The Egyptian Book of the Dead

by E. A. Wallis Budge, translator

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Budge's translation of the Papyrus of Ani and the funerary spells guiding the soul through the Duat.

[From the Papyrus of Ani (Brit, Mits. No- 10,470, sheet <?)].

carrying offerings of flowers, lulchral boxes, etc.

Priest reading Priests performing the cere- Anubis standing before the tomb the funeral, mony of" opening the mouth" embracing the mummy, at the feet service. of the mummy of Aid. of which kneels Ani's wife.Thuthu.

THE SEKHET-HETEPU OR ELYSIAN FIELDS.

[From the Papyrus of Ani {Brit. Xus, No, 10,470, sheet 35) J.

Ani ploughing, and reaping, and worshipping the gods in the abode of the blessed.

THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY

THE EGYPTIAN TEXT ACCORDING TO THE THEBAN

RECENSION IN HIEROGLYPHIC EDITED FROM

NUMEROUS PAPYRI, WITH A TRANSLATION,

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

LONDON KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TROBNER & CO., Ltd.

PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD

THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, ETC.

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Printed by Adolphus Holzlniusen, Vienna.

K. C. B., D. C. L., LL. D. PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

With great pleasure I avail myself of the oppor- tunity of inscribing your name at the head of this work on the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, for you have taken no ordinary interest in its inception, and progress, and completion. I do it the more gladly because I know that everything which concerns the religious beliefs of the ancient Egyptians and the wonderful doctrine of the resurrection of the spiritual body and of its everlasting existence, which they evolved thousands of years before our era, has the greatest attraction for you. It is now many years ago since your friendship with our common friend the late Prof. W. Wright began, and your helpful sym- pathy with his various Oriental works was never want- ing ;

the like friendship and the like sympathy you have extended to myself his pupil. For both I thank you, and I subscribe myself,

The present volume forms part of a work on the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, which I have prepared for Messrs. Kegan Paul and Co. with a view of supplying an edition of the Egyptian text in hieroglyphic, a full Vocabulary to the same with copious references, and a complete translation, with introductory chapters upon the history, object and contents of the Book of the Dead, in a handy form and at a moderate price. It is the most complete edi- tion of the Theban Recension hitherto published, but future discoveries in Egypt may at any moment re- sult in the recovery of papyri containing Chapters at present unknown to us.

The texts of the Heliopolitan Recension of the Book of the Dead of the fifth and sixth dynasties, which are inscribed upon the Pyramids of Unas, Teta, Pepi I., Mer-en-Ra, and Pepi II, and which may be regarded as the most ancient form of the work now known to us, have been published, together with French translations

of them, by M. Maspero in the various volumes of Recueil de Travaux, and separately under the title of Les Inscriptions des Pyramides de Saqqarah, Paris, 1894. The texts of the Recension in use during the eleventh and twelfth dynasties, which are found in- scribed upon the coffins of the period, have been published by Lepsius and Maspero, and an excellent idea of their contents may be gained from Birch's trans- lation of the text on the coffin of Amamu, published with a complete facsimile by the Trustees of the British Museum under the title Egyptian Texts of the earliest period from the coffin of Amamu, London, 1886. The texts of the Theban Recension, which was in use from the eighteenth to the twenty-second dynasty, i. e., from about B. C. 1600 to B. C. 900, and which is found in- scribed on several papyri, both plain and illuminated, have been published by Birch, Mariette, Leemans, De- veria and others, and an eclectic edition of the Recen- sion in use from the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasty was published with variants and Einleitung by M. Na- ville in 1886. Translations of single papyri belonging to this period have been published by Deveria and Pierret, Guieyesse, Lefebure, Massey, Pleyte, and others, and certain Chapters of this Recension have been translated and discussed by various Egypto- logists. Texts, both hieratic and hieroglyphic, which

were copied and illustrated for the priests and priest- esses of Amen during the twenty- first and twenty-second dynasties, have been published by Birch, Lee- mans, Lepsius, Mariette, and Maspero, and a fine example of the hieratic MS. of the period following, entitled Rituel Funeraire, was published by E. de Rouge in 1 86 1. Of the texts which represent the Sai'te Recension of the Book of the Dead, several MSS. have been printed and described. The most important of these, however, is the famous papyrus preserved at Turin, of which Lepsius published a good copy as far back as 1842 entitled Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter. The Book of the Dead which was in use through- out the Graeco-Roman and Roman periods is well illustrated by the hieratic texts published and trans- lated by Birch in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. VII, p. 49 ff., and by Lieb- lein in his Le Livre Egyptieri Que mon nom fleurisse, Leipzig, 1895.

