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SOME CELESTIAL ASSOCIATIONS OF MIN

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IN *Journal*, 17, 185-95, I was able to show that Min was far from being the mere fertility-god we have been accustomed to think him, but was a sky-god also. Some indications were: the choice of Akhmīm as his home; the use of the light-weapon or thunderbolt, which served as his symbol and as that of his nome of Akhmīm; his feathers, streamer, raised arm, and perhaps his whip-like implement; his sacred bull; his identification with one sky-god, Horus, and his identity with another, Amūn; and his participation in, or even ownership of,<sup>1</sup> the *Kꜣ-mwt-f* object, which shows many signs of being a meteorite. Further, there was the fact that Akhmīm worshipped the shrewmouse as did Letopolis, a city which had as its symbol the same light-weapon as Akhmīm and Min. In its turn Letopolis itself proves to have been essentially a thunderbolt centre.<sup>2</sup> Later, Min was associated with Resheph, the Syrian lightning-god.<sup>3</sup>

It needs no emphasis that Min was a fertility-god. On the other hand, scholars, with the exception of Newberry and the few who follow him,<sup>4</sup> have entirely overlooked the celestial side of Min's nature. Yet it is by no means adventitious, but is on the contrary original and important, as is shown by the majority of the facts quoted above. Nor is it in the least surprising that the weather and fertility should coalesce in the person of a single god. It occurs often enough, as the following cases show.

In most countries of the world the fertility of the earth is dependent on the rains which the sky-god sends. When crops are abundant animals and men find plenty, and thus in their turn increase and multiply. Hence the sky-deity is liable to add fertility to his or her other manifestations. Thus in Babylonia Enlil was an ancient 'Lord of the Storm', yet in due time he became the 'Lord of Vegetation' also.<sup>5</sup> He seems to have died out after Gudea's age, 2600 B.C.,<sup>6</sup> and with the incoming of the Semites another storm-god appears under the First Dynasty of Babylon, 2200-1900 B.C.<sup>7</sup> This was Addu, Adad, or Hadad, who wielded the lightning and rode upon the bull.<sup>8</sup> Yet in his turn he became the dying vegetation-god, and the 'Lord of Abundance'.<sup>9</sup> Again, in the 'Hittite' hieroglyphs a group has been isolated as the personal name of a god. The god who brandishes the *harpē* bore a variant of it about 1200 B.C.,<sup>10</sup> and the god with the axe and lightning-flashes still did so as late as

<sup>1</sup> Couyat and Montet, *Hammāmât*, Pl. xv and p. 57, Inscr. 58, no. 14; Pl. xxvii and p. 74, Inscr. 106, where in both cases the object is called Min without any reference to Amūn, and once is specified as Min of *Ṭpw* (Akhmīm). The date of these sculptures is late, as is usual where this object is shown.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, 18, 159-72.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 17, 192.

<sup>4</sup> Liverpool *Annals*, 3, 50-2 and Pl. xix; 4, 99 second note; Moret, *Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne*, 54, 63.

<sup>5</sup> M. Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, 71, 72.

<sup>6</sup> Schlobies, *Der akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotamien*, 23 (publ. in *Mitt. der altor. Gesells.*, 1925).

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 8. The reference is to Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats*, this document being of Ammiditana's reign, 2000 B.C., as Mr. Gadd informs me.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal*, 19, 44. For the great golden lightning-flash found in his temple see W. Andrae, *Der Anu-Adad-Tempel in Assur*, Pl. xxxiv and pp. 77, 78, and *Id.*, *Hittitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur*, p. 2, and Fig. 1, for its position.

<sup>9</sup> Schlobies, *op. cit.*, 9, 23.

<sup>10</sup> For the *harpē* as the thunder-weapon see p. 157 *infra*.

about 850 B.C. (Fig. 1). It was therefore clearly the name of the storm-god, yet some hundred years later, about 735 B.C., it is given to the pure fertility-god of Ivriz (Fig. 2).<sup>1</sup> Had it not been for this, it would have been impossible to recognize the old thunder-god in the comfortable and benign figure bearing nothing but grapes and corn. All vestige of his earlier character has disappeared. At Tarsus in Cilicia the classical coins show him sometimes in one character, sometimes in the other.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere, at Baalbek in Syria, the local god had been the storm-god Hadad, as is shown by many things. The *baetyl*-meteorite, which fell as a ball of fire in Mount Lebanon, announced that it belonged to the god of Baalbek.<sup>3</sup> The god possessed the thunderbolt, and bulls were sacred to him.<sup>4</sup> His titles



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

were those of Adados,<sup>5</sup> and his Latin name was Jupiter, though by this time the epithet Heliopolitanus was added to it. Yet, in spite of all this, on his classical statues the thunderbolt has been degraded from his weapon of offence in his raised right hand to nothing but a major decoration of the statue,<sup>6</sup> and perhaps one of the emblems held in the left hand.<sup>7</sup> On the statues the left hand is now generally broken off, but where it is preserved it does not show the thunderbolt as described by Macrobius but only the ears of corn.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, these figure prominently on the head-dress.<sup>9</sup> An ear of corn is liable to appear on some coins of this city,<sup>10</sup> and on others what is probably an ear of corn is shown as the sacred

<sup>1</sup> Bossert, *Šantaš und Kupapa*, Figs. 25a, b, c, and pp. 41-3 (publ. in *Mitt. der altor. Gesells.*, 6, Heft 3). The weapon of Fig. 25a is more clearly sickle-shaped in the photograph of the original publication. The name has been read as 'Sandas' with some show of probability. Bossert's Figs. 25a, b, are my Figs. 1, 2. Fig. 1 is drawn from Koldewey, *Die hettitische Inschrift*, Pl. i; Fig. 2 from Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, Pl. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Bossert, *op. cit.*, 43.

<sup>3</sup> I. Bekker, *Photii Bibliotheca* (Berlin, 1824), 348: 'Suddenly he saw a ball of fire running down from above . . . and Eusebius himself ran up to the ball, for the fire was already extinguished, and he perceived that it was the *baetyl*, and he took it up and asked it to what god it belonged. And it answered that it belonged to the Highborn; the people of Heliopolis (Baalbek) worship the Highborn, having set up a figure of a lion in the temple of Zeus.'

<sup>4</sup> For the bulls see Dussaud in *Syria*, 1, Plates to his article pp. 3-15; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 1, figs. 435, 437, 441, and Pl. xxxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Dussaud in *op. cit.*, p. 11; Cook, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 550, 551.

<sup>6</sup> Dussaud in *op. cit.*, Pls. ii, iii, facing pp. 8, 10; Cook, *op. cit.*, 1, figs. 440, 442, 443, 445, and p. 570.

<sup>7</sup> Macrobius, *Sat.* 1, 23, 12, describing the statue says: 'with a whip in its raised right hand, a thunderbolt and corn-ears in its left'.

<sup>8</sup> Cook, *op. cit.*, 1, fig. 436.

<sup>9</sup> Cook, *op. cit.*, fig. 440; Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, fig. 427.

object within the temple.<sup>1</sup> The storm-god of Baalbek had very definitely become the fertility-god.

Again, Aphrodite fell as a star at her famous shrine of Aphaca<sup>2</sup> and had omphaloi at Byblos<sup>3</sup> and Paphos.<sup>4</sup> She was Urania, the sky-goddess. But this was not all, for she was also Pandemos, the goddess of love, and this has practically obscured from us her other nature. Similarly, at Tyre it was Astarte, the fertility goddess, who put on the head of the bull and picked up the sacred 'star fallen from the sky'.<sup>5</sup> It was the same with Artemis, who was a meteorite-, omphalos-, arrow-, and *labrys*-goddess, and 'sister' of Apollo the god of light.<sup>6</sup> But besides being a celestial deity she was also the 'Lady of Wild Animals', and is known to us primarily as a fertility-goddess. In Roman times she developed that most maternal of all statues, Polymastos, the one with many breasts. She was served by emasculated priests.<sup>7</sup>

Castration was suffered by various sky-gods at the hands of others, and historically seems to represent the supplanting of one by another.<sup>8</sup> It was one of the features which passed from them to the fertility-gods. Seth was a storm-god, and he suffered it at the hands of his victorious brother Horus.<sup>9</sup> Yet in the classical story of the vegetation-god, Osiris, something of the sort is ascribed to him.<sup>10</sup> So it was in other lands, for the sky-god Uranus was thus mutilated by his son, the sky-god Cronus,<sup>11</sup> yet it was the vegetation-god Attis who has become best known to us for this loss.<sup>12</sup>

The foregoing examples show that the combination of fertility with a celestial nature is very general. In Min it was already complete in his statues of the Archaic period—say 3500 B.C. Hence, the matter for remark in Min is not the fact of this combination. It is only that in him may be seen an early and very thorough example of the workings of a widespread and age-long trend of thought.

As is well known, Herodotus (II, 91) speaks of the festival held at the city of Chemmis, *i.e.* *Ἰπῶ*, Panopolis, or Akhmim, and identifies the local god, Min, with Perseus. Scholars have been hard put to it for an explanation of this, being unaware, as they have been, not only of the celestial character of Min but also of that of Perseus. They have mostly looked for it in various names and titles upon which Herodotus might have fastened in a wild

<sup>1</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 558 and fig. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Sozomen, *Eccles. Hist.*, II, ch. v (publ. in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, 1859, vol. LXVII, col. 948).

