

SOME EGYPTIAN DEITIES AND THEIR PIGGISHNESS*

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One can read in autobiography of an Egyptian official of the Middle Kingdom:

„I am kindly in the offices

One who is benevolent and who is free from piggishness (*šw m rrit*)

I am kindly not short-tempered

One who does not attack a man for a remark.”¹

The word *rrit* seems to be a *hapax legomenon* in autobiographical texts as far as I can see. Obviously it has a negative meaning. This Egyptian gentleman Intef, the son of Senet claims to be free from *rrit*. Sethe² guessed „Überheblichkeit” or „arrogance”, because *rrit* is here the opposite of kindness calmness or patience. Faulkner³ connected the word *rrit* with *rr* one of the words for the animal the pig and suggested the acceptable translation „piggishness”. A well educated Egyptian official is or should be kind and patient, he should not behave like an uncivilized roaring pig. Therefore Miriam Lichtheim⁴ translated the passage: „One who is calm and does not roar”.

It is generally accepted that this word for pig, *rr* (Coptic **𐩩𐩣** or **𐩩𐩣𐩩**) is an *onomatopoeia*, at least in origin. The sound of a pig is mostly a sign of discontentment or aggression. It may be the high-pitched yelling or roaring of a pig who is fighting or craving for food or the lower grunting of a pig running around. An experienced farmer knows exactly when the very low and rather quiet grunting of a sow who gives suck to her young becomes a sign of aggression, so that he can prevent a sow from devouring her own piglets, as she indeed sometimes does. According to the pap. Jumilhac, the sound – the roaring or grunting sound of a pig was the abomination of the 18th nome of Upper Egypt.⁵

* A version of his paper, dedicated to Professor Kákósy, was given as a lecture at the VIth International Congress of Egyptologists in Turin, 1-8 sept. 1991. In the discussion after the lecture Professor Kákósy made a very interesting remark in connecting the rather unknown Egyptian word for pig *h(n)ḏr* with the name of king Khendjer of Dynasty XIII. The Wörterbuch (*Wb* VI 138) gives three words for pig *rr(t)*, *ššy(t)* and the rare *iph* (only in offering-texts, probably piglet). The word *h(n)ḏr* (cf. S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* 9 ff.) might be the most original and most common word, also in view of the Semitic parallels, but it is rarely found in written Egyptian texts. There might be a taboo on the name of the pig in written texts, as well as in the depiction of the pig in art (E. Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* VI 562). The Egyptians preferred obviously the more vague circumscription of the pig as the grunting animal (*rr*) or the marsh-animal (*ššy*).

1) B.M. 581, 1.22. K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*³, Darmstadt 1959, 81, cf. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1975, 122 and R.B. Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, London 1991, 63.

2) K. Sethe, *Erläuterungen zu den Ägyptischen Lesestücken*, 128.

3) R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford 1962, 151.

4) Lichtheim, *o.c.* 122, 123.

5) J. Vandier, *Le papyrus Jumilhac*, Paris 1960, XII, 17 *ḥrw n ššyt*.

The good or kind and patient Egyptian official who claims to be free from piggishness or *rrit* means to say that he is not always grunting or roaring, or nagging and harping or giving signs of discontentment within his office. The Egyptian ideal of the so-called silent man who refrains from superfluous critical remarks is well-known and comparable.

We leave now this text for what it is because I have not announced to write on reprobable human piggishness, but on divine piggishness: Some Egyptian deities and their piggishness. One might be inclined to ask whether this is an adequate approach to study ancient Egyptian religion and ancient Egyptian gods, to investigate seriously their piggishness. If in ancient Egyptian human ethics piggishness was already rejected, how would it be possible to find piggishness in Egyptian deities, who were venerated by their believers? One should realize however that Egyptian deities are not always only good and holy beings. They are beings with positive but sometimes also negative or reprobable traits.

