roccati, "Une Légende égyptienne d'Anat," *RdE*, 24 (1972): 154, 158-59; Manetho, fragment 80, in Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 28. For foreign cults and their proliferation in New Kingdom times, see Ashraf Iskander Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, vol. 27 of *HÄB* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1987), 152-61.

²⁷⁰For Predynastic times see Barbara Adams, *Predynastic Egypt*, 33 (Mesopotamia), 37 (Nubia), 43 (Syria), 53, 57 (Mesopotamia), 60 (Susiana and Afghanistan!), 66, 68-70 (Syro-Palestine). For Old Kingdom contacts with Cyprus, see W. Max Müller, "Foreigners Importing Tin into Ancient Egypt, about 2500 B.C." *Egyptological Researches*, 3 vols. (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1906), 1:5-8.

Kingdom, and possibly earlier, Egypt's history is continually swirled with that of other countries in the whirlpool of events.²⁷¹ Thus, it is only natural to find some of Egypt's art and culture migrating outward like the ripples of a rock tossed into a body of water; and the iconography of the Sons of Horus meanders into some strange waters once it leaves Egypt--a phenomenon we are finally in a position to trace.

Israel, Egypt's closest neighbor to the north--dispite some of the polemic against Egypt in her records²⁷²--clearly borrowed many things from Egypt,²⁷³ particularly during period when Egypt and the Israelite kingdoms of Judah and Israel were close politic-

²⁷¹In general, see Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 178-79, 189-209; AAE 42-46; David O'Connor, "New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, 1552-664 BC," in B. G. Trigger, et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 203-4, 210; Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, tr. John Raffan (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985), 24. For contact with the Aegean, see Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 20; T. B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1971), 16-17, 40-42. For Babylonia, see The Biography of Ahmose son of Ebana, 36-37, in Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie = Urk 4* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906), 9; Smith, "An Egyptian in Babylonia," *JEA* (1934): . For Assyria, see J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists* (London: The British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1972), 62-63, 91, 138, plate 20, line 19'; CAD 6:116; AHW 328. For Mitanni, see the Letter from Tushratta to Amenophis III (VAT 422), *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna*, vol. XII of *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, 35-55, no. 200. For Hatti, see KBo V, 6.

²⁷²E.g. Exodus 1-15; Isaiah 19-20; Jeremiah 42-44, 46; Ezekiel 20:5-25.

²⁷³For example, compare Isaiah 7:1-2 with the *iw.tw* formulas as discussed in Anthony John Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. 9 of *Yale Near Eastern Researches* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 1-33. Compare and caontrast with Lugale 20-80, in J. van Dijk, *LUGAL UD ME-LĀM-bi NIR-ĜĀL*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 2:32-52.

ally. One of these times of political proximity immediately preceded the Babylonian captivity of the kingdom of Judah when Egypt, under Sheshonq, installed one of Judah's kings, whom Babylon was later to replace at the beginning of the first wave of the Babylonian exile.²⁷⁴

Ezekiel, one of the first exiles to leave Judah to go off to Babylon,²⁷⁵ having been born in Jerusalem and having been old enough to have had some first hand knowledge of the temple at Jerusalem, and its cult,²⁷⁶ would also have been aware of the Egyptian influence. In Babylonian captivity on the Cheber river, away from the cultural centers of Mesopotamia,²⁷⁷ he describes a vision of a firey whirlwind²⁷⁸ and four beasts with the faces of a man, a lion, a bull and an eagle.²⁷⁹ In this passage, which many commentators either admit they do not understand or

²⁷⁴2 Kings 23:29-24:7; 2 Chronicles 35:20-36:13; Jeremiah 42-43.

²⁷⁵Ezekiel 1:1-2.

²⁷⁶For indications of this, see Ezekiel 8, 40-48.

²⁷⁷Ezekiel 1:1. The Cheber river is a fair distance from Babylon proper. "As captive domiciled away from the great centers of culture, Ezekiel had little opportunity to study the artwork of Babylonian temples or witness the grand processions of the gods." Greenberg, *Ezekiel*, 58.