<sup>3</sup> G. F. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Greek Coins: Phoenicia*, Pl. xii, 13 = p. 103, no. 38 = p. 102, no. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Greek Coins: Cyprus*, Pls. xv, xvi, xvii, xxvi. Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.*, II, ch. 3; Maximus Tyrius, *Philosophumena*, II, § 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal*, 17, 193.

<sup>6</sup> Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.*, I, x, 31.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, XIV, i, 23.

<sup>8</sup> It also has a weather and fertility significance. For instance, in Nigeria this sacrifice is made to renew the power of the juju which combines protection from damage by lightning and thunderbolt with the giving of plentiful harvests, P. Amaury Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, 74-6.

<sup>9</sup> Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, §§ 535, 946, 1463. The mutilation is referred to in §§ 594, 679. With this last compare § 418, where the damage is done to the Bull (of the Sky?).

<sup>10</sup> Diodorus Siculus, I, 22, 6, cf. IV, 6, 3; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, § 18, where the member was carried off and a substitute had to be supplied. A tendency towards assimilation to the sky-god is observable as early as the Sixth Dynasty, when Osiris is called 'Lord of Heaven', Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter*, 233.

<sup>11</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 180, 181. Cronus in his turn is said to have been so treated by Zeus, Sir J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris (Golden Bough)*, 3rd ed., 1914, Pt. IV, I, 283. The finally successful sky-god, Zeus, suffered a milder form of mutilation at the hands of the unsuccessful Typhon, for he only had sinews cut out. For a collection and discussion of these passages see Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 447-50.

<sup>12</sup> Frazer, *op. cit.*, 263-5; cf. 268, 269.

attempt to make some sort of identification at all costs. These efforts, however, have led nowhere, and are quite valueless, as indeed Wiedemann has shown.<sup>1</sup> Instead of being foolish, Herodotus shows himself to have been well informed on the religion at Panopolis, for he does not use the civil name of the city, *Ἰρω*, but had found out its sacred name *Ἡν(τ)-Μιν*,<sup>2</sup> which he reproduces as Chemmis. Hence it is *a priori* likely that he would have some good reason for his identification of the Egyptian god with the Greek hero.

Perseus was primarily not a Greek but an Oriental, perhaps Philistine, hero, and was a considerable figure in Syria and certain parts of Asia Minor. In fact, there was a strong tradition in antiquity that the 'Ethiopia' of the Andromeda story was Joppa on the Palestinian coast.<sup>3</sup> At Iconium, in Asia Minor, he figured as one of the chief types on the coinage.<sup>4</sup> He founded the city and an image (*εἰκὼν*) of the Gorgon's head was set up there,<sup>5</sup> and this was supposed to have caused the corruption of the old name Kuwana, Kawania, into its Greek and Latin form.<sup>6</sup> The Cilician cities of Iotape, Coropissus, and Carallia<sup>7</sup> put his figure on their coins, and it was one of the most important types at Anemurium, another city of Cilicia.<sup>8</sup> At Tarsus, the leading city of this country, he again provided one of the most important coin types.<sup>9</sup> In fact, there was a strong tradition that he founded this city as well as Iconium,<sup>10</sup> and a little to the east of Tarsus Aegeae also claimed connexion with him.<sup>11</sup> Of special interest to us is the fact that the foundation of Tarsus is attributed to Perseus by Nonnus the fourth-century poet of Min's city Panopolis,<sup>12</sup> and by two writers of Antioch which is in the direction of Tarsus. They are Ammianus Marcellinus,<sup>13</sup> who wrote in the same century as Nonnus, and Ioannes Antiochenus, who was of later date.<sup>14</sup> Hence we are well justified in looking to this region for the elucidation of our problem, and as a matter of fact Herodotus shows himself to have in mind the legends of this part of the world. Not only is he greatly concerned as to how the 'Egypto-Assyrian' Perseus could have become a Greek (vi, 54), but also he is largely interested at Panopolis in Perseus' sandal (ii, 91). This plays no leading part in the ordinary tales of classical literature, but on turning to Cilicia and Phoenicia we find it to have an importance of its own. At Aegeae a boot is one of the types used on the coinage,<sup>15</sup> and, as a connexion was recognized between this city and Perseus, it may well have belonged to him. But the coins of another city leave no doubt at all. This was Acē-Ptolemais on the Phoenician coast, where the boot or foot is figured again. In the first place the worship of Perseus was strong there,<sup>16</sup> and secondly the boot or foot is definitely marked as belonging to him by his *harpē* which accompanies it as well as the thunderbolt.<sup>17</sup> The fame of Perseus' foot or footgear was such that it provided

<sup>1</sup> *Herodots zweites Buch*, p. 369, but see his own attempt on similar lines in *Philologus*, 1891, pp. 179, 180.

<sup>2</sup> Gauthier, *Dict. des noms géogr.*, iv, 176, 177, and cf. v, 167.

<sup>3</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. *Iope*, cols. 293, 294.

<sup>4</sup> G. F. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, p. xxiv.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

<sup>6</sup> Kuwana is the Hittite form, and Kawania is the Phrygian; Mayer and Garstang, *Index of Hittite Names*, 31 (*Brit. School of Arch. in Jerusalem, Suppl. Papers*, i, 1923); Calder in *Journ. Hell. Studies*, 31, 189, n. 48.

<sup>7</sup> Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvii, lvii, and p. 47, n. 1.      <sup>8</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. xli.      <sup>9</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. xcvi.

<sup>10</sup> Lucan, *De Bello Civili*, iii, l. 225; C. Iulius Solinus, *Collect. Rerum Mem.* (ed. Th. Mommsen), xxxviii, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Vollgraaf in *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 28, 422, ll. 20 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Nonnus Panopolitanus, *Dionysiaca*, xviii, ll. 293, 294.

<sup>13</sup> *Roman History*, xiv, 8, 3, though he does not give it great credence.

<sup>14</sup> *Fragmenta*, vi, 18 (C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv, 544).

<sup>15</sup> Hill, *op. cit.*, Pl. v, 1, and p. 26, no. 37 and n. 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Id.*, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia*, Pl. xvii, 3, and p. 134, nos. 35, 36; cf. the *harpē* Pl. xvii, 4, and p. 135, nos. 37, 38.

<sup>17</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, Pl. xvii, no. 11 = p. 138, nos. 51-53, and p. 137, no. 47.

Nonnus, *ibid.*, with a *Volksetymologie* for the name of the city of Tarsus. He says that when Perseus founded his new city among the Cilicians, it took its name from his swift *ταρός*. This word means primarily 'a flat tray of wickerwork, a mat', and by extension any flat surface such as 'the sole of the foot', and then by further extension 'the foot' itself. This vague word aptly expresses the lack of definition revealed in the use of the 'foot' at Ace-Ptolemais, the 'boot' at Aegeae, and the 'sandal' at Panopolis. However, the full explanation of Herodotus' version probably lies in the fact that there actually was a legend of a sandal in the near neighbourhood. This was in the Aphroditopolite nome, *Wadyt*, the tenth of Upper Egypt, which was the next north of the Panopolite. The capital city was called  *Tbw* 'Sandal-city', because on conquering Seth Horus had made himself a pair of sandals there.<sup>1</sup> The tenth nome was not unrelated to Min, for it will be encountered again on p. 163 in the study of the pole, another of Min's celestial associations. Then again, as with Min<sup>2</sup> there was a certain 'doubleness' there,<sup>3</sup> and the symbol , so well known as the standard of Min's nome of Coptos, might be used for the eastern district of the tenth nome also. This standard referred to Horus and Seth,<sup>4</sup> concerning whom the legend of the sandals arose. It might have been this which turned Herodotus' thoughts in the first place to Perseus, a hero with a sandal, rather than to Zeus, Apollo, Herakles, or any other of the better known sky-gods. Then, in their turn, the priests of Panopolis may have been enabled to reply the more readily to his inquiries about the sandal.<sup>5</sup>

Herodotus' evident concern with the beliefs of Syria and Cilicia gives special importance to the following statements. The Orontes was anciently called Typhon, for, according to the legend, the river bed represented the trail of the monster, when crawling away after his overthrow by means of thunderbolts.<sup>6</sup> A relic of this still survives in the modern Arabic name of the river *العاصي* *al-'Āsy* 'the Rebel', 'from its occasional violence and windings'.<sup>7</sup> Seth being identified by the Greeks with Typhon, we are still near the conquest of Seth at the 'Sandal-city' close to Panopolis. Two Antiochene writers have already proved helpful, and another, John Malalas of the sixth century A.D., says it was Perseus who controlled the river with a thunderbolt. Typhon was a huge serpent, and Malalas says that the Orontes, or River Draco (*i.e.* Serpent) as it was previously called, had once been swollen to a dangerous degree by a great storm. On Perseus' exhorting the people to prayer and religious exercises, 'a ball of thunder-fire (*σφαῖρα πυρός κεραυνού*) fell down from the sky, stopped the storm, and restrained the violence of the river'.<sup>8</sup> Further evidence that the thunderbolt was wielded by Perseus is provided by the coin of Ace-Ptolemais just discussed; it shows not only his foot, but also his *harpē* and the thunderbolt. Thus, in Syria at least, Perseus was clearly a god of the heavens, for not only could he still the storm, but he controlled the thunderbolt as well. A further and very important point for this argument is that his conquest of 'Typhon' is comparable to that of Seth by Horus, with whom Min was identified. This view of him as a thunderbolt-god lasted on into the Middle Ages. It may be found, for instance, in one of the curious inventories of classical gems and their supposed magical

<sup>1</sup> Gauthier in *Rec. de trav.*, 35, 9, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Gauthier in *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 12-14.

