

THE EMBLEM OF MIN

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

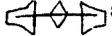
In a series of articles I have shown that Min was intimately related to Amun and was probably the original from whom the latter was derived; that Amun was Zeus; that as Zeus-Ammon he was closely connected with meteorites; that he had sacred omphaloi and also a sacred object that was probably a piece of a meteorite; and that it was in this object that Min particularly approximated to Amun. I have also shown that Horus was the other partner in this object and in the title *ks-mwt-f*, and that he himself possessed an omphalos at his own city of Hierakonpolis; that the meteorite and omphalos were representatives the one of the other in ancient art and religion; and that both of them represented the weapon of the sky-god, which is otherwise often conceived as the thunderbolt¹.

The present article is a study of the sacred object of one of the partners in the *Ks-mwt-f* meteorite, that is to say the  or  or  of Min. It is so intimately connected with him that it not only is his fetish, but stands for his name either baldly² or in its later form³ and also is used by his nome of Panopolis (Akhmîm)

as its standard  ⁴. As is well known, Newberry has long ago sketched in the

outlines of the problem⁵, and the present enquiry co-ordinates this sketch with others of his studies. At the same time it both fills in the details and is a restatement of the case such as advances the subject, it is hoped, further along the same lines.

In the middle prehistoric period a symbol is very well known which varies to some extent in its details. It is , ,  ⁶. At this same time it also took the

form  ⁷, and by about the time of Narmer it had become  ⁸. These are

¹ *Ann. Serv.*, xxviii, 175-189; *Journal*, xvi, 35-38; *op. cit.*, xvii, 151, 152.

² Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. xxii, 189; *Id.*, *Medum*, Pls. xvi, xx, xxi; Sethe, *Pyr.*, § 424, b, where Teti spells out the name *Mnw*, which Wenis writes with the "thunderbolt."

³ *E.g.*, Champ., *Mon. ég.*, ccxii ff.; Couyat and Montet, *Hammamat*, Pl. iv, ll. 2, 11, 21; Pl. xxi, 88; Pl. xlv, 238.

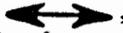
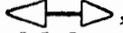
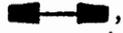
⁴ Examples are: Archaic Period, Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xxvi c, fig. 1; First Intermediate Period, Moret, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, 1914, fig. facing p. 568, vertical column 4; Newberry, *Liverpool Annals*, iv, 108, 114, 115, 116, 118 (inscr. 12, 24, 25, 26, 27); Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs*, No. 20024, ll. 2, 7, etc.; Lacau, *Sarc. ant. du nouvel empire*, I, 10, 11, coffin from Akhmîm no. 28004; New Kingdom, Caulfeild, *The Temple of the Kings at Abydos*, Pl. xviii, fig. 9.

⁵ *Liverpool Annals*, III (1910), 50-52 and Pl. xix.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, III, Pl. xix, figs. 1-5; v, 138, 140.

⁷ MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. viii, 2. The date is S.D. 58, Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt, Corpus*, Pl. lvii, fig. 80 L.

⁸ Form kindly communicated by Mr. Brunton, who says that the palette on which it was scratched was found at Matmar (1930), and dates to S.D. 77-79. Narmer's date comes at the end of S.D. 78, while S.D. 79 is equivalent to the reigns of Aha and Zer (Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, 3).

clearly pointed weapons which are ready for offence either in front or behind, and the multiple points of some of the varieties perhaps indicate that they threaten not only in two but in many directions. Fortunately we happen to know that this Egyptian object represented the weapon wielded by the sky-god; in other words, any of the various flashes or rays of light that shoot down from the sky. The sign has survived into the Old Kingdom, when it is written , , or , and is used in the Pyramid Texts as the determinative for a word *hnbw*. On one occasion the word is used in connection with a "flame before the wind"¹ and on the other it doubtless means the sunbeams, for the *hnbw* here belong to the sun-god Rē. This time they form part of a mystic harpoon "which gathereth together the rivers," that is to say, is concerned with the weather—the sunbeams and the waters². By the archaic period a change has come over the shape of the weapon. The triple, as well as the single, pattern has dropped out of fashion, leaving only the double form. Moreover, the shape of this begins to alter in detail though it still remains recognizable. By this time we know it to belong to Min, for the object is carved twice on each of two of the archaic Min statues from Koptos.

