CHAPTER X

THE YOUNG SUN

If the cock-headed anguipede is a deliberate creation of some special group of theosophists, there are various other amulet types with solar connections which have arisen naturally from the old religion of Egypt. Foremost among these is the figure of Harpocrates, the child Horus, who in the later age succeeded the older sun-god and, like him, is represented seated on a lotus flower or in a boat, or even, and in fact very often, enthroned upon a lotus which springs from the middle of the boat.1 So numerous are the amulets that bear the figure of Harpocrates that it becomes necessary to describe some of the types in detail.

The most elaborate type shows the young god as a naked child seated in a boat, or on a lotus flower springing from the middle of the boat, while all around him there are groups of animals arranged in threes, most of them facing him as if in adoration (D. 205–210). When the type is complete, the arrangement is as follows: above, three scarabaeus beetles, at the sides, three goats and three birds, usually recognizable as hawks, and below the boat, three crocodiles and three cobras. The god’s head is generally crowned with the sun disk. Some of the specimens, probably the older ones, represent his head as shaved except for the long single lock worn by Egyptian children; in others his hair grows naturally. He is sometimes seated on the lotus with his knees drawn up, sometimes kneeling on the flower with one knee, while the other leg hangs over the edge as if he were about to draw it in; much more rarely he sits on the flower as if it were a chair, with his legs hanging down. He holds the flail over his left shoulder, and his right hand is raised towards his mouth.2 In the field are a star and a crescent moon.

This type of the infant god with the triads of animals is reproduced somewhat mechanically on a considerable number of specimens, with occasional interesting variations. Thus on the finest specimen of this type that is known to me, a haematite in the museum of the University of Michigan, the group of goats is divided, and two of the hawks are perched on the ends of the boat.3 Harpocrates is attended by two divinities who stand one on each side facing towards him, each holding in one hand a tall scepter topped with a lotus capsule, in the other the ankh. The god at the left, in front of Har-

1 Erran, p. 502.
2 The hand is occasionally extended in a gesture like that of benediction, which in the case of solar deities may be a command to the sun to rise. An interesting heliotope in the British Museum represents the young god as playing the flute (5285). It is a love amulet (see p. 48 above); compare also the scarab from Tharos described by Walters, B. M. Cat. Gems, 558.
3 D. 210.
pocrates, is apparently Osiris, here shown nude to the waist and wearing the atef crown. The goddess behind, wearing the hemhem crown, is doubtless Isis. There are two stars and two crescent moons. There is also a variation in the posture of the infant god, who here faces front and holds up his hand with the palm forward in a gesture of benediction; or, perhaps more probably, he may be commanding the sun to rise. The reverse side of this stone shows a scarab beetle between two crowned hawks, and the encircling inscription [iαρβαθαγρμηφιβωχυμεω.

The subject of inscriptions is to be treated in Chapters XIII–XIV, but since it happens that a certain small group of them belongs particularly to solar designs, and one of them almost exclusively to this type, they must be mentioned here. The Berlin magical papyrus 5025 A and B (Pap. I in Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae) contains directions for gaining control of a pārēdros or attendant spirit. Part of the procedure is a λόγος addressed to the sun, to be recited seven times seven times. The greater part of it is made up of magical words of unknown meaning, most of which are not found, or are rarely found, in other magical utterances that have come down to us; but at the end are three formulas that are often attested both in the magical papyri and on amulet stones. These are as follows:

1. A long palindrome, ἰαρβαθαγρμηφιβωχυμεω (γραμμι Ρ.).

2. A formula which is corrupt in the Berlin text, but which may be restored from other passages, and particularly from the stones, as καβρας φιδεχρο φιχρο φινο ροχ ροχ φινο.

3. The formula ἰαρβαθαγρμηφιβωχυμεω (γραμμι Ρ.).

At the end of the praxis for obtaining a pārēdros there is a supplementary note saying that for the address to the sun only the Iaeo formula and the Iarbathea formula are needed; thus their specifically solar character seems to be made plain. Now we have seen that the Iarbathea formula accompanies the reverse design of the fine Michigan haematite of which the obverse shows Harpocrates, the young sun-god, in his boat with two other divinities, and attended by the triads of animals. The palindrome Iaeo, etc., is associated with several designs — Isis and Harpocrates, Sarapis, the Chnoubis snake, which is also a solar type, and with the "pantheos." This last is a grotesque compound figure built up partly on the type of a young Horus, as he appears on the numerous magical stelae, partly on that of Bes, partly on the representations of Horus which try to give him attributes of all the gods. The figure which dominates the reverse of the Metternich stele (Budge, Gods, II, 273) is most like this strange mixed form, and is its prototype.