<sup>5</sup> As originally suggested by Dümichen, *Geographie des alten Aegyptens* (Oncken, *Allgem. Gesch.*, 1), pp. 160, note \*, 162, note \*.

<sup>7</sup> Barker in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 7, 99. The idea seems to go back at least to the time of Yāqūt, thirteenth century A.D. In the early centuries of our era the river had been called *Ἄσιος*, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v.

<sup>8</sup> Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, II, ch. O, 44 (ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1831, p. 38); and in less detail, Ioannes Antiochenus, *Fragmenta*, VI, no. 18 (ed. C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, IV, 544).

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, 17, 191, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Sethe and Gardiner in *Z.Ä.S.*, 47, pp. 48, 49.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, XVI, II, § 7.

virtues, which states that a gem engraved with Perseus is a preservative 'against lightning and tempest and the assault of devils'.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps significant, that the editor of this thirteenth-century document remarks that it has a somewhat Oriental character.

Though not appreciated hitherto, this aspect of the hero is present in the conventional classical legends. Already by Herodotus' time Perseus had exchanged his original indefinite 'sword' (ἄορ) for his well-known and more definite *harpē*.<sup>2</sup> Long before classical times this weapon had been shown in the hand of a god, who otherwise brandishes the axe and lightning flashes. This was on the 'Hittite' sculpture from near Malātia, dating to about 1200 B.C., which was mentioned on p. 152. After this, early Greek legend had given the *harpē* to Cronus,<sup>3</sup> and stated it to be made 'of grey steel' (πολιοῦ ἀδάμαντος).<sup>4</sup> On another occasion the Phoenician writer, Sanchoniatho, says that Cronus' weapon was made 'of iron' (ἐκ σιδήρου).<sup>5</sup> Iron coming from meteorites and the meteorite being the thunderbolt,<sup>6</sup> Cronus' weapon, which passed to Perseus, proves to have been one more of the many representatives of the thunderbolt.<sup>7</sup> This has already been demonstrated by the coins of Perseus' city, Ace-Ptolemais, where both *harpē* and thunderbolt are figured on the one coin.

Cronus was an old sky-god,<sup>8</sup> and evidence has already been forthcoming that Perseus was one also. There are yet other clues to his nature, and these occur in the original account of his deeds. They are that, like the meteorite and flash of lightning, he came flying to the attack through the air,<sup>9</sup> and like the air itself he was invisible, for he wore the Cap of Hades.<sup>10</sup> This last characteristic is reminiscent of Amūn, Min's other self, whose name meant 'invisible' and was originally determined with an empty space representing the invisible air.<sup>11</sup>

Perseus, then, was one more of the many personifications of the sky and its phenomena, and he was identified with Min. That their identification was due to this aspect of his is proved by a document, which, through its publication in a non-Egyptological journal, has never received the attention due to it. An antiquity dealer possessed a strip of tanned calf-skin which came from Akhmīm (Panopolis). Written on it in large uncials was 'The sacred, triumphal, universal, Olympic, contest of the celestial (οὐρανίου) Perseus in the Great Paneias'.<sup>12</sup> Its value to the present argument lies both in the word 'celestial' and in the date. The epithet is not only one more piece of evidence that Perseus was indeed a sky-god, but also shows that this was the aspect that commended him to the Min-worshippers of Akhmīm. Moreover, the date of the document, about A.D. 100,<sup>13</sup> makes it valuable in two

<sup>1</sup> Wright in *Archaeologia*, 30, p. 450, no. 20.

<sup>2</sup> First in Pherecydes, A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 721, n. 7. He was a contemporary of Herodotus, W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 175, 179.

<sup>4</sup> Id., *op. cit.*, ll. 161, 188.

<sup>5</sup> Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*, I, x, 18, 21 (Teubner ed., I, pp. 45, 46).

<sup>6</sup> *Journal*, 17, p. 189 and n. 8; 18, pp. 4, 7, 8, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Other implements serving in this capacity have been axes, whether double or single, arrows, the trident, whip, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Cook, *op. cit.*, II, p. 548; cf. also Wainwright in *Journal*, 19, 51.

<sup>9</sup> Hesiod, *The Shield of Hercules*, ll. 220, 222.

<sup>10</sup> Id., *op. cit.*, I, 227. For the invisibility of the wearer see *Iliad*, v, l. 845; Pherecydes, *Fragm.* 26 (publ. in C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, I, 76).

<sup>11</sup> Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, §§ 153, 179 ff., and *Pyr.*, §§ 399, 434. For the similar view of Shu, the air-god, see Id., *Amun, etc.*, §§ 225, 240.

<sup>12</sup> Iconomopoulos in *Revue des Études grecques*, 2 (1889), 164-8.

<sup>13</sup> The date is deduced from the use of the very rare word *εισελαστικός*, *triumphal*, which at present is not known to occur earlier. It is chiefly found in the correspondence between Pliny and the Emperor Trajan, *Letters*, 118 (119), 119 (120).

ways. In the first place it carries back the idea of Perseus as a sky-god to a date earlier than any of the records quoted hitherto. It also forms a link between Herodotus, who wrote about Perseus at Panopolis (Akhmīm) some five hundred years earlier, and Nonnus of that city, who wrote about him some three hundred years later. It shows that the identification of Min with Perseus was no vagrant whim of Herodotus but was well established and permanent. Proofs are fast accumulating that it was made with good reason.

It has been abundantly shown that the bull represented the sky-god whether in Egypt or abroad.<sup>1</sup> As so much evidence has been forthcoming that Min belonged to this category, it is natural that his sacred animal should have been a bull. This was one of the differences between him and his derivative Amūn, for the latter's sacred animal was the ram, who, however, was also concerned with the sky.<sup>2</sup>

But before discussing Min's bull it will be necessary to consider the commonly held opinion that he was Buchis and belonged to Monthu. It will be shown immediately that already in archaic days Min had had a sacred bull; that in the Min ceremonies of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties he appears again, when he is called 'The White Bull'; and that the White Bull occurs all through history, generally not far removed from Min. There would, therefore, never have been any doubt that the White Bull was his, but for the unfortunate chance that several inscriptions from Armant of Caesarion's time give this title to another and neighbouring bull, Buchis.<sup>3</sup> He seems to have been a very late creation,<sup>4</sup> and was connected in some secondary way with Monthu,<sup>5</sup> who himself was one of the bull-gods.<sup>6</sup> It is known from several sources that Monthu's own bull was not entirely white but parti-coloured, being white with black head and shoulders.<sup>7</sup> Hence the epithet 'white' for Monthu's bull was either inaccurate or only given to Buchis. If the latter was actually the case, then the choice of a bull that was entirely white would seem to suggest that an attempt was made to give the new incarnation a respectable ancestry. It would have been all the easier to attach the new bull to Min since Monthu had long been a bull-god and approximated to Min, or Amūn, whose stiff feathers he wore.

Returning to Min, we find the bull along with other sacred symbols carved on one of the archaic statues of the god from Coptos.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the pole, which was probably Min's original shrine, was surmounted by the horns of a bull.<sup>9</sup> As stated above, Min's bull was white, and figures with his name in the Min procession and harvest ceremonies of the Nine-

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, 19, 42-52; *Pal. Explor. Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1934, 37. To these may be added the statement that in Heracleopolitan times the Four Winds are called 'Bulls of Heaven', Kees, *Totenglauben*, etc., 320. <sup>2</sup> *Journal*, 20, 140-5, 152.

<sup>3</sup> *L., D.*, iv, Pl. lxiv, a = *Text*, iv, 7. Cf. *L., D.*, iv, Pls. lx, d, lxi, d.

<sup>4</sup> Fairman, *Bucheum*, II, 46, 'not even the name of Buchis is known before the reign of Nekhtorheb'.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 45.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 49.

<sup>7</sup> For a coloured picture see Griffith, *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis*, Pl. x, 16. See also the phrase in Drioton, *Médamoud* (1925), II, 46, Inscr. No. 102: '... Monthu the Mighty. The Two Horuses are united in him as one white of body and black of face'. This accurately describes the bull, and shows the colouring to have been so clearly established as to have originated a religious doctrine. The plain blue given to his hieroglyph in Inscr. 80, Drioton, *op. cit.*, 6, is probably meaningless.

