Fig. 5.

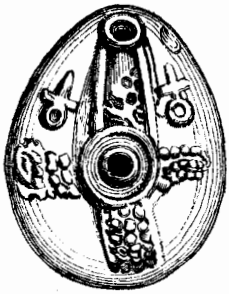


Fig. 1.

Fig. 4.
inserted elsewhere.

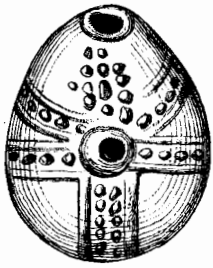


Fig. 2.

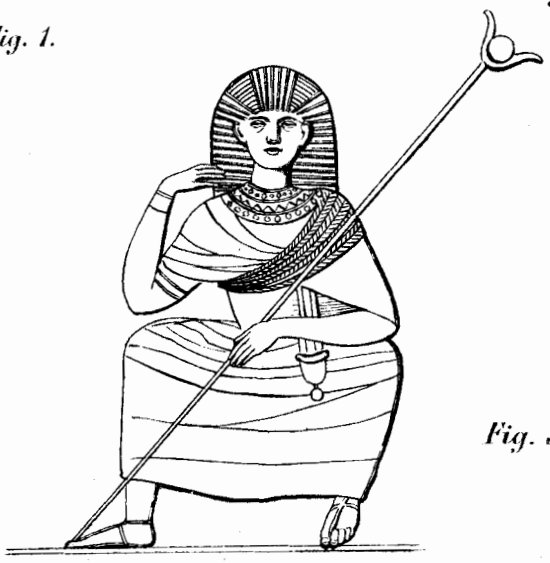


Fig. 3.

Hanhart, Printer, 4 & 5 Bedford St. Covent Garden.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.

Dean Sprofield, 22, Bedford St. Covent Garden.

ORDINARY MEETING, March 6, 1876.

C. Brooke, Esq., F.R.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following elections were announced :—

Members :—C. J. Bentley, Esq., F.S.A., London ; Rev. G. Straton, B.A., Leicester.

Associates :—The Hon. H. M. Best, London ; J. A. Macdonald, Esq., London ; Rev. T. A. McKee, Dublin ; Rev. K. M. Morrow, Shaftesbury.

Also the presentation of the following Works to the Library :—

"Proceedings of the Royal Society," Part 166. *From the Society.*
"Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," Part 2. *Ditto.*
"Proceedings of the Smithsonian Institute, 1874." *Ditto.*
"Proceedings of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey,' Bulletin 6. *From the Survey.*
"Light as a Motive Power," Vol. II. By Lieut Armit, R.N. *The Author.*

The following paper was then read :—

THE HORUS MYTH IN ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY. — By W. R. Cooper, F.R.A.S., M.R.A.S., Hon. Sec. Biblical Archæology.

THERE are few points on which the Egyptian and Christian religions so nearly analogize, and which are more striking in their resemblances, than that one doctrine which has always been regarded, and rightly so, as a special result of revelation, —the doctrine of a Vicarious Deliverer of mankind in the person of a mysterious Being, who is at once both very God and very man. The definite language of the Nicene Creed, and its commentary, the symbol of St. Athanasius, explains the nature and attributes of the founder of our religion, and it is my province, as far as I am able to do so, to show to-night in what degree that nature and those attributes were anticipated in the Egyptian dogma of Horus *Nets*, the only-begotten son of his father—the Deliverer of Mankind from the Evil One. Perhaps you will allow me, before I proceed to examine my subject, to remove a little misapprehension which may arise in your minds as to the manner in which I shall treat it, and the standpoint from which it will be viewed, since the topic is one to Christians of the most serious interest, and one which has formed the foundation of a variety of heretical exposi-

tions in the first three centuries of our era, and has been overlaid with a mass of pseudo-science and philology by the sceptical writers of the earlier part of this. There are, I take it, then, in all religions, and notably in the oldest, certain fundamental truths which were derived from a primeval revelation,—fundamental truths which have in some theologies been neglected, in others lost sight of, in a third misunderstood, and in a fourth perverted and corrupted. In the depths of His infinite mercy, we are told, that the Supreme Being left not Himself without witness in the world,*—such a witness, for example, as is afforded by the science of natural theology,—and He revealed to the earlier civilizers of mankind certain salvatory truths, the full elucidation of which He reserved for the ages to come. Hence it follows, that as in all ages there were those to whom He was pleased to reveal Himself and to teach His word, there must always have existed among the traditions of the human race the remembrance of those elementary doctrines which were derived from what was really the pre-patriarchal church; but hence, also, it by no means as necessarily follows that those traditions should be based upon a revelation made known only to the Jews as the descendants of Abraham, since, if we were to require such a postulate, we should have to deduce our arguments from creeds which arose among nations having had subsequent contact with the Jews; and that position in the case of the ancient Egyptians would be utterly untenable; rather, instead, would I base my argument upon this hypothesis therefore, that long prior to the time of Abraham the cardinal dogmas of the Church were known to the nations of the world, and that it was reserved to the Father of the faithful and his descendants to hold and to transmit to us the whole of those dogmas in their integrity; but that even to the Jews themselves the full import of their own articles of faith was not fully known, while isolated doctrines, which were held in common by them and by other nations, were expanded to a degree which the patriarchs never understood, and which in some points anticipated, so far as these expansions arose from the conscious yearnings of the soul after God. the tenets of Christian revelation. Do not, I pray you, think, me tedious in these prefatory remarks, for, singular as some of the Egyptian doctrines are, which I shall presently examine, they were all held in the land of the Pharaohs centuries before the call of Abraham or the birth of Moses. Place the period of Abraham where you may, that of the XIIth Egyptian Dynasty must precede it; the arrival of Jacob and his family cannot have been earlier than the XVIIIth, and the expulsion of the

* Acts xiv. 17.

Exodus than the XIXth dynasties. Therefore the compilation of the Pentateuch must be posterior to the time of Rameses II.; * although certain integral portions may be, nay, undoubtedly are, infinitely older, and the *Ritual of the Dead*, which dates from the IVth Dynasty,† and the *Litanies of the Sun*, which are found in the XIIth Dynasty, must be the oldest theological texts in existence.‡ There is this most important consideration, however,—the rubrics and commentaries upon these, and the beautiful mystical hymns which form so large a part of the ancient hieroglyphic literature, are of a more recent period, and were the subject of continual recensions and additions; so that while the essential parts of the myth of Horus mount up to the period of the Great Pyramid, the oldest of Egyptian buildings; the expositions and adaptations of that myth descend as low as to the grand temple of Edfu, which was erected by Cleopatra Cocce and Ptolemy Euergetes II., and was only completed by Augustus Cæsar.

I bring before you a collection of facts illustrating points of belief dating from the highest antiquity, and I present you with a problem which arises from them, to which is added a theory, such as it is, in explanation. On my own *ipse dixit*—I a young man, and a still younger scholar—it would be ridiculous more than presumptuous to ask you to receive either facts or corollaries; it is to be hoped, therefore, that you will examine these materials for yourselves. Indeed, so open to question do some of the positions advanced seem to be, and so singular—almost dangerously singular—are the inferences which arise from them, that if I thought the Horus Myth would remain in obscurity I should certainly not have ventured upon an analysis of it now; but since I well know that that cannot be the case, since the results of Egyptian philology and the

* The date of the reign of Rameses II. is fixed by the heliacal rising of the dog-star; so this occurring in his twelfth year, this astronomical cycle is fixed for B.C. 1311 (Biot).

† Cap. lxiv., *The Manifestation to Light*, "The Chapter of Coming Forth as the Day." This is attributed to the period of King Gaga Makheru or Menkera.—Birch, Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v. p. 142.

‡ The Solar litanies, or the Litany of Ra, are chiefly found on the sarcophagi and on the walls of the tombs of the Ramesside monarchs in the Biban el Moluk, and they are therefore of a late period as regards the texts which we now possess. They breathe the spirit of a pure Pantheism, Ra being regarded as the deity from whom all things came, to whom all things return, and in whose essence all mankind are to be absorbed.—See Naville, *La Litanie du Soleil*. Paris, 1876.

> "From whose eyes mankind proceeeded,
> Of whose mouth are the gods."—
>
> Hymn to Amen Ra, *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 132.

discovery of fresh texts are bringing into notice the primeval dogmas of the world, of which the Horus Myth is one of the most prominent; since the origin of many of the Egyptian rites and beliefs must soon become the cause of a steady controversy, which, if not taken up by a friend, would perchance be disingenuously misrepresented by an enemy; since these things are so, it seemed pardonable to me, despite all defects, to bring forward the subject, even as the key-note in an orchestral piece is not generally given by the leading instrument; and also that I should delay no longer in compiling this paper, lest the pressure of increasing engagements, and still more seriously, a feeble frame of body, should unexpectedly prevent me from reading it at all. Now, therefore, let me approach the task which I have almost too rashly undertaken.

Among all the Egyptian deities there is not one which fills a more important place in the whole Pantheon, no, not even Osiris or Amen Ra himself, than the benevolent deity Horus. He was almost the sum and substance of all the theology of the older Pharaonic faith. He was considered as holding many of the most contradictory offices; as having a most mysterious origin; as uniting himself most intimately with mankind; as having a triple nature and a double personality; as being capable of veneration under a variety of names and attributes; and, alone of all the divinities, retaining his pre-eminent position, even in the times of the Set cultus of the Hykshos invasion, and the disk-worship of the heretic Khu-en-aten, or, as he is better known, Amenhotep IV.

The three chief characters of Horus, under which he was most frequently represented in the monuments, and by which he was referred to in the hieroglyphic texts, were, I., Horus Ra, or the Sun, as the vivific soul of the world, and of all things wherein there is life; II., Horus *Teti*, the conqueror, and the avenger of Osiris, in which he was the eternal antagonist of spiritual and physical evil; and, III., Horus *Nets*, the Deliverer,* in which he was the vicarious deliverer from evil of the Egyptian deceased, and the justifier of the righteous. Besides these three chief deifications, there were two other forms of godhead assumed by him also; viz., Hor-Hut, or the Good Spirit, and Horus Khem, the god of generation. In all these forms he had a different series of honorific titles and distinctive epithets, which were continually blending into one another, and which, especially in the later texts, were often used indiscriminately.

Horus *Ra*, the Sun. According to the Egyptian philosophical belief, all life, animal, human, vegetable, and even divine, was

* "Horus *nets* your soul," is a usual phrase on the papyri (Birch).

derived directly from the sun itself; the life of the gods by emanation, the life of men by creation, and the life of plants by germination. The whole cosmos, active or passive, lived only by the actual presence of the sun; and hence, in some places, the solar deity, or Horus Ra, is assumed to be equivalent to Nature itself. The life of man, being the positive gift of the sun,* was symbolized by that great luminary's course in the heavens, whether in his intangible essence as eternal light, or in his personification as Horus; each manifestation of the sun was considered as a separate deity, not intrinsically but officially distinct. As the rising sun, Horus was the child of Isis, the material heavens, and also of Nu, the goddess of the mysterious ocean, out of which the sun arose, and into which he descended on his way to illuminate the under world, or Hades.† As the sun in its horizon, Horus was called Harmakhu, and was symbolized by the mysterious human-headed couchant lion, which is generally called a sphinx. The very fact of that colossal rock-cut statue, which now exists in Egypt under that name, having been wrought in honour of Harmakhu before the time of the IVth Dynasty, attests the great antiquity of the solar identification of the Horus myth.‡ As the setting sun, Horus was called Tum, or Atum, in which characteristic he was identified with the great source of life to the souls of the under world. As the deity of the actual solar disk, pure and simple, Horus was regarded as Aten Ra, and in all these, and a variety of other minor manifestations, Horus was termed in the *Ritual* and *Litanies*, "the Lord of Life, the God creating himself," and "the Eternal One," epithets which were further applied to him in his other offices and personifications also.§

The *Ritual of the Dead*, that most ancient and most mysterious

---

* See Deveria, *Cat. des Manuscrits Egyptiens du Musée du Louvre.*

† See Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Egyptienne*, art. *Horus.*

‡ "Completed, if not commenced, under the reign of Shafra (Chephren), of the second Pyramid."—Lenormant, *Manual of the Ancient History of the East*, i. p. 331.

§ "Le personnage d'Horus se rattache sous des noms différents à deux générations divines. Sous le nom d'Haröeris ou Horus l'Aîné, il est, nous dit une inscription d'Ombos, né de Seb et de Nout, et par conséquent frère d'Osiris, dont il est le fils sous un autre nom: Haröeris représente ainsi la pré-existence divine.

"Sous le nom d'Harpocrate, né d'Isis et d'Osiris, il est le successeur de ce dernier et symbolise l'éternel renouvellement de la divinité. Osiris est le Dieu Suprême dont la manifestation matérielle est le soleil et dont la manifestation morale est le bien. Le soleil meurt, mais il renaît sous la forme d'Horus, fils d'Osiris et soleil levant. Le bien succombe sous les corps du mal dont Set est l'incarnation, mais il renaît sous la forme d'Horus, fils et vengeur d'Osiris Unnefer, l'Être bon."—Pierret, *Salle Historique Musée du Louvre.*—See also final note.

production of the Egyptian priests, is filled with the spirit of the Horus myth throughout. In the chapter of the Metamorphosis,* Osiris is addressed thus :—

"Thy son Horus is crowned on thy throne;
All life is through him;
He has made millions;
He has formed the gods";

and proving the peculiarly intimate nature of the union subsisting between Horus and the souls of the deceased, it is said :—

"Horus he is my brother,
Horus he is my cousin,
Horus has come to me out of my father,
He has proceeded from the brains of his head,
He has made the gods,
He has made millions with his eye.
The *Only One*, its Lord,
The universal Lord."

The allusion to the eye of Horus is in reference to a peculiar myth in which that deity, as the sun, was supposed to create all good things by merely looking them into existence;† Horus himself, as we shall hereafter see, being created by the actual speech of his father Osiris; and hence he was termed the speech, or literally the "word" of God.‡

It was as Horus Ra that the benevolent deity was most commonly represented, in the form of a royal figure with the head of a sparrow-hawk—the bird which in Egypt flew nearest to the sun—and wearing the solar disk upon his head. In his hands were usually the emblems of authority and life and power, the *uas* sceptre and the *crux ansata*. As Horus Ra the god was almost invariably figured on the upper part of the Egyptian mummy-cases, and on the amulets laid upon the head of the deceased; and in this character the Hawk among birds, and the Basilisk or Uræus among reptiles, were his emblems, or, as we should better call them, his *totems*. The Egyptian kings, who by a magnificently conceived political fiction were themselves incarnations of the Deity, generally assumed also the name and offices of Horus the Sun in one of their two cartouches, which was called the Horus title, and which was, in fact, their proper name. This cartouche was always preceded by the hieroglyphics signifying Son of the Sun,§ and the custom of assuming the double name dated from the close of

---

* Chapter lxxviii. † Dr. Birch. ‡ *Ibid.*
§ "*Ze-Ra*" or "*Mes-Ra.*"

the reigns of the Pyramid-builders, or the kings of the Vth Dynasty.*

Another singular feature in the character of Horus Ra was the first millennial reign of the deity as a king upon earth in that ancient period when men were uncorrupted, and the gods resided among them. It was the period of the Horsheshu, or the servants of Horus, when all Nature poured forth of her abundance to satisfy, not merely the wants but the pleasures of mankind; when the Nile ran with milk, and the choicest fruits grew spontaneously on verdant pastures, now arid and bare. The length of this elysial reign of Horus is not given with any accuracy, but it was said to have continued for many centuries,† and to have been only terminated by the rebellion of Typhon, or Set, the uncle of Horus, and the brother of Osiris.‡ The Egyptian believers never quite lost recollection of that blissful period of heavenly prosperity, and accordingly fully anticipated a time of final restoration, as well as a day of ultimate retribution, a time when Horus, who was in the meanwhile dwelling with the souls of the redeemed in the Aahla, or fields of peace, would hereafter return to earth again, re-establish the reign of the gods and the restoration of the world, and, to a greater or less extent, realize all the glorions prospects which still excite the imaginations, and maintain the faith of the believers in the Christian millennium. That such a condition should so generally be believed to have once existed is, as Canon Titcomb has well observed, in itself an echo of the voice of primitive revelation, and a heathen commentary on the words of the apostle of the Gentiles, that the "whole creation groaneth and laboureth together until now."§

By these reflections on the reign of Horus Ra I am insensibly led on, as it were, to consider the next character of the same divinity, or Horus, the avenger of his Father, a character in which to the classic writers the son of Osiris was very well known, although, with that perverse self-conceit which disfigures all the writings of the Greeks and Romans, the classic philosophers chose to interpolate a large number of foreign theories, and to misinterpret the Egyptian legend by overlaying it with commentaries obtained from an utterly uncognate cult.

The title *Nets*, which can also be rendered "deliverer" as well as "avenger," is one of the most mysterious of all the names of the God, and the texts in which it occurs use it in connection

---

* Pierret, *Dict. Arché. Egyptienne*, "Cartouche."
† A Sothiac cycle, or 1461 years.
‡ Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus*. 1870. § Rom. viii. 22.

with other expressions, which only add to its mysteriousness. The formula generally runs thus:—"Hail, thou avenger God, Son of God! Hail, thou avenger Horus, proceeding from Osiris, born of Isis!"* Other variants of the same invocation have "engendered" of Osiris in the place of "proceeding";† and another, still more singular, "O avenger, born of Osiris, born of Isis," the Egyptian theory of generation being that all life was from the father, and all substance of the mother; and hence that a divine being could assume a human body, and yet retain his own separate personality. In this, therefore, the second office of Horus, there was indisputably an historical element; all tradition points with reverted finger to the period when the gods lived with men, and the reigns of Osiris the supreme deity, of Isis the great mother,‡ and of Horus the avenging prince, probably transmit the records through the Hamitic race, of the time when the *Beni Elohim* saw the daughters of men that they were fair,§ and the days when there were giants in the earth, whose annals are preserved in the Izdubar legends of Chaldea.‖

In these primeval times, then, Osiris, the Supreme Being, or rather the Supreme Being in his human embodiment as Osiris, was known to mankind as a wise and beneficent king; as the author of all wisdom; as the discoverer of the arts and sciences, and more especially of that great science upon which the existence of Egypt depended—the science of agriculture. For these and his other holy offices he received the title of Unnefer, or the "Good Being"; and, conjointly with his wife and sister Isis, he governed Egypt in peace and prosperity for a long succession of happy years. Horus, their son, was the recognized heir to the throne, and yet at the same time the mysterious ancestor of the whole divine family. The cosmic deity Set worked in harmony with their administration and their aims. One discordant element alone was present to mar the perfect concord of the reign of Osiris, the true and glorious reign of the gods, and that was the envy and malice of his brother Typhon, afterwards identified with Set, the Sustedkh of the

---

* Champollion, *Système Hiéroglyphique*, p. 191.

† On a statue in the Museo Borghese.

‡ I purposely defer the examination of the Isis and Horus Myth, and the "Hathor suckling Horus" Statuettes, because they have reference to a distinct symbolism which is still less understood.

§ Gen. vi. 2.

‖ See Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*.

Asiatic Hykshos.* Thus far the Greek and Egyptian legends coincide, and thus far I am disposed to follow them; but beyond this point they disagree, and therefore from this point I shall ignore the theories of Herodotus and Plutarch, regarding them with somewhat of the scorn of the Egyptian priest of Sais, who proudly told the Teian traveller, "All you Greeks are children." The truth is, that the hieroglyphic inscriptions do not afford us at present any clear information as to the actual status of Osiris, the origin of the anger of Typhon, or the cause of its painful success. A fratricidal war, they agree, terminated the dynasty of Osiris Unnefer. His son was driven from his throne, his wife exiled, and his own body shamefully mutilated, and the dissevered fragments strewn over the ruined fields of the once prosperous land of Egypt. The widowed Isis, calling to her assistance her sister deity Nephthys and the god Anubis, went in search of the members of her lord's body, and wherever she found a portion of it, there it was embalmed by Anubis, and buried by her sister and herself. The chief portions of the body of Osiris were discovered at This or Abydos, and on the island of Philæ, in the Upper Nile, near Nubia. Hence those two places were held as especially sacred to the divinity, and to be buried in or near Abydos was, in the time of the first twelve dynasties, almost a passport to a happy resurrection. The sanctification of the island and temples at Philæ, the reticence concerning the name of Osiris, the irrevocable oath referred to by Herodotus, "By him who sleeps at Philæ,"† and the Litanies of Isis and Nephthys, all seem to belong to the more philosophical religious belief of a later period, and to be more derived from, than dictated by, the language of the *Ritual of the Dead* or the funereal papyri. We are not told definitely by what means the young Horus raised an army and dethroned his uncle, or for how long a period the war of revenge continued; but to it and to the assistance rendered by certain spiritual beings to Horus in the strife, there are many distinct allusions in Egyptian literature. In truth, the mythical and the historical elements in the lives of Osiris and Horus become so blended together that it is

---

* "In the times which preceded, immortal beings had reigned in Egypt; that they had communication with men, and had uniformly one superior; that Orus, whom the Greeks call Apollo, was the last of these. He was the son of Osiris, and after he had expelled Typhon, himself succeeded to the throne."—Herod., *Euterpe*, cxliv.

† Herodotus, *Euterpe*, xxxvi., "One whom I do not think it religious to name."

"Do not thou utter that name of the great god."—Renouf, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 38.

impossible now to separate them, and to allot to each its distinct position and appropriate references. Certain, however, it is, that very early in Egyptian mythology the dead Osiris became to be regarded as the type of all souls and things in whose bodies the power of re-creation yet remained, and the wicked Typhon as the symbol of all evil, spiritual and physical; and that consequently the war with him and his confederates carried on by Horus *Nets* assumed the character of a mystical contest between the spiritual powers of good and evil, and also, by a parity of reasoning, between the temporary death of the sun-god Ra by the eclipse of night, and the certain resurrection of the same deity in his form of Horus, the rising sun; thus again reuniting the ideas of antagonism between virtue and vice with the physical opposition of light and darkness; and it is, therefore, to the testimony of the *Ritual of the Dead* and the *Litany of Horus* to the offices of Horus, as the spiritual avenger of his father Osiris, still himself remaining an allied deity, that I call your attention now.

