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LIVING DEATH AND DEADENING LIFE: ANIMAL MUMMIES IN GRAECO-EGYPTIAN MAGIC AND RITUAL*

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And trusting and strong in faith he had gone about his business, the while a black shadow hung over him and a horrid Fate waited in his pathway. Now suddenly it had swooped upon him, and had seized him by the leg. Relentless, remorseless, it was; all his protests, his screams, were nothing to it – it did its cruel will with him, as if his wishes, his feelings, had simply no existence at all; it cut his throat and watched him gasp out his life. And now was one to believe that there was nowhere a god of hogs, to whom this hog personality was precious, to whom these hog squeals and agonies had a meaning? Who would take this hog into his arms and comfort him, reward him for his work well done, and show him the meaning of his sacrifice? Perhaps some glimpse of all this was in the thoughts of our humble-minded Jurgis, as he turned to go on with the rest of the party, and muttered: “Dieve – but I’m glad I’m not a hog!”

Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle*

The first spell from the first of the Greek Magical Papyri contains a mystery: “take a circaean falcon,¹ and deify it in the milk of a black cow, mixed with Attic honey, and

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when it is deified wrap it in an uncoloured strip of cloth... and set it up in a shrine of juniper”.² A footnote to the translation, by Robert K. Ritner, tells us that “[t]he magical rite of drowning effects deification”.³ This is a mystery in the ancient sense of the word: a secret and deeply significant rite which might nonetheless appear paradoxical or shocking to the uninitiated. This mystery – a drowned falcon worshipped as a god by his killer – is not alone in the corpus of Greek and Demotic magical papyri, but it is the first strand of a red thread that I will attempt to unravel here, a thread spun from Egyptian ideas about the lives and deaths of humans, animals, and gods.

I will begin this discussion with an overview of magical texts in which animals are drowned, examining their treatment and role in these rituals, before looking at the role of animals in Egyptian religion more broadly, in particular the creation of votive mummies, and then of the religious significance of drowning in Graeco-Roman Egypt. If these two discussions put their focus on the second-order category of ‘religion’ rather than ‘magic’, they are nonetheless important for our understanding of the magical papyri, whose ritual mechanisms depend heavily on the theological concepts of the Ptolemaic and Roman temple cults. In the final part of this discussion I will turn to consider what these rituals tell us about the way in which the identities and personhood of human and non-human animals were conceptualised, discussing the cases of the Apis bull, the divinised Antinous, and a drowned cat.

Circaean falcons and cat-faced spirits

The ritual involving the circaean falcon is only one of nearly thirty such recipes which survive from the Roman period, in which various animals are drowned in magical rituals. Twenty-one of these are found in seven papyrus manuscripts which

1. “Circaean falcon” here translates the Greek *ἰέραξ κερκαῖος* or *κίρκος*, which appear in *PGM* I.4-5 and *Cyranides* 1.21.98 respectively. Given the fact that ancient categorisations of animals do not necessarily agree with the divisions of modern biology, the exact referent is probably impossible to determine, and may have varied by place; the LSJ (s. v., p. 953) simply offers the translation “a kind of *hawk* or *falcon*... the species cannot be identified”. In Greek literature the bird is identified with Apollo (D’A. W. Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, London, Oxford University Press, 1895, p. 83-84). W. G. Arnott (*Birds in the Ancient World from A to Z*, London, Routledge, 2007, p. 99) suggests that the usual referent may be the peregrine falcon (*Falco peregrinus*), the most prominent of the four species of raptor often identified as the Horus falcon in Egypt (P. F. Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt*, Aris & Philips Ltd., Warminster, 1986, p. 46-48), but as pointed out by R. Bailleul-Le Suer, many different species of raptors are mummified in sites associated with Horus, and the Horus falcon is therefore likely an amalgam of different species which does not correspond neatly with modern taxonomy (“From Egyptology to Ornithology: The Cults of Sacred Falcons and The Musée des Confluences’ Raptor Mummies”, in S. Porcier, S. Ikram and S. Pasquali (ed.), *Creatures of Earth, Water, and Sky: Essays on Animals in Ancient Egypt and Nubia*, Leiden, Sidestone Press, 2019, p. 88-95). Due to the solar associations of the spell, discussed below, it seems likely that the circaean falcon was probably one of these raptors with solar associations.

2. *PGM* I.4-6, 21-22: λαβὸν ἰέρακα κερκαῖον ἀποθέωσον εἰς [γάλα βο]ῶς μελαίνης συμμίξας αὐτῷ μέλι Ἄτικόν [καὶ ἀποθέωσας σ]ύνδησον αὐτὸν ῥάκει ἀχρωτίστω... ἀνάθου ἐν ναῶ ἀρκευθίνω...

3. In H. D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation including the Demotic Spells*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992 (original edition 1986), p. 3 fn. 3.

survive from 3rd and 4th century Egypt,⁴ and a further eight occur in the *Cyranides*, a collection composed and collated in the first few centuries of our era, perhaps in Alexandria, and preserved in manuscripts dating from the 12th to 16th centuries.⁵ While falcons feature prominently in these recipes, there are many other animals – beetles, shrews,⁶ lizards, various kinds of fish, as well as a cat, a lizard, a swallow, a mole, and a hoopoe, appearing in one recipe each (see table 1). The purpose of this section will be to describe these rituals – the way in which the animals are killed, what

4. The papyri in question are from the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (“Greek Magical Papyri”) and *Papyri Demoticae Magicae* (“Demotic Magical Papyri”) – this should be regarded as a single corpus, since all of the Demotic handbooks also contain Greek texts, so that *PGM XIV* and *PDM xiv* refer to different parts of a single manuscript copied by a single scribe. The seven handbooks which contain drowning rituals are *PGM I*, III, VII, and *PDM xiv*, lxi & Suppl., all of which were probably copied in the 3rd century, and *PGM IV*, probably copied in the 4th century. All of these, except *PGM III* & VII, can probably be traced to a single archive, usually called the “Theban Magical Library”, which seems to have been found in Thebes in Upper Egypt; *PGM VII* was likely also discovered in this area. Unfortunately, these manuscripts were originally purchased by European collectors on the antiquities market, and so little more is known about their contexts; for discussions and further bibliography see K. Dosoo, “A History of the Theban Magical Library”, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, vol. 53, 2016, p. 251-274; W. M. Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994)”, in W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. 2.18.5, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1995, p. 3380-3684.

5. The *Cyranides* is a work in four books attributed to two authors, Harpocration of Alexandria and Cyranus. It has a complex redactional history, and survives only in the medieval manuscript tradition; the earliest Greek text (BnF gr. 2537) dates to 1272 CE, but a Latin translation survives from the 12th. As a result its date must be guessed at from its language and content; a date of I or II CE has been suggested, but parts of it may be earlier or later; see A. Jori, “Cyranides”, in H. Cancik and H. Schneider (ed.), *Brill's New Pauly*, 2006, online at referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/cyranides-e12223460; D. KAIMAKIS, *Die Kyraniden*, Meisenheim am Glan, Verlag Anton Hain, 1976, p. 1-8.

6. The translation in H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, *op. cit.*, p. 83 translates the word used here, *μυγαλή* (literally “mouse-weasel”), as “field mouse”, and the accompanying footnote confirms that the translator understands the animal to be a mouse (*Mus* sp.). “Field mouse” in English may refer to “any of various mice or other small mammals found in the open countryside and recognized as being distinct from the house mouse” (*OED s. v.*), but it is clear from the context that the shrew should be understood here. Both Plutarch (*Questiones convivales* 670B 7-11) and Iamblichus (*De mysteriis* 5.8.1-5) describe the *μυγαλή* as an animal with lunar associations, pointing to the referent as the shrew, the animal which seems to have been known in Egyptian as the *m'm* (Coptic ⲙⲙⲙ; literally “devourer”, perhaps from its voracious appetite). This animal was associated with the falcon god Horus Mekhenti-en-Irty, who had two eyes – one seeing eye, representing the sun and associated with the Egyptian mongoose (often called the “ichneumon”), and the other eye blind, representing the moon or night sun, and associated with the shrew (often called the “shrew-mouse”). Most authors state that two shrew species are known in Egypt – the giant or greater musk shrew (*Crocidura olivieri*, formerly *C. flavescens deltae*) and the pygmy shrew (*C. religiosa*, often, apparently mistakenly, called *C. nana*). See K. F. Kitchell Jr., *Animals in the Ancient World from A To Z*, London and New York, Routledge, 2014, p. 170-171; P. F. Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1996, p. 126-127; B. A. Wassell, *Ancient Egyptian Fauna: A Lexicographical Study*, Thesis, University of Durham, 1991, p. 86-87, 98; cf. N. Woodman, A. T. Wilken, and S. Ikram, “See How They Ran: Morphological and Functional Aspects of Skeletons from Ancient Egyptian Shrew Mummies (*Eulipotyphla: Soricidae: Crocidurinae*)”, *Journal of Mammalogy*, vol. 100.4, 2019, p. 1199-1210.

is done to their bodies after their deaths, and the role they play in the rituals of which they are part.⁷

Table 1. Rituals from Roman Egyptian magical texts involving the drowning of animals

Source	Animal	Asphyxiant	Deities mentioned	Ritual
<i>PGM</i> I.1-42	Circaean falcon	Milk of black cow mixed with honey	Agathos Daimon, Orion, Sun God	Falcon mummified and set up in shrine to act as <i>paredros</i> , asphyxiant drunk by ritualist to give divine power.
<i>PGM</i> III.1-164 ^a	Cat	Water	Seth, cat-faced spirit, Iao, Mithras, Helios	Part of curse ^b ; offering made to cat before it is buried; its whiskers are kept as phylacteries and the asphyxiant is sprinkled on the place where ritual is performed.
<i>PGM</i> IV.751-814 (475-829)	Solar beetles ^c	Rose-oil	Many, primarily Helios-Mithras	Part of ritual for mystic heavenly ascent; two uses: 1) scarab offered to and buried, asphyxiant used to anoint the eyes in order to see the god; 2) the scarab is worn in a ring during the ritual.
<i>PGM</i> IV.2441-2621 (2456-2472)	Shrew, two lunar beetles ^d	Spring water, river water	Moon goddess	Part of compulsive love-spell; the animals are pounded and mixed with other materia to burn as an offering.
<i>PGM</i> VII.628-42	Field Lizard	Oil of lilies	Asclepius	Part of dream oracle; a ring is dipped in the asphyxiant and the ritualist wears it while sleeping to see the god.
<i>PDM</i> xiv.88-92	Scarab	Milk of black cow	Anubis	Part of bowl-divination ritual; the animal is bound to the bowl or the arm of the boy-medium to make the gods appear more quickly.

7. Another spell which may belong to this category is *PDM* Suppl. 28-40, a fragmentary dream-sending spell which could be restored to read “take an [animal name lost] and [drown] it in oil of lotus” (*hr inək [...] mtwək irəf [n hsy?] hn w' skne n sšn*, l. 29-30; cf. the passages from *PDM* xiv discussed in the next section. Compare *PDM* Suppl. 101-116, a dream-sending spell in which a written spell is put into the mouth of a “black-dog of the embalming-house” (*iwiw km n pr-nfr*), perhaps a mummified dog, who is offered incense and the milk of a black cow. ACM 97 (= Florence 5645, TM 99588), a Coptic curse written on a human rib, has been interpreted as invoking a *hasye*: “I invoke your great power ... [and] your great might which has authority over this *hsai*, so that you compel this corpse...” (τιεπιλαλε [*sic*] τεκνοσ ντηναμικ ε[τε...] τεκνοσ <ν>σμοι ετεογνσμοι εα παιρσαϊ νακρωχχ πικωσ); see A. M. KROPP, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte*, Brussels, Édition de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1931, vol. 3, p. 111 n. 1, but it seems preferable to understand *hsai* not as *hasye* but as a miswriting of εραϊ, “writing”.

<i>PDM</i> xiv.335-55	Nile Perch ^e	Oil mixed with other substances	Syncretistic female deity ^f	Part of love spell; the animal is embalmed and buried, the asphyxiant is used to anoint the user's face and penis when he has intercourse with a woman.
<i>PDM</i> xiv.355-65	Nile Perch	Oil of roses	Syncretistic female deity, inc. Neith, Isis, Tefnut, Sakhmet ^g	Part of love spell; the animal is embalmed and buried, the asphyxiant is used to anoint the user's face when he has intercourse with a woman.
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 376-367	Shrew	Water	–	If a man drinks the asphyxiant he is blinded.
<i>PDM</i> xiv.377-378	Shrew	Water	–	If a man eats the animal's body ground up in his food he swells up and dies.
<i>PDM</i> xiv.378-382, 392-394	Shrew	Water	Iaho, Abrasax	The animal's tail is gilded and embalmed in a gold-ring; this attracts a woman.
<i>PDM</i> xiv.382-384	Shrew	Water	–	The pounded body of animal is mixed with some blood and fed to a woman to make her mad with love.
<i>PDM</i> xiv.385-386	Shrew	Water	–	The heart of the animal is placed in a ring to bring favour to the wearer.
<i>PDM</i> xiv.386-387	Falcon	Wine	–	If a man drinks the asphyxiant he dies.
<i>PDM</i> xiv.636-669	Scarab of Mars or two-horned scarab ^h	Milk of a Black Cow	Body parts of various deities, Amun (?)	Part of love spell; half of mummy is cooked, pounded with other materials and fed to the woman to be attracted; the other half is bound and worn by the user when he sleeps with the woman.
<i>PDM</i> xiv.743-744	Falcon	Wine	–	If a man drinks the asphyxiant he dies.
<i>PDM</i> xiv.744-745	Shrew	Wine	–	If a man drinks the asphyxiant he dies.
<i>PDM</i> xiv.1090-1096	Unclear ⁱ	Unclear	Tendon (?)	Part of love spell: placed in a ring (?) with part of the body of a wild cat; the ring is invoked to bring the victim.

<i>PDM</i> lxi.79-94	Unclear ^j	Unclear, washed in milk	Geb, Isis	Part of thief-finding spell; the head of the being is buried, flax is sown over it, then harvested. The head is washed with milk and then removed while the flax is knotted in a ritual to identify the thief.
<i>PDM</i> Suppl.19-27	Unclear ^k	Unclear	Unclear	Part of dream-sending ritual; animal crowned with wreath, request spoken into its ear.
<i>PDM</i> Suppl. 60-101	Bull-faced scarab ^l	Cow milk (?) ^m	Noble Spirit	Part of dream-sending ritual; animal mixed with other materia and shaped into mummy, which is asked to send a dream.
<i>Cyranides</i> 1.21.98-110	Circaean falcon	Spring water	–	Eyes, tongue, heart, skin, tendons used to make phylactery for foreknowledge.
<i>Cyranides</i> 1.24.19-20	Swallow	Water or wine	–	Drinking the asphyxiant gives incurable sores.
<i>Cyranides</i> 2.3.15-29	Mole	Rainwater	–	Boiled in asphyxiant, mixed with other ingredients then consumed at sunrise to give foreknowledge until sunset.
<i>Cyranides</i> 2.39.14-24	Sea-falcon ⁿ and hoopoe	Water	–	Bodies buried; eyes removed and mixed with various other substances for various medical uses.
<i>Cyranides</i> 4.16.5-7	Eel	Wine	–	Drinking the asphyxiant cures drunks of their addiction.
<i>Cyranides</i> 4.18.5-12	<i>Echeneis</i> ^o	Tree-resin	–	Boiled with asphyxiant creates salve for hands, feet and limbs.
<i>Cyranides</i> 4.57.2-5	Scorpion-fish	Wine	–	Drinking asphyxiant cures splenetics, causes woman to bleed violently; this bleeding can be healed by giving her the cooked fish.
<i>Cyranides</i> 4.62.5-6	Red-mullet	Wine	–	Drinking the asphyxiant helps in childbirth.

a. For this ritual, compare the discussion in Y. Koenig, “Traditions pharaoniques et papyrus grecs magiques”, art. cit., p. 80-84.

b. The end of the text lists four purposes for the ritual – the restraining of charioteers, sending dreams (discussed further below), binding a lover, and causing hatred between couples (l. 162-164); all of these can be characterised as “hostile” – subjecting or binding others – but the original purpose seems to be the first of these, as can be seen by the mention of chariot, charioteers and horses in the list of victims (l. 19-20), and the imagery – a figure wielding a whip – paralleled by curse tablets in other parts of the Roman empire; cf. E. Love, “‘Crum’s Chicken’: Alpak, Demonised Donkeys, and Avianised Demons among the Figures of Demotic, Greek, and Coptic Magical Texts”.

c. See K. Dosoo and T. Galoppin, “Animals in Graeco-Egyptian Magical Practice”, in this volume for a discussion of types of scarabs.

d. Cf. above, n. c.

e. The word used for the fish in this and the following ritual is *k(e)š* (l. 338, 370-371), specified as being black (*km*). While the species is uncertain, it has been identified with the Coptic *κααϰω*, used to translate the phonetically similar Arabic word قشّر (*qišr*), which apparently refers to the Nile perch (*Lates niloticus*), whose usual Egyptian name was *ḥʿ*. This animal was sacred to the goddess Neith at Esna (named in Greek “*Latopolis*”, after the fish), and was mummified in large numbers there. For the word’s meaning see W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1939, p. 130b; F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, London, H. Grevel & Co., 1904, vol. 1, p. 87-88, note to l. 4; on the sacredness of the Nile perch see I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1970, p. 88-90; cf. A. Charron, “L’étude des momies animales du musée des Confluences à Lyon: l’exemple des momies de poissons”, in S. Porcier, S. Ikram and S. Pasquali (ed.), *Creatures of Earth, Water, and Sky, op. cit.*, p. 137-144.

f. The invoked goddess is referred to as “the First One, the Great One, the Great of Magic, the living Uraeus” (*tp.t wr.t wr-hyḳ ṽ ʿr.t ʿnh.t*, l. 350-351). These titles are common to many goddesses; most prominent among these is Isis, but they are also applied to, for example Nekhbet and Bast; see C. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Leuven, Uitgeverij Peeters, 2002-2003, vol. 1, p. 424; vol. 2, p. 478-480, 493-496; vol. 7, p. 397-398.

g. The goddess is referred to in this spell as “the Great One, the Great of Magic, the Nubian Cat, the Daughter of Ra, the Mistress of the Uraeus, Sakhmet, the Great Mistress of Iset” (*ṽ wr.t wr-hy[ḳ imy].t iks.t sʿ.t rʿ ṽ nb.t ʿre.t... sḥm.t ʿt nb.t ʿs.t*, l.356). For the first titles, see n. f above; the “Nubian Cat, daughter of Ra” probably refers to Tefnut, the daughter of the sun god who took the form of a cat and was associated with Nubia (W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge. Nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384*, Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 1994, p. 2-4), while Sakhmet is the lion-goddess who was worshipped in the city of Iset.

h. Cf. above, n. c.

i. The name of the animal seems to be lost at the end of l. 1091.

j. This text is quite different from the others; the process of drowning is not described, but the recipe instructs the ritualist to bring the head of a *hasye* (*hsy*, l. 80), a word which refers to a drowned being (see discussion below). Since the word is unmodified it seems likely that a human is intended. Although it is unclear how the ritualist is to acquire the head of a drowned human, a few other spells include the use of materials from dead humans; compare the text discussed at n. 7.

k. The text is fragmentary, so it is difficult to be certain of the procedure. The text mentions a *hasye* (*hsy*, l. 23, 26), or drowned being, twice, once in the formula and once in the instructions. There are instructions to draw or write something, and place a wreath on the head, presumably of the *hasye*, paralleling the crowning of the falcon’s coffin-shrine in *PGM I.1-42*. It is possible that this ritual, like that above, uses a dead human rather than another kind of animal (cf. n. j above), but the fact that this is uncertain is revealing about the slippage between human and animal in rituals, which will be discussed further below.

l. The text is fragmentary, but Quack convincingly argues that it should be read as *mḥrr n [hr] n kš*; cf. above, n. c. Quack also believes that the scarab is cooked (*hmm*) rather than drowned; I include it here nonetheless as the verb describing the mode of killing is damaged and therefore uncertain, and the treatment of the scarab after its death is similar enough to the other texts to merit comparison; J. F. Quack, “Remarks on Egyptian Rituals of Dream-Sending”, in P. Kosoulis (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Demonology*, Leuven, Uitgeverij Peeters, 2011, p. 133.

m. Johnson (in H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri, op. cit.*, p. 326) suggests that the vessel into which the scarab is put is “full of cow’s [milk]”, but Quack (“Remarks on Egyptian Rituals of Dream-Sending”, art. cit., p. 133) does not follow this reading.

n. As with many of the other animal species discussed here, the identity of the sea-falcon (ἰέραξ πελάγιος) is uncertain; it may refer to Eleonora’s falcon (*Falco eleonorae*) or, less likely, the osprey (*Pandion haliaetus*), both of which are raptors which often live along the coasts; see W. G. Arnott, *Birds of the Ancient World, op. cit.*, p. 68, but cf. the cautionary notes on species identification in n. 1.

o. For this fish, whose name means “ship-detainer”, see C. Faraone, “The *Echenēis*-Fish and Magic”, in this volume; the intended animal may be a remora (*Echeneis* sp.).

As is common in magical texts, the length of the ritual prescriptions varies considerably; some are laconic instructions to simply drown the animals, others detailed, step-by-step procedures specifying what should and should not be done at each stage. Nonetheless, there are enough shared details to reconstruct an “ideal” ritual process, from which significant deviations can be noted.

A few of the texts mention that the ritualist is to have undergone a period of purification prior to carrying out the ritual, as is common in Graeco-Egyptian magic; this consisted of avoiding sexual intercourse, meat, and bathhouses – impure places – for a fixed number of days.⁸ The next step, acquiring the animals, is elided in most of the rituals, but whether they were caught wild, bought from merchants, or acquired by other means,⁹ the next stage was to drown them. A wide range of liquids were used for this – water (often specified as spring, rain or river water), oil (which might be scented with roses or lilies), wine, honey, tree-resin, bull-fat – or some combination of these. There is to some extent a practical aspect here; liquids other than water were used to kill water-breathing fish, but the choice of liquid seems to have also played a vital role in the ritual mechanics: wine, beer, honey, and milk were the same liquids used as libations in traditional Greek and Egyptian cults, and in other magical rituals from this period.¹⁰ Unmixed wine, or mixtures of wine, water, milk, honey, and oil were traditionally used in Greek cults which honoured and nourished chthonic deities and the dead,¹¹ while these same liquids were associated in Egyptian culture with fertility and the Nile Flood, and were offered in temple cults.¹² Milk, in particular, was associated in Egyptian cults with child deities – it is, fundamentally, a substance which nourishes

8. The most explicit instructions are found in *PGM* I.40-42: “This praxis requires complete purity... keep yourself from intercourse with women for 7 (?) days (εἰλικρ[ίνειαν δὲ ἔχει πᾶσαν] ἢ πρᾶξις [αὐτῆ]... [ἄπε]χε σαυτὸν ἐν ἡμέρ[αις ζ'] συνουσιάσαι γυναικί); *PGM* IV.735-737, 784-785: “abstain from meat and the bath... [perform the ritual] having kept yourself pure for three days in advance” (ἀποσχέσθω ἐμψύχων καὶ βαλανείου ... πρὸ γ' ἡμερῶν ἀγνεύσας).

9. Compare the speculations on the catching of wild falcons in R. Bailleur-Le Suer, “From Egyptology to Ornithology”, *op. cit.*, p. 89-90.

10. Offerings using these liquids are found, for example, in *PGM* I.286-287 (wine, honey, milk, rainwater); *PGM* II.74 (wine); *PGM* III.694 (milk and white wine); *PGM* IV. 908-909 (wine, beer and honey, or the milk of black cow), 2192-2193 (milk, honey, wine, olive oil), 3149 (milk of a black cow); *PGM* XII.215-220 (wine, honey, milk, saffron), *PGM* XIII.93-95 (wine and honey). Note that specific types of water are at times linked to different deities; in *PGM* IV.224-227, a vessel divination, rainwater is linked to the heavenly gods, seawater to the gods of the earth, river-water to Osiris and Serapis, and springwater to the dead.

11. For the role of these liquids in Greek libations see F. Graf, “Milch, Honig und Wein. Zum Verständnis der Libation im griechischen Ritual”, in Perennitas: *Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich*, Rome, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1980, p. 209-221; A. Henrichs, “The Eumenides and Wineless Libations in the Derveni Papyrus”, in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Naples, Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, 1984, p. 255-268.

12. For Egyptian libations, see P. Dils, “Wine for Pouring and Purification in Ancient Egypt”, in J. Quaegebeur (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, Leuven, Peeters, 1993, p. 107-123; S. Cauville, *Offerings to the Gods in Egyptian Temples*, Leuven, Peeters, 2012, p. 43-55; M.-C. Poo, “Liquids in Temple Ritual”, in W. Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 2010; M. Pehal and M. Preininger Svobodová, “Death and the Right Fluids: Perspectives from Egyptology and Anthropology”, *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*, vol. 17, 2018, p. 117.

the newborn – and by extension the nourishment of the reborn dead.¹³ The “black cow” whose milk is called for in several recipes¹⁴ probably stands in for the mother goddesses who take this form: the wet-nurses of the souls of Heliopolis in the Pyramid Texts,¹⁵ and the primeval goddess Amaunet in a Roman-period cosmogony.¹⁶ The oil of lilies may draw upon similar associations, since the Byzantine-era *Geoponica* tells us that the lily sprang up from the spilt breast-milk of the goddess Hera,¹⁷ while the rose, which scented other oils, may have been associated with the crown of roses worn by the justified dead in Egypt.¹⁸ The liquids used were thus highly signified, linked to religious rituals in general, and in particular the sustenance of gods and of the newly (re)born.

In several of the texts a spell is spoken over the animals as they were drowned,¹⁹ and the animals might be left in the asphyxiant – the liquid in which they had been

13. The libations to the dead might consist, like those discussed above, of water, wine and milk, and the milk of the divine *Hs³.t*, *Sh³.t-Hr*; and *3h.t* cows was believed to sustain and empower the reborn dead; see J. Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien, Band 2: Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches*, Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag Winter, 2005, p. 196-197; M. Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 180-181, 182, 184-185, 190, 517 *inter alia*.

14. The milk of a black cow (βοῦς μέλαινα, *ih.t km.t*) is used as an offering in *PGM* III.384, *PGM* IV.908-909, *PDM* Suppl. 101-116, and is drunk in *PGM* XIII.129, 361, 686; her dung is used as an offering in *PGM* IV.1439-1440, her blood as an ingredient in ink in *PGM* VII.652-653, the hairs of her tail are used in *PGM* XXXVI.238-239, and she is invoked as a mythical being in *PDM* xiv.165-166.

15. “NN has suckled from the milk of the two black cows, the nurses of the souls of Heliopolis” (*snq-n NN m ir.t id.ty km.ty mn³.ty b³.w iwnw*; Pyramid Texts 531c; *Pyramide des Teti*, PT 325).

16. “[The creator god said,] ‘May the four cows unite, may they unite at once; the males became a black bull, the females became a black cow’; their names were Amun and Amaunet” (*my tmy t³ 4.t ih.t my [tmy-zw] t³y hyt ir [n³] hwt.w w³ k³ km ir n³ s.hm.t.w w³.t ih.t km.t dd[sw n-zw rn] Tmn Tmn.t*, P. Berlin 13603 col. II l.5-6; W. Erichsen and S. Schott, *Fragmente memphisischer Theologie*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1954 p. 14).

17. *Geoponica* 11.19: “When Herakles was born from Alkmene, being mortal, Zeus wanted to share immortality with him, and thus gave him the breast of the sleeping Hera, when he was still young. When the infant had his fill of milk, he let go of the nipple; but the milk continued to flow freely even when the child was apart from it, and it spattered heaven, creating that which is called the Milky Way; dripping on the ground it drenched the earth, and the lily flower grew up, milky in colour” (Ζεὺς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐκ τῆς Ἀλκμήνης γεγεννηκῶς θνητὸν ὄντα, ἀθανασίας μέτοχον ἠβουλήθη ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ τοῦτον τῷ μαστῷ τῆς Ἥρας κοιμωμένης ἔτι νέον ὄντα προσέθηκεν. ἐμπλήσθην δὲ τὸ βρέφος τοῦ γάλακτος ἀπέστησε μὲν τὸ στόμα τῆς θηλῆς, ἔρρηε δ’ ὁμως τὸ γάλα ἀφθόνως, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς διαστάτος, ἐν οὐρανῷ τε διαχυθέν, τὸν λεγόμενον γαλαξίαν ἀπειργάσατο, ἐν τῇ γῆ δὲ ἀπορρέεν, καὶ τὰς βάλους δεύσαν, ἄνθος τὸ τοῦ κρίνου ἀνέδωκε προσεικὸς τὴν χρῶαν τῷ γάλακτι; H. Beckh (ed.), *Geoponica*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1895); see also the longer discussion of the symbolism of the milk in A. Cheak, “Waters Animating and Annihilating”, art. cit., p. 62-72.

18. J. G. Griffiths, *The Isis Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)*, Leiden, Brill, 1975, p. 159-161; F. Perpillou-Thomas, *Fêtes d’Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d’après la documentation papyrologique grecque*, Lovanii, 1993, p. 126-129.

19. *PGM* III.1-164: “... during the drowning, speak to (the cat’s) back” ([ἐ]ν [ῶ] πνίγεις, λέγε εἰς τ[ὸν] νῶ[το]ν, l. 2-3); *PGM* IV.475-829: “... casting (the scarab) into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil... speak the name over the vessel for seven days while the sun is in mid-heaven” (βάλε εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὑελοῦν μύρου ροδίνου καλλίστου... λέγε τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγγους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ζ’ ἡλίου

killed – for a significant time after their death: two days in the case of a Nile Perch,²⁰ seven days in the case of a scarab beetle.²¹ In each of these cases the asphyxiant is oil, a liquid which would have prevented the corpse's immediate decomposition. Somewhat strangely, one of the texts suggests that the animal – a beetle in this case – is dead before it is placed in the water; it is to be fed a cake made from lotus seed and honey, which is said to kill it.²² Perhaps in an earlier version of the text the cake was simply intended to drug it, to make its drowning easier, a possibility which – though unstated – we might well imagine in the case of larger animals such as cats and falcons, equipped with claws with which to resist their would-be killers.