<sup>8</sup> The others are, a pair of his thunderbolt-emblems, a pair of saws of sawfish (?), a pair of pteroceras shells, an oryx (?) head, an elephant, a bird, and a hyena, Petrie, *Koptos*, Pl. iii = iv. Of these, the thunderbolts we already know to have been sacred to him, and the gazelle (?) seems to have had a special sanctity at Coptos. The remains of the bird look very like those of a vulture, and the fact that its wing droops makes it comparable to the definite and roughly contemporary vulture, Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xxvi, b. Later a colossal vulture was dedicated at Coptos by Amenemhat III, Petrie, *Koptos*, p. 11, § 21.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 165. Bulls with the wide-spreading horns are shown for instance in Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhetep*, I, Pl. xxi, as well as the shorter-horned breed.

teenth and Twentieth Dynasties. In the more complete set of sculptures of Ramesses III he figures twice,<sup>1</sup> and once in the more damaged ones of Ramesses II.<sup>2</sup>

The White Bull is ancient, and is mentioned occasionally all through history. The priestly title  $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$  'Attendant of the White Bull' is already known under the Third Dynasty,<sup>3</sup> and is not uncommon in the Old Kingdom.<sup>4</sup> In the Fifth Dynasty Sahurêc gave the White Bull an endowment of land in the nome of Tanis, the fourteenth of the Delta.<sup>5</sup> In the Twelfth Dynasty Sensusret I calls himself 'White Bull trampling the Nubians'.<sup>6</sup> In Ptolemaic and Roman days the White Bull appears occasionally, but in unexpected guise. An inscription at Edfu represents him as Horus' enemies, that is Seth and his company,<sup>7</sup> and at Armant his name is given to Monthu's bull Buchis. As has just been shown, Monthu at least had some relationship with him, for he wore Min's feathers and was worshipped at Thebes, where the White Bull lived. Moreover, the animal had not lost his celestial character in representing Seth, for he was the storm-god and was related to Min's derivative, Amûn.

At the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty the titles of Nefermaat and his eldest son *Hm-wnw* seem to imply some connexion between Min and the White Bull. The father holds five priesthoods, among them that of  $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ ;<sup>8</sup> they are all inherited by his son except this one, but he was appointed 'Attendant of the White Bull',<sup>9</sup> an office his father had not held. The presence of the one and the absence of the other in each case perhaps imply some connexion between the two.

Again, Sahurêc's endowment brings the White Bull into association with Min. The estate lay in the nome of Tanis, to which city Min was brought in the Twenty-first Dynasty<sup>10</sup> along with other gods, but not Monthu, after the suppression of Seth.<sup>11</sup> His worship was continued here by Sheshonq,<sup>12</sup> and in Ptolemaic times Min, Horus, and Wadjet formed the triad there.<sup>13</sup> Among the mass of figurines found there those of Min were not uncommon.<sup>14</sup> Min's worship was not confined to Tanis, but was widespread in this north-eastern corner of the Delta, being celebrated in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in the neighbouring cities of Nebeshah and Defennah.<sup>15</sup> Thus, at some time or other both the White Bull and Min were established at Tanis and in the neighbourhood. The antiquity of the White Bull in this district may well account for the inclusion of Min among the gods to be brought there.

<sup>1</sup> Champollion, *Monuments*, Pls. ccxii, ccxiv. For the whole scene see Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs* (1878), III, Pl. lx, facing p. 357. For a study of these scenes and their texts see Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, 176-84, 241-50.

<sup>2</sup> L., D., III, Pl. clxii.

<sup>3</sup> Statue of Sepa, E. de Rougé, *Notice des monuments au musée du Louvre*, 8th edn., p. 26, no. 36 = Boreux, *Antiquités égyptiennes: Guide-Catalogue*, I (1932), Pl. xxx, facing p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, xxv, col. c; Junker, *Giza*, I, p. 149, no. 11. Fairman, *op. cit.*, p. 43, c, gives Dr. Murray's list, but unfortunately says the references are to the White Bull 'in *tpht dr*'. These words are not in the inscriptions. Hence that amount of supposed early connexion between Monthu and the White Bull falls away.

<sup>5</sup> Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, 36; cf. Gardiner in *Journal*, 19, 125.

<sup>6</sup> Breasted in *P.S.B.A.*, 23, 232 = Pl. iii, l. 2.

<sup>7</sup> A text referred to by Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, p. 37, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Petrie, *Medum*, Pls. xvi, xx, xxi.

<sup>9</sup> Junker, *Giza*, I, 151.

<sup>10</sup> Siamûn offers to Min-Amûn, Petrie, *Tanis*, II, Pl. viii, no. 151.

<sup>11</sup> Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis* (1929-32), 172.

<sup>12</sup> Petrie, *Tanis*, II, Pl. ix, no. 161.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. xv, figs. 2, 3 = vol. II, Pl. x, nos. 164, 165. For Min's relationship to Wadjet see pp. 166 *infra*.

<sup>14</sup> Montet, *op. cit.*, 115. Monthu is not there.

<sup>15</sup> Amasis worships Min at Nebeshah, Petrie, *Nebeshah* (bound with *Tanis*, II), Pl. ix, 4 and p. 34; a stela was set up at Defennah in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to 'Min, Lord of Koptos', Petrie, *Defenneh* (bound with *Tanis*, II), Pl. xlii and p. 107.

Senusret's dreadfully damaged stela from Wādī Ḥalfa is a remarkable document in many ways, not least in those epithets of the king which remain. Selecting that of 'White Bull', and ignoring the rest, Lefébure not unnaturally supposed that it referred to Monthu, the Theban war-god, who appears in the scene at the head of the stela.<sup>1</sup> Not only is this not necessarily so, but there is much to suggest that the allusion was to Min. The epithets that interest us here are 'Star of the South illuminating the Two Lands, White Bull trampling the Nubians'.<sup>2</sup> In the Eighteenth Dynasty we get a variation of the theme of Two Lands, Bull, and Stars. This time it applies to Amen-Rē, Min's derivative, who is called 'Bull of the Two Lands and of the Stars [in] Deir el-Bahri'.<sup>3</sup>

Senusret's stela seems to connect the White Bull with Min in several ways. First it was set up under a king who was specially devoted to Min. Not only was he one of the chief builders at the temple of Coptos,<sup>4</sup> but at Thebes he has left us our first pictures of the ithyphallic Amūn.<sup>5</sup> On our stela he does not wear any one of the royal crowns, but the cap and feathers of Min which were inherited by Amūn.<sup>6</sup> Then, also, it is natural that in Nubia the king should be likened to Min, for the Sudan and its neighbourhood were peculiarly under this god's care. The *Sudāny* of Pwenet officiates at the Min ceremonies.<sup>7</sup> In the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and again in the Twenty-sixth, gratitude is expressed to Min for rains in the Sudan.<sup>8</sup> In Ptolemaic times he and his wife Triphis are the deities of the Pwenet chamber at Athribis.<sup>9</sup> He rules the Sudan, creates its inhabitants, and overthrows them,<sup>10</sup> and on several occasions presents the Nubians to the Pharaoh.<sup>11</sup> Then again, the association of a star, and a Bull, and Nubia, is not new here. The same grouping had already occurred in the Pyramid Texts, where a star is mentioned with the 'Pillar of the Stars', and both are connected with the 'Pillar of Nubia' and the 'Bull of the Sky'.<sup>12</sup> It may be that this leads further towards Min, for it will be seen that Min's own bull was identified with a pole or pillar (p. 164), and Min himself was a sky-god, a thunderbolt-god, and a shooting star is the thunderbolt. Breasted, *ibid.*, naturally compares the 'Star of the South' to the *ššd* to which later Pharaohs often liken themselves in battle, and the *ššd* was a shooting star.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps it is worth adding that on one occasion (*Pyr.*, § 1207) Nubia was in some way associated with the storm. We have already dealt with the star in so far as it was in combination with the Two Lands and the Bull, and this has suggested Amūn. But it may be that the star of itself indicates Min or Amūn. Among the *Ḥeb-sed* symbols the fan peculiarly represented this god.<sup>14</sup> It may, therefore, be worth noting perhaps that at Deir el-Bahri a star is sometimes set in the centre of it.<sup>15</sup> Thus in various places stars are connected with Nubia, with a Bull—whether the White Bull or the Bull of the Sky—and with Min-Amūn. In other places they all seem to be united again through the

<sup>1</sup> *Sphinx*, 8, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, I, Pl. ii and p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Petrie, *Koptos*, Pls. ix, 2, x, xi, 3(?).

<sup>5</sup> Chevrier in *Ann. Serv.*, 28, Pls. i, iv of his article pp. 126-8.

<sup>6</sup> There has been much alteration in this part of the stela, which may reduce the value of this scrap of evidence.

<sup>7</sup> Gauthier, *Fêtes*, p. 61, l. 6, p. 200. He appears to address himself especially to the White Bull, p. 202.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal*, 20, 150.

<sup>9</sup> Petrie and Walker, *Athribis*, Pls. xvii, xviii, and pp. 17, 18.

<sup>10</sup> Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 201 and n. 1; p. 202.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 198, 199.

<sup>12</sup> Sethe, *Pyr.*, § 280, a. In § 121 a bull and Nubia come together again, when 'the Great Bull who smote Nubia' is named.

<sup>13</sup> *Journal*, 18, 162. To the references given there in note 6 add G. A. and M. B. Reisner in *Z.Ä.S.*, 69, p. 27, l. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Kees, *Opfertanz*, 127, 128; Jéquier in *Rec. de trav.*, 27, 174.