The Chabrach formula, which certain scholars have supposed to be made up of Hebrew or of Coptic words, has a curious interest in one respect; when

4 PGM I, 140 ff.  5 PGM I, 194 f.  6 B. M. 5641, 56426, 56459, 56012.
7 A fuller description and treatment of this type will be found in a later section of this work (p. 159).
the numerical values of its component letters are added together; the sum is 9999, a number which has a magical sound; and in the Apolline magic of the second Berlin papyrus (5026, PGM II, 128) the operator boasts that the god has granted him the knowledge of his “greatest name, whose number is 9999.” Not only that, but the Chabrach formula, inaccurately copied, actually occurs a few lines below, almost at the end of the λόγος. This invocation of Apollo is highly syncretistic, and we find that the god is not only addressed by well-known Greek epithets (Parnassios, Kastalios, Phoibos, Pythios), but is also identified with the sun, and with Harpocrates in his various local manifestations; even magical words that normally belong to Set (σω ερωθη) are included. The Chabrach formula, again in a corrupt form, is included in an address to the sun in P. Mima, and in an earlier passage of the same papyrus its solar character is scarcely to be doubted, although Set-Typhon is an important factor in the procedure at that place. On the whole, it is clear that the Chabrach formula ranks with the other two that have been listed above as appropriate for magical procedures in which the sun is invoked.

This is borne out by the practice of the amulet makers. The Chabrach formula is found on more than a dozen stones, and on eight of them the type represents Harpocrates either with the animal groups or in some simpler design. On one the animal triads appear without the young god; on another single sacred animals are shown on the obverse. In two specimens the formula is cut on the reverse of a stone which shows the cock-headed god on the obverse — another solar figure, as we have seen. On one curious stone of unusual shape the inscription is carved round a figure of the jackal-headed Anubis.

These tedious details would not be worth noting but for the fact that the inscriptions just discussed, and a few other magical words, seem by their solar connections to link some designs together as symbols of the pervading multiformal solar religion. Similar correlations are indicated by the interchange of type designs, even when they are not accompanied by inscriptions. A gem (red jasper) in the Lewis collection affords an excellent illustration of this. The obverse represents the cock-headed god with snake legs, and the reverse shows the familiar five triads of animals, grouped, however, not round Harpocrates, but round the serpent with a radiate lion’s head. Obviously this serpent, elsewhere often inscribed Chnoubis or Chnoumis, is here treated as a surrogate for Harpocrates. The same combination of themes appears on two other amulets which may come from the same workshop that...
produced the Lewis stone. On another stone (D. 397) Helios occupies the place of Harpocrates among the animal groups. The god is badly rendered; his head, though probably meant to be human, resembles some sketchy representations of a radiate lion’s head, and the lapidary’s intention is not certain.

The lion-headed god must be dealt with later (p. 151), since he occurs on a considerable number of amulets. Meanwhile still another type must be briefly mentioned because it is sometimes associated with Harpocrates, namely, the so-called pantheos. Since the youthful Horus was a component in this mixed type, its relation to Harpocrates is naturally close. On the amulets the two types are sometimes associated as obverse and reverse of one stone, as on a specimen minutely described by Zoega, which belonged to the Borgia collection. On another in the same collection, triads of animals, normally associated with Harpocrates, are engraved on the back of a pantheos amulet.

The less elaborate types with Harpocrates as the central figure are so numerous that detailed discussion of them is impracticable. They are best studied in connection with the plates accompanying this book. Some of the commonest may be mentioned briefly. The young god is often shown sitting on the lotus flower in his boat, either alone or attended only by a cynocephalus, in the attitude of adoration, or by the baboon and a bird, hawk or ibis. A specimen in Mr. Seyrig’s collection shows a phoenix with radiate head perched on a pedestal beside the god’s lotus throne; in this instance there is no boat. Sometimes Harpocrates is accompanied by two other divinities. A haematite in the Newell collection shows the god on a lotus flower supported by a scarab with extended wings. At the left end of the boat facing Harpocrates sits a ram-headed god, Amon or Chnum, at the right stands a figure with the head of a baboon crowned with a disk. This figure holds a steering paddle, and an indistinct object held by the ram-headed god may also be part of the handle of a paddle, the rest being invisible behind the boat. The very frequent association of the baboon with Harpocrates has suggested an odd fancy. A green jasper in the British Museum shows the god seated over a crouching baboon in the reverse position, its head at the bottom of the stone. Another in the same collection represents Harpocrates

16 Cabinet des Médailles, 1158 bis (Babelon, Guide, p. 70, no. 120 in Chabouillet), a red jasper, apparently an almost exact replica of the Lewis jasper; B. M. 108810, bronze, formerly in the Lynch collection. A bronze amulet as heavy as the British Museum piece is unusual; can it be a modern cast made from one of the other gems?