Here we have not only  but also ³. While the first is

clearly the old weapon of prehistoric times, the second already shows the beginning of the stylized and decorative treatment we know so well from this time onwards. It has the straight vertical lines at the base of the barbs, the blunt point and the flaring sides. The usual form of the Old Kingdom is nothing but this lengthened out and blunted, though to such an extent that without the intermediate forms it would have been difficult to recognize it as the arrow-like weapon of prehistoric days. Thus, our earliest representation of Min shews that this weapon already belonged to him. Yet we know it to have been the "light"-weapon, and the god who wields such a weapon is normally the sky-god. Min, therefore, should show signs of being such a sky-god, if our thesis is correct.

While the examples from the archaic statues of Min are only in the act of taking the well-known form, another and contemporary monument presents the shape already completely developed, ⁴. Here again the object belongs to Min, for it either

represents the god himself or, what is perhaps more likely, his original nome, the Panopolite. By the Second Dynasty the fully formed shape is to be found again⁵, and in the Third Dynasty we have it yet again, when it stands for the name of Min⁶. In the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties the shape is still common and the object represents Min⁷.

¹ Sethe, *Pyr.*, § 324, "Wenis is a flame before the wind to the end of heaven and the end of earth, because the *hnbw* are lifted up in the form of Wenis."

² *Op. cit.*, § 1212, where the spell reads, "Take for thyself this thy harpoon—thou being favoured—(even) thy staff which gathereth together the rivers, whose prongs are the *hnbw* of Rē (sunbeams?) and whose barbs are the claws of Mafdet."

³ Petrie, *Koptos*, Pl. iii, figs. 2, 3=Pl. iv.

⁴ On the mace-head, Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xxvi c, fig. 1.

⁵ Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. xxii, 189.

⁶ *Id.*, *Medum*, Pls. xvi, xx, xxi.

⁷ Sethe, *Pyr.*, Wenis, §§ 256, 424; Pepi I, § 953; Merenrē I, §§ 953, 1712; Pepi II, § 953.

It lasted on into the First Intermediate Period, and possibly even through into the early Twelfth Dynasty. But already at the end of the Sixth Dynasty a new and simpler form was introduced in Pepi II's reign, which was finally to supplant it. Its history from the Sixth Dynasty to the early Twelfth is indicated sufficiently clearly by two series of monuments. These are the inscriptions of the Wâdî Ḥamâmât and the tombs at Akhmîm of the important men of the Panopolite nome. In the Wâdî Ḥamâmât at the beginning of the Eleventh Dynasty Mentuhotep I still uses the old double form¹ as also does Mentuhotep II Neb-tawi-rêr in the middle of the dynasty². But in one of his inscriptions the latter king uses the new form not only as well as the old one but also more commonly³. At Akhmîm ten of the inscriptions use the old double sign ⁴, three use the new simple sign  or ⁵, and two use both the double and the simple forms⁶. Though no sequence has yet been worked out for the Akhmîm tombs, there would probably be some sort of natural order in their numbering by the modern archaeologist. He no doubt moved from one tomb to its neighbour, and in the same way the original hewers would have moved progressively about the face of the cliff. It is, therefore, probably more than a mere coincidence that the new simple form does not begin here until late in the list, at No. 19, and then tends to oust the old double form. In consonance with this is the fact that the only tomb stated to belong to the early Twelfth Dynasty does not use the old  but only the new ⁷, for this certainly suggests that the old one had died out by that time. At Koptos Sesostris I uses a queer form ⁸ related to both the older and the newer types; for, while it is still double, it has lost the vertical bars of the Old Kingdom, and has become elongated and pointed as is so usual in late times. Amenemhat II uses the new form in all its simplicity⁹, as does Sebekhotep III in the Thirteenth Dynasty¹⁰. So also one of the Antefs uses  in his inscriptions at Koptos, without a thought for the old type¹¹. Therefore, just as the original prehistoric  was being replaced by  in archaic times, so this latter in its turn had died out by the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, about 2000 B.C.

The sign that took its place and continued in use for the rest of Egyptian history was  or . This is a simplification of the other variety, for it represents only one pair of objects instead of two¹². This simplification was natural to the form, for in the middle prehistoric age we find not only triple and double types, but

also the single variety  and . In the early First Dynasty we

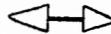
have a curious variant ¹³. As this probably accompanies the two falcons which would represent the Koptos nome (Fig. 1) there can be little doubt that the object itself is the Min symbol. Its ends are very like those now given to the old weapon  representing flashes of light. In the reign of Pepi II, when change was in the air once more and the simple form was finally superseding the double, a variant  occurs once¹⁴ which reproduces fairly accurately this First Dynasty type.