<sup>15</sup> Tuthmosis II, Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, I, Pl. ii, where the god is called "Bull of the Two Lands and of the Stars"; Hatshepsut, *Id.*, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. lxiv (?); IV, Pl. cx.

pillar. There is thus a good deal to suggest that on Senusret's stela, as elsewhere, the White Bull belonged to Min. Moreover, the stela provides a valuable, and perhaps the only, scrap of information that we possess as to his violent and raging nature. It, however, accords with an equally little-known side of Min, which emerges occasionally, as in the comparison of the victorious Amenophis II to 'Min in the year of terror',<sup>1</sup> and in the name of the Ptolemaic god 'Min-Slayer-of-Enemies-Resheph'.<sup>2</sup> Presumably Ramesses III's hymn to Min refers to the same thing in the words 'I am Min standing upon the mountains, after conquering all lands'.<sup>3</sup> This dangerous nature which is to be found in Min and his White Bull is a common characteristic of sky-gods.

Consideration of Senusret's White Bull has led back to the 'Bull of the Sky', and other passages leave no doubt of the correctness of this train of thought. In the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties the hymn which addresses Min as the 'Great Bull' proceeds 'opening the rain-clouds, the wind on the river'.<sup>4</sup> Here we have a clear indication that Min's Bull was the Sky-Bull. But the association of the god and the sky neither was secondary nor can it have been borrowed from Amūn, as Gauthier supposes;<sup>5</sup> for Min had been a thunderbolt- and bull-god from the beginning, and long before Amūn appears on the scene. To all that has already been adduced for this<sup>6</sup> we may now add the Ptolemaic text which seems to call Min 'the King upon the rain-clouds', reading  for .<sup>7</sup> Twice again in the above-mentioned hymn,<sup>8</sup> and on other occasions also,<sup>9</sup> Min is addressed as 'Great Bull', and this side of his nature is so marked that elsewhere a class of worshippers was called his 'Bellowers' .<sup>10</sup> Like the bull himself, bellowings and roarings have often been met during the study of the storm- and air-gods, notably in the cases of Amūn and Seth in Egypt,<sup>11</sup> Rammān (Hadad) in Babylonia, and Yahweh in Palestine.<sup>12</sup> Hence Min's association with the White Bull and his warlike character are yet other indications of his nature as a sky-god.

The earliest picture of Min's Bull shows him striding on the mountain-tops. Hence a few words may be devoted to these, and they prove to be no mere artistic detail but to be full of significance. It has already been shown that the Mountain has been widely held sacred to the storm-gods.<sup>13</sup> Like the light-weapon  of Min and/or Letopolis<sup>14</sup> the mountains had already been deified in the Second Predynastic Age,<sup>15</sup> when their symbol was used as a standard on the well-known boats. Here they are shown quite indifferently as a group of five, four, three, or two peaks, , suggesting that it is mountains generically which are depicted. If the somewhat indefinite animal's head be really the bull's head the discoverers supposed it to be, the bull and the mountains would be set together as a group on a vase of protodynastic age,<sup>16</sup> and would therefore be roughly contemporary with Min's archaic statues. In Dynastic times Xoīs, the sixth nome of the Delta, definitely set the bull and the mountains together, employing the group  as its standard.<sup>17</sup> Its neighbour Metelis, the seventh nome, worshipped the god H.<sup>18</sup> He was the Mountain-god, for though

<sup>1</sup> L., D., III, Pl. 65, a, l. 5.

<sup>2</sup> L., D., IV, Pl. 11, a and Wainwright in *Journal*, 20, 152, 153.

<sup>3</sup> Gauthier, *Fêtes*, p. 190, l. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Id., *op. cit.*, p. 190, R. 11, M. 7, 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 194.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal*, 17, 185-95; 20, 150.

<sup>7</sup> Gauthier, *op. cit.*, 195.

<sup>8</sup> Id., *op. cit.*, p. 190, l. 12, and 'Great Bull (thrice) of thy Mother' (?) ll. 15, 16.

<sup>9</sup> Id., *op. cit.*, p. 196.

<sup>10</sup> Id., *op. cit.*, p. 179, l. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Journal*, 20, 149, 150.

<sup>12</sup> *Journal*, 19, 44; 20, 150.

<sup>13</sup> *Journal*, 19, 47, 48.

<sup>14</sup> *Journal*, 17, 185, 186; 18, 159, 160.

<sup>15</sup> Newberry in *Liverpool Annals*, 5, 139, 141, and 1, 24; Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, Pl. xxiii, fig. 5, nos. 18-21.

<sup>16</sup> Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xvii, and p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> *Journal*, 19, 48.

<sup>18</sup> *Journal*, 19, 48, and n. 8.

his symbol is generally written , which might mean 'foreign lands',  is also used, *Pyr.*, § 119,<sup>1</sup> and this clearly means 'mountain'. He also bore the title  'Overlord of the Two Mountains'.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting, therefore, to observe that this Mountain-god was closely related to Min's cycle. For in one place in the Pyramid Texts he unites with Horus to make a compound deity Horus-*H*,<sup>3</sup> and in another is correlated both with Min himself and with a damaged name which may have been Amūn or possibly an early form of Min.<sup>4</sup> Horus, of course, had been early identified with Min. The *labrys*  is a thunder symbol,<sup>5</sup> and in company with this, Min, and Horus, *H*, forms one of the small group of five gods who were served by the *imy-ht* or *ht* priest.<sup>6</sup> The mountains, therefore, need not be merely a support for the bull, but are likely to have an identity of their own, and in any case the deified mountains are closely related to Min himself.

Actually the mountains are much in evidence on the archaic statue of Min, for not only is the bull shown upon them, but also the elephant and the hyena(?).<sup>7</sup> Elephants go upon the mountains elsewhere in archaic art.<sup>8</sup> In this last case there have been three animals, and they are shown naturalistically in mountainous country. Among the mountains shown, the tops of three are used to support each of those elephants which are still preserved, and the animals adopt the same attitude as the bull on the statue of Min. Indeed, three supports are the minimum with which it is possible to show an animal in motion. Hence, in view of this fact, and of the independent identity possessed by the mountains, and of the indifferent use of the two- or three-peaked sign for the mountain-god *H*, it is clearly on the 'mountains' in their primitive sense that Min's bull is treading, and not 'foreign lands', the transferred sense of the later hieroglyph . In fact, in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties Min's sacred bull is addressed in the words 'Thou who art in the form of the Bull coming upon the mountains ()',<sup>9</sup> and in Ptolemaic times Min himself is likened to the Bull upon the mountains.<sup>10</sup> If it be permissible here to translate  merely by 'mountains', instead of the usual 'foreign lands, desert' (because as contrasted with Egypt they are mountainous) this exactly describes the original picture. Elsewhere in the Twentieth Dynasty the god says, 'I am Min standing upon the mountains ()',<sup>11</sup> and from the Middle Kingdom onwards Min's title is 'he who is upon his *htyw*',<sup>12</sup> which Gauthier has shown meant originally 'Min upon the cliffs (of the eastern desert)'.<sup>13</sup> His statue is regularly set upon a base with steps in front, probably carrying out this idea.<sup>14</sup> It is in keeping with their characters

<sup>1</sup> I owe this reference to Mr. Faulkner, who shows the two forms to be interchangeable, *Griffith Studies*, 72. I take this opportunity to acknowledge Mr. Faulkner's never failing kindness and help with the translations in this article. <sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 1291. <sup>3</sup> Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, § 1013, d.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, § 1712, b, and see his discussion of the name in *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, p. 22, § 30; but see also *Urgeschichte*, p. 39. <sup>5</sup> *Journal*, 17, 193; 19, 43.

<sup>6</sup> Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, xxxiv, col. a; Newberry in *Liverpool Annals*, 1, 27; 2, 49, 50; 4, 100; cf. *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, III, 344, 347. The fifth is the swallow. Cf. also the remarks in *Journal*, 17, 192, 193.

<sup>7</sup> Petrie, *Koptos*, Pl. iii, fig. 4. The elephant is well known in prehistoric art from the earliest times. For others than those mentioned in the text see Bénédite in *Journal*, 5, Pl. i = ii; p. 227, fig. 1 top; Pls. xxxiii, xxxiv and cf. p. 237 and n. 2. By s.d. 47 he was definitely sacred, Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, p. 12 and Pl. xxiii, fig. 5, no. 2 = *Naqada and Ballas*, Pl. lxvii, fig. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xvi, 4 = p. 6, fig. 6 of Pl. vi.

<sup>9</sup> Gauthier, *Fêtes*, p. 200, l. 4; or perhaps 'from the mountains', cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 165.

<sup>10</sup> Petrie, *Athribis*, Pl. xxxiv, col. 15 = p. 23, where, however, Dr. Walker read the sign as a cow.