The chief texts in which the historical doctrines of the Avengement of Horus are contained are, I. The *Ritual of the Dead;* II. The Texts on the Temples of Edfu* and Philæ; III. The other texts called the *Litany of Horus;* and, IV. The Litany called the *Assistances of Horus to his Father Osiris.* Reserving the references in the Ritual for a later consideration, the sentences being so involved with ideas which I shall have to consider further on, I will first present you with some illustrations of the doctrine of the Avengement, derived from the temple texts, as published by M. Naville, of Geneva.†

On the whole, or nearly the whole, of the walls of the Ptolemaic temple of Horus at Edfu, are represented the life and actions of Horus, or as he is there called Harhut, under two chief divisions,—the first comprising what may be called the historical part of the myth, namely the reign of Osiris, and the war with and subsequent defeat of Typhon, under the forms respectively of a Hippopotamus, a Crocodile, a Serpent, and an Asiatic or Hykshos

---

* *Edfu.* The modern name for the city and name of Apollinopolis, called by the Egyptians Teshor. The most ancient name of this town was Teb. The great temple of Edfu is one of the most stately and best preserved, Karnak and Tentyra excepted, in Upper Egypt. It was dedicated to the god Horus, and was built on the same plan as that of Tentyra, by Nekhtarhebi II. (?) of the XXXth dynasty. The interior walls are covered with a series of mythical inscriptions relative to the legend of Horus, applied to Ptolemy Euergetes II., and a series of dialogues between the divinity Horus and the royal founder. A great number of towns and other geographical sites are mentioned in the Hieroglyphics, together with the usual inflated lists of donations to the temple and its priests.

† Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus,* pl. i. p. 9.

invader; and secondly, an application of these same myths to the reigning sovereign of Egypt, Ptolemy Cæsarion,* and his mother Queen Cleopatra VI. as the goddess Isis; but into that division of the legend I do not propose to go, and indeed I shall do little more as regards the first section of this subject than quote a selection of extracts from the hieroglyphic texts, as the analogy of this part of the life of Horus with any doctrine of Christianity is not very marked. The titles and offices of his father having been related, and the subject of the whole text stated the justification of Horus against his enemies, Horus is then called "Harhut, the great God, the Lord of heaven, the Lord of the *Mesen*, the shining light which beams in the horizon, the brave, the valiant one who has gone forth to destroy Set, the protector of his mother Isis." He goes forth conquering and to conquer. He calls his servants to his allegiance. The gods applaud and strengthen him, and the god Thoth proclaims to the people a festival in his behalf. "A day of the festival of Horus the Lord of the country, the son of Isis the well-beloved, the Justified Lord, the child of Osiris, the son of Unnefer, who is powerful in all places whither he is found."† The Horsheshu or servants of Horus, supposed by some writers to have been the primeval inhabitants of Egypt, join his army and co-operate in his successes. They ascribe glory to him as "Horus, he who disperses Typhon from Egypt, the good guardian of the town of Sen," whereupon he exclaims, "I pierce [the hearts] of thine [his father's] enemies, I cut their bones, I break their backs, I grind their flesh, I drink their poison, the arrow is fixed in their face, I have cloven the head of the hippopotamus."‡ Standing in his boat and taking his lance in his hand, he descends along the river Nile, fighting his victor way from shore to shore. He boasts again and again, "I have cut the heart of Baal at Edfu, I take the hearts of the adversaries, I drink the venom of the vanquished in the town, I open my throat against the enemies."§ Let Typhon assume, Proteus like, whatever form he may, still he is fated to be overcome. Scene after scene of victory is thus represented, and at last the victory being consummated, we are told in the text that the chief towns of Egypt (of which a list is given) "rejoice themselves and are in happiness when they see the very beautiful temple which is made for Horus, the son of Isis, who has built the great city."‖ The goddesses Isis and Nepthhys call to their priestesses and the people, say-

* It is uncertain which Ptolemy and Cleopatra are intended, the second cartouches being left blank.

† Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus*, pl. i. p. 9.

‡ *Ibid.*, pl. ii. § *Ibid.*, pl. iv. ‖ *Ibid.*, pl. iv.

ing, "Come, run towards the Lake of Horus, behold the god in his boat, see the son of Isis in his boat, showing himself like Ra in the bark *Sekti*, with his arrow in his hand."* The people of Egypt tender him their praises and offer him their homage. Osiris glorifies his son. Isis bestows her love upon him, and the whole multitude of the ransomed Egyptians break forth into singing, and then in the two hymns which follow are celebrated, in the first the might of Horus, and in the second the beauty of his vestments and the terror of his spear.

"Let us rejoice, daughters of the great town of Tep, who are dwelling† toward (. . . . . ‡).

Come, behold Horus on the right of his bark
Shining like the sun who lightenest on the horizon.
He is ornamented with a green dress,§
He is girded with precious stuffs,
He is decorated with linen,
The two crowns are upon his head,‖
And the two uræi are about his temples.
He has received the sceptre,
And the skin he shines over the Pschent. ¶
Sekhet is upon his head,
Thoth protects him,
Pthah speaks for him.
Thy lance has pierced thine [enemies].

Sokaris says to him, Thy arm has struck the [adversaries]. Hathotep,** of Senefer,†† says to him, When . . . thy arrow is in part of Keb,

Thy lance in the country of the figs.‡‡
I have thrown [my arrow] to the right,
I have thrown [it also] to the left, like a valiant hunter."

Thus did the Egyptian women, like Miriam and her companions, rejoice with timbrel and music. §§ But it does not suffice that Horus shall slay Typhon and cast his followers into Hell; following the primitive code of *Lex talionis*, as he had done to Osiris, so shall the son of Osiris do to him. The body of the dead adversary must itself be dismembered, and sent to all the principal towns of Egypt: *fiat justitia*; and therefore

---

* Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus*, pl. iv. † *Ibid.*, pl. viii.
‡ Lacuna. § Emblematic of the Resurrection.
‖ Of Upper and Lower Egypt; also symbolical of power over both the Heavens and Hades. ¶ The two crowns united.
** Hathotep, peace of Hat, *i.e.* Hathor.
†† Sen-nefer, making good, common Egyptian surnames.
‡‡ This was a common name of the land of Egypt.
§§ The women are represented with sistrums and timbrels in the illustrations to this hymn.

Typhon, in his form of the hippopotamus, has to be cut in pieces before the Lord,* and then Isis, addressing her beloved son, exclaims, "Thou shalt carry the thigh to Tettu,† to thy father, Unnefer, the justified; thou shalt take his back to Ni, to the great Horus, the Lord of Sechem; his palms shall be taken to Ten, to thy father, the great Anhur; thou shalt take the shoulder to Het, to thy brother, the great Apher (Anubis); thou shalt take the leg to the place of Siout, to Tafnut, the Lady of Oxyrhyncus; his head and rump will I take myself; thou shalt throw his bones to the cats, and scatter his flesh before them." This is precisely the spirit of the Psalmist, "That thy foot may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies, and that the tongue of thy dogs may be red through the same."‡

Terrible indeed was to be the fall of the opposers of Horus and Osiris, for not content with destroying the power of the evil being, and their allies upon earth, having expelled Seb and his colleagues out of Egypt, Horus the avenger must further drive them into hell, almost literally in the words of the Apocalypse, "to a lake that burneth with fire and brimstone."§ The genie of Hades went to receive the souls of the damned, and they exclaim with one consent to Horus, "I burn their bones in my flame"; then more directly addressing the deity, "Thou hast driven far off the profane from behind thy temple, who are taken behind thee, [thou art to thy temple] like a wall of iron or of stone, and thou guardest it on all sides." Thou art 'the unparalleled son,' who hast fought with Typhon; thy heart is closed, my son Horus; thou piercest the enemies of thy father, and givest them no repose."

With one more hymn I must close these extracts from the temple texts. It is a part of what may be called the "Chorus of the Maidens":—

"We celebrate thee:
We rejoice in seeing thee, because thou shinest upon us like Ra:
We strike our tambourins in thine honour on beholding thee,
Since thou hast taken to thyself the dignity of Harkhuti.
We praise thee, we give thee praises, because thou shinest upon us as Ra, who lightenest the horizon.
We celebrate thee:
We rejoice in regarding thee, we exalt ourselves in seeing thee:
We give thee our praises who goest near to the heavens, because thou hast stricken through the most wicked of thine enemies.

* Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus*, pl. ix.
† Tettu or Tattu, the abode of Osiris in Hades.
‡ Psa. lxviii. 23.
§ Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus*, pl. vii.

We celebrate thee:

We praise thy majesty, because thou hast stricken down the enemies of thy father."*

In the *Ritual of the Dead* there is not that distinctiveness of delineation as regards the office of Horus *Nets* that is found in the Litanies of Horus, and this is owing, of course, to the Ritual being, like our own Prayer Book, a collection of prayers and offices not necessarily connected together, although having very much in common with each other. There is a uniformity of design, but by no means a uniformity of expression prevailing between all the different parts of the work; and thus it is that in the *Ritual* the acts of Horus are blended with the acts of the other deities, and he is viewed more in relation to the believer than in that of his relationship to his father. The *Ritual* begins with Horus, and it ends with Horus, but it is Horus as assimilated to the soul of the deceased rather than as Horus the victorious king of the Horsheshu, though at the same time there is a continual reference to the deity in that attribute also. Accordingly, in the very first chapter of the *Ritual*, this phrase occurs: "I am with Horus, supporting the right shoulder, or, as we should say, arm of Osiris. I expel the wicked from them, or one of the celestial regions where Osiris resided."†

In the XIXth chapter, that of "the Crown of Justification," which is to be given to the deceased by the god Tum as his reward for his active holiness, the deceased, still in the character of Horus, is said to justify Osiris, who dwells in the west, to justify Osiris against his enemies, to be justified against Seb and his associates, to make "all his enemies fall down stabbed," and to repeat this slaughter "millions of times." "All his enemies fall down stabbed; he drags them, throwing them down from the place where they are to the blocks of the east; he cuts off their heads, breaks their necks, and cuts off their thighs, giving them to the great strangler in the valley.‡ They do not escape the custody of Seb § for ever."

With reference to the east, it should be noted that in Egyptian mythology hell was situated in the east, as heaven was in the west. The great strangler in the valley is the devouring serpent, who lives by devouring the souls of the ungodly.

---

* Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus*, pl. viii.

† "The Chapter of the Manifestation to Light."

‡ The devouring serpent. See Bonomi, *Sarcophagus of Oimenepthah I.*, plate 14 c, where this very subject is represented.

§ Seb was the primeval father of all the gods, and the grandfather of Horus. His analogue was the Chronos of the Greeks.

Farther on in the *Ritual*,* Horus is proclaimed by his father Osiris: "Everywhere welcomed is Horus by the gods." While by the change of persons so frequent in all Eastern poetry, to the young deity himself, the speaker cries out, "Lead on, Horus, son of Isis, support thou thy father Osiris." Agreeably to this invocation, the son of Osiris replies,—

"O Osiris, I have come to thee:
I am Horus. I have avenged.
O Osiris, I have smitten for thee thine enemies,
I have been avenged upon them."

In the Litany of the names of Osiris,† Horus is called the sustainer of his father under all his names; and in the section entitled "the Gates of Elysium,"‡ Horus declares,—

"I am Horus, the defender of his father; I am Horus the justified:
I have come:
I have aided my father Osiris,
The good being;
I have brought life and health to my father Osiris."

In the LXXVIIIth chapter of the *Ritual*,§ the mysterious birth of Horus the Avenger is referred to; of course it must be understood that it is the soul of an Egyptian who is here speaking in his hypostasis as Horus:—

"He is among the spirits attached to light,
Making transformations into the limbs of a god.
He is one of the said spirits attached to light.
Tum himself || made his transformations into his eyelashes (?).
He transformed the spiritualized;
He grew against them when they were with him,
For he was the only one they let forth.
He came forth from the horizon with them;
They made him the terror of the gods and spirits transformed with him,
The Only One of millions,
Creating all that is made.
For first Osiris made the generation of Horus;
Osiris figured (moulded) him.¶
How was he more dignified than those who belong to the

* Cap. cxxviii., "The Chapter of Adorations to Osiris."

† Cap. cxlii., "The Book of preparing the dead, that he may go, walk, and come out as the day, in all the transformations he wishes, knowing the name of Osiris in all the places where he wishes to be."

‡ Cap. cxlvii., "The commencement of the gates of the house of Osiris, in the Fields of the Aahlu, said by the deceased."

§ The "Chapter of Turning into a Hawk the God of Time."

|| The sun in Hades.

¶ Heb. i. 3. Of "the express image of his Person."

beings of light, created with him? Osiris rose as a divine hawk.

Horus incorporated it with his soul to take away the "things of Osiris at the gate."*

In passing I must explain that the allusion to the eyelashes refers to the partial shielding or concealing of the creative powers of the eyes of Horus during his performance of his semi-human office as the avenger of Osiris.†

These extracts form the *Ritual* must suffice, while in the Appendix to that mysterious work called the *Adoration of Osiris by his son Horus*, the following passages occur:—

"I give glory to thee,
Osiris, Lord of the gods,
Great god living in truth
(Is said) by thy son Horus.
I have come to thee,
Bringing thee truth.
Where are thy attendant gods?
Grant me to be with them in thy company.
I overthrow thy enemies,
I have prepared thy food on the earth for ever."‡

In the *Assistances of Horus*, the various filial offices of the benevolent deity are enumerated in a litany of more than forty verses, each of them commencing with the formula "I have come," and from these I shall content myself with extracting the following. The Rubric of the chapter runs thus:—

"The chapter of the Assistances of Horus to his father Osiris, when he goes to see his father Osiris, when he comes out of the great sanctuary to see him. The sun and Unnefer § he has united, one and the other of them as he wishes, resplendent in Hades."

"Hail, Osiris! I am thy son Horus:
I have come, I have supported thee,
I have overthrown thy enemies for thee,
I crush all evil girding thee,
I attack for thee,
I lie in wait for thee,
I have put forth my arm against the shamers of thy face,
I have brought to thee the companions of Seb, tying their mouths,
I have led to thee the south,
Subdued for thee the north;

---

* Cap. lxxviii.
† See Lefebure, *Le Mythe Osirien*, sec. "les yeux d'Horus."
‡ Bunsen's *Egypt*, p. 324. § Verses 1 to 8.

I have preserved for thee food from the north and south;
I have supplied for thee the victims of those who insult thy face."*

The next verses—those from 16 to 29—relate to various offerings made to the God, of corn, wild fowl, geese, fruit, beer, and incense, and then the mystical part of the Litany is resumed, and Horus pleads:—

"Hail, Osiris! I am thy son Horus:
I have come, I have given thee thy spirit,
I have given thee thy power,
I have given thee thy force,
I have given thee thy triumph,
I have given thee thy desolating power,
I have given thee thy victory,
I have given to thee thy eyes; and thy plumes upon thy head.
I have given to thee Isis and Nephthys to place them there;
I have filled for thee the eye of Horus with oil,
I have brought to thee the eye of Horus, [dazzle or blind] their face with it."†

The allusion to the eyes and plume is to the restoration by Horus of the creating power of his father Osiris, the power being symbolized by the pupils of the eyes, and the heavenly dignity by the great Atef, or plumed crown peculiar to Osiris. Thus Horus, "the beloved son" of Osiris, avenged and glorified his heavenly and yet human father.

This reference to the ointment, or oil of the eye, of Horus, receives further explanation in the discourse of Horus, a new text, which has been published by M. Naville,‡ verse 39 of which runs thus, "I have anointed thee with holy oil," and in another text—I will quote the French translation—"J'ai oint ta tête de l'huile du front d'Horus, si on l'y détruit (sur le front d'Horus), il est détruit comme dieu (sa divinité est détruite)." Evidently, therefore, the divine power of Horus was in some way connected with the sacred oil of unction; and though the title "Anointed One" does not appear to have been applied to the god, yet the circumstance is another of those singular parallels which abound throughout the whole of this myth with the Hebrew and Christian phraseology.

Before passing to the next division of my subject, I ought in common honour and Christian verity to remind you that both the inscriptions on the walls of the temple of Edfu and the present copies of the *Litanies of Horus* which we possess, are all

---

* The Good Being.
† Phrase quoted in Renouf's *Egyptian Grammar*, page 16.
‡ *Le Discours d'Horus à Osiris* in *Zeitschrift für Aeg. Sprache*, Juli, 1875.

very late, and that there is evidence in them of a philosophy and a spirit similar to those of the *Ritual of the Dead*, and that they were undoubtedly written when a philosophical tendency had begun to spoil the Egyptian mythology; when the pseudo-historical explanation of the sacred legends was becoming popular, and when, no doubt, the grand language and conceptions of the Old Testament prophets, which had been introduced into Egyptian literature by the Alexandrian Jews, had leavened the religious system of the Hamites in precisely the same manner as the Budhist legends were modified and purified by the Christian dogmas after the contact of the Hindu Gooroos with the Nestorian priests of the West. I must lay considerable stress upon the axiom, which should never be forgotten by a student of comparative mythology, that an analogy of ideas is not necessarily proven from an analogy of expression, unless by a parity of reasoning, the identical principles underlying them can be clearly traced out by a comparison of texts, monuments, and commentaries *of the same period;* since, for purposes of critical analysis, a subsequent exposition is merely an expression of the opinion of an individual writer. And what I affirm concerning tenets and phrases I unhesitatingly affirm concerning symbols and emblems also, Inman, Dana, Hislop, and Bryant to the contrary notwithstanding.

Revenons à nos moutons. It is much to be regretted that in all the mysterious offices of Horus the avenger there is so much confusion of ideas and characteristics that it is almost impossible to separate the one from the other. Insensibly Horus is addressed as, or becomes, father, son, and man; is in himself a unity and a trinity; a victor and a victim, giving honour to himself, receiving honours from himself; he is the son of Isis, of Hathor, and of Nu, the heavenly waters.* He is the son of Osiris, of Tum, of Ra, and of Harchuti; he receives the Good Spirit from his father; he gives the Good Spirit to his father; and he is himself, as will be presently seen, *the* Good Spirit; material and immaterial; mortal and immortal; he fills every sacred personation, and performs every sacred duty, and is in all things, yet submits to all things.†

These reflections naturally prepare the way for the consideration of the third office of Horus Ra, the office which is to us of the chiefest significance, and upon which I hope to dwell in some detail—the character and office of Horus *Nets*, the Deliverer

* Or, "the waters that are above the firmament."—Gen. i. 7.

† The same Pantheistic confusion runs throughout the great Litany of Ra, the chief texts of which belong to the period of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties.

from the Power of Apophis or the Evil One. From a very early period in Egyptian history, the myth—I use the term in no irreverent sense—of a personal Deliverer became an integral part of their theology. Many of the already-cited texts allude to it by implication, others directly state it. The fact is in itself indisputable, and the doctrine stands more prominently forth in the Egyptian theology than in any other except the Budhist and the Christian. Furthermore—and this feature of the cultus must be distinctly noted—it is only in the Egyptian and the Christian faith that the ideas of deliverance by a deity, and of [acquired] imputed righteousness underlie all the minor points of belief. The vicarious righteousness of the Budhist differed in this, that it was a righteousness of passive holiness, a negation of wrong-doing rather than a life of right action; it made all life, animal and vegetable, equally sacred, without having regard to the personality or organization of the living being. The Egyptian and the Christian faith equally also regard life sacred, as a divine principle, but differing in degree. The Budhist would not pull up a blade of grass from the prairie, a Christian would not wilfully destroy a camel-thorn in the desert. Wrongly acting in the spirit of Pope's lines—

> "Who sees with equal eye, as Lord of all,
> A hero perish or a sparrow fall;
> Atoms or kingdoms into ruin hurled,
> And now a bubble burst, and now a world,"*—

a Gooroo is taught to consider a flea and the man upon whom it feeds as of equal value in the sight of Boodh; but the Christian regards a man as of far more value than many sparrows. The Egyptians esteemed sin or righteousness as reducing man to the rank of beasts, or elevating him as equal to the gods themselves. Horus redeemed men from the assaults of moral and physical evil, and the ideas of purgatory and of reward were measured according to the magnitude of the offence, independent of the rank or person of the offender, and solely in regard to the character of the individual culprit. These points of agreement between the Hamite and the Semite faith, between the metaphysical and the doctrinal theologies, are of the highest antiquity. It is not my province as an archæologist to attempt to explain how or why these things should be. I present to you the facts, such as great Egyptian scholars of various religious schools of thought have interpreted them to be. I hold that they are the result of a traditional faith,

---

* *Essay on Man*, lib. i., sec. 3.

rendered still more striking to us who read them in the light of a perfected revelation. I believe that, in the same way as we claim by the commentaries of the epistolary writers of the New Testament, the better now to comprehend the history of the Old, so, by a comparison of the Jewish and Patriarchal systems we are able to see the real motive of the Egyptian creed, and to understand it in a degree far beyond anything that the Egyptian priests themselves understood or anticipated; and also, mark you this, far beyond the penetration of the Jews who were their contemporaries.* There is still a sense in which these dogmas can be further correlated, but that, with all due deference, I leave to those reverend members of this Institute who have done me the honour to be present this night. Suffice it then to restate that there is certain evidence, that no doctrine was more permanent, survived more dynastic changes, was less influenced by the three great religious innovations to which Egypt was subjected in the twelfth, seventeenth, and nineteenth dynasties, or which exercises a holier control over the grosser passions of the flesh, than the dogma of Horus, the Deliverer of Mankind and the Justifier of the Righteous.

The very first of the chief epithets applied to Horus in this his third great office has a startlingly Christian sound; it is the "Sole begotten Son of the Father," to which, in other texts, is added "Horus the Holy Child," the "Beloved son of his father." The Lord of Life, the Giver of Life, both very usual epithets on the funeral scarabei, the "Justifier of the Righteous," the "Eternal King" and the "Word of the Father Osiris."† There were other names which we are expressly told in the sacred texts no man knew but himself, no ear had ever heard, no tongue had ever spoken—names of so awful an import that if pronounced they would arrest the sun in his career, control the powers of hell, and threaten the duration of the universe itself. Hence—but here I only cite from recollection—Horus was sometimes simply referred to as the name alone, without any other epithet or explanation: all these ideas, and many other mysteries deduced from them, are traceable in the Gnostic gems, the early mediæval magical books and the mystical amulets of the Alexandrian Christians.