²⁷⁸Cf. BD 162:8.

²⁷⁹Ezekiel 1:4-14. Robert Eisler ("The Polar Sighting-Tube," 329-30 n. 49, 331 n. 56) connects this passage with astronomical observation in general and the polar sighting tube in particular.

delete,²⁸⁰ Ezekiel seems to use the motif in his visions modified by substituting the ox and the lion for the jackal and the baboon.²⁸¹ The bull is a symbol of divinity, immortality, sacrifice, "life giving power", and the Messiah, though "one gets the impression . . . that the bull as symbol had much more importance than the bull with any special name or function;"²⁸² and furthermore as Jewish symbols, "the lion and the bull had a similar meaning, since they are interchangeable."²⁸³ Additionally, neither the jackal nor the baboon are indigenous to Israel whereas

²⁸⁰D. M. G. Stalker, *Ezekiel: Introduction and Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1968), 45; John B. Taylor, *Ezekiel: An Introduction and Commentary* (London: Tyndale, 1969), 55; John W. Wevers, *Ezekiel, The Century Bible* (London: Nelson, 1969), 45-46; Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 55; Eduardo Zurro, Luis Alonso Schökel, José María Valverde and Ernesta Vogt, *Ezequiel*, vol. IV, 8 of *Los Libro Sagrados* (Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1971), 22-23; Keith W. Carley, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 13; Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, tr. Ronald E. Clements, *Hermeneia--A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 101-4; Ronald M. Hals, *Ezekiel*, vol. 19 of *The Forms of the Old Testament Literature* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1989), 13-15.

²⁸¹Ezekiel 1:5-12.

²⁸²Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 8:28, 6. For other interpretations, see E. W. Hengstenberg, *Die Weissagungen des Propheten Ezekiel für solch die in der Schrift forschen* (Berlin: Schlawitz, 1867), 16-17; Stalker, *Ezekiel*, 45-46.

²⁸³Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 13 vols. (New York: Bollingen, 1958), 8:5-6, 28; the discussion covers the earlier period as well; the quote is from p. 5; cf. C. N. Deeds, "The Labyrinth," in S. H. Hooke, *The Labyrinth* (London: Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1935), 7. Dr. Keller objects to citing Goodenough or implying that any Egyptian symbolism was ever used in Judaism; but Goff (*Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 116, 278 n. 166) does the same thing.

the lion and bull are.²⁸⁴ Though it is common to attribute the beasts in Ezekiel to Mesopotamia,²⁸⁵ the motif is not to be found in Mesopotamian sources: "Multiplication of faces in the manner of Ezekiel's creatures is, however, extremely rare. . . . Janus (=two)-faced gods are more common. . . . However, the symbolism of four distinct faces must be different, and for that we have no analogues."²⁸⁶ Four faced gods with different faces are not, however, unknown in Egypt,²⁸⁷ which some commentators consider a source of the Ezekiel passage.²⁸⁸

Ezekiel later takes up the resurrection motif and the association of the canopic figures with the four winds and combines these with the breath of life motif²⁸⁹ in a way which somewhat

²⁸⁴See *Fauna and Flora of the Bible*, 2nd. ed. (London: United Bible Societies, 1980), 50-51, 62-63; note that the presence of the ape could be a problem (*ibid.* 4), but the baboon is never mentioned.

²⁸⁵S. Fisch, *Ezekiel* (London: Soncino, 1957), 4; Taylor, *Ezekiel*, 55; Carley, *Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, 15. The understanding of Zurro, et al. (*Ezequiel*, 22-23), is not possible given the Hebrew text: "A imagen de ellos se imaginan los discípulos de Ezequiel unos querubines cuadriformes: cara de hombre, alas de águila, cuerpo de león, pezuñas de toro."

²⁸⁶Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, vol. 22 of *The Anchor Bible* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1983), 55-56. Cf. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 55.

²⁸⁷E.g. Turin Museum 16346/C 2326, a hypocephalus whose central figure has the heads of two rams, a cat and a Seth animal.