<sup>11</sup> Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 190, l. 16.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*, in *Kémi*, 2, 41-6.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.*, in *op. cit.*, 69 ff., especially 82.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*, in *op. cit.*, 56-8.

as sky-god and sky-bull that Min should stand upon the mountains, and that his Bull should come upon the mountains. Many cases of the sky-god as a mountain-god have been collected in the companion article to this, *Journal*, 19, 47, 48, and it would serve no purpose to increase their number. Such deities were Enlil and Ninlil in Babylonia, Adad or Rammān in Assyria and elsewhere, Teshub and Zeus in the Syro-Cappadocian and Greek lands respectively. In Syria there was Elagabalus, and as he will be mentioned again (p. 167), we may recall that while the description of his sacred object answers exactly to that of a meteorite<sup>1</sup> his name *Elāh-gabal* means 'The god "Mountain"'.<sup>2</sup>

The next association of Min's Bull is with the pole, and for this study certain information concerning the Scandinavian world-tree serves as a valuable background. This tree will be encountered again (p. 168), but at the moment let it be noted that it was called either 'Yggdrasil' quite shortly or more fully 'The Ash of Yggdrasil'. Yggdrasil means 'Horse of Dread' and was the storm upon which Odin the storm-god rode.<sup>3</sup> Thus, in one country at least, the universal support has been identified with a sky-animal. There was in Egypt a Bull of the Sky,<sup>4</sup> and at times he was identified with pillars. Thus, in *Pyramid Texts*, §§ 280, 283, it is said 'Star of those who are before the Pillar of the Stars (𓆎 ♂), they see the Pillar of Nubia (𓆎 ♂), the Bull of the Sky (𓆎 ♂), and a few lines farther on it continues 'his horn shines, Pillar of Eye-paint (𓆎 ♂), the Bull of the Sky'. Here the Bull of the Sky is first of all identified with one pillar, that of Nubia, and then with another, the 'Pillar of Eye-paint'. A 'Great Bull' is identified with yet another pillar, that of the Aphroditopolite Nome (𓆎 ♂), *Pyr.*, § 792. This is not without importance here, for the legends of this nome may bear on Herodotus' account of religion at Panopolis-Akhmīm, as was seen on p. 156. The sky-pole *wh* was personified by a bull (p. 168). Thus, a pillar and a bull (generally 'the Bull of the Sky') form quite an ordinary combination. They meet again in Min's worship, where the pillar or pole was no less characteristic of the god than was the Bull, and this animal has proved to have been a Bull of the Sky. In the Old Kingdom, Min's pole was of sufficient importance to provide a personal name, 𓆎 ♂ 'The Pillar of Min',<sup>4</sup> and in this Min is unique, for no other god affords a name of this type.<sup>5</sup>

With the foregoing in mind we may now turn to Min's own pole. In the Sixth Dynasty Pepi II devoted a new town to the service of Min, stating in his decree that 'My Majesty hath commanded the setting up of a pole 𓆎 ♂ *šnt* of foreign wood, and that (?) in the new town'.<sup>6</sup> Such a dedication to Min involved freedom from the king's jurisdiction. Hence,

<sup>1</sup> '... its colour [is] black. They solemnly assert it to have fallen from the sky (*δαιμηνή*) and they point out certain small excrescences and marks . . .', Herodianus, v, 3, 5. A pitch-black surface is characteristic of the stone meteorites, and the iron ones are only less black. The surface of all is also rough and irregular in varying degrees. The usual solarization of the old sky-gods caused some of the late classical writers to change the name to the meaningless *Heliogabalus*, and to think that this meteorite, as well as that at Aegospotami, had fallen from the sun; see my articles *Jacob's Bethel in Pal. Expl. Fund. Quart. Statement*, 1934, 41, and *Baetyls* appearing shortly in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*

<sup>2</sup> Stallybrass, *Teutonic Mythology* by J. Grimm, p. 1331. The idea of the god riding the storm was ancient and widespread in the Near East. Enlil flourished his whip and drove his chariot in ancient Babylonia about 2800 B.C. (W. Hayes Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, fig. 127, and cf. 128, and p. 52); Sandan flourished his *harpē* and drove his chariot at Malātia about 1200 B.C. (Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 42, 25a and cf. pp. 152, 157 *supra*); and, even though they are late, such expressions as Yahweh 'rideth upon a swift cloud' (Isaiah xix, 1), 'hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm' (Nahum i, 3), etc., will occur to every one.

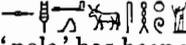
<sup>3</sup> See p. 158 *supra*, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Murray, *Index*, vi, col. c.

<sup>6</sup> Moret in *Comptes rendus à l'acad. des inscr. et belles lettres*, 1916, p. 326, fig. 2, l. 7 and pp. 328 ff.; Sethe, *Urk.*, I, p. 292, l. 7.



may so often be seen behind the god's statue (Fig. 4).<sup>1</sup> The accompanying inscription is —  *šhc kr šhn*; that is to say, the usual one except that the word *šhnt* 'pole' has been replaced by *šhn* 'shrine' to suit the scene. The other case is merely a mention by Ptolemy Auletes that Min was 'setting up for himself the shrine of the Bull ()'.<sup>2</sup> The use of the same words *kr šhn* on two different occasions shows that the substitution of the *šhn*-shrine for the *šhnt*-pole was no error or chance. Thus the pole of the climbing ceremony was, or came to be, interchangeable with the shrine of the god. It represented the latter, as well as belonging peculiarly to Min's bull. More accurately it represented, or came to represent, the pole of the shrine.<sup>3</sup> Thus, on one occasion the pole of the climbing ceremony is given the papyrus capital and bull's horns of the pole of the shrine.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere three objects appear on the top of it, one of which is the hut of the shrine, or rather its gateway, and another is its pole.<sup>5</sup> As will be seen in the next paragraph, the pole of the shrine was no mere appendage to the hut as Jéquier supposes, but had an identity of its own, and in its turn could represent the whole.

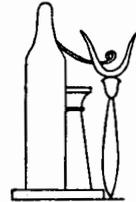


FIG. 4.

Leaving the *šhnt*-pole of the ceremony and turning to the *šhn*-shrine, it is noteworthy in the first place that it was composite, consisting of a pole united by a cord to a little hut behind it.<sup>6</sup> Originally the hut had stood alone,<sup>7</sup> but by the Twelfth Dynasty it had been added to the pole, which proves to have been the important part of the complex. It is on the pole that the bull's horns<sup>8</sup> are set, not the hut, and this makes it comparable to the pole of the ceremony which belonged to, or even represented, Min's Bull. Then again, the whole composite shrine was called *šhn*, a name only differing in gender from that of the pole of the climbing ceremony. Usually it was spelt  or similarly, *šhn*,<sup>9</sup> where the determinative is the whole shrine, pole and hut. But the word could be spelt —  *šhn-š* 'The Great Shrine',<sup>10</sup> where the determinative is the pole only. Hence the pole of the shrine could represent the whole complex just as did the pole of the climbing ceremony. Here again the Irminsûl is useful, for not only was it described as an 'idol', as has just been seen, but also as a 'temple', or even a 'sacred grove' (*fanum, lucus*).<sup>11</sup> The pole, therefore, not only peculiarly belonged to the Bull, but was the essential element of the compound shrine. The little hut was subordinate to it and an addition.

The pole of the shrine, again, is not simple, but complex, for it supports a coil of rope, which was sacred in itself. In the Third Dynasty it stood alone.<sup>12</sup> In the early Fourth

<sup>1</sup> Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, II, p. 88, Pl. xl, i, from which Fig. 4 is drawn.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *Athribis*, Pl. xviii, fifth register.

<sup>3</sup> Jéquier in *Bull. Inst. fr. d'arch. or. du Caire*, 6, 37, has already approximated the two poles.

<sup>4</sup> L., *D.*, IV, Pl. xliii, b, Ptolemy X. The top varies greatly in the different pictures.

<sup>5</sup> Mariette, *Dendérah*, I, Pl. xxiii. I can no more make any suggestion about the third object than could Jéquier, *ibid.* Max Müller's explanations, *op. cit.*, 34, are entirely abstract and unconvincing.

<sup>6</sup> From Senusret I onwards, Petrie, *Koptos*, Pls. ix, 2; x, 3.

<sup>7</sup> MENTUHOTEP NEBTAWI-RÊ, Couyat and Montet, *Hammâmât*, Pl. xxix, 110; MIDDLE KINGDOM, Moret in *Rec. de trav.*, 32, p. 138, Pl. i, fig. 1; Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittl. Reichs*, Pls. xvi, 20188; xix, 20240; xlviii, 20612. SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD, Boeser, *Aeg. Sammlung*, II (Stelen), Pl. xxxii, 42. These are, however, all very crude in execution.

<sup>8</sup> Bulls as well as cows had sometimes wide-spreading horns, as for instance Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, Pl. li, 14; Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, I, Pl. xxvii. Min's Bull is, however, always shown with the crescent horns commonly given to bulls.

<sup>9</sup> Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, II, 88 twice.

<sup>10</sup> Daressy in *Ann. Serv.*, 17, p. 77, l. 7. Though it was made for Arsenuphis at Philae, not Min, it was made for him 'as a *Sudâny*', thus keeping up the southern associations.

<sup>11</sup> Stallybrass, *op. cit.*, 117.

<sup>12</sup> Junker, *Gîza*, I, p. 151, no. 17, and *cf. Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, I, 29 for another Old Kingdom example.