The vicarious atonement of Horus was chiefly carried out after the death of the believer, and while the body remained uncorrupted, and the soul conscious of its doom, but conscious also of its power to modify it by the suffrages of the faithful and the clergy with

---

* See Jahn, *Sacred Antiquities*, sec. 310.

† Dr. Birch. *Ritual* in various places. See also p. 58.

their performance of ceremonial rites on earth and the heavenly guidance of Horus and Thoth in the regions of Hades.

Immediately upon systemic death taking place, certain solemn words were whispered into the ears of the corpse, words which were of so holy a nature that they were only *indicated* on the funereal papyri, and of which the rubric declares, "no men have spoken, no eye has perceived it, no ear has heard it, not any one other face has looked in it to learn it. It is a true secret; when it is known all the providers in all places supply the dead spirits in Hades. Food is given to his soul upon earth; he is made to live for ever; nothing prevails against him."* In fact, as it has been well shown by Dr. Birch, in his preface to the *Ritual of the Dead*, the deceased was supposed to continue to live after death, or, as the texts express it, "did not die *again* in Hades."† The first death of the soul was its birth into the world in the human form, it being in its nature a pre-existent entity; and in this its birth in the world it was considered as the "egg of the great cackler," or the goose-god Seb, or Saturn. The mortal man, indeed, was not a mere union of soul and body, for at least five distinct principles were necessary to complete the man. These principles were—*Ba*, the soul proper; *Akh*, or *Khu*, the intelligence; *Ka*, the existence; *Khaba*, the shade; *Kha*, the physical body; and *Sah*, the mummy; and these could only be perfect so long as the heart, which was considered as the chief organ of life and sense, was unconsumed; and therefore there were a variety of prayers recited, and amulets employed, to protect that the most vital part of the deceased.‡ Hence the peculiar disks of painted linen, or thin copper, called Hypocephali, were applied to the top of the head of the mummy in order to preserve the vital principle; and these disks were supposed to represent the pupils of the vivific eyes of Horus Ra, whereby, as I have already stated, man was created.

The soul of the deceased was, it is true, in itself an eternal essence, but it was not apparently an eternal individuality; a refinement and a distinction lost sight of by certain heretical theorists, who contended for the pre-existence of the human soul, a doctrine which they evidently derived from this feature of the Horus myth.

While the body swathed, embalmed, and rendered sacro-

---

* *Ritual*, cap. cxlviii. "The book of instructing the Spirit, the delight of the Sun, who prevails as Tum, who is rendered great as Osiris, who is made powerful like him who dwells in the West, who is terrible like the gods."

† Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v. p. 134.

‡ Chiefly caps. xxvi. to xxx. The preservation of the body in Hades.

sanct by its mysterious amulets, the *Tat*,* the *Get*,† the *Uta*,‡ and the *Apa*,§ with a number of other objects whose use is not yet known, while thus on earth the body lay, Horus prepares to protect his servant, first in his trials and conflicts in the nether world, and then vicariously to justify him by attributing to him his own good offices in the Hall of the Two Truths. Although in a paper which I previously read before you I have dwelt upon these portions of the *Ritual*, yet for the complete understanding of my subject I must go through them again now; but I will endeavour not to repeat, more than is absolutely necessary, the same passages which I cited then. Let us, to see how Horus became the Deliverer and the Justifier, in imagination follow the travels of the soul of an Egyptian deceased.

The first enemy that the soul of the deceased had to encounter was the great Enemy of the gods and of mankind, typified by a huge serpent,‖ who lies in wait for him in the lower Hades, and seeks to entangle him in his folds. In this terrible danger the soul accosts the serpent, and deprecates its anger by declaring that his "sins are not found out on these my hands"; and thus the enemy is avoided, not, as we shall presently find him, defied or repelled, for as yet the god Horus had only protected, but not justified, his votary. Soon, however, the consciousness of his own ultimate complete acquittal leads the deceased to cry out with prophetic prescience:

"I come forth with justification against my enemies,
I have reached the heaven,
I have passed through the earth."¶
Then, addressing Osiris, he pleads for acceptance, because
"His great sin is not divine,
Or his fault complete,
Falling into the hands of the Lord of truth,
For I have corrected the injuring evil in him,

---

* The *Tat* was an amulet in the shape of the instrument which is wrongly called a Nilometer; it was generally wrought in blue porcelain, and was an emblem of strength.

† The *Get* was an amulet in the form of a buckle; it was generally wrought in black jasper, and is fully described in Maspero's *Quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, 1876.

‡ The *Uta* was an amulet representing the mystical right eye of Horus.

§ The *Apa* was an amulet in the form of a fly or scarabeus, and it was laid upon the breast of the mummy to preserve the vital warmth of the heart.

‖ *Ritual*, cap. vii., "The Chapter of Escaping out of the Folds of the Great Serpent."

¶ Cap. x., "The Chapter of Coming Forth with Justification."

The god turns the evil to truth,
Correcting his fault;" *

and he is then permitted to behold afar off the first glimpse of the great divinity as the sun in the lower world.† To him a grand and long series of adorations is paid, and he then prepares, fortified by his great devotional exercise, to commence the various transformations which he will have to undergo before he can be introduced by Horus into the hall of judgment. The chapter which relates this is one of the most obscure, and its rubric is perhaps the longest in the Egyptian Ritual: ‡ it would lead us too far away from the main subject of this discourse to even do more than mention the heads of it. Suffice it to declare that each of the lesser deities of the Egyptian Pantheon is implored to assist the deceased, who almost at the same time declares his identity with them, and more especially with "Horus in the day of the battle between Horus and Set," and "he is transformed into his soul from his two halves, who are Horus, the sustainer of his father, and Horus who dwells in the shrine." Among the mystical phrases in which that deity also is addressed is, "the one ordering his name to rule the gods is Horus, the son of Osiris, who has made himself a ruler in the place of his father Osiris.§ Then follows a litany of adorations to Isis, Osiris, Horus, Nephthys, and the other deities,‖ and then succeeds the "Crown of Justification"¶ to which I have already referred. Hitherto the soul of the deceased has been undergoing probation, and performing its devotions as a spiritual being or *eidolon* only; but soon the second stage of its journey arrives, and upon the performance of the appointed duties, and the utterance of certain invocations either by the soul, or vicariously for him by the priest upon earth, the various members of his body are one by one purified and restored to him, and the book in which this is described is called the "Reconstruction of the deceased," and extends from the twenty-first to the twenty-sixth chapter of the *Ritual*. The body having been reconstructed,—and it is singular that in this office Horus the Deliverer takes no part,—the body and soul have to be preserved from the attacks of the evil beings inhabiting Hades; and the first member to be

---

* Cap. xiv., "The Chapters of Rubbing away the Stains from the Heart of the Osirian (deceased)."

† Cap. xv. ‡ Cap. xvii., "The Egyptian Faith."

§ Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24; Ephes. i. 21.

‖ Cap. xviii., "The Book of Performing the Days."

¶ Cap. xix.

thus protected is the heart, which is done by the mediatorship of the four genii of the dead to whose care the different organs of the body had been confided while in a mummied condition. * No sooner, however, is this effected, than one of the Typhonic crocodiles † comes forth from the waters on the infernal Nile to destroy him; but the deceased repels him by the name of "the great god," and declares that he "is Horus the preferred," and thus escapes injury.‡ This attack is again repeated, and again unsuccessfully, for, boasts the deceased, strong in the defence of Horus,

"My face is open,
My heart is in its place,
My head is on me daily,
I am the Sun protecting himself,
No evil thing injures me."§

Then comes forth also a terrible viper, but the deceased triumphantly repels him.|| Then baffled in their attempts at open warfare, the evil beings assail the deceased from behind, intending to devour his spine, but the repetition of a mystical formula drives them away.¶ Then the deceased is surrounded on all sides by snakes, and again he repels and passes through them. After this a great tortoise obstructs his passage;** and then, still more deadly than any enemies which have preceded them, a number of little highly venomous asps cling around his feet, but all unavailingly, for them the potent declaration terrifies: "I am Horus, the son of Isis, I am come to see my father Osiris";†† and the name of the benevolent deity overcomes all resistance, as does the name of our Blessed Lord in the mediæval legends of purgatory and limbo.‡‡ As a last assault, the Evil Being himself, under the form of the Serpent Apophis, comes forth to stop the way, and to him and his efforts the deceased rejoins,

"Back, thy face is turned down by the gods;
Thy heart is pierced by the Lynx.§§

---

* These genii were Amset, Hapi, Tautmutf, and Kabhsenuf. They have been often figured, especially in Sharpe's *Bible Texts*, p. 187, 1st edition.

† "Back crocodile Hem, back crocodile Shui, come not against me, I have knowledge of potent spells, utter not the name of the great god." Same passage as amended by Mr. Le Page Renouf.

‡ Cap. xxxi., "The Chapter of Stopping those who came to take away the Mind of a Person from him in Hades."

§ Cap. xxxii.

|| Cap. xxxii., "The Chapter of Stopping all Snakes."

¶ Cap. xxxiv.

** Cap. xxxvi., "The Chapter of Stopping the Tortoise."

†† Cap. xxxvii., "The Chapter of Stopping the Asps."

‡‡ Hone, *Ancient Mysteries described*, p. 138.

§§ An epithet applied to an uncertain divinity, Pasht (?).

That which is thy destruction has been ordered to thee by Truth ;*

Those who are on the road have been cast down ;†

The precursors of the Apophis,

The accusers of the Sun are overthrown ;

Thy tongue is greater than the envious tongue of a scorpion,

It has failed in its power for ever."‡

Then addressing Horus, "Oh, Horus," says the deceased, "thou pollutest the accusers of the Sun, the hater of the Sun whom thou seest is stopped by thee." And then in a strain of prophecy, foreseeing the ultimate end of the power of darkness, he turns to Apophis and declares,—

"The great Apophis,

The accusers of the Sun have been judged by Akar; §

The great gods are victors,

Leading him captive,

Justifying the Sun against the Apophis four times,"

or, in other words, completely. This first great victory over, the deceased dedicates all his members anew to the different divinities, "till there is not a limb of him without a god";‖ and thus he is like to every one of the divinities, even to the highest, so that he can say of himself, "the Osirian has been deemed the Lord eternal; he has been judged like Kheper Ra."¶ He is the Lord of the Crown, and, therefore, by a sublime psychostasis,

"he is Horus who dwells in, or who treads amongst millions.

He does not die again, he is his being,

he is the light illuminating the precincts one after another,

he is escaped from all evil things."

No wonder, therefore, that the final rubric declares of this chapter, "This said, a person passes in every direction or in every part."

It seems to partake somewhat of the nature of a contradiction that a believer of whom such glorious things could be confidently asserted, was liable to any of the wants of mortal life, or to undergo any further trial or purification; but it nevertheless was so, for the greatest of all trials was yet to be undergone, and therefore, the body and soul, exhausted by so long-sustained a conflict, had to be refreshed with heavenly

---

* Or, rather, "Thmei, the goddess of truth."

† The previous emissaries, Serpent, Crocodile, Tortoise, &c.

‡ Cap. xxxix, "The Chapter of Stopping all Reptiles."

§ A mystical title of Osiris.

‖ Cap. xlii., "The Chapter of Turning away all Evil, and Turning back the Blows made in Hades."

¶ The Creator under the form of the sacred scarabeus.

food, and this divine nutriment was accordingly given to the deceased by the goddess Nutpe,* who fed him with heavenly food, and refreshed him by a liquor expressly called the "water of life." After having thus restored his energies, the deity Thoth, or the divine light, places a mystical book in the hands of the deceased, with instructions to guide him on his further progress through Hades. The chapters of the *Ritual*, which are supposed to embody the contents of this book, are doubtless the oldest, but they are also, unfortunately, the most obscure in the whole liturgy.† Gate after gate in the Kerneter has to be passed by the deceased, who causes each of them to open to admit him by repeating the awful names which are contained in the book of life or light. Again and again is the character of Horus assumed for protection :—

"The Osirian is the elder Horus, the rising sun,‡
I have passed the gate to see my father Osiris,
I have made my way through the darkness to see my father Osiris, I am his beloved,
I have come to see my father Osiris,
I stab the heart of Set,
I do the things of my father Osiris,
I have opened every door in heaven and earth,
I am his Beloved Son,§
I have gone over to those bound and tied in the place of death."‖

And then commence a curious and completely inexplicable series of metempsychoses, in which the soul is changed into the form of a hawk, emblematic of Horus Ra ¶ an angel, or "a divine messenger,"** a lotus, "the birthplace of Horus,"†† "the pure lily which comes out of the fields of the Sun," into a sacred Heron,‡‡ whose residence is on the boughs of the tree of life, into a crane,§§ into a human-headed bird,‖‖ a swallow,¶¶ in

---

* A myth which is found also in the Assyrian legend of the descent of Ishtar into Hades. See *Records of the Past*, vol. i. p. 14. See also Sharpe, *Bible Texts*, p. 3.

† Caps. lxiv. to lxxv., "The Manifestation to Light."

‡ Cap. lxix., "A Chapter of Coming Forth as the Day."

§ Cap. lxxiii., "The Chapter of Passing through the West as the Sun, and of Passing the Gateway."

‖ Cap. lxxv., "The Chapter of Going to Annu (Heliopolis), and of Taking a Seat there." ¶ Cap. lxxvii. ** Caps. lxxix., lxxx.

†† Cap. lxxxi. It was for this reason that the deity Horus was so constantly represented on the Alexandrian gems as sitting upon a lotus, a plant which was also in itself symbolical of the rising sun. The Hinduism of the idea is very remarkable. ‡‡ Cap. lxxxiii.

§§ Or a species of Nycticorax. Cap. lxxxiv. ‖‖ Cap. lxxxv.

¶¶ Cap. lxxxvi.

which latter form he makes this most remarkable declaration: "O, great one, I have dissipated my sins, I have destroyed my failings, for I have god rid of the sins which detained me upon earth."* Lastly, the deceased, or his soul, assumes the form of a serpent, "the serpent of long years in the extremities of the earth (who is) laid out and born, decays and becomes young daily"; * and a crocodile,† no longer the eater of filth and the opposer of souls, "but the crocodile who dwells in victories, whose soul comes from men, the great fish of Horus." The deceased then traverses the dwellings of Thoth,‡ who again assists him and gives him his final instructions ere he crosses over the eternal waters which separate the purgatory from the Elysium,§ and across which he has to be ferried amidst horrible beings which encircle his way, and leap about, crawl over, and try to upset the vessel. Dangers of the most subtle and insidious kind await him; then a false boatman, the emissary of Typhon, endeavours to seduce him into a wrong boat. Aided by the eye of Horus and the book of Thoth, the deceased detects the treachery, and he and the false guide reproach each other in true Homeric, or rather, barbaric fashion.‖ At last the real bark of the souls arrives, and, joyful at the sight, the Osirian exclaims,

"I go to pass from earth to heaven,
To go along to the ever-tranquil gods,
When they go to cut the Apophis."¶

Ere however the Osirian can enter the boat of Pthah, it is necessary to ascertain if he is really capable of making the voyage, if his knowledge of the secret mysteries of heaven is such as will suffice for his safe conduct, if his faith is equal to his knowledge, and his courage to them both. To test this, therefore, the divine boatman puts a series of most singular interrogations to him, to all of which the deceased replies in the character of "Horus, who goes to avenge his father Osiris, and to fight the Apophis." Satisfied with the result of his investigations, the spiritual pilot prepares to weigh anchor, and directs the deceased to enter the boat himself: "Go thou to the place,

---

* Cap. lxxxvii. † Cap. lxxxviii.

‡ Hence Thoth was called Nahem, "the Saviour," a title which, still more singular to remark, was never applied to Horus, or indeed to any other deity than Thoth, and then only in rare instances.—See Mariette Bey, *Description du Musée du Boulaq*, No. 136, p. 116, 1874.

§ See for a Jewish allusion to a river in Hades, Psa. xviii. 4.

‖ Cap. xciii., "The Chapter of not Causing a Person to go to the East from the Hades."

¶ Cap. xcviii., "The Chapter of Leading the Boat from Hades."

live there, it carries thee to the place thou knowest where."* The deceased approaches, but at the moment of his doing so a most remarkable scene takes place, for every part of the sacred boat — oar, rudder, anchor, prow, mast, ribs, seat — becomes instinct with life, and, with a sudden and loud voice, refuses to let the deceased step into the vessel till he can tell each part of the mystic ship its secret name, as the pledge of his having received his divine knowledge by inspiration, and not by mere study of the sacred books alone. The wind, the river, and the banks of the stream all take their part in this singular colloquy, and exclaim, "Tell me my name"; and woe befall the Osirian if he have forgotten the proper reply to any one of the interlocutors, twenty-three in all. Strong in the sacred wisdom imparted to him by the gods, and invincible in his assumed character of Horus, he is able to reply with satisfaction to all and every one of the questions put to him, and to enter into the boat with safety and with joy. Before doing so, however, he stands for the last time on the shores of the infernal purgatory, and invokes the celestial beings, "lords of truth," in a psalm as beautiful as it is ancient, and beseeches them to give him grace to partake of the heavenly food in Aahlu,† and to grant him power to perform all the new duties which devolve upon him till the great adjudication before Osiris, when soul and body, a physical, as distinct from a spiritual body hitherto enjoyed, shall await the decision of the deeds done upon earth, whether they be good or whether they be evil.

Having quitted the boat of the river of Hades, the deceased is met by the god Anubis,‡ who conducts him in safety through the devious windings of an intricate labyrinth, and leaves him at the threshold of the judgment-hall of Osiris, the hall of the Two Truths. The title of the chapter in which this scene is described is in itself important; it is called "The Book of going to the Hall of the Two Truths, and of separating a Person from his Sins when he has been made to see the Faces of the Gods."§ Well may the sight which the deceased has then to witness arouse the strongest emotions of terror in his heart, and drive him more than ever to seek for mercy in the investing character of Horus the Deliverer. High on a nine-stepped throne‖ in the centre of the awful hall, under a lofty canopy crested with mystic snakes, the double

* Cap. xcix., "The Chapter of Leading the Boat in or out of Hades."
† A district in the Egyptian paradise.
‡ Caps. cxiii. to cxxi. § Cap. cxxv.
‖ The throne of Osiris had nine steps, nine being the great plural to indicate that all mankind would have to be judged by him.

crown of Egypt upon his head, the crook of authority and cross of life in his hands, and the flabellum of justice resting upon his shoulders, sits Osiris Rhotamenti, the inflexible judge of the dead. Beneath his footstool is the opening of hell,—a cavern where, bound and tortured, the wicked bewail their punishment with piteous and unregarded wailings.* At the right and left hand of Osiris stand the sister goddesses, Isis and Nephthys, the goddesses of the upper and lower heavens respectively; in front of him crouches the horrible Typhonic monster guarding the mouth of hell; † and ranged in two rows around the judgment-hall sit the forty-two deities or assessors,‡ who are to interrogate the deceased, and individually to acquit or condemn him. In the centre of the hall stands a small altar, and beside it a large pair of scales, guarded by the goddess of truth, and the monkey deity sacred to Thoth. Between the deceased and his judges the four deities § of the dead range themselves, each presenting his offering on behalf of the deceased, and blest above all, Horus takes the suppliant by the hand, and pleads his merits for acceptance on his behalf with his father.‖ Stern and impassible, Thoth, the Recorder, holds out to Osiris the tablet on which is inscribed all the actions of the victim, and Anubis guards the door by which he entered, making retreat impossible. Then, delay and excuse being alike unavailing, the deceased supplicates the court of justice in the following terms:—

"O ye lords of truth,
oh thou great God,
lord of truth,
I have come to thee my lord,
I have brought myself to see thy blessings,
I have known thee,
I have known thy name,
I have known the name of the forty-two of the gods who are with thee in the hall of Two Truths,
living by catching the wicked,
fed off their blood,
the day of reckoning words before the good being,

---

* Bonomi, *Sarcophagus of Oimenepthah I.*, plate 5.

† From which the Greeks derived their triple-headed dog Cerberus.

‡ One for every nome of Egypt.

§ The Cabeirii of the Greeks were derived from these deities in their punitive office.

‖ On the later sarcophagi, Anubis represents Horus in this scene. Hence we shall presently find in the Alexandrian period Anubis substituted for Horus by the Egyptians, and by a parity of reasoning identified with Christ, also by the Egyptian Christians.

the justified, placer of spirits,
Lord of truth is thy name."

Then, stretching forth his hands to the august tribunal, the deceased proceeds to justify himself from the imputation of actual sin, by a declaration of his innocence,* a declaration which embodies some of the most sublime truths, and inculcates, by implication, the performance of some of the most solemn obligations of mankind.

"O ye lords of truth, let me know ye, I have brought ye truth, rub ye away my faults. (For)
I have not privily done evil against mankind
I have not afflicted persons or men
I have not told falsehoods in the tribunal of truth
I have had no acquaintance will evil
I have not done any wicked thing
I have not made the labouring man do more than his daily task
I have not let my name approach to the boat †
I have not exceeded the ordered (task?)
I have not been idle
I have not waylaid
I have not boasted
I have not smitten men privily
I have not counterfeited rings ‡
I have not spared food
I have not made conspiracies
I have not robbed the stream
I have not made delays (wilful)
I have not reviled the face of the king or my father §
I have not been inattentive to the words of Truth
I have not failed
I have not ceased
I have not been weak ||
I have not done what is hateful to the gods
I have not slandered the slave to his master
I have not sacrificed ¶
I have not made to weep
I have not murdered
I have not given orders to smite a person privily

---

* This has since been called the negative confession.
† Lacunæ. The next sentence is also obscure.
‡ An offence punishable with death still in the East.
§ "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people."—Exodus xxii. 28.
|| In matters of faith.
¶ That duty belonging to the priests alone. Cf. the cases of Uzziah and Saul in the Old Testament.