After being killed, the animal might be dried; two texts describe suspending a fish over the bowl in which it has been drowned for two days,²³ while another describes a scarab being dried on sand for four.²⁴ In other texts, this placing of the body on sand is delayed until after it is wrapped in the manner of a mummy,²⁵ either with the traditional linen,²⁶

μεσουρανοῦντος, l. 759-763); *PDM* xiv.335-55: "... put it (the fish) into the aforementioned oil for two days, and recite the formula to it at dawn" (*dy.t.yʒs r pʒy.y nhh nty-hry n hrw 2 i.irʒk ʒ n pʒy.y ʒ r.rʒf n dwe*, l. 339); cf. *PDM* xiv.636-69: "speak the formula to it (the scarab) in front of the sun when it is about to rise, seven times; when you have finished, drown it in the milk of a black cow" (*md.t.r.rʒf r-hr pʒ r' iwʒf r pr n sp 7 i.irʒk wʒh i.irʒk tʒyʒf n hsy hn hyn.w irt(t) n ih.t kme.t*, l. 638-639).

20. *PDM* xiv.335-55 (l. 340).

21. *PGM* IV.475-829: "... cast (it) into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil... on the seventh day take out the scarab..." (βάλε εις ἀγγεῖον ὑελοῦν μύρου ῥοδίνου καλλίστου... τῆ δὲ ζ' ἡμέρα βαστάζας τὸν κάνθαρον, l. 759-768).

22. *PGM* IV.475-829: "...put him (the scarab) together with the seed of the lotus fruit and honey, pounding and making a little cake, and immediately you will see him (the scarab) approaching and eating it, and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies." (συνεμβάλων αὐτῶ λατομητρας σπέρμα καὶ μέλι λειώσας ποιήσον μαζίον, καὶ εὐθέως αὐτὸν ὄψη προσερχόμενον καὶ ἐσθίοντα, καὶ ὅταν φάγη, εὐθέως θνήσκει., l. 755-758).

23. *PDM* xiv.335-55: "... take the fish up out of the oil, tie it by its tail with a strip of flax, hang it up... on the vine, and place the vessel containing the oil under it for three days until it drips out that which is in it" (*mtwʒk iny pʒ t[bʒ] r-hry hn pʒ nhh mtwʒk mrʒs r pʒyʒs sd \n tyb n mhe/ mtwʒk ʒyh.t ʒs m-sʒ [dʒʒʒ] n pʒ ht n iwlle m[twʒk hʒʒ] pʒ nkt nty hr nhh hr.rʒs ʒ'-mtwʒs dldl pʒ nty n-he.tʒs r-h[ry]*, l. 343-344); the same procedure is found in *PDM* xiv.355-65 (l. 361-362); cf. *Cyranides* 1.21.100-101: "... then taking it up leave it for six hours, although Kyranis says it (the drowned falcon) is embalmed in seven days" (εἶτα ἄρας αὐτὸν ἔασον ὡς ὥρας ζ' ὁ δὲ Κυρανὸς ζ' εἶπεν ἡμέρας τεταριχευμένον).

24. *PDM* xiv.636-69: "When evening comes take it out (of the milk), spread sand under it" (*r.ire rwhe hpr i.irʒk in.tʒf r-hry i.irʒk prh hr.rʒf n ʒ'*, l. 639-640); cf. *PGM* IV.475-829: "... spreading sacred sand in a pure manner set the vessel (with the scarab in oil in it) on it..." (στρώσας καθαρῆως ἄμμον ιερὰν ἐπίθεε τὸ ἀγγεῖον, l. 761-762).

25. *PDM* Suppl. 60-101: "Make a base of sand below it in your house (?), fix the (small mummy) figure on the sand; put the scarab on the body of the figure (?), after embalming it" (*i.irʒk ir w' pʒy n ʒw hr-rʒf...[...i-]irʒk smn pʒ twt hr pʒ pʒy n ʒw i-irʒk hʒʒ pʒ mhrr hr he.tʒf n pʒ... m-sʒ qʒʒf*, l. 91-93).

26. *PGM* I.1-42: "wrap it in an uncoloured strip of cloth... and plaster it with uncut frankincense and well-aged wine" ([σ]ύνδησον αὐτὸν ῥάκει ἀχρωτίστω... καὶ ἀνάπασον αὐτὸν λιβάνω ἀτ[μήτω κα]ὶ οἴνω προπαλαίω, ll.6-10); *PGM* IV.475-829: "... on the seventh day pick up the scarab and embalm it with myrrh and Mendesian wine and fine linen, and bury it in a flourishing bean-field" (τῆ δὲ ζ' ἡμέρα βαστάζας τὸν κάνθαρον, θάμας ζμύρνη καὶ οἴνω Μενδησίω καὶ βυσσίνω ἀπόθου ἐν κυμαῶνι ζωοφυτοῦντι, l. 768-770); *PDM* xiv.1-92: "bind it (a coloured band) to a scarab in the attitude of the sun god, drowned, embalmed in byssus" (*mrʒf n w' mhrr n h'ʒf n pʒ-r' hsy iw ʒf ks n ʒs-(n)-nsw*,

or with a strip of papyrus.²⁷ This often consists of an elaborate procedure; the bindings may be decorated with magical formulae and drawings,²⁸ or else accompanied by strips of particular colours²⁹ – blue, red, white, and black, or white, green, blue and red – and the process might also involve the use of natron salt, with its desiccant and purificatory qualities, and the fragrant preservatives myrrh and frankincense, as well as saffron and wine;³⁰ these substances, sticky and perfumed, would presumably help to hold the bindings together, and mask any smell of rotting.

It is true that this process bears little immediate resemblance to the best-known and most detailed accounts of mummification, provided by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus,³¹ in which human subjects had their internal organs removed with varying degrees of care, and either stored in jars, discarded, or returned, wrapped, into the body cavity along with aromatics such as myrrh, and in which they were dried for seventy days with natron, before being bound with fine linen, and plastered with gum. But this is to confuse technical details with ritual efficacy; the well-known process described by Herodotus was apparently used only on the wealthy, and significantly less elaborate procedures could be used on humans and, significantly, animals.³² These

l. 90-91); *PDM* xiv.335-55: "... embalm it (the fish) with myrrh, natron and byssus" (*i.ir=k ks=[s] n hl hsmn šs-n-nsw*, l. 346); the same procedure is found in *PDM* xiv.355-65; *PDM* xiv.378-382, 392-394: "... embalm its (the shrew's) tail, gild it, add pounded myrrh to it" (*mtw=k ks p'y šf sd mtw=k ir=f n nb mtw=k dy.t hl iw=f nt.t r.r=f*, l. 380); *PDM* xiv.636-69: "bind them (the scarab and nail parings) in a strip of byssus with myrrh and saffron (*mtw=k mr=z w n w'.t tys(.t) n šs-(n)-nsw hr hl grwgws*, l. 644); *PDM* Suppl. 60-101: "... after embalming it (the scarab) in myrrh, ointment, and a cloth of byssus" (*m-s' ks=f r-ir=k v' h'.t n hl m the hbs n šs-nsw.t*, l. 93-94). "Byssus" refers to high-quality linen.

27. *PGM* III.1-164: "... wrap this (a sheet of papyrus) around the body of the cat and embalm it" (περιέ[λι]ξον εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ αἰλοῦρου καὶ θάψ[ον], l. 20-21).

28. *PGM* I.1-42: a piece of papyrus has the vowels written on it in myrrh ink in two triangles, one with its point upwards, the second with its point downwards, and the papyrus is then plastered to the mummy (l. 8-19); *PGM* III.1-164: the formula and the names of the victims of the curse are written on a piece of papyrus with which the cat is then wrapped (l. 18-21); *PDM* xiv. 378-382, 392-394: the formula is written on the strip with which the shrew is embalmed.

29. *PDM* xiv.1-92: "Take a band of linen of sixteen threads, four white, four green, four blue, four red, and make them into one band and stain them with the blood of a hoopoe; bind them to a scarab" (*i.ir=k in w' swt' n 'yw n 'y 16 4.t n ht 4.t n [wt] 4.t (n) sšt' 4.t n itme.t mtw=k ir=z w n w' swt' mtw=k sp=z w n snf n kwkwpt mtw=k mr=f n w' mhrr*, l. 89-90); cf. *PGM* III.1-164 which contains a fragmentary phrase "with colours" in the section describing its burial (χρώμασι, l. 27), and *PDM* Suppl. 60-101 which mentions strips of red, purple, white, and black being used to bind a human skull (*r'y' n i[wn] 4 r-hr=f sšt itm.t hd km*, l. 96).

30. *PGM* I.1-42: uncut frankincense and aged wine (l. 10); *PGM* IV.475-829: myrrh and wine (l. 768-770); *PDM* xiv.335-55: myrrh and natron (l. 346), the same ingredients are used in *PDM* xiv.355-65 (l. 365); *PDM* xiv.378-382, 392-394: pounded myrrh (l. 380); *PDM* xiv.636-69: myrrh and saffron (l. 644); *PDM* Suppl. 60-101: myrrh, ointment (l. 93).

31. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.86; Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 1.91.

32. The second and third methods of embalming, according to Herodotus, involve cleaning out the innards by injecting ether cedar oil or a purge into the anus, and then drying the body for seventy days (*Histories* 2.87-88). A recent survey of 157 mummies demonstrates that in practice mummification was much more variable; the majority of the mummies in the sample were eviscerated, but 24 % were not, and the treatment of the organs was particularly inconsistent: in the Roman period, for example, only 4 % of mummies had their hearts intact, contrary to the idea that the heart was always kept in the body (A. D. Wade and A. J. Nelson, "Radiological Evaluation of the Evisceration

might consist, as in the case of the magical mummies, of plastering them with fragrant resins before wrapping, or even simply providing them with basic funeral rites and amulets. In their specifics, the magical mummies seem to broadly follow those laid out by the most detailed surviving account of mummification, the Ptolemaic *Apis Embalming Ritual*,³³ the instructions for mummifying the divine Apis bull who resided at Memphis.³⁴ While the bull did undergo the removal of organs and drying process associated with high-quality human burials – the care taken in embalming this bull was (at least in theory) equal to that accorded to royalty³⁵ – it was placed on a bank of sand at various key stages of the embalming procedure,³⁶ and its wrapping involved the use of coloured cloth – blue and red, in this case.³⁷ The sandbank here, at 6 by 4 cubits in size, would have been far larger than that used for the magical mummies, but its ritual purpose was the same; it prevented contact with the earth, and, as a representation of

Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Mummies”, *HOMO – Journal of Comparative Human Biology*, vol. 64, 2013, p. 1-28). Much less is known of non-elite burial (see J. Baines and P. Lacovara, “Burial and the Dead in Ancient Egyptian Society”, *Journal of Social Archaeology*, vol. 2.1, 2002, p. 12-14), but one interesting example is the a Late Period/Ptolemaic cemetery in Qasr ‘Allam, where humans and dogs, both adult and infants, were all buried similarly in small graves (*loculi*) with beads and amulets, which the authors understand as evidence of some sort of funerary ritual (F. Colin, F. Adam and I. Pranjic, “Harpocrate au chien et les cadavres de Qasr ‘Allam. Perspectives sur le statut rituel des inhumations animales dans l’Égypte ancienne”, in *Archimède. Archéologie et Histoire ancienne*, vol. 1, 2014, p. 32-63). The treatment of animal mummies was similarly variable, but the most common procedure seems to have been some sort of desiccation, followed by dipping in a resin, pitch or bitumen, and binding, without evisceration (see S. Ikram, “Manufacturing Divinity: The Technology of Mummification”, in Ead. (ed.), *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo, American University in Cairo Press, 2005, p. 16-43, esp. 20-22; S. A. Buckley, K. A. Clark and R. P. Evershed, “Complex Organic Chemical Balms of Pharaonic Animal Mummies”, *Nature*, vol. 431, 2004, p. 294-299.)

33. The text is P. Vindob. 3873, which may be dated to the late 2nd century BCE; for the publication see R. L. Vos, *The Apis Embalming Ritual (P. Vindob. 3873)*, Leuven, Peeters, 1993.

34. On the Apis bull see A. Dodson, “Bull Cults”, in S. Ikram (ed.), *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo, American University in Cairo Press, 2005, p. 72-91; D. Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König: Teil I: Beiträge zu Organisation, Kult und Theologie der spätzeitlichen Tierfriedhöfe*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1989, p. 57-104.

35. See, for example, the *Battle for the Armour of Inaros*, a literary text in which the care accorded to the dead Inaros is signified by the fact that he is to be given the funerary rites “of the Apis, the Mnevis-bull and the Pharaoh, the three gods” (*n Ḥp irm M(r)-wr [pⁱ pr-³] pⁱ 3 nṛ.w*, 8.16; F. Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, Wien, Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1996); cf. the *Canopus Decree*, where Princess Berenike is embalmed “in accordance with what is customarily done for Apis and Mnevis” (*n snṯ n ir-wn Ḥp Wr-mr*; R. S. Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees*, Oxford, Griffith Institute, 1996, p. 236; καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἄ[πει] καὶ Μνήμει, *OGIS* 56, A I. 53-54); cf. R. L. Vos, *The Embalming Ritual*, *op. cit.*, p. 103 n. 24.

36. A “bank of sand” (*py š*) is mentioned at recto I.1, IV.17; see the discussion in R. L. Vos, *Apis Embalming Ritual*, *op. cit.*, p. 69-70, who compares the hill of sand on which the deceased is placed for the revivifying Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth and the primeval mound upon which the creator god or Osiris rest.

37. The coffin is wrapped with two named cloths – the *ḥrt* (probably blue) and the *šsd* (probably red) (recto IV.4). Multi-coloured bandages are often found on human and animal mummies from the Roman period (F. Dunand and R. Lichtenberg, “Pratiques et croyances funéraires en Égypte romaine”, in W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. 2.18.5, Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1995, p. 3270-3271).

the primordial mound, the first land formed by the creator in Egyptian cosmogonies, cast the process of mummification as a new creation, the resurrection of the dead into a new, divine existence.

But while funeral rites of the Apis bull and similar animal gods were paid for by the king and temples³⁸ and represented a pious act on behalf of the kingdom, the creation of an animal mummy in the magical rituals was a private act, and this private aspect is reflected in the incorporation of the ritualist's own materia into the process: parts of the ritualist's body are used in the wrappings – two fingernails and all of their hair in one ritual, an unspecified number of nail parings in another, and blood from their thighs in another;³⁹ these same materia are often used in other rituals to create links between individuals, as intimate body-parts which can nonetheless be removed and manipulated.⁴⁰

The Apis bull, and other divine and sacred animals, would be installed in tomb chapels or catacombs after their mummification, and this too seems to have been the case in several of the magical rituals: the vaguer instructions refer to the mummy being placed in a “hidden place” or near the dwelling place of the ritualist,⁴¹ while the most explicit, the ritual involving the circaean falcon with which we began, refers to the mummy being placed in a shrine of juniper, which is then crowned.⁴² The process

38. F. Dunand, R. Lichtenberg and A. Charron, *Des animaux et des hommes. Une symbiose égyptienne*, Éditions du Rocher, 2005, p. 156; cf. the decree of Ptolemy Euergetes II, Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III (118 BCE): “And they have decreed that the expenses for the burial of Apis and Mnevis should be demanded from the crown revenues, as in the case of the deified personages. Likewise, in the case of the other sacred animals the sums required (shall be paid by the crown)” ([προστε]τάχαι δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰς τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ Ἄπιος καὶ Μνήσιος ζητεῖν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ) [ὦ]ς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποτεθεωμένων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ζῶν τὰ ὑποκείμενα; P. Tebt. I 5, l. 77-79).

39. *PGM* I.1-42: the ritualist's hair and two fingernails are bound with the falcon's wrappings in l. 3-10; *PDM* xiv.636-69: the nail parings of the ritualist's left hand and foot are bound with left half of the mummy, while the right half is pounded with apple-seeds, the nails of the user's right hand and foot, and some of their sweat or urine, and given to the spell's victim in wine to make her fall in love (l. 640-644); *PDM* Suppl. 60-101: blood from the left thigh and right leg are used to construct the figure of Khentamenti to which the scarab is attached (l. 89-90).

40. Compare *PGM* V.370-446, where one of the ritualist's hairs is bound in a piece of papyrus and placed by the feet of a figure of Hermes; *PDM* xiv.1182-87, where the hair of a man or woman is tied to the hair of a dead man and bound to a living falcon to turn them mad.

41. *PGM* III.1-164: “take his (the cat's) body [and preserve it] by immersing it either in a tomb or in a burial place” (ἔχε σῶμα αὐτοῦ κ[αὶ καταφύλαττε] αὐτὸν ἢ ἐν μνή[μ]ατι [ἢ ἐν τ]ῷ τόπῳ [τοῦ] τά[φου], l. 24-26); *PGM* IV. 475-829: “... bury (the scarab) in a flourishing bean-field...” (ἀπόθου ἐν κωαμῶνι ζωοφυτοῦντι, l. 77); *PDM* xiv.335-55: “... put it (the fish) in a hidden place in your house (?)” (*i.ir=k h³’s/ n w’ m³ iw=f hep hn p³’y=k .wy*), l. 346), essentially the same instructions are found in *PDM* xiv.355-65 (l. 364); *PDM* Suppl. 60-101: “leave it (the assemblage of mummy-figure, embalmed scarab and human skull) in a hidden place” (*i-ir=k [h]³’f n w’ m³ iw=f hp*, l. 97); *Cyranides* 2.39.13-24: “...bury their bodies (of a sea-falcon and hoopoe) in the earth, in the place where the bearer is, whether human or something else” (τὰ δὲ σώματα αὐτῶν θάψον ἐν τῇ γῆ ἐν τόπῳ, ὅπου ἐστὶν ὁ φορῶν εἴτε ἄνθρωπος εἴτε ἄλλο τι, l. 17-18).

42. *PGM* I.1-42, l. 21-22; for the crowning compare the garlands of flowers sometimes used to cover the wooden coffins of embalmed baboons at Tuna el-Gebel (D. Kessler and A. Nur el-Din, “Tuna al-Gebel: Millions of Ibises and Other Animals”, in S. Ikram [ed.], *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo, American University in Cairo Press, 2005, p. 160).

seems to have ended, in the most elaborate rituals, with acts reminiscent of those carried out for the deified dead, human and non-human, more generally in Egyptian culture: a ritual meal, the burning of incense, and offerings of food and drink.⁴³

This whole process clearly draws upon general Egyptian ideas about the afterlife; the concept that the individual survived after death, and that, with the help of funerary rites which made the body into an undecaying and ritually protected resting place, the individual could enjoy a divine existence, traversing different spheres as a transfigured spirit, returning to its body to rest and interact with those left on earth. This model, which had existed for thousands of years by the time the magical mummies would have been made in Roman Egypt, was based on two key archetypes:⁴⁴ the first of these was the sun-god, who nightly died at sunset, traversed the underworld, and was reborn, rejuvenated, at dawn. This model was also attributed, in a modified form, to other celestial bodies, notably the stars of the ecliptic, whose setting was understood as their descent into the primeval waters, from which they would be resurrected after seventy days of invisibility.⁴⁵ The other, and perhaps more relevant archetype, was Osiris, the god who had died and been returned to life as king of the underworld (**duat*)⁴⁶ through

43. *PGM* I.1-42: "... have a meal of non-animal foods, and have well-aged wine, and before you recline to eat speak before the bird itself, having made the sacrifice to him according to your custom" (ποίησον παράθεσιν ἐν ἀνύχοις φαγήμασιν καὶ οἶνον ἔχε προπάλαιον καὶ πρὶν τοῦ σε ἀναπασεῖν λέγε ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ τοῦ πτηνοῦ ποιήσας αὐτῷ θυσίαν ὡς ἔθος ἔχεις, l. 22-25); *PGM* III.1-164: "... light seven lamps upon seven (?) unbaked bricks, and make an offering fumigating storax gum to it" (ἄψον λύχνους ἐπὶ ἐπάνω πλίνθω[ν ζ'] ὠμῶν καὶ θύσον αὐ[τῷ] καπνίζων στ[ύρα]κα, l. 22-24); *PGM* IV.475-829: "bury (the scarab)... then, hold a feast and eat together..." (θάψας... ἐστίασας καὶ συνευωχηθεῖς, l. 769-771); *PDM* Suppl. 60-101: "place incense (?), barley (?), and the 'great medicament' onto the brazier before it; offer to him bread, beer, and milk; let your blood drop onto the brazier, and put part of a red (?) lizard before it" (*i-ir-k di... ἰt pḥr:t ?t iw p ḥyw i-ir-k wtn nḥt hḥq.t irte iw mtyzfi-ir-k di hy snf n-īm-k r pḥ ḥ i-ir-k di š't n w ḥnts...*; l. 97-100).

44. For an overview of Egyptian conceptions of death see J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, transl. D. Lorton, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2005, in particular p. 23-25, 31-38, 173-175.

45. The clearest description of the celestial life-cycle is found in *The Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars*, a cosmological text found in the cenotaph of Seti I and the tomb of Ramses IV, as well as in two II CE hieratic copies with demotic commentary; "It is in the first hour of evening that the majesty of this god (the sun) enters (the underworld)... he becomes beautiful in the arms of his father, Osiris. He is purified therein... The majesty of this god goes forth on earth again, having become a youth, his strength is great again like the first time of his antiquity... The star which goes to the earth dies and enters the Duat... it loses its impurity to the earth in seventy days... it is pure and lives... the life of a star begins in the lake. It goes forth from the water; it flies upwards, out of the sea... it is the life of the stars" (*The Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars*, § 60-66, 104-122, ed. in A. von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne: Das sogenannte Nutbuch*, Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press, 2007, p. 73-75, 87-90; O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts I: The Early Decans*, Providence, Brown University Press, 1960, p. 62-63, 68). This seventy-day period astrological period seems to have been linked to the seventy-day period of embalming used for humans and the animal gods such as the Apis (*Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars*, § 106).

46. The *duat* (*dwꜣt*) seems to have been understood either as being below the earth or as the interior of the sky-goddess Nut, a kind of "counter-sky", and it was linked to the primaeval ocean, or **Nun* (*Nwn*) (J. P. Allen, "The Egyptian Concept of the World", in D. O'Connor and S. Quirke [ed.], *Mysterious Lands*, London, UCL Press, 2003, p. 23-30). The asterisks used before Egyptian words in

the rites of mummification. It is a term associated with this deity, *hasye*,⁴⁷ “the blessed one”, which is used to describe the animal mummies in several of the magical texts, and which we will shortly investigate in greater detail.



Fig. 1: Nectanebo's enchanted sea falcon sends a dream to King Phillip (Hellenic Institute of Venice, Codex 5, fol. 9v)⁴⁸.

The essential purpose of these texts, then, seems to be the creation of a divine being, a creature with a link to the ritualist who created it, who could then be used in further rituals. The clearest example of this is in the recipe using the circaean falcon, in which, following the sacrifice, the ritualist speaks a formula, addressing the enshrined mummy as the sun-god, “who travels through the celestial vault and rises breathing fire”,⁴⁹ and then approaches the god “face-to-face”,⁵⁰ with the god becoming his *paredros*, or assistant, a spiritual being described in another text from the same papyrus as capable of carrying out almost limitless magical operations for the ritualist – cursing

this paper indicate that the form given is the Egyptological pronunciation, a conventional form which corresponds to the word's writing rather than its actual pronunciation; while *Nun* is a close approximation of the pronunciation of the word in the Roman period, *dwit* would have been pronounced *Tē*. Compare the discussion in K. Dosoo and T. Galoppin, “Animals in Graeco-Egyptian Magical Practice”, in this volume n. 23; the different method adopted here is necessitated by the presence of words unattested in vocalised form in the Roman period.

47. For this title see C. Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter*, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 474-477; the word's writing in the older Egyptian scripts is *hsy*, whence the more common form *hesy*, but the pronunciation of the word in the Roman period, demonstrated by its Coptic and Greek writings (see below n. 113), was closer to *hasye*, the form I use here.

48. I would like to thank Philippe Matthey for making me aware of this image. For a brief discussion of this text, see n. 54.

49. ... ὁ τὸν ὑπὸ γῆν διοδεύων πόλον καὶ πυρίπνεος [ἀνατέλλ]ων... (PGM I.33-34).

50. ... στόμα πρὸς στόμα... (PGM I.33-34).

enemies, enchanting lovers, bringing food and riches, healing disease, revealing secret knowledge, and even guaranteeing salvation after death.⁵¹

Other rituals make narrower use of the *hasye*: one ritual in which a cat is drowned calls upon the god to curse the ritualist's enemies, although a pendant to the text adds that it can also be used to bind others in love or send dreams.⁵² This last use – the sending of dreams – occurs in two other examples, in which the animal mummies, a scarab and an animal whose name is lost, are called upon to appear in a vision to a third party.⁵³ Dream-sending,⁵⁴ in those texts where the purpose is most explicit, often seems

51. "... he sends dreams, he brings women and men without the need for *materia*, he kills, he destroys, he stirs up winds from the earth, he carries gold, silver, bronze, and he gives them to you whenever the need arises. And he frees from bonds a person chained in prison, he opens doors, he causes invisibility so that no one can see you at all, he is a bringer of fire, he brings water, wine, bread, and whatever you wish in the way of foods... he stops ships and again releases them, he checks wild beasts and will break the teeth of fierce reptiles, he puts dogs to sleep and renders them voiceless. He changes into whatever form of beast you want... he will carry you into the air... he will quickly freeze rivers and seas in such a way that you can run over them firmly... whenever you wish to bring down stars, and whenever you wish to make warm things cold and cold things warm, he will light lamps and extinguish them again. And he will shake walls and cause them to blaze with fire... when you go abroad, he will go abroad with you, when you are destitute, he will give you money. He will tell you what things will happen... when you are dead, he will wrap up your body as befits a god, and he will take your spirit and carry it into the air with him, for no aerial spirit which is joined with a mighty *paredros* will go into Hades..." (PGM I.98-127, 172-180). For discussions of *paredroi* see A. Scibilia, "Supernatural Assistance in the Greek Magical Papyri: The Figure of the *Parhedros*", in J. N. Bremmer and J. R. Veenstra (ed.), *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, Leuven, Peeters, 2002, p. 71-86; E. Pachoumi, "Divine Epiphanies of *Paredroi* in the Greek Magical Papyri", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, vol. 51, 2011, p. 155-65.

52. PGM III.1-164.

53. The use of the mummified animal for dream sending is found in PDM Suppl. 19-27, PDM Suppl. 60-101. For a discussion of the mysterious *hasye* of PDM Suppl. 19-27 see table 1 note k above. Dream-sending is also one of the purposes of the spell in PGM IV.2441-2621, but the drowned animals are used as part of the offering to the moon-goddess who is sent to deliver the dream.

54. An interesting parallel to these practices is found in the *Alexander Romance* of Pseudo-Callisthenes, probably to be dated to the early centuries CE, in which the exiled pharaoh Nectanebo "enchants" a sea-falcon, and sends it flying to King Philip of Macedon, where it delivers to him a dream in which the god Ammon impregnates Queen Olympias with the future Alexander the Great (καὶ δὴ λαβὼν ἱέρακα πελάγιον καὶ τοῦτον μαγεύσας ὄνειροπομίαν ποιεῖ τῷ Φιλίππῳ, 1.8.1; W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, vol. 1, Berlin, Weidmann, 1926, p. 8; for the "sea falcon" cf. table 1 note n). Since it later awakens Philip with its wings (1.8.2), it would seem to be alive, but the word "enchant" (μαγεύω) might suggest a ritual along the lines of those discussed above. The *Alexander Romance*, particularly in the passages dealing with Nectanebo, often describes practices similar to those found in the Greek and Demotic magical papyri, and there is some evidence that it may have been inspired by or translated from a Demotic source (K. Ryholt, "Nectanebo's Dream or the Prophecy of Petesis", in A. Blasius and B. U. Schippert (ed.) *Apokalyptik und Ägypten: Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, Leuven, Peeters, 2002, p. 234-239). For discussions of dream sending, see J. F. Quack, "Remarks on Egyptian Rituals of Dream-sending", art. cit.; S. I. Johnston, "Sending Dreams, Restraining Dreams: *Oneiropompeia* in Theory and Practice", in E. Scioli and C. Walde (ed.), *Sub Imagine Somni: Nighttime Phenomena in Greco-Roman Culture*, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2010, p. 63-80; as well as J. Gee, "Oracle by Image: Coffin Text 103 in Context", in L. Ciraolo and J. Seidel (ed.), *Magic and Divination in the Ancient*

to be type of love spell: the deity is invoked to appear to someone sleeping, often in the form of “the god that they worship”,⁵⁵ and instruct them to fulfil the desires of whoever commissioned the spell.

In many cases, however, the *hasye* is not addressed directly as a god; in several, the bodies of the smaller divinised animals may be worn – in whole or in part, bound to the body of the ritualist or held in a ring – in various kinds of spells: a spell of ritual ascent in which the practitioner rises to the heavens to gaze upon the sun god,⁵⁶ a bowl-divination ritual in which the amulet may be bound to the boy-medium or the bowl itself,⁵⁷ and in love spells.⁵⁸ Each of these relies on the power of the divine animal – to allow the user to see the gods or to call them into his bowl of water and oil, or to attract a lover in a similar fashion – but the mummy is, in most cases, not directly invoked as a divine agent;⁵⁹ their power seems to act automatically.