Dynasty it is coiled into the branches of a stick.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, raised on a simple pole and given a crest, a number of them belonged to Wadjet, and under Pepi I, still as hers, it takes the form that is so well known as belonging to Min.<sup>2</sup> This early connexion with Wadjet probably accounts for the change which came over the pole at Min's shrine. Originally it was a simple pole like hers, supporting the horns and coil of rope (Fig. 5),<sup>3</sup> but later it was given the papyrus capital, and so transformed into the hieroglyph of her name (Fig. 6).<sup>4</sup> On two occasions even this is transferred to the pole of the climbing



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

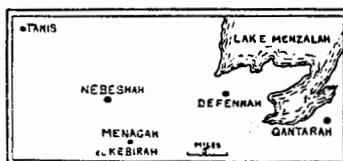


FIG. 7.

ceremony.<sup>5</sup> Min and Wadjet were definitely related, for they meet again in the extreme north-eastern corner of the Delta. Since the Nineteenth Dynasty at latest, Wadjet had been widely worshipped in this district,<sup>6</sup> and had been so intimately connected with Imet<sup>7</sup> that the city took its sacred name, Per-Wadjet, from her.<sup>8</sup> Imet was the modern Nebeshah,<sup>9</sup> and Min was also worshipped here, at least in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty,<sup>10</sup> as well as at Defennah some fifteen miles away.<sup>11</sup> In Ptolemaic times she was brought to Tanis, which also is quite close by (Fig. 7), to join Min in forming the triad there.<sup>12</sup> This was the nome in which his White Bull had already been given an estate by Sahurêc in the Fifth Dynasty, and where Min was worshipped after the suppression of Seth (p. 159).

At Min's shrine the presence of the cord on the pole was made use of to connect the two main members of the whole complex. To join two things by a cord is a natural and world-wide method of effecting a mystical union between them. For instance, the walls of Ephesus were joined to the temple by a rope seven stades long in order to put them under the protection of Artemis.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, at Athens certain conspirators on coming out to their enemies kept hold of a thread which they had tied to the temple. On its breaking, the goddess was said to have refused them her protection, and they were immediately murdered.<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere, in Tibet, on special occasions the priest holds to his heart the end of a string which is tied to the sacred object lying in the lap of the divine image.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Junker, *op. cit.*, fig. 23, b and pp. 150, 151, no. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Pyr.*, § 702. The next kings, Meryrê' and Pepi II Neferkarê', write the pole and its horns merely as a crutch.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, *Koptos*, Pls. ix, x, 3. Fig. 5 is drawn from Pl. ix.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 6 is drawn from Champollion, *Monuments*, Pl. ccxi. Cf. also Möller in *Z.A.S.*, 39, Pl. iv facing p. 72; and often later.

<sup>5</sup> W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, I, Pl. xlii, Ramesses II. Ptolemy X adds the horns as well, *L., D.*, iv, Pl. xlii, b.

<sup>6</sup> Besides Nebeshah and Tanis, to be mentioned later, she was worshipped at Kantarah by Seti I, Griffith in Petrie, *Defenneh* (bound with *Tanis*, II), 104, Gauthier in *Ann. Serv.*, 23, 179; and at Menâgi by Nekht-nebf, Griffith, *op. cit.*, 46.

<sup>7</sup> Gauthier, *ibid.*; *id.*, *Dict. des noms géogr.*, I, 73, 74.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, II, 65.

<sup>9</sup> Petrie, *Nebeshah* (bound with *Tanis*, II), 6. Cf. Gardiner in *Journal*, 5, 244; 19, 125.

<sup>10</sup> Petrie, *op. cit.*, Pl. ix, 4 and p. 34.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*, *Defenneh* (bound with *Tanis*, II), Pl. xlii and p. 107.

<sup>12</sup> Petrie, *Tanis*, I, Pl. xv, figs. 2, 3 = vol. II, Pl. x, nos. 164, 165.

<sup>13</sup> Herodotus, I, 26.

<sup>14</sup> Plutarch's *Lives*, *Solon*, XII.

<sup>15</sup> Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, 446, and another case is quoted in n. 2.

Finally, Scharff has very tentatively suggested that there might be a connexion between the pole of Min's shrine and the  $\text{𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏}$  *snwt*, for Min was one of many gods who had a sanctuary of this much-discussed name. He bases his suggestion on the spelling, which he thinks perhaps goes back to  $\text{𓏏}$  *snt* 'a pole'.<sup>1</sup>

Thus a pole in one form or another is continually encountered during a study of Min. It is found in the personal name 'The Pillar of Min'; one was set up at the dedication of a town to him; another was set up for a ceremony before him; it represented the pole of his shrine; and that in its turn could represent the whole shrine which was composite. The pole of the ceremony belonged specially to Min's Bull, who shows signs of being a Sky-Bull, and quite apart from Min the Bull of the Sky himself had to do with various pillars. He was identified with one, 'the Pillar of Eye-paint', and with another that belonged to Nubia, Min's special country; and both the Bull himself and this latter pillar were associated with a third, 'The Pillar of the Stars'.

It remains now to inquire why the pillar or pole should have been so closely associated with Min. A very good reason may be found at once in the evidence already adduced that Min was a sky- and air-god, for such association is quite common not only abroad but also in Egypt itself. In Crete the young warrior god descends from the sky alongside a high pole (Fig. 8).<sup>2</sup> The meteorite-god Elagabalus, who has helped us so often before, affords evidence here. It was planned to set up a great column, on the top of which the sacred meteorite should be raised aloft into its native element.<sup>3</sup> He was also called Ammudātes, which name is accepted as incorporating the Arabic *amūd*, 'a tent-pole, pillar, etc'.<sup>4</sup> Again, the eagle is well known as the storm-bird, and he is often set up on a pillar. On the top of Mount Lycaeus in Greece there was an altar to Zeus, and in front of it, to the east, stood a pair of pillars supporting gilded eagles.<sup>5</sup> At Kara Kush in the Taurus Mountains, north of Samosata, is a monument consisting of three sets of pillars, each set supporting a tablet flanked by a pair of eagles in the one case,<sup>6</sup> and a pair of bulls and lions in the others. Like the eagle, the bull and the lion were storm-animals. In Roman times statues of the victorious Jupiter were often uplifted on high pillars.<sup>7</sup> At Delphi in Greece there was the old sacred meteorite 'The Stone of Cronus'<sup>8</sup> and the omphalos of Apollo. These were storm- and light-gods respectively, and here at Delphi the omphalos itself seems to have supported a pole.<sup>9</sup> The pole, therefore, clearly had a significance of its own in relation to sky-gods.



FIG. 8.

Returning to Egypt, and bearing this in mind, we find some very clear evidence as to the nature of the pole. Min was not the only god to possess one. Khnūm was a sky-god<sup>10</sup> and in Ptolemaic days it is said that 'he putteth Nut under the sky like a great pillar of air

<sup>1</sup> *Z.Ä.S.*, 62, 95.

<sup>2</sup> Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, p. 160, fig. 115, reproduced here as Fig. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Script. Hist. Aug.* (Teubner), *Elagabalus*, xxiv, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v.; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. By the late time of one of these inscriptions he had been completely solarized.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, viii, 38, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, pp. 218 ff., Pls. xv, 2, xvii, 2, xviii, 1. For the date, first century B.C., see p. 226.

<sup>7</sup> Cook, *Zeus*, II, 57 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Pausanias, x, 24, 6, cf. my article *Baetyls* appearing shortly in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*

<sup>9</sup> Cook, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 169 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Journal*, 20, 142. Cf. also pp. 146, 148, 149.

(𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏)<sup>1</sup> Fig. 9<sup>2</sup> shows a graphic representation of such a pillar of air. A pole called the *wh* was quite well known in Egypt, but what has not yet been appreciated is that it was a sky-pole. It was worshipped at Cusae, where the local goddess, Hathor, was called by the Greeks Aphrodite Urania,<sup>3</sup> the name of the meteorite goddess at Aphaca near Byblos in Syria.<sup>4</sup> The *wh* is at least as old as the Old Kingdom, when pictures show it to be a papyriform pillar crowned with the stiff feathers of Min and other sky-gods (Fig. 10).<sup>5</sup> In the Middle Kingdom it also has Min's flagellum attached,<sup>6</sup> and a triple form shows two of the pillars surmounted by feather-wearing falcons of Min's class of god.<sup>7</sup> The *wh* thus proclaims itself a sky-pole by some of the signs we have already met in Min. It is probably significant that there was also a pillar at another nome of Hathor-Aphrodite, *Wadyt*, the tenth of Upper Egypt.<sup>8</sup>



FIG. 9.

Another significant thing is that this brings us back once more to Min, for the tenth nome has associated itself with him in more ways than one, especially with several of his features as a celestial god, see pp. 156, 163. That the *wh* was indeed a great sky-pole is now seen to be clearly stated in the late Nineteenth Dynasty passage 'Thou great *wh* which beginnest in Heaven [and reachest to] the Underworld'.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, it seems to be identified here with one of the forms of Ptah, and he was one of the gods before whom the ceremony of 'The Uplifting of the Sky' was performed.<sup>10</sup> A similar pillar, *hwn*, is mentioned at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when it is said 'Thunder is in the southern sky in (?) the night, storm is in the northern sky. The Pillar is fallen in the water.'<sup>11</sup> This clearly means that a thunderstorm shakes it into the abyss. While Egyptologists have long been accustomed to the four supports of heaven, a single one such as these has hitherto escaped notice.



FIG. 10.