Moreover one should be aware of the fact that a clear cut hierarchy of god, man and animal, so that gods belong to the superhuman and animals to the subhuman level did not yet exist in ancient Egypt. The divine and the animal could easily be connected. An animal could be considered as a living image of a deity. But it must be said right from the start pig-gods or pig-goddesses are not easily found in Egyptian religion and culture. The strange statue of a pig-goddess in the Museum of Berlin-Charlottenburg dates back to the fourth mill. B.C.⁶ The piggishness of Egyptian deities is mostly kept secret and dissimulated. They are usually represented not as pigs in official art of temple and tombs or larger statuary, but in human or other animal form. Pigs denoting deities are found sometimes in hieroglyphic writing or in small objects such as amulets. As a member of the Brooklyn Museum Expedition to the Precinct of the Goddess Mut in Karnak South I found in an hieroglyphic inscription of that temple the hieroglyph pig as a sign denoting the goddess of that temple. But it is yet too early to speak on that text and other texts of the temple of Mut which are now studied by Prof. Goyon, Jacobus van Dijk and myself.

In mythology the pig and especially the always dangerous and aggressive male pig, the boar, was considered to be a „typhonic“ animal. Coffin Texts, Spell 157 (or Book of the Dead, Chapter 112) contains the curious story that the god Seth had transformed himself into a black boar in his conflict with Horus. From later allusions down to Greek authors one may conclude that Seth as a black boar attacked the moon-eye and disturbed the cosmic order. Although the text of the Book of the Dead 112 does not plainly admit the cosmic disaster and not openly says that Seth as a voracious pig devours the moon-eye and causes black darkness, it seems obvious that this is the background of the cryptic story.

Anyhow from the time of the Coffin Texts and possibly even earlier the pig was associated with the god Seth. It was for the followers of Horus an abomination and a typhonic and unclean animal. The text of Coffin Text Spell 157 or BD 112 denotes the pig not only with the word *rri*, but sometimes also with another word *ššy*. It is well-known that the word is a name for the typical fabulous animal of the god Seth. It seems impossible to negate a connection between these two words, the difference being the determinative: either the hieroglyph Seth-animal or the hieroglyph pig. The word *šš* with still an other determinative means field, marsh or swamp. The word *šš* with the Seth-animal seems to be a rather vague

6) Inv. nr. 1-69. J. Settgast, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, Mainz 1983, 4.

indication of this mythical animal as a wild marsh-animal who does not belong to orderly culture inhabited by man. When the pig is called *ššy*, then it is ranged together with the Seth-animal as an animal of marshes and wilderness. One of the oldest representations of the pig is in an aquatic swampy scene in a tomb at Beni Hasan.⁷ It is indeed not an animal of the dry desert, but a marsh-animal. Moreover the writing of the word for pig *ššy* with one or two reed-leaves suggests a nisba form, the pig being the Sethian or typhonic animal of the marshes.

Some Egyptologists have defended the thesis that the Seth-animal itself is a pig, but also many other propositions have been made on the identity of the beast, too many to enumerate here.⁸ In recent years Sergio Donadoni has produced strong arguments that the Seth-animal is an ass. The Seth-animal has been explained by Newberry⁹ as a boar, but without complete conviction in view of the long legs and erect tail which seem to indicate a kind of dog. It seems best to hold on to the original suggestion of the father of Egyptology, Jean François Champollion that the Seth-animal is in origin an „animal monstrueux” or a fabulous animal. Henry Fischer¹¹ has recently made the interesting observation that fabulous animals in Egyptian art are not completely fantastic creatures, but mostly composite animals. The Seth-animal as depicted at the beginning of the Old Kingdom seems to be a kind of dog in view of the body, the head could be a stylized pig-head, but it must be said that the snout of the Seth-animal is usually more curved than that of the pig and that the Egyptians themselves made a difference in hieroglyphic writing and in art between pig and Seth-animal. If the head of the Seth-animal was indeed at least in origin a pig-head, then the mysterious Seth-animal was something like a pig-dog. The German term of invective „Schweinehund” comes to mind, but again it must be said that it seems that the *Schweinehund* is not a mythological creature but simply a dog of the swine-herds.

My conclusion is that the mythical Seth-animal is not to be equated with the pig, but that there is certainly a link between the god Seth and the pig.