²⁸⁸Hans Ferdinand Fuhs, *Ezekiel 1-24, Die Neue Echter Bible* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1984), 23-24; Taylor, *Ezekiel*, 55.

²⁸⁹Genesis 2:7.

parallels Egyptian Texts.²⁹⁰ Ezekiel is shown a valley of bones, from which "very dry bones" are resurrected following the Egyptian resurrection motif.²⁹¹ Not much has been made of this connection although Grenfell noted it back in 1906.²⁹² Although the iconography (if only the literary references thereto) may have been borrowed from Egypt, much--though not all--of the associated symbolism perished in the translation. The ideas associated with the Jewish symbol are not those of the Egyptian symbol even if the symbol is borrowed, for the symbol is adapted as it is translated across cultural boundaries.²⁹³

²⁹⁰PT 373; Cf. CT 519, reconstructed as follows: "Words spoken: Hail Osiris, the nomarch, N. Knit thyself upon thy bones; unite thy flesh; his members are the king, the god. He does not molder; he does not have an evil odor [Hw3, see James Henry Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, 2 vols., vol. 3 of *The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), 549.]; he will not perish . . . comes forth from the nostrils of Seth; the wind of heaven perishes; she indeed perishes being in thy mouth; the stars perish when they are not in thy mouth. My children are thy flesh for life, that thou mayest live the life of the stars for thy turn of life."

²⁹¹Ezekiel 37:1-10.

²⁹²Alice Grenfell, "Egyptian Mythology and the Bible," *The Monist* 16 (1906): 184-94. Grenfell says that this connection was suggested by J. G. Wilkinson in 1841 but I have not been able to trace this down to verify this fact.

²⁹³An effect familiar in other contexts; see Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, 125-26; "The reception of alien tradition may, of course, always involve the creation of new meanings." Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 24. Syncretism, or importation of foreign elements into a culture, occurs not only with foreign contact but more especially with the political deportation into foreign territory, and thus deported peoples are more likely to graft something new into their cultural patterns; see Gordon Thomasson, "Togetherness is Sharing an Umbrella: Divine Kingship, the Gnosis, and Religious Syncretism," *By Study and Also By Faith*, ed. John M. Lundquist and Stephen Ricks, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City:

The same motif also appears in the Christian canon toward the end of the first century A.D. in the Revelation of John, where he sees "four beasts, . . . the first beast, like a lion, and the second beast like an ox and the third beast having a face like a man, and the fourth beast like a flying eagle."²⁹⁴ The motif is also reflected in the "four angels standing upon the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth."²⁹⁵

Irenaeus of Lyon, a Christian writer of the late second century, picked up the four beasts motif and used it against the Gnostics to prove that "the Gospels can neither be greater or lesser in number than they are. For, since there are four areas of the world in which we are, and four universal winds, and the Church is scattered over the whole world, . . . therefore it follows that she has four pillars, exhaling incorruptibility from all sides, and reviving men."²⁹⁶ He then proceeds to quote the aforementioned passage in the Revelation of John and equates the lion with John, the bull with Luke, the man with Matthew and the eagle with

Deseret Book, 1990), 1:538-42. The implications of this for the passage in question is that Ezekiel, having been deported from Judah to Babylon, is more likely to graft something outside his cultural milieu into his work; but being a religious conservative, it is also likely that he would import something from a culture other than that of the one he is imported into.

²⁹⁴Revelation 4:6-7. Cf. Carley, *Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, 15. As we shall see, the connection was known to the mediaeval commentators also.

²⁹⁵Revelation 7:1-2; cf. Matthew 24:31; Mark 13:27 where the "chosen" are gathered from the four winds by messengers (angelous).

²⁹⁶Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses* III.9.8.