In still other cases, the mummy may not be used at all, although it may still be buried;⁶⁰ instead, the asphyxiant is used, having apparently taken on the divine power of the *hasye* through the ritual which created it. There may be a parallel here in the use of the efflux (**redju*)⁶¹ of a mummified wolf in a dream-sending ritual similar to those mentioned above, and this word would link the liquid with a larger constellation of concepts within the Egyptian religious system – the asphyxiant could be understood as taking on the fertilising power of the Nile, which was both the watery grave and the efflux of Osiris, and the life-giving substance for which the liquids used in libations (milk, oil, water) were representatives.⁶²

We have already seen that materia from the ritualist might be placed inside the bandages to create a link between human and animal-god, but a link in the other direc-

World, Leiden, Brill, p. 83-88; J. Gee, “*Bʿ* Sending and Its Implications” in Z. Hawass and L. Pinch Brock (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, Cairo, American University in Cairo Press, 2003, p. 230-237.

55. PGM IV.2441-2621: “Become like the god NN worships” (ὁμοιωθεῖσα, ᾧ σέβεται θεῶ, l. 2500-2501); PDM Suppl. 117-130: “he stands above NN in the form of the god who is great in his heart” (*mtwʿf hʿ r n ry.w r-hry [n] tʿ mn n pʿ sʿt n pʿ ntr nty ʿy n hʿtʿf*, l. 120, cf. PDM Suppl. 28-40 [l. 40]).

56. PGM IV.751-814.

57. PDM xiv.88-92.

58. PDM xiv.636-669, 1090-1096.

59. An exception here may be PDM xiv.1090-1096, in which the ring (containing the materia of an animal *hasye*) is invoked to bring the victim of the love spell.

60. *Cyranides* 2.39.17-18.

61. PDM Suppl. 117-130: “... (use a figurine of a clay wolf) moistened with milk and the fluid of a wolf of the embalming workshop...” (*thb ih irte hnʿ rdw n wnʿ n pr-nfr*, l.10-11); on the translation “wolf” rather than the more usual “jackal”, see K. Dosoo and T. Galoppin, “Animals in Graeco-Egyptian Magical Practice”, in this volume, n. 61.

62. M. Pehal and M. Preininger Svobodová, “Death and the Right Fluids”, art. cit., p. 117-118; R. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh: Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press, 2008, p. 462-467; A. Winkler, “The Efflux That Issued from Osiris: A Study on *rdw* in the Pyramid Texts”, *Göttinger Miszellen*, vol. 211 (2006), p. 125-140; D. Delia, “The Refreshing Water of Osiris”, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vol. 29, 1992, p. 183; compare the discussion in D. Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta d’après le papyrus Brooklyn*, 47.218.84, Cairo, IFAO, 2006, p. 42-44, n. 14.

tion might be created by consuming part of the asphyxiant; in the ritual with the circaean falcon the practitioner is to drink the milk and honey in which the bird just died before sunrise (the time of the sun's rebirth), giving the ritualist a share in the *hasye*'s divinity, a "part of divine inspiration" as the text puts it.⁶³ In other rituals, this "divine inspiration" is imparted by anointing the ritualist's face,⁶⁴ or a ring that is to be worn⁶⁵ – both of these in rituals intended to bring about visions of the gods, in an ascent ritual and dream-oracle respectively.

Again, however, the use of the asphyxiant may be more general; in two related love-spells the oil in which two fish are drowned is used to anoint the face and/or penis of a man before he sleeps with a woman to ensure her fidelity,⁶⁶ and in other cases the asphyxiant of various animals can be used to cure drunks and splenetics,⁶⁷ and ease child-birth.⁶⁸ The asphyxiant's power is not limited to positive effects; in other texts the liquid can be fed to individuals to, for example, inflict them with sores,⁶⁹ or even kill them.⁷⁰ The asphyxiant from the same animal may even have very different purposes: the honey and milk in which the circaean falcon was drowned imparts divinity, but in another spell in which a falcon is drowned in wine, the asphyxiant kills a man who drinks it,⁷¹ while the wine in which a scorpion-fish is drowned may cure splenetics, but cause a woman to bleed uncontrollably; the only cure is for her to eat the cooked body of the fish itself.⁷²

This dual function of the asphyxiant highlights an idea which will recur in this discussion: the position of the living human relative to the animal and god. If the same liquid, and the same animal, may have quite different effects, then the difference between killing and imparting divine power cannot be due to either of these variables. Instead, it seems that the efflux of the *hasye* takes on a general numinous power, which may either heal or harm depending on the ritual, and in some cases, the individual who drinks it: it might inspire an initiated ritualist with whom the god shares a special relationship, but kill an uninitiated person who should not be drinking the divine liquid. Like semen – another archetypal liquid which could be life-giving in some contexts, but poison in others – the efflux of the *hasye* could be dangerous when out of place.⁷³

We have passed over a use of the *hasye* that is somewhat shocking: the eating of it, cooked, by a woman to cure bleeding induced by its asphyxiant, and it is this last use, that of the body of the drowned animal as ritual materia, that I will consider now.

63. *PGM* I.21: τὸ ἔνθεον ἐν τῇ σῆ καρδίᾳ...

64. *PGM* IV.751-814.

65. *PGM* VII.628-42; cf. *PDM* xiv.385-386 in which the embalmed tail of a drowned shrew worn in a ring to bring love and favour.

66. *PDM* xiv.335-55, 355-65.

67. *Cyranides* 4.16.5-7, 4.57.2-5.

68. *Cyranides* 4.62.5-6.

69. *Cyranides* 1.24.19-20; cf. *PDM* xiv.377-378 in which eating a drowned shrew's ground-up body causes swelling and death, and *PDM* xiv. 376-367 in which drinking a shrew's asphyxiant will cause blinding.

70. *PDM* xiv. 376-367, 743-744; *PDM* xiv.744-745.

71. *PDM* xiv.386-387, 743-744.

72. *Cyranides* 4.57.2-5.

73. M. Pehal and M. Preininger Svobodová, "Death and the Right Fluids", art. cit., p. 118-119.

In one text a shrew and two lunar beetles are drowned and then pounded and mixed with other materia in an offering to the moon goddess in a love spell,⁷⁴ while in another the pounded body of half of a beetle is mixed with other materia and fed to a woman in a love spell⁷⁵ – the other half is worn as an amulet, creating a similar link between man and woman as that between animal-mummy and practitioner used in other spells. This consumption, reminiscent of the drinking of the asphyxiant in other rituals, is carried on in a spell in which a mole, an animal believed to have prophetic powers, is cooked in the water in which it was drowned along with other materia, and consumed at sunrise to give foreknowledge of the following day;⁷⁶ here we can see an echo of an idea, reported by the Neoplatonist Porphyry, that certain animals – such as ravens, moles and falcons – had a prophetic power in life, which resided in their body after death, and could be imparted to a human who consumed their body parts.⁷⁷

Alongside consumption, another recipe uses the body of a drowned circaean falcon to create a phylactery to grant this same foreknowledge, binding the eyes and tongue, and other materia, with the falcon's skin, and wearing it around the neck with its tendons as the cord.⁷⁸ In still other cases, the bodies of the *hasye*, in whole or in part, could be used to create unguents to treat problems as diverse as intestinal worms and gout.⁷⁹

In studying these rituals, certain patterns in the use of animals seem to become apparent: there are recurrent types of animals – falcons, scarab beetles, shrews, fishes – as well as certain others – swallows, hoopoes, lizards – which appear less often. While none of the animals would have been particularly rare in Egypt, neither are any of them among the usual domestic creatures used for sacrifice (chickens, sheep, cows), and both of these facts – the recurrence of certain animals, and the appearance of other less usual species, may be significant. The sacredness of certain animals to certain gods – Greek, but in particular, Egyptian – was a key aspect of the cults of Roman Egypt, and this is clearly an important factor behind the choice of animal in several rituals.⁸⁰ The ritual in which a circaean falcon is divinised and made into a *paredros* includes a *formula* calling upon the god and constellation Orion, by both name and epithets, as well as descriptions – “the one who is young in the early morning and old

74. PGM IV.2441-2621 (2456-2472).

75. PDM xiv.636-669; cf. PDM xiv.382-384 where the ground body of a drowned shrew will drive a woman who consumes it mad with lust.

76. *Cyranides* 2.3.15-29.

77. “Those who want to take into themselves the souls of divinatory animals swallow the most important parts, such as the hearts of ravens or moles or falcons, and have the soul present in them, giving oracles like a god, entering them together with the ingestion of the body” (οἱ γοῦν ζώων μαντικῶν ψυχὰς δέξασθαι βουλόμενοι εἰς ἑαυτούς, τὰ κυριώτατα μέρη καταπιόντες, οἷον καρδίας κοράκων ἢ ἀσπυλάκων ἢ ἱεράκων, ἔχουσι παροῦσαν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ χρηματίζουσιν ὡς θεὸν καὶ εἰσιοῦσαν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἅμα τῇ ἐνθέσει τῇ τοῦ σώματος” (Porphyry, *De Abstinence* 2.48.3-7, transl. from G. Clark, *Porphyry: On Abstinence from Killing Animals*, London, Bloomsbury, 2000, p. 75).

78. *Cyranides* 1.21.98-110.

79. *Cyranides* 2.39.14-24, 4.18.5-12.

80. See the discussion of this point in see K. Dosoo and T. Galoppin, “Animals in Graeco-Egyptian Magical Practice”, in this volume.

in the evening” – which imply a solar character.⁸¹ As we shall shortly see, the animal mummies of the earlier Egyptian cults were believed to be sacred to particular deities, and to become, upon their deaths, and in some cases during in their lives, incarnations of these gods. As we have noted, the circaean falcon, perhaps the peregrine,⁸² or another species identified with the sacred Horus-falcon, was presumably understood not simply as being divinised, but as becoming an incarnation of the solar-stellar-deity.

A similar, though more complex, link to a god is found in the case of the curse calling upon the spirit of the drowned cat, addressed variously as a “cat-faced god”,⁸³ “Seth-Typhon”,⁸⁴ the “steersman of the sacred boat”,⁸⁵ and the “form of Helios”,⁸⁶ the

81. As is common in the magical papyri from this period, and indeed in many contemporary non-magical religious texts, a great degree of syncretism is at work, so that the god must be understood as combining the attributes of several deities who might in other contexts be discrete. He is called “the good husbandman” (ἀγαθὸς γεωργέ, l. 26), similar to the title of “good-herdsman” (*mr-ih nfr*, *PDM* xiv.17, 35, 400, 422) given to Anubis in other magical papyri, but to many other deities in other contexts (see C. Leitz [ed.], *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 297, s. v. *mnw-nfr* etc.). The long formula beginning *Harpon Knouphi* (l. 27-28) is associated in other contexts with the sun-god (see e.g., *PGM* III.559-561, XXXVI.219-220); the first element *Har-* is probably a variant of the name of Horus, while the final element, *Knouphi* may be a reference to the Theban creator god, Kneph, whose name may also appear in this form (D. Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun: Egyptian Temple Construction and Theology in Roman Thebes*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2012, p. 133-142). This interpretation is strengthened by the title “Good daimon” (Ἀγαθὸς Δ[αί]μων, l. 27), used to describe the serpentine creator gods of whom Kneph, the falcon-headed snake, was one. Alternative interpretations understand it as a title meaning “Horus, pillar of the (the star) Kenmet” (*Hr p' iwn n knm.t*; see J. F. Quack, “Griechische und andere Dämonen in den spätdemotischen magischen Texten”, in T. Schneider [ed.], *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafrikas und der Ägäis*, Munster, Ugarit-Verlag, 2004, p. 476). The clearest title is “Orion”, referring to the constellation usually understood in Egyptian cosmology as the soul (*b'*) or celestial form of the god Osiris (A. von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000, p. 56-57); a minor, though intriguing tradition from the Roman period seems to understand Orion as the “star of Horus” (see W. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, p. 368b σὺνῆρῶρ, “star of Horus”, s. v. σιοῦ; Plutarch, *De Iside* 359C in J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, Cambridge, University of Wales Press, 1970, p. 151, but cf. discussion on p. 372 where J. G. Griffiths suggests that Plutarch is mistaken). The references to the god aging over the course of the day (l. 33-34) is almost certainly solar – the stars had a life-cycle of 365 days (the solar year) rather than 24 hours, and their time of rising varied over this cycle. The link to the falcon, the bird of the solar-god Horus, could thus be through the associations with the solar creator god Kneph, the sun-god himself, or even Orion as the star of Horus. Cf. the discussions in T. Hopfner, *Griechische-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2.1, § 133, p. 213-214; H. G. Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri*, Munich, C. H. Beck'sche, 1968, p. 56-57.

82. See n. 1 above.

83. Αἰλουροπρόσωπος θεός, *PGM* III.4-5, 83; cf. “cat-faced angel” ([αἰ]λουρο[σπ]ρόσωπος ἄγγελος, l. 92).

84. Σ[η]θ Τυφῶν, l. 87; a full discussion of the role of the god Seth, identified with the Greek giant Typhon, is beyond the scope of this paper, but see D. Fabre, “De Seth à Typhon et *vice versa*”, *Égypte: Afrique et Orient*, vol. 22, 2001, p. 41-55.

85. Κυβερνήτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ πλοίου, *PGM* III.98-99; cf. “sailor who steers the tiller of the lord god” ([ὁ] ναυτικὸς ὁ τὸ[ν] οἴ]ακα [κρατῶν κυ]ρίου θεοῦ, *PGM* III.81-82, 83).

86. Μορφή τοῦ Ἡλίου, *PGM* III.4; cf. “your form/image” (εἶδωλον σου, l. 89; μορφή σου, l. 91); “the holy image” (τὸ ἱερ[ὸν] εἶδωλον, l. 113). The Greek εἶδωλον in particular seems to have been used in the Roman period to translate the Egyptian *b'* (“soul”), a term used to refer to manifestations

Greek name of the sun-god. The spell draws upon the solar associations of the god Seth in his role as the defender of the solar-barque,⁸⁷ and seems to use this link to connect him not with his usual animal, the donkey, but with the smaller – and hence more manageable – cat, one of the key solar animals.⁸⁸



Fig. 2. The Sun-god in cat-form slaying the serpent Apep; Book of the Dead spell 17 from the Tomb of Inherkhau (TT 359), XII BCE.⁸⁹

of deities, including their stellar forms and, relevant for this case, sacred animals; J. Quaegebeur, “Mummy Labels: An Orientation”, in E. Boswinkel and P. Pestman (ed.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*, Leiden, Brill, 1978, p. 253-254.

87. H. te Velde, *Seth: God of Confusion: A Study of his Role in Egyptian Myth and Religion*, trans. G. E. van Baaren-Pape, Leiden, Brill, 1967, p. 99-108; E. Cruz-Urbe, “Sth ⲥ Phty ‘Seth, God of Power and Might’”, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vol. 45, 2009, p. 201-226.

88. An interesting parallel is found in depictions of Seth on magic gems with the head of another solar feline, the lion; see C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1950, p. 19-20 & n. 53, 132. These amulets generally depict a lion-headed figure with a whip and orb, accompanied by a formula which begins Ζηθ ἄφοβε (“O fearless Seth...”). Compare the comments of Y. Koenig, “Traditions pharaoniques et papyrus grecs magiques”, art. cit., p. 81, who also sees the link between Seth and the cat as arising from their shared role as slayers of Apophis (cf. n. 89 below), and considers it an innovation proper to this text’s composer.

89. Two recent articles have made the case that this particular depiction of the Great Cat of Heliopolis has the ears of a donkey: see C. Cannuyer, “Le génie de Hormin: Le ‘scarabée-bouquetin’ et le ‘Grand Chat-Ânesse’ (TT 359): deux cas d’hybridisation dans la symbolique animalière de l’ancienne Égypte”, in Id. and A. Tourovets (ed.), *Mélanges d’orientalisme offerts à Jeanine et Jean Ch. Balty*, Brussels, SBEO, 2014, p. 43-66 and V. Angenot, “Hormin: Vignette du Chapitre 17 du Livre des Morts”, in M. Weemans, D. Gamboni and J.-H. Martin (ed.), *Voir Double, pièges et révélations du visible*, Hazan, 2016, p. 135-136. V. Angenot understands the donkey ears as a rebus writing;

In other cases, the links may be clearer: the scarab beetle is a recurrent symbol of the reborn sun, and thus we find scarab beetles specified as “solar” used as *hasye* in a solar ritual, but by describing them as “lunar” or “of Mars” they may be linked to other heavenly bodies⁹⁰. Similarly, the shrew, a symbol of the night-sun, had lunar associations – the moon played the role of the sun by night, and reflected its light.⁹¹ In a few other cases, the links are less direct, but can be guessed: the Nile Perch, a fish sacred at Esna to the goddess Neith,⁹² is used in a love-spell calling upon a syncretistic goddess,⁹³ while the lizard, a being both believed to carry disease and often used in medicine, is employed in a ritual linked to the healing god Imhotep-Asclepius.⁹⁴

In some instances, the link to a god is less certain; the association of the shrew with the blind eye of the night sun might explain its use in blinding spell,⁹⁵ and the foresight of the mole and the falcon, as we have seen, is the reason for their use in

“cat-donkey” (*miw ʿ*) for “Great Cat” (*miw ʿ*), while Cannuyer understands the ears as a reference to the various donkeys who appear in funerary texts, listing several (generally female) who appear in connection with the rising of the sun, though noting (p. 57-58) that their mythological role is not entirely clear from surviving evidence. We may note again that Seth-Typhon had an important role as the enemy of Apep, who fended him off from the solar-barque each night (see n. 87), providing perhaps a third potential rationale for the addition of donkey-ears to a cat in combat with Apep.

90. See K. Dosoo and T. Galoppin, “Animals in Graeco-Egyptian Magical Practice”, in this volume, n. 91 for a discussion of types of scarabs. A solar beetle appears in *PGM* IV.751-814, lunar beetles in *PGM* IV.2441-2621 and perhaps *PDM* xiv.636-669 and *PDM* Suppl. 60-101, and a “martian” beetle in *PDM* xiv.636-669.

91. See n. 6 above.

92. See table 1 note e above.

93. See table 1 notes f & g above.

94. The lizard used is a “field *kalabōtēs*” (καλαβώτης ἀπ’ [ἀ]γροῦ, l. 628), which the LSJ (p. 256, s. v. ἀσκᾶλᾰβώτης) suggests to be the common wall gecko (*Tarentola mauritanica*, formerly *Platydactylus mauritanicus*). The Egyptian equivalent would seem to be ἀνορχ/ḥnt³sw or ρακλα (W. E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, p. 11a, 664b, s. v.), which B. A. Wassell (*Ancient Egyptian Fauna*, *op. cit.*, p. 150-151) does not attempt to identify; she notes there are more than 40 species of lizards known in modern Egypt, but only a few terms to designate them; cf. S. Aufrère, “À propos des noms d’espèces appartenant au sous-ordre des *sauria* (lézards) attestés en Égypte ancienne et médiévale. Un tour d’horizon zoologique et lexicographique”, in S. Porcier, S. Ikram and S. Pasquali (ed.), *Creatures of Earth, Water, and Sky: Essays on Animals in Ancient Egypt and Nubia*, Leiden, Sidestone Press, 2019, p. 47-65. It seems likely that καλαβώτης and its Egyptian equivalents referred in Egypt to a culturally-specific set of lizards which did not correlate exactly either with the original Greek referent or a single modern species. Nonetheless, the idea that lizards could both cause, and be used to treat, disease was common in ancient Egypt, and this belief has persisted into modern times (N. B. Hansen, “Leaping Lizards! Poisonous geckos in ancient and modern Egypt”, in Z. Hawass and L. Pinch Brock (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists*, vol. 2, Cairo, American University in Cairo Press, 2003, p. 290-297; L. Evans, “Poisonous Geckos: The Validity of an Ancient Egyptian Belief”, *Bulletin of the Australasian Centre of Egyptology*, vol. 13, 2012, p. 47-55). An alternative explanation for the link may be found in the fact that lizards were considered to belong to the category of snakes, which were in turn sacred to Asclepius (B. A. Wassell, *Ancient Egyptian Fauna*, *op. cit.*, p. 145; N. B. Hansen, “Leaping Lizards!”, *art. cit.*, p. 291-292).

95. *PDM* xiv.376-367. The ability of a shrew to make a woman mad (*lyb*, l. 384) with love may derive from an idea that the shrew had a violent (“mad”) temper; see P. Insinger 24.7, in which it is said that “the little shrew vents its anger” (*p³ š³m n m³me ḥr inḫf n³yḫf š³r.w*, 24.7).

spells for foreknowledge.⁹⁶ Other cases are still harder to interpret, and the linking of swallows to incurable sores or red-mullets to childbirth may be either arbitrary, or linked to zoological, rather than religious, conceptions of these animals.⁹⁷ In many of these cases, in particular those in the *Cyranides*, there is little to suggest that the animal is considered a god, and we begin to get a sense that drowning was simply considered a particularly efficacious manner of killing an animal whose materia is required.⁹⁸ These spells often have no description of mummification, and no spells spoken to the animal before or after drowning. This suggests a development, albeit one which must be inferred, since it is not clear from the attestations in the chronologically-limited range of texts which survive.

Perhaps the earliest rituals, inspired by the kinds of animal cults which we will consider later, involved the creation of *hasye* which were considered as gods, and used in rituals comparable to the *paredros*, dream-sending, and curse spells we have discussed. From this original function, other uses may have developed – the wearing of the animal as an amulet, or the burial of the mummy and the use of the asphyxiant in its place. Finally, the understanding of the drowned animal as a particular kind of divine being may have become increasingly restricted, and replaced by a conception that killing it in this way was simply a way to produce efficacious materia, either the asphyxiant, or parts of the *hasye*'s own body, to be used in producing incense or even unguents.

The clearest indication of this development is the fact that the specific term linked to these beings, *hasye*, comes from Egyptian, and is linked to a religious concept; while ritual texts from other traditions may require the killing of animals in specific ways, drowning seems almost entirely restricted to Graeco-Egyptian texts, and does not seem to be found in material produced after the collapse of the Egyptian temples in the 3rd and 4th centuries, and the disappearance of traditional Egyptian religious practices which accompanied it.⁹⁹

96. *Cyranides* 1.21.98-110, 2.3.15-29; cf. n. 77.

97. The idea that the shrew would cause a man to swell and die (*PDM* xiv.377-378), for example, may be linked to the idea that the bite of the animal caused blistering (Aristotle, *History of Animals* 604b 19-22), while the idea that the red-mullet (τριγλή) gave birth three times a year (Aristotle, *History of Animals* 543a 5; Artemidorus, *Oneirocriticon* 2.14.24-27; Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals* 9.52) may have led to its use in easing child-birth (*Cyranides* 4.62.5-6). The use of the scorpion-fish to treat splenetics is less clear, but it was considered to be dry within the Hippocratean system of humours (*Regimen II*, 48.1), and might be eaten as part of a diet to treat problems of the spleen (Hippocrates, *Internal Affections* 30.29-31). Its association with causing a woman to bleed is still more mysterious; perhaps the association comes from its sharp, poisonous spines, whose sting was associated with punishment for adultery (D'A. Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*, London, Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 246).

98. Cf. *PDM* xiv.376-367, 377-378, 382-384, 386-387, 743-744, 744-745, where drowning seems to be simply an efficacious way of acquiring materia, as in the *Cyranides*.

99. An apparent exception is Pliny, who mentions drowning as a way to acquire materia several times: the wine used to drown a spotted lizard causes an eruption of spots on the face (*Natural History* 29.73), the livers of drowned puppies to prevent rabies from a dog bite (29.101), the vinegar in which frogs have been drowned and putrefied to depilate the eyelids (32.76), the wine used to drown a scorpion-fish to treat liver pain (32.93) the use of a stone from the tail of a scorpion-fish drowned in wine to cure bladder troubles (32.102), seahorses drowned in rose-oil to treat chill fevers,

Nonetheless, even if the creation of the *hasye* makes them unique, they share the underlying logic of their use with other objects used in Graeco-Egyptian magical rituals.¹⁰⁰ This is particularly apparent in the dream-sending rituals, and other love spells; as we have seen, the request may be spoken to the *hasye* or written down and placed either beside it or in its mouth. Similar usage is made of figurines of the gods Selene and Eros (which have spells spoken to them or placed inside their bodies), figurines of animals – a wax hippopotamus or a clay jackal anointed with milk and the efflux of a wolf mummy.¹⁰¹ In each of these cases, the statue seems to serve, like the animal mummy, as the physical body of a divine spirit, a focal point which allows the human ritualist to interact with it. Even closer are rituals where the dead – human or animal – may be used for the same purposes, with other spells instructing the ritualist to place written formulae in the mouths of human mummies, dead dogs, or black cats who are *biaiothanatoi* (“violently-dead”);¹⁰² this last term refers to the belief within the

frog drowned in oil with the oil used to cure quartan fever (32.114), sea-hare drowned in oil (32.135), red mullets, rubellio-fish, eels, sea grapes in wine to cure alcoholics of their addiction (32.138), the use of a lizard drowned in a man’s urine as an aphrodisiac or antaphrodisiac (30.141); these recipes strongly resemble, and probably share a common lineage with the *Cyranides*, although there is no hint of the “deification” which is at least referred to in the later text. Given Pliny’s use of the authors whom he called *magi*, many of whom seem to be transmitting culturally Egyptian rather than Persian material, it is possible at least some of the drowning procedures he recounts should be traced back to an Egyptian source (cf. J. F. Quack, “*Les Mages Égyptianisés? Remarks on Some Surprising Points in Supposedly Magusean Texts*”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 65.4, 2006, p. 267-282). Less direct, but still suggestive, is Aelian’s claim that the Egyptians believed that a gecko which drowned in oil would cause the oil to smell, and anyone who tasted it to break out in lice (*On Animals* 9.19); he also discusses the case of a gecko or bird drowning in wine, with no effect, and a bird drowning in water, which would cause the air and water to smell foul. A strange, and much later parallel is found in the works of the French occultist Éliphas Lévi (1810-1875), who lists among the requirements for an invocation of the Devil “a completely false idea of God... the head of a black cat which has been nourished on human flesh for five days; a bat drowned in blood” (“Une idée complètement fautive de Dieu... la tête d’un chat noir nourri de chair humaine pendant cinq jours, une chauve-souris noyée dans le sang”; *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie*, Paris, Chacornac Frères, 1930 (nouv. éd.), vol. 2, p. 225-228).

100. The dream-oracle calling upon Imhotep-Asclepius in which a ring dipped in the oil used to drown a lizard is worn on the right hand while the ritualist sleeps (*PGM* VII.628-642) is closely paralleled by a dream-oracle calling on Sarapis (*PGM* V.440-458) in which a ring is worn on the left hand, and the link is created by engraving the god on the ring rather than dipping it in the asphyxiant from creating a *hasye*.

101. Note the integration of liquids associated with the Nile and bodily fluids into the artificial figures. *PGM* IV.1716-1870 is a dream-sending ritual in which a figurine of Eros with a spell written on a gold lamella inside it, is petitioned to send a dream; *PGM* V.370-439 is a dream-oracle of Hermes in which the spell and request is written on papyrus, wrapped in the ritualist’s hair, and placed at the feet of a statuette of Hermes; *PGM* VII.862-918 is a dream-sending ritual in which a figure of “Mistress Selene the Egyptian” is placed in a shine of olive wood and has a formula spoken to it, in a manner reminiscent of the treatment of the circaean falcon; *PGM* XII.308-318 is a dream-sending ritual in which a red wax hippotamus is wrapped in linen and has a lamp lit in front of it and has a lamp lit in front of it using a piece of papyrus with the spell written on it as the wick; *PDM* Suppl. 117-130 is a text in which a spell is written in the mouth of a clay jackal to send a dream.

102. Compare *PGM* XII.107-121, in which a black cat that has died violent death (αἰλουρον ὀλομέλινα βιοθ[ά]ντων, l. 108) has a strip of papyrus with the formula and request written on it placed in its mouth; *PDM* xiv.1070-1077, a ritual for to attract a lover, to dream dreams or attract, in which a spell is written on a leaf and placed in the mouth of a mummy; *PGM* XIXa, an applied

Hellenic tradition that those who had died violently, became a special category of dead, empowered by their wrath and bound to restlessly wander the earth, and the same was true of the *aōroi*, those who died before their time – unmarried or childless.¹⁰³ While their bodies served a similar function to the bodies of the *hasye*, and to statues of animals or gods, they are understood as a specific category of the dead, with a similar (though distinct) cultural importance to the Egyptian concept of the *hasye*. It is to this concept that we will now turn.

The river and the white crocodile

The term *hasye*, “blessed one”,¹⁰⁴ derives from the verb *hōs*,¹⁰⁵ “to bless, praise”. The word is attested very early in the written history of Egyptian, and we can find the deceased referred to as the “blessed one” of his father, his mother, the king, or the people as early as the Old Kingdom, where “blessed one” is often accompanied by or replaced by “beloved one”, that is, both are used to describe individuals who are loved and praised in both life and death.¹⁰⁶ This more general sense never seems to have entirely disappeared, and it was used, as late as the Graeco-Roman period, in

invocation spell which addresses the “*daimon* of the dead person” in whose mouth it has been placed; *PGM* XXXVI.361-371, a love spell in which the formula is placed in mouth of dead dog. Less certain are *PDM* Suppl. 1-6, a dream-sending ritual which mentions an embalming-house (*pr-nfr*, l. 6), elsewhere in the same papyrus used to describe a wolf which has been mummified (“a wolf of the embalming house”, l. 114); cf. *PDM* Suppl. 40-60, which uses the body of a dead man (*rmt iwꜥf mwꜥt*, l. 41, 56), placing a written spell upon it; the exact body-part is lost in damage, but it may be under the head or in the mouth.

103. For a discussion of the restless dead in Hellenic culture, see S. I. Johnston, *Restless Dead: Encounters Between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1999, p. 76-80, 127-160.