The first to publish a complete translation of any Recension of the Book of the Dead was Birch, who in 1867 gave an English version of the Turin papyrus in the fifth volume of Bunsen, Egypt 's Place in Universal History, pp. 123—333. Notwithstanding the fact that the Recension here translated is the Sai'te or latest of all, and that the text of the Turin MS. is

faulty in many places, Birch's rendering gave a new impulse to the study of the Egyptian religion, and it has formed the groundwork of the translations made by Egyptologists subsequently. The thing to wonder at is not the mistakes which he made, but that he was able, at that early date, to translate so much correctly. In 1882 Pierret published a French trans- lation of the Turin Papyrus entitled Le Livre des Morts des anciens Egyptiens, and in 1894 Davis published an English version of Pierret's French translation at New York. Up to the present, however, no complete trans- lation of the Theban Recension has appeared. Translations of single papyri, e.g., the Papyrus of Nebseni, the Papyrus of Ani, the Papyrus of Sutimes, the Papyrus of Neb-qed, etc., have been made by Deveria and Pierret, Guieyesse, Massey, myself, and others ; and a translation of the texts published by Naville in his Todtenbuch, and by others, was begun by Renouf in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. XIV.

Since the appearance of Naville's great work in 1886 several extremely important papyri have been discovered, and it is now possible to add to the texts of the Theban Recension which he published a considerable number of Chapters, etc. From the Papyrus of Ani we obtain Introductions to Chapters XVIII and

CXXV, a hymn to Ra, a hymn to Osiris, texts re- ferring to the Judgment Scene, all of which are new ; besides these we gain from it a complete, though short, version of Chapter CLXXV, and the Vignettes are coloured with a care and beauty hitherto unknown in papyri of this class. Of greater interest textually, however, is the Papyrus of Nu, which the Trustees of the British Museum acquired in 1890. It is, I believe, the oldest of illuminated papyri known, and it certainly was written in the first half of the period of the rule of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty ; it is nearly, if not quite, as old as the famous papyrus of Nebseni. Unlike many of the papyri of that date it was written throughout by one man, probably Nu himself. As in all papyri lines are omitted here and there, and one short Chapter is repeated ; in it, however, are about twenty Chapters of the Theban Re- cension which have not hitherto been found, and several which have, up to the present, been only known to exist in single manuscripts.

From the above facts it is clear that an edition of the texts of the Theban Recension which should con- tain all such new Chapters, etc., was needed. When a few years ago Sir E. Maunde Thompson suggested to me to make a translation of the Book of the Dead for popular use I decided to do so, and to publish

at the same time an edition of the Egyptian texts ; for in these days the reader insists, and rightly, upon the reproduction of the original documents as far as possible, so that he may be able to control the ren- derings set forth by the translator. Since no papyrus contains all the Chapters of the Theban Recension, and no two papyri agree either in respect of contents or arrangement of the Chapters, and the critical value of every text in a papyrus is not always the same, it follows that a complete edition of all the known Chapters of the Theban Recension is impossible unless recourse be had to several papyri. I have therefore made use of several, and as a result trans- lations of about 1 60 Chapters, not including different versions, hymns and rubrics, are given in the present volume ; I have also added translations of 1 6 Chapters of the Sai'te

Recension, both because they form good specimens of the religious compositions of the later period and illustrate some curious beliefs, and because, having adopted the numbering of the Chapters em- ployed by Lepsius, they were needed to make the numbering of the Chapters in this edition consecutive. My translation has been made as literal as possible, my aim being to let the reader judge for himself the contents of the Theban Book of the Dead. As it is intended for popular use I have not encumbered the

pages with voluminous notes, nor have I attempted to explain the allusions and obscurities which no man, at present, understands. For references to the works of other writers the reader is referred to the Bibliography at the end of my Papyrus of Ani in the Bri- tish Museum, London, 1895, an d to the notes in the Introduction to that work. The source of each Chap- ter is set forth clearly above it, together with a description of the Vignette to it as it is found in the best papyri of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynas- ties. Since the Vignettes formed originally no part of the Book of the Dead, no attempt has been made to reproduce them here ; a collection of all the Vig- nettes found in the Theban papyri, especially those which are found in the Books of the Dead made for the priests of Amen after B. C. 1000, would be of great value, but, unless they were reproduced in their actual colours, much of their interest would be lost. The whole Judgment Scene, and the Elysian Fields, and a portion of the Vignette to the first Chapter have, however, been beautifully reproduced in full colours by Mr. W. Griggs from the Papyrus of Ani, and these form excellent examples of the artistic work executed upon papyri in the eighteenth dynasty ; those who require other examples are referred to the second edition of the coloured facsimile of the Papyrus of

Ani published by the Trustees of the British Museum

In the Introduction a sketch of the history of the growth and development of the Book of the Dead has been given, and to illustrate the palaeography of the different Recensions, from about B. C. 3500 to about A. D. 200, eighteen plates have been appended. The remaining brief accounts of some of the religious views of the Egyptians are necessary for the under- standing of the aim and object of the Book of the Dead ; they would have been fuller had space per- mitted, and I reserve a more detailed description of them for a future work on the Egyptian Religion. With the view of shewing how, in the Ptolemaic period and later times, the Egyptians hoped to obtain for their dead all the benefits which were believed to be secured for them by the use of the numerous Chap- ters of earlier periods, by means of a work which, though extremely short, preserved all the essential be- liefs of the olden time, a translation has been added of the "Book of Breathings" from the text of the Pa- pyrus of Kerasher (Brit. Mus. No. 9995). By means of this and the extracts from the Pyramid Texts given in my chapter on the Elysian Fields a comparison of the beliefs of the Egyptians in the earliest and latest times can be made.