Fig. 1

¹ Couyat and Montet, *Hammamat*, Pl. xxx, 112.

² *Op. cit.*, Pls. xxix, 110, xxxvii, 192, l. 3.

³ *Op. cit.*, Pl. xxxvii, 9, 17, 18.

⁴ Newberry, *Liverpool Annals*, iv, 99 ff, nos. 1, 3, 4, 9-12, 21-23.

⁵ Nos. 19, 25, 27.

⁶ Nos. 24, 26.

⁷ No. 25.

⁸ Petrie, *Koptos*, Pls. ix, 2, x, 1.

⁹ Birch, *Cat. Eg. Antiq. at Alnwick Castle*, Pl. iii.

¹⁰ Prisse d'Avannes, *Mon. ég.*, Pl. viii.

¹¹ Petrie, *Koptos*, Pl. vii, 14, 15, 17.

¹² As may be seen in Sethe, *Pyr.*, §§ 1928, 1993.

¹³ Den-setui; Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, Pl. xvi, 25.

¹⁴ Sethe, *Pyr.*, § 256.

But as a rule it was merely a question of reducing the double form  then current to a single one ¹. One example, while still showing the old flaring sides and broad points, differs from the old pattern in separating the sides from the central circle and giving them hollow ends .² This makes the connecting link between the older forms and the entirely new one .³ which first occurs in the same reign as the others, that of Pepi II. It introduces another new feature which for our purpose is as important a change as the reduction of the multiple forms to a simple one. This is that the end pieces simply expand from a blunt point instead of curving in a flaring manner to the bars on either side of the central circle. In some ways this constitutes a return to the original barbed type where the barbs stand away from the central circle. The difference is one of drawing more than of idea.

Whatever may have been the cause of the gradual change from the prehistoric arrow-like weapon to the later  and , the important point for us is that in the end Min's symbol took a certain shape. This shape is either very like that which the Greeks adopted long afterwards as the bolt in the midst of flames or lightning flashes with which they represented Zeus' thunderbolt, or else it is exactly the same; compare especially  (Egyptian) with Figs. 2 and 7 (Greek). Min thus comes into relationship with Zeus; and this is not unnatural, seeing he was the original of Amūn, who was Zeus.

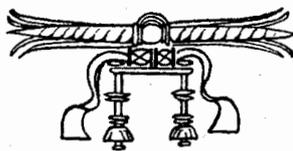


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

An extremely important centre of Zeus-worship was at Seleucia Pieria, the port of Antioch in North Syria⁴. There are plenty of coins of this city and they very regularly exhibit the local sacred object. They are of peculiar interest to us here, for the object takes two forms, Figs. 2 and 3. The usual one is the ordinary thunderbolt of classical art, as might be expected in such a city (Fig. 2⁵), and where this type bears the name of a god he is called Zeus Keraunios⁶. More rarely, however, the coins exhibit a very different object, and that is an omphalos in a temple (Fig. 3)⁷. This no doubt is the original sacred object of which the thunderbolt is a Greek interpretation. For just as it

¹ Sethe, *Pyr.*, §§ 1928, 1993, Pepi II. ² *Op. cit.*, § 1998, Pepi II. ³ *Op. cit.*, § 1948, Pepi II.

⁴ The foundation of the city was due to the fall of a thunderbolt. Appian, *Historia Romana, Syriaca*, § 58. A list from that city shows that an order of priests there was called *κεραυνοφόροι*, "Thunderbolt-bearers." *C.I.G.*, III, no. 4458. In A.D. 129 Hadrian was sacrificing on the top of Mount Casius, when a thunderbolt fell and took not only the victim but the priest as well. Aelius Spartianus, *De Vita Hadriani*, Ch. xiv, ll. 3 ff. (H. Peter, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Teubner's edn.), I, 15, ll. 24 ff.). No wonder, then, that one of the explanations given by Hesychius for the word *κεραυνος* is "Zeus in Seleucia."