Mark.²⁹⁷ From Irenaeus this motif spread throughout the Christian world, equating this revised version of the canopic jars with the four evangelists and each with a corner of the earth, although somehow the identifications changed to where Matthew was the man; Mark, the lion; Luke, the bull; and John, the eagle.²⁹⁸

The Coptic Christians took over the four beasts as part of their Christian heritage without completely forgetting the original Egyptian meaning. They considered the four beasts to be in a class of angels by themselves.²⁹⁹ They connected them with Michael,³⁰⁰ just as their forebears had connected the Sons of Horus with Atum.³⁰¹ These beasts stood close in the presence of

²⁹⁷Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses* III.9.8.

²⁹⁸This is an extremely wide-spread motif. A few examples of this which the author has observed include the facade of the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth, the Pfarramt of the St. Andreas Church in Hildesheim, the ceiling of Bottecelli's chapel in Firenze, the silver baptismal basin in the Skattskammer in Stockholm, as well as the design on the pulpit of the Royal chapel above the Skattskammer. The individual who desires representations from the Greek Orthodox world should see Georgios Angelos Prokopiou, *Kosmologikos Symbolismos sten Architektonike tou Byzantinou Naou* (Athens: Pyrinos Kosmos, 1982), 120-22; Pinakades III, IV, VII; Eikones 76, 79, 82. For the manuscript tradition, see Carl Nordenfalk, "An Illustrated Diatessaron," *The Art Bulletin* 50/2 (1968): 125-26, 130-35, figs. 6-8, 14-28; note that in this Syriac tradition, the assignment of the beasts to the evangelists is non-standard.

²⁹⁹"Für den Kopten handelt es sich hier ganz selbstverständlich um eine besondere Engelklasse." C. Detlef G. Müller, *Die Engel-lehre der koptischen Kirche* (Wiesbaden: Harrosowitz, 1959), 83.

³⁰⁰Ibid., 83.

³⁰¹Spiegel, *Auferstehungsritual der Unas-Pyramide*, 177.

God,³⁰² so much so that "the four beasts are intimately connected with God."³⁰³ They had a special feast day on the 8th of Athôr³⁰⁴ (November 4),³⁰⁵ at which time the priest gave long sermons on them.³⁰⁶ From Coptic Egypt they made their way to England.³⁰⁷ Some scholars while noting the identification of the beasts and the evangelists have not connected the beasts with their Egyptian origin,³⁰⁸ usually citing instead the cherubim and seraphim,³⁰⁹ "the sirens and cupids of antiquity",³¹⁰ or magic as their origin.³¹¹

³⁰²"große Nähe zu Gottes Thron," Müller, *Engellehre den koptischen Kirche*, 83.

³⁰³Ibid., 83.

³⁰⁴Ibid., 84. Note the antiquity of the date in the inscription cited in Brugsch, *Geographie des alten Aegyptens*, 36.

³⁰⁵If the equivalences between the Egyptian calendar and our own given in Edgar J. Goodspeed and Ernest Cadman Colwell, *A Greek Papyrus Reader* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), 83 are accurate.

³⁰⁶Müller, *Engellehre der koptischen Kirche*, 84; Müller lists quite a few of these homilies (usually attributed to John Chrysostom) on the subject but most of them are unpublished and in Arabic; see *ibid.*, 270-272; the one published example which appears to be the most important is *Kitâb at-ta^cazâ ar-rû^hîya* (Kairo, 1642). I have been unable to examine these texts myself.

³⁰⁷Müller, *Engellehre den koptischen Kirche*, 84.

³⁰⁸Ibid., 83, 99 (citing Mercer and Budge!); Hornung, *Ancient Egyptian Conceptions of God*, 124-25.

³⁰⁹Müller, *Engellehre den koptischen Kirche*, 83.

³¹⁰Prokopios, *Kosmologikos Symbolismos sten Architektonike tou Byzantinou Naou*, 121.

³¹¹"Ihre Quelle ist die Magie." Müller, *Engellehre den koptischen Kirche*, 84.