104. The earlier senses of the term *hsy* are treated in K. Jansen-Wilckeln, “Zur Bedeutung von *hꜥj* und *mrꜥj*”, *Göttinger Miscellen*, vol. 190, 2002, p. 47-52, and D. M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis*, Leiden, Brill, 1998, p. 137-140, but there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no general study of the term *hsy* looking at its development over the full course of the Egyptian language. The discussion in this paragraph is primarily based on a study of attestations of the term in Old, Middle and Late Egyptian and Demotic, based on the examples contained in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, for the lemma *hꜥ.y* (Old through Late Egyptian; 121 attestations) and *hs* (Demotic; 93 attestations). A useful study of the broader concept of “praise” (*hs*) may be found in J. F. Quack, “From Ritual to Magic: Ancient Egyptian Precursors of the *Charitesion* and their Social Setting”, in G. Bohak, Y. Harari, and S. Shaked (ed.), *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition*, Leiden, Brill, 2011, p. 43-84.

105. The form given here is Coptic; the Middle Egyptian writing is *hsy* (A. Erman and H. Grapow [ed.], *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1926-1961, vol. 3, p. 164-165).

106. “[The deceased is] one beloved of his father, blessed of his mother” (*mr.y itꜥf hꜥ.y mwꜥtꜥf*, Deir el-Gebrawi, Grab des Hem-Re gen. Izi, Westwand, Scheintür-Rahmen, Architrav-Inschrift, l. 3; vi Dyn.); “The Osiris of NN is justified-of-voice, a blessed one of Anubis-on-his-mountain” (*mꜥ-hrw wsir NN hꜥiy n Inpw tp.ꜥ-dwꜥf*, Book of the Dead 178, pLondon BM 9900 [pNebseni] [1], l.25; xviii Dyn.); “[may he have] a beautiful burial... like all the blessed ones of Waenre (Akhenaten)” (*ḳrs.t nfr.t... mi hꜥ.y nb n W'-n-R'w*; Privatgräber, Nr. 1A: Rudj, Eingang, Türsturz, Gebete, l. 2-3; Amarna period); “You are blessed of your father” (*mtwꜥk hs n itꜥt*; Kairo CG 31095; l. 8, Roman

some contexts even for the living, who might be particularly “blessed” by their divine or royal superiors.¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless, the title seems to have been strongly associated with the dead, and by at least the New Kingdom it is used to refer to the justified dead, originally perhaps linked to their attainment of immortality through the “blessings” of the king and gods.¹⁰⁸ A still more specific usage seems to have developed, perhaps around the 30th Dynasty (380-343 BCE), in which it referred to a particular sub-category of the justified dead, of which Osiris might be one;¹⁰⁹ in certain documents these are

Period). As K. Jansen-Wilckeln notes (“Zur Bedeutung von *hꜛj* und *mrꜛ*”, art. cit., p. 47-52) *mrꜛ* suggests a close emotional connection which *hꜛy* does not.

107. “[In life] I was one beloved of his lord, blessed of his city” (*ink mrꜛ y n[.i] nbꜛf hꜛ[.y] n[.i] n[.i]w.tꜛf*, Stele des Rediukhnum [Kairo CG 20543] l.A7; xi Dyn.); “[When I joined the court] I became one of the blessed ones” (*zmꜛ nꜛ i m hꜛw.w*, Stele des Antef, Sohn der Senet [BM EA 562], l. x+7-8); “Do *ma’at* (i.e. “what is right”) oh blessed one, blessed even by the blessed ones!” (*iri mꜛ.t hꜛi.y hꜛs hꜛi.yw*, *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* version B1, pBerlin P 3023 + pAmherst I, l. 99-100/68-69; xii Dyn.); “... if I fulfil the aforesaid oath truly, I am among those blessed of the King (*i.irꜛy ir pꜛ nꜛ nty-hꜛi mꜛ twꜛy hn nꜛ hꜛ.w pr-ꜛ*; Sorbonne 1248, l. 2); “[May the gods] cause you to be great among the blessed ones of Khnum, the great god” (*iwꜛw dy.t kyꜛk hn nꜛ hꜛ.w hnm pꜛ nꜛr-ꜛ*; Berlin P 13587, l. x+4-5; c. 223 BCE). For this usage, compare the discussion on wishes for success in Demotic letters using *hꜛ.t* and its cognates in M. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter: A Study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions against their Intra- and Intercultural Background*, Sommerhausen, Gisela Zauzich Verlag, 2006, p. 189-191.

108. “Praise him [the deceased], this blessed one!” (*imi.nꜛf iꜛ.w hꜛ.y im*, Book of the Dead 152, pLondon BM EA 10477 (pNu), l. 7; xviii Dyn.); “How happy is he who acts according to his [Akhenaten’s] teachings, for he reaches the realm of the blessed ones” (*wꜛd.wi iri sbꜛ.ytꜛf kꜛ phꜛf spꜛ.t hꜛy.w*, Tomb of Ay, Privatgräber, Nr. 25: Eje, Pfeilerhalle, Decke, Westkolumne; Amarna Period); “May you be united with your place of eternity, oxen dragging you and a lector priest in front of you... their numbers being as the king Waenre (Akhenaten) decrees for a blessed one whom he has created” (*hnmꜛk s.tꜛk n dꜛ.t... kꜛ hr stꜛk{wi} [hr.i]-hꜛb hr-hꜛ.tꜛk... tnwꜛsn m wdꜛ.t.n nꜛw wꜛ-n-rꜛw n hꜛ.y sꜛpr.nꜛf*; Tomb of Ay, Privatgräber, Nr. 25: Eje, Pfeilerhalle, Decke, Ostkolumne; Amarna Period); “Oh blessed one, Neferhotep, justified-of-voice” (*pꜛ hꜛ nꜛr-hꜛp mꜛ-hꜛrw*; Neferhotep [TT 50], Lied 3, Harfnerlieder Text J, l. 17; xviii Dyn.); “May he go as a *ba*, enter the sky, unite with the blessed ones of Wennefer the justified-of-voice” (*šm m bꜛ q m gb.t hnm m hꜛ.w n.w Wn-nꜛr-mꜛ-hꜛrw*; Deir el-Bahari, Temple d’Hatchepsout, Ptolemäisches Sanktuar, paroi ouest, niche, texte central sud, partie inférieure (l. DEB 25,2); Ptolemaic period); “[the deceased is an] excellent blessed one in the necropolis” (*hꜛ mnꜛh m hr(t)-nꜛr*; Kairo CG 31095, l. 9; Roman Period).

109. A. Rowe, “Newly-Identified Monuments in the Egyptian Museum Showing the Deification of the Dead together with Brief Details of Similar Objects Elsewhere”, *Annales du service des antiquités de l’Égypte*, vol. 40, 1940, p. 1-50; P. W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, Leuven, Peeters, 1993, p. 470-473; as a title of Osiris, see for example P. Berlin 10477 l. 2c: “Osiris-hasye” (*Wsir hꜛsy*; H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Ba*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000, p. 32-33; late Ptolemaic/early Roman); P. Harkness I.37: “the blessed one [Osiris] will be found in the *Wag*-Festival” (*gmꜛw pꜛ hꜛ (n) hb-wg*; late I CE), as well as the examples in n. 195-197 below. Many of the funerary texts used in the Graeco-Roman period were adapted from texts used in rituals for Osiris, and so some of the instances of *hasye* as a title of the dead in these may have originally applied to Osiris; see M. Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, op. cit., p. 61-65.

distinguished from the dead who are simply “people” (**remetju*),¹¹⁰ and these same *hasye* are often referred to as *hri*, “exalted one”, apparently a title of respect.¹¹¹

Texts from between the 30th Dynasty and the Roman Period, and found on funerary temples, stelae, statues, mummy labels, and in graffiti, attest to the title, either in its Egyptian form,¹¹² *hasye*, transliterated into Greek as *hasiēs* or *esiēs*,¹¹³ or into Aramaic as *hasie*.¹¹⁴ While all justified dead were accorded the title “Osiris” – and more rarely, “Hathor”, for women¹¹⁵ – the number given the titles *hasye* and *hri* is far smaller. The most important of these seem to have been Petese and Pihor, two brothers who were worshipped in a small temple at Dendur in Nubia, built c. 15 BCE, and in the Kharga oasis in the Western Desert. Although little is known of their lives, they are depicted as deified humans in the temple carvings, Petese wearing the **atef*-crown of Osiris, and both wearing crowns, solar-disks draped with guardian serpents, and lion-tails indicating their divinisation; they are referred to as *hasye* both in the temple inscriptions and in graffiti left by their worshippers.¹¹⁶ As is the case with many other categories of

110. P. BM Andrews 11.8 (C. A. R. Andrews, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum. Volume IV: Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, London, British Museum Publications, 1990, p. 17-19).

111. For a discussion, see n. 122 below. As R. Mairs and C. Martin note (“A Bilingual ‘Sale’ of Liturgies from the Archive of the Theban Choachytes: P. Berlin 5507, P. Berlin 3098 and P. Leiden 41”, *Enchoria*, vol. 31, 2008/9, p. 62-64), the *hasye* in the lists of liturgies are not always called *hri*, so that it is possible that the two words had significant overlap, but were not identical in meaning, for example, *hri* may have been a more general term of respect which could be applied to *hasye*, but also to others.

112. For sources, see n. 109 above.

113. For a discussion of the Greek forms, attested in personal names, funerary *stelae*, and other inscriptions, see G. Wagner, “Le concept de ‘Ḥsy’ à la lumière des inscriptions Grecques”, in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors and H. Willems (ed.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years, Part II*, Leuven, Peeters, 1998, p. 1073-1078. Personal names with *hasye* as the divine element include Ἀσις (TM Name ID 337), Φασίς (Name ID 899), Θασίς (Name ID 1377), Θασίας (Name ID 5418), Ταφασίς (Name ID 1291), Σενφασίς (Name ID 13642). The name with the widest attestation is Ἀσις; the earliest securely datable text containing it is P. Testi Botti 8, dated to between 25 January and 23 February 257 BCE. In this article I usually mark the Greek form (ἄσις) with a rough breathing to reflect the earlier Egyptian form which began with an aspirate, preserved in the Sahidic form 𐩨𐩥𐩰, although spellings with an initial *epsilon* rather than *alpha* likely represent the Bohairic form 𐩨𐩥𐩰, which lacks this aspirate, perhaps reflecting a reanalysis of π-𐩨𐩥𐩰 as φ-𐩨𐩥𐩰, where the aspiration is understood as part of the definite article, triggered by the stress on the initial vowel.

114. J. Leibovitch, “À propos de la déification des noyés chez les anciens Égyptiens”, *Annales du service des antiquités de l’Égypte*, vol. 40, 1940, p. 302.

115. See, for example, the discussion in E. Cole, “The Gendered Individual in Funerary Papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods”, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vol. 49, 2013, p. 205-218.

116. A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Dendûr*, Cairo, Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1911, esp. p. 82-83; A. Rowe, “Newly-Identified Monuments”, art. cit., p. 1-50; J. Monnet-Saleh, “Observations sur le temple de Dendour”, *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale*, vol. 68, 1969, p. 1-13; C. Aldred, “The Temple of Dendur”, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 36.1, 1978, p. 1-80; R. S. Bianchi, “The Oracle at the Temple of Dendur”, in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors and H. Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years: Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, vol. 2, Leuven, Peeters, 1998, p. 773-780; among the numerous 2nd- and 3rd-century Greek dedications at the second shrine to Pihor (Πιῶρις) at Aīn Labakha in

divine being in Roman Egypt, the word *hasye* was also used in theophoric personal names, such as *Taphasiēs* (“the one of the *hasye*”).¹¹⁷

An important group of sources for the *hasye* are the legal documents from Ptolemaic Thebes belonging to the hereditary choachytes, individuals whose employment it was to carry out funerary liturgies for the deceased in the tombs of the west bank¹¹⁸. These liturgies, for which they received payment, were the possession of individual choachytes, and could, in consequence, be transferred in legal documents. Several of these deeds of transfer of liturgies survive, in both Greek and Demotic copies. Generally, they list the individuals who are interred in each tomb, either individually, or by the family or group they belong to, and there is repeated mention of individuals as *hasye*, in Greek either transliterated as *hasiēs* or translated as *hupobrokhios*, literally “submerged one”.¹¹⁹ Pestman notes that the *hasye* are often mentioned as “single persons”, buried without the relatives usually mentioned in the context of “normal persons”.¹²⁰

The clearest description of the process of becoming a *hasye* comes from the Demotic literary text *Setna I*, dating to the Ptolemaic period. In this tale, Prince Naneferkaptah has stolen the Book of Thoth in an act of hubris, and in revenge the god causes the prince and his family to die, one by one. While travelling down the Nile on the royal yacht, first his son, Merib, then his wife, Ihweret, and finally he himself, fall into the water, “become *hasye*”, and are embalmed as *hri*.¹²¹

While none of these sources are explicit, they collectively suggest that, at least by the 4th century BCE, the term *hasye* had developed into a title for a specific category of the dead, and that, as in the case of the animals used in the later magical papyri, this title

the El-Kharga oasis in the Western desert is found one describing him as a *hasye* (ἦσι, n° 5 l. 2 in G. Wagner, “Les inscriptions grecques d’Ain Labakha [stèles, graffites, *dipinti*]”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, vol. 111, 1996, p. 97-114).

117. For a discussion of Greek forms, see n. 114 above.

118. The term *choachyte* (χοαχύτης) was the Greek translation of the Egyptian *w³h-mw*, literally “water-pourer”, derived from the funerary libations which constituted the most important act of the funerary liturgies. On the Theban choachytes, see P. W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, *op. cit.*; R. Mairs and C. J. Martin, “A Bilingual ‘Sale’ of Liturgies”, *art. cit.*, p. 22-67.

119. See R. Mairs, “κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν: Demotic-Greek Translation in the Archive of the Theban Choachytes”, in J. Cromwell and E. Grossman (ed.), *Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017, p. 211-226.

120. P. W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, *op. cit.*, p. 471. The use of ὑποβρύχιος to refer to an individual who had died in water can be seen in Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* IV.9.10.1-11.5, where the presence of Saturn (in quartile to the sun from a sign of the opposite sect, or in opposition) in the water signs or Virgo or Pisces causes “[deaths] by submersion and drowning in water” (ὑποβρυχίους καὶ ἐν ὕδασι ἀποπνιγμένους); cf. the other examples gathered in the LSJ (p. 1876, s. v. ὑποβρύχιος).

121. “Then Merib the boy came out from under the canopy of the royal yacht. He fell into the river, he became *hasye*... we had them embalm him as a *hri*, a great-man” (*i.ir hpr Mr-ib p³ šm-hl i.w r-bnr hr t³ hyb.t n t³ shre.tpr-³ hyf r p³ yr iršf hsy twzn ksaw s r-h hry rmt-³*; *Setna I* 4.8-9, 11; the deaths and embalming of Merib’s mother and father are described in 4.13-25). Earlier translations often offer “do the pleasure of Re” (*ir p³ hs.t R*), but as demonstrated by Spiegelberg in 1917, the signs interpreted variously as the definite article and the name of the sun-god are in fact part of the word *hsy* (W. Spiegelberg, “Zu dem Ausdruck *hsj* Ἐσῆς für die durch Ertrinken im Nil bewirkte Apotheose”, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 53, 1917, p. 124-125).

was linked to being drowned. This hypothesis has a long history,¹²² and is supported by the statements of two Greek-language authors who would have been contemporaries of the *hasye*-cults – Herodotus and Aelian. In the section of the *Histories* dealing with Egyptian customs, Herodotus tells us that

Anyone, Egyptian or foreigner alike, known to have been carried off by a crocodile or drowned by the river itself, must by all means be embalmed and wrapped as attractively as possible and buried in a sacred coffin by the people of the place where he is cast ashore; none of his relatives or friends may touch him, but his body is considered something more than human, and is handled and buried by the priests of the Nile themselves.¹²³

Aelian, who probably had never visited Egypt, provides an echo of this when he tells us that the people from the city of Ombos are proud when their children are eaten by crocodiles, “having produced food and a meal for a god”.¹²⁴ While the concept described here – including those whose bodies have been washed ashore having been killed by crocodiles – is slightly broader than the idea of “drowned”, we can see clear overlaps – many of those killed by crocodiles would drown before being eaten, and many of those who drowned might have their bodies subsequently eaten by crocodiles and other aquatic animals, and in both cases what remained of their bodies would be found in and retrieved from the Nile waters. An interesting link between these literary

122. See, for example, F. Ll. Griffith, “Herodotus II.90. Apotheosis by drowning”, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 46, 1909, p. 132-134; M. A. Murray, “The Cult of the Drowned in Egypt”, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 51, 1913, p. 127-135; A. Rowe, “Newly-Identified Monuments”, art. cit., p. 1-50; J. Leibovitch, “À propos de la déification des noyés”, art. cit., p. 301-303; M. El-Amir, “The Cult of *Hryw* at Thebes in the Ptolemaic Period”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 37, 1951, p. 81-85; P. W. Peřman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, op. cit., p. 470-473; J. G. Griffiths (p. 133) compares the titles *hsy* and *hry* to the Arabic *shaikh* (شيخ) and *wali* (ولي) respectively, whereas El-Amir (p. 83) clarifies that *hsy* is closer to the figure of the *shahid* (شهيد) or “martyr”, citing the saying, “he who dies by fire is a *shahid*, and he who dies by drowning is a *shahid*”; his equivalent for *hry* is *sid* (سيد), referring to individuals venerated after their deaths. A group of researchers have recently identified a well-mummified woman from the Ptolemaic period, unidentified by inscriptions, with no clear violent cause of death and identifiable decomposition prior to embalming, who may have been an example of a drowned *hasye* (S. S. Chan, J. P. Elias, M. E. Hysell and M. J. Hallowell, “CT of a Ptolemaic Period Mummy from the Ancient Egyptian City of Akhmim”, *RadioGraphics*, vol. 28.7, 2008, p. 2023-2032).

123. Ὅς δ' ἂν ἢ αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ ξείνων ὁμοίως ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἀρπασθεῖς ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνηται τεθνεώς, κατ' ἦν ἂν πόλιν ἐξενειχθῆ, τούτους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύσαντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιστείλαντας ὡς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἰρήσιν θήκησι. Οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι ἐξεστι αὐτοῦ ἄλλον οὐδένα οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν φίλων, ἀλλὰ μιν οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτοὶ οἱ τοῦ Νεῖλου, ἅτε πλέον τι ἢ ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν, χειραπατᾶζοντες θάπτουσι; *Histories* 2.90; transl. from A. D. Godley, *Herodotus. The Persian Wars, Volume I: Books 1-2* (Loeb Classical Library, 117), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1920, p. 375.

124. “And when, as often happens, their children are carried off by them, the people are overjoyed, while the mothers of the unfortunates are glad and go about in pride at having, I suppose, borne food and a meal for a god” (καὶ τῶν τέκνων γε αὐτοῖς ἐξαρπαζομένων πολλακίς οἱ δὲ υπερῆδονται, καὶ αἱ γε μητέρες τῶν δειλαίων γάννυνται καὶ σεμναὶ περιάσιν, οἷα δῆπου τεκοῦσαι θεῷ βορὰν καὶ δεῖπνον); transl. from A. F. Scholfield, *Aelian. On Animals, Volume II: Books 6-11* (Loeb Classical Library 448), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1959, p. 311-313.

texts and the Ptolemaic evidence may be found in the references in the liturgies to some of the *hasye* as “belonging” to certain individuals – perhaps indicating that these are the “people of the place” mentioned by Herodotus who arranged for their burial as a pious act.¹²⁵

The concept of the drowned *hasye* seems to be a fairly late development in Egyptian theology; in earlier periods drowning, like being burned alive, was seen as a form of death that damned the individual, since their body might be lost, damaged or destroyed, preventing them from receiving the funerary rites generally understood to confer post-mortem immortality.¹²⁶ The development of the idea of drowning as a particularly sacred form of death may be in part linked to a lessening of the importance of the funerary rites; in the sequel to the tale mentioned above, *Setna II*, the protagonist witnesses a poor man buried in a carpet whose good deeds led to Osiris transferring to him the funerary equipment of a rich man, who is perpetually punished by having his eye used as a door-hinge in the underworld.¹²⁷ While this account does not discount the importance of funeral rites, it stresses that blessed immortality is ultimately granted by Osiris, and not simply by the funeral rites in themselves.¹²⁸

But a more concrete rationale seems to be found in identification with Osiris; as we have seen, it was usual for the dead to become “an Osiris”, but death in the water seems to have brought about a more complete identification. Egyptian sources are famously laconic about the death of Osiris; the fullest accounts come from Greek sources. Plutarch describes how Osiris was killed by being sealed in a casket by his brother Seth-Typhon, which was then cast into the Nile, before being later hacked into many pieces by Seth after Isis recovered the casket.¹²⁹ Here, it is unclear if he dies through suffocation or drowning, or even if his manner of death is important to the author. Diodorus Siculus, offering a somewhat syncretised explanation, describes him as being torn apart by Titans in an echo of the death of Dionysus-Zagreus, with whom Osiris was often identified by Greeks.¹³⁰

125. See P. W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, *op. cit.*, p. 7, 470-473.

126. H. Kees, “Apotheosis by Drowning”, in S. R. K. Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1932, p. 402-405; K. Muhlestein, *Violence in the Service of Order: The Religious Framework for Sanctioned Killing in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, Archaeopress, 2011, p. 42-43.

127. *Setna II* 2.9-15.

128. Cf. the discussion in J. Baines and P. Lacovara, “Burial and the Dead”, *art. cit.*, p. 15-17.

129. Plutarch, *De Iside* 356A-D, 357F-358A (J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, *op. cit.*, p. 136-139, 144-145).

130. “But the Egyptians in their myths about Priapus say that in ancient times the Titans formed a conspiracy against Osiris and slew him, and then, taking his body and dividing it into equal parts among themselves, they slipped them secretly out of the house, but this organ alone they threw into the river, since no one of them was willing to take it with him” (οἱ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι περὶ τοῦ Πριάπου μυθολογοῦντές φασι τὸ παλαιὸν τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐπιβουλεύσαντας Ὀσίριδι τοῦτον μὲν ἀνελεῖν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ διελόντας εἰς ἴσας μερίδας ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λαβόντας ἀπενεγκεῖν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας λαθραίως, μόνον δὲ τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ρίψαι διὰ τὸ μηδένα βούλεσθαι τοῦτο ἀνελέσθαι; Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 4.3.6, transl. from C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus. Library of History, Volume II: Books 2.35-4.58* (Loeb Classical Library, 303), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1935, p. 358-359). Cf. *Library of History* 1.21.1-22.7, where Osiris is killed (ἀναιρεθῆναι) by

By contrast, Egyptian sources rarely mention the death itself; their focus is on the finding of his body, his funerary rites and resurrection. A few texts are more explicit; several describe Seth throwing him down on the earth,¹³¹ but more common are descriptions where Osiris is **mehi*, an ambiguous verb which may mean “to swim, to irrigate”, “to launch” a boat, “to float”, for a river “to flood”, and perhaps even “to drown”.¹³² Seth is said to have caused Osiris to be “*mehi* in the waters of the underworld, every limb separated”,¹³³ while Horus, Isis and Nephthys find Osiris “in the place where he had *mehi*”, and pull him out of the water.¹³⁴ The sense is ambiguous here: did he drown, or was he killed and dismembered on land before being cast into the water?¹³⁵ The opinion of Francis Llewellyn Griffith, who first drew the pieces of

Typhon (Seth) in an unknown manner and divided into 26 pieces so that the pollution (μύσος) would be shared among the conspirators.

131. For an extensive list of passages relating to the death of Osiris, see P. Vernus, “Le Mythe d’un mythe : la prétendue noyée d’Osiris. – De la dérive d’un corps à la dérive du sens”, *Studi di Egitologia e di Antichità puniche*, vol. 9, 1991, p. 19-20, who rejects the idea that he drowned.

132. The core meaning of *mhi* is “to be in the water”, giving the senses “float” and “swim”; it may also be used of boats which are in the water, or refer to the overflowing of the Nile, the flooding or inundation of land; the causative *smhi* “to cause to *mhi*” means “to irrigate (land), to flow (of water), drown (a living creature)”; the noun *mhw* “one in a state of *mhi*” may refer to either Osiris, or to the human figures in water depicted in underworld texts, usually understood as the souls of the drowned; see A. Erman and H. Grapow (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 121-122; vol. 4, p. 140. For a discussion of the terminology for drowning in Egyptian, see M. A. Abdalla, “Schwimmen und Ertrinken oder Leben und Toten im Alten Ägypten”, in F. Haikal (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Ola el-Aguizy*, Cairo, Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2015, p. 12-18. On the human figures in the water, understood variously as “swimmers” or the “drowned”, see J. C. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX*, Fribourg, Academic Press Fribourg, 2004, p. 277-285, who links them to the dead stars regenerating in the water of the underworld, for which cf. n. 45.

133. ... *dyf mh(i)ḥr mw ḏ.t. ḥwtḥ nb.t pš.wt...* Louvre 3239, l. 5-7 (É. Chassinat, “Les papyrus magiques 3237 et 3239 du Louvre”, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l’archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, vol. 14, 1893, p. 14-15).

134. P. Vernus, “Le Mythe d’un mythe”, *art. cit.*, p. 20-22.

135. Many Egyptologist reject the idea that Osiris drowned in one version of the myth, instead supposing a single tradition in which Osiris was killed and then *mhi*, where this word is understood as meaning “immersed” or “caused to float” in the Nile; J. Quaegebeur, discussed below, offers the fullest arguments against the drowning of Osiris (in terms of the Roman material) in the course of his discussion of the *hasye*; an extended argument for *mhi* as “(cause to) float” may be found in P. Vernus, “Le Mythe d’un mythe”, *art. cit.*; similar arguments are made in S. Cauville, “Les inscriptions relatives au nome tentyrite”, *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale*, vol. 92, 1992, p. 88-91. Alternative perspectives may be found in H. te Velde, *Seth: God of Confusion*, *op. cit.*, p. 84-86, and J. G. Griffiths, “The Phrase *hr mw:f* in the Memphite Theology”, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, vol. 123, 1996, p. 111-113. H. Te Velde (p. 84-85) understands the descriptions of Seth “throwing Osiris to the ground” (*ndr:nk Wsir r t*) or “on his side” (*dy Wsr hr gsḥ*) as euphemisms along the line of “lay low” (i.e. “kill”), rather than as simple descriptions of the process of killing as P. Vernus (p. 20) understands them. It is perhaps notable that many of the instances that P. Vernus cites specify the event to take place by the river-bank (*wḏb*). Similarly, J. G. Griffiths argues that *mhi* cannot be understood as “floating” since it is usually described as taking place in a particular “place” (*bw*), which implies a unique event along the lines of drowning, rather than the lack of temporal or spatial specificity implied by “floating” (p. 115).

evidence I have listed here into a coherent model, was that, in being drowned the water, the *hasye* re-enacted the death of Osiris, and thus became assimilated to him.¹³⁶ This model has been predominant in studies of late Egyptian religion for at least eighty years;¹³⁷ the earliest of these studies drew heavily upon the Roman-era magical rituals describing the drowning of animals, but also made reference to James Frazer's *Golden Bough*, which discussed the killing of the sacred king, in this case by drowning, as a central act of early religion. It was often suggested that the death by drowning of Osiris was a memory of an early ritual in which the kings of Egypt were symbolically killed, although this detail is usually disregarded in more recent work.¹³⁸ An important counter-hypothesis was proposed by Jan Quaegebeur in a series of articles in the 1970s, and it is worth addressing his objections in detail.

Quaegebeur's objection to the idea that the *hasye* were the drowned and blessed dead rested on several points:¹³⁹

1. He noted that the etymologically original meaning of *hasye* was "the blessed one", so that even if it referred in the late Roman period to someone who had been immersed, or even drowned, this was not necessarily true of earlier periods.¹⁴⁰
2. In the funerary papyrus P. Rhind the term **ma'atiu* ("justified") is used in Hieratic to refer to the justified dead in general, but in the parallel Demotic version the term *hasye* is used, implying that the two terms were equivalent, and referred simply to the blessed dead.¹⁴¹
3. He argued that the name "Moses" was understood by Egyptians as being derived from *mw-hsy* "water-*hasye*", and since Moses was saved from the water, and not drowned, the term could not refer to drowning.¹⁴²

136. F. Ll. Griffith, "Herodotus II.90", art. cit., p. 132-134.

137. See n. 139 for the principal authors who have proposed or accepted this theory.

138. M. A. Murray, "The Cult of the Drowned in Egypt", art. cit., p. 133-135; J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion, part IV: Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. 2, London, Macmillan and Co., 1914 (3rd edition), in particular p. 158-200; A. Moret, *La mise à mort du dieu en Égypte*, Paris, Geuthner, 1927; C. Aldred, "The Temple of Dendur", art. cit., p. 25. As H. Kees points out ("Apotheosis by Drowning", art. cit., p. 402-405), however, and as noted above, the belief in drowning as a sacred mode of death seems to be a relatively late development rather than an ancient survival.

139. The principal articles in which J. Quaegebeur discusses this question are "Les 'Saints' égyptiens préchrétiens", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, vol. 8, 1977, p. 127-143; "Note sur l'*Herésieion* d'Antinoé", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, vol. 24, 1977, p. 246-250; and with C. Evrard-Derriks, "La situle décorée de Nesnakhetiou au Musée Royal de Mariemont", *Chronique d'Égypte*, vol. 54.107, 1979, p. 26-57.

140. J. Quaegebeur, "Note sur l'*Herésieion* d'Antinoé", art. cit., p. 248.

141. Id., "Les 'Saints' égyptiens préchrétiens", art. cit., p. 139.

142. Id., "Note sur l'*Herésieion* d'Antinoé", art. cit., p. 248; he cites A. H. Gardiner, "The Egyptian Origin of Some English Personal Names", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 2, 1936, p. 192-195, and J. Černý, "Greek Etymology of the Name of Moses", *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, vol. 41, 1942, p. 349-354; cf. Y. Koenig, "Quelques 'égyptianismes' de la Septante", *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, vol. 98, 1998, p. 223-233, who follows J. Quaegebeur.