In a small volume accompanying the text of the The- ban Recension will be found a Vocabulary, containing over 35,000 references, which has been bound up se- parately in deference to the wishes of many. In the case of uncommon words every example of its use which occurs in the book is noted ; for commoner words copious references are given in order that the reader may the more easily compare their meanings in several passages.

Finally it is my duty to express my grateful thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to print certain Chapters of the Papyrus of Nebseni and of the Papyrus of Ani from the publications issued by

them. My thanks are also due to Mr. Holzhausen of Vienna for the care which he has bestowed upon the printing of the three parts of this work, and to Mr. Griggs for the coloured reproductions from the Papyrus of Ani which he has executed with his usual skill.

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Long ago, in the earliest period of Egyptian civili- zation, the dwellers on the Nile were in the habit of preserving the dead bodies of their relatives and friends by means of salt, soda, resin, bitumen, and other substances of like nature, and, although the art of mummifying and swathing the body in linen ban- dages did not attain to its highest pitch of perfection until several hundreds of years later, the simple means which were employed in the earliest days were effec- tual in keeping bones, sinews, and skin in existence upon earth. The Egyptians embalmed their dead either because they wished to keep their material bodies with them upon earth, or because they believed that the future welfare of the departed depended in some way upon the preservation of the bodies which they had left behind them upon earth. Whatever the motive, it is quite certain that it must have been a very power- ful one, for the custom of embalming the dead lasted in Egypt without a break for at least five thousand years. It survived all the influence which the Greeks

and Romans brought to bear upon the habits and customs of the Egyptians, and only disappeared from the country about two hundred years before its con- quest by Muhammad's general c Amr ibn al- c Asi, A. D. 658. The writings of ancient Egypt shew that it was not only the custom, but also the duty of a man to prepare during his life-time a suitable tomb in which his body might rest after death, and it is to the desire of preserving the body on the part of the Egyptians, which found practical expression in the hewing of tombs and the making of elaborate funeral furniture, that we owe the greater part of our knowledge of their religious beliefs. As time went on the embalming of the dead was performed in a more elaborate manner, and at the same time the last resting place of the mummified body was chosen more carefully and wrought with greater attention. At a very early period the wealthy discarded the use of holes in rocks and caves as tombs, for in these the bodies were acces- sible to the attacks of enemies, and wild animals, and serpents ; and the same objection was, naturally, made to shallow hollows made in the limestone and covered over with slabs of the same material, and also to the vaulted, crude brick graves which were commonly in use in

the early dynasties. The place of these was taken by pyramids built of stone, and by many-cham- bered tombs hewn in the living rock. Experience, however, soon shewed the Egyptian that the most carefully constructed tomb was incapable of prevent-

ing damp-rot or dry-rot and decay, and that some other power besides his own must be invoked to pre- vent the destruction of the body, which, though need- ing longer time to accomplish, was as effectually per- formed by these means as by the tooth of the wild animal or serpent, or by the hand of the enemy. At this stage the aid of the professional religious man or priest was called in, and the task of finding means to pre- vent rot and decav was entrusted to him. There is little doubt that when the body was laid to rest in the tomb, the priest pronounced certain words or for- mulae or prayers over it, and it is probable that the recital of these w r ords was accompanied by the per- formance of certain ceremonies. Whatever these for- mulae were they formed the foundation of the Book of the Dead of later Egyptian times. It is idle to attempt to consider what such words were, but we are within our right if we assume that they were addressed to the god or gods of the community on behalf of the dead, and that they contained petitions for the welfare of the departed in the world beyond the grave. Such petitions would refer more to ma- terial than to spiritual happiness. Indeed it is more than doubtful if the Egyptian, at that time, had deve- loped any spiritual conceptions, in our sense of the word ; for, although his ideas were very definite as to the reality of a future existence, I think that he had formulated few details about it, and that he had no idea as to where or how it was to be enjoyed.

Certain portions of texts which have been incor- porated into religious works of a later period shew that the life which the Egyptian hoped to live after death was one similar to that which he led upon earth, and it is clear that he thought the preservation of his natural or material body to be, in some way, absolutely necessary for the attainment of this life. He hoped to have power to exercise all the natural functions of his body, and to be able to journey about at pleasure ; unless the body and all its members were preserved, such a life was impossible for him. The earliest monuments in Egypt of the historic period are tombs, and the universal testimony of these is to the effect that the Egyptian endeavoured to attain to this life by the embalmment of the body, and by the power which the texts inscribed upon his tomb, coffin, etc., could give him. And this was always so, for the earliest tombs prove that they were hewn out or built according to a recognized system which had become sanctified by antiquity, and that they were intended to keep intact bodies which had been treated with balms and balsams, unguents and drugs, and other similar preservative compounds ; and the texts written upon them take the fact of the existence of a future life for granted, and assume that its duration will be infinite. The oldest tombs of this kind to which we can assign a date belong to the period of the second dynasty, about B. C. 4200, but there are some in existence which are remarkable for the extremely ar-