Magic, though doubtful as a source for the Judeo-Christian iconography, is connected with perhaps the latest incarnation of the Sons of Horus. The great mediaeval scholar Snorri Strurluson records in his *Heimskringla* that the rapacious Danish king Harald Gormsson, after pirating the contents of an Icelandic trading vessel, found himself the object of the Icelanders retaliatory jests. Therefore, he bid a wizard (*kunngum manni*) travel to Iceland to reconnoitre the place preliminary to the impending invasion. The wizard sallied forth as a whale (*hvalslíki*) circumambulating the island widdershins and trying to sail up each of the major landmarks which correspond roughly to the four points of the compass (*Vápnafjörð*, *Eyjafjörð*, *Breiðafjörð*, and at *Víkarsskeiði*). At each attempt, he was prevented from entry into the country by one of the chief *landvættir* accompanied by similar but smaller versions of the same thing: a dragon, an eagle, a bull, and a mountain giant. The wizard's reconnaissance report to King Harald resulted in the armada of the latter withdrawing to Denmark.³¹² The *landvættir* are also explicitly connected with the four administrative districts of Iceland here whence come the creatures surrounding the shield on the official coat of arms of Iceland (Figure 7).³¹³ Snorri, being both literate and

³¹²Snorri Sturluson, *Óláfs Saga Tryggvarsonar* 33, in Snorri Sturluson *Heimskringla I*, vol. 26 of *Íslenzk Fornrit* (Reykjavík: Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1941), 270-72.

³¹³A. Guy Hope and Janet Barker Hope, *Symbols of the Nations* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1973), 126-27; Paul Schach, *Icelandic Sagas* (Boston: Twayne, 1984), 16-17.

Christian,³¹⁴ would likely have known of the Biblical parallel; more than one scholar of the Norse favors the view that "Snorri's inspiration for this story about the four fetches, which at the same time are the chief guardian spirits of the country (*landvættir*), came from a homily which the historian probably heard read each year on the feast of Saint John the Evangelist."³¹⁵ This homily relates how, "Ezekiel who was a prophet (*spá-maðr*) long before the birth of Christ saw the same creatures in heaven that John himself saw in heaven."³¹⁶ The only difference between the beasts of the Judeo-Christian tradition and the guardian spirits of Iceland is that the lion has been replaced by a dragon.³¹⁷

This is not to suggest that just any group of four beasts in any culture are connected with or derived from the Sons of Horus; the four supernatural creatures of China, the *Sì Líng*, are cer-

³¹⁴See Snorri Sturluson, *Gylfaginning*, prologue. On the Christianization of Iceland in general see Ari Þorgilsson, *Islendingabók*, sub A.D. 1000; *Brennu-Njáls Saga* 100-105; *Laxdæla Saga* 40-41.

³¹⁵Paul Schach, "Symbolic Dreams of Future Renown in Old Icelandic Literature," *Mosaic* 4/4 (1971): 60, with references.

³¹⁶"Þvi at Ezechiel spa-mað er mycclu var fyrir burð Crist sa þesse en sámo cygvende á himni sem Iohannes sa í himna syn sinni." *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok: Cod. Am 619 4º*, Gustav Indrebø, ed. (Oslo: Kjeldeskriftfondet, 1931), 48. The entire homily is pertinent here; *ibid.*, 47-50.

³¹⁷The lion, *vargr-dyr* or here *oarga dyr* "wolf-animal", was not unknown in Norse literature, but it was not known very well, always being referred to as an imported rarity; see Marianne E. Kalinke, *Bridal-Quest Romance in Medieval Iceland*, vol. 46 of *Islandica* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 57-58, 137. The homily must explain that a lion "er stærcest er allra dyra (is the strongest of all animals)" *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok*, 48.

tainly not.³¹⁸ Nevertheless the Sons of Horus illustrate that "there are few absolute beginnings in literary history, but there is endless transformation."³¹⁹

In sum, the original function of the Sons of Horus was to assist the deceased to travel through the heavens. There is no evidence to connect the Sons of Horus with the canopic jars until the First Intermediate Period. In later times the deceased gave forth his own exta to obtain this revelatory tour of the heavens in a peculiarly Egyptian twist on the usual extispicy; in this way mummification can be seen as sacrifice "after the manner of the Egyptians". The organs were only out on loan; for giving them his all, the deceased was assured of resurrection when the sons of Horus would restore that which had been removed. Finally, as the Egyptian sun god changes his form from Kheperi in the morning through Re at noon to Atum in the evening,³²⁰ so throughout history the Sons of Horus have changed their guise thrusting their heads into the public street to gaze on Christian fools with varnished faces.