4. He argued that Osiris did not drown in the Egyptian myth, and so *hasye*, applied to him, could not mean “drowned”.¹⁴³

5. He noted that the Graeco-Egyptian term *Hereseion/Thareseion* seemed to refer to a temple of a somewhat mysterious deity known as Haresies, which he understood as rendering “Horus-*hasye*”; he linked this name to a myth told by Diodorus in which Horus is killed by the Titans, and found dead in the water by his mother Isis, who resurrects him.¹⁴⁴ Quaegebeur traced this story back in turn to an episode from the *Contest of Horus and Seth* in which Horus hides under the water in the form of a hippopotamus,¹⁴⁵ and suggests that Diodorus misunderstood this story of hiding in water as a story of drowning.¹⁴⁶

6. He noted the mention of the *hasye* as a type of malevolent spirit, arguing that in this case the term referred simply to a type of aquatic demon.¹⁴⁷

7. Finally, he noted that the number of *hasye* in the legal texts of the choachytes is rather large, and more than would be expected if it referred to individuals who had been drowned.¹⁴⁸

Based on the force of these objections, Quaegebeur argued that *hasye* referred instead to the beneficiaries of a ritual of immersion carried out on the dead, a kind of “post-mortem baptism” which was intended to parallel the immersion of Osiris in the water after his death;¹⁴⁹ he compared this, somewhat infelicitously, to the immersion of the cat in the magical ritual discussed above,¹⁵⁰ and to the ritual bath described by Apuleius as taking place during the initiation into the Isis cult in his *Metamorphoses*.¹⁵¹ Claude Traunecker, building upon this idea, has suggested that the status of *hasye* was

143. J. Quaegebeur, “Note sur l’*Herésieion* d’Antinoé”, art. cit., p. 247.

144. “Furthermore, [Isis] discovered also the drug which gives immortality, by means of which she not only raised from the dead her son Horus, who had been the object of plots on the part of the Titans and had been found dead under the water, giving him his soul again, but also made him immortal” (εὐρεῖν δ’ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας φάρμακον, δι’ οὗ τὸν υἱὸν Ὄρον, ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων ἐπιβουλευθέντα καὶ νεκρὸν εὐρεθέντα καθ’ ὕδατος, μὴ μόνον ἀναστήσαι, δοῦσαν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας ποιῆσαι μεταλαβεῖν); Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 1.25.6.1-4, transl. from C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus. Library of History, Volume I: Books 1-2.34* (Loeb Classical Library, 279), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1933, p. 81-83.

145. The reference is to Chester Beatty I, recto 8.9-9.9 (A. H. Gardiner, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: Description of a Hieratic Papyrus with a Mythological Story, Love-Songs, and other Miscellaneous Texts: The Chester Beatty Papyri, N° I*, London, Oxford University Press, 1931, p. 19-20, pl. VIII-IX). While Isis mistakenly thinks that Horus is dead, in this version of the story she first attempts to harpoon Seth (accidentally striking Horus) and then succeeds in harpooning him, but relents and withdraws her weapon; Horus emerges from the water, but in order to punish his mother, not because she has raised him from the dead.

146. J. Quaegebeur, “Note sur l’*Herésieion* d’Antinoé”, art. cit., p. 249-250; this argument is further developed in W. Clarysse and J. Quaegebeur, “Ibion, Isieion and Tharesieion in two Oslo Papyri”, *Symbolae Osloenses*, vol. 57.1, p. 77-81.

147. J. Quaegebeur, “Note sur l’*Herésieion* d’Antinoé”, art. cit., p. 249.

148. Id., “Note sur l’*Herésieion* d’Antinoé”, art. cit., p. 249.

149. Id. and C. Evrard-Derriks, “La situle décorée de Nesnakhietou”, art. cit., p. 41-42.

150. J. Quaegebeur, “Note sur l’*Herésieion* d’Antinoé”, art. cit., p. 248.

151. Id. and C. Evrard-Derriks, “La situle décorée de Nesnakhietou”, art. cit., p. 41.

constituted by receiving libations of water, wine, milk, and beer every ten days, paralleling the libations offered to Osiris.¹⁵²

Before engaging with his points in detail, it is worth pointing out the greatest problem with this hypothesis: there is no evidence for a ritual immersion given to mummies. Early studies of mummification often focused on the idea that the process of desiccating the body with natron was carried out in a natron solution, and one modern recreation has used this method, but the idea is generally agreed to rest upon a misreading of Herodotus; no bath permitting an immersion – either ritual or practical – has been found among the embalming assemblages discovered in Egypt, and studies of mummies show results generally consistent with dry natron application.¹⁵³ Similarly, while some scholars have suggested that the ritual bath undergone by the Isaiac initiate may have been linked to the death and resurrection of Osiris, there is no clear suggestion of this in the text itself, no reason to think the Isaiac initiation procedure derived from the treatment of mummies, and a stronger argument that this represents simply a case of ritual purification.¹⁵⁴ Finally, it is very clear that the cat used in the magical curse was not simply submerged, but drowned.

Let us now engage with his points one by one. His first point – that the *hasye* as a “justified drowned individual” cannot be the original sense of the word – is neces-

152. C. Traunecker, *Coptos. Hommes et dieux sur le parvis de Geb*, Leuven, Peeters, 1992, p. 387-390.

153. Herodotus (2.86) describes the process using the word *ταριγγεύειν*; this is the standard word used in Greek to describe the process of preserving fish by desiccating them in dry salt (A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II. Commentary 1-98*, Leiden, Brill, 1994, p. 360). The consensus position, that dry natron was used and there was no immersion of corpses, rests upon experimental and philological evidence, as well as the absence of bath-like containers large enough for a corpse; see S. Ikram, “Mummification”, in J. Dieleman, W. Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 2010, online at <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/0gn7x3ff>; A. R. David, “Mummification”, in P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 383-384; B. Brier and R. S. Wade, “The Use of Natron in Human Mummification: A Modern Experiment”, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, vol. 124, 1997, p. 89-100; A. T. Sandison, “Balsamierung”, in W. Helck and E. Otto (ed.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1975, vol. 1, p. 610-614. More recently, Stephen Buckley of the University of York discovered salt crystals in the tissue of some 18th Dynasty royal mummies which he suggested to be the result of a natron bath, and in 2011 he mummified Alan Billis, a British man who had died earlier that year, using this method for the British television program “Mummifying Alan: Egypt’s Last Secret”. It appears that he has yet to publish a full account of these findings, and the general consensus favours the dry application of natron, except perhaps in the case of some royal mummies of the 18th Dynasty; see S. Buckley, “Revisiting the Amarna Royals: Part 2”, *Shemu: the Egyptian Society of South Africa*, April 2012, online at <http://egyptiansociety.co.za/2012/04/revisiting-the-amarna-royals-part-2/>; M. E. Habicht, A. S. Bouwman and F. J. Rühli, “Identifications of Ancient Egyptian Royal Mummies from the 18th Dynasty Reconsidered”, *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology*, vol. 159, 2016, p. 221.

154. J. G. Griffiths, *The Isis Book, op. cit.*, p. 357: “[t]here is, however, no hint of the idea [of a ritual bath as a symbol of death and rebirth] in the description of the rite itself; nor is there any evidence that the idea was ever applied to any persons other than those actually drowned in the Nile”; cf. F. Graf, “Baptism and Graeco-Roman Mystery Cults”, in D. Hellholm, T. Vegge, Ø. Norderval and C. Hellholm (ed.), *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2011, p. 111.

sarily true. As I have discussed above, the term seems to have emerged very early in Egyptian history, and to have developed multiple concurrent and context dependent meanings. Based on the testimony of Herodotus and the examples assembled by Alan Rowe we might assume that the concept of deification by death in water was present by at least the 5th century BCE, and connected with the term *hasye* by at least the 4th.¹⁵⁵

This polysemy may account for the usage of the Rhind papyrus, which translates *ma'ati* (“justified”) as *hasye*. It seems clear that in certain contexts *hasye* referred not to the justified in general, but rather to a specific category of dead, as Quaegebeur himself admits. The *ma'ati-hasye* translation is probably best understood therefore as using the older, more general sense of *hasye*.¹⁵⁶

As we have seen, the evidence regarding the manner of Osiris’ death is unclear, but I think there is a solution which preserves Griffith’s brilliant synthesis of the evidence with Quaegebeur’s objection. All of the sources agree that his body was found and retrieved by his sister-wife Isis in the waters of the Nile,¹⁵⁷ an act which seems to have been re-enacted at the annual *Wag*-festival,¹⁵⁸ and this may thus have been a more important fact to his worshippers than the precise manner of his death. This could be the link between Osiris and the *hasye*, who would, like him, have been found floating dead in the Nile, and pulled out of the water. It is likely that those who died in water (by whatever means) were generally discovered considerably downstream, and that they would often be buried by individuals who did not know who they were, and who thus referred to them simply as *hasye*, a title of respect for the justified dead; this is consistent with the evidence from the archive of the Choachytes, where the *hasye* are often anonymous and regularly lack the filiations and occupations which are given for the other dead.¹⁵⁹ This may have led first to a secondary meaning, best attested in this archive, in which *hasye* (in reference to a specific individual) was a way of designating that they had undergone the process of death and discovery in water which led to the blessed status described by Herodotus. Later, *hasye* may have taken on the still more specific sense of “a drowned individual”, suggested by *Setna I* and the Roman magical texts, and preserved in Coptic, as drowning would be the most common (if not only) means by which individuals found in the water would have died.

This explanation would also seem to help us to understand the case of Quaegebeur’s derivation of Moses from “water-*hasye*”, based on a passage from Josephus in which

155. The earliest example found by A. Rowe date to the 30th Dynasty (380-343 BCE; A. Rowe, “Newly-identified Monuments”, art. cit., p. 11, 13), while Herodotus lived ca. 485-424 BCE, and so would presumably have visited Egypt in the mid-5th century.

156. The Hieratic “Hall of the Justified” (*wsh.t m².ty[w]*) is glossed in Demotic “Hall of the Blessed” (*t³ wsh³.t n n³ hs.w*) in P. Rhind 1 col. IV.1, V.11 and P. Rhind 2 col. V.2, VII.7; for an English translation see M. Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, op. cit., p. 323, 325, 344, 345. The pairing of “*akh*-spirits of the *hasye*” with “Hathors” (*n³ iyh.w n n³ hs.w... n³ H.t-Hr.w*, P. Rhind. IX.5) perhaps suggests that in these texts *hasye* should be understood as referring generically to the justified dead.

157. For some of the sources, see J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult*, Leiden, Brill, 1980, p. 25-27.

158. M. Smith, *Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7)*, Oxford, Griffith Institute, 2005, p. 132. Note the text of col. I l. 37 of this text: “the *hasye* [Osiris] will be found in the *Wag*-Festival” (*gm²w p³ hs [n] hb-wg*).

159. P. W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, op. cit., p. 471-173; R. Mairs and C. J. Martin, “A Bilingual ‘Sale’ of Liturgies”, art. cit., p. 64.

the Judaeon writer attempts to understand the name in terms of contemporary Egyptian. It seems likely, if uncertain, that the element which Josephus gives as *-esēs* derives from *hasye*, though it is unclear that this interpretation originated from a native-language Egyptian-speaker, rather than a non-speaker who may have misunderstood or misrepresented the word or its meaning.¹⁶⁰ Černý points out that another author who discussed the name, Clement of Alexandria, added that “some [Egyptians] call ‘Moses’ one who has died in water”,¹⁶¹ suggesting that both Josephus and Clement are in (confused) agreement with the idea that a *hasye* was prototypically an individual retrieved from the water, even if Moses himself was a rare instance of a living *hasye*.

Quaеgebeur’s discussion of Horus-*hasye* is difficult to assess due to lack of evidence. This figure does not seem to be attested in any Egyptian-language texts, and so this interpretation of his name rests on Greek transliterations which obscure the underlying Egyptian morphemes; the element “Horus” is certain, the element *hasye* less so, although it seems to be the best candidate.¹⁶² More problematic is his

160. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 2.228: “... she gave him the name [Moses] recalling his immersion in the river, for the Egyptians call water *mōu* (*mw*) and those who are saved <from water> *esēs* (*hsy*)” (Κάπ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν ταύτην τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἔθετο εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντι· τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ μῶν Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν, ἐσῆς δὲ τοὺς <ἐξ ὕδατος> σωθέντας). See the discussion in H. J. Thissen, “Zum Namen ‘Moses’”, in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, vol. 147, n° 1, 2004, p. 55-62; it is notable that while the seven authors H. J. Thissen discusses agree on *mōu*, only Josephus offers *esēs* (and in only one of his two tellings of the story). Eusēthius of Antioch, perhaps relying on Josephus, gives *sēs* as the second element. A.H. Gardiner, who seems to have been the first to identify the word in Josephus as *hasye*, believed that Josephus had misunderstood the meaning of *hasye* (“The Egyptian Origin of Some English Personal Names”, art. cit., p. 195-196 at n. 28). The Hebrew form of the name is *Mōšeh* (מֹשֶׁה), and is at present generally understood to have come from the Egyptian **mose* (*ms*, “child”) (J. G. Griffiths, “The Egyptian Derivation of the Name Moses”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 12.4, 1953, p. 225-231); a Hebrew folk-etymology is provided in Exodus 2.10, in which Moses’ foster mother says that she drew (הִשָּׁה) him out of the water.

161. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ Μωυσῆν τὸν ἀποπνεύσαντα τῷ ὕδατι προσαιγορεύουσι (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 23.152-153) ; see J. Černý, “Greek Etymology of the Name of Moses”, art. cit., p. 353-354, who suggests that Josephus uses *hasye* to mean individuals “saved” by being pulled from the water for burial, after their deaths, and that the problem in referring to Moses in this way causes the author to be deliberately coy on this point; he notes that Josephus declines to mention the element *hasye* in his other discussion of the etymology of the name Moses in *Contra Apionem*.

162. J. Quaеgebeur makes it clear that his position is hypothetical, in e.g., “Note sur l’*Herēsieion* d’Antinoé”, art. cit., in particular p. 250: “[l]a question [of the existence of a deity Horus-*hsy*] n’a donc pas encore reçu une réponse définitive”; W. Clarysse and J. Quaеgebeur, “Ibion, Isieion and Tharesieion”, art. cit., esp. p. 81: “[t]o conclude this interpretation of (Θ)α/ερησιεῖον, its hypothetical character must be stressed”. Nonetheless, the existence of a deity with the name Ἀρησις or Ἐρησις at Antinoopolis seems fairly secure given the mention of priests of Ἀρησις in SB XXII.15545 l.3 (TM 41560, 146 BCE) and P. Lond. III 1164 G, l.7, 17 (TM 22818, 212 CE); cf. H. Cadell, “Papyrologica. P. Fouad 16; PSI III, 183; SB III, 6266 (= 6704); P. Strasb. 15 et P. Bade 91; P. Berl. Zilliacus 13; P. Herm. Rees 11”, *Chronique d’Égypte*, vol. 42, 1967, p. 190-192; H. Meyer (ed.), *Der Obelisk des Antinoos: eine kommentierte Edition*, Munich, Wilhelm Fink, 1994, p. 121-124. An alternative etymology, with Ἐρησις as a transliteration of *ir-hsy* is also suggested by J. Quaеgebeur (“Note sur l’*Herēsieion* d’Antinoé”, art. cit., p. 79-81), giving (Θ)α/ερησιεῖον a meaning of “the place where the one who is *hasye* is worshipped” (or “the place where *hasye* are made”). As I discuss below, however, the term *hasye* does not seem to be applied to animal mummies except in the magical

reading of the myth: to suggest that a Roman-period telling of a myth derives from a specific New Kingdom account of a related cycle is problematic: the versions that survive are only single variants of traditions that were, no doubt, much larger, and it is probable that there were many other episodes which do not survive. Diodorus' story in particular seems to attribute (again) the death of Dionysus-Zagreus to another deity, this time Horus – a child killed by Titans and resurrected by his parent – and has echoes of magical *historiolae* in which Isis saves her son from the attacks of enemies or disease,¹⁶³ and may thus represent a late, syncretistic addition to the tradition. There is no clear reason to think that Diodorus is significantly misrepresenting this myth, and the story explicitly states that Horus was (like the *hasye*) found dead in the water, even if it does not tell us how he was killed.

Let us turn to his final two points. As Quaegebeur notes, *hasye* are mentioned in the texts known as self-dedications; these consist of contracts, written in the early 2nd century BCE, in which suppliants agree to become servants of deities in return for supernatural protection, and *hasye* are listed among the various hostile powers and diseases from which the deity will protect their servants.¹⁶⁴ Quaegebeur's implied argument is that the *hasye* here are demons who live beneath the water, and can thus be understood as in some sense “submerged” or “immersed”. But the category of hostile powers in the Egyptian worldview was very large, and included not only various categories of non-human spirits, but also the souls of the dead and a category of being known as **akh*, a word whose primary referent seems to be to individuals who had undergone the funerary rites which transformed them into immortal spirits; this is the same term used for “ghosts” in stories in which the living encounter the dead in their tombs,¹⁶⁵ and they are mentioned alongside the *hasye* in the self-dedications. It is thus

papyri, and *ir-hsy* as a technical term seems to refer specifically to drowning, a manner of killing for which there is no evidence in the earlier animal cults.

163. For a discussion of the syncretism between Horus and Dionysus-Zagreus, and the *historiolae* in which Isis rescues Horus, see L. H. Blumell and K. Dosoo, “Horus, Isis, and the Dark-Eyed Beauty: A Series of Magical Ostraca in the Brigham Young University Collection”, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, vol. 64.1, 2018, p. 226-227, 241-243.

164. “The servant Tanebtynis has said... before my master Soknebtynis, the great god: I am thy servant, together with my children and children's children... thou shalt protect me, thou shalt keep me safe... thou shalt protect me from every male *akh*, every female *akh*, every sleeping man, every spectre (?), every *hasye*, every **hemer*, every **hemes*, every dead man, every [man of] the river, every man of the shore, every fiend, every red (spirit?), every *wr*-spirit, every pestilence (?), on earth”; (*dd bk.t shm.t T'-p²-nb-t-in... m-b³h p²y²[y] hry Sbk-nb-t²-tn p² ntr-³... inky t²y²k b³k.t hn' n²y²[y] hrd.t.w n² hrd.t.w n n²y²[y] hrd.t.w... mtw²k nht.t²y mtw²k nhm²y mtw²k nht.t²y r ihy nb ihy shm.t nb rmt-iw²f-sdr nb rmt-h-ntr nb hsi nb hmr nb ht nb in.mwt.t nb [rmt-p²] ir nb rmt-p²-t nb s²r nb trsy nb wry nb [t²w-] rwf nb n p² t²; BM EA 10622, l. 7-14; H. Thompson, “Two Demotic Self-Dedications”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 26, 1941, p. 70). The “men of the river” and “men of the bank” may be the same as the earlier “*wr* of the river” (*wr n itrw*), apparently dangerous spirits who lived in particular areas, mentioned in amulets from the 10th and 9th centuries BCE, and perhaps closer to the aquatic spirits which J. Quaegebeur implies the *hasye* to be; see I. E. S. Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fourth Series: Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, London, Trustees of the British Museum, 1960, vol. 1, p. XII.*

165. See the collection of “ghost stories” collected in C. Adams, “Shades of Meaning: The Significance of Manifestations of the Dead as Evidenced in Texts from the Old Kingdom to the

far from clear that these texts prove that the *hasye* were aquatic demons rather than specific category of dead who might at times threaten the living.

His final point – that there are too many *hasye* in the choachyte archives – is more difficult to address. It is true that in reading the lists of individuals in liturgy sales one gets the impression that there are a great many *hasye*, although the vague references to “families” and other plural groups in the case of non-*hasye* makes it very difficult to get a sense of the precise number of individuals being referred to. If we assume that each reference to a plural refers to two individuals (a number almost certainly far too low), then perhaps one in ten mummies (11 %) seems to be a *hasye*; more reasonable assumptions, counting plurals as five or ten individuals, would yield numbers closer to one in twenty (4-7 %).¹⁶⁶ This is still more than we might expect to have drowned, and certainly more than we find in modern Egypt.¹⁶⁷ There are a few explanations we could put forward for this: it may be, for example, that since the drowned were particularly sacred they were more likely to be included in liturgies, which were often paid for by others,¹⁶⁸ than those who died in other ways (who might be, for example, too poor to pay for funerary rites). It may also be that their liturgies continued for longer than other individuals; even if particular *hasye* did not have temples built in their honour, as did Petese and Pihor, the level of worship and reverence they inspired may have led to their liturgies being paid for over spans of time in which individuals who did not drown would be forgotten by their descendants, or even have their lines of descent disappear; this would result in a multiplier effect with each generation.¹⁶⁹ Nonetheless, an interesting piece of cross-cultural research may suggest that deaths in water – including drownings, but also deaths by crocodile and so on – were much more common in pre-modern times: a study of coroner’s reports from Tudor England has found that drownings accounted for half of all accidental deaths, twenty-five times

Coptic Period”, in M. Cannata (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2006*, Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2006, p. 1-20, esp. p. 7-17.

166. These numbers are based on counting the tombs and their occupants listed in Marseille 299, Louvre E 3440 B, Louvre N 3263, Berlin P 3089, Berlin P 3116, Berlin P 5507, Brussels E 6037, PBM Andrews 1 (for bibliography see P. W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, *op. cit.*, p. XII-XVI). This survey – conservatively counting only individuals mentioned rather assuming them in tombs where not explicit, and counting both *hsy* and *hry* as *hsy*, found 444 individuals, 190 mentions of plural groups, and 104 *hsy*. A fuller study, taking into account all of the texts from these archives, and cross-checking prosopography to identify duplicates, would be desirable, but beyond the scope of this survey, intended to give a general idea of numbers.

167. A 2002 World Health Organisation report lists a death rate by drowning of 0.63 % for Egypt (World Health Organisation, *Disease and Injury Estimates, 2000-2002*, online at http://www.who.int/healthinfo/global_burden_disease/estimates_2000_2002/en/).

168. P. W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, *op. cit.*, p. 7, 471-473; cf. P. Tebt. I 5, l. 77-79 (quoted in n. 39), which states that “divinised” individuals were, at least according to one Ptolemaic royal decree, buried at the king’s expense.

169. It is difficult to know how long mortuary cults for either normal individuals or *hasye* would typically have been carried out, although the latter would presumably have lasted longer than the former; J. Baines and P. Lacovara, in their synthetic study of Egyptian burial customs, conclude that “the evidence is that mortuary cults were rarely maintained for long, despite supposedly perpetual cult endowments” (“Burial and the Dead”, art. cit., p. 5-36, esp. p. 6, 16).

more than the comparable figure (2 %) for England in 2010.¹⁷⁰ People at this time spent much more time in and around lakes and rivers – travelling by boat, swimming, washing themselves and their clothes, relieving themselves – all of which made their drowning much more likely. None of this is decisive, but it does suggest that the apparently large number of *hasye* is not necessarily inconsistent with the idea that they were drowned, or otherwise found dead in the water, especially in the absence of clearly attested alternatives.

In sum, Quaegebeur’s ideas should make us hesitant to translate every occurrence of *hasye* – especially in pre-Ptolemaic texts – straightforwardly as “drowned”, as Rowe did in his study.¹⁷¹ Instead, I have suggested that the term’s meaning is heavily dependent upon context, and could refer to (1) an individual (living or dead) “blessed” by another, (2) the justified dead in general, (3) dead recovered from the Nile in particular, and (4) even more specifically, those who had drowned. This context-sensitive meaning may seem overly complex, but does account well for the evidence, and it is a general feature of human language. We might note a relevant parallel here in the Greek word *martus*, which, by the end of the 1st century, could mean either “witness” in a general, religious, or specifically legal sense, a planet in a particular astrological aspect, or “one who had died for their (Christian) faith”, with the meaning dependent upon, and clear from, the context.¹⁷²

If the meaning of the term prior to the Roman-era magical texts is ambiguous, a survey of the usage of *hasye*, and parallel terms, in these texts seems to demonstrate a much more straightforward usage. A representative sample of these can be found in table 2 below.

Table 2. Terminology for drowning in Roman Egyptian magical texts

Source	Animal	Process	Result
1. <i>Cyranides</i> 1.21.99-100	Λαβὸν οὖν ἰέρακα τὸν κοινόν, ὃν καλοῦσιν κίρκον <i>Taking a common falcon, that is called ‘circos’...</i>	... βύθισον ὕδατι πηγαίων... ... <i>submerge it in spring-water</i> ...	ἕως οὗ ἀποθεωθῆ ... <i>until it is deified</i> ...
		πνίξον εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ τὸν ἰέρακα <i>drown the falcon in the water</i>	ἕως οὗ ἀποθάνῃ ... <i>until it is dead</i> .

170. S. Gunn and T. Gromelski, “Drowning in Tudor England”, *BBC History Magazine*, vol. 12/13, December 2011, p. 46-49; Ead., “For Whom the Bell Tolls: Accidental Deaths in Tudor England”, *The Lancet*, vol. 380, 2012, p. 1222-1223; cf. E. Towner and J. Towner, “The Hazards of Daily Life: An Historical Perspective on Adult Unintentional Injuries”, *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, vol. 62, 2008, p. 952-956.

171. A. Rowe, “Newly-Identified Monuments”, art. cit.

172. C. Spicq, *Lexique théologique du Nouveau Testament*, Fribourg, Éditions du Cerf, 1991, p. 969-974.

2. <i>Cyranides</i> 1.24.6, 19	... χελιδόν... <i>A swallow...</i>		Ἐάν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποθεώσης... ὕδατι ἢ οἴνω ... <i>if you deify it in water or wine...</i>
3. <i>Cyranides</i> 2.39.14-15	Λαβὼν οὖν τὸν ἱέρακα τὸν πελάγιον <i>Taking, then, a sea-falcon...</i>		ἀπόπνιξον ὕδατι ὀμβρίῳ ... <i>down it in rainwater</i>
4. <i>PGM</i> I.4-6	λαβὼν ἱέρακα κίρκαιον <i>Taking a circaean falcon...</i>	ἀποθέωσον εἰς γάλα βοῦς μελαίνης συμμίξας αὐτῷ μέλι Ἀττικόν ... <i>deify it in the milk of a black cow mixed with Attic honey...</i>	καὶ ἀποθεώσας ... <i>and when it is deified</i>
5. <i>PGM</i> III.1-3	Λαβὼν αἰλουρον <i>Take a cat...</i>		ἐκποίησον ἐστὴν ἐμβολῶν τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ... <i>make it 'hasye', casting its body into the water...</i>
		... ἐν ᾧ πνίγεις... λόγος ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πνίξεως... ... <i>during the drowning... the formula (spoken) during the drowning...</i>	
6. <i>PGM</i> IV.2456-2459	λαβὼν μυγαλὸν <i>Taking a shrew...</i>		ἐκθέωσον πηγαίῳ ὕδατι ... <i>deify it in spring-water...</i>
	λαβὼν κανθάρους σεληνιακοὺς δύο <i>Taking two lunar scarab-beetles...</i>		ἐκθέωσον ὕδατι ποταμίῳ ... <i>deify them in river water...</i>
7. <i>PGM</i> VII.628-629	Λαβὼν καλαβώτην <i>Taking a lizard...</i>	ἔασον αὐτὸν εἰς κρίνινον ... <i>let it into oil of lilies...</i>	ἕως ἂν ἀποθεωθῇ ... <i>until it is deified...</i>
8. <i>PDM</i> XIV.88	iny w' mhrr ... <i>take a scarab-beetle...</i>		mtwεk dy.t šmεf n hsy hn irt(.t) n ih.t km.t ... <i>make it go 'hasye' in the milk of a black cow...</i>

9. PDM XIV.360-361	w' kš[.] ... a Nile-perch...	dy.tyꜣs r-ḥn w' sknn n wrꜥ ... <u>put it in oil of</u> roses...	irꜣs n ḥsy ... <u>make it</u> <u>'hasye'</u> ...
10. PDM XIV.636, 638-639	i-irꜥk in w' mḥrr n ḥr-dšr ... you take a scarab of Red Horus (Mars)...		i.irꜥk ṯyꜣsf n ḥsy ḥn hyn.w irt(.t) n ih.t kme.t ... you <u>make it</u> <u>'hasye'</u> in milk of a black cow...

What is immediately obvious in these texts is the highly standard language; the instructions generally begin “take (X animal)”, followed by a verb describing what is to be done to the animal, and often add the outcome. If we begin with the Demotic examples, we can see that two terms are used are “make [the animal] *hasye*”, and the more periphrastic “make [the animal] go *hasye*”. In examples (8 & 10) we can see that one “makes [an animal] *hasye*” in a liquid – the milk of a black cow, and in example (9) we can see that “putting into” a liquid seems to have a similar sense, although the text adds “make [the animal] *hasye*” to give a more explicit sense of what “putting into” entails, or results in. This periphrastic construction – “make *hasye*” seems to be that which lies behind example (5), where the Greek can be understood as an exact calque of the Demotic: “make it *hasye*, casting the [cat’s] body into the water”; what this entails is again made explicit shortly thereafter, when the process is described as a “drowning”.

The phrase “go *hasye*” is used in Coptic to refer simply to “drowning”, apparently without the older religious sense, and the verbs used (“do/become”, “go”) are the same as those found in the Demotic examples above.¹⁷³ We may see that, in these examples, “go *hasye*” is the equivalent of intransitive “drown” (“he drowned”), while the transitive (“he drowned a cat”) may be expressed with either one or two auxiliary verbs “make *hasye*” (“make X into a drowned person”), or “make X go *hasye*” (“make X drown”).