chaic grouping of the inscriptions upon the walls and which may well belong to a very much earlier time. In this connexion the evidence supplied by the curious tombs which MM. Amelineau and J. de Morgan have re- cently excavated at El-'Amrah, a place situated about five miles from Abydos on the west bank of

the Nile, is of peculiar interest. Here were found a number of oval graves, sunk in the stony soil to a depth vary- ing from five to six feet, wherein were the skeletons of human bodies lying upon their sides ; their hands were crossed before their faces, and their knees were bent and were on a level with their chests. With them were buried flints, small bronze implements, pottery ornamented and plain, stone vases, shell ornaments, etc., and, though experts are divided in their opinion as the exact antiquity of these objects, there seems little doubt that the oldest of them belong to the period of the dawn of Egyptian civilization, and that is sufficient for our purpose at present. A number of the skeletons from the tombs of El-'Amrah were sub- mitted for examination to Dr. Fouquet of Cairo, who has found reason for declaring that they shew traces of the bodies to which they belonged having been treat- ed with compounds or substances used in embalming the dead. This fact shews that the friends and rela- tives of the departed who caused their bodies to be so treated must have considered that it would be of some benefit to them in their life in the world beyond the grave, and in so doing they were, probably, only

conforming to a custom which was already old and well established in their day. It must not be forgotten that the skeletons in the cemetery of El- c Amrah were found lying on their sides, and this fact strongly sup- ports the view that the tombs are not tombs of Egyp- tians but of their immediate predecessors or of contem- poraries of the early dynasties. In no Egyptian tomb hitherto opened has the mummy been deposited on its side ; moreover, the Egyptian mummy is always found lying upon its back, its arms are always laid on the body, and the hands rest on the tops of the thighs. Though the burials at El-'Amrah tell us nothing about the ceremonies, religious or otherwise, which were performed over the departed when they were committed to the earth, they prove almost beyond a doubt that peoples other than the Egyptians partially embalmed their dead at that remote period, and this being so it is probable that the religious ideas and the belief in a future life which the Egyptians pos- sessed were shared by the nations round about them, with whom they were perhaps connected by ties of blood.

Passing from prehistoric times of which we know little, and that little imperfectly, we come to the tombs of the first four dynasties, which shew that a great development in the religious ideas and funeral cere- monies has taken place since the first of the graves at El-'Amrah was dug. We see that certain symbolic ceremonies were regularly performed, that a number

of priestly officials, with clearly defined duties in con- nexion with funerals, had come into being, that a large number of festivals were celebrated at or near the tomb throughout the year, that the offering of meat and drink, of unguents and garments, and of green herbs and flowers at stated times had grown into a system, that a number of gods w T ere duly honoured and worshipped, that the priests of the gods belonged to and probably formed the ruling class of the districts in which they lived, that certain gods had already obtained the position of national deities who were known and honoured throughout the country, and that certain cities, such as Abydos, Annu (On), and Memphis, had become centres of teach- ing of the views and dogmas w T hich their respective priests had adopted and modified, or had themselves evolved. It is quite certain that certain priestly offi- cials lived and died, for the texts on their tombs bear witness to this fact ; if the official lived, then the office to which he was appointed existed ; and if religious books, the

reading of which during the funeral was necessary for the welfare of the departed, had not existed, men would not have been appointed to read them. At this time we find that certain priests called "priests of the l:a" were duly appointed, and that they performed their ministrations in "chapels of the ka" which were attached to the tombs of kings and wealthy men ; this shews beyond a doubt that the doctrine of the existence of a "double" of a man

iad been evolved, and the making of offerings to it at stated intervals at the tomb proves that it was believed to dwell therein, and that material meat and drink were necessary for its well-being. This is important also as indicating that the offerings were not consumed by the deceased himself, however needful the ceremony of offering them might be for his gen- eral welfare. Similarly, the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Osiris were well known in the period of the early dynasties, and it is probable that he became the type of the resurrection of man in Egypt, long before the religious texts which assume it and which call him the god and king and judge of the dead passed from oral tradition to inscribed papyrus. A study of the religious texts of all periods proves that the great fundamental religious ideas of the Egyp- tians remained unchanged from the earliest to the lat- est historical times, and it seems that they must have been received by the early Egyptian priests in much the same form as that in which they handed them on. The doctrine of immortality and everlasting life and the belief in the resurrection of a spiritual body are the brightest and most prominent features of the Egyptian religion ; they survived all the theological theories and speculations of the various schools of religious thought in Egypt, and to them generations of men clung with a firmness and tenacity marvellous to consider. And side by side with these beliefs there flourished the religious texts to which the name Book

of the Dead has been given, and they appealed might- ily to all, from highest to lowest, for they were believed to give man power in the world beyond the grave, and to enable him to attain to the abode of the blessed and to gain everlasting life.