I have not done fraud to men
I have not changed the measures of the country*
I have not injured the images of the gods
I have not taken scraps of the bandages of the dead†
I have not committed adultery
I have not thrown down
I have not falsified measures
I have not polluted myself
I have not played the hypocrite
I have not cheated in the weight of the balance‡
I have not thrown the weight out of the scale
I have not withheld milk from the mouths of sucklings
I have not hunted wild animals in their pasturages §
I have not netted sacred birds||
I have not caught the fish which typify them (?)
I have not stopped running water¶
I have not put out a light at its proper hour**
I have not robbed the gods of their accustomed haunches
I have not turned away the cattle of the gods††
I have not stopped a god from his manifestation‡‡
I have not despised a God in my heart
I am pure! I am pure!
I am pure, I am pure! . . .
Let no evil be done to me in the land of Truth
Because I know the names of the gods§§ who are with thee in the Hall of Truth
Save me from them."

---

* Cf. Deut. xxvii. 17, "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark."

† Linen being dear, and the mummies being enrolled in large quantities of wrapping, there was always an inducement among the poorer orders to commit sacrilege for the sake of the grave-cloths.

‡ The steelyard as distinct from the scales, both being used by the Egyptians.

§ Or as we should now say, in the close season; perhaps the earliest indication of a game law in history.

|| To this day the stork is sacrosanct in Holland, and is, I believe, protected by law.

¶ Each proprietor was allowed to retain the water of the canals on his lands for a stipulated time only.

** Probably, as in ancient England, each householder was obliged to keep a light burning in front of his house during the night for the benefit of travellers.

†† Which, like the sacred cows of India, had a right to wander and feed wherever they pleased.

‡‡ Hindered the sacred procession, when the deity was exposed in his shrine "to the veneration of the faithful."

§§ The avenging assessors.

Having made this general expurgation, the deceased then addresses each of the forty-two assessing deities individually, calling each by his mystic name, which was among the instructions previously whispered into his ear by the god Thoth, and then declares himself free of each of the different sins of which the different deities were singly to accuse him. Strong in the strength of Horus, the deceased is able to justify himself from all their demands, and they in their turn one after another acquit him with the welcome phrase, "Thou mayest go, thou art justified." Then ensues a repetition of the remarkable dialogue which took place at the shores of the river of Hades, for every part of the hall of judgment, floor, lintel, sill, door, &c., refuse to let the deceased pass by it till he has first told them their names. This as before he is enabled to do, and he then prepares to address himself to Osiris.

All the while that the deceased has been answering the interrogations of the assessors, his heart has been weighed in the balance by Thoth and Thmei,* against a feather, the symbol of truth, while Horus pleads for his acceptance, and the funereal deities Amset, Hapi, Tautmutf, and Kabhsenuf offer themselves as propitiatory oblations. In some cases Horus himself takes hold of the deceased and leads him before his father, and he always has at hand the great white robe called the robe of righteousness,† with which he waits to invest the deceased after his trial is over. Soon the last question has been asked and answered, the assessing avengers express their satisfaction, Isis and Osiris spread open their wings to admit the deceased to Elysium, and Horus triumphantly robes him in the typical dress, and the awful assembly with one voice declares to him:

"Go forth, you have been introduced,
Thy food is from the Eye ‡
Thy drink is from the Eye.
Thy meals are from the Eye.
The Osirian has been justified for ever."

Henceforth his happy lot in the eternal life will be as one of the gods, nay, more, as Horus himself, to enter into the closest communion with them, to have revealed to him the highest mysteries, to go to the visible Sun, and to become one of "the gods of the orbit,"§ to pass unchecked from region to region of heaven, paradise, and the abyss of eternity, to become more and

---

* The goddess of truth, the Themis of the Greeks.

† A specimen of this robe in the Hay collection was sixteen feet long. See *Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Lon.*, Second series, vol. xv.

‡ Of Horus.

§ *Ritual*, caps. xxvi.—xxx.

more assimilated to the divine essence, and at last, having passed almost an eternity in that blissful state, to lose all self-identity, and to be again emanated from the Supreme Being as another soul, to live the life of another mortal upon earth, and again to be saved and strengthened by Horus the Deliverer. "Et per sæculorum sæcula."

In connection with this great province of Redemption and of protection against all the attacks of venomous beasts, must be mentioned the amulets sacred to Horus, the stopper of snakes and the stopper of crocodiles. In many of these little statuettes representing Horus the serpent-headed, may be traced ideas and analogies which have been pictorially handed down to us by Christian artists. Horus treading on the head of a snake, whose sinuous body is wound around his own, is a subject in close agreement with those old wood blocks which were used by the Christian Knowledge or Tract Society, which represented our blessed Lord as a child similarly trampling a snake under his foot, in fulfilment of the prophetic promise, "thou shalt bruise his head and he shall bruise thy heel."* The snake twined around the cross, another common Christian monogram, and even the snake with his tail in his mouth, are all forms of the same idea derivable from the same source.

In order here to concentrate the phases of the life of Horus which I have hitherto presented to you, I will ask you now to allow me to read a general summary of his various offices which occurs in a hymn to Osiris, dated, according to M. Chabas, who has translated it, from the XVIIIth Dynasty. I must begin with a brief sentence relating to the goddess Isis.

"She had a child, she suckled the baby in lonelincss of heart, in secret, none knew where that happened.

"The arm (of the child) has become strong in the great dwelling of Seb.

The gods are joyous at the arrival of Osiris (in his son),
son of Horus, intrepid,
Justified, son of Isis, heir of Osiris. The divine chiefs join him,
the gods recognize the Omnipotent child himself.

The Lords of Justice there united to watch over iniquity and sit in the great dwelling of Seb

are giving authority to its lord. The reign of justice belongs to him,

Horus has found his justification, to him is given the title of his father;

---

* Gen. iii. 15.

he appears with the royal fillet* by the orders of Seb. He takes the royalty of the two worlds,
the crown of the upper region is fixed on his head.
He judges the world as he likes;
heaven and earth are below the place of his face,†
he commands mankind—
the intellectual beings,
the race of the Egyptians
and the northern barbarians.
The circuit of the solar disk is under his management;
The winds, the waters, the wood of the plants and all vegetables. A god of seeds, he gives all herbs and all the abundance of the ground. He affords plentifulness, and gives it to all the earth. All men are in ecstasy, all hearts in sweetness,
all bosoms in joy,
all persons are in adoration,
every one glorifies his goodness, for mild is his love for us, his tenderness surrounds our hearts;
great is his love in all breasts. . .
Sanctifying, beneficent is his name.
Veneration finds its place (for him),
immutable respect is for his laws;
the path is open, the footpaths are opened,
both worlds are at rest;
Evil flies afar off, and the earth brings forth abundantly under her Lord.
Justice is confirmed by its Lord, who chases (away) iniquity.
Mild is thy heart, O Unnefer, son of Isis;
He has taken the crown of the upper region; to him is acknowledged his father's authority in the great dwelling of Seb; ‡
(he is) Ra when speaking, Thoth when writing; the divine chiefs are at rest.
What thy father Seb has commended for thee, let that be done according to his word, Amen." §

Many of these sentences, as they occur in a hymn to Osiris, have a direct reference to that deity also, which, considering his peculiar oneness of nature with his redeeming son, is not to be wondered at. Neither are the parallelisms to certain sublime passages in the book of Psalms and the later chapters of Isaiah to be considered extraordinary; they all spring from the same intense unsatisfied yearnings of the human heart after God which is prompted, let us believe, by the inspiration of

---

* The Atef crown (or diadem). † Or "are beneath his eye."
‡ This means the earth. § See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 102–3.

the Holy Spirit, and whereby the souls of men are led, as Longfellow beautifully writes, to prove that—

> "There are longings, yearnings, strivings,
> For the good they comprehend not,
> That the feeble hands and helpless,
> Groping blindly in the darkness,
> Touch God's right hand in that darkness,
> And are lifted up and strengthened."*

Before I proceed to show how these Horus myths have influenced Christian thought, and in what way, I propose that the Christian should regard them as evidences for the truth; ay, and more than the truth, the superiority and perfect fitness of that religion which philosophical scepticism would fain sneer us out of,—there are two other incidental characteristics belonging to the office of Horus, two characteristics not sufficiently distinct to be classified by themselves, as they are, in a manner, outgrowths of the preceding, and which yet must not be entirely overlooked in our examination of the multifold divinity of Horus Ra. These two are Har-Hut, or Horus the good spirit, and Horus An-Mautef, or Horus the husband of his mother; in other words, Horus the producer of the physical germ of life, a subject upon which there is little to be said, and that little must be still more briefly related. Both of these attributes, or minor deifications, are in the *Ritual* and Magical texts merged into the three greater hypostases.

Since the Egyptian mythology resolved all material objects into one great whole, which was held together by an all-wise, all-pervading spirit, and since they regarded that all-wise and all-pervading spirit to be one and the same in its essence as the great soul itself, it was also natural to consider Horus in his character of the spirit of his father, as being also the spirit of all things and the preserver of the universe. In that attribute, therefore, they symbolized the Deity as a winged disk, the Agathodæmon of the Greek writers, furnished with wings to imply protection, and having dependent from it the sacred basilisks bearing the emblems of life and power. This was the mysterious figure which hovered over the entrance of every temple doorway, and which formed the finish of every funereal stelè; sometimes, though but very rarely, in lieu of the solar disk the Deity was represented with a human head, and occasionally in the solar orb was sculptured the life-creating eye of the divinity, an emblem which, however, was more usually placed below the wings, but immediately above the vignette which

---

* *Song of Hiawatha*, canto I.

headed the stelè, and which was, in almost all instances, followed by an act of adoration to Osiris Ra, Anubis, or the funereal gods.*

In this his attribute of Harhut the spiritual deity of Horus was insensibly merged into the form of the god Khnum, or Khnef Ra, the former of the universe, and the source of all its vitality; there was, however, this differentiation between the two spiritual beings, viz., that Harhut was considered as the son of Harkhuti, or Osiris, both being in themselves hypostases of the sun-god Ra, while Khnum, or Kneph, was, properly speaking, a form of Amen Ra peculiar to Nubia and Upper Egypt, where he formed one of the triad with the goddesses Sati and Anuke. Like Horus, he was regarded as the deity of the vivific heat of the sun, and he was therefore called the "soul of the gods," and was represented as a ram-headed deity crowned with the sacred Atef crown. His more usual title was, however, the maker of gods and men, and the hieroglyphic pictures often represeut him as sitting at the potter's wheel, fashioning the mysterious cosmic egg in which was the germ of hnman life, and indeed of all nature.† Nothing could more aptly figure the expression of the prophet, "We are the clay, and thou art the potter; we are all the work of thine hands."‡ I am myself inclined to think that while the spirit Harhut was always assimilated with Horus, the deity Kneph was associated with him at another and a later period in history, since as is well known that the great Theban and Nubian deity Amen Ra, of whom Khnum, or Kneph, was the symbolic spirit, occupies a very subordinate position in the *Ritual of the Dead*, and, indeed, is hardly mentioned in its earlier chapters; I suggest, therefore, that this identification took place after the rise of the XIXth Dynasty, and assumed importance chiefly in that of the XXIInd, when, under the Ethiopian Pharaoh, Piankhi-Mer-amen, Upper Egypt held out against the Icosarsarchy, which had been established by the Assyrians under Esarhaddon in the Delta.§ This is, however, simply a personal speculation, and I place it before you only as such, and as a suggestion for future studies.

The last of the secondary attributes of Horus with which I have to deal, is that in which he became considered as the author of physical life, one and the same with the deity Khem, or Amen Khem [the ithyphallic deity], and in which he was called

---

* Sharpe, *Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity*, p. 82, fig. 86.

† Hence his identification by the Gnostics with their serpent deity Chnuphis, whose name was a corruption of that of Kneph.

‡ Isaiah lxiv. 8.

§ See Lenormant, *Manual of Ancient History*, i. p. 278.

the Bull, or husband of his mother.* Here again, there seem to have been two originally distinct conceptions of divinity blended into one. According to the theology of Upper Egypt more especially, Khem was the deity of reproduction, primarily of human, but also secondarily of animal and vegetable life, and in that aspect he had a form analogous to that of the Priapus of the Greeks, but his religious rites were at no time similarly as obscene. Khem was always represented as standing upright, and with his right arm upraised, near to which was the sacred flagellum or thrashing instrument; his left hand was close to his body, which was tightly swathed in a thick, almost mummied dress; he wore the two upright plumes of Amen Ra upon his head, and a rich enamelled collar, or uskh, around his neck. He was supposed to represent the principle of life, which lay dormant in the body of the deceased, submitting indeed to rest but not to death; and hence in the *Ritual*,† the deceased is made to exclaim, "When my soul is reunited to my body, I shall prevail against my bandages, and I shall have the freedom of my arm bestowed upon me." In other words, the connection of Khem with the human body was symbolical of the divine life, only half arrested by the bonds of death, and of the energic powers of Nature, held in temporary bondage by the frost of winter and the darkness of night.‡ These things being so, it was a natural sequence to the Egyptian mind to blend Horus, the spirit of deity and the soul of nature, with Khem, the source of reproduction and the soul of life, the title of husband of his mother, applied to both deities alike, since each was, in one aspect, a child of the visible heaven, Horus of Isis, and Khem of Nu; and the identification of Khneph, the soul of the creating power of the Divine Being, was also a perfectly congruent circumstance since the interblending of characters and genealogies in the Egyptian Pantheon was so great as to enable almost any deity, however distinct, to associate himself with or take the place of, and be honoured with the epithets, worship, and sacrifices of another.

Finally, I must notice a series of exceedingly common magical stelæ, which are now called Cippi of Horus, and in which the various characters of the multiform deity are more or less distinctly represented. These sacred objects, which are found in all museums, are generally wrought in serpentine, and they

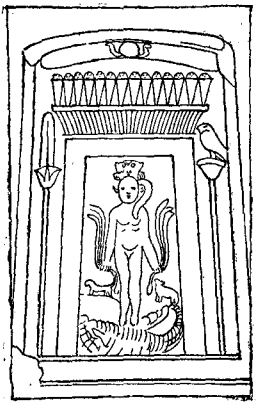
---

* In the early period, when the *Ritual* was written, though the lion was known, the bull was the largest animal with which the Egyptians were familiar; hence they used it as a superlative epithet applied to the deities and great men.

† Cap. cxlvi.

‡ See Pierret, *Dict. d'Archéologie Egyptienne*, art. Khem.

always represent the deity Horus the child as a naked boy standing upon the backs of two crocodiles, which turn back their heads, and holding in his hands a scorpion, a lion, two serpents, and a gazelle. To the right and left of him are generally two standards, dedicated to the two forms of the sun, and over the deity is the monstrous head of the god Bes, with his tongue protruding. The field of the stelè is generally filled with a magical formula, almost always badly written.



The god Horus is called upon them "The Old Man who becomes Young"; and from hence it is supposed that the idea arose of the eternal youth of the victorious divinity at the time of death, or another form of expressing the resurrection under the type of the rising sun. The crocodile could not turn his head; it was to the belief of the Egyptians a symbol of an impossibility; therefore, as the god was to grow young again, he trod that emblem under his feet, for he had triumphed over death, and had made the crocodiles of darkness (so used in the *Ritual of the Dead*) to turn back their heads. The monstrous head of the god Bes is believed to have been intended to signify the destructive powers of nature, so that the ever-young Horus might be supposed to complete the cycle of eternity in himself. There are a great number of these stelæ in existence, and they were at one time thought to have had an astronomical significance; then, by later scholars, to have been intended as amulets to protect the wearer or possessor from the attacks of dangerous animals; but the explanation which I have now given on the authority of M. Chabas is generally accepted as being the most satisfactory.*

* One of these cippi is engraved in the author's *Serpent Myths of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 108, p. 64.

Such, therefore, was the character, the office, and the filiation of the great benevolent deity of the Egyptians—of Horus, Only-begotten son of his Father, the God of God, the Anointed and the Deliverer. All the Egyptian literature bore testimony to him, all Egyptian life and art was moulded by his influence. Unlike the Hindu Khrishna, no puerile miracles or eccentric acts rendered his power ridiculous. No obscene lasciviousness or violent passions made his divinity disreputable, or degraded his human character, ever obedient to the will of his father, ever energetic in the welfare of others, ever unswervingly the antagonist of evil, ever triumphantly the vicarious redeemer and justifier of the righteous souls. Mysterious in his origin, noble in his performances, and eternally God in his future, such was Horus, rightly enough conceived by the Egyptians as the beloved of his father and the eternal Word. Contrasted even with the holy Saddarthra of Budhistic faith, his was no life of passive sanctity or apathetic self-control. Viewed in comparison with the fraudulent Cyllenius * of the Greek poets, how vast is the difference, and how splendid is the contrast. One deity and one alone surpasses him, and of him was Horus the highest type of unrevealed religion, and that one is the true Messiah and the Word of God, the only true Redeemer and the Prince of Peace. Beyond a certain point of contact with Christ and Horus, all real parallel fails, but that is solely because a special divinity hedged around the tenets of our faith, and preserved almost uncorrupted the books wherein those tenets were contained for us, who are the heirs of the ages in the latter days.† We cannot deny, and we must not ignore, the facts of Egyptian mythology, we must not be unduly alarmed; and, still more, we must not be unwisely eager to explain them; it is ours to wait and hope, to adore the mercy of that great Being, the common father of all mankind alike, who saved at all times certain great truths from oblivion, by the mercy of a transmitted tradition, and who has reserved for us the transcendant glories of a better and a perfect revelation. "Before Abraham was I am,"‡ said our blessed Lord; and before Terah and Heber were born was there a patriarchal church, whose ruined but still beautiful stones we may now discover even in the *débris* of an Egyptian temple. Let us preserve those archaic fragments of divinity with reverent care, let us clear away the rubbish, let us bring their surfaces once again to light, and make even their scattered remnants strengthen the foundation of the Church of God. It is your province, as members of this Institute, founded for the elucidation of

* See Homer's *Hymn to Mercury.* Translated by Hole, 1310.
† Rom. iii. 2. ‡ John viii. 58.

the word and works of the Most High, to work with the materials which I, a feeble explorer into the darkness of antiquity, have the privilege to bring before you. I ask you neither to accept my statements, or to follow my assertions and conjectures, but to take my facts and to examine them for yourselves, remembering always that soon, very soon, if the work is not undertaken by those who believe in the Bible, it will be caught up by those who are inimical to it, and that a painful reproach will be incurred, and an opportunity of expounding the Word of God be lost for ever. In the remainder of this paper—and that remainder will not be a long one—I shall confine my attention to certain indications afforded us by the Gnostic gems and early Christian works of art, of the influence of the Horus myth upon Christianity, and where that influence was, I contend, prejudicial. Would that I could also show, what hereafter a collation of the Egyptian papyri will, I confidently anticipate, prove,—in how far, and up to what period, the Jewish and Christian faiths influenced and purified the Horus myths themselves, even as we know that the Greek philosophy did so; but this task must be reserved for an abler head and a more spiritual pen than mine. Of one thing, however, I am certain, from what little I know of patristic theology, that a deeper insight will be given to the writings of Origen, Cyprian, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, and the Alexandrian fathers generally, when the whole of the Horus legends shall have been collated and rendered into English, and their respective dates fixed beyond the reach of criticism. Even the *Ritual of the Dead* itself, although written in part in the IVth Dynasty, continued to receive rubrics, and glosses up to the XXIXth, if not, indeed, to the time of the Roman conquest; and many of these additions and alteration shave, by the heedlessness of perfunctory scribes, been incorporated with the earlier text to a degree which it is impossible at present to probe. What has been done with the *Ritual* has been done with the *Book of the Under World* * and the Solar and Horus litanies also, which last were constantly being added to, and of which the longest texts were written in the time of the Roman emperors Claudius and Vespasian.

Perhaps one of the most apposite illustrations which I could produce is to be found on an early Christian lamp from the catacombs of Alexandria, now in the Boston Museum. This singular relic is one of the usual lucernæ; but the interesting feature of it is a large Greek cross, which completely divides it into four sections, in the two lower of which is placed the *crux*

* See Deveria, *Cat. des Manuscrits du Musée du Louvre*, for an excellent *précis* of this most mysterious book.

ansata, or the mystical cross of life, which was always held in the hands of the Egyptian gods and goddesses, and which the good spirit applied to the lips of the mummy to bring it again to life. There is no inscription accompanying these figures, but their significance and the adaptation of Egyptian sacred emblems to Christian purposes is clear enough (fig. 1).*

Another and a similar lamp, in which the double symbolism is more ingeniously united, is figured in by Denon.† It is, like the preceding, of terra-cotta; but the principal cross is the *crux ansata,* the looped portion of which surrounds the mouth of the lamp, and the central stem is extended upwards, so as to resemble a Greek cross also. The lamp was found at Denderah, and bears no inscription (fig. 2).

The ideas which were indicated are positively declared in a bas-relief on the walls of an early Egyptian church at the Memnonium, a subject which is also figured in the great French work upon Egypt.‡ This bas-relief represents Christ sitting upon a throne with the horned disk of Horus, and a modification of the staff of Osiris; even to the characteristic features of the Egyptian deity, the identification is complete; and though there are some minor differences of detail in the dress and costume, they are simply those differences which would arise from the more natural treatment of the human figure and its vestments which was characteristic of Greco-Egyptian art (fig. 3).

When we recollect the province of the deity Kneph, as assumed by Horus, we shall be better able to understand why the early Egyptian Christians contented themselves with adopting the rock temple of Kneph, the good spirit at Abu, suited to the purposes of a Christian church, by simply painting a figure of our Lord, with a glory round His head, on the ceiling, in the place of that of the ancient divinity, and thus consecrating the Pagan edifice. The same idea led them also to convert the Temple of Seboua, in Nubia, into the Church of St. Peter, by filling up with plaster the bas-relief of the god Amen, and painting over it the figure of the apostle of the Gentiles, with the legend ΑΠΟCΤ.ΛΟΥ + ΠЄΤΡΟΥΣ, leaving, however, the figure of Rameses II. beside him on the wall uneffaced, so that the ancient monarch of the XIXth Dynasty appeared to be presenting the accustomed offerings to the Christian saint.§

The earnestness and simplicity of belief of the Egyptian Christians arose from a very natural source, but it soon led them

---

* Figured in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries,* London, second series, vol. xv.