Yet analogy ekes out the scraps of information already gained about them, and makes it clear that this is what they are. Prof. A. B. Cook likens the Jupiter-pillars of Europe to the sky-pillar, Irminsül, of our Saxon forefathers.<sup>12</sup> It was a huge, wooden, universal post supporting all things,<sup>13</sup> and seems to have originated in a great tree. Such a world-tree was the Yggdrasil of northern Europe. This had its roots in the lower regions and supported not only the earth but also the sky above.<sup>14</sup> Evans has recently shown

<sup>1</sup> Daressy in *Rec. de trav.*, 27, 87, l. 51; cf. p. 192, l. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn from Mariette, *Dendérah*, iv, Pl. 23, fig. b.

<sup>3</sup> Blackman, *Meir*, I, 2. Unless a miniature one was so used it was not the sceptre of the goddess as supposed on p. 3. Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, 16, has also realized that it was a pillar, but not that it was a sky-pole. The *wh* was personified by a bull (*O.L.Z.*, 1932, cols. 521 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Sozomen, *Eccles. Hist.*, II, ch. v (publ. in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, 1859, vol. LXVII, col. 948). See also Wainwright in *Z.Ä.S.*, 71, 43.

<sup>5</sup> Blackman, *op. cit.*, I, 3. For these feathers as representing the air, see *Journal*, 17, 194, 195; 20, 144, 145. Fig. 10 is drawn from Blackman, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. xviii, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, I, 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, I, 3, fig. 1. Is the shrine on the central one comparable to that among the other objects on the Ptolemaic pole of the Min ceremony, Mariette, *Dendérah*, I, Pl. xxiii?

<sup>8</sup> See p. 163 *supra*. The nome had been hers at least since the Nineteenth Dynasty, Gauthier in *Rec. de trav.*, 35, 23.

<sup>9</sup> Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, p. 72, ll. 1-4, and his commentary pp. 75, 76 (publ. in *Det kgl. danske Vidensk. Selskab. Hist.-fil. Medd.*, 1927, xiv, 2).

<sup>10</sup> Chabas, *Le calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes*, 75; Brugsch, *Matériaux . . . du calendrier*, Pl. xii, l. 10; *id.*, *Drei Fest-Kalender*, Pl. ii, l. 13; cf. also *Journal*, 20, 142.

<sup>11</sup> Wreszinski, *Der Papyrus Ebers*, I, p. 102, no. 360.

<sup>12</sup> Cook, *Zeus*, II, 50 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 53, n. 2: 'Irminsul . . . universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia'.

<sup>14</sup> Stallybrass, *op. cit.*, 796 ff.

that this idea came nearer to Egypt both in time and place, for it recurs in the Peloponnesus in the sixteenth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> To this we may add Homer's description of Mount 'Atlas, who knows the depths of every sea, and himself possesses the tall pillars which keep earth and sky asunder'.<sup>2</sup> The great *wh* which began in heaven and reached to the Underworld was clearly another Atlas, Yggdrasil, or still more accurately Irminsül, a great pole which bound the whole universe together. The pillar, *iw*, was much the same, though it only seems to have held up the heavens.

If its foundations were loosened it was liable to fall down. It is evident that if such a pillar fell, the sky would fall too, for there would be nothing to hold it up. As a matter of fact such a catastrophe was to be feared in Egypt, for in the early Middle Kingdom a condition is stated in which 'Nut (the sky-goddess) will fall to the ground',<sup>3</sup> and later on, in the Twentieth Dynasty, Neith similarly threatens that 'the heaven shall crash to the ground'.<sup>4</sup> This anxiety was not confined to Egypt, but has been widespread. In 335 B.C. the Celts told Alexander the Great that the only thing they feared was that some day the sky might fall upon them.<sup>5</sup> In 179 B.C. a tremendous thunderstorm accompanied by hail and rain broke over another Danubian army, which fled, saying 'that the sky was falling upon them'.<sup>6</sup> The possibility of this calamity still caused concern to the Irish of the early Middle Ages, whose oath began, 'If the sky do not fall with its rain of stars upon the face of the earth where we are camped',<sup>7</sup> and its memory still lingers among us to-day in the nursery story of Henny Penny who went to tell the king that the sky was falling. The danger also appears in the Arabian Nights: the Unbelieving Ginn describing his overthrow by the Believing Ginn says 'he cast at me a shooting star of fire (*shihāb min nār*) . . . and he cried out at me so terrible a cry that meseemed the skies were fallen flat upon me, and the mountains trembled at his voice'.<sup>8</sup> The Irish oath goes on to envisage an earthquake and the overwhelming of the land by the sea. The story of the Danubian army, that of the Arabian Nights, and the terms of the Irish oath, provide the details for a general understanding of the fear. It was due to the physical shaking, noise, and downpouring of the skies: to a thunderstorm with hail and rain, a rain of stars, or, mythologically expressed, a battle with shooting stars.

It is established that great showers of meteorites have at times accompanied earthquakes, and that there is an approximate coincidence between earthquakes and the thirty-three year period of meteoric showers.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, flashes of light in the sky have often been reported at the time of an earthquake.<sup>10</sup> Yet again, a very violent thunderstorm does shake the ground under the observer,<sup>11</sup> and earthquakes do sometimes swamp the land with the sea.<sup>12</sup> In Egypt these conditions are indicated several times, excepting the onrush of the sea. In the Pyramid Texts there is the famous passage, 'The sky rains; the stars darken(?); the Bows rush about; the bones of the Earth-gods tremble'.<sup>13</sup> Another similar one comes in § 1150: 'The sky rejoiceth loudly at him; the earth trembleth at him; the hail is dispersed

<sup>1</sup> Evans in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 45, 51, 73, or less fully in his *Palace of Minos*, III, 145 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, I, ll. 52-4.

<sup>3</sup> Lacau in Quibell, *Excavations at Saggara*, 1906-7, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. 1, p. 15, 3, l. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis*, I, iv, 8; Strabo, C. 302.

<sup>6</sup> Livy, XL, 58.

<sup>7</sup> H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les premiers habitants de l'Europe* (1894), II, p. 316, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Burton, *The Thousand Nights and a Night* (Benares, 1885), VI, 100 = Macnaghten, *The Alif Laila* (Calcutta, 1839), III, 97.

<sup>9</sup> J. Milne, *Earthquakes and Other Earth Movements* (1913), 262, 263.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 267.

<sup>11</sup> A famous case is that reported by Herodotus, VIII, 37, where at Delphi two rocks were opportunely shaken down by a thunderstorm on to the invaders.

<sup>12</sup> See for instance Milne, *op. cit.*, 165-77. The series of waves following the famous earthquake at Lisbon in 1755 were thirty to sixty feet high.

<sup>13</sup> *Pyr.*, § 393, and see Faulkner in *Journal*, 10, 97 ff.

for him; he roareth like Seth'.<sup>1</sup> In the early Eighteenth Dynasty it was the thunderstorm which would shake down the *wn*-pillar (p. 168).

Thus, a pillar or pole is a very common adjunct to a sky-god, whether in Egypt or abroad, and Min's possession of one is yet more evidence of this side of his nature. It is suitable to a god 'who standeth upon his mountains (*htyw*)' and 'who cometh upon the mountains', for the mountains also have been thought to support the sky. In Egypt Mount Bakhau was said to have done this at least as early as the Middle Kingdom,<sup>2</sup> and in Greece it was said of Mount Atlas, as has just been seen.

In the companion article Min has already been shown to have been a thunderbolt-god, that is to say, a sky-god. In the present one much more has been adduced in the same vein. It is common for the weather and fertility to coalesce in one god, and Min was only an early and good example of this. The secret of the identification of Min with Perseus lies in the fact that they were both thunderbolt- and sky-gods. Bulls regularly belonged to the sky-gods all over the Near East, hence, as Min shows many signs of being one also, it was suitable that he should have the 'White Bull'. While Min himself could be called 'the King upon the rain-clouds', his Bull was said to be 'opening the rain-clouds, the wind on the river'. Min was worshipped by 'Bellowers', and bellowings again are a commonplace with sky-gods, whether in Egypt or abroad. There was a certain violence in the character both of Min and his Bull, and this is usual among sky-gods. The mountains are the special territory of Min and his Bull as of other sky-gods; they often serve to hold up the sky. Like the Bull of the Sky, Min's Bull was intimately related to a pole, and the pole or pillar was of the very essence of Min's worship. It is highly probable that this was a sky-pole, for such are found in Egypt—where they represent the air—as elsewhere. They often occur with sky- and meteorite-gods, such as Zeus, Apollo, Elagabalus, Aphrodite Urania, and Nut, or they may be found with mountains such as Mount Atlas. These things we know to be original in Min's worship, many, in fact, prehistoric. They have to be searched for with the help of archaeology and comparative religion, for they scarcely find expression in the literature. The reason probably is that during the historic period they were eclipsed by the fertility side of Min's nature. No doubt with him, as with other gods of his class, this tended to come more and more into prominence. Solarization was the other fate which befell old sky-gods, but Min escaped that, though it overtook his derivative, Amūn.

<sup>1</sup> The trembling, speaking, quaking, weeping, and burning of the sky are accompanied by the trembling of the earth, but without further indication as to the cause, *Pyr.*, §§ 143, 549, 924, 1110, 1365, 2063, 2109. In § 1120 they speak and tremble when the Pharaoh ascends to the sky. It was this which caused the thunderstorms just mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Sethe in *Z.Ä.S.*, 59, Pl. 44\*, l. 8a, and p. 74. See also *Journal*, 18, 165.