No amount of research and no discovery have, as yet, yielded any information about the home, and origin, and early history of the Book of the Dead. It seems pretty clear that, as said above, the first form of all of the Book of the Dead consisted of the words or petitions addressed to the "god of the city", or to a collection of supernatural powers, on behalf of the deceased by relatives and friends, and that such petitions referred to material rather than to spiri- tual things. That they would increase in number and in length as time went on is only what is to be ex- pected, and the nature of their contents also would vary according to the rank and position of the de- ceased. At first they were recited only and not written down, and it is probable that they existed in this form for a very long period ; at length they were done in- to writing, but this, I believe, only took place when the professional religious men or priests began to be doubtful about the meaning of some of them, and un- certain about the way in which they should be written. The priests wrote them down to preserve them, and thus endeavoured to keep without further corruption texts which already in their day had become exceedingly old and difficult of understanding. The

writing materials which they employed for this pur- pose are unknown. It is hardly possible that they inscribed their texts upon stone, for had they done so remains of such inscriptions would certainly have been

found ere this. In Egypt, at all events, the commonest writing material was the papyrus, and, the hieroglyphic for "book" or "writing" being in the earliest times a roll of papyrus tied round the middle with a string of the same material, it is probable that relir gious texts were first written upon papyrus rolls. The syllabary, or alphabet, or both, employed by these early scribes would probably be hieroglyphic or pictorial, but no specimen of it has come down to us ; it is not likely that the signs used for writing the texts would be wholly alphabetic or wholly syllabic, for in the earliest inscriptions known to us both kinds are used. Where and by whom the texts of the Book of the Dead were composed is also unknown. There is no good reason for assuming that they are the off- spring of the minds of Libyans or dwellers of Central Africa, they cannot be the literary product of savages or negroes, there is no evidence to shew that they are of Semitic origin, and the general testimony of their contents indicates an Asiatic home for their birthplace. Certain of the ideas expressed in the earliest form of the Book of the Dead known to us are gross and brutal, but they were retained rather by the con- servative spirit of the Egyptians than by any belief in them ; their reverence for ancient writings and

customs is too well known to need comment here. That such texts should suffer modification as time went on is only to be expected, but we may be sure that the original purpose of them remained unchanged, and that all really essential ideas and beliefs of a fundamental character found expression always in the same way. Wherever its original home may have been, or whatever was its origin, or whoever were its au- thors, it is quite certain that the Book of the Dead, in a connected form, is as old as Egyptian civilization, and that its sources belong to prehistoric times to which it is impossible to assign a date.

We first touch solid ground in the history of the Book of the Dead in the period of the early dynasties, and, if we accept one tradition which was current in Egypt as early as B. C. 2500, we are right in believ- ing that certain parts of it are, in their present form, as old as the time of the first dynasty. The LXIVth Chapter, which is admitted on all hands to be ex- ceedingly old, exists in two versions. The rubric to one of these declares that the Chapter is as old as the time of Hesepti, the fifth king of the first dynasty, about B. C. 4266, and says that it was "found" beneath the Hennu boat by the foreman of the builders ; and the rubric to the other (see pp. 118, 119) states that it was "found" at Hermopolis, inscribed upon a block of ironstone, by Herutataf (the son of Khufu or Cheops, the second king of the IVth dynasty, about B. C. 3733), when he was inspecting the temples throughout

the country. These opinions find expression upon coffins of the eleventh and twelfth dynasties and in papyri of the best period, that is to say, from about B. C. 1600 to B. C. 1000; and though one makes out the Chapter to be some six hundred years older than the other, both agree in assigning to it a date which is coaeval with the Early Empire. It is difficult to know what is exactly meant by the word "found". It may, of course, mean that a stone slab bearing the text of the Chapter was discovered whilst certain re- pairs or alterations were being carried out in the temple of the god Thoth at Hermopolis, or it may mean that the Chapter was edited in some way by Khufu's son Herutataf. The latter explanation is cer- tainly the more probable, for we know from other sources that Herutataf was a learned man, and that he was the author of various literary works, which enjoyed a considerable reputation. On the other hand, the ancient custom of

ascribing the works of unknown authors to famous men may have already been in vogue.

Of the Book of the Dead of the second, third, and fourth dynasties we know nothing, and no copies of any part of the Recension then in use have come down to us ; the texts on the tombs of the priests of that period shew that funeral ceremonies were per- formed in accordance with the instructions contained in the rubrics to the various Chapters of the Book of the Dead, and the existence of collections of reli-

gious texts stands assured. During the reign of Men- kau-Ra, the Mycerinus of the Greeks, the fourth king of the fourth dynasty, about B. C. 3633, certain Chap- ters, i. e., XXX b and CXLVIII, are said to have been found by Herutataf, and there are traditions extant that religious ceremonies were performed with re- newed vigour during the reign of this king. On the coffin of Men-kau-Ra (Brit. Mus. No. 6647) are inscrib- ed two lines ' of text which are also found on the walls inside the pyramids of Teta and Pepi I, kings of the sixth dynasty ; it would be absurd to suppose that these lines formed the only portion of the text known in the fourth dynasty, and thus we are entitled to assume that the same Recension of the Book of the Dead which was known and copied in the sixth dy- nasty was also known and copied in the fourth dy- nasty. From the lines on the coffin of Men-kau-Ra we learn some interesting facts : namely, that the dead king was identified with the god, that the divine ori- gin of the god was ascribed also to the king, that the life of the king in the world beyond , the grave was to be that of a god, that all his foes were to be vanquished, and that he was to become a being possessed of life everlasting. Here, then, is a proof of the acceptance of the Osiris story and of the doc-