⁵ See Wroth, *Cat. of the Greek Coins in the Brit. Mus., Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, Pls. xxxii, 3-8 10, xxxiii, 2, and pp. 269 ff. for the mention of many more. Another city where the thunderbolt was enthroned as a deity was Diocaesarea in Cilicia Tracheia, G. F. Hill, *Cat. Greek Coins in the Brit. Mus., Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, Pl. xiii, fig. 1; in a temple, p. 72, nos. 6, 7. (Figs. 2 and 3 are published here by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

⁶ Wroth, *op. cit.*, 275, no. 46; 276, no. 56.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, Pls. xxxii, 9, xxxiii, 3, 4, 7, 8, and pp. 272 ff. for the mention of others. Sometimes there is a kind of hole in its side. The strings of little balls laid over the stone would be the sanctifying *taeniae*.

is the more primitive object, so the god to whom it is sacred is not given the Greek epithet Keraunios, but is called Zeus Kasios¹. This is evidently a Graecized version of the native Semitic title, which could be derived from a Semitic root meaning "The Cutter, Breaker"². Thus, at Seleucia Pieria we have two forms of Zeus, the Greek Keraunios and the Semitic Kasios; the Greek with the classical thunderbolt, the Semitic with a primitive stone omphalos. The two objects thunderbolt and omphalos are, therefore, one and the same, being the intrusive Greek and the native Semitic interpretations of the one original idea.

If the thunderbolt was the omphalos, it was just as certainly the meteorite. In Greek mythology the thunderbolt is the "light"-weapon with which Zeus blasts his enemies, just as in Semitic mythology the angels of Allah destroy devils³ and evil djinns⁴ with the meteorite. Good evidence that the Greeks themselves identified the lightning with the meteorite is supplied by the expression "star-flung thunderbolt"⁵. More proof that the Semites did not distinguish between the meteorite and the thunderbolt is provided by the Koran's version of the overthrow of the Cities of the Plain. The Old Testament says it was "brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven" which was "rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah"⁶. This can hardly mean anything but a severe thunderstorm with the lightning continually striking. Yet the Koran transforms the cause of the destruction into "stones" which it equally says were "rained upon them"⁷. Stones which fall from the sky are of course meteorites. It is clear, therefore, that in ancient days the meteorite was the thunderbolt, a belief that has survived into modern times⁸. Moreover, as the coins of Seleucia Pieria show, the thunderbolt was the omphalos also. Yet again we know that the omphalos was the substitute used for an original sacred meteorite⁹. Thus, meteorite, omphalos, and thunderbolt were all one and the same thing in religion.

¹ Wroth, *op. cit.*, 272 ff., nos. 29, 30, 36-45, 47.

² Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. *Kasios*, col. 970.

³ The Koran, Surah xv, 18, and again Surah xxxvii, 10, where in a similar passage the same word *shihab* is used again. On one occasion it is called "visible" and on the other "brightly shining." Maulvi Muhammad Ali's edition *The Holy Qur-án* is a useful one, as it has the English translation alongside the original Arabic.

⁴ R. F. Burton, *The Thousand Nights and a Night* (Benares, 1885), I, 224. Cf. the duel between the kings of the believing and unbelieving djinns. *Id.*, *op. cit.*, VI, 100. In each case the expression is the same, "cast at the *afrit* (me) with a shooting star of fire (*shihab min nar*)." For the text see W. H. Macnaghten, *The Alif Laila* (Calcutta, 1839), I, 172; III, 97. *Shihab* is the ordinary word for "shooting star," but here its dangerous nature is emphasized by the addition of the words "of fire."

⁵ ἀστειροβλήτρα κεραυνόν. For a discussion of the passage and the various emendations proposed, see Cook, *Zeus*, II, 119, note 1.

⁶ Genesis, xix. 24.

⁷ Surah xi, 82, and the story is repeated in xv, 74, where the same apparently unique expression is used again. In Surah cv, 4, the enemies of the Meccans are destroyed by the same "stones of fate," which on this occasion were cast by heaven-sent birds. On this phrase "stones of fate," which has been much misunderstood, see Maulvi Muhammad Ali, *op. cit.*, 468, note 1198.

⁸ G. T. Prior, *A Guide to the Collection of Meteorites* (in the British Museum), 1926, 10; A. S. E. Ackermann, *Popular Fallacies*, 3rd edn., 376, 377. How vague are the ideas about meteorites and how general is the confusion between them and "thunderbolts" can easily be discovered by a few minutes' conversation with almost any of one's friends. Ackermann, *ibid.*, records another very widespread idea about "thunderbolts."

⁹ Wainwright, *Ann. Serv.*, xxviii, 184-6. Artemis' meteorite at Ephesus was replaced by an omphalos at each of her shrines of Perga, Pogle, and Andeda; at Delphi the old meteorite, "The Stone of Kronos," had given place to the omphalos; Amūn's meteorite at Thebes, if it be accepted as such, was replaced by an omphalos at each of his shrines of Napata and Ammonium (Siwah).