† *Egypte,* vol. v. pl. 73. ‡ Denon, *Egypte,* vol. ii. pl. 36.

§ Sharpe, *Egyptian Mythology,* p. 108, fig. 102.

to be considered, as indeed they soon became, heretics, by the Western Church. As Sharpe has well observed, albeit I cannot agree with his conclusions, "Of the Pagan nations best known to us, the Egyptians were the most real believers in a resurrection from the dead, in a day of judgment, and in a future state of rewards and punishments: through these doctrines a wide door was opened for the entrance of Christianity. Having been polytheists, they readily received Jesus as a god in the place of some of their own; and that He should have been put to death by His enemies could present no difficulties to their minds, as they had always been taught that their own god, Osiris, had died by an equally cruel death. A dying god was one of the great facts in their religious philosophy, and though they rejected their old gods, they could by no means so easily reject their old opinions. However, the despised Egyptians, on owning themselves Christians, and submitting to baptism, were at once received as equals into the society of the Greek Christians; they were raised, not legally, but socially, from slaves to be free men. That any of the Greeks, their masters, should take the trouble to preach to them, to persuade them, to try to win them over to their own views of religion, was an honour which they had never before received, and as they owed it to Christianity, they cannot but have been led to look upon Christianity with favourable eyes."*

When I last read a paper before you upon Egyptian serpent-worship, I cited then an Egypto-Gnostic gem, which I must again bring forward to-night; it bears no inscription and it has no indication of its double character other than the attitude of the central figure: look at it. There is a youthful male figure standing upon the back of a crocodile, and holding a fish above his head, around which there is an halo. The general idea is the same as that of the Horus cippi which I have previously described, but there are several points of detail in which it differs from them. The Christian Horus stands upon one crocodile only, but which does not revert its head. Hence the Egyptian mystical symbolism is lost sight of. On the other hand, the human figure holds a fish, the well-known ideogram for the sentence, "Jesus Christ the Son of God," and the other hand, which ought to hold a serpent or a sceptre, is left free; in fact, both theologies are improperly symbolized, and yet there can be no question which it was the intention of the artist to represent: it is a capital illustration of the incomplete fusion of the two faiths (fig. 4).†

Another Gnostic gem, probably of a still later period, and which is engraved by Montfaucon, is an intaglio head of our

---

* Page 90.

† *Serpent Myths of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 126, p. 71.

Lord with closed eyes, long hair, short beard, of the catacomb type, and a generally sad expression; on His head is a leafy diadem, and from behind issue the forked thunderbolts of the Roman deity Jupiter Tonans; above this again, and resting immediately on the diadem of leaves, are two cow-horns, and between them a very imperfect representation of the peculiar vasiform centre-piece, or cap of the Atef crown peculiar to Osiris, and which was bestowed upon Horus Ra for his filial obedience (fig. 5).*

Another and very remarkable gem is engraved in the De Wild collection. It represents the Gnostic deity ΙΑΩ, whom they regarded as the Jah Sabbaoth of the Pentateuch, standing, Horus-like, upon a crocodile, holding in his left hand the sacred staff, and in his right hand the *crux ansata*. The deity is ithy-

Fig. 4.

phallic, and has the head of an ibis. Right and left of him are two birds, probably intended by the artist to represent human souls, two scorpions, symbolic of the powers of evil, and over his head the Eternal Spirit in the form of a winged scarabeus: by his feet are crouching two serpents, the Uræus and Cerastes respectively, and on the bevelled edge of the gem are the names of the four chief archangels, Michael, Uriel, Suriel, and Gabriel. Thus, then, there are in this little amulet,—for as such the gem was intended to be used, evidences of the fusion in the Alexandrian Church of the essential elements of these great religions, Egyptian, Jewish, and Christian; and among these the Egyptian idea is predominant. The representation of the great deity Jehovah, under the attributes of Horus the Avenger, and

* Montfaucon, *Antiquités*, vol. ii. pl. 152.

Horus Khem, the god of reproduction, the Holy Spirit hovering over his head in the form of the scarabeus; of Kheper Ra, the cross of life, and the head of the god Thoth, the god of letters and of wisdom, all attest with how ingenious a subtlety the half-informed Alexandrians blended together the false and true, and showed how difficult it was to dissociate the personality of Horus from the character of the Creator himself; and doubtless this confusion of dogmas and persistency of heretical ideas was one of the chief obstacles with which the great Athanasius had to contend, and which precipitated the disunion between the Eastern and the Western churches (fig. 6).*

In another gem, also of Gnostic origin, is an evident allusion to the Horus myth. This represents the Deity sitting upon what I presume is meant for the symbolical lotus, the emblem of the new birth. He holds his right hand to his mouth, and his head is surrounded with a radiated glory, thus ingeniously combining the characteristics of the radicle crown of Knuphis, the circular nimbus of the early Christians, and the general pose of the Egyptian Horus. The gem has been engraved by King (fig. 7).†

Let me cite another example, also taken from King.‡ It is a description of an octagonal sard intaglio, which represents "the Good Shepherd bearing upon his shoulders the lost lamb, as he seems to the uninitiated eye; but, upon closer inspection, he becomes the double-headed Anubis, having one head human and the other a jackal's, whilst his girdle assumes the form of a serpent rearing aloft its crested head. In his hand is a long hooked staff. This figure had, without doubt, two meanings; one obvious for the vulgar, the other mystic and recognizable by the initiated alone. It was perhaps the signet of some chief teacher or apostle among the Gnostics, and its impression one of the tokens serving for mutual recognition mentioned by Epiphanius." It should also be added, that the tail of the sheep which is carried on the shoulders of the chief figure is ingeniously made to resemble the flabellum of Horus Khem (fig. 8); thus adding another point of contact in the Horus myth.

Again, on the reverse of another Abraxas gem, in the same work, is "represented Horus seated on the lotus. On the bevelled edge of the stone is engraved **CEMEC EIAAM**, the eternal sun. An address, explained by Macrobius's statement that Horus was but a name of the sun at a particular period of his course."§ The gem is engraved on green jasper, a

* Wilde (Jacobi de) *Signa Antiqua*, 1700. pl. 31, fig. 116.
† King, *Gnostics*, pl. ix. fig. 3, and Text, p. 220.
‡ *Ibid.*, pl. i. fig. 8, p. 201. § *Ibid.*, pl. vii. fig. 4, p. 216.

material in which many of the Horus amulets are wrought, having reference to the doctrine of the new birth or the second mortal vegetation in the land of the Ker neter.

Note again, another representing Horus in his usual attitude, with the flabellum, seated upon the lotus. On the right and left of him, indicating his Christian identification, are the well-known symbolical letters **AΩ**, the Alpha and Omega of the Revelations. These letters have been wrongly read by King,* as forming the sacred name **IAΩ**, which they do not in this instance, as the **I** is wanting.

Another Gnostic gem which I shall next describe is perhaps less obviously Christian,† but the style of art leaves its character little open to question; it represents a scarabeus with a human head surrounded by a starry glory, and with two human heads in lieu of the fore legs, the whole being inclosed by the serpent Chonubis forming a circle by holding his tail in his mouth (fig. 9). The human-headed scarabeus, though rare, is not singular among the Egyptian scarabei; there were two such in the Hay collection, and I think that there are several others in the British Museum. The artistic details, however, deserve notice: the face is turned completely round, and the heads are spread out in an attitude of benediction, while at the same time the back of the beetle's body alone is figured; the whole drawing sadly lacks conventionality, and, regarding the design from its various aspects, I cannot but decide that it is intended to represent our Lord, as Horus Kheper, the good scarabeus, more especially as that very phrase was used by St. Ambrose some two centuries later, when he described Jesus as the good scarabeus who rolled up before him the hitherto unshapen mud of our bodies,—a simile directly taken from the Egyptian myth of Horus, and illustrated by this gem, although, as far as the ball of the scarabeus or the sun's disk is concerned, the simile was by the Western bishop of Milan by no means accurately appplied.‡

Some considerable interest was manifested a few years ago in the explanation of the rude sgraffiti which was discovered on the walls of the cell of a slave in the palace of Mount Palatine at Rome, representing an ass-headed man in an attitude of crucifixion; beside him stood a worshipper, in front of whom was roughly scribbled the sentence: **ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟC CEBETE TON ΘEON**, or, Alexamenos worships (this) god;§ a satire which recalled at once the accusation brought by Apion

* King, *Gnostics*, pl. xl. fig. 1, p. 224.
† Montfaucon, *Antiquités*, vol. ii. pl. 154.
‡ Sharpe, *Egyptian Mythology*, p. iii.
§ King, *Gnostics*, p. 90.

against the Jews, of whom the Christians were by the Romans regarded as a sect, of worshipping an ass, and of a golden head of an ass being preserved in the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem.* The following Gnostic gem, which has, I take it, evident reference to the Horus myth, will possibly throw some light upon the subject of the accusation. This gem represents Horus holding the flagellum of Khem, and which was no doubt intended for the Cucufa sceptre of Osiris.† He is dressed in the short Egyptian loin-cloth or *shenti*, and on his head are the horns of Isis and the serpent of Khneph, the spirit. The head is, however, unmistakably equine or asinine, with a well-defined mane falling on to the shoulders.‡ The art of the sculpture is not Egyptian, but Western, possibly therefore Roman; and though I am unable at present to explain the myth or intention of the head, yet there can, I think, be no doubt that both the gem and the sgraffiti have reference to Christianity, and that if, from some reason to us now unknown, the Egyptian Christians so represented Horus, the analogue of their Christ, it was only natural that the Roman caricaturist should draw the figure described as an emblem of our Redeemer.

This identification of Anubis with Horus, and by consequence with Christ, is one of the chief points of interest in King's very interesting but somewhat confused treatise on the Gnostics and their remains. That he was able to trace the substitution of Anubis for the Christian Saviour was a felicitous accident, and a gem which he has engraved, and the description of which I shall quote in his own words, fully supports this theory.§

"Iao, with the *jackal* head of Anubis,‖ and therefore to be regarded here as assuming the office of the latter, the conducting departed souls to the judgment-seat. This image, in such an acceptation, was adopted to typify their Christos by some among the Egyptian Gnostics, a fact explaining Tertullian's allusion, and the votive picture of Alexamenos."¶ The allusion cited from Tertullian is, "Like many others you have dreamed that an ass's head is our god, but a new version of

---

* See Josephus *contra Apion*, lib. ii. secs. 7 and 10.

† A peculiar kind of sceptre, having the head of an unidentified horned animal at the top, and a kind of double hook at the end. It was the peculiar sceptre of the *male* gods of Egypt.

‡ Montfaucon, *Antiquités*, vol. ii. pl. 154.

§ On an Egyptian mummy, of the period of the XXVIth Dynasty, belonging to the Duke of Sutherland, which was unrolled on the 15th of July, 1875, at Stafford House. The god Anubis was represented as taking the deceased by the hand and performing the office of Horus in the Hall of the Two Truths.

‖ But evidently an ass's head (Westropp).

¶ King, *Gnostics*, pp. 232 and 91. The quotation from Tertullian is from Apol. xvi.

our god has lately been made public in Rome ever since the time that a certain hireling convict of a bullfighter put forth a picture with some such inscription as this—the God of the Christians, **ΟΝΟΚΟΙΗΤΗΣ.*** He was there depicted with the ears of an ass, with one of his feet hoofed, holding in his hand a book, and clad in the toga."

There is another gem to which I must also call your attention. It is, unfortunately, of the rudest possible workmanship, and some of the details are merely indicated; but I think I am not wrong in assigning it to the Horus Christian class.† It represents an ass or dog-headed man, with a staff in his right hand, treading upon what seems to have been intended for a crocodile; to his right is the sacred Uræus serpent. At his feet, on the left, sits the deity Thoth, or rather the cynocephalous monkey of Thoth, an animal which you will recollect plays so prominent a part in the psychostasis in the Hall of the Two Truths, and in the Egyptian Karr or Hell. Higher up in the scene is the hawk (here rendered into an eagle) of Horus; and what seems meant to represent the scarabeus of Kheper Ra. Over the head of the principal figure is a scorpion. The idea is, of course, taken from the previously described cippi of Horus, where, instead of the scorpion, is sculptured the head of the Typhonic monster Bes. As you will see, the head of Horus is something like that of an ass, and indeed he may be Horus Anubis, the jackal-headed god of the dead, whom I have already referred to (fig. 10).

These illustrations will now, I think, suffice for the purpose that I have in view,—the purpose of proving that the works of art, the ideas, the expressions, and the heresies of the first four centuries of the Christian era cannot be well studied without a right comprehension of the nature and influence of the Horus myth; and that it becomes every student, or at all events every expositor of the Book of books, to examine this myth, and work out its operations for himself. Of its immense antiquity there can be no reasonable doubt; equally so can there be none of the extent to which the myth has been modified by the Classic, Jewish, and Christian theologies, although we are not yet in a position to separate the true from the false, and to assign to each interpolation or interpretation its proper place in the chronology of mythology. We cannot, I repeat it, ignore these facts. We have, as Christians, no reason to be afraid of them. As philosophical scholars we are bound to make use of the materials brought ready to our hands in the records of the past, and as true believers in the co-eternal divinity and redeemership of our blessed Lord, we should be impelled

* So in King.

† Montfaucon, *Antiquités*, vol. ii. pl. 154.

by our responsibilities to be the first in the field to illustrate our faith and confirm our religion on the plan adopted by the Victoria Institute, while we have the opportunity to do so. Time would fail me, even did not your patience do so, to go further into this topic; let it suffice that my paper be regared as suggestive, and not exhaustive. I look to the theologians to follow up the scheme which I lay before them, and I wait with some anxiety the discussion which I hope will follow the reading of this exposition of the Horus myth. I am very desirous that the subject should be well discussed, and that I should be permitted to hear the views of all parties, however antagonistic those views may be. Let some irritable critics and impatient authors say what they please, the value of the sheaf depends upon the grains in the ear, and they can only be well extracted by a steady and vigilant thrashing; therefore—oh ye bulls of Amen*—to apply to the scholars present an Egyptian idiom, and to conclude with an Egyptian song,—here I throw down at your feet a sheaf of Horus wheat, gathered from the ancient plains of the Aablu in the Kerneter.† Therefore—

Thrash, oh ye oxen,
Thrash, oh ye oxen,
Thrash, oh ye oxen, thrash away faster;
The straw for yourselves,
The straw for yourselves,
The straw for yourselves, and the grain for your master.‡

APPENDIX.

EGYPTIAN SECTS.

In the interpretation of these mythical texts there is a point to be taken into consideration, the materials for which are almost wholly wanting; that is, the existence of sects among the Egyptian devotees. That there were such religious distinctions, the *Stelè of the Excommunication*, of the date of the XXVIth Dynasty, affords us evident proof, and there are indications of other sects having had influence also, but of the nature of these sects, save that of the Tumpesi (a sect who were forbidden to eat raw meat—See *Records*

---

* A metaphorical expression applied to the Egyptian chief priests of Amen Ra.

† The best Egyptian wheat was popularly called Horus wheat by the ancient Egyptians.

‡ Champollion, *Lettres écrites sur l'Egypte.*

*** The Emperor Domitian was the last person to whom the title "Horus, son of Isis, the man God," was applied. This appears on the obelisk in the Piazza Navona, at Rome.

of the Past, vol. iv. p. 93), nothing has been discovered : but it would be wholly contrary to human experience to suppose that in a religion which flourished for more than 3,000 years there were no important variations of faith such as would constitute distinct creeds with subtly-defined systems of exposition. We have unfortunately only the orthodox texts, which were probably, I might almost write certainly, accepted by all parties. How these texts were interpreted by the various bodies of sectarian teachers within the Egyptian clergy we have no means of knowing. Judging from the analogy of Christianity, while Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Anglicans agree in accepting the Bible and the Hymns of the Early Church as authentic, yet their deductions of the doctrines therein contained are so various and so opposed that without their respective commentaries a very imperfect idea of the religious state of Europe would be obtained, and an outsider describing Christianity from the Bible and Hymn Book alone would give a hopelessly incorrect account of the religions of Europe which yet are all generally called Christian. Hence it is quite likely that a Horus text of the XIIth Dynasty and another of the XVIIIth, though employing exactly similar phrases, would at those periods be accepted and understood in a widely different sense ; and even in the same dynasty precisely similar formulæ of adoration or deprecation would be interpreted in a diametrically opposite manner, according as they were read at Syene in Upper Egypt or at Memphis in the Delta. All these elements of discordance must be accepted as at present insoluble, and therefore too hastily formed analogies or contrarieties, either for or against the divine conception of Christianity, must not be educed from the Myth of Horus.

The CHAIRMAN (C. Brooke, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., V.P.).—I am sure you will unite with me in returning our best thanks to Mr. Cooper for his very able exposition of Egyptian mythology,* and to the Rev. T. M. Gorman for the pleasing manner in which he has read it. It is now open for any present to offer remarks upon the paper.

Rev. Canon TITCOMB.—The suggestive and valuable paper, which has been read, contains so much important matter that we should be wrong in not fairly dealing with the questions which arise out of it. The point of greatest interest will, I think, lie in a discussion as to how far infidelity has a right to say that the theology of the Bible was borrowed from Egypt, instead of being, as we believe, a distinct and independent revelation from heaven. This, at all events, will be the subject to which I shall now address myself.

---

* *As there are instances of a similarity in the language of some Egyptian records with that of Holy Scripture, a careful inquiry into the cause cannot be unimportant, when there are those who would attribute an Egyptian origin to the statements in the latter.*—ED.

I need not remark that the idolatry of Egypt was universal. It extended from the beetle to the crocodile, and covered almost every other intervening object. There certainly does not appear to be, at first sight, therefore, any probability that a religion like that of the Hebrews, which taught pure Monotheism and abjured idolatry, could have borrowed its sentiments from a source so diverse. If Hebrew theology did not copy the ideas of Egypt in that fundamental particular, it seems impossible, *à priori*, that it should have followed it in other particulars. There is a striking proof of this, I think, in the almost total absence from the Pentateuch of one great doctrine with which all Egyptian ideas were perfectly saturated—I mean the immortality of the soul. No one can read the Pentateuch without being forcibly impressed with the fact that it contains no reference whatever to a future life. All the sanctions given by Moses's law to obedience were of a temporal nature. Every promise and threat was moulded into the shape of temporal rewards and punishments. The immortality of the soul and the sanctions which are derived from that doctrine do not appear at all in the Pentateuch. Bishop Warburton, as many no doubt will remember, published a large work on this subject, called "The Divine Legation of Moses." We naturally ask, then, how it could be that He who made man and gave Moses a divine revelation, should have purposely omitted the doctrine of a future life, especially when the Egyptians were so well acquainted with it? The reply is obvious. It was because the Egyptians had disfigured it and demoralized it by the hideous monstrosities of their Pantheon. It was on that account withheld from the Hebrews until they had been permanently emancipated from Egypt, lest it should tempt them to fall back into those idolatries with which it had been associated in former times. Here, however, is a strange phenomenon: for, while in Egypt, the Hebrews must have been familiar with immortality and a future life of joy or misery, yet, when Moses gave them God's Law, it found no place in the revelation! I ask, does that look as if Moses had borrowed his theology from the Egyptians? On the contrary, does it not rather indicate a settled design to separate as far as possible from it?

In the next place, let me call your attention to a radical distinction which exists between the Scripture doctrine of a Redeemer from evil and this Egyptian Myth of Horus. No one can have carefully studied Mr. Cooper's paper without feeling that, in some points, it does exhibit certain analogies between Horus and Christ. These, however, are just such as would naturally arise from the prolonged intermixture of truth and error in the transmitted recollections of primeval doctrine. At all events, the variation is as great as the analogy. Let me cite only one particular. You will find the Bible everywhere representing the Redeemer of men as a Being who was *to come*. In the Egyptian myth of Horus it is not so. This myth uniformly represents Horus as having trodden down the great Typhon and destroyed the evil spirit, and avenged his father Osiris before the creation of man. There is, therefore, so far, nothing of a parallel between them. Among the Egyptians

there was no such thing as any idea of Horus coming upon earth in order to rescue the righteous from destruction; whereas, this is the very corner-stone both of the Old and New Testament teaching. In the Bible, Messiah is always the coming One, ὁ ἐρχόμενος. The Church is taught to wait and watch, in the spirit of patient hope, for a great work of redemption which He is hereafter to accomplish; but in the Horus myth there is nothing of this kind. Hence, it cannot be said that in this particular Moses, or the sacred writers, drew their inspiration from Egypt.

I come now to the Egyptian doctrine of Divine Judgment; which, notwithstanding that it presents certain analogies with Scripture (as written by its later authors), is nevertheless based on a totally distinct foundation. For Egyptian mythology places Horus in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, in the depths of an unseen world, immediately after death, and not judging the body but the soul—whereas, from Daniel to Revelation, the Scripture doctrine of judgment is connected with earth, and not Hades, and with the body as much as the soul; and not after death, but at the "end of time." Now is not that a radical and fundamental distinction which deserves a place in all honest criticism upon this subject?