In the *Litany of the Sun*,¹² or as Erik Hornung calls it „Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen”, 74 forms of the Sun-god are invoked. The 37th form – that is exactly half way 74 – the 37th form is a human figure with a pig’s head as Hornung makes certain. The text, which belongs to it runs as follows:

„Praise to Re, supreme power
with mysterious face and with inflamed eye
Thou art the body of *ššy*.”¹³

7) P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, London, 1893, II, pl. XI cf. A. Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der alten Ägypter* I, Frankfurt 1989, Dok 125 b.

8) H. te Velde, *Seth God of Confusion*², Leiden 1977, 13 ff.

9) S. Donadoni, Per la morfologia del dio Seth, *MDAIK* 37 (1981) 115-122. Cf. E. Hornung, Seth, Geschichte und Bedeutung eines ägyptischen Gottes, *Symbolon* 2 (1974) 54: „Gleich dem Esel sieht der Ägypter auch im Schwein, das ihm als unreinsten aller Tiere galt, negative Züge des Seth verbildlicht; in beiden Tieren hat der Abscheu, der dem Osirismörder gilt, sichtbar Gestalt gewonnen”.

10) P.E. Newberry, The Pig and the Cult-animal of Set, *JEA* 14 (1928) 211-225.

11) H.G. Fischer, The Ancient Egyptian Attitude Toward the Monstrous, *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*. Papers presented to Edith Porada ed. by A.E. Farkas et al., Mainz, 1988, 16.

12) E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, I-II, Geneve 1975-1976.

13) Hornung, *o.c.*, I 42-43; II 66.

The word *ššy* is written with a pig's head as a determinative. As Hornung¹⁴ states, the expression mysterious of face must refer here to the unusual pig-head and the expression with inflamed eye must refer to the same cosmic disaster to which BD 112 refers, i.e. the strife between light and darkness which int. al. could be seen in the waning and waxing of the moon. It is interesting to see that the horrible piggishness is here integrated into a figure of the supreme power of the sun-god, that there is even some hidden piggishness in the sun-god himself. The eye is, as all Egyptologists know, the symbol of all good and holy things in a sound and undamaged condition. But the eye is here said to be inflamed. The order is here damaged and the cause of the trouble and disorder is the pig. It is very unusual to represent in royal tombs a divine figure with a human body and a pig's head, if for a moment we leave aside the representation of a pig in the judgment scene of the Book of Gates.

It seems that generally speaking the pig was too negative a symbol to use it as a representation of a god or goddess. Horapollon tells in his book on Egyptian hieroglyphs: When they wish to represent a pernicious man, they draw a pig, because such is the nature of the pig.¹⁵

Although the pig was very negatively classified in the Egyptian religious system, it is well-known as Hecker¹⁶ and others have demonstrated from archaeological data that the Egyptians raised pigs and ate pork.

The anthropologist Marvin Harris¹⁷ has tried to give a rational explanation of the growing aversion to pigs and pork in Middle Eastern cultures including the ancient Egyptian culture. He says that raising pigs in the Middle East was and still is a lot costlier than raising ruminants because pigs must be provided with artificial shade, extra water for wallowing and their diet must be supplemented with grains and other plant foods that humans themselves can eat and that the Bible and Koran condemned the pig because pig farming was a threat to the integrity of the basic cultural and natural ecosystems of the Middle East. In other words the pig was rejected because it was too great a competitor of human beings.

Robert Miller,¹⁸ however, has made clear in an interesting article in the latest volume of the *JEA* that in Ancient Egypt as well as elsewhere, pigs were mostly fed with the leftovers of human food and all kinds of offal, even excrements of humans and animals. Pigs along with other domesticated animals such as cats and dogs and domestic fowl were scavenging through the heaps of waste immediately adjacent to enclosure walls. Although pigs and

14) Hornung, *o.c.*, II 110. Although the pig-head is found as a determinative in writing, the figure itself has mostly a head that resembles more that of a dog.

15) Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica* II 37. F. Sbordone, *Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica*, Napoli 1940, 158; B. van de Walle et J. Vergote, Traduction des Hieroglyphica d'Horapollon, *CdE* 18 (1943) 212; G. Boas, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollon*, New York 1950, 92.