It is, therefore, very right and proper that the "light"-weapon  or thunderbolt should belong to Min, for he is a partner in the *K3-mwt-f* meteorite. Another partner in it is Horus, who was in some way also connected with the "light"-weapon or thunderbolt. For the name of one of his cities, Letopolis, was spelt , *Hm*, using this very sign. The *K3-mwt-f* meteorite was, therefore, closely connected with the "light"-weapon, and moreover it had omphaloi for its substitutes. Not only did its prime owner, Amūn, become an omphalos-god at Napata (Fig. 4) and Siwah, but at Hierakonpolis Horus was also an omphalos-god¹ (Figs. 5 and 6)². Both of Min's partners in this meteorite were, therefore, omphalos-gods, as they should be on the analogy of Artemis and Apollo, and one of them (Horus) was also associated with the "light"-weapon or thunderbolt. Thus, in the *K3-mwt-f* object meteorite, thunderbolt, and omphalos meet in the persons of the three partners, Amūn, Min, and Horus. Actually Min forms the link between the other two, for, just as Amūn was identified with Min, so was Min identified with Horus. To Amūn Min gave his figure, and with Horus he formed a



Fig. 4.

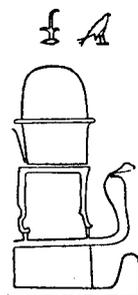


Fig. 5

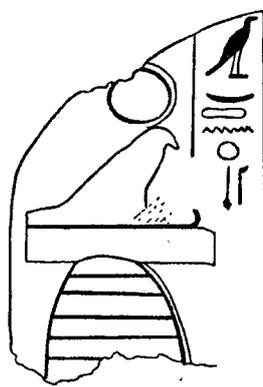


Fig. 6

compound deity Min-Hor³, or a new one Min-Hor-nekht⁴ or Min-the-King-Hor-nekht⁵, and Min was often called "Horus raising the arm⁶" in allusion to his well-known attitude, or even "Min, son of Isis⁷."

The closeness of the identification of Min with Horus is scarcely realized. We have just seen that while Min had the thunderbolt for his emblem, Horus' city of Letopolis equally used it as its emblem. At Koptos itself in archaic days there were not only the famous statues of Min, but also a gigantic statue of a falcon⁸. In late times Horus harpoons

¹ Wainwright, *op. cit.*, 184, 188-9, where figs. 4 and 5 have already been published.

² Fig. 6 is drawn from Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xlvi, 7.

³ Couyat and Montet, *Hammamat*, 49, no. 47, l. 3. Cf. *Nebeshek* (bound with *Tanis*, II), Pl. ix, 4, and Griffith's remarks on p. 35.

⁴ Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittl. Reichs*, III, 29, 30, s.v.; Boeser, *Aeg. Sammlung*, II, *Stelen*, Pls. xviii, 27, xxxii, 42; Prisse d'Avennes, *Mon. ég.*, Pl. viii; Lanzone, *Diz. mit. eg.*, Pl. cccxxxiii, 2; Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, no. 38836, and Pl. xliii.

⁵ Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, I, p. 15, no. 35, and p. 391.

⁶ Sélim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, 140; Petrie, *Koptos*, Pl. xx, horizontal line 13; Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, I, 390; Couyat and Montet, *op. cit.*, p. 111, no. 238, l. 3, and Pl. xlv, shew a deity compounded of a falcon with human legs and raised hand and whip, who is called "Min [of Koptos]."

⁷ Hall, *Hierogl. Texts from Eg. Stelae etc. in the Brit. Mus.*, VII, Pl. xliii.

⁸ Petrie, *Koptos*, Pl. v, 6, p. 7, § 12.

were dedicated there¹, and Horus himself appears on several sculptures from that city². The nome itself was that of ³ and it seems probable that these two Horuses represent Min and Horus⁴. , "The Two Horuses," was a common personal name at Min's other city of Akhmim⁵, and probably referred to this intimacy between the two gods. The priesthood of Min was very intimately connected with Horus whether at Akhmim or Koptos. At Koptos in late times every one of Min's six priests had  for his ensign⁶, that belonging to his high priest being crowned with the white crown  and that of the second priest with the red crown . At Akhmim, in late times at least, Min's high priest was called , , "Servant of Horus⁷," not "Servant of Min" as might have been expected. The title of Min's high priest at Koptos was , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,

the Syrian god Resheph¹ whose name means "Lightning, Flame²." On the rare Egyptian representations which show Resheph with a group of gods Min commonly figures among them³. Min was, therefore, associated with Apollo whether in his Egyptian or Asiatic forms. This is important in itself, but it also advances the enquiry another step.