While (5) seems to offer a calque of the Egyptian-language expressions, the majority of the Greek texts do not use a calque; instead, examples (1, 4, 6 & 7) describe the process as “deification”. As before, we may note that we find the verb “deify” used in exactly the same positions as “make (go) *hasye*” – the ritualist is to take an animal, “deify” it in a liquid, and this process is associated with “putting it in” a liquid (1, 7) and “drowning” it (1). I would suggest that “deify” should be understood as directly translation of “make *hasye*”; lacking a specific noun corresponding to *hasye*, Greeks

173. See W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, p. 710a. Like the English word “drown”, the meaning is somewhat broader than simply “asphyxiation caused by water”, encompassing shipwreck, as well as figurative uses (“drowned by cares”). One clear example where it means simply “drown” can be found in the writings of Shenoute, the Archimandrite of the White Monastery (ca. 347-465 CE): “... we will say – concerning those die when walls fell on them, or who have drowned or (who die) in other ways – we will say it was their time...” (ΤΙΝΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΤΕΡΕΝΧΟ ΖΕ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΕΥΗΟΥ Η ΕΛΥΒΑΚ ΝΡΑΔΙΕ Η ΚΕΣΜΟΤ ΝΡΕ – ΤΙΝΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΖΕ ΠΕΥΑΡΕ ΠΕ; *And Let Us Also Reprove*; Johannes Leipoldt, *Sinuthii Archimandritae. Vita et Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, Paris, Typographeo Reipublicae, 1908, p. 44, l. 1-3).

could either borrow the Egyptian word to form a calque, or (the more common choice) translate the concept – *hasye* becomes “god”, and “make *hasye*” becomes “make (into) a god”, that is, “deify”.¹⁷⁴ As with “make *hasye*”, however, the phrase in this context referred not simply to deification in a generic sense, but more specifically to drowning. Example (4) describes deification both as a process (“deify/drown it”), and an outcome (“when it is deified/drowned...”), and this is even more explicit in example (1); the text begins by telling us to “submerge” the falcon until it is “deified”, and then adds, “that is, drown the falcon... until it is dead”. Here, “drowning” glosses “submerging” – a submerged animal would, of course, drown – but “deification” is glossed in the same way by “death”; that is, the “deification” refers precisely to death by drowning. In other texts from the *Cyranides* the verb “deify” is not used at all, and the instruction is simply to “drown” the animal (3). The equivalents between the Greek calques and translations are shown in table 3.

Table 3. Terminology for drowning in Egyptian and Greek

Meaning	Demotic	Coptic	Greek (calque)	Greek (translation)
drown (transl.)	ir n ḥsy <i>make 'hasye'</i>	*ερ ἡραϑιε <i>make 'hasye'</i>	ἐκποιέω ἐσιῆν <i>make 'hasye'</i>	ἀποθεόω <i>deify (= make a god)</i>
	dy.t šm n ḥsy <i>cause to go 'hasye'</i>	*χε ἡραϑιε <i>cause to go 'hasye'</i>	–	ἐκθεόω <i>deify (= make a god)</i>
	βγ n ḥsy <i>lead to 'hasye'</i>	*χι ἡραϑιε <i>lead to 'hasye'</i>	–	–
drown (intransl.)	ir ḥsy <i>become' 'hasye'</i>	ερ ἡραϑιε <i>become 'hasye'</i>	ἐσιῆς γίγνομαι ^b <i>become 'hasye'</i>	ὑποβρύχιος γίγνομαι ^c <i>become submerged</i>
	šm n ḥsy <i>go 'hasye'</i>	ϣε ἡραϑιε <i>go 'hasye'</i>	ἐσιῆς ἀπέρχομαι ^d <i>go 'hasye'</i>	
		βωκ ἡραϑιε <i>go 'hasye'</i>		

a. The verb *ir* normally means “do”, but it also has the sense “become” (equivalent to Greek γίνεσθαι), which seems more appropriate here; see W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954, p. 36-37; W. E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary, op. cit.*, p. 83-84 (s. v. εἶρε).

b. See PGM IV.875, where Osiris is called “the one who became *esiēs*” (ὁ γενάμενος ἐσιῆς).

c. See W. E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary, op. cit.*, p. 710b.

d. See SEG 8-508, a short Roman-era funeral inscription from Memphis for a girl named Asklēpias, who is said to have “gone *esiēs*” (ἐσιῆς ἀπῆλθε, l. 2-3) at the age of five years.

As we have already noted, drowning in magical texts is often understood as a particularly marked, or efficacious, way to kill an animal, but this is not always directly linked to the concept of becoming a divine being. The same would seem to hold for the

174. While I argue that ἀποθεόω/ἐκθεόω mean, unambiguously, “drown”, in the texts considered here, this is clearly a specialised meaning dependent upon context, and should be understood as restricted to texts containing the construction “deify [a living creature] in [a liquid]”.

terminology itself; there is no doubt that, at least in these texts, *hasye* refers specifically to a being killed by drowning, and at times this is all it means.¹⁷⁵ We should remember that dying (and originally, being found dead) in water – of which drowning is the most prominent example – had an inherent, and inseparable meaning in late Egyptian religion – to drown was to become *hasye*, and a *hasye* was usually a being which had drowned – but in different contexts the religious aspects might come to the fore or recede, in the same way that a priest might be understood either as an individual with a special relationship to a god, or simply an individual with particular legal rights and obligations, depending on the situation.

This evidence can be supplemented by the other appearances of the word *hasye*, in Egyptian or in transliterated Greek, in magical texts. It is often used as an epithet of Osiris, who is described in one text as the “good *hasye* of the *hasye*”,¹⁷⁶ that is, the “blessed one” of the “blessed ones”. One text describes how he “became *hasye* and was taken away by the river”,¹⁷⁷ where “becoming *hasye*” may be understood as a relatively explicit description of his drowning. In another, the ritualist threatens to reveal how Osiris “remained in the river three days and three nights, the *hasye*... belly eaten by fish”.¹⁷⁸ *Hasye* are also mentioned as a specific type of dead individual, with one text mentioning how the gods, in response to a spell, will release “all the *hasye*, all the unmarried-dead, all the wind-borne”;¹⁷⁹ here we see again the link between the untimely, restless dead and the *hasye* as special categories of the deceased. Likewise, spells which summon the gods to appear in divination rituals may also include the possibility of summoning the dead in general, and *hasye* in particular.¹⁸⁰ Finally, a

175. See n. 98 above for a list of texts where this is the case.

176. ... *p³ hsy nfr n n³ [hs]y.w.*, *PDM* xiv.262; cf. *PGM* XII.80-81, where “Osiris *Hasye*” (Οὔσειρι Ἐσση) occurs in a sequence of divine names; *PDM* xiv.162, 439 where Osiris is called the “divine *hasye*” (*p³ hsy ntry*); *PDM* xiv.166 where oil is referred to as “the blood of the *hasye*” (*snf n p³ hsy*), probably meaning Osiris (cf. *PGM* IV.113 which mentions dipping a nail in the “blood of Osiris” (πεσνὸν νοσίρε)); *PGM* CXVII fr. 7 l.4, which mentions “Osiris *Hasye*” (Ὀσίριν Ἐσσην).

177. “Come to me, you who became *hasye* and was the taken away by the river, inspire NN” (ἐλθέ μοι, ὁ γενάμενος ἐσίης καὶ ποταμοφόρητος, ἐμπνευσον τῷ δεῖνα; *PGM* IV.875-876). As I have argued above, “becoming *hasye*” should probably be understood to mean “drowning” in texts of this period, so that the meaning is that Osiris first drowned, and then was taken away by the river.

178. “I will pour the blood of the black dog-face as a drink offering in a new, faultless jar and put it on a new base and burn it under the bones of *Hasye*, and I will shout in the port of Busiris that he remained under the river three days and three nights, the *hasye*, that he was carried away by the current of the river into the sea, that he was surrounded by the waves of the sea and by the mists of the air. Your belly is eaten by fish, and I will not stop the fish chewing your body with the mouths, nor will the fish shut their mouths” (κατασπείσω τὸ αἶμα τοῦ μέλανος κυνώπου εἰς καινὴν κύθραν ἀσινῆ καὶ ἐπιθήσω ἐπὶ καινὸν κυθρόποδα καὶ ὑποκαύσω ὅστ᾽ Ἐσησους καὶ κεκράζομαι ἐν τῷ Βουσίρι ὄρω τόνδε ἐν ποταμῷ μείναντα ἡμέρας γ', νύκτας γ', τὸν Ἐσην, τὸν ἐνεχθέντα ἐν τῷ ρέυματι τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, τὸν περιεχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς θαλάσσης κυμάτων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος νεφέλης, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων σου ἢ κοιλία κατέσθεται, καὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐ μὴ παύσω τοὺς ἰχθύας τοῖς στόμασι μασσόμενους, οὐδὲ μὴν κλείσουσι οἱ ἰχθύες τὸ στόμα; *PGM* V.265-281).

179. “They are releasing all the *hesy*, all the unmarried-dead, all the wind-borne” (πάντας Ἐσ<ι>ήτας καὶ τοὺς ἀγάμους καὶ ἀνεμοφορήτους ἀφιᾶσι; *PGM* XV.8).

180. “If you want to bring a *hasye* in (a bowl divination), place a sea-*karab* on the brazier” (*i. ir-sk wh³ r iny hsy r-hn i-ir-sk dy.t gr'b* [gloss: καρᾶβ] *n y'm r p³ h*; *PDM* xiv.83); the sea-*karab*, perhaps some kind of stone (as the determinative suggests), or else (part of?) the Spiny Lobster (*Palinurus*

spell to remove a bone stuck in the patient's throat, invokes a "white crocodile, which is under the foam of the sea of flame, whose belly is full of the bones of every *hasye*", commanding him to spit out one of these bones.¹⁸¹ This powerful image is reminiscent of the idea, stressed in Herodotus and Aelian, that death by crocodile was as efficacious as drowning in translating an individual into a *hasye*, but the specific mythic referent is perhaps to those *hasye* whose bodies have been lost in the Nile – prey to an archetypal divine crocodile – but who are nonetheless sanctified by their death. It is a reminder both of the divinity of the *hasye*, and of their fundamental status as dead, and by extension, vulnerable, beings.

This picture of the *hasye* – a specifically Egyptian conception of an individual who had died in the water and taken on a particular divine status – clearly lies behind the animal mummies we have seen used in the rituals from Roman Egypt, but there is one element missing. There is no suggestion – apart from Frazer's unsupported assumption of an original ritual involving the king – that any of the earlier *hasye* had been deliberately killed. For this aspect, we must turn to another expression of late Egyptian religion, the animal cults.

One god in one jar

One of the most distinctive features of ancient Egyptian religion was the sacredness, and indeed divinity, of certain animals. This is a point noted by modern scholars, but it was also a stereotype held by their neighbours – Greek, Roman, Jewish, and Christian – and a particularity that seems to have been adopted as a marker of ethnic identity by the Egyptians themselves from the Late Period onwards.¹⁸² The oldest and most prominent animal cult was that of the Apis, a god incarnate in the form of a living bull, dating back to the Early Dynastic period,¹⁸³ but animal cults, and the mass-mum-

vulgaris, Greek κάραβος). The mention of an animal or stone explicitly linked with the sea is suggestive of the watery connections of the *hasye* argued for here. Cf. *PDM* xiv.259-260 which calls upon the gods to awaken "the *hasye* and the dead" (*nʿ ḥsy.w nʿ [mwt.w]*) to respond to a bowl divination.

181. ... *pʿ msh wblḥ nty ḥr tʿ stp-p.t n pʿ yʿm n hʿh nty-īw ḥe.tḥf mh n qs n ḥsy nb* (*PDM* xiv.567-577). The crocodile is often understood in Egyptian texts as an archetypal image of death; see F. Naether, "Representations of the Crocodile in Egyptian Literary Texts" in this volume. Compare perhaps the fragmentary dream-sending spell in *PDM* Suppl. 19-27, which makes several "watery" allusions – to the sea, "the primeval waters at night", the "midst" of the waters – and mentions the "enemy of the *hasye*"; the associated ritual praxis also seems to involve the manipulation of the body of a (human or animal) "divine *hasye*" (*[ḥs]y ntr*, l. 26).

182. K. A. D. Smelik and E. A. Hemelrijk, "Who Knows Not What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?" Opinions on Egyptian Animal Worship in Antiquity as Part of the Ancient Conception of Egypt", in W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. 2.17.4, Berlin & New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1984, p. 1863-1864.

183. The earliest evidence for the Apis bull dates to the reign of Aha, the second king of the 1st Dynasty (ca. 3000-2890 BCE), although Aelian (*Characteristics of Animals* XI.10) dates the cult to the time of Menes, the first king of the united Egypt (W. K. Simpson, "A Running of the Apis in the Reign of Aḥa and Passages in Manetho and Aelian", *Orientalia*, vol. 26.2, 1957, p. 139-142); note that the dating and sequence of rulers of the 1st Dynasty is disputed, and some chronologies list Aha as the first king, to be identified with the Menes of later tradition. On the Apis bull, cf. A. Colonna, "Il toro Apis nel periodo Protodinastico e nell'Antico Regno. Appunti per una ricerca, in A. Di Natale



Fig. 3. Cartoon from *Punch*, February 15, 1890.

mification of animals that accompanied them, seem to have become much more prominent around the 7th century BCE, and this heightened importance continued in the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods.¹⁸⁴ The quantities of animal mummies produced, interred, and subsequently excavated by archaeologists was enormous, to the extent that early excavations often discarded all but the most striking examples; hundreds of thousands of them were famously ground up, made into paper, used as fertiliser, or burned for fuel, both in Egypt, and in European countries, to which they were carried by the shipload.¹⁸⁵ A particularly famous cartoon from an 1890 edition of the British magazine *Punch* depicts a field fertilised by hundreds of cat mummies, who have risen, *hasye*-like, to terrify a group of English farmers (see fig. 3).

and C. Basile (ed.), *Atti del XVIII Convegno di Egittologia e papirologia. Siracusa, 20-23 settembre 2018*, Syracuse, Tyche, p. 95-105.

184. For helpful overviews of the evidence for animal cults, see S. Ikram, "Speculations on the Role of Animal Cults in the Economy of Ancient Egypt", in M. Massiera, B. Mathieu and F. Rouffet (ed.), *Apprivoiser le Sauvage/Taming the Wild (CENiM 11)*, Montpellier, University Paul Valéry-Montpellier, 2015, p. 211-228; A. Colonna, "Rethinking Egyptian Animal Worship (c. 3000 BC – c. 300 AD): Towards a Historical-Religious Perspective", in G. Rosati and M. C. Guidotti (ed.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists Florence Egyptian Museum. Florence, 23-30 August 2015*, Oxford, Archaeopress, 2017, p. 107-111; S. Bussi, "Économie du culte des animaux sacrés en Égypte hellénistique et romaine", in S. Porcier, S. Ikram and S. Pasquali (ed.), *Creatures of Earth, Water, and Sky: Essays on Animals in Ancient Egypt and Nubia*, Leiden, Sidestone Press, 2019, p. 119-126. An excellent overview of recent work on animal mummies may be found in S. Ikram, "Shedding New Light on Old Corpses: Developments in the Field of Animal Mummy Studies", in S. Porcier, S. Ikram and S. Pasquali (ed.), *Creatures of Earth, Water, and Sky*, *op. cit.*, p. 179-191.

185. For this trade, see A. Cooke, "Auctions and Air Raids: Liverpool's Animal Mummy Collection", in L. McKnight and S. Atherton-Woolham (ed.), *Gifts for the Gods: Ancient Egyptian Animal Mummies and the British*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2015, p. 48-52, which notes the shipping of over 180,000 cat mummies to Liverpool in 1890, where they were auctioned off by the tonne; cf. T. T. Baber, "Early Travellers and the Animal 'Mummy Pits' of Egypt: Exploration and Exploitation of the Animal Catacombs in the Age of Early Travel", in S. Porcier, S. Ikram and S. Pasquali (eds.), *Creatures of Earth, Water, and Sky*, *op. cit.*, p. 67-86.

Modern studies of animal mummies generally classify them according to four different categories, although it is unclear if Egyptians themselves would have made the same divisions.¹⁸⁶ The first category consists of the mummies of pets – individual companion animals which had particular sentimental value and were and mummified after their deaths by their owners; this practice is attested from the New Kingdom, but is relatively rare, and restricted to the highest echelons of society. The second category consists of victual mummies, animals, or their body parts, dressed and preserved as food to accompany the humans with whom they are buried. Attested from the 18th-20th Dynasties, this practice is clearly distinct from other mummification procedures, in that the preservation is intended to preserve their flesh as food rather than as the receptacle of an immortal spirit.

Still rarer, though attested more-or-less continuously throughout Egyptian history, are the mummies of the god-animals, such as the Apis, Mnevis, and Buchis bulls, the rams of Khnum, and the crocodiles of Sobek. Each of these was an individual animal, worshipped as the incarnation of a particular deity, mummified after their deaths, and replaced by new living individuals of their same species, identified by particular physical characteristics, which represented the new incarnation of the same divine entity. This worship often extended to the families of these animals – the mothers of the Apis bulls were worshipped as incarnations of Isis, and mummified and interred in their

186. For discussions of the four categories (pet, victual, sacred and votive mummies), see S. Ikram, “The Loved Ones: Egyptian Animal Mummies as Cultural and Environmental Indicators”, in H. Buitenhuis, A. M. Choyke, L. Martin, L. Bartosiewicz and M. Mashkour (ed.), *Archaeozoology of the Near East*, Groningen, ARC, 2005, p. 240-248; S. Ikram, “Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies”, in Ead. (ed.), *Divine Creatures Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo and New York, American University in Cairo Press, 2005, p. 1-15. A fifth category, that of “amuletic mummies” has been identified recently, characterised by mummies of dogs found buried with humans who were otherwise lacking in grave goods; the authors suggest that the dog may have functioned as a cheaper alternative to an amulet of Anubis, acting as guardians and/or guides for the deceased (M. Hartley, A. Buck and S. Binder, “Canine Interments in the Teti Cemetery North at Saqqara during the Graeco-Roman Period”, in F. Coppens and J. Krejčí [ed.], *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague, Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2011, p. 17-29; cf. S. Ikram, “Man’s Best Friend for Eternity: Dog and Human Burials in Ancient Egypt”, *Anthropozoologica*, vol. 48.2, 2013, p. 299-307). An excellent discussion of this terminology as it applies to the “divine” and “sacred” animals (which would correspond, confusingly, with the categories of “sacred”, and perhaps, “votive” mummies, respectively) may be found in A. Colonna, “Θεοί and ἱεροί: Some Remarks on Animal Cult in Ancient Egypt According to Classical and Egyptian Texts”, in T. Lekov and E. Buzov (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress for Young Egyptologists. 25-27 September 2012*, Sofia, New Bulgarian University, 2014, p. 102-111. A. Colonna notes that the division is based on Strabo’s description of the cults of the Western Delta (*Geographica* XVII 1.22), which makes a distinction between the Hesat-cow sacred to Aphrodite (= Hathor) and the Apis and Mnevis bulls, which are gods (θεοί), and other animals, which are not gods, but merely sacred (ἱεροί). The Egyptian-language sources are less clear-cut on this matter; the term “*e ntr*” (“divine animal”) is used to refer both to individuals such as the Apis, and to the members of species sacred to particular gods more generally. Nonetheless, there does seem to be a clear-cut division between the sacred animals in general, and the individuals such as the Apis who may, in life, be referred to as “god” (*ntr*), king (*nsw*) or sovereign (*ity*), and are shown as larger and more prominent than in visual depictions. Note that both categories, and indeed humans, are referred to as “gods” (*ntr.w*) once they have undergone the funeral rites. Cf. the discussion in F. Colin *et al.*, “Harpocrate au chien et les cadavres de Qasr ‘Allam”, art. cit., p. 46-51.

own catacombs,¹⁸⁷ and even the children of the Apis enjoyed a cult.¹⁸⁸ Each of these categories was treated, both in life and in death, as in some way equivalent to human kings, who represented in their persons the incarnations of Horus; like the kings they lived in temples equivalent to the royal palace, and had funerary chapels dedicated to them.¹⁸⁹

The most common category, however, is that known as the votive mummy, a type which appeared in the Late Period (c. 664-332 BCE), and is generally understood to have continued to be produced until the end of Egyptian cults in the Roman Period (c. 380 CE).¹⁹⁰ Many types of votive mummies are known – cats, dogs, fish, ibises, and falcons are the most common, although shrews, lizards, snakes, wolves and mongooses, as well as many other animals, are also known.¹⁹¹ These animals seem to have lived within the precincts of the temples to the gods to whom they were sacred – Sakhmet and Bast for cats, Anubis for dogs and wolves, Neith for the Nile Perch, Horus for falcons, Thoth for ibises and baboons, and so on – and to have been mummified and interred in catacombs associated with these temples in their deaths. It is these mummies which earlier generations used as fertiliser, and which can be found in many modern Egyptological collections. They were mummified in huge quantities – an estimated eight million dogs were buried at the Anubeion at Saqqara, four million ibises at the nearby ibis catacombs, nearly two million at the catacombs of Tuna el-Gebel.¹⁹² Hor of Sebennytos, a priest who lived in Saqqara in the 2nd century BCE, refers in one text

187. H. S. Smith, “The Death and Life of the Mother of Apis”, in A. B. Lloyd, *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1992, p. 201-225.

188. N. J. Reich, “New Documents from the Serapeum of Memphis”, *Mizraim*, vol. 1, 1933, p. 48-49, 57-58, 108-109; D. Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König*, *op. cit.*, p. 101-104.

189. For a succinct discussion of this aspect of their treatment, see A. Colonna, “Θεοί and ἱεποί”, *art. cit.*

190. The latest animal mummies are generally dated to the “Roman period”, without further precision, although recent radiocarbon dating has allowed us to refine our understanding of the temporal span of the production of votive mummies; the fullest study to date found that the earliest such mummies dates to 803-732 BCE, and the latest to 130-260 CE (S. Porcier, P. Richardin, G. Louarn, S. Ikram & D. Berthet, “Datations par le carbone 14 de 63 momies animales du musée des Confluences à Lyon (France)”, in S. Porcier, S. Ikram and S. Pasquali (ed.), *Creatures of Earth, Water, and Sky*, *op. cit.*, p. 283-292; see n^o 90001206 and 90001291 respectively); cf. P. L. Armitage and J. Clutton-Brock, “A Radiological Investigation into the Mummification of Cats from Ancient Egypt”, *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 1981, vol. 8, p. 188 which dated two cats to *ca.* 380 and *ca.* 170 BCE; S. Wasef *et al.*, “Radiocarbon Dating of Sacred Ibis Mummies from Ancient Egypt”, *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, vol. 4, 2015, p. 355-361, which dated six ibis mummies found to between *ca.* 450 and *ca.* 250 BCE; and dates of 760-110 BCE for several other mummies in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum (E. Bleiberg, Y. Barbash and L. Bruno, *Soulful Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum, 2013, p. 15, 65, 99, 125). The latest piece of evidence for an animal cult, albeit for a singular sacred animal rather than votive animals, seems to be the funerary stela of a Buchis bull, dated to 340 CE (J.-C. Grenier, “La stèle funéraire du dernier taureau Bouchis [Caire JE 31901 = Stèle Bucheum 20]. Ermant – 4 novembre 340”, *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale*, vol. 83, 1983, p. 197-208).

191. For a partial list of animals and the sites with which they are associated, see S. Ikram (ed.), *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo, American University in Cairo Press, 2005, p. XVII-XX.

192. S. Ikram, “Speculations on the Role of Animal Cults”, *art. cit.*

to sixty-thousand ibises being kept there at one time,¹⁹³ a plausible number given the remains. Studies have estimated that, at the height of these cults, an average of forty-one ibises would need to have been mummified every day at Tuna el-Gebel,¹⁹⁴ and fifty dogs a day at Saqqara for over 400 years, to produce the numbers that survive.¹⁹⁵

It was Jean Capart who first suggested, in a 1943 paper on cat mummies, that a temple industry on this scale could not have taken place without the deliberate killing of animals;¹⁹⁶ interestingly, this suggestion was inspired by the Roman-period magical text mentioning the drowning of a cat, and the idea of drowning has at times recurred in literature on animal cults.¹⁹⁷ This suggestion runs counter to the picture of the treatment of sacred animals which we inherit from Graeco-Roman authors, who stress the inviolability of their lives: Herodotus tells us that anyone who killed a sacred animal was put to death,¹⁹⁸ while Diodorus Siculus recounted the story of a Roman lynched by Egyptians for accidentally killing a cat, despite the attempts of royal officials to intervene.¹⁹⁹ It was a commonplace among Greek and Latin-language authors that certain animals were sacred in each region of Egypt, and that the locals did not kill or eat these animals, and were hostile to those that did, in particular those in neighbouring villages, who worshipped different species.²⁰⁰ To some extent this is likely an othering discourse, a product of the stereotype of Egyptians as excessively religious animal worshippers, but it is probably also true that killing a sacred animal was not generally permitted. A rare surviving Egyptian legal manual from the Ptolemaic period lists the

193. O. Hor 8 r., l. 18; it should be noted that the “60,000 ibises” are mentioned by a divine figure (a “great man”, *rmt* ⁹, r. l. 15) who appears to the priest Hor in a dream (J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, Egypt Exploration Society, 1976, p. 38-44).

194. D. Kessler and A. el-Din, “Tuna al-Gebel: Millions of Ibises”, art. cit., p. 155-156 (15,000 a year); cf. E. Bleiberg *et al.*, *Soulful Creatures*, *op. cit.*, p. 97, which suggests an average of 5,000 ibis burials a year (or 13.7 per day) for Saqqara.

195. S. Ikram, P. T. Nicholson, L. Bertini and D. Hurley, “Killing Man’s Best Friend?”, *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, vol. 28.2, 2013, p. 58.

196. J. Capart, “Chats sacrés”, *Chronique d’Égypte*, vol. 18.35, 1943, p. 35-37.

197. See for example A. Charron, “Massacres d’Animaux à la Basse Époque”, *Revue d’Égyptologie*, vol. 41, 1990, p. 212; Id., “Les animaux sacrés”, in F. Dunand and R. Lichtenberg (ed.), *Des animaux et des hommes: Une symbiose égyptienne*, Monaco, Éditions du Rocher, p. 177; P. T. Nicholson, S. Ikram and S. Mills, “The Catacombs of Anubis at North Saqqara”, *Antiquity*, vol. 89.345, 2015, p. 655.

198. “Whoever kills one of these [sacred] creatures with intention is punished with death; if he kill by mischance he pays whatever penalty the priests appoint. Whoever kills an ibis or a hawk, with intention or without, must die for it” (ὁ δ’ ἂν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν μὲν ἐκῶν, θάνατος ἢ ζῆμῆν, ἢν δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ζῆμῆν τὴν ἂν οἱ ἱερεὺς τάξωνται. ὃς δ’ ἂν ἴβιν ἢ ἴρηκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν τε ἐκῶν ἢν τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη; *Histories*, 2.65.18-22, transl. after A. D. Godley, *Herodotus*, *op. cit.*, p. 352-353).

199. “... one of the Romans killed a cat and the multitude rushed in a crowd to his house, neither the officials sent by the king to beg the man off nor the fear of Rome which all the people felt were enough to save the man from punishment, even though his act had been an accident. And this incident we relate, not from hearsay, but we saw it with our own eyes on the occasion of the visit we made to Egypt” (*Library of History* I.83.5-9; transl. after C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus*, ed. cit., p. 286-287).

200. K. A. D. Smelik and E. A. Hemelrijk, “Who Knows Not What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?”, art. cit., esp. p. 1966.

maltreatment of sacred animals as a crime, an idea echoed, albeit with frustrating lack of detail, in a range of literary and documentary texts from Egypt.²⁰¹ Scholars who study the animal cults, notably Alain Charron, have therefore suggested that the killing of animals as votive mummies may have been the prerogative only of the priesthood, whose position entitled them to carry out acts that would have been sacrilegious for others, and that this act may have been hidden from the public.²⁰²

The standard interpretation is that the votive mummies were bred *en masse* in specialised areas within the temple complexes.²⁰³ Hatcheries have been tentatively identified for crocodiles at Narmouthis and for ibises and falcons at Saqqara,²⁰⁴ along with enclosures for keeping them, and documentary papyri attest individuals whose titles identify them as attendants of these animals.²⁰⁵

Despite norms against harming sacred animals, studies of the bodies of animal mummies suggests considerable maltreatment, as we might expect in a situation where

201. The legal manual is P. Berlin P 23757 A recto, col. 2, l. 24-28, published in S. L. Lippert, *Ein demotisches juristisches Lehrbuch. Untersuchungen zu Papyrus Berlin P 23757 rto*, Wiesbaden Harrassowitz Verlag 2004, p. 23-24, 45-48; cf. P. Yale I 56 (100 CE), an edict of Ptolemy X, Alexander I and Berenice III which forbids fishing for oxyrhynchus and other sacred fish, and prescribes the death penalty as punishment; for a discussion of the question in general see B. Legras, “La répression des violences envers les animaux sacrés dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque”, *Droit et Cultures*, vol. 71.1, 2016, p. 43-50. See also Ashm. 1984.77 verso, col. 2, l. 8-10 (TM 5540; II-III CE): “Do not beat any animal with a stick, stone, or any (piece of) wood. Be careful of the the animals which are holy. Do not approach them! Do not take (their) breath!” (*m-ir myh* “*nb n Ꞁ Ꞁ]bt iny ht nb hrꞀk r nꞀ Ꞁ.w nty hꞀwy m-ir hn [r:rꞀw] m-ir Ꞁj ꞀꞀw*), as well as P. Köln. XV 594 (TM 704850; 202 or 178 BCE), a petition in which a man pre-emptively defends himself against the charge of having allowed kittens to be killed by a tom-cat, and SB XII 15546 (TM 41560; 146 BCE), a complaint which mentions the danger of the sacred ibises being in want (l. 16-17; mentioned in B. Legras, “La répression des violences”, art. cit., p. 49).