³¹⁸On the Sî Líng, see William Frederick Meyers, *The Chinese Reader's Manual*, (London, Probsthain and Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1910), 43-44, 100-1, 136, 151-53, 327. Many thanks to Theron Stanford for having pointed out this source.

³¹⁹Clive Staples Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), 234.

³²⁰John Wilson, "The God and his Unknown Name of Power," in James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 13.

Table of Abbreviations

- ÄA *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen.*
 AAE John Baines and Jaromír Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Facts on File, 1980).
 AEL Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of Californian Press, 1973-80).
 AEO Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947).
 ÄF *Ägyptologische Forschungen.*
 AfO *Archiv für Orientforschung.*
 AHW Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadische Handwörterbuch*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965-81).
 APAW *Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
 AV *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen*
 BA *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca.*
 BD Book of the Dead; unless otherwise indicated in Richard Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypten nach dem hieroglyphischen Payprus in Turin* (Leipzig: Georg Wigand, 1842); and Thomas George Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* vol. 37 of SAOC (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).
 BdE *Bibliothèque d'Études.*
 BSEG *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève.*
 CAA *Corpus Antiquitatem Aegyptiacarum* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern).
 CAD *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 21 vols. (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1956-).
 CCG Cairo Museum Catalogue Generale.
 CdE *Chronique d'Égypte.*
 CDME Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962).
 CEMAP Giuseppe Botti, *I Cimeli Egizi del Museo de AnticITÀ di Parma*, vol. IX of *Studi* (Firenze: LeoS. Olschki, 1964)
 CIT Canopic Inscription Typus in *GEA* 1*-16*.
 CT Coffin Texts; see Adriaan de Buck *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 8 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935-62).
 DLE Leonard H. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 5 vols. (Berkeley, California and Providence, Rhode Island: B. C. Scribe Publications, 1982-90).
 EAT Otto Neugebauer and Richard A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, 3 vols. (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1960-69).
 FERE Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elizabeth.
 GEA Kurt Sethe, "Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche," *SPAW* (April 26, 1934): 211-39, 1*-16* reprinted in *Leipziger und berliner Akademieschriften (1902-1934)*, vol. 11 of *Opuscula* (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1976).
 GM *Göttinger Miszellen.*
 GO *Göttinger Orientforschungen.*

- HÄB *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge.*
 HE *Historia Ecclesiastica.*
 IE *Improvement Era.*
 IFAO *Institut français d'archéologie orientale.*
 JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.*
 JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
 KBo *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.*
 LdÄ *Lexikon der Ägyptologie, 7 vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1977).*
 MÄS *Münchner ägyptologische Studien.*
 MK *Middle Kingdom.*
 NK *New Kingdom.*
 NUTBF *Johannes Koch, Neue Untersuchungen zur Topographie des babylonischen Fixsternhimmels (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1989)*
 OBO *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis.*
 OK *Old Kingdom.*
 OMRO *Oudheidkundige mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden.*
 PGM *Karl Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae (Die griechischen Zauberpapyri) (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1931).*
 PT *Pyramid Texts.*
 RAC *George Andrew Reisner and Mohammed Hassan Abd-ul-Rahman, Canopics, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes (Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1967).*
 RÄRG *Hans Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1952).*
 RdE *Revue d'Égyptologie.*
 SAK *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur.*
 SAOC *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization.*
 SE *Shire Egyptology.*
 SPAW *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.*
 UAK *Barbara Lüscher, Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Kanopenkästen: vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der Zweiten Zwischenzeit, vol. 31 of HÄB (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1990).*
 UGAA *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens.*
 Urk. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums.*
 WKMAS *Wien Kunsthistorisches Museum Ägyptisch-orientalische Sammlung*
 ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.*

Guide to the Figures

Figure 1- A typical Old Kingdom canopic jar, devoid of decoration and inscription. This particular jar comes from the Tomb of Meruka at Giza. If the Sons of Horus were connected with the canopic jars in the Old Kingdom, we have no evidence for it. From Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1929-1930* (Oxford: University Press, 1932), Plate XLII redrawn by Michael Lyon.