Since the first part of this note was set up I have found that the Louvre has what seems to be still another replica of this design, in gîte bronze, plano-convex (see A. Dain, Inscriptions grecques du Louvre: les textes inscrits, No. 114. A. de Ridder, Catalogue des bijoux antiques, No. 166). The whole group should be reexamined in order to determine, if possible, whether such striking resemblances are explained by manufacture in the same ancient workshop, or whether one of the four is ancient and the others modern copies.

18 The two Borgia amulets are described in Museo Borgiano, pp. 445-447, 1, and 447, 3.
19 D. 195.
20 D. 202.
21 B. M. 56292; cf. also 56248.
seated on the head of a scarab. Another design, which coincides with a coin type, represents Harpocrates seated on the back of a sphinx. In still another Harpocrates is riding a goose, a bird which, according to Erman, was connected with Amon-Re in the time of the New Kingdom, but is later given to Harpocrates. This design, which is used in other minor arts of Graeco-Roman Egypt, especially small terracottas and bronzes, is probably little more than an expression of a playful tendency to treat the young god as a mischievous child, as the Greeks represented Eros. The same tendency may be at work in types which represent Harpocrates riding a lion; but here solar symbolism is predominant. Thus on an onyx in the De Clercq collection Horus, with right hand extended, and holding the sistrum over his left shoulder, bestrides a lion. An inscription on the reverse contains several words usually associated with solar deities. It has been pointed out further that the zodiacal sign of Leo is known as the house of the sun.

There are still other designs which indicate the close approach of the young Harpocrates to the characteristics of Eros. He is given wings on some Alexandrian terracottas, and apparently also on a Berlin gem published by Pieper. The fusion with Eros probably explains why Harpocrates is the reverse type on a gem which has for its obverse design Aphrodite drying her hair; on another the symbolic group of a helmeted warrior leading a draped woman (Ares and Aphrodite) is seen in the field of a stone representing Harpocrates throned on the lotus. Another in the Michigan collection shows its connection with love magic only by the inscriptions; on the obverse, Harpocrates on the lotus with the adoring cynocephalus, on the reverse, the word ἀποκριτης (properly ἀποκριτης), a magical name of Aphrodite, and on the bevel, the words εὐτυχος ἀγαθος (εὐτυχος 'Ἀγαθὸς, perhaps with an ellipsis of εὐτυχος), a wish for good fortune to the wearer in a love affair.

The numerous amulets in which Harpocrates appears merely as the divine infant are evidently tokens of the simple religion of the Egyptian family. From dynastic down to late Roman times the art of Egypt loved to depict the child Horus at the breast of his mother Isis or held on the knees of the goddess. A rock crystal amulet in the Michigan collection, which may go back to the Ptolemaic period, shows this design; but here the goddess is Isis-Hathor, with the head of a cow and wearing the crown of horns clasping the moon disk. The stones of later date are usually steatite or jasper (dark

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21 Barry, *Annu. du Cem.,* 7, 246, Pl. 1, 4; D. 20; *B. M. Cat. Alex.,* 460, Pl. 17; Dattari 893, 1726, 3464.
22 Erman, pp. 155, 392. The goose was also sacred to Isis.
23 B. M. 56193; D. 214–215.
24 See the discriminating and charmingly written paragraph in Perdizes, *Terres écrites,* pp. 32–33.
26 De Ridder 3444; Pl. 28.
28 B. M. 56139 (King, *Gnostics,* Pl. E 2); 56217.
29 D. 194.
30 Budge, * Gods,* II, 206; *B. M. Cat. Alex.,* Pl. 16, 762, 980, 1125; Dattari, Pl. 17, 1730, 2656, 4063.
31 D. 285; cf. Lanzone, p. 844 and Pl. 311.
brown or black, sometimes yellow), and they often have a suspension hole. The obverse shows Isis seated on a chair, often with arms and high back, holding Horus on her lap. On the reverse is the stocky, neckless, bandy-legged dwarf Bes, wearing a headdress of tall feathers; a star and a crescent moon in the field.  