16) H.M. Hecker, A Zooarchaeological Inquiry into Pork Consumption from Prehistoric to New Kingdom Times, *JARCE* 19 (1982) 59-71. See also: F.J. Simoons, *Eat not this Flesh. Food Avoidances in the Old World*, Madison, Milwaukee and London 1967, 12-44. W.J. Darby et al., *Food. The Gift of Osiris*, London-New York 1977, I 171-209. L. Keimer, Remarques sur le porc et le sanglier dans l'Egypte ancienne, *BIE* 19 (1936- 37) 147-156.

17) Marvin Harris, *Good to Eat. Riddles of Food and Culture*, New York 1985, Ch. IV The Abominable Pig, 67-87.

18) R.J. Miller, Hogs and Hygiene, *JEA* 76 (1990) 125-140.

people can eat the same range of food, the offal, rubbish and waste, which the pig eat would not go on the table of their owners. And it is this omnivorous scavenging which has made the pig not just a dangerous competitor of human beings, but an important component of a shared mutual benefit between people and pigs for thousands of years.

Direct competition for food may have occurred only in exceptional circumstances in times of famine or luxurious abundance. An ostrakon from Deir el Medineh depicts a weeping child reduced to eating from the same dish as a pig.¹⁹

On the Carnarvon Tablet n° I however it is told: „Grain (spelt) is sent to our swines”.²⁰ This may mean that pigs were allowed to eat the same food as human beings in an exceptionable time of utmost abundance. But on the whole there was a demarcation line: What the pig eats, man should not eat and what man eats, the pig should not eat. Although the domesticated pig lived together with people in human settlements it remained in essence a wild disorderly animal whose place in the world should be the wilderness. In the Coffin Texts it is said: „The falcons live from birds, jackals from movements, pigs from the desert (*ḥ3st*), hippopotami from marshes, people from corn, crocodiles from fish and fishes from water which is in the Nile, as Atum has decreed.”²¹

The pig never reached the status of the pet animal as some cats, dogs and geese did. It may also be significant that no pig mummies are found in Egypt. The domesticated pig remained a disorderly element within ordered culture. The pig was associated with waste, dirt and disorder and that made it a possible candidate for impurity in the religious system. It seems to me that the religious classification system of the Ancient Egyptians, including classification of the pig as a Sethian or typhonic animal made the dirty, omnivorous voracious pig an impure animal. I agree in this completely with Sergio Pernigotti²² that it was the impact and the growing importance of the myth and cult of Horus and Osiris that made the pig an impure animal, because it was associated with the god Seth. Associations with other deities were more or less dissimulated.

The Egyptians saw Seth in the immoderate voracious roaring pig. Seth was not only known as the dangerous eater of the Eye of Horus,²³ but also as a paragon for eating immoderately and abundantly as a glutton.²⁴ One should be aware of this porcine omnivorous immoderate voraciousness of Seth to understand properly the humorous episode in the story of the Contendings of Horus and Seth in which it is told that Seth restricted himself to a vegetarian diet and ate only lettuce.²⁵

As I have already indicated the pig was not only connected with the god Seth. Seth is the

19) J. Vandier d'Abbadie, Deux nouveaux ostraca figurés, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 467-488.

20) A.H. Gardiner, The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet, no 1, *JEA* 3 (1916) 95-110.

21) *CT* II 42b-43a. Cf. the interesting but not completely convincing remark concerning the uncleanness of the pig by M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, Penguinbook ed. Harmondsworth 1966, 69: 'I suggest that originally the sole reason for its being counted as unclean is its failure as a wild boar to get into the antelope class...'

22) S. Pernigotti, *Fra alimentazione e religione nell' Antico Egitto: un animale maledetto, L'alimentazione nell' antichità*, Parma 1985, 149-166.

23) *Pyr* 88 etc.

24) *BD* 189.