Figure 2- This priest wears the jackal mask so that he can officiate as Anubis. The mask is awkward and difficult to see out of, so his friend must guide him. Though the illustration is Ptolemaic, the practice goes back to the 5th Dynasty: "Thy hand, arms, belly, back, rear, and legs are like Atum [who is always depicted as a human], but thy face is like Anubis" (PT 213 §135). From Auguste Edouard Mariette, *Dendérah*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1870-74, reprinted Hildesheim: Olms, 1981), 4:Plate 31.

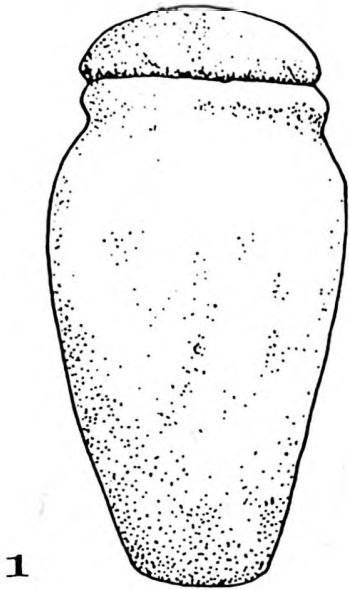
Figure 3- If the Sons of Horus insured the uprightness of the deceased, they also had their sinister side. Here they help ritually administer the blows of death on Seth. Ptolemaic Period, from the temple at Denderah. From Mariette, *Dendérah*, 4:Plate 56.

Figure 4- Papyrus Leiden I 384 verso Column 17. A lion couch scene with the perfectly legible Greek inscription, "Let Abraham who . . . upon . . . be dumbfounded" immediately under it. The figure on the couch is female, and the text when legible reads "Incinerate N to ashes. . . . Burn N until she comes into my, N's, presence, quickly, quickly, haste, haste, I adjure you, gods of the dead, by the dead kings and the demon Baal-shamayim (Lord of the heavens), and the jackal headed god and gods with him." (PGM 12:479-96; cf. Abraham 1:11). Redrawn by John Gee.

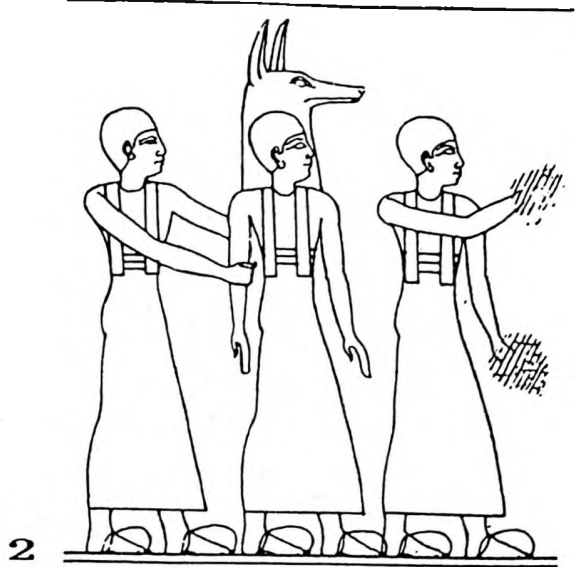
Figure 5- The four birds represent the Sons of Horus, heralding the accession of Ramses II, in the Festival of Min at the Ramesseum (19th Dynasty). The text above the birds, in typical Egyptian fashion--of inscription all compact--reads: "Imseti, go south that you may tell the southern gods that Horus, son of Isis and Osiris has assumed the crown and Ramses II has assumed the crown; Hapi, go north that you may tell the northern gods that Horus, son of Isis and Osiris has assumed the crown and Ramses II has assumed the crown; Duamutef, go east that you may tell the eastern gods that Horus, son of Isis and Osiris has assumed the crown and Ramses II has assumed the crown; Qebhsenuf, go west that you may tell the western gods that Horus, son of Isis and Osiris has assumed the crown and Ramses II has assumed the crown." Somehow the Egyptians manage to be concise and bombastic simultaneously. The motif goes back to the Old Kingdom. From The Epigraphical Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), Plate 213.