This it does by introducing the *labrys* and its cycle of associations. The excavations at Delphi have shown that a number of little *labrys*-axes had been deposited as votive offerings under the sanctuary and by the very altar itself⁴. The double axe was, therefore, sacred to Apollo, the Greek equivalent of Min's partner Horus. In Egypt the *labrys* is very rare except in the earliest times, but the evidence it contributes is significant. Originally it had been used as a weapon, in which capacity it survived as late as the archaic days⁵. In prehistoric days it had already become sacred, for there is a beautiful flint amulet of this date still extant⁶. In the first part of this period its picture was already used as a pot-mark⁷, a use which it still served in protodynastic times⁸. By the end of the First Dynasty it had become a hieroglyph ⁹. In the Old Kingdom it had

definitely become the sacred object of some god¹⁰. At that time it forms one of a small group of five deities. It is in this way that it comes in contact with Min, for he also is included in the group. The five are united by the *imy-hr* or *hr*-priest who serves each of them. While one of them is the *labrys* , another is Min, the third is his other self

Horus, and yet another is the mountain ¹¹. In other countries the mountain is intimately related to the light- sky- or storm-gods, just as is the *labrys*¹². Hence in

¹ In Cyprus bilingual inscriptions translate the Semitic "Resheph" by the Greek "Apollo," Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Rescheph*, col. 620.

² *Op. cit.*, s.v. *Rescheph*, col. 621.

³ Min, Prisse d'Avennes, *Mon. ég.*, Pl. xxxvii; Min altered into a goddess, W. Max Müller, *Eg. Researches*, I, Pl. xli; Min-Amen-rēf-*K3-mwt-f*, Lanzzone, *Diz. mit. eg.*, Pl. clxxxii.

⁴ P. Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, v, 120, 121. A number of small stone axes were also found, which seem to have come almost entirely from the sanctuary, p. 1.

⁵ Legge, *P.S.B.A.*, xxii, Pl. ii (=xxxii, Pl. xlv, and Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, 231, fig. 170, though these are not such good copies), the last man but one on the upper side and the foremost man on the lower side. As late as the Nineteenth Dynasty the Syrians of the Lebanon were still using it for felling trees, Champollion, *Mon.*, Pl. ccxc, 2 = Rosellini, *Mon. stor.*, XLVI, 1.

⁶ Hall, in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology presented to Sir Arthur Evans*, 42 and Pl. v.

⁷ Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II, Pl. lxvii. The pot on which it occurs is of type P. 56, a, and is therefore to be dated S.D. 31-56 (Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes*, Pl. xii).

⁸ Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. xxv, 11.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, I, Pl. vii, 12, from which the example in the text is drawn.

¹⁰ For another priest of the *labrys* besides those mentioned in the next note see Newberry, *Ann. Serv.*, xxviii, 138 ff.

¹¹ Murray, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxxiv, col. a; Newberry, *Liverpool Annals*, I, 27; II, 49, 50; IV, 100; cf. *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, III, 344, 347. The other deity is the swallow.

¹² For example, Enlil the Sumerian storm-god was called "The Great Mountain" and his temple "The Mountain House" (M. Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, 1911, 68); Adad, the Syrian and Assyrian storm-god, was also called "The Great Mountain" (*op. cit.*, 120). Zeus' birth, death and marriage are assigned to many mountain-tops (A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, 148-63); he dwelt on the top of Olympus and went thence to the top of Mount Ida to direct the Trojan War.