25) Pap. Ch. Beatty I, 11,8-12. Translation M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, Berkeley Los Angeles-London 1976, 220.

son of the goddess Nut. Although Nut and also her other children Osiris, Isis and Nephthys are mostly represented in human form, Nut herself is not free from piggishness and Isis also may occasionally be called the white sow (*ṯṣ ṣṣy ḥḏt*).²⁶ Nut, the goddess of heaven and mother of the gods, may be represented as a fair and beautiful maiden, but there is that story,²⁷ in some astronomical and magical texts that this heavenly goddess as a sow devours her own children, sun, moon and stars Nut gives birth to sun, moon and stars but these lights disappear from time to time and so it was concluded that the heavenly goddess devours her own children as a sow sometimes does. The heavenly goddess gives light and darkness, life and death. This mythologoumenon might be very old. Already in the Pyramid texts²⁸ Nut is called *spt*. This so far unexplained name seems to be *ṣṣyt pt* or sow of heaven: „Nut has spread herself over you in her name of sow of heaven”. But in the official iconography of temples and tombs the heavenly goddess may be represented as a woman or as a cow, but never as a sow. Many small amulets in Egyptian collections, however, testify the theriomorphic form of Nut²⁹ as a sow. These amulets do not stress the destructive voraciousness of Nut but on the contrary her excessive fertility and life giving powers who as a sow gives life to very many piglets. In Egyptian symbolism there is a marked difference between boar and sow. The boar is a negative symbol of aggression, destruction, decay and death. The sow, however, is a symbol of death and life.

Goddesses usually represented as female hippopotami could be called sow. In the past Egyptologists sometimes mistook representations of hippo's for swine and although representations of hippo's and pigs may have a vague resemblance the Egyptians could and usually did distinguish between pigs and hippo's.³⁰ But it seems that Egyptians sometimes did not wish to differentiate between these two marsh- animals or deliberately connected the two animals in religious symbolism.³¹ The animal that Seth represents in the texts and most of the representations of the Horus-myth in the temple of Edfu is a hippo without any doubt, but a few times the animal in question is unmistakably represented as a pig with doubtless a pig-head as if the artists wanted to stress the evil and pernicious nature of the enemy of Horus.³² Heaven was not represented as a sow, but it could be represented as a

26) Metternichstela 86. C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte des Metternichstele*, Copenhagen 1956, 47. Behrmann, o.c., Dok. 215a, gives a possible parallel to Isis as a sow in Hibis temple: Norman de Garis Davies, et al., *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis III*, New York 1953, 11 ff, Pl. IV.

27) O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, London 1960 I, 67 ff.; H. Grapow, *Die Himmelsgötter Nut als Mutterschwein*, ZAS 71 (1935) 45-47; Y. Koenig, *Le papyrus Boulaq 6*, Cairo 1981, 25 ff., M. Stracmans, *Nout et Kronos*, Arch Or. 20 (1952) 410-416. The *ḥrt*-animal in astronomical scenes is probably mostly a hippopotamus but at least on the astronomical ceiling from Dendera, now in the Louvre, it is unmistakably a pig: Behrmann, o.c., Dok. 234d, H. Schäfer, *Weltgebäude der alten Ägypter*, Berlin-Leipzig 1924, 93, fig. 11.

28) *Pyr.* 580, 638.

29) A recent publication with reference to older publications of sow, amulets is B. Schlick-Nolte und V. von Droste zu Hülshoff, *Ägyptische Bildwerke Liebighaus Frankfurt. Skarabäen, Amulette und Schmuck*, 1990, 304 f. The only special study on this subject was made by L. Fóti, *Amulettes en forme de porc dans la collection égyptienne*, *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux Arts* no.40 (1973) 3-8.

30) A. Behrmann, o.c., Dok. 46 ab and see Sachindex s.v. Schwein.

31) J. Bergman, *Isis auf der Sau*, *Boreas* 6 (1974) 97.