Figure 6- Resurrection morning: Ani bursts forth from his tomb holding signs of life. The resurrection is made possible by the Sons of Horus gathering the members together in their family reunion. Their pictures also decorate the sarcophagus. Vignette from BD 17. From E. A. W. Budge, *The Papyrus of Ani*, 3 vols. (New York, NY: Putnam's Sons, 1913), 3:Plate 8, redrawn by Michael Lyon.

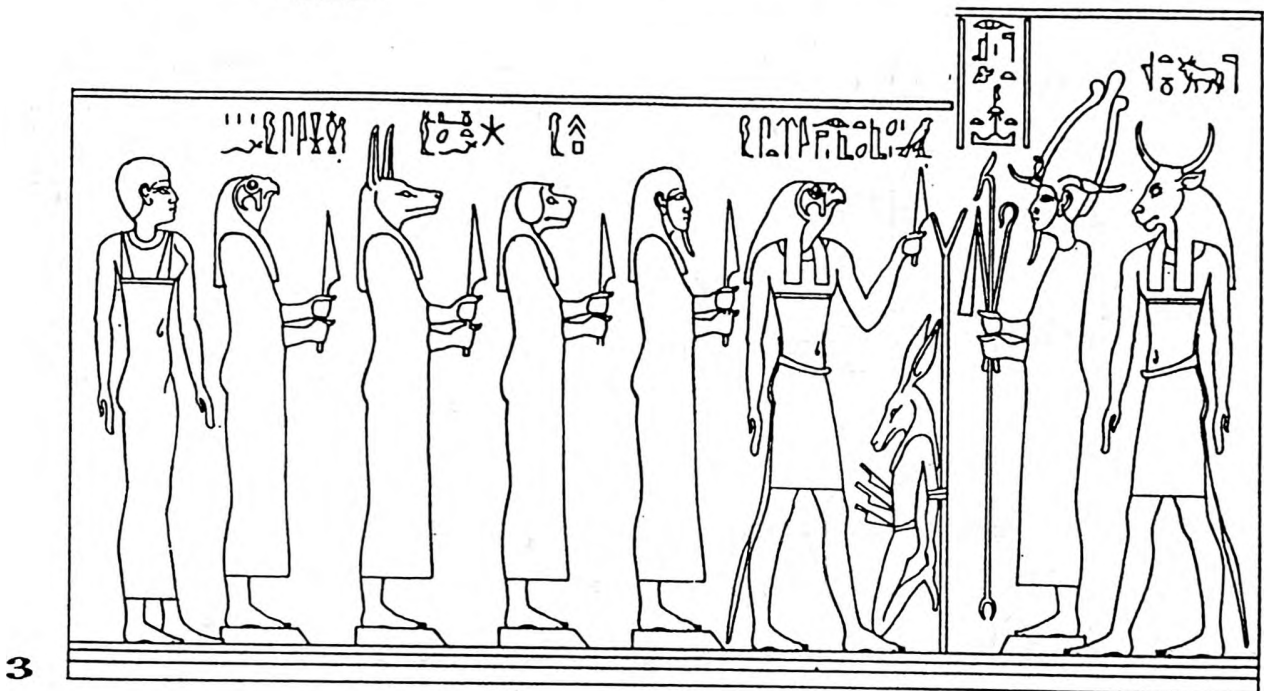
Figure 7- The State Coat of Arms of Iceland, possibly the latest transformation of the Sons of Horus. Of course, it looks much more spectacular in color. From A. Guy Hope and Janet Barker Hope, *Symbols of the Nations* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1973), 127 redrawn by Michael Lyon.



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