1. They read : "[Hail,] Osiris, king of the North and South, Men-kau- "Ra, living for ever ! born of heaven, conceived of Nut, heir of Seb his "beloved. Thy mother Nut spreadeth herself over thee in her name of " 'mystery of heaven' ; she granteth that thou mayest exist as a god with- ' 'out thy foes, O king of the North and South, Men-kau-Ra, living for ever."

trine of immortality, or everlasting life, at a very re- mote period in Egypt.

During the period of the fifth and sixth dynasties a remarkable development took place in the funeral ceremonies performed for Egyptian kings. The kings of the fourth dynasty Khufu (Cheops), Kha-f-Ra (Khephren), and Men-kau-Ra had built for their tombs the stone pyramids at Gizeh, which to this day excite the wonder and admiration of the civilized world, but the walls of the chambers and corridors are unin- scribed, and they tell us nothing of the texts which were recited during the funeral, and nothing of the ceremonies by which they were accompanied. At the close of the fifth dynasty, however, Unas the king (B. C. 3333) built as his tomb a stone pyramid at a place now called Sakkara, which is situated on the west bank of the Nile, a few miles to the south of the modern city of Cairo, and he covered the greater parts of the walls of the chambers, corridors, etc., with several hundred vertical lines of hieroglyphic text which were deeply cut and filled up with green paint or composition. In the year 1 88 1 M. Maspero effected an entrance into this pyramid, and he recog- nized at once the fact that the inscriptions which he saw before him formed the text of the Book of the Dead which was in use in Egypt during the period of the fifth dynasty. Continuing his labours in this "pyra- mid field" he opened the pyramids of Teta, Pepi I,

Mer-en-Ra, and Pepi II, kings of the sixth dynasty who

reigned from about B. C. 33oo to B. C. 3i66, and he found that the texts which covered the walls inside were duplicates, with additions, of those which he had already found in the pyramid of Unas. 1 We thus see, for the first time, a collected series of texts of the Book of the Dead in the earliest Recension known to us ; this Recension may for convenience be called the 'Helippolitan', because it bears unmistakable evidence that it was drawn up by the priests of Annu (On or Heliopolis), and that it contains the peculiar views held by the priests of the colleges of that very ancient city. Though five sets of extracts from it have come down to us in a tolerably complete state of preservation, we must not assume that they represent all the texts which belonged to it, indeed the various sections of it which were copied upon funeral monuments and papyri in later times indicate that for all practical purposes its extent was illimitable. How much "editing" was done to the texts of this Recension by the priests of Annu cannot be said, but there is considerable evidence scattered throughout it which shews that they had been edited two or three times before, and it is clear that we have preserved in it many religious ideas and beliefs which belong to what may be termed strata of religious thought of different

i. These texts, together with French translations, have been published by M. Maspero under the title of Les Inscriptions des Pyramides de Saq- qarah, Paris, 1894 ; the various sections of this work had before appeared in Recueil de Travaux, torn. III. ff.

periods and dates. Some of them certainly go back to a period in the history of the Egyptians when they celebrated their triumphs over their enemies in a brutal and savage fashion, and others belong to a time when their ancestors stood but little higher on the ladder of civilization than the barbarous tribes w T ho lived on their western and southern frontiers.

The Heliopolitan Recension of the Book of the Dead consists of a series of paragraphs, each of which is introduced by the word jTl "recite" ; scattered through- out the text are directions to the priests who performed the ceremonies when to make certain presen- tations of meat, drink, and other objects. In later days the rubrical directions were written at the ends of the sections, and titles were given to the sections, which henceforth became special Chapters, intended to produce certain definite results. An ex- cellent idea of the arrangement of the texts in the pyramids will be obtained from the accompanying page of hieroglyphic extract which is taken from the text written for Unas, 1. 496 ff.

At the end of the sixth dynasty the walls of the chambers of tombs built for great and wealthy men were profusely ornamented with texts and scenes, both coloured and uncoloured ; but in none do we find religious texts belonging to the collection which the royal pyramids have revealed to us. It is difficult to account for this except on the score of economy. The wealthy man or owner of large estates caused

the scenes which shewed his greatness and affluence to be vividly depicted on the walls of his tomb, but even in the East, where time has always been of little value and labour cheap, the difference between the cost of cutting several hundred lines of hieroglyphics in limestone and filling them up with paint, and the cost of painting a number of agricultural and other scenes in tempera must have been very considerable. In

the former case the texts had to be "set out" by the artist, and then carefully cut by the skilled mason, and it must not be forgotten that the copy from which the artist worked may have been in hieratic or cur- sive characters, in which case the difficulties of the work would be increased ; in the latter the artist's work was limited to broad outline which could be quickly drawn, and the filling in of the colours was an easy matter.