202. A. Charron, “Massacres d’animaux”, art. cit., p. 210-211.

203. For this argument, see for example *ibid.*; Id., “Les animaux sacralisés”, art. cit., p. 165-200; S. Kram, “Speculations on the Role of Animal Cults”, art. cit. As A. Charron notes (“Les animaux sacralisés”, art. cit., p. 174; cf. Herodotus, *Persian Wars* II.67), there is also evidence that animals who died naturally would have been mummified and buried within the animal cemeteries.

204. G. T. Martin, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqāra: The Southern Dependencies of the Main Temple Complex*, London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1981, p. 27; M. Molcho, “Crocodile Breeding in the Crocodile Cults of the Graeco-Roman Fayum”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 100, 2014, p. 183.

205. For a summary of the evidence for the Greek terms see M. Molcho, “Crocodile Breeding in the Crocodile Cults”, art. cit., p. 183-184, 186-187, who notes the attestation of αἰλουροβοσκοί (for keepers of cats), κυνοβοσκός (canids), ἱερακοβοσκοί (falcons), ἰβισοβοσκοί (ibises), as well as the terms χηνοβοσκοί (geese) and ὕβοσκοί (pigs) for non-sacred animals; compare also the terms ending in -τάφος (such as κριοτάφος for rams, ἰβιστάφος for ibises) for those responsible for the burial of the animals, often held simultaneously by the -βοσκοί. As he observes, there is some evidence that these titles may at times have been honorary, and that the actual individuals responsible for feeding and caring for sacred animals may have held lower ranks. For the Demotic terms see J. H. Johnson (ed.), *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago, The Oriental Institute, 2001, online at <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago>, vol. S, p. 532-533, which lists *sdm-Ꞁ* “*n*” (“servant of [the] ape”), *sdm-Ꞁ nꞀ hb.w* (“servant of the ibises”), *sdm-Ꞁ pꞀ bk* (“servant of the falcon”); cf. S. Bussi, “Économie du culte des animaux sacrés”, art. cit., p. 120-121.

animals were mass-bred to be killed. Six per cent of the dog skulls in the Teti cemetery at Saqqara showed that the dogs had suffered serious blunt force trauma during their lifetimes, and although the numbers were smaller for the Anubeion, these signs of trauma were still present in 0.75 % of the bones.²⁰⁶ This trauma indicates that many of these dogs had had their heads beaten badly enough to injure their bones, but not to kill them; presumably these beatings were used to discipline them, and we would expect the number of dogs who were beaten but did not have broken bones to be considerably larger. Similar evidence for mistreatment can be identified in other cases; an ibis showing signs of a fractured femur which had healed at an angle of ninety-degrees indicates an animal which had been fed, but which did not receive medical care for a serious injury.²⁰⁷

If their lives were violent, their deaths were no less brutal; over the last decades Capart's general hypothesis has been confirmed by imaging studies of hundreds of animal mummies, which have revealed death by head-trauma, strangulation indicated by displaced neck vertebrae, or, in the case of crocodiles, nostrils slit open.²⁰⁸ Even where there is no direct evidence of the cause of death, analysis of age distributions shows that the vast majority of cats and dogs died at less than one year of age: they were killed at very young ages.²⁰⁹ This does not seem to be because small or young

206. M. Hartley *et al.*, "Canine Interments in the Teti Cemetery North", art. cit.; S. Ikram *et al.*, "Killing Man's Best Friend?", art. cit., p. 60-61.

207. S. Atherton, D. Brothwell, R. David and L. McKnight, "A Healed Femoral Fracture of *Threskiornis Aethiopicus* (Sacred Ibis) from the Animal Cemetery at Abydos, Egypt", *International Journal of Paleopathology*, vol. 2, 2012, p. 45-47; cf. R. Johnston, R. Thomas, R. Jones, C. Graves-Brown, W. Goodridge and L. North, "Evidence of Diet, Deification, and Death within Ancient Egyptian Mummified Animals", *Nature Scientific Reports*, vol. 10.14113, 2020, p. 9, online at <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-020-69726-0> (discussing a snake with calcified kidneys consistent with lack of access to sufficient water); cf. also O. Hor 33, l. 7-8, an oracular pronouncement of the ibis-god Thoth in which he commands that keeper of the ibises must be "a reliable man, supervising the ibises and their young, who until the sun sets will guard the Ibis and keep him safe" (J. D. Ray, *Archive of Hor*, *op. cit.*, p. 104-107). We might imagine such common-sense instructions to be unnecessary if the job was being fulfilled adequately.

208. See, for example, P. L. Armitage and J. Clutton-Brock, "A Radiological Investigation", art. cit., p. 194-195, who note that of 53 cats they examined, all except one appeared to have been healthy at the time of their deaths, and 7 showed dislocation of their cervical vertebrae, suggesting they had their necks broken; while the rest did not display this pathology, the authors suggest that only the animals which struggled violently when killed would show damage to their necks. A discussion of a crocodile likely killed by a blow to the head may be found in S. M. Porcier, C. Berruyer, S. Pasqualia, S. Ikram, D. Berthet, P. Tafforeau, "Wild Crocodiles Hunted to Make Mummies in Roman Egypt: Evidence from Synchrotron Imaging", *Journal of Archaeological Science* 110 (2019), 105009; cf. S. Ikram, "Divine Creatures", art. cit., p. 13-14; A. Zivie and R. Lichtenberg, "The Cats of the Goddess Bastet", in S. Ikram (ed.), *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo, American University in Cairo Press, 2005, p. 117-118; R. Johnston *et al.*, "Evidence of Diet", *op. cit.*, p. 9 (a mummified cat and cobra which may have been killed by strangulation and spinal fracture, perhaps caused by 'whipping' its body while holding its tail, respectively).

209. P. L. Armitage and J. Clutton-Brock, "A Radiological Investigation into the Mummification of Cats", art. cit., p. 193-194, which found that 51 of 53 cats had died before the age of one year, suggesting that they were killed in two lots, 20 of them at the age of 1-4 months when they had reached the minimum size for mummification, 17 at the age of 9-12 months when they would be mature but not required for breeding; S. Ikram *et al.*, "Killing Man's Best Friend?", art. cit., p. 58-59,



Fig. 4. Drawings of ibis mummies from Saqqara, after Commission des sciences et arts d'Égypte, *Description de l'Égypte* (2nd edition), Paris, C.L.F. Panckoucke, 1821, pl. vol. 2, plate 53.

animals were preferred, however; instead, they seem to have been killed when they had attained the minimum acceptable size, and a considerable amount of linen padding was often used to make them look larger.²¹⁰ The situation seems to have been similar in the case of fish and crocodiles, generally represented by small specimens.²¹¹ The picture that emerges is not that of the idyllic sacred animal menageries we might imagine, but rather of an industrial process reminiscent of modern industrial farms or pet mills. The methods of mummification used is similarly industrial; while a few examples show quite beautiful results, often with polychrome wrapping which is padded to reproduce the form of the living animal, more often they are bound cursorily in plain linen, often with flesh exposed, and apparently, in particular in the case of birds, after being simply dipped in resin, a process which may itself have been the means of killing them.²¹²

which notes that of 485 dogs found in the Anubeion of Saqqara, 75 % were immature, and although elderly animals were also present, “such a volume of puppies did not meet their end naturally and must have been killed”; A. Zivie and R. Lichtenberg found that only about a quarter of the cat mummies from the Bubasteion at Saqqara were mature (“The Cats of the Goddess Bastet”, art. cit., p. 117-118). Recently published material from the Tomb of the Dogs at Asyut is more complex, but looking at mummies and complete skeletons found within the tomb, neonate/infant dogs of less than 6 months constituted 72 % and 75 % of the sample respectively, with no individuals identifiable as mature (over 7 years of age) (C. Kitagawa, *The Tomb of the Dogs at Asyut. Faunal Remains and Other Selected Objects*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016, p. 40-45); cf. R. Johnston *et al.*, “Evidence of Diet”, art. cit., p. 3, 8 (discussing a five-month-old mummified cat and a juvenile snake); M. D. Pubblico and C. Oliva, “Les cinq momies de chat de la Società Africana d'Italia (SAI). Nouvelles recherches, nouvelles découvertes”, in S. Porcier, S. Ikram and S. Pasquali (ed.), *Creatures of Earth, Water, and Sky*, op. cit., p. 298, which found that all five cats in the collection under one year old at time of death.

210. A. Zivie and R. Lichtenberg, “The Cats of the Goddess Bastet”, art. cit., p. 118.

211. This may perhaps explain the instructions in *PDM* xiv.335-355, 355-365 that the fish used be 7 or 9 fingers long (equivalent to 13-17 cm), which would indicate the minimum acceptable size for a fish to be used as a mummy.

212. See S. Ikram, “Manufacturing Divinity”, art. cit.

As the term “votive mummies” implies, the reason for producing these animal mummies is usually understood to be the production of *ex votos*, divinised animals who could be paid for by visiting pilgrims before being interred in the associated cemeteries. In this way, they would function in an analogous manner to the small bronze votive statues of deities which were also wrapped in linen and placed in sacred spaces; both would serve as icons of the gods to which they were dedicated, and would serve both as symbols of piety, and as intercessors who might take messages and prayers to the gods to whom they were dedicated.²¹³

This model has been problematised somewhat by more recent studies; there is little direct evidence for many of the key stages. DNA analysis of ibis mummies suggests that the ibises may have been wild flocks fed by the temple staff, in wild habitats or small local farms for short periods of time,²¹⁴ while work by Lidija McKnight and Stephanie Atherton-Woolham suggests that some pathologies – such as apparently broken necks – may in fact be artefacts of the mummification process.²¹⁵ Even the idea of animal mummies as votives is surprisingly lacking in evidence – the most explicit texts refer to the simultaneous burial of hundreds of animals, rather than drabs and drabs paid for by individual pilgrims.²¹⁶

Nonetheless, the overall picture is hard to dismiss; the age profiles of dogs and cats, and the presence of head wounds, suggests that at least these animals were bred, killed, and mummified *en masse*; the killing may even have consisted simply in deliberately neglecting young animals who could not survive without the care of either humans or their parents.²¹⁷ The silence of Egyptian texts around the deaths of these animals, as with the death of Osiris, is almost total,²¹⁸ but as far as we can tell there is no evidence

213. C. Price, “Votive Practice in Ancient Egypt”, in L. McKnight and S. Atherton-Woolham (ed.), *Gifts for the Gods: Ancient Egyptian Animal Mummies and the British*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2015, p. 21-22; L. McKnight and S. Atherton-Woolham (ed.), *Gifts for the Gods: Ancient Egyptian Animal Mummies and the British*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2015, p. 23-24; S. Ikram, “Speculations on the Role of Animal Cults”, art. cit.

214. S. Wasef, S. Subramanian, R. O’Rourke, L. Huynen, S. El-Marghani, C. Curtis, A. Poppinga, B. Holland, S. Ikram, C. Millar, E. Willerslev, D. Lambert, “Mitogenomic diversity in Sacred Ibis Mummies Sheds Light on early Egyptian Practices”, *PLOS ONE*, November 13 2019, online at <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0223964> ; cf. S. Porcier *et al.*, “Wild Crocodiles”, art. cit., which suggests that at least one mummified crocodile may have been caught in the wild, based on the evidence for its diet.

215. L. McKnight and S. Atherton-Woolham, *Gifts for the Gods*, *op. cit.*, p. 74-75; but cf. P. L. Armitage and J. Clutton-Brock, “A Radiological Investigation into the Mummification of Cats”, art. cit., p. 195, which noted this possibility for the cat mummies they examined, but observed no comparable damage elsewhere on the skeletons.

216. See the Joachim-Prinz ostraca from 1st-century BCE Ombos, which list the burial of groups of up to 4507 (O. Joach. 13) sacred animals at a time, apparently primarily falcons and ibises; the smallest number is 357 (O. Joach. 1) (F. Preisigke and W. Spiegelberg, *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka*, Strasbourg, Karl J. Trübner, 1914). For discussions see F. Colin *et al.*, “Harpocrate au chien”, art. cit., p. 47-51; D. Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere*, *op. cit.*, p. 296-298.

217. P.T. Nicholson *et al.*, “The Catacombs of Anubis”, art. cit., p. 655.

218. J. Quaegebeur (“Note sur l’*Herésieion* d’Antinoé”, art. cit., p. 80) suggests that the reference to “deified ibises” (ἀποθεουμένων ἰβέων, l. 9) in P. Fouad 16 (TM 5093; 68 BCE) may be parallel to the use of “deify” (ἀποθεῶω) in the magical papyri (see above, although J. Quaegebeur understands it to mean ritual immersion rather than drowning), so that this may provide us with a solitary, though

that they were drowned, as in the case of the later magical rituals, nor are they given the titles *hasye* or *hri*.²¹⁹

Nonetheless, we do find a forerunner of the roles of the animal *hasye* in the cultic practices associated with these earlier mummies. However they had been treated in life, in death they had become gods, and they could be addressed as such. Several letters survive, calling upon the mummified ibises of Tuna el-Gebel for help with daily crises, invoking them as avatars of the god Thoth; these seem to have been placed in their catacombs or in the jars in which they were buried.²²⁰ Similarly, a petition to the mummified mother of the Apis has been found in Saqqara,²²¹ and a demotic tablet records a literary text in which an un-named king descends into the funerary chamber of the Apis bull and has a vision in a dream of a divine figure, presumably the Apis

euphemistic, reference to the killing of the divine animals. However the use of “deify” as a translation of the technical term *ir ḥsy* is not otherwise attested this early, and the term *hasye* is not used elsewhere of the divine animals, so that “deified” here should probably be understood as simply rendering the Egyptian idea that those who had undergone the funerary rituals had become gods (*ntr.w*).

219. As an alternative to his suggestion that Ἀρησις (Horus-*hasye*) was a form of the god Horus who had undergone immersion in one of his myths (see above), J. Quaegebeur (“Note sur l’*Herésieion* d’Antinoë”, art. cit., p. 80) suggested that the deity might instead be a divinised (*ḥsy*) hawk worshipped in the *Herésieion*, but in the absence of other references to sacred animals as *hasye*, and given the connection between *hasye* and drowning, a mode of death apparently unattested in the sacred animal cults, this seems unlikely.

220. Letters to the gods associated with animal mummy catacombs include nos 2, 9, 10 and 13 in A. Migahid, *Demotische Briefe an Götter von der Spät- bis zur Römerzeit. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des religiösen Brauchtums im alten Ägypten*, PhD Thesis, Bayerischen Julius-Maximilians-Universität, 1987, 2 vols. (TM nos 48777, 48779, 48780, 48783); the first of these is a letter from a worker in the ibis-cult complaining about abuse by one of his colleagues, the second a complaint by two children asking for help against their abusive father, the third is a prayer by a man who asks for his father to be healed of a potentially fatal illness, and the last a more general plea for help, perhaps against hostile spiritual powers. For suggestions of how these functioned, see D. Kessler and A. el-Din, “Tuna al-Gebel”, art. cit., p. 136-137; K. Endreffy, “Business with Gods: The Role of Bargaining in Demotic Letters to Gods and Graeco-Roman Judicial Prayers”, in *Commerce and Economy in Ancient Egypt. Proceedings of the Third International Congress for Young Egyptologists 25-27 September 2009, Budapest*, A. Hudecz and M. Petrik (ed.), Oxford, Archaeopress, 2010, p. 49-54; F. Scalf, “Resurrecting an Ibis Cult: Demotic Votive Texts from the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago”, in F. Haikal (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Ola el-Aguizy*, Cairo, Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2015, p. 361-388.

221. Text DO Saqqara 1, a text addressed to the Mother of the Apis as an incarnation of Isis, written on a limestone ostrakon, on the anniversary of her death (euphemistically referred to as her salvation, *wdʿ*), asking for her help against an enemy (J. D. Ray, *Demotic Ostraca and Other Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara*, London, Egypt Exploration Society, 2013, p. 11-16). Cf. PGM XL (TM 65797; IV BCE), a prayer in Greek to Oserapis “and the gods who sit with Oserapis” (οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Ὄσερ[άπιο]ς κα[θήμενοι], l. 1) by a woman against a man who had desecrated the tomb of their shared daughter. The “gods who sit with” Oserapis may be equivalent to the “gods who rest (with Oserapis) in the necropolis” (*nʿ ntr.w nty ḥtp [n] R-stʿw*, O. Hor 13, l. 4, 5; cf. O. Hor 21 r, l. 2; J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, op. cit., p. 55-56, 82-83, cf. discussion p. 147-148), and would therefore refer to the animal mummies buried alongside the dead Apis bulls (Osiris-Apis or Oserapis) in the necropolis of the Serapeum.

himself, who reproves his bad behaviour and instructs him how to make amends.²²² Both in their general outlines, and in their specifics, these prefigure the later magical rituals – the placement of written requests by the mummified bodies recalls the dream sending rituals, and the practice of revelation by incubation recalls the ritual in which the falcon is called upon to appear to the ritualist as his divine familiar.

The most explicit evidence for the cultic importance of the animal mummies, however, comes from Hor of Sebennytos, the priest who mentioned the sixty-thousand sacred ibises of Saqqara. In the 2nd century BCE he seems to have lived in a small chapel near the entrance to the ibis catacombs, and to have worked as an oracle, answering questions for both himself and others through prophetic dreams, which he invoked through prayers whose form and contents are highly reminiscent of invocations in the later Demotic magical papyri.²²³ Two of his texts tell us that these dreams were, at least at times, received while he was within the animal cemeteries – in the tomb of the mummified Mnevis bull in one case, in the ibis catacombs in another.²²⁴ The record that we have preserved in Hor's archive may be unique, but there is some suggestion that an analogous practice may have been carried out in the ibis and baboon catacombs at Tuna el-Gebel.²²⁵

Hor's close association with the ibis mummies, whom he invokes along with the other animal mummies in his spoken prayers²²⁶, may even have led him to identify with them. In several texts he records his concern for "sustenance in life and burial in death", promised to him in dreams by Isis and Thoth, and these two terms are the same as those used in his writings to identify the treatment due to the ibises – sustenance and burial.²²⁷ The neglect of these two "rights" occasioned his conflicts with those in

222. For this text see W. Spiegelberg, "Zwei Kalksteinplatten mit demotischen Texten", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 50, 1912, p. 32-36, with corrections in Id., "Miscellen", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 51, 1913, p. 137-138, and K. Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press, 2012, p. 199-208.

223. Cf. J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, *op. cit.*, p. 131. On Hor and his dreams, see recently G. H. Renberg, *Where Dreams May Come: Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World*, Leiden, Brill, 2017, vol. 1, p. 399-403, 434-443; vol. 2, p. 724-726.

224. In O. Hor 1 the author tells us that he received a dream in the sanctuary (*wḥ.t*) of Osiris-Mnevis (l. 5), but he also mentions that he had been spending time in the sanctuary of the mummified Apis (l. 2), so he was probably seeking oracles from both gods; O. Hor 13 records a dream resulting from an invocation of Osiris-Apis, Osiris-Mnevis and the other dead animal-gods who rested with them, apparently performed in the "house of rest" of the Ibis (*'wy [n] ḥtp*, i.e. catacombs, l. 1) (J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, *op. cit.*, p. 7-11, 55-56).

225. D. Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere*, *op. cit.*, p. 203-206; Id., *Tuna el-Gebel II. Die Paviankultkammer G-C-C-2*, Hildesheim, Gerstenberg Verlag, 1998, p. 122-125; D. Kessler and A. el-Din, "Tuna al-Gebel", *art. cit.*, p. 133-137.

226. See, for example, the references to the "gods who rest with Oserapis" in n. 222, as well as the invocation of Thoth in O. Hor 8 verso, calling upon Thoth, the god whom the ibises represented.

227. "Sustenance" (*ḥr.t*) and "burial" or "funerary rites" (*kr.s*) are promised to Hor by the gods in the oracle recorded in O. Hor 11 r, l. 5, and described as gifts of Isis in O. Hor 10 r, l. 13-14, while the "sustenance and burial" of the ibises and hawks are demanded for them by Thoth in oracles in O. Hor 16 r, l. 4, O. Hor 17, l. 4, O. Hor 19 v, l. 5-9, O. Hor 22 r, l. 6, 9; cf. O. Hor 14 v, l. 10, which mentions "sustenance" and "salvation/wellness" (*wḥḥ*) in an unclear context, and O. Hor 8 r, l. 21-25, in which Thoth promises Hor that he will be buried within the human necropolis which exists among the animal necropoleis in the Serapeum (J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, *op. cit.*).

charge of the ibis cults, a conflict which lasted from at least 172 BCE to 147 BCE, and perhaps longer.²²⁸ These conflicts are recorded in surviving drafts of petitions, intended to ask the king and queen to intervene, as they apparently had on earlier occasions, to ensure the animal gods were treated fairly. Perhaps providing support for the picture of the mistreatment of animals sketched out earlier, several texts claim that the food of the ibises was stolen, that they died of hunger constantly, and that they were neglected night and day.²²⁹ But his concern for their post-death treatment seems to have been more acute than his concern for their care in life, and he complains in another text about the performance of a burial which was “bad in every way”.²³⁰ The earlier, apparently unsuccessful, reforms which his previous petitions had occasioned were apparently centred around ensuring that each ibis was buried in its own jar – “one god in one jar”,²³¹ as he evocatively puts it – in contrast to the widespread practice of interring multiple animals in a single jar, attested in many surviving mummies.²³² As an oracle, Hor spoke with the authority of the gods, and thus, in a sense, with the voice of the dead ibises complaining about their own mistreatment.²³³

This highlights the underlying problem of the animal cults, and the contradiction which occasioned this paper: between the animal as a creature to be killed for human use, and the animal as a divine being whose help the human needs. Surprisingly, this is a contradiction which has been little discussed; Charron suggests that while “the animal counted”, it counted “much less than the mummy which was better able to be a divine receptacle”,²³⁴ while te Velde has suggested that what we see in the animal cults is “not killing life to destroy it, but to let it arise from death”.²³⁵ As I have already suggested, the “almost industrial”²³⁶ level of production implied by the number of

228. *Ibid.*, p. 117-124.

229. O. Hor 7, l. 11-14; O. Hor 27, l. 9-10; O. Hor 29, l. 12-13; O. Hor. 49, l. x+1-3 (*ibid.*).

230. O. Hor 29, l. 5: *kr.s.t bin.t r hry md.t nb.t...* (*ibid.*).

231. ... *w' ntr (n) w' mg.t...* O. Hor 19, l. 8, O. Hor 21 r, l. 18, O. Hor 22 r, l. 14; see *ibid.*, p. 143.

232. One study identified four types of irregular animal mummy bundles: those containing one or more incomplete individuals, those containing one complete and one incomplete individual, inclusion of non-skeletal remains (such as reeds) alongside incomplete individuals, individuals with body-parts which had been detached and re-attached; as they note, it is possible that some of these may be considered “good-faith” attempts to complete individuals as part of the mummification process, but the evidence of Hor suggests that at least some Egyptians may have seen the mummification of multiple animals in one bundle as problematic (S. D. Atherton-Woolham and L. M. McKnight, “Post-Mortem Restorations in Ancient Egyptian Animal Mummies Using Imaging”, *Papers on Anthropology*, vol. 23.1, 2014, p. 9-17); cf. the comments of S. Bussi, “Economie du culte des animaux sacrés”, art. cit., p. 122-123.

233. See for example the texts in which Hor records the “words” of Thoth, such as O. Hor 7: “Thoth speaks... they steal his (Thoth as the ibises’) food... [calamity?] upon them!” (*Dhwty... dd... st t̄y t̄yꜣf hr.t...[...]* *rꜣw*, l. 10-15); compare also O. Hor 12 r, l. 2-3, where Hor claims to act on the instructions of Thoth, O. Hor 13, l. 16 where Hor mentions Thoth speaking to give his commandments concerning the treatment of the ibis and the hawk cults, O. Hor 25, an “oracle spoken by the great god Thoth” (l. 11).

234. “L’animal comptait, mais beaucoup moins que la momie mieux à même d’être un réceptacle divin...” (A. Charron, “Massacres d’Animaux”, art. cit., p. 212).

235. H. Te Velde, “A Few Remarks upon the Religious Significance of Animals in Ancient Egypt”, *Numen*, vol. 27.1, 1980, p. 80.

236. Cf. S. Ikram *et al.*, “Killing man’s best friend”, art. cit., p. 62.

animal mummies might point us towards a somewhat parallel phenomenon in the modern West, that of intensive animal (“factory”) farming. In both ancient and modern practice we see the rearing, killing, and processing of animals on almost incomprehensible scales – tens of thousands on the one hand, tens of billions on the other. The killing of juvenile animals whose mummies are made bulkier by padding even finds a parallel in the modern practice of developing fast-growing breeds which may be slaughtered at younger ages. Our understanding of these contradictory animal-human relations can be nuanced by the concept of “deading life”, proposed by the philosopher James Stanescu.²³⁷ By this jarring phrase Stanescu means “life whose production is fundamentally about its death, its consumption”.²³⁸ He uses it in reference to modern industrial farming, arguing that:

... factory farms are simply a manifestation of a classical question, one which even Cicero takes up. When reading Cicero on animals, we see that he replicates the common Stoic belief that all other animals exist for the purpose of being used by humans. Cicero would say of pigs: “What is the swine good for but to eat? whose life, Chrysippus says, was given it but as salt to keep it from putrefying”...²³⁹ In such a view... life is not living. Life is salt, life is refrigeration, life is merely a process and precursor to death. Life is but an adjunctment to the end product, death.²⁴⁰

That is to say, the animals in modern industrial agriculture are not alive, they are merely not yet dead; their death is not their end, but the beginning of their existence – while they are alive, they are simply unfinished meat. Their lives have no value, save the value of their use.

Modern industrial farming and ancient animal cults are not the same phenomena, but there are clear similarities in the incidental horrors they both produce, and the invisibility of the acts of killing which produce in one case, ready-made gods, and in the other, food; the goal of the votive animal cults was the production of animal mummies, and the raising and killing of animals were simply necessary steps in their production. As Stanescu puts it: “if animals are killed, it isn’t because there is a hatred for the animal, or a sacrificial moment, or anything of the sort. Rather, animals are killed as beings who are being produced for their death”.²⁴¹

The magical papyri represent a sharp divergence from this, in that the killing, while still representing an instrumentalisation of the animal, is foregrounded as an act key to the function of the overall ritual. The animal must not simply die, but must be drowned, and must be drowned in a specific substance; the animal becomes Osiris, or, in the ritual of the circaean falcon mummy becomes a solar Orion, who dies in the water at the edge of the world and rises reborn in the morning. Each element may

237. J. Stanescu, “Beyond Biopolitics: Animal Studies, Factory Farms, and the Advent of Deading Life”, *PhaenEx*, vol. 8.2, 2013, p. 135-160.

238. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

239. *Sus vero quid habet praeter escam? cui quidem ne putesceret animam ipsam pro sale datam dicit esse Chrysippus* (*Nature of the Gods* II.64); Porphyry mentions this idea in *On Abstinence* 3.20.1, and it recurs, though without attribution to Chrysippus, in Varro, *On Agriculture* II.4.10, Cicero, *De Finibus* V.13, and Pliny, *Natural History* VIII.51.

240. J. Stanescu, “Beyond Biopolitics”, art. cit., p. 148-151.

241. *Ibid.*, p. 152-153.

be understood in mythic terms – the animal is the dying and resurrected god, and the asphyxiant is the primeval Nile water – but the ritualist, who kills, remains invisible. In the Osiris myth, the killer is present as Seth, who must be punished for his crime,²⁴² but the practitioner never takes this place in the ritual scene. His role as killer, like that of the butcher-priests of the votive animal cults, is firmly un-mythologised. It is to this final question – the relationship between killer and *hasye*, that we will now turn.

The death and resurrection of the beloved beast

We have seen that the practice of creating magical assistants and *materia* through drowning animals seems to have arisen from two Egyptian religious practices, the veneration of *hasye* and the production of votive mummies in the animal cults, but the magical texts may not represent the only place where these two elements have become intertwined. First recorded in the writings of the 1st-century CE Latin author Pliny the Elder, there is a minor but persistent tradition among Graeco-Roman authors that the Apis bull, the foremost of the animal gods of Egypt, was ritually drowned.

“It is not lawful for [the Apis] to exceed a certain number of years of life,” he tells us, “and they kill it by drowning it in the fountain of the priests, proceeding with lamentation to look for another to put in its place, and they go on in mourning till they have found one, actually shaving the hair off their heads”.²⁴³ While Pliny provides us with the earliest attestation of this idea, it is repeated by several other authors,²⁴⁴ notably Plutarch, who sets the lifespan of the Apis at 25 years,²⁴⁵ the square of the sacred number five, and the 4th-century author Ammianus Marcellinus, who adds that a specially marked cow was killed and offered to him, presumably as a mate.²⁴⁶

242. H. Te Velde, *Seth: God of Confusion*, *op. cit.*, p. 81-98; J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, *op. cit.*, p. 64-73.

243. Pliny, *Natural History* VIII.71: “In Egypt an ox is even worshipped in place of a god; its name is Apis... It is not lawful for it to exceed a certain number of years of life, and they kill it by drowning it in the fountain of the priests...” (*Bos in Aegypto etiam numinis vice colitur... non est fas eum certos vitae excedere annos, mersumque in sacerdotum fonte necant...*; H. Rackham [transl.], *Pliny. Natural History, Volume III: Books 8-11* [Loeb Classical Library, 353], Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1940, p. 128-129).

244. Alongside Pliny (see n. 243), Plutarch (n. 245), and Ammianus Marcellinus (n. 246), another significant reference to the drowning of the Apis can be found in Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, XXXII.18.