Yet, after all said and done, I can well imagine certain minds still staggered by the strange coincidences which are presented in this paper, between the Horus myth and the teaching of the Word of God concerning Christ. When infidelity, therefore, describes the latter as a mere plagiarism from the former, with variations of its own in order to hide its true source, we must not only show (as I have briefly endeavoured to do) the fundamental originality of the Hebrew theology, but the reasons which exist for our antecedently expecting to find similarities between it and the primitive faiths of the ancient world. In adopting this course I am aware that I assume the truth of Scripture; my argument being, that there is everything within the sacred writings to account for whatever amount of truth we may find in the Egyptian or Chaldean religions. The fact is that, in looking over the primeval races of mankind, we see the remnants of revealed knowledge through the chinks of antiquity. Divine light streamed through those chinks from the very beginning—a light which, though dimmed and darkened by subsequent ignorance and superstition, was still clear enough to exhibit certain survivals of original truth. This was the case with other people beside the Egyptians, as may be seen by the early history of Scripture itself—people who, though not of the Abrahamic family, were yet in possession of much divine knowledge, which they derived through oral traditions. Melchisedech and Balaam, for example, were not of the chosen people, and Job was no less distinct. Yet these three persons, notwithstanding they were separated from the covenant given to Abraham, enjoyed some knowledge of the true God. Now these men are but types and representatives of others, who, within every variety of shade, must have retained fragments of an earlier illumination. Why not, therefore, the people in Egypt? Why should there not have been a residuum of remembered truth in Egypt, as well as in Midian? If

Melchisedech, Balaam, and Job exhibited this, why should not a remnant of truth (though in a disfigured and debased form) be found also in the Egyptian creed? * So far from being an argument against the Bible, it is all in its favour; for, by the promised victory of a Redeemer over the Serpent, or spirit of evil, as delivered in Gen. iii. 15, the primeval races of mankind would be sure to hand down traditional ideas of a conquest of some personal deliverer over the powers of darkness. Thus the foundations of truth in this Horus myth are sufficiently accounted for by the Word of God itself; and, therefore, all arguments raised by infidelity against the Bible, based upon the analogies presented in this paper, are useless.

Why should we be surprised, for example, at the grandeur of the titles which the Egyptians ascribed to Horus, and at their striking similarity to those which belong to Christ in our own theology? These affinities are found not only in Egypt, but in Chaldea and ancient Hindustan also. In Hindoo theology, do we not find Brahma addressed by the grandest titles, and always the most sublime and pure in proportion as they are most ancient? Why, then, should we be surprised that Horus was called "Son of the eternal Father"? Is it any grander than might have been deduced from the early revelations of God to man; such as those in the book of Job, for instance, which were as much originated outside the family of Abraham as if they had come from Egypt itself? In that most ancient and wonderful book—probably older even than the book of Genesis—do we not read of the same great relics of truth which are found in this Horus myth, and which seem to come straight from the history of the Fall and the promised Redemption? I refer to the doctrine of an avenging and justifying Redeemer, and to the belief in a perpetual conflict of evil spirits against good men. Why, then, should we marvel, if either Assyrian tablets, lately discovered, or the Horus myth as sketched in this paper, should exhibit, under different forms, various representations of these old beliefs?

I trust these remarks (which have been, I fear, rather too long) will, at all events, prove that we are not afraid to meet the attacks of infidelity, and that we know how to defend the heritage of our faith, with all the force which belongs to earnest zeal and sanctified intellect. (Cheers.)

Professor SEAGER (Professor of Hebrew, &c.).—Sir,—I think it may fairly be assumed, that when attention is called to points of likeness, or apparent likeness, between heathen mythology and the Bible, no more is of necessity meant than that some portion of that primeval light which for us has been embodied in Scripture, has also, whether by tradition or otherwise, and whether in a substantially correct or in a more or less altered form, found its way into the mythology in question. I quite agree with the preceding speaker

* Canon Titcomb has since suggested that it is possible Melchisedech may have been the head of a dynasty of so-called Shepherd Kings from Canaan, whose religion may have been corrupted, and yet have left traces of its grand original. This would account for the phenomenon, and might be worked out, if one had time and the British Museum at one's disposal.

(Canon Titcomb) that to collect and classify such resemblances, and to present them in the form in which they will be best understood, is a very useful work. And such, in the case of a highly important myth, is the object and result of Mr. Cooper's paper. In the remarks, however, which that paper has suggested, reference has been made to an apparent difficulty, which in any sufficiently extensive comparison of mythology with Scripture comes naturally forward—namely, the entire absence from the Pentateuch of any mention of the Resurrection. But the fact is, to have spoken openly of the Resurrection would have been foreign to the whole plan and purpose of that Divine work; the office of which, as the formal expression and incorporation of The Law and the Representative of the Old Testament in general, was not to teach in plain words a system of theology, but allegorically to typify that, as yet far distant, gospel light, for which, by its discipline also, it was already preparing the way. In the New Testament, and by St. Paul especially, we are taught that the Pentateuchal narratives, whatever other meanings or uses they may have, were also allegories, and as such foreshadowed gospel truth. And the more we both realize this fact and search for its causes, the more we shall see that any direct revelation with regard to the Resurrection would not merely have involved the confusion of mixing together the type and the antitype, but would also have been, to say the least, an exception to the general principle on which, as regarded the higher mysteries of religion, it had pleased the Almighty to act—that, namely, of deferring till the due time should be come, their fuller and more open development: a development which then, and not till then, could be made both as a whole and in a manner more worthy of the infinite mercy and love therein to be brought to light. The more remarkable the reticence, the more certainly it had its reasons and objects; and if one such object was the avoiding of that confusion or disturbance of which I have already spoken, this, as we may reasonably conclude, was not the only one. For the general principle which has just been noticed, and to which, more than to any other cause, the very use of allegorical instead of direct teaching may most naturally be referred,—this general principle itself is unquestionably a far more important reason for the reticence in question.

And because this principle is so true, while yet Christian translators and expositors, living themselves in the days of the antitype, have always been in danger of more or less losing sight both of it and of the types themselves, and so of regarding as directly, what was meant to be only indirectly, evangelical—for these reasons—if we wish to be correct, not merely as regards theology, but also as regards the history of theology,—we shall do well to examine, if not suspiciously, at least carefully, all such renderings and expositions of the Old Testament as seem to present with more than usual directness the special truths of the Gospel. And this the more, because, besides the desirableness for its own sake of all attainable accuracy in the rendering and interpreting of the Word of God, all error in the direction here spoken of lays us open to the charge which, if we ourselves give cause, we cannot but expect that

adversaries will make against us, of being misled by our theological proclivities into unnatural expositions or renderings; and this, too, with the further disadvantage, that the more the meaning of a passage is forced, the greater the danger that the passage itself will seem out of keeping with the context.

But if it did not enter into the design of the Pentateuch to speak openly of the Resurrection, it by no means follows that the chosen people were unacquainted with the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Whatever of truth tradition had preserved, or reason, with the Divine assistance, was able thence or otherwise to develop, if attainable by the world in general, was doubtless, so far as was seen to be good, within their reach also.

Far indeed was the privilege of possessing, with and in the Divine Law, the types and promises of that as yet veiled Gospel which in the end was to enlighten the world;—far indeed was this privilege from destroying or diminishing any other useful knowledge which they either already had or were able to acquire. Only by blindness to the fact that in the letter was contained something beyond the letter, and only in proportion as this blindness was perversely adopted as a principle, did that letter, in itself a bright type of life, become to those who so perverted it, *the letter that kills.*

Reference, however, has been made to those alleged intimations of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity which are said to be contained in the plural designations and forms which in the Hebrew Bible are applied to the Deity. As examples we may take the plural noun *Elōhĭm*, which is the ordinary expression for GOD, and the verb *nàghaséh*, let US make, in the first chapter of Genesis. For myself, I quite hold that such designations and forms may fairly be regarded as intimations of the kind alleged; but only as *veiled* intimations; in accordance both with the general principle of which I have spoken, and with the fact that while they undoubtedly admit of this deeper interpretation, they nevertheless do not of themselves force any one to adopt it; being capable, also, of being understood as *plurals of excellence* or *honour*, such as are, among ourselves, *You* for *Thou*, and *We* as used by kings and other great men.*

One, however, of the points of likeness which were brought forward in Mr. Cooper's paper was that of the judgment after death; and with reference to this point attention has been called to an alleged difference between the Egyptian and our own notion of the judgment in question. But it is important not to lose sight of the fact that, by a very large proportion of Christians, besides the general and declaratory judgment at the end of the world, there is held to be also a particular judgment for each individual, immediately after death. And if this fact is borne in mind, the difference will not be found so great.

(* In colloquial Hindustani the use of *ham*, we, in the place of *maing*, I, is so general that if you wish to make sure of its being understood as a real plural, you must add *log*, people: compare in Flemish (in which language the old *du*, thou, has ceased to exist),—compare the similar compound *gy-lieden*, you-people.—Prof. S.)

In conclusion, we must remember that in heathen mythology such truth as it contains consists, as I have already presupposed, not of tradition only, but also of the developments of traditional or other knowledge. And while, in the case of Revelation, all development, as regarded both its nature and the rate of its progress, kept always the end in view, those developments which took place among the heathen,—and even among the chosen people, in so far as they were left to themselves,—went forward both at the rate and in the manner which the minds and the surroundings of their authors suggested; and hence, if the aim, in itself considered, was laudable, the results, of necessity, were of a very mixed character. The study, however, of the process which was thus, from age to age, in different races and under different circumstances, being carried on, is of course highly instructive; and accordingly, as an important contribution to this study, we cannot but be greatly obliged by the very valuable paper with which Mr. Cooper has supplied us this evening.

Rev. J. J. Coxhead.—We should be very cautious when advancing theories, that the facts upon which we ground them are true and authentic. This paper advances a theory, according to which we are to explain the existence of those remarkable coincidences between the character and position of Horus and the acts attributed to him, and certain doctrines in our own belief. The point we have to determine is, whether Egyptians held these beliefs from some primeval revelation. But before we go into this, we should consider the nature of the facts with which we deal. These are in the hands of persons who have a special knowledge of the subject, and the interpretation of Egyptian inscriptions and writings rests with a very few persons; and it seems to me that, at the present stage of our knowledge, we should be very rash if we accepted all the conclusions and interpretations which they offer us. We have heard many most remarkable coincidences between what is said about Horus, and the relations between him and his father; but before we can believe that they are to be interpreted in the same way as we speak of Christ as Light of lights, Lord of lords, the Son of the Father, and so on, we must have a more satisfactory faith in the Egyptologists than we have at present.* There are, no doubt, in the Greek myths, also, very remarkable coincidences between what is attributed to our Saviour and what is said of certain heroes in Greek mythology. For instance, the labours of Hercules bear remarkable points of comparison with the works of Christ; remarkable stories are told of the doings of Hercules; and it might be said that those stories must result from some revelation given to the Greeks. Prometheus stole fire from the gods, and came to earth as the friend of man, and was exposed to the greatest tortures; and many have supposed that there is here a certain correspondence with the work of Christ, by reason of His sufferings for the sake of man, and on account of the knowledge that He brought to the human race. We should, however, be

---

* In some cases interpolations have been discovered to have been made in Egyptian records; and in many cases the hieroglyphics have been explained to have very opposite significations.—Ed.

very rash if we jumped to the conclusion that those things were the result of revelation. So also with regard to this Horus myth having any reference to Christ, or that Horus was in any way the representative in the primeval ages of what Christ was to be in the ages to come, his relations to Osiris and Isis were totally different from what we read about Christ. We are unable to account for many Christian myths: for the acts attributed to the Virgin, for instance, by a great portion of the human race, and the character attributed to her by many men of the greatest learning in the Roman Catholic Church. The divine attributes given to her, have grown around her existence in the form of a faith, and that faith is held at the present moment by a large number of Christians. The mythopæic faculty is ever at work: if the translations of Egyptian papyri are absolutely correct, the coincidences between Horus and Christ are remarkable; but they may admit of another explanation than the supposition that the acts attributed to him are a kind of prophecy of Christ.

A MEMBER.—I see towards the end of the first paragraph of the paper the following passage:—"Place the period of Abraham where you may, that of the XIIth Egyptian Dynasty must precede it; the arrival of Jacob and his family cannot have been earlier than the XVIIIth, and the expulsion of the Exodus than the XIXth Dynasties." It would be interesting to know upon what facts that statement is advanced. If you refer to Cardinal Wiseman's sixth lecture on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion, you will find that there is plenty of reason for the adoption of a very different opinion. It seems to me that the duration of these myths has been very greatly exaggerated, and that very probably here is an instance in which history has been antedated by 6,000 or 7,000 years.

Mr. COOPER.—With respect to what Canon Titcomb has said about Egyptian mythology placing Horus in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, not judging the body but the soul, I would remark that the mystical texts do not entirely agree with the Ritual as to the details of the resurrection (see Appendix). The last speaker doubted the antiquity of the Horus myth and of the inscribed monuments of Egypt and Assyria. This is a question that is very easily settled. The very oldest and earliest monuments of Egyptian art have references to the Horus myth upon them. It therefore becomes a question of the age to which the oldest monuments belong. These monuments are the two Pyramids (the great Pyramid has, it is true, no inscription; but the name of Cheops, found roughly painted on one of the inside chambers, perfectly agrees with the same cartouche which is found on a gold ring now in the Abbot collection, where the god Anubis is represented as venerated by Cheops. As for the great Sphinx, it is a well-known emblem of the god Horus as Ra Har Makhu (or the sun on the horizon), the great Sphinx, the tombs adjacent, and the statues of King Chephren, and the monuments of Mycerinus (Menkera) and Sent, which range from the IIIrd to the VIth Dynasties. It does not matter to within a few hundred years what time you put these dynasties backwards or forwards. According to Dr. Birch and the consensus of Egyptologists, the very lowest

period to which the reign of Menes can be assigned is 5895 B.C., 3555* before Nectanebo (Birch, *Rede Lecture*, 1876, p. 16). But there is an immense length of time between them and the conterminous races of the Semite nations, the people of Assyria, and the people of Palestine. There was, prior to all authentic history, a general influx of Caucasians over the countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. These intruders came into Africa as to a land of plenty, bringing with them a high civilization, which they engrafted on to a civilization, already existing, of an order nearly as high as their own, and at that period those monuments existed. They found them in existence. As to the translation of the Egyptian and Assyrian texts; ever since Sir George Cornwall Lewis made some amusing remarks about them, there has been more or less scepticism in reference to them and the theories of their translators. If we had only one particular text, and only one lost language to discover, it might be hazardous to place entire reliance on the work of any one student. But, fortunately, we have Egyptian bi-lingual texts containing both Egyptian and Assyrian phrases, very brief in form, but long enough to show that the phonetic names in the one language were the same as the meaning in the other. We discover the value of Egyptian sounds by comparing them with the Greek translations of the stelè of Rosetta and Canopus; and in like manner we ascertain the accuracy of an Assyrian translation by comparing it with Phœnician names and Phœnician inscriptions on the dockets upon the tablets and seals themselves. We have plenty of tablets relating to the sale of slaves and the transfer of property in Assyrian, which give the same particulars in Phœnician on the edge, and we can see when they correspond. In the same way we compare Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions on monuments, such as the vase of Xerxes, and the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius at the Cossier Road and on the site of the old Suez Canal (*Records of the Past*, ix. 81), and on the Greco-Egyptian papyri. The proofs we get are quite sufficient to establish what we want to know beyond the possibility of doubt. There may be points of divergence sometimes, but there is a general consent of agreement; and this being so, we must accept the explanations given by scholars who have given their time to the elucidation of those monuments. As to the legends of Ἡρακλῆς, they are, beside an archaic myth, exceedingly late in Grecian history. When you talk of Greek or Roman history, and compare its records with the Assyrian or Egyptian annals, the lapse of time is so great that it reminds one of the words of Horace Smith in his well-known address to a mummy in Belzoni's exhibition—

"Antiquity appears to have begun
Long after thy primeval race was run."

---

* "Sycellus reports Manetho as claiming for the Monarchy no longer actual duration than 3555 years before the conquest of Alexander. Even this view, however, seems to be extravagant" (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 2, last edition). Dr. Birch, in his address on the progress of Biblical archæology (1871), says: "Turning to Assyria and other rivals of Egypt in the most remote times, Babylonia, the cradle of Semetic civilization, stands prominent, as highly civilized and densely populated when Egypt was still in its youthful prime."—Ed.

Homer and Herodotus were quite children in comparison to this "hoar antiquity," which cannot be less than 4000 years before Christ. With regard to the Ἡρακλῆς myth, nothing would be easier to prove than that the Greeks, after their contact with the Assyrians, borrowed it from the Assyrians, and probably the Assyrians themselves borrowed it from a still antecedent civilization; and recent research has shown us that the Phœbus of the classics is derived from the Reseph Mikal of the Syrians, as in later times the Egyptian Horus was equalled with the Apollo of the Greeks. But as to that other myth of the Greeks, the story of Prometheus and the theft of fire, it has recently been established by Mr. Smith,* that the Assyrians had a story relating to the god Zu, who was by the Babylonians regarded as a kind of regenerating deity, like the Egyptian Amen-Khem, and was driven out of heaven for the offence of stealing the sacred fire, and transformed into a bird or eel, which seems to bear some minute similarity to the punishment of Prometheus, who was preyed upon by a vulture; while the studies of Max Müller and Cox have proved that all these Promethean myths arose from the deification of the Pramantha or fire-stick of the primitive Aryans, from which indeed the name of the demigod has been derived. We cannot push these points further; and even if we could do so, it would not be wise, because teachers of different religions and philosophers of different minds, treat myths from different standpoints, and what to one man is a corroboration, to another is a refutation, whilst to others again it is a matter of no consequence at all. I had hoped that my paper would have been considerably vivisected to-night. I am sorry to say that it has not been treated in that way to the extent I should have wished. I have only brought before you, after all, one section of the Horus myth, for I have purposely avoided the subject of the legend of the Virgin and child, Isis and Horus, because I feel that at present we are not in a position to analogize it. Quite one-half of the texts by which I might illustrate and fortify my paper have been omitted. But, if I had brought them all forward, they would not have done much more than I have done already, for they would be simply corroborations. The Egyptians seem to have considered every deity as maintaining an intimate relationship each with the other. They were all Fathers, Sons, Mothers, Sisters, and so forth. They were all eternal in their essence, interchangeable in their attributes, and confused and indistinct in the phrases employed in the prayers and petitions addressed to them. In later times certain deities came more prominently forward, as the influence of the cults of other nations induced the Egyptians to seek to conform their own mythology to theirs. In the early ages Osiris was the principal deity; then Horus. About the XIth Dynasty, Anubis became the principal. After the XVIth Dynasty, Amen Ra came prominently forward, and then Set. Again, in the XIIth Dynasty, Kneph Ra, of Nubia, became a supreme deity. And so those changes went on from time to time. In the Litany of

* See *Chaldean Genesis.*

Amen Ra, in the XIXth Dynasty, everything is ascribed to Ra, from whom everything proceeds,* to whom everything shall come, as to father, mother, brother, sister, creator, destroyer of all, who is in himself infinitely greater, and infinite nothing. One point must not be lost sight of, and that is, that almost all these religious doctrines are to be found, as it were, in two parts—one at the close of the XIIth Dynasty, when all the religious books were collected together and edited, and another in the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, when all the same important books were more or less re-edited and annotated, and possibly explained by means of new rubrics, which embodied the ideas of the Syrian and Asiatic nations who had been brought into immediate contact with Egyptian theology by the Asiatic conquests of Thothmes III., or Men-Kheper-Ra, and Rameses II.† and III., the original Hero of the glorious Sesostris of Greco-Egyptian tradition.

The Meeting was then adjourned.

MR. W. R. COOPER SENDS THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL REPLY :—

Grateful for the discussion which my paper has produced, and the more grateful because I cannot agree with much that has been said on either side of the subject,—I now beg leave to present in a very brief form what I consider to be the true solution of the problem which you have done me the honour of listening to.

1. The idea of a personal deity, who assumed a human form for the accomplishment of the destruction of a personal evil being, was questionless one of the very earliest dogmas of the Egyptian faith, and was the direct result of a primitive revelation to some member of the pre-patriarchal church, by whose descendants Egypt was first colonized.

2. That this revelation of a semi-human deity in his connection with mankind was far more clearly made known to the early church than it was subsequently to the Jewish nation, after their residence in Egypt.

3. That the reason of this reticence was, that the Egyptian clergy had so far overlaid the dogma of a personal deity with a variety of fanciful and dangerous theories, that it would have been impossible for the Jewish Church to have differentiated between the Egyptian Horus and the predicted Messiah, if the office of our Lord had been at that time strongly dwelt upon.

4. That the original dogma of the Horus myth was that of a Divine antagonist against the evil being, as an adversary of the Supreme Being; to whom, however, the Evil Being was infinitely inferior, and that this contest of the powers of Good and Evil had no necessary connection with mankind.

---

* See *The Myth of Ra* and the texts in *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. pp. 103 and 137 *et seq.*

† M. Bonomi mentions that the Egyptian obelisk at S. Giov. in Laterano (Rome) contains hieroglyphics of Thothmes III. and IV. and Rameses II., showing the same skilfully executed alterations that were made in all Egyptian monuments, in consequence of changes in the religious opinions of the ancient Egyptians in the interval between Thothmes III. and Rameses II.—ED.

5. That the identification of the interests of mankind, as worshippers of the Supreme Being, with those of Horus as the avenger of the eternal laws of right, was a subsequent development of the doctrine. (See Appendix.)

6. That this led on by gradual steps to the vicarious substitution, or rather imputation, of the acts of Horus to the persons of the servants of his father, and that thus Horus became the deliverer both of gods and men.

7. That the idea of Redemption from spiritual sin was a still later development of the Horus myth, growing out of the reeognition of moral evil, having a direct relation, as to its original physical evil; and hence the deliverer from the one was by consequence a deliverer from the other.

8. That the idea of imputed righteousness, in the Christian sense, was a still further development; and this may have arisen from some intercourse, of which we have at present no record, between the inspired writers of the early prophetic books and the more philosophical portion of the Egyptian clergy.

9. That as the Horus myth came into contact with the myths of other religions, it gradually assumed another character,—a character which led not to the alteration of any of its ancient formulæ, but to the application of them in a different manner, and their interpretation in a more spiritual sense.

10. That the early Christian Fathers, in perfect good faith, used similes and metaphors taken from the Horus myth to explain to their Egyptian converts the truths of the New Faith, and, anxious to increase the points of contact between Egyptianism and Christianity, were not sufficiently exact in their definitions, and thus led the way to the introduction of subsequent errors.

11. That, similarly also, the Alexandrian Jews philosophized a connection between the Egyptian Horus and their own divine Memra, and were the more assiduous to do so because of the efforts made by Ptolemy Soter II. to identify their own religion with that of the old mythology.