During the interval between the end of the sixth dy- nasty and the beginning of the eleventh we know no- thing of the fortunes of the Book of the Dead, and it is not until we come to the middle or end of the eleventh dynasty that we find other copies of the work. Of the history, too, of the period of the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth dynasties very little is known, and though in certain districts in Upper Egypt tombs of consider- able size and beauty were built, yet no striking de- velopment in the funeral texts seems to have taken place, or, if it did, we have no record of it. Belong- ing to the eleventh and twelfth dynasties, however,

we have a number of coffins of considerable impor- tance for the study of the Book of the Dead. They may be roughly divided into three classes : (i) those which are painted to represent funeral chambers or tombs, (2) those which are almost plain outside but covered inside with texts in the hieratic or cursive Egyptian character, and (3) those which are inscribed both inside and out. The texts are usually traced in black upon the planed surface of the wood, the chief in- scriptions which record the name and titles of the de- ceased being painted in large hieroglyphics either in a vertical line down the length of the cover, or in a horizontal line round the upper part of the four sides of the coffin. On the right hand side, at the foot, is often painted or inlaid the double utchat i?5|P fS or so-called "symbolic eyes". Plates I and II illustrate as far as possible without the use of colours the ar- rangement of the text on such coffins. The scene in Plate I is from one end (inside) of the famous coffin of Amamu (Brit. Mus. No. 6,654). The border with its pattern of rectangles is painted in bright colours, red, green, and yellow, and all round the upper part of the sides are painted the principal objects which formed the usual offerings to the dead, and a prayer that the deceased may have such things offered in his tomb for ever. Here we see vases and jars of various shapes and sizes filled with unguents and cosmetics, the names of which are given in the line of hiero- glyphics above them ; they are set upon a stand,

broken examples of which have been from time to time found in tombs. Each of the vertical lines of text begins with the word jTl "recite", a fact which shews that the text was usually inscribed upon the walls of tombs. Plate II gives an extract from the text inscribed upon the coffin of Sebek-aa preserved at Berlin. It will be noticed that the hieroglyphics have begun to assume a conventional form, and that they do not so readily suggest the objects which they represent. We notice, too, that the various sections on such coffins have specific titles attached to them, in other words they have become "Chapters". As the pyramids of the fifth and sixth dynasties do not all contain the same selection of extracts from the Book of the Dead, so the coffins of the eleventh and twelfth dynasties do not all contain the same selection of Chapters ; this fact shews that the selection of the extracts and Chapters did not follow any general rule, but whether it depended upon the will and discretion of the scribe or the deceased cannot be said. Down the length of the bottom of the coffin inside was fre- quently painted a band of white across which were traced in blue wavy

lines to indicate water ; this pro- bably represented the celestial Nile, or the stream upon which the deceased hoped to float to the Ely- sian Fields. We must note, in passing, that at the period when these coffins were made no pyramids were inscribed with extracts or Chapters from the Book of the Dead ; in other words, it was found both

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE Xlth and Xllth

From the Sarcophagus of Sebek-Aa. (See Lepsius, " Aelteste Texte,'

cheaper and easier to write the text with ink or co- lours upon planks which could be afterwards pegged together to form coffins. This custom resulted in the curtailment of the selection of texts, and in less than a thousand years after the religious texts in the py- ramids of the fifth and sixth dynasties were cut, we find that certain portions of them had fallen into dis- use.

We have already seen that a period lies between the sixth and eleventh dynasties during which we know nothing of the Book of the Dead, and again during the period which lies between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties we know nothing of it. With the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty the Book of the Dead begins a new phase of its existence, and a de- velopment of its history as interesting as it is un- expected is before us. From pyramids the transition was to coffins, and now the transition is from coffins to papyri. And here again economy probably played an important part. Inscribed pyramids, and sarcophagi, and coffins would, necessarily, be only made for royal personages and for great and wealthy folk, but a roll of papyrus was, in comparison with these, a very in- expensive thing, especially if the services of an or- dinary scribe were employed in inscribing it.

The greater number of the copies of the Book of the Dead inscribed upon papyri have been found at Thebes, indeed those made in this city are of such importance, that to the Recension of the work which

we commonly find in use in Egypt from the eighteenth to the twenty-second dynasty the name "Theban" has been given. We owe them chiefly to the scribes and priests who were attached to the powerful confrater- nity of the priests of "Amen-Ra, the king of the gods", and, speaking generally, the best MSS. are found in their tombs and coffins. The original home of the texts which they copied, was, of course, Memphis or Helio- polis, and there is reason for believing that during the earlier centuries of their existence they did little more than adopt the religious views and doctrines of .the sages of the North. As time went on, and the worshippers of Amen obtained greater power, this god was slowly but surely made to usurp the attributes of the older cosmic gods of Egypt, and eventually, as we see in Chapter CLXXI {infra, p. 3 1 5), his name is included among those of the old gods of the Book of the Dead.