Egypt the *labrys* finds itself in the same company as elsewhere in the Levant; the mountain, the Egyptian Apollo (Horus), and a god Min whose emblem had developed from a "light"-weapon. Thus although the *labrys* was not sacred to Min himself, it belonged in Egypt to one of the gods related to him. How close was the relationship between Min and the foreign *labrys*-gods may be seen in the fact that one of the peculiarities of Min's "light"-weapon occurs again in the Cretan *labrys*. It is that just as the former was often manifold in its earlier stages so the *labrys* is sometimes doubled in Crete ¹. As suggested on p. 186 this may be intended to represent power to strike not only in front and behind but in any direction². A further study of the associations of the *labrys* leads round once more to meteorites and omphaloi and thence to arrows and so back to Min again. The *labrys* was not only deposited as a votive offering at the temple of the meteorite- and omphalos-city of Delphi, as has just been mentioned, but also at Ephesus in the temple of the meteorite-goddess Artemis³. Like her "brother" of Delphi she also possessed omphaloi, hers being at her other shrines of Perga, Pogle, and Andeda⁴. She herself was a famous archer, and her "brother" Apollo the light-god was god of the "Silver Bow," "The Far-Shooter," etc.⁵ We have already seen that he was the Greek representative of Horus, but this use of arrows relates him directly to Min, Horus' other self, for Min's emblem was originally a multiple arrow. Min's arrow-like weapon also relates him to the other meteorite- and omphalos-deity, Artemis, who was Apollo's "sister." While Min's weapon gradually took on the shape of Zeus' thunderbolt those of Apollo and Artemis remained merely arrows. But, in conclusion, we must return to the *labrys* from which the discussion arose. It⁶, or sometimes only the simple axe⁷, is the weapon with which the storm-god is armed all over the Near East. It is, therefore, nothing but another interpretation of the thunderbolt, and both represent the lightning-flash and the meteorite, which have as substitutes in religion the omphalos. This cycle of gods and their weapons is that to which Min and his emblem belong. Hence his association with the Egyptian *labrys*-god and his cycle, and the similarity of treatment accorded to both Min's emblem and the Cretan *labrys* are

¹ Drawn from Paribeni in *Mon. ant. della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, xix (1908), Pl. i. Others are *op. cit.*, Pl. ii; Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, Figs. 312 a, b, c; II, Figs. 191, 194 e; III, Fig. 141; *id.*, *B.S.A.*, VIII, 103, fig. 61; Maraghiannis, *Antiquités crétoises*, II, Pl. xxi, no. 6.

² Many explanations have been offered of the doubling of the *labrys*, but not this; M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, 169, n. 5. If the same rule applies to the *labrys* as to Min's light-weapon, the triple form of the latter would seem to invalidate most of the speculations, for they depend on the duplication only of the weapon.

³ Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus*, 337, 338, and Index, *s.v. Double-axe*. For the meteorite see Acts, xix, 35.

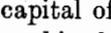
⁴ G. F. Hill, *Cat. Greek Coins in the Brit. Mus., Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia*; Perga, Pl. xxiv, figs. 12, 15, 16, and others are mentioned in the text on pp. 122 ff.; Pogle, Pl. xxxvii, figs. 7, 8=pp. 236, 237; Andeda, Pl. xxx, fig. 11=p. 175.

⁵ ἀργυρότοξος and ἐκκβόλος.

⁶ For an important collection of evidence, though mostly derived from the Greek world and primitive Europe, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 513-679. Cf. also *op. cit.*, I, Figs. 487, 489, 494, and Pl. xxxiv, for these shew Zeus Dolichenus, the storm-god of Doliche, modern Dülük, which also is in North Syria like Seleucia Pieria.

⁷ For example, F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, III, Pl. xli, and R. Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, 1925, Fig. 103 (=A. E. Cowley, *The Hittites*, Figs. 13, 28); A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, II, fig. facing p. 451. In each case the god bears the lightning in one hand and the axe in the other.

still more arguments in favour of our thesis. This is that Min's emblem is the Egyptian variety of what later, and in other lands, became Zeus' thunderbolt.

This belief gets a remarkable corroboration from a very different source. It is that the city of Akhmim proves to have been founded at a spot eminently suitable for the capital of that nome which not only took  for its standard but gave it to its god as his fetish. The object, as we know, was derived from the "light"-weapon and developed a shape very like that of Zeus' thunderbolt. Although there is no such thing as a solid thunderbolt, many classes of objects have been called upon to serve as such in popular belief. The meteorite has just been mentioned¹, and another is the fossil called belemnite². This latter may at times attain a length of eight or even ten inches. It also has just the same shape as that commonly given to Zeus' thunderbolt,



³, and is also very like the shape finally adopted by Min's emblem. As it happens, Dr. Hume, of the Geological Survey, Cairo, tells me that there are no belemnites in Egypt, but there is in the country another fossil called *Lithodomus*, which is very like the former in outline ⁴. The Egyptian species seems to be much larger than the English, and of a slightly different shape. The collection in Cairo includes a number of specimens having a length of about four or five inches. This is no doubt the fossil which Newberry reports as existing in such quantities in the rocks at Akhmim⁵. Its abundance would have given rise to the belief that this was a place especially chosen by the god, for had he not cast bolts innumerable upon it? The place would, therefore, naturally become sacred to the god of the "light"-weapon, as in fact it did. It is interesting to find this association of divine weapon and fossil right back at the very dawn of civilisation. It shows that the still common idea which connects such fossils with thunderbolts is one of the most ancient of modern man's legacies from the past.