12. That from a fusion of these two schools of thought arose, on the one hand, the errors of the Gnostic heretics, the Ophitæ, Docetæ, and their analogues; and on the other the mystical teachers of the Shepherd of Hermas, the book of Enoch, and probably that of the book of Zohar; but of this last work I can only speak from quotations.

13. That, moreover, the texts of the Horus myth and the *Ritual of the Dead* are the oldest religious works extant of which we have indisputably the actual texts, while, on the other hand, we have no copies of any of the Christian or Hebrew, or even pseudographical, scriptures, of any *antiquity whatever* to compare them with, and consequently are at a positive disadvantage as to ascertaining the actual belief contained in the formulæ of the one and the *ipsissima verba* of the other.

14. That bearing all these facts in mind, we shall be able the better to account for the subtleties of the Christian Fathers, &c., and to value more dearly, and to defend more ably, separated alike from the endless subtleties and the oppositions of false science, the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, who is over all, God blessed for evercome. Amen.

REMARKS ON MR. COOPER'S PAPER.

THE REV. PROF. CHURCHILL BABINGTON.

In a Letter to the Author.

Sharpe, *Egypt. Mythol.*, p. 108. The reading must be, I think, + πετρου αποστολου. The mark below the υ in Πετρου is certainly not a ς: it is hard to say what it is; perhaps a + mutilated, or a τ̃ (τ).

Fig. 1. The first lamp, if from a Christian locality, is probably Christian, but about the second I have more doubt. A Christian locality would alone raise a probability that it is Christian.

With the strange and not yet quite satisfactorily explained scrawl about Alexamenos should be compared a Christian medal (*circa temp. Honorii*) described by Cavedoris in the *Rev. Num.* for 1857, of which I send a tracing, which I will ask you kindly to return, where an ass and her colt are made in some strange way to symbolize Jesus Christ. Alexander's image (on the obverse) was a known magical charm.

Fig. 4. The gem named is one, I suppose, in the British Museum. I omitted it from "Gems" in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, because I could not feel sure that it was Christian. The figure can hardly be Jesus Christ himself, holding His own self symbolized; but I would not be too sure. The nimbus does not prove that it is Christian (see Martigny). I once fancied that it might be a saint, holding fast by Christ, and "going on" the *crocodile* instead of the "lion and adder"; but I do not now feel any confidence about that.

Fig. 5, second gem, with this compare Matter, pl. 1, E. But I do not see any sure mark of Christianity in either gem. I am very doubtful about the Christianity of some of your other gems.

THE REV. CANON F. C. COOK,* M.A.

I have read the essay with much interest. Mr. Cooper has read carefully and used skilfully the latest works of high authority in all questions of pure Egyptology. I ought not to criticise his work without careful inquiry, such as I cannot now bestow. I will, however, state very briefly my own opinion as to his general statements. In the first place, I hold it to be a fact, settled on the surest evidence, that the oldest Egyptian inscriptions bear strongest witness to a primeval belief in the unity of

---

* Editor of *The Speaker's Commentary*.

God, and the absolute dependence of all creation on His will. One of the most instructive documents is the text of the XVIIth chapter of the Egyptian Ritual, published by Lepsius, in the *Aelteste Texte*, &c. It shows that at a very early age, far before the Mosaic period, interpretations were already common, each obscuring and corrupting the original text, which was purely monotheistic. Comparing the text, as it stands in that work, with all later texts, *e.g.* De Rougé's, and Lepsius in the *Todtenbuch*, it becomes self-evident that the later the text the wider is the departure from the original truth, the wilder and grosser are the superstitions engrafted upon it. For my own part, I wish very much that the believers in the Bible record wonld confine themselves, for the present at least, to the establishment of this fundamental truth. You are aware that Egyptologists of high reputation shrink from the admission which contravenes the dominant notion of evolution. I do not like to enter on the further question touching the identity of the Horus myth with an original revelation. It would require more time, and far more learning and ability than I pretend to, to go through the literature, and to discriminate between what is really ancient and what is partly derived from, or influenced by, speculations of the Alexandrian school, or the predecessors of that school in Egypt. I believe, indeed, that, together with the primeval revelation of God to man, intimations, or rather germinal truths, were given, which were to receive their explanation and development after the Incarnation. Delitzsch, in his *Apologetik*, takes the doctrine of the Trinity as lying at the basis of all known religions. I do not, however, like the course indicated in the lecture. It seems to me, not indeed to go too far, but to move in a direction which few will follow with real profit, which, as some writers have already shown, may issue in a temporary but very serious embarrassment to Christian inquirers. I remember, in Miss Martineau's *Egyptian Travels*, an attempt, not original, but skilfully made, to represent Christian doctrines touching the Saviour as embodiments of ancient myths underlying the Egyptian system. If I could see my way to go into this subject, I would have asked for more time. As it is I send this short, very unsatisfactory answer.

MONSIEUR ALEXANDRE LOMBARD.

A Letter to the Editor.

Vous avez bien voulu me demander de mettre par écrit les sujets sur lesquels j'ai eu le plaisir de m'entretenir avec vous. Malgré mon insuffisance, je vais essayer de le faire, et pour les deux objets suivants.

1°. Les traditions relatives au principe du mal figuré par le serpent.

2°. L'école des prophètes de Chaldée.

Quant au premier point, n'est-il pas frappant de trouver dans les divers mythes de l'antiquité le principe du mal toujours caractérisé par le serpent? Tandis que les uns, pour se rendre favorable l'ennemi de l'humanité, lui

vouaient le culte qui a pris le nom *d'ophisme*, les autres admettaient un principe contraire et régénérateur auquel devait appartenir la victoire finale. Je me borne à mentionner ici quelques mythes bien connus qui rappellent d'une manière frappante et la tradition génésiaque relative au serpent séducteur, et la promesse d'un libérateur faite après la chute.

Le premier est le Crishna des antiques Vedas écrasant de son pied la tête du serpent.

Le second est le dieu égyptien Horus combattant le mauvais génie représenté par le serpent et lui perçant la tête d'une lance.

Le troisième est une mythe persan ; c'est le roi Feridoun, le héros bienfaisant, qui combat et surmonte l'esprit du mal personnifié dans Zohak, mot qui désigne en même temps le serpent.*

Je dois mentionner enfin le serpent Python des Grecs tué par le grand dieu Apollon.

Mais ce n'est pas dans l'ancien monde seulement que cette idée se retrouve. L'Amérique nous fournit quelques exemples de la même tradition.

Humboldt nous apprend que dans la religion des anciens Mexicains, le serpent personnifie aussi le génie du mal et qu'il est écrasé par le grand Esprit Teolt.

D'autre part, une pensée analogue, quoique revêtant une autre forme, s'est traduite dans un tumulus qui se voit sur les bords de l'Ohio ; c'est encore l'esprit du mal envahissant le monde, mais dans ce dernier cas, il remporte la victoire, en d'autres termes c'est au sommet d'un vaste tertre la figure modelée d'un serpent gigantesque, et ce serpent avale un œuf qui apparemment symbolise la terre.

Peut-être, en cherchant bien, trouverait-on, en Scandinavie et ailleurs d'autres faits semblables ; mais ce qui précède suffit pour établir que chez les peuples les plus anciens existe la tradition d'un être malfaisant opposé à Dieu, et que cet être, couformément à la donnée génésiaque, est le serpent. Mais en même temps, il est consolant de voir que généralement ce mythe est accompagné de l'idée d'une victoire finale de l'être bienfaisant sur l'esprit malin et de la venue d'un libérateur.

Ceci me rappelle un autre mythe indou que j'ai lu quelque part et dans lequel j'ai cru trouver la même idée. Je m'aventure à le citer ici de mémoire, et sous toute réserve, quant à son exacte interprétation. C'est, je crois, dans les montagnes de l'Himalaya que se passe la scène.

De sombres nuages couvrent et obscurcissent le ciel ; la foudre sillonne l'horizon : c'est le dieu Maruts, le dieu des tempêtes qui vient exercer son empire sur la terre. Tout-à-coup apparaît un autre dieu son ennemi. C'est Indra. De son bras armé d'un marteau symbolique en forme de croix, il frappe Maruts et sa cohorte de nuages. La tempête cesse, le calme se rétablit et le ciel reparaît dans toute sa pureté. N'est-ce pas là une image frappante

---

* Serait-le dans un article de M. E. Burnouf, A.L.—M. Lombard is just now separated from his books.—Ed.)

du message de paix qui devait être apporté par le Sauveur des hommes, et que n'y aurait-il pas à dire de cette croix qui apparaît dans les traditions de l'antiquité, chez les Egyptiens, chez les disciples de Bouddha et de Manès, chez les druides et bien d'autres encore, comme le symbole du salut du monde, le "signe de vie," "l'arbre de vie, de la régénération et de la connaissance."

Mon intention n'est pas d'insister sur ce sujet qui dépasserait les limites d'une simple lettre, et qui, s'il n'était étudié avec précaution, risquerait d'égarer dans les sentiers dangereux du formalisme romain.

J'aime mieux revenir à cette idée d'une révélation noachide par laquelle la rédemption de l'humanité était annoncée, révélation dont les prêtres de la haute antiquité avaient connaissance, et dont ils arboraient les symboles sous des formes diverses. Ces prêtres, à l'ordre desquels appartenait Balaam, et qui se perpétuèrent en Orient jusqu'à la venue du Seigneur, ainsi que l'indique l'arrivée des mages à Béthléem—étaient formés dans l'une des grandes écoles des bords de l'Euphrate.

C'est le second point dont nous avons parlé, et que je me propose d'aborder dans cette lettre.

Il existait évidemment à Babylone, à Ninive, en Perse et dans les vastes contrées de l'Inde, plusieurs centres d'études théologiques, lesquels, sous des dénominations diverses, étaient autant d'écoles de sages, de mages, μαγοι, ou de prophètes. Elles possédaient certains principes de vérité, mais la tendance à représenter les idées sous un symbole visible les conduisit au culte matériel, et Dieu leur opposa sur la terre prédestinée une autre école où la doctrine révélée pût être maintenue dans toute sa pureté.

Néanmoins, il est probable—et c'est ma conviction—que des germes de vérité ont été propagés dans le monde païen par cette ancienne prétrise, et que le message du vrai Dieu et de la rédemption, quoique sous une forme oblitérée, a été transmis aux plus lointaines colonies par le moyen des élèves de ces écoles.

N'est-ce pas une chose frappante, en effet, que de trouver comme nous venons de le constater, jusque dans les contrées les plus lointaines, des vérités évidemment puisées à une source commune?

Ce qui est non moins remarquable aussi, c'est que ces vérités, ou tout au moins les symboles qui les caractérisaient, se trouvent inscrits sur les nombreux monuments qui nous ont été légués par les temps pré-historiques.

Nous pouvons croire que les besoins de l'homme ont été les mêmes dans tous les temps, et que, pareillement aux colonies anglo-saxonnes qui de nos jours vont peupler le Far-West et l'Océanie, toujours accompagnées de pasteurs et de missionnaires, les lointaines expéditions des Phéniciens ne s'accomplissaient pas sans que les prêtres élevés dans les diverses écoles dont je viens de parler, y prissent part. Ils étaient les interprètes des besoins supérieurs de l'âme et les conservateurs des antiques et saintes traditions. Mais ces prêtres égarés dans les voies d'un symbolisme formaliste ont bientôt dégénéré et

sont devenus les fauteurs des plus grossières superstitions, et les fanatiques artisans d'un culte à la fois sanguinaire et sensuel.

C'est ainsi qu'on peut s'expliquer la similitude des formes de certains monuments apparemment consacrés au culte de Bahal ou du soleil et qui se retrouvent depuis le Liban et la presqu'île sinaïtique jusqu'aux côtes de l'Afrique ; à Radamès dans le désert du Sahara ; en Sardaigne, aux Baléares ; aux Hébrides ; en Irlande ; en Ecosse. Tous portent à peu près le même cachet, et sur un grand nombre d'entre eux se voit le signe mystique dont il vient d'être question, signe qui, bien qu'on l'ait contesté, est assurément antérieur au christianisme.

N'y a-t-il pas là un fil conducteur pour les études préhistoriques et toute une riche mine d'intéressantes recherches qui aideront à faire comprendre certaines notions conservées à la fois chez les druides et dans l'école d'Alexandrie, et qui peuvent expliquer aussi la rapidité avec laquelle le message de l'apôtre des Gentils fut reçu dans tout l'occident ?

Voilà en quelques traits la pensée que j'ai voulu vous exprimer. Son développement exigerait beaucoup de temps et des connaissances plus précises que les miennes.

Peut-être trouverez-vous quelque exagération dans les conclusions tirées de ces rapprochements ; mais puisque vous avez bien voulu me demander de donner une forme aux quelques paroles que je vous ai dites, je me hasarde à vous soumettre ces lignes. Je ne les ai écrites que pour vous montrer l'intérêt que je porte au genre d'études auxquelles vous vous êtes consacré et ma considération pour le poste que vous occupez dans la société dont je me sens honoré de faire partie.

Recevez, cher Monsieur, mes souvenirs et mes meilleures salutations.

THE REV. W. H. RULE, D.D.*

There can be no doubt that the oldest Egyptian writings contain some vestiges of primeval faith. Egyptians in very remote ages believed in the immortality of man, with reward or punishment in the future state. They believed in the existence of good and evil powers in this life, and were not without a sense of personal responsibility ; for, like other heathens, they had a law written on their hearts, in the absence of any law written elsewhere.

All this notwithstanding, Mr. Cooper certainly goes much too far when he says that the Egyptian and the Christian religions nearly analogize on many points, especially on those relating to the doctrine of human redemption. Before attributing so much to the wisdom of Egypt, it would have been

---

* Author of *Oriental Records*.

well to have bestowed more studious research on the foundations of our own faith, which might have enabled him to preface his observations with greater accuracy of language, to delineate Christianity more distinctly, and make his comparison more thorough. The doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, for example, he describes as "a special *result* of revelation," whereas it is the very truth revealed. He calls Christ "a *vicarious* Deliverer of mankind," as if He were not the Deliverer himself. He refers to the Nicene Creed as if it were the primary authority, which of course it cannot be, and calls the Athanasian Creed the *Commentary on the Nicene*, which it certainly is not, although both creeds, as I believe, faithfully represent the teaching of Holy Scripture. He would not so loosely have described the "subject" of these creeds as "one which has formed the foundation of a variety of heretical expositions in the first three centuries of our era," which is much like making the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ the foundation of Arianism, a conception as incongruous as that of making the Horus myth a foundation of Christianity.

This looseness of language betrays haste, but it introduces the "hypothesis" on which Mr. Cooper proceeds to "base his argument," that long prior to the time of Abraham the cardinal dogmas of the Church were known to the nations of the world, and that it was reserved to the Father of the Faithful, and his descendants, to hold and to transmit to us the whole of those dogmas in their integrity; but that "even to the Jews themselves the full import of their own articles of faith was not fully known, while isolated doctrines, which were held in common by them and by other nations, were expanded to a degree which the patriarchs never understood, and which in some points anticipated, so far as these expansions arose from the conscious yearnings of the soul after God, the tenets of Christian revelation."

I apprehend that we have not yet any evidence to show that the cardinal doctrines of the Bible—not the Church, for the Church is not the Author of Truth, but the custodian and teacher of the truth entrusted to her—were known to the nations of the world. Certainly the doctrine of redemption is not yet discovered in the records of those nations. What was done by Abraham and his descendants to preserve what they knew we cannot tell, for we only know that Moses and the prophets, being taught of God, delivered to some of the descendants of Abraham what they had not known before. As for the expansions, in whatever direction the isolated doctrines said to have been held by all nations were expanded, I hesitate to accept the proposition that *those expansions*, even though some of them might haply have arisen from conscious yearning of the soul after God, *anticipated the tenets of Christian revelation.*

We hold in our hands the *origines* of Christian doctrine, and bating the little that was not fully revealed before Christ came into the world, we find written in the Old Testament all the doctrine that is the subject of Christian faith. To the Old Testament Scriptures our Lord himself referred the people of His time for the instruction they needed, saying that Moses and the prophet

were they that testified of Him. The inspired Apostles, authors of the New Testament Books, quoted thence continually. Holy men of God, who did not compile traditions, but spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, left to the world this imperishable body of truth and wisdom; and to this source, not to the undiscovered yearnings of men's souls after God, we owe the fundamental tenets of Christian Revelation. In these tenets there is no novel truth, but the spirit of Christ and of inspiration gives primal truth the power which now it has, now that the redeeming work of Christ is done. Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Job the Arabian, all before Moses, believed, so far as they were enlightened, in the immortality of man, and so did Abraham; but it was made manifest by the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, who abolished death, *and shed light upon life and immortality*, φωτίσαντος δὲ ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν, through the Gospel (2 Tim. i. 10).

Unless I miss the drift of the paper before us, it tends to this conclusion: that all the elements of revealed truth, not only such a primary truth as the existence of a Deity, and such an indelible conviction as a belief in immortality, but all the elements of Christian revelation, were at first imparted to mankind in general. That they fell, as fragments, some to one, and some to another, and were incorporated with all the religions of the world. That the *disjecta membra, undique collata*, are, so far as the process of readjustment has been carried, preserved in the Christian Church, but that this process will be carried further, and after more extended researches and profounder studies, the world will be much enriched. No doubt it will; but the mystery of Christian faith, be it well remembered, came to us by another channel. That mystery was not known to the Egyptian hieroglyphists; *in other ages it was not made known to the sons of men, but from the beginning of the world was hid in God* (Ephes. iii. 5, 9).

But what of the Horus myth? Mr. Cooper regards Horus as a type of Christ, because he is the son of a god, and because of his character as an avenger and a deliverer, and his great benevolence. As for his reputed sonship, I incline to doubt, and think it inconsistent with the earliest form in which we possess the Egyptian mythology. According to the oldest texts of the *Book of the Dead*, as published by Lepsius, Horus is not so much a distinct god as one of three forms of the same divinity. In the Sun, as in a chariot, rides Ra, the Supreme God. Rather, he sails in that glorious disc, as in a barge, over the sea of heaven, in meridian majesty; inferior gods are the rowers. At eventide, he reaches the western bound and enters the under world, where, as the rays of day are quenching, the souls of the departed wait admission, for they arrive there from eve to eve. He was Ra at noon, now he is Osiris, and assumes the government of the whole realm of the departed, where goes on the business of judgment, of justification and rejection; where are the fields of war with malignant demons, and successive regions of enjoyment by the victorious justified, up to the most glorious heaven. With daybreak Osiris emerges from his nocturnal world, in form an infant, but swiftly waxing into robust youth. The solar disc reaches the

eastern sky; the rejuvenated god steps into it, lesser gods attending. They hail him Horus Ra. The men of Thebes call him Amen Ra. He mounts aloft, and while he advances in dazzling majesty until he comes to the West again, he is addressed from hour to hour by various names, written in the Solar Litany, until, at night again, he is Osiris. On other accounts, and in various situations and relations, he has many names and epithets, and even mortals borrow names from him. Horus is one. But how Horus can be son of himself, it is not easy to imagine, yet the transformations of the *Book of the Dead,* and its confusion of gods with men, and the whole maze of Egyptian mythology, seem just as unfathomable. Only by a rare union of industry and imagination could any one devise a resemblance of Horus to Him whom St. John declares to be the only-begotten of the Father, full of Grace and Truth.

Although I cannot regard this great solar God as a type of our Blessed Lord, I am nevertheless ready to believe that the Egyptians might sincerely honour him as an ideal Deliverer or an Avenger. No doubt they worshipped their gods in the sincerity of ignorance. They would be ready, in common with other men, to look for intercessors in heaven, or under the earth. They trusted for salvation, if trust it was, in the mere names of gods, especially Osiris, under which name every Egyptian was supposed to pass at last. And it is notable, as M. Lenormant shows, that the Accads and Chaldees did invocate one very gracious god whose office was to intercede with the other gods for sparing men from curses, or turning away their anger from the supplicants. Such a disposition in the very nature of man to seek help from some superior being, cannot but prepare the way in smitten consciences for the intelligence of One Mediator between God and man. This, however, is very different from any point of contact, or reason of resemblance, between Horus and Christ.

And now I have but a few more words to say. If Horus was to the Egyptians the type of Christ, was that by Divine appointment? Was Horus as much the type of mediation in Egypt as the lamb was type of atonement in Judea? Did it please God in merciful condescension that so it should be? If Mr. Cooper thinks it did, for such an appointment might not be inconceivable, why did no good come of it to Egypt? Why is it not found in their worship?

If the Horus myth represented a primeval revelation, and the fable and the sentiment originated with Him who is the only giver of revelation to mankind, why did He show so little favour to the religion and the gods of Egypt? Why so terribly contend against their gods? And why might He not have raised a Pharaoh to shepherd His people in Egypt, as well as a Cyrus the Persian in Babylon?

But the resemblance elaborated so largely by Mr. Cooper may be made up of no more than casual and forced coincidences, in which case it fades as a shadow. Horus had no being, and the fancied analogy is nothing, and, contrasted with this nullity, is the sure foundation of historic fact in which Christianity is laid.

Turn from Mr. Cooper's hypothesis and his Horus myth to M. Volney's

Ruins of Empires, with his notorious illusion that our Blessed Saviour was an impersonation of the Sun. Bear in mind how utterly different the two men are, but compare the two *ideas* accidentally coincident. Consider his notion of archaic theological texts, and, as he appears to understand his own language, the compilation of the Pentateuch. Then take the problem which he lays before you, and which may be stated thus:—*The traditions of primeval faith, collected from the world, have contributed to make up the Bible.* Hence it would follow that the notion of revelation itself is traditional. Those poets had it who began from Jove. The incarnation of a god is a primitive tradition. The Egyptians had it eminently. Redemption, perhaps also exemplified by some heroic incidents in history, is another; and this, associated with Horus, was wrought out in the New Testament account of Christ. The crucifixion was a visual illusion, as some reputed heretics believed. The problem being solved thus, the grossest infidelity follows, and we hear some men already speaking of Bible legends.