Bes is known from very early times as a protector of women in childbirth and of infants. It has been often remarked that the Christian representations of the Virgin seated with the child on her knees may owe something to the type of Isis and Harpocrates. If we could imagine an Italian maker of religious medals yielding to popular superstition so far as to place a gobbo (hunchback) on the reverse of a medal of Madonna and child, we should have a close parallel to the amulet type just described.

Certain magical words seem to belong particularly to this type of Isis, Harpocrates, and Bes. Round the group of the mother and child the words αθα βαθα are placed. These words also occur in a formula used in the magical papyrus of the Bibliothèque Nationale: εύε ειμι εαρες (magical words, among them, ίαω) εις ισιδος αθα βαθα και οσιόρος οσορο(ον)γρωφεος. The words αθα βαθα are a palindrome and probably have no other excuse for being, though Jacoby suggested that they represent the Hebrew words for “thou art father.”  

Round the figure of Bes is the meaningless τατβεβεγας.

Another infant type shows Harpocrates, seated (in one specimen on a low pedestal), the sun disk over his head, the flail over his left shoulder, the right hand raised towards his mouth. Behind him Isis, kneeling, her hands holding the head of the child; she wears a tall headdress probably intended to suggest the atef crown. On most of the specimens her garment is blown back behind her shoulders in the form of a loop. This suggests that the scene is supposed to be on a boat, and in fact on a specimen in the British Museum the two figures seem to be on a kind of raft indicated by several parallel lines with two strokes crossing them vertically. Elsewhere they are either on a mere ground line or on a sort of pedestal. The posture of Isis suggests that Harpocrates represents the new-born sun-god, and reminds us of Plutarch’s characterization of Harpocrates as ἰλιμορος, “untimely born.”  

On three of the six specimens known to me the reverse (or the reverse and bevel) is inscribed with the Iaio palindrome, which we have seen to be a solar formula. One in the Metropolitan Museum has the reverse

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88 So in two well-worn specimens belonging to me (D. 31–32), one in the Michigan collection (D. 30), and one described in the Museo Borgiano (pp. 422–423). A fine specimen in the Brunner collection (D. 33) is unusual in showing, on the obverse, tridents of animals, as they appear with Harpocrates alone. The reverse has the solar formula, often associated with Harpocrates, elenioue, etc.; see Chapter XIV.

90 PGM IV, 1075 E., with the footnote.

91 Six specimens of this type are known to me: Southerk N 20; Mousterde, “Le Glaive de Dardanos,” p. 88, fig. 18 (the only one hitherto shown in an illustration); Museo Borgiano, p. 424, 91; B. M. 56541; Metrop. Mus. 81.6.526; Mich. 26065 (see D. 34–35). Mousterde (p. 89) is wrong in his notion that of Harpocrates faces Isis in some specimens of this type. He seems to have misunderstood Zeega’s description of the stone in the Borgia collection.

92 Isis and Osiris 359 E.
inscription βαύξων, "soul of darkness," again apparently an epithet of the sun.

Another type shows Harpocrates as a youth, standing with a cornucopia held in his left hand and resting against his shoulder. The right hand is raised towards his lips, and the left elbow is supported by a pillar. This type, with minor variations, is used on coins of Domitian, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. Here Harpocrates seems to be an agrarian divinity, the giver of the fruits of the earth. Some authorities use the name Karpokrates for this phase of the young god; but since it seems to owe its origin to nothing more than an effort on the part of the Greeks to find a meaning in the first part of the name, its use is merely unnecessarily confusing.

In his catalogue of the Borgia collection Zoega describes a well-cut heliotrope (bloodstone) which represents Harpocrates as a youth, standing, his left hand raised towards his lips, his right holding a whip. His body, of which the lower part is broken away, was encircled several times with a serpent which passes across the belly, behind the right arm, under the left arm and behind the neck, its head poised over the head of the god. A cock-headed god on the reverse side of the gem reminds us once more how frequently that type is associated with Harpocrates, and seems to show that the representation of the deity as a youth in the coils of a serpent is a solar type no less than the child on the lotus flower. But it is noteworthy that the snake enwraps the body of Harpocrates in exactly the same way that it coils round the figure of the monstrous lion-headed god, to whom scholars have given the name of Chronos (as infinite time) or Aion, and whose image has several times been found associated with Mithraic sanctuaries. Another less monstrous figure, the so-called Phanes of the beautiful Modena relief, a youthful figure entirely human except that it has cloven hoofs, is much nearer to the type described by Zoega. Cumont publishes a fragment of a basalt statue in the Louvre, representing a god with a serpent so closely coiled about him as to show no part of his body between the folds. It has been supposed to