Though the presence of the *Lithodomi* no doubt accounts for the settling of Min at Akhmim, it is hard to say whether these fossils had any influence on the development of the historic shape of his emblem. It is of course very possible that they influenced the inordinate broadening and lengthening of what was originally the point of the weapon and also the disguising of its barbs.

The establishment of Min's worship at a place full of "thunderbolt"-like objects and his possession of an emblem that had developed from a "light"-weapon corresponds to certain well-known characteristics of his statue. These are the high feathers, the streamer, the raised arm, and the whip-like implement. Spiegelberg has already shewn that the feathers indicate dominion in the air⁶. Similarly, Sethe has noted that the streamer apparently has to do with the wind⁷. The arm that is raised ready to strike is characteristic of the sky-gods all through the Near East, whether Enlil, Hadad,

¹ See p. 189.

² Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore*, 72 ff., nos. 20, 39-47, 81, 94 b, 96, 98, 104, 107, 109, 110. All these examples are collected from Northern and Eastern Europe.

³ Traced from D. Sharpe, *Description of the Fossil Remains of Mollusca found in the Chalk of England*, Pl. i, figs. 3, 4 c (published by the Palaeontographical Society, London, 1853).

⁴ Sketched by the author in the Cairo Geological Museum (scale c. $\frac{1}{2}$).

⁵ Newberry, *Liverpool Annals*, iv, 99, second note. Dr. Hume considers it quite likely that *Lithodomus* should be found at Akhmim, though he himself does not happen to know of it there.

⁶ Spiegelberg, *A.Z.*, XLIX, 127, 128.

⁷ Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, 22, § 30, quoting *Pyr.* §§ 1928 c, 1948 a.

Teshub, Resheph, or Zeus. Fig. 7, which is drawn from an early and very beautiful statuette of Zeus from Dodona¹, will serve as the type. It is the dangerous character of the sky-god that provides him with his weapon, and, if he has a weapon, he must raise his arm before he can either hurl it or strike with it.

Finally, there is Min's whip-like implement, which in so far as it is a whip² associates him once more with this cycle of gods. In Greece and other parts of the world the whip is quite a common symbol of the lightning-flash³. At Zeus' shrine of Dodona there was the famous gong which kept the whole countryside reverberating with its sound. It consisted of a metal bowl struck by a boy with a whip. As this whip had three lashes⁴, it was singularly like Min's implement.

Hence, whatever his other aspects may have been, it is evident that a very great deal in Min's iconography allies him to the gods of other lands who ruled over the sky, light, air, wind, and storm. In his own country his associates were Amūn, who was Zeus, the Greek storm-god, and Horus, who was Apollo, the Greek light-god. When the lightning-god Resheph, the Syrian and Cypriote form of Apollo, entered Egypt, he commonly took Min as companion. Min's city of Akhmim was founded at a place full of "thunderbolts." Min, therefore, had every right to participate in a meteorite, for it is sacred to such gods as the foregoing. It was, therefore, sound theology that gave him a share in the *K3-mwt-f* object, for that shows many signs of being a meteorite. Meteorites being thunderbolts, it was also correct that the emblem of such a god as Min should have been the "light"-weapon, which took on the shape of the Greek thunderbolt.

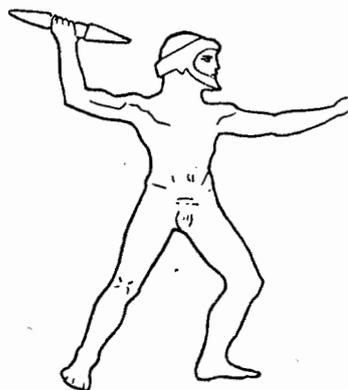


Fig. 7

¹ Kekule von Stradonitz and Winnefeld, *Bronzen aus Dodona*, Pl. i. (Fig. 7 is given here by kind permission of the publishers.)

² But see Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi*, 94 ff.; Newberry, *Journal*, xv, 86 ff.

³ Cook, *Zeus*, II, 824 ff.

⁴ *Id.* in *J.H.S.*, xxii, 8 ff., esp. the fig. on p. 12.