245. “The number five forms a square of itself, which is the same number as the Egyptians have of letters and as the Apis had of years to live” (ποιεῖ δὲ τετράγωνον ἢ πεντάς ἀρ’ ἑαυτῆς, ὅσον τῶν γραμμάτων παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις τὸ πλῆθος ἐστὶ, καὶ ὅσον ἐνιαυτῶν ἕξι χρόνον ὁ Ἄπις; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 374A-B; J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside*, *op. cit.*, p. 208-209, cf. p. 273, 511).

246. “When this bull, after its destined span of life, is plunged in the sacred fount and dies (for it is not lawful for him to prolong his life beyond the time prescribed by the secret authority of the mystic books), there is slain with the same ceremony a cow, which has been found with special marks and presented to him” (... *qui cum post vivendi spatium praestitutum, sacro fonte immersus e vita abierit [nec enim ultra eum trahere licet aetatem, quam secreta librorum praescribit auctoritas mysticorum], necatur choragio pari, bos femina, quae ei inventa cum notis certis offertur...*; Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, XXVII.14.7; J. C. Rolfe [transl.], *Ammianus Marcellinus. History*,

Alexandre Moret, the author who discussed this theme at greatest length in the 1920s, used these texts to argue that the death of the Apis was linked to the death of the sacred king theorised by Frazer;²⁴⁷ the Apis served as a substitute for the king, drowning in the place of the human pharaoh, who in turn represented the drowned god Osiris. Again, however, there is little archaeological or Egyptian-language evidence to substantiate these ideas; the fact that no Egyptian source makes mention of the killing of the Apis is not decisive proof against the practice, since we have seen a similar silence about the death of animals intended as votive mummies, and Osiris himself. More problematic is the fact that the dates of the deaths of many Apis bulls are known – and for these their ages can be calculated, since each was born shortly after the death of his predecessor. None of them died at 25 years of age; two lived longer than this, but most shorter, which is perhaps unsurprising given that the natural lifespan of domestic cattle is around 20 years.²⁴⁸

How do we resolve this problem?²⁴⁹ It is of course possible that the bulls were still drowned, but simply at different ages, although, in the absence of a rationale for the different ages at which they were killed, this seems unlikely. Jean Vercoutter suggested that the Graeco-Roman accounts derive from a misunderstanding of a real practice, a ritual bath which took place before or after death.²⁵⁰ But I think there is another possibility, speculative though it may be: Pliny's writings may be approximately contemporary with the earliest stages of the writing of the *Cyranides*, which discusses the production of magical *hasye*, a period by which the translation “deify” had already developed for “make *hasye*”. This, and the fact that the examples in the *Cyranides* have already lost their specifically religious connotations, suggest that the practice had already emerged, and been known for some time by this date.²⁵¹ It seems likely that the making of animal *hasye* developed out of the animal cults: we might imagine individual priests producing more specialised divine assistants for their own purposes or for private clients, and an imprecise knowledge of these practices, transmitted in late Hellenistic magical texts, may have led Pliny or his sources to attribute the practice of drowning sacred animals to the entirety of the animal cults, and more specifically to the most famous sacred animal, the Apis.

Volume I: Books 14-19 [Loeb Classical Library, 300], Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1950, p. 276-277).

247. A. Moret, *La mise à mort*, *op. cit.*, p. 44-47, cf. n. 139 above.

248. E. Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkult in Aegypten*, Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1938, p. 18-19.

249. For more detailed discussions of the question of the drowning of the Apis see e.g., É. Chassinat, “La mise à mort rituelle d’Apis”, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l’archaéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, vol. 38, 1916-1917, p. 33-60; E. Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkult*, *op. cit.*, p. 18-29; J. M. A. Janssen, “Opmerkingen over de dierverering in het Oude Egypte”, *Annalen van het Thijmgenootschap*, vol. 37, 1949, p. 275-297; J. Vercoutter, “Apis”, in W. Helck and E. Otto (ed.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1975, vol. 1, p. 346-348.

250. J. Vercoutter, “Apis”, *art. cit.*, p. 347; cf. A. Charron, “Massacres d’animaux”, *art. cit.*, p. 210.

251. Compare also the references to drowning animals in magical rituals recorded by Pliny; see n. 99.

That there was some knowledge of *hasye*, and hence perhaps the deliberate production of *hasye*, is implied by a few other authors; as we have seen, both Herodotus and Aelian allude to the basic belief, and a third source is found in the North African writer Tertullian, who refers to different spirits that live in water, one of which is the *esies*, the spirit of “one whom water has drowned [lit. ‘killed’]”.²⁵²

But perhaps the most famous reference to the idea in antiquity is found in the death of a human animal: Antinous, the Bithynian youth who was the lover of the emperor Hadrian, and is reported to have died, most likely by drowning in the Nile, in the autumn of the year 130.²⁵³ Following his death, he was acclaimed as a god by Hadrian, who founded a city in his honour, and apparently identified the appearance of a new asterism which marked his divinisation.²⁵⁴ The breadth of his cult is attested by the nearly one hundred surviving statues of his likeness, often depicted with the trappings of other deities such as Dionysos or Osiris, alongside inscriptions, metal coins, remains of temples and statue bases, and other sundry pieces of evidence.²⁵⁵

252. “... for people call *esies* and ‘lymphatic’ and ‘hydrophobic’ those whom water has killed or afflicted with madness or terror...” (*nam et esetos et lymphaticos et hydrophobas vocant quos aquae necaverunt aut amentia vel formidine exercuerunt*; Tertullian, *De Baptismo* 5.22-27); on this passage see S. Eitrem, “Tertullian de Bapt. 5: Sanctified by Drowning”, *The Classical Review*, vol. 38.3/4, 1924, p. 69. The Latin form seems to be drawn from the Greek ἐσιῆς, whose stem might be treated as ἐσιῆτ- (cf. *PGM* XV.8 where Ἐσ<ι>ῆτας is used as the accusative plural).

253. J.-C. Grenier makes the fascinating, though perhaps unprovable, suggestion that Antinous died in the Nile while cleaning himself of the blood of the lion which he had been hunting with Hadrian, and which is attested by the commemorative poem by the Alexandrian poet Pancrates (P. Oxy. VIII 1085 = TM 62353); a key piece of his evidence is from another poem from the 3rd century: “...to the Nile he hastened to wash there the blood of the lion, but the Moon, upon more brilliant hopes, promoted him to shine as a companion-star (?), and crowning him with a halo, she made of the new light her husband” (ἐς Νεῖλον δ’ ἔσπευσε λεόντεον αἶμα καθῆραι, ἡ δὲ φ[αε]-ινοτέρησιν ἐπ’ ἐλπωρήσιν Σελήνῃ [...] κέκλετο μαρμαίρειν θαλαμ[η]πλόλον ἄστερ[ον...] κύκλωι δὲ στέψασα νέον φάος ἔσχ[ε]ν ἀ[κοίτην]; P. Oxy. LXIII 4352 fr. 5, II, v. 10-13). This papyrus’ editor dates it to 285 CE, however, long after the date of Antinous’ death, so that its linking of the hunt to the death of Antinous may be a poetic flourish rather than a real but otherwise unattested detail about the event; see J.-C. Grenier, *L’Osiris Antinoos*, Montpellier, Cahiers de l’ENiM (*CENiM*) I, 2008, p. 47-55; D. Gigli Piccardi, “Antinoos, Antinoupolis e Diocleziano (P. Oxy. 4352 fr. 5 II)”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, vol. 139, 2002, p. 55-60.

254. The astronomer Ptolemy identifies Antinous as lying to the north of the constellation Aquila in his *Almagest* (J. L. Heiberg, *Claudii Ptolemaei opera quae exstant omnia*, vol. 1.2, Leipzig, Teubner, 1903, p. 74-75, l. 9-10). Tatian (*Address to the Greeks* 10) mentions Antinous as being “fixed in the moon”, perhaps alluding to a separate tradition (compare the poem quoted at n. 253 above).

255. The majority of archaeological evidence for the cult of Antinous is presented in H. Meyer, *Antinoos: Die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten*, Munich, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991. For discussions of the meaning and identification of his statues, see C. Vout, “Antinous, Archaeology and History”, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 95, p. 80-96; Ead., *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 52-121. For a list of coins featuring Antinoos, see H. Meyer, *Antinoos*, *op. cit.*, p. 135-151. Pausanias, writing in the 160s-180s CE, describes a cult to Antinous in Mantinea in Arcadia, and mentions that he was worshipped in Egypt and elsewhere (*Description of Greece*, VIII.9.8.7-8).

One key detail of his story, however, is that almost every one of the principle accounts suggests or insists that he did not die by accident, but was deliberately killed by Hadrian in some kind of ritual.²⁵⁶ The purpose of the ritual is unclear; one of the clearest statements is in Aurelius Victor's *De Caesaribus*, in which the author tells us that Hadrian killed Antinous "desiring to extend his own life",²⁵⁷ and this seems to have been the implication of the author of the *Historia Augusta*, which describes Antinous as a *devotum*.²⁵⁸ This would draw upon a longstanding *topos* in Greek, and by extension Roman, culture, that it was noble for the subordinate partner of a relationship to sacrifice themselves for their husband or lover – the most famous example of this idea is found in Euripides' *Alcestis*, in which the titular character willingly takes the place of her husband in order to spare him from his fated death.²⁵⁹ On this understanding, Hadrian, whom the same historians describe as excessively interested in religion and magic, may have received some kind of oracle which led him to fear for his life, and asked Antinous to die in his place.²⁶⁰

A second interpretation is suggested by the writings of the Neoplatonist Celsus, and his Christian opponent Origen; Celsus compares Jesus, a man who continued to produce miracles after his crucifixion, to Antinous, likewise a divinised dead man who was responsible for oracular and healing miracles after his death.²⁶¹ Origen is of course incensed at this comparison, as Celsus would have intended – Origen notes with disgust that Antinous suffered from the "female malady", and Origen is clear that someone who had gratified such desires had nothing in common with Jesus.²⁶² Instead, he says,

256. The principle sources for the death of Antinous are: Cassius Dio (69.11.2-4), who reports that Hadrian wrote that Antinous "fell" (ἐκπεσόν) into the Nile, but that he was really sacrificed (ἱεροουργηθείς); although he is not explicit as to why, he makes it clear that he died willingly (ἑθελοντῆς ἔθανατώθη), and that this was necessary for the ritual; Aurelius Victor (*De Caesaribus*, 14.7-9), who similarly mentions rumours of his sacrifice by magicians; and the *Historia Augusta* (Hadrian 14.5-7), which notes various rumours (*varia fama*) concerning Antinous, among which is the rumour that he was sacrificed. It is unclear if Antinous was ever referred to as a *hasye*; the seated god determinative (𐤇), variant of C1) appears in IIa and IIIa of his obelisk. This is usually read as god (*ntr*), but it sometimes appears as a writing of *hasye* (*hsy*); for a recent discussion see G. H. Renberg, "Hadrian And the Oracles of Antinous (Sha Hadr. 14.7); With an Appendix on the So-called Antinoeion at Hadrian's Villa and Rome's Monte Pincio Obelisk", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. 55, 2010, p. 174-179, in particular n. 54.

257. ... *cupiente fatum producere*... (17.8).

258. For an extended discussion of the concept of the (*de*)*votum*, see H. S. Versnel, "Two Types of Roman *devotio*", *Mnemosyne*, Fourth Series, vol. 29.4, 1976, p. 365-410.

259. For discussions of the concept of redemptive self-sacrifice in the ancient Roman and Greek worlds, see *ibid.*, p. 391-392; R. Lambert, *Beloved and God: The Story of Hadrian and Antinous*, New York, Viking, 1984, p. 134-136; A. van Hooff, "Paetus, It Does Not Hurt: Altruistic Suicide in the Greco-Roman World", *Archives of Suicide Research*, vol. 8.1, 2004, p. 52-55.

260. See for example R. Lambert, *Beloved and God*, *op. cit.*, p. 134-136, who also notes (p. 71) that there is some evidence that Hadrian had been suffering from an illness shortly before his visit to Egypt.

261. See Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.36.

262. ... οὐδὲ τὸν ἄρρενα ἀπαθῆ γυναικείας νόσου φυλάξαντος... (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.36.7); the translation here is inspired by T. W. Thompson, "Antinoos, The New God: Origen on Miracle and Belief in Third-Century Egypt", in T. Nicklas and J. E. Spittler (ed.), *Credible, Incredible: The Miraculous in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2013, p. 143-172, spec. p. 169,

the case of Antinous is the same as that in other temples of the Egyptians, where the priests, by their magical arts, set up demons in temples where they perform apparent miracles.²⁶³ The implication here is clear – he accuses Egyptian magician-priests of setting up a false oracular spirit, and if we take away the particularly Christian accusation that the spirit was a false demon, we can see an echo of this in a statement of the *Historia Augusta* that Hadrian claimed to receive oracles through Antinous.²⁶⁴

One of the fullest sources for the cult of Antinous, the obelisk which is now in Rome, and which contains a hymn to the god written in hieroglyphic script in Traditional Egyptian, confirms that Antinous was believed to appear in dreams to his worshippers, and to heal the sick.²⁶⁵ In this he was not unique; many other gods of this period in Egypt and elsewhere were the subject of incubation cults in which individuals would sleep in their shrines in order to dream prophetic and healing dreams; notable examples include Asclepius, Serapis, and Isis. Gil Rendberg has persuasively argued that his cult may have begun with a prophetic dream – perhaps the source of the “oracles” mentioned in the *Historia Augusta* – in which the bereft Hadrian dreamt of his dead lover, an event which subsequently led to the establishment of the cult and city in his honour.²⁶⁶

If, as I have suggested, the concept of the magical *hasye* was circulating in Egypt in the early centuries of our era, it is easy to see how the death of a man in the Nile, followed by his deification, and his appearance in oracular dreams, might spark rumours that he had been deliberately killed and set up as an oracular spirit; as we have seen, there are surviving rituals attested on papyri only a century later in which animals were killed in order to send dreams, or to function as divine assistants.

Many authors have taken the accounts of these ancient historians seriously; they are, after all, almost unanimous in their claim that the death was deliberate, and the

who translates γυναικειᾶς νόσου as “malady of womanhood”. Origen is here of course suggesting that Antinous had been sexually penetrated by Hadrian, drawing upon common contemporary assumptions about the role of age, power and penetration in same-sex relationships.

263. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.36.11-33.

264. *Historia Augusta*, Hadrian 14.7.

265. “He goes out of his tomb to many temples in the whole land, he listens to the prayers of those who call out to him, he heals the sickness of the needy by sending dreams” (*šm.nḫ m iḫ.tḫ r gs[.w-pr.w šʃ].w n b drḫ hr sdm.nḫ nh[.t] nt[ly] šḫ snb.nḫ mr[.w] iwty.w m hʃb.nḫ rsw.t*, *Obelisk of Antinous* IIC in H. Meyer [ed.], *Der Obelisk des Antinoos*, *op. cit.*, p. 57). Here we may also note the existence of a curse tablet calling upon “the *daimon* of the dead Antinous” (νεκῶδαιμων Αντινοος, SM 47, l. 6, 11-12, 14, 18). The fact that it is unusual for the *daimones* of the dead to be named, and that the tablet may come from Antinoopolis or nearby, may argue for identifying the invoked *daimon* as the famous Antinous, perhaps understood as a particularly efficacious *biaio-thanatos*, but the name became common in Egypt after the 2nd century, making it perhaps more likely that this was a less famous Antinous. Authors who identify this Antinous with the famous Antinous include J.-C. Grenier, *L’Osiris Antinoos*, *op. cit.*, p. 64 n. 27; R. Lambert, *Beloved and God*, *op. cit.*, p. 182; P. du Bourguet, “Ensemble magique de la période romaine en Égypte”, *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, vol. 25, 1975, p. 256. For arguments against see S. Kambitsis, “Une nouvelle tablette magique d’Égypte. Musée du Louvre, inv. E 27145 – I^{er}/IV^e siècle”, *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale*, vol. 76, 1976, p. 217, n. 1; R. W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, vol. 1, Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990, p. 180.

266. G. H. Renberg, “Hadrian And the Oracles of Antinous”, *art. cit.*, p. 159-198; cf. Id., *Where Dreams May Come*, *op. cit.*, p. 513-519.

date of the founding of Antinoopolis, 30 October, was six days after the festival which commemorated the death of Osiris, probably an auspicious day to produce a human *hasye*, with the discrepancy perhaps explained by the time it took for Hadrian to grieve and organise the foundation. Royston Lambert even dramatises Antinous' internal struggle before his death, as he wonders how long it will be before he grows too old for Hadrian, what will happen if the emperor dies as an oracle has foretold, and if he will indeed be reborn as an Osiris.²⁶⁷ Ultimately, of course, it is unknowable if Antinous' death was deliberate, although it seems more likely to me that it was accidental; the same authors who accuse Hadrian of his death disapproved, as we have seen, of his religious and sexual proclivities, and might easily add to these scandals that of human sacrifice.²⁶⁸

But there was a clear difference between drowning a falcon or cat and drowning Antinous; while animal death was, in many respects, a routine part of life, the deliberate killing of a human, outside the context of warfare or execution, was shocking. And this difference seems to have had another, subtler consequence: the insistence in every account that the death of Antinous was voluntary.

Why this insistence? The theme of a substitutory sacrifice to save a life was present in Graeco-Roman culture, but the voluntary variant existed alongside involuntary versions.²⁶⁹ If the primary inspiration was Egyptian, the death of Osiris was not voluntary; the episode required the punishment, even if only temporary, of his killer, Seth, and this is arguably the reason that the ritualist is almost always invisible in the killing rituals, to avoid taking on this role. The death of the animals in the magical papyri is not voluntary, although the question does not really arise; as we have seen, they are examples of "deading life" and their interests in life are secondary to their use in death. Unlike individual humans, and to a lesser extent, the animal gods such as the Apis, who have at least a "collective individuality" (each Apis bull is unique while it is alive), the animal *hasye* and votive mummies are generic. They are important not as individuals, but as a class; as the type "falcon" or "cat" they are collectively sacred to particular gods. But Antinous was not generic; his importance came not only from his specific relationship to Hadrian, but also from his personal history, up to and including his death. He would presumably have retained this same specificity even as a god, this individual identity which is inscribed, in an idealised form, in every one of his portraits. If he had been killed unwillingly, might he not have become one of the restless spirits who haunt Graeco-Roman legend? Might not his deified spirit seek revenge on his killer?²⁷⁰ The voluntary nature of his death might have been a necessary inference from the fact that this did not seem to happen: it might have been reasoned

267. R. Lambert, *Beloved and God*, *op. cit.*, p. 141-142.

268. Cassius Dio (6.9.3) notes that Hadrian was interested in "most superstitious" (περιεργότατος) things, enumerating divinatory practices (μαντείας) and all kinds of magical practices (μαγανείαις τε παντοδαπαῖς), while Aurelius Victor (*De Caesaribus*, 14.7-9) describes Antinous as "infamous" (*flagravit famoso*) and the relationship between he and Hadrian "suspicious" (*suspectam*). For human sacrifice as a marker act of superstition or magic, see J. Rives, "Human Sacrifice among Pagans and Christians", *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 85, 1995, p. 65-85.

269. H. S. Versnel, "Two Types of Roman *devotio*", *art. cit.*, p. 391-396.

270. The concept that the restless dead would seek revenge on their killers was a common one; see e.g., S. Johnston, *Restless Dead*, *op. cit.*, p. 27-28, 47-50, 142-155. For a discussion of the problem

that if the dead and deified Antinous was well-disposed towards Hadrian, and this deified Antinous was a continuation of the living Antinous, then the living Antinous must have consented to his own death.

But what of the animal *hasye*, who are given no individuality, and who did not consent to their deaths? Is there no vengeance for them? In a work well known in animal studies, Derrida discusses his cat, and, sensitive to the human tendency to genericise animals, insists,

I must immediately make it clear, the cat I am talking about is a real cat, truly, believe me, a little cat. It isn't the figure of a cat. It doesn't silently enter the bedroom as an allegory for all the cats on the earth, the felines that traverse our myths and religions, literature and fables. There are so many of them... No, no, my cat, the cat that looks at me in my bedroom or bathroom... does not appear here to represent, like an ambassador, the immense symbolic responsibility with which our culture has always charged the feline race... If I say "it is a real cat" that sees me naked, this is in order to mark its unsubstitutable singularity. When it responds in its name... it doesn't do so as the exemplar of a species called "cat", even less so of an "animal" genus or kingdom. It is true that I identify it as a male or female cat. But even before that identification, it comes to me as this irreplaceable living being that one day enters my space, into this place where it can encounter me, see me, even see me naked. Nothing can ever rob me of the certainty that what we have here is an existence that refuses to be conceptualized. And a mortal existence, for from the moment that it has a name, its name survives it.²⁷¹

It is to this insistence on the particularity of one cat to which I will finally turn. It is true that the agency of the animal god is denied in almost every account, from the votive mummies of the animal cults to the magical *hasye* of the Roman-period texts, but in this "almost" there is a single exception.

In the curse in which a cat is drowned, mummified, and then buried, the formula not only acknowledges the cat's death as unwilling, but urges him to take vengeance.²⁷²

of vengeful ghosts in human and animal sacrifice, see K. Dosoo, "Circe's Ram: Animals in Greek Magic", in J. Kindt (ed.), *Animals in Ancient Greek Religion*, London, Routledge, 2020, p. 275-278.

271. "Je dois préciser tout de suite, le chat dont je parle est un chat réel, croyez-moi, un *petit chat*. Ce n'est pas une *figure* du chat. Il n'entre pas dans la chambre en silence pour allégoriser tous les chats de la terre, les félins qui traversant les mythologies et les religions, la littérature et les fables. Il y en a tant... Non, mais non, mon chat, le chat qui me regarde dans la chambre ou dans la salle de bains... il ne vient pas ici représenter, en ambassadeur, l'immense responsabilité symbolique dont notre culture a depuis toujours chargé la gent féline... Si je dis « c'est un chat réel » qui me voit nu, c'est pour marquer son irremplaçable singularité. Quand il répond à son nom... il ne le fait pas comme le cas d'une espèce « chat », encore moins comme le cas d'un règne « animal ». Il est vrai que je l'identifie comme un chat ou une chatte. Mais avant même cette identification, il vient à moi comme *ce* vivant irremplaçable qui entre un jour dans mon espace, en ce lieu où il a pu me rencontrer, me voir, voire me voir nu. Rien ne pourra jamais lever en moi la certitude qu'il s'agit là d'une existence rebelle à tout concept. Et d'une existence mortelle, car dès lors qu'il a un nom, son nom lui survit déjà" (J. Derrida, *L'animal que donc je suis*, Paris, Galilée, 2006, p. 20, 26). Transl. from Id., *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, M.-L. Mallet (ed.), transl. D. Wills, New York, Fordham University Press, 2008, p. 6, 9.

272. For this ritual, see also Y. Koenig, "Traditions pharaoniques", art. cit., p. 80-84.

The killing of the cat is described as his being “mistreated”,²⁷³ and his death is called an “outrage”.²⁷⁴ He is called upon to “rouse himself”,²⁷⁵ to “revenge himself upon [his enemies]”,²⁷⁶ to “destroy and ravage in the coming dawn”.²⁷⁷ This is a radical departure from the other texts, in which the death of the animal is present only as a mythic or ritual event, and not as a specific harm done to a specific victim. In part this acknowledgement is made possible by the spell’s purpose – it is a curse – but there also seems to be a degree of syncretism here between the Egyptian concept of the *hasye* and the Greek concept of the *biaiothanatos*, the violently-dead who might become restless, vengeful spirits. Nonetheless, the recognition of the cat as an individual, and of his death as a particular event, is incomplete; this is, of course, a recipe, and not the account of a ritual which was performed, and so it must be to some extent generic. But the cat is still seen primarily as the symbol and incarnation of the solar-typhonian god. More strikingly, there is a rhetorical sleight of hand here – the killer, the ritualist, remains invisible, and the “outrage” of the cat’s death is blamed on the curse’s victim.²⁷⁸ It is against this victim that the rage of the cat-faced god is directed, and not the hands which might have held his head under water until his flailing body stilled.

Conclusions

The complex of ideas that gave rise to the concept of the *hasye* are both particular and universal – the history of the animal cults, the centrality of the Nile to life in Egypt and the danger of death in its waters, the knowledge of mortality and the hope

273; ... ἀδικουμένην... (PGM III.5-6, cf. l. 12, 13-14, where the enemies of the sun, and by extension, the ritualist, are called οἱ ἀδικήσαντές).

274. ... τὰ ὕβρ<ισθ>έντα... (PGM III.106). The plural here refers to the fact that the cat’s killers are also accused of threatening the solar barque, assimilating them to the serpent Apophis whom the sun-god killed in his form of a cat.

275. ... ἔγειρόν μοι σεαυτὸν... (PGM III.13, 72, 74); as J. Assmann notes, “[t]he call to ‘Raise yourself!’ appears a hundred times and more in mortuary texts. It refers to the common goal of all the ritual activities aimed at the deceased, ... It is a ‘wake-up call’ intended to rouse the deceased from his unconscious state. Lying down and standing up are the clearest manifestations of death and life” (*Death and Salvation, op. cit.*, p. 332). As the archetype for the justified dead, the call is particularly associated with Osiris; one late ritual text which was later adapted to funerary use contains the passage: “Hail Osiris foremost in the West... Raise yourself, raise yourself! May you not be weary, for your son Horus is overthrowing your enemies. You will ascend to the sky and unite with Re (*hʿy Wsir-Ḥnt.y-imn.tt Wsir Ty-m-ḥtp pn mʿ-ḥrw tsi tw sp 2 imiʿk wrd sʿk Hr:w hr shr ḥft.w-k tsiʿk <r> p.t smʿk ḥnʿ Rʿw*, pNew York MMA 35.9.21, col. 20.16 – col. 21.1; transl. from M. Smith, *Traversing Eternity, op. cit.*, p. 144). Here, as in the address to the cat *hasye*, resurrection is linked to triumph over enemies, although the cat must do for himself what Horus does for his father in most Osirian hymns.

276. ... ἀνταποδῆς... (PGM III.7).

277. ... ἀπόλεσον καὶ ἀνόμη[σ]ο[v] ἐν τῇ ἐσομένῃ ἀνατολῇ... (PGM III.121-122).

278. In this aspect the curse belongs to the category of “slander spell” or διαβολή, in which the intended victim would be accused of various impious acts, a type of spell with roots in Pharaonic practice (see R. K. Ritner, “Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and their Religious Context”, in W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. 2.18.5, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1995, p. 3368-3371).

of immortality. But within the specific configuration of these ideas we can see the ways in which distinctions were made between particular classes of being.

Every being – god, human, and animal – was subject to death. For the sun, this death was cyclical – he was born each morning in the east, aged and died in the west, and traversed the underworld at night. Similarly, the stars of the ecliptic accompanied the sun, but underwent a more complex cycle in which they suffered seventy days of purification in the primeval waters before they were reborn. Osiris, and other osirian deities, died once, but having undergone funeral rites could continue to project their power from the underworld, serving as eternal ancestors to humans and gods.²⁷⁹ A human death was both linear and personal – a transitional, vulnerable moment in which they could, depending upon their moral character and ritual preparation, transition to a new state of existence, as an Osiris, a Hathor, an *akh*, or a *hasye*. This transfiguration might assimilate them to some extent with the greater divine powers, but it did not efface their identities, which remained intact through their names, the memory of their lives (which might be commemorated in inscriptions), and their relationships with other individuals, both living and dead.²⁸⁰

But in Egyptian religion, the death of animals was almost always generic. Again, almost; in the phenomenon of pet mummies,²⁸¹ as well as the later shared graves of the human poor and their dogs,²⁸² we get some sense of individual animals, with their own names, histories and relationships. But for the most part the votive mummies, the animal *hasye*, and even the animal gods, are generic; they are divine symbols, and if their lives had pleasures and sufferings, or if their deaths were peaceful or horrific, these were rarely acknowledged or spoken of. It is when they died that they began to live, when they learned to listen to prayers and to send dreams.

279. Such “osirian” dead deities would include Kematef, the creator god of Thebes in his primeval serpentine form, and the equally primeval Ogdoad, who created the sun-god Re, all of whom were commemorated at Medinet Habu; for discussions of such dead deities see A. Gaber, “The Ten Dead Deities of the Temple of Dendera”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 101, 2015, p. 239-262; D. Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, *op. cit.*, p. 133-142, 174-185.

280. For a discussion of these ideas, see J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, *op. cit.*, p. 39-63.

281. The clearest example of this is CG5003, the coffin of a cat who seems to have had the personal name of *T³-my³.t* (“The Cat”), dating to the 14th century BCE, which names the priest and king’s son Tuthmosis as the person who commissioned the coffin, presumably *T³-my³.t*’s owner (S. El Sabban, “The Cat’s Coffin of *dhwtj-ms* in the Cairo Museum”, *Discussions in Egyptology*, vol. 46, 2000, p. 65-78). The authenticity of this artefact has recently been questioned; see H. Hohnack, “‘Alles für die Katz’? Nochmals zum « Katzensarkophag » des Prinzen Thutmosis”, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 141.2, 2014, p. 112-131). Four coffins created for individual sacred cats are described in D. Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere*, *op. cit.*, p. 172-175.

282. The following observations concern a Late Period/Ptolemaic cemetery in Qasr ‘Allam: “the dogs [in the cemetery] were treated with the same regard as the humans and the funerary acts identified in the human inhumations were also identified for the canids... they themselves benefitted from a funerary ritual similar to that of men, among men” (“[l]es chiens ont été traités avec le même égard que les humains et les gestes funéraires identifiés dans le cadre des inhumations humaines l’ont été aussi pour les canidés... ils ont eux-mêmes bénéficié d’un rituel funéraire similaire à ceux des hommes, parmi les hommes”; F. Colin *et al.*, “Harpocrate au chien”, *art. cit.*, p. 39-40).

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