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27 This design is not uncommon, but only a few examples are accompanied by inscriptions; and the legends that occur are religious acclamations rather than magical charms. A rather poor specimen in the Ruthven collection has on its reverse the words τικίος ῶ ΄ έλεος (D. 216). Harpocrates is shown in the same posture, with slight variations, on six gems in the British Museum (Cat. of Engraved Gems 1799-1804, the first two illustrated on Pl. 23). There are ten in the Museo Borgiano (Zoega, pp. 435-436, 5-14). Eight of these are without inscription. One (No. 15) has ῶ ή ξάπος on the reverse; the other (No. 12) deserves notice because it emphasizes the celestial and, in particular, the solar significance of Harpocrates. Round the main design are the words δ ὄμας, ἡ ές ἄξιος, on the reverse is the radiate sun-god standing with his left hand raised, the right holding a whip. With the obverse inscription we may compare ο ὄμας ἄξιος (ὁ ὄμας ἄξιος) on the reverse of a stele published by Spohr (Recherches sur l'Egypte, p. 124. No. 24), which has the same type of Harpocrates on its obverse face. For examples of the standing Harpocrates with cornucopia as a coin type see Dattari, Pl. 14, 4971; cf. also 1375, 1719 on the same plate.

28 Perdrizet, Terres cuites, p. 28.

29 Museo Borgiano, p. 444, 18.

40 Cumont, Les Religions orientales 4, Pl. I, 1, p. 28; Monumenti, I, 74 ff.

41 There is an excellent illustration of this monument in Dott Levi's article "Alior" (Herpetia, 13, 299, fig. 16; see also 293); also in Rev. arch., 10 (1903), 1 ff., and Pl. 1 (Cumont). See also Nilsen in Symb. Osl., 24, 1-7.

42 Cumont, Monumenti, I, 79, fig. 1.
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represent Sarapis; but as nothing of the god's body is left except a hand resting on the topmost coil of the snake, it could just as well be Harpocrates. King has published a type of similar character, in which the head of the snake is poised above the man's head, as in the Borgia amulet, and the coils are much looser.\(^43\) The resemblance of this last to the serpent-wrapped mummies scratched on Wünsch's curse tablets is not to be forgotten;\(^44\) but those are almost certainly intended to represent an enemy as dead, and thus by imitative magic to bring about his destruction.

A stone in my collection has one feature in common with the Louvre fragment. It represents a youthful person whose whole body, except the head, neck, ankles, and feet, is enveloped in coils like those of a snake, though neither head nor tail of a snake is to be seen (D. 221). From these coils several curving lines extend to the ground. I am not convinced that the stone is ancient; it bears a suspicious resemblance to a better-preserved specimen shown by Chiflet, which is also likely to stir some doubts in the minds of experts. Following Athanasius Kircher, Chiflet called the figure Canopus, connecting it with a fanciful story told by Rufinus (Hist. Eccl. 11, 26), the relevant part of which is briefly as follows. When Persian worshipers of fire asserted the superiority of that element over all the gods of Egypt, a priest of Canopus took a perforated vessel of the kind used to filter water, stopped the pores with wax, and set it on a fire, which was soon quenched by the water issuing from the holes as the wax melted. Thus Canopus was proved mightier than the sacred fire of the Persians; and thereafter it was customary to represent him with a body shaped like a water jar and with a short neck and very small feet.

The design of the gems in question does not represent a true "Canopic" jar; the form and purpose of those vessels are too well known to detain us. If the stones were genuine, one might conjecture that the lines descending from the partly concealed figure were not jets of water, but bandages belonging to the wrappings of a mummy, from which the human figure emerges as the bands are removed. I find, however, that my suspicion of this type is shared by B. H. Stricker,\(^45\) who had occasion to consider it in an article discussing a cult figure shaped like a Canopic jar. He thinks that the gems may actually have been meant to represent the scene described by Rufinus. In that case, and probably in any event, all the "Canopus" gems shown by Kircher, Chiflet, Capello, and Montfaucon are to be regarded as early modern forgeries.\(^46\)

\(^{43}\) King, Gronier, Pl. F; 3.

\(^{44}\) See p. 114 above and Prinsendanz, Akropolis, pp. 20-41.

\(^{45}\) Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, N. S., 24 (1945), 10.

\(^{46}\) Kircher, Prodromus Coptus, p. 227; Oedipus Egyptianus, I, 209, 211; III, plate between pp. 434 and 435; 449; Chiflet, Pl. 25, 103, and p. 134; Capello, Prodromus Iconicus, No. 212; Montfaucon, II, Pl. 160, 12.