These legends, however, are verified as real history by the confirmatory evidence of archaic monuments.* The mass of evidence is greatly enlarged; the Christian world is abundantly satisfied; and without any sensation of "alarm," which our friend needlessly apprehends, we prosecute the collation of such documents with the text of Holy Scripture, and are content to trust in its Divine authority.

THE REV. B. WREY SAVILE, M.A.

Respecting Mr. Cooper's remarkably able paper on the "Horus Myth," which I have read with much interest, and, I trust, some profit; although I have been investigating the subject of Egyptology at various times for some years, I frankly own that Mr. Cooper's theory of the Horus myth being in any way connected with the Christian's belief in the promised Messiah is something quite new to me; but I cordially agree with him—1. That the subject is deserving of careful study; and, 2. That whatever conclusion may be arrived at by those who investigate the matter, it can cause no more alarm to the believer in a Divine revelation than anything else in the realms of science discovered by the ingenuity of man.

It is a singular fact that a school has recently arisen, headed by the Astronomer Royal of Scotland, who hold that there are many points connected with recent discoveries at the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, which are capable of a Messianic interpretation. I have not been able to find conclusive evidence of

---

* It has been with me a matter of great regret that so many of our Egyptologues and Assyriologues appear to set up their discoveries above the Bible, while they are in reality invaluable sources of confirmation to its marvellous historic and prophetic truth. As for the traditions, the precious monuments on which they appear, so far as my studies enable me to judge, demonstrate that as ages advanced they became weaker and more corrupt, men departing further from God.—W. H. R.

the truth of this theory, but, as in the case of the Horus myth, I think it deserving of consideration.

I would wish, before proceeding further, to mention a few points on which I am obliged to dissent from the learned author of this paper: *e.g.*, p. 1, I cannot admit that the so-called "Creed of St. Athanasius" is in anywise a "commentary of the definite language of the Nicene Creed." Neither can I agree with him that "long prior to the time of Abraham the cardinal dogmas of the Church were known to the nations of the world" (p. 2 of Paper); or that "the arrival of Jacob and his family cannot have been earlier than the XVIIIth, and the expulsion of [? at] the Exodus than the XIXth dynasties" (*idem*), or that the Great Pyramid should be described as "the oldest of Egyptian buildings" (p. 3 of Paper).

Reversing the order of these, I would remark that the Pyramid at Saqquarah is said to be older; and the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford contains part of a tomb belonging to the IInd dynasty, certainly a century older than the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh; and that if tradition, with other evidence beside, is to have any weight, Jacob and his family must have arrived in Egypt during the reign of Apophis, the most distinguished of the Hycsos kings. If Mr. Cooper will refer to Canon Cook's *Excursus*, at the end of Part I. of the first volume of the *Speaker's Commentary*, he will find many reasons for concluding that the Exodus of the Israelites occurred under the XVIIIth, and not under the XIXth dynasty.

His remark, however, respecting "the cardinal dogmas of the Church being known to the nations of the world long prior to the time of Abraham," seems to open the whole question as to the application of the Horus myth to the fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion. Mr. Cooper has adduced many points which appear to show some analogy between the two; but if such be admitted, there is so much dross in the teaching of that extraordinary book, *The Egyptian Ritual*, on which the author almost entirely rests his case, that it leaves the matter very undecided. As far as revelation is concerned, while the antediluvian world must, we gather from Genesis iii. 15, have had some tradition of the promised Deliverer, it is no less certain from Joshua xxiv. 2, that between the dispersion and the time of Abraham, the nations, whether Semitic, Hamitic, or Japhetic, were worshipping idols. And there is ample evidence that the Egyptians of the race of Ham at a very early period were gross idolaters. But it is probable that Mizraim, the son of Ham (Gen. x. 6), the first colonizer of Egypt, and, I believe, the same as the Menes of the Greek historians, and founder of the empire, may have carried to Egypt from the plains of Shinar, together with the first band of emigrants, some tradition of the promised Deliverer.

I do not quite understand to which Horus Mr. Cooper refers in his interesting paper. There appear to have been two of that name, known to the early Egyptians as "the son of the great gods."—1. Horus, or *Her-pa-Chruti*, the ordinary hieroglyphic sign of "child," son of Osiris and Isis, out of which grew the Grecian Harpocrates; 2. Horus *Aroeris*, "the mighty," god of Het, Edfu, &c. (see Wilkinson, xvii. 1), the eldest son of Hathor and Isis, bearing

the name also of *Ahi*, "support." This Horus is represented with the flagellum and royal sceptre, sitting on a lotus-flower, which rises out of the water. In Mr. Cooper's paper there seems to be a mixture of both these two; *i.e.* the Horus myth, as interpreted by him, if I do not mistake his meaning, has some of the characteristics of both, in his description of Horus *Ra-Teti* and *Nets* (p. 4 of Paper).

I cannot, however, reconcile the author's just description of the Egyptian belief of all life emanating from the sun, and the cosmic egg described in the *Ritual* or *Book of the Dead*, from which the Babylonians, Phœnicians, and Grecians, in all probability, gathered their respective cosmogonies, and which seems to be received by some of our "advanced thinkers" in the present day, with any of the "cardinal dogmas of the Church" of either ancient or modern times.

With reference to what is said about Horus and "the cosmic deity Set working in harmony," I believe a great deal may be gathered from this shepherd deity, who, in post-Hycsos times, obtained admission into the Egyptian Pantheon. It is the only way in which I can understand a Pharaoh speaking of Joseph's "God" in the way he appears to have done (see Genesis xli. 38). Set or Sutech, the deity of the Hycsos, being explained by Dr. Birch as "the one only God, distinct from all other deities." This supports the opinion of Marriette Bey, that the "shepherds" have been greatly misunderstood and maligned by Manetho and others; very much in the same way as the last of the Plantagenets has been by the Tudor chroniclers.

I observe that Mr. Cooper considers that "the present copies of the *Litanies of Horus*, which we possess, are all *very late*," which means, I conclude, from his allusion in the previous sentence to the "inscriptions at Edfu," of Ptolemaic and not Pharaonic times. If this be so, it may serve to explain much of the supposed similarity between the Horus myth and the cardinal dogmas of the Christian faith; as Plato, who flourished between one and two centuries before the first Ptolemy appeared in Egypt, had learnt enough, in all probability, from intercourse with the Hebrew race, to enable him to foretell, in that remarkable description which he has given in his *Republic* (ii. chapters 4 and 5) of the coming "JUST ONE," many things, such as His being "scourged, bound, and crucified," all of which we know were literally accomplished upwards of four centuries after Plato's time, in the person of Christ. In this I think we have a nearer approximation to the cardinal verity of our religion than anything yet discovered relating to the Horus myth.

So again relating to the well-known doctrine of metempsychosis described by Mr. Cooper, and which the Greeks so closely copied from the ancient Egyptians; here we have an essential difference between the doctrine of the two religions: and I observe in a note that Mr. Cooper calls attention to the fact that while Thoth bore the name of *Nahem*, "the Saviour," this title was *never* applied to *Horus*, nor to any one but *Thoth*, and to him only on very rare occasions.

The account, however, of the Egyptian idea respecting a future judgment,

as set forth in chapters xvii. *et seq.* of the *Book of the Dead*, to which Mr. Cooper has so many just allusions in his paper, is most valuable in showing how far in advance of other heathen nations the ancient Egyptians were on that important doctrine of the Christian faith; and it is much to be regretted that those few Egyptian scholars which England as yet possesses, have not more thoroughly investigated this branch, if I may so term it, of the Horus myth; as the whole subject might throw more light upon the possible analogy between the two faiths.

I am unable therefore to see what Mr. Cooper says concerning the "influence of the Horus myth upon Christianity," or that the rightful understanding of it will give us "a deeper insight into the writings of the Alexandrian fathers generally"; inasmuch as the greatest of them, Clement, bishop of that city, while admitting that the Greeks drew many of their philosophical tenets from the Egyptians, and surpassed them in many of their gross idolatries (see his *Exhortation to the Fathers*, ch. ii.), yet exposes their temple worship in such a way as to show that in his opinion they could have no conception of the dogmas of the Christian faith; *e. g.* in his *Pædagogus*, ch. ii., he thus speaks:—"If you enter the penetralia of an Egyptian temple, and the sacrificing priest remove a little of the veil in order to show the god, he will cause a hearty laugh at the object of their worship; for the god whom you have rushed to see will not be found therein, but a *cat*, a *crocodile*, or a *snake*. The god of the Egyptians appears a beast rolling on a purple couch."

Mr. Cooper alludes to a lamp at Denderah (fig. 2), figured in Denon's *Egypte*, in which the principal representation is the usual *crux ansata* of the ancient Egyptians, which was probably known to them at least 2000 B.C.; but I do not quite see how this in any way explains the Horus myth, or is connected with the misapplication of the doctrine of the cross as entertained by multitudes of nominal Christians in the East, especially after the 4th century, when so great an injury was done to the purity of the Christian faith by the admission of the mass of heathen, when Constantine decreed the union of Church and State, and his mother, the Empress Helena, through the craft of a superstitious priesthood, made that wonderful discovery at Jerusalem of the three crosses, resulting in that fabulous legend which has done so much injury to the Christian name, and which is as firmly believed in by many even in this country, and in the middle of the 19th century, as it was in the darkest phase of the Middle Ages.

Nor can I quite agree in the conclusions at which Mr. Cooper appears to have arrived respecting the teaching to be gathered from his very interesting account of various Gnostic gems (see fig. 4 *et seq.*). To mention two cases, he cites an example from King's *Gnostics*, of "the Good Shepherd bearing upon His shoulders the lost lamb," which, "*upon closer inspection*," proves to be "*the double-headed Anubis*,"—one human, the other that of a jackal. What connection had this Anubis, the son of Osiris and Nephthys, who is sometimes called Hermes, and represented as conducting the deceased to the Hall of Truth at the final judgment, with the Saviour of the Christian Faith?

If we regard the earliest known Christian inscription of a human figure bearing a lamb on his shoulders, as found in the cemetery of Marcellinus at Rome, while underneath there is a representation of five Christians seated at a semicircular table, partaking of the Lord's Supper, which may possibly be as old as the 2nd century, *there is no mistake*, as in the case of Anubis cited above, as to the teaching of such inscription. (See Wharton Marriott's very valuable work, *Vestiarium Christianum*, plate xvi., for this inscription.)

Again, I do not quite understand what is the lesson which Mr. Cooper means us to learn respecting "the explanation of the rude *sgraffiti* discovered on the walls of the *Colisseum* (? rather *Hadrian's Palace*, I believe) at Rome a few years ago" about Alexaminos worshipping his god. The explanation is given of the satire in Tertullian's *Apology*, c. xvi., as Mr. Cooper mentions in a note (last page but two of the paper), and still more fully in his work *Ad Nationes*, c. xiv., where he relates the vile calumny about *Onocoetes*, which ungodly Jews and raging heathen were in the habit of bringing against the early Christians in those days of persecuting edicts. And I think some analogy may be worked out between the ass-headed figures which they falsely accused the Christians of worshipping, and the hieroglyphic symbol of *Set* or *Suteck*, the deity of the Hycsos, who was subsequently, as I have before noticed, introduced into the Egyptian Pantheon, as notably seen in the name of Pharaoh Seti I., the father of Rameses the Great, but I cannot discover any application to the Horus myth.

In speaking thus, I readily confess my own ignorance of the subject, and think we owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Cooper for the way in which he has brought it before the Victoria Institute. And if I gently express my dissent from his conclusion "that the ideas, and works of art, &c., cannot be well studied without a right comprehension of the nature and influence of the Horus myth," I cordially endorse the continuation of the sentence, "that it becomes every student, or at all events, every expositor of the Book of Books, to examine this myth, and work out its operations for himself."

MR. COOPER'S FURTHER REPLY.

The following are passing notes on the preceding communications:—

Canon Cook has stated that the text of the XVIIth chapter of the Egyptian Ritual, as published by Lepsius, shows that the original text was purely Monotheistic; I would remark that the Religion of Upper Egypt, and especially of Thebes, under the XVIIIth Dynasty was fundamentally Monotheistic.

M. Lombard: Of the myths of Horus, Apollo, Krishna, Feridun, Teoltepec, I think all consider only the first two to be pre-Christian.

Dr. Rule: in his second paragraph takes me to task for calling Christ a vicarious Deliverer; that the act of deliverance was vicarious was all I meant to imply. Further on he considers the drift of my paper to tend to the conclusion that all the elements of revealed truth were at first imparted to

mankind in general; I would rather say to one race, by contact with which all other races may have derived their religious ideas. Again he refers to M. Lenormant having shown that the Accads and Chaldees invoked a gracious god, whose office was intercessary; this was Marduk the son of Hea, his office was more of a physician and protagonist of Tiamut the Abyss than that of a redeemer; his offices were also assumed by Bel: the Semitic and Turanian ideas of Marduk differed. Further on he says, "Horus had no being"; surely no, the very essence of Horus was his *Being*, self-existence or personality; the theories which made him a deified pre-historic monarch came later. With regard to his comparison of my hypothesis with Volney's statements; it is hardly fair to compare my argument with Volney's philosophical atheism. The French Count assumed his facts; mine at least are based upon texts and monuments. My own contention is that the interpretation of those texts is the sole question in dispute.

The Rev. B. W. SAVILE: remarks that tradition and other evidence shows that Jacob must have arrived in Egypt during the reign of Apophis, the most distinguished of the Hycsos kings; this view I also published in an article in *The Church of Eng. Sunday School Magazine* in 1871. With respect to the tomb at the Ashmolean Museum, it is that of a Priest of King Sent, and exhibits "the personal adoration of the monarch as the direct and lineal descendant of the gods, and of the same substance or flesh with them." (Birch, *Egypt*, p. 27.) Further on he says it is probable that Mizraim may have carried to Egypt some tradition of a promised Deliverer, in which I agree with him. He then states that there were two Hori; now both Hori are really one; the Aroeris is a later Greco-Egyptian form: Horus is called the child alike of Hathor and of Isis, of Ra and of the spirit Hut. I quite agree with Mr. Savile's next paragraph; but I really knew personally (in 1873) a *learned mythologist* who would put an egg into an egg-cup on the mantelpiece and then *adore* it as the mysterious mother of all things: the other reference was to the doctrine of the Tyndallites, all life is from the sun. I must confess that my phrase in saying, "the present copies of the *Litanies of Horus* which we possess, are all *very late*," was vague.

On perusing the opinions which my paper has brought forth, I cannot but be painfully impressed with regret that so little controversy took place on the night when it was read, and when I was prepared with materials additionally to substantiate my positions. If these were heterodox, why were they not then refuted? If, Egyptologically, they were unscientific, why was I not corrected? Writing as I do now, in permanent exile from London, and myself at the very door of death, it is peculiarly disheartening, after thirty years of orthodoxy, to be in doubt whether a paper written in defence of Christian doctrine, has not in itself afforded a handle to infidel misarguments. Of course, as an Egyptologist, I cannot endure such a felicitous (?) simile (which I understood a critic to apply to my paper) of a pyramid of theory being raised upon a slender inverted apex of fact, but I do nevertheless very sensibly feel the importance of the fears urged by Canon Titcomb, that improper inferences may be drawn from certain statements in the myth of Horus, so, rather

than open a door for heresies which I detest, I would prefer to consider that I have overstated my own positions, and perhaps have read too much of a later Christianity into the Horus myth than the words themselves would have strictly warranted. I do not say that I have done so, but my confidence in certain deductions is so far shaken that I should not be surprised if it were *proved* that I have thus misinterpreted my texts; albeit I must with equal positiveness assert that nothing in the after papers by Canon Cook, M. Lombard, Dr. Rule, and Mr. Savile, has shown this to have been the case. Let it be remembered that those assertions made in my paper, though new to many of the members of the Institute, and others, are not by any means new discoveries; were they such I would have refrained from publishing them. The analogies existed, and had been pointed out by Sharpe and Wilkinson, and by my esteemed master Bonomi, years ago. In France and Germany the peculiarities of the Horus myth were well-recognized facts among all scholars, the spread of the new science of comparative mythology was giving new interest to Egyptian mythological dogmas in the advanced school of English literature, and I therefore felt that it was necessary for the whole of the subject to be examined from a Christian standpoint, and not to have the myth of Horus used as against the doctrine of the New Testament, before the myth itself had been carefully analyzed, and this analysis I endeavoured to work out in my paper. At the risk of tedious repetition, I must re-assert what has been elsewhere written, that these myths are of an antiquity to which all written Semitic literature has not the nearest approach; even many of the oldest Jewish traditions are of more recent origin than the hieroglyphics which embody many of the Egyptian dogmas. Virtually, the Jew interprets the Old Testament by the Talmud, the date of the compilation of which is well known, while Christian commentaries upon new Testament history were most rife, and also most distinct in the school of Alexandria, the last resting-place of the myth of Horus. I have implied that possibly I have overstated my inferences, let me explain in what manner; thus, it might be inferred from certain passages that peculiar titles and offices were ascribed to Horus, the Redeemer only, this is then the assertion which I will myself undertake to qualify. The publication of more recently-translated texts in the volumes of the *Records of the Past*, and some yet unpublished texts, which by the courtesy of the editors I am permitted to cite, have proven that very many of the essential names and attributes of Horus were attributed to Ra, Tum, and the other deities also,* they were alike "self-created," "born of a Virgin," "de-

* The following extract from the first chapter of the Harris *Magical Papyrus*, which by the courtesy of the translator, M. François Chabas, I am permitted to quote, affords an illustration of the manner in which the titles of Horus were applied to Ra and Tum :—

PAGE I.

1 CHAPTER of the excellent songs which dispel the immerged.[1]
A Hymn to the god SHU.

[1] "The immerged." All dangerous animals lurking in the water.

liverers of mankind," "only-begotten sons"; consequently, it would appear that there was a certain *usus loquendi* governing the interpretation of the Egyptian sacred texts, and it is this *usus loquendi* which has, perhaps, been by myself too little regarded, and the apparently Christian analogies interpreted too literally. Still, for all that, I verily believe that as I have done and as I have read, so in perfect good faith the orthodox Christian fathers and the unorthodox Gnostics and Ebionites understood the hagiography of the Egyptians,

---

2 Hail to thee, divine flesh of RA (the sun-god),
Elder son, issued from his body,
Selected by him previous to his birth;
3 The valiant, who is Lord of events,
and overthrows the wicked every day.
The (solar) barge is sailing joyfully,
The (solar) ark in jubilation,*
4 as they see
SHU the Son of RA in (his) triumph:
he darts his spear against the serpent.
(Being) RA, he navigates the heaven on high every morning.
The goddess TAFNUT rests upon his head;
5 She gives her fire against his enemies to reduce them to non-existence.
(Who is) the bolt of RA, the *Oer-haku*,†
the Divine Heir on
6 the throne of his father.
His substance is blended with the substance of RA,
as he is the abundant nutriment which is within him.
He made for him hereditary titles, which are in the writings
7 of the Lord of Sesun,‡ the Scribe of the King RA-HOREMAKHOU,§ in the royal palace of On,‖ consigned, performed, engraved in script under
8 the feet of RA-HAREMAKHOU,¶
and he transmitted it to the son of his son ** for centuries and eternity.

[Here begins the traditional text of the magical hymn.]

Hail to thee! who art the Son of RA, begotten
9 by TUM himself, self-existent, not having a mother,
Truth, Lord of Truths;
Commander, commanding the gods;
Conveyer of the sacred eye of his father RA.††

---

* The peaceful and regular course of the sun is a constant proof of the preservation of the order of things in the universe. The joy of the crew rowing the solar barge on the abyss of heaven is therefore an image of common occurrence on Egyptian texts.

† *Oer-haku*, literally, "the great magic power," here personified as a goddess.

‡ Hermopolis magna, the sacred city of Thoth.

§ Ra-Hor-em-akhou, or The Sun-Harmakhis, is the full royal name of the Sun in his character of first king of Egypt.

‖ Heliopolis magna.

¶ Under the feet of a statue of the god.

** Literally, "from generation to generation" (de père en fils).

†† The sacred eye of Ra is the sun considered as a star.

and anxious to win souls to Christ, and feeling sure that there were even beneath the stern enduring granite walls of Egyptian mythology a still more permanent golden substratum of primitive patriarchal faith, they endeavoured by those very analogies to draw the subtly-educated minds of an Eastern people to the simplicity of the truth as it is in Jesus, and used as the strongest argument in favour of the fundamental truths of a re-revealed Christianity, the dogma and the language of the Myth of Horus.

People present him with their gifts,
10 through his own hands."*
(By him) is assuaged the goddess OER † in her fury,
Uplifted is the sky which he maintains with his two arms;
Every god
11 yields to his face,
The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, SHU-SI-RA,‡
Life, health and strength,
The god who was in the first time.§
The Litany of SHU.
Thou fillest at daybreak the place of his sacred eye ‖ in On ¶ in order to overthrow,

PAGE 2.

1 the wicked far from thy father.
Thou allowest the divine boat to proceed in peace;
his tow-men are in joy, all the gods in exultation and jubilation,
2 When they hear thy name.
Thou art the most mysterious, the greatest of gods,
In that name which is thine of SHU-SI-RA.
Stop, thou, MAKU,** son of SET!
3 I am AN-HER, Lord of the Scimitar.††

Another Section.

Thou art greater and more ancient than the gods,
in that name which is thine of goddess AA-OER. ‡‡ §§

* * * * * *‖‖

---

* The cultus of the mortals reaches Ra, or god, through the intermediation of Shu the son of Ra.

† The "goddess *Oer-t*," or the "great goddess," a name of the lion-headed Sekhet, the chastiser of the wicked.

‡ Shu-si-Ra is the royal name of Shu son of Ra, one of the dynastic gods.

§ *i.e.* from all eternity.

‖ The sacred eye of the sun, the solar disk.

¶ Heliopolis.

** Mako (variant Makaï), a mythological crocodile, a form of Set.

†† An-her (the leader of the sky) is the same as Shu.

‡‡ The very great.

§§ Here the divine son Shu assumes the character of a goddess.

‖‖ This magical text will appear in the next volume (X.) of the *Records of the Past*.