32) J. Bergman, o.c., 94. P.E. Newberry, *JEA* 14 (1928) fig. 1-3.

hippo as we know from the representation of one of the burial beds of the tomb of Tutankhamon as if a hippo's head was a symbol without the more negative connotations of a pig's head. Goddesses who were represented as standing hippopotami and who were named Toeris, Ipet or Reret were in the first place benign, protecting and giving life, but they could also have aggressive and destructive traits. One can read on a hippo-statue in the Louvre: „I am the sow who attacks with her voice and who devours.”³³

Now everyone should know that a hippo is not an omnivorous but a herbivorous animal. When it is stated that a hippopotamus-goddess devours then that voraciousness is sheer piggishness and the conclusion seems to be inevitable that Reret, the Sow, is indeed a pig-goddess although she is nearly always represented as a hippo, probably to evade the too negative symbolism of the pig and especially the Sethian boar. I know only of a small bronze hippo statue in the collection Michailides and a small hippo amulet that is, or was, in Berlin with undoubtedly a pig's head.³⁴

The Greek author Aelianus wrote: „I am told that the dogs of Memphis are the only ones that pool their prey and share their food. But the pig is implacable and devoid of justice; at any rate these creatures eat one another's dead bodies. And the majority of fishes do the same. But the most impious of all is the hippopotamus, for it even eats its own father.”³⁵

Needless to say that this observation on the voraciousness of the hippo, that it even eats its own father, is not true. But it is not simply an error. In Egyptian religious symbolism hippo and pig were connected with each other. Aelianus writes also on the voraciousness of the pig: „The pig in sheer gluttony does not spare even its own young; moreover if it comes across a man's body does not refrain from eating it.”³⁶

Jan Bergman³⁷ has connected this remark of Aelianus on this most impious of all animals which eats even its own father with the pig in the wellknown Judgment scene in the Book of Gates. That pig is called devourer ('m). There is even a sentence „he eats his father (s'm.f it.f)”. The problem is however to which figure this sentence is relating, one of the two baboons, Anubis or the pig in the boat that is driven away by the baboons with raised sticks. Anyway the pig in this judgment scene in the Book of Gates is once more called devourer.

The best known devourer in Egyptian religion is the Ammit in the Judgment scene in BD125 who threatens to devour the dead (^cm mtw). This animal is at least partly a hippopotamus in many depictions. Christine Beinlich-Seeber³⁸ has stressed the connection between the Ammit and Toeris. She has also drawn attention to the fact that on Dynasty XXI coffins this Devourer is repeatedly called sow (ššyt). Again this hidden piggishness which is only hinted in words or hieroglyphs, but not plainly represented in art.

33) Louvre E 25479. J. Vandier, Une statutte de Toueris, *Revue du Louvre* 12 (1962) 199.

34) G. Michailides, Nouvel essai d'interprétation d'une statuette de porc marquée du chrisme, *BSAC* 16 (1962) 253-260 and Pl. I B.H. Bonnet, *Ägyptische Religion* (Bilder Atlas zur Religionsgeschichte), Leipzig 1924, nr. 41.

35) Aelianus, *On Animals*, VII 19, cf. translation A.F. Scholfield in the Loeb Classical Library nr. 448, 129.

36) Aelianus, *o.c.*, X 16. Loeb Class, Libr. nr. 448, 307.

37) J. Bergman, *o.c.*, 94. For the representation text, translation and commentary of this judgment scene see: E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits* I-II, Genève 1979-1980.

38) C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten*, München-Berlin 1976, 170, 174, 175, 177, 178.

It is indeed tempting to refer once more to the article by Robert Miller³⁹ that the pig clears away dirt and offal in Egyptian settlements and to remark that the Ammit is waiting as if she were an omnivorous sow to devour all offal or all that falls from the scales. But indeed the Egyptians knew still another voracious animal, the crocodile, who might be the symbol of a highly esteemed god.

Voraciousness is not always a bad habit. Although devouring in itself is destructive it may be seen as a necessary introduction to rebirth, life and renewal. Especially the female, motherly deities, with some hidden piggishness, Nut, Toeris and even Ammit do not give only death and destruction, they also give and protect life and renewal.

And even Seth, who as a black boar that pernicious animal, or as Pliny says *hoc animal maxime brutum* – attacked the Eye, confused worldorder and brought darkness, even Seth was a necessary figure in the Egyptian pantheon, to keep the world going in the succession of night and day, death and life.

39) See n. 18.