The papyri inscribed with copies of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead vary in length from about 15 to go feet, and in width from 12 to 18 inches ; in many cases the various pieces which form the papyrus are so carefully put together that it is almost impossible to see where one piece ends and the other begins. In the early part of the eigh- teenth dynasty the text is always written with black ink in vertical columns of hieroglyphics, which are separated from each other by black lines ; the titles of the Chapters,

and the initial word or words of

Plate III THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XVIIIth DYNASTY.

From the Papyrus of Nebseni, Brit. Mus. No. 9,000, sheet 6.

Plate IV. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XVIIIth DYNASTY.

From the Papyrus of Nu, Brit Mus. No, 10,477, sheet 28.

certain parts of the Chapters, and "catch-words", and rubrics are written with red ink. In the eighteenth dynasty, or perhaps a little earlier, the scribes be- gan to ornament the papyri with designs in black outline, referring to the subject matter of the text near which they were placed ; such designs, or "vig- nettes", as they are usually called, occupy quite a subordinate position, and they were drawn most pro- bably by the scribe. Little by little, however, they increased in number, and it became the fashion to illuminate them with bright colours, greens, reds, yel- lows. In the nineteenth dynasty the unilluminated papyrus became the exception, and the Vignettes flourished at the expense of the text. An idea of the beauty of a fully coloured papyrus of the best period may be gained from the frontispiece to this volume and from the plates which face pp. 19 and 170, and Plates III —VIII will illustrate the characteristics of good MSS. of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, ex- cept as to colour. Plate III illustrates the writing and Vignettes of the famous Papyrus of Nebseni (Brit. Mus. No. 9,900) which was found at Memphis ; it mea- sures 77 feet 7'/, in., by 1 ft. i'/ 2 in., and contains seventy-seven Chapters, not including duplicates and triplicates. The Vignettes are traced in outline and are remarkably well drawn ; and both Vignettes and text appear to be the work of one scribe, probably Nebseni himself. The Papyrus of Nebseni was appa- rently written early in the eighteenth dynasty. Plate IV

contains a Vignette and a piece of text from the Pa- pyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus. No. 10,477), which was found at Thebes ; it measures 65 ft. 3 '/ 2 in., by 1 ft. 1 '/ 2 in., and contains one hundred and thirty- one Chapters. Though shorter than the Papyrus of Nebseni, the texts inscribed on it are more numerous, for the writing is smaller and the lines are closer together. Some of the Chapters have Vignettes, but they occupy an en- tirely subordinate position, and the colouring is not as fine as that found in documents of a later date. The date of this papyrus cannot be much later than that of Nebseni. On Plate V we have an example of the very fine, bold writing which is found in the Pa- pyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus. No. 10,470), which was found at Thebes ; this document measures 78 feet by 1 ft. 3 in., and contains sixty- six Chapters. It is the finest of all the illuminated papyri of the eighteenth dy- nasty, and from an artistic point of view its value is greater than that of any other papyrus. It is made up of six distinct lengths of papyrus which have been neatly joined ; the text was written by several scribes, and the Vignettes are the work of more than one ar- tist. An examination of the document shews that the artist's work was done before the text was written ; at times the space needed for the text was miscal- culated, and the scribe was compelled to reduce the size of his writing, and even to write words on the coloured border within which text and Vignettes are enclosed. The first sixteen feet of the papyrus were

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XVIIIth DYNASTY.

From the Papyrus of Ani, Brit. Mus. No. 10,470, sheet 26.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XVIIIth DYNASTY.

inscribed probably by Ani himself, the other sections were written by scribes of the same school, probably after his death. The Hymn to Osiris on Plate VI is probably in Ani's own handwriting, and the charac- ters are formed with an attention to detail not often found elsewhere. The Vignettes and text on plate VII shew the work of two scribes and two artists, and also shew that the inscribed portion of one section was done on a larger scale than was contemplated in the earlier sections ; here we see that the borders had to be enlarged to make the join. From this we see, too, that the planning of a papyrus was a mat- ter which was left to the discretion of the artist and scribe ; and when we consider that the Papyrus of Nebseni contains duplicates and even triplicates of some Chapters, and that the Papyrus of Ani contains two copies of Chapter XVIII (one with an introduc- tion and one without), slightly differing from each other and having the sections of the Vignette arranged differently, it is clear that even the best scribes did not tie themselves to any one plan or method in pre- paring a copy of the Book of the Dead. We may note too that in the Papyrus of Ani a large section of the text of Chapter XVII has been omitted by the scribe, probably because the artist had not left suffi- cient space for the whole Chapter. In the text, more- over, several palpable errors occur, but, on the other hand, we have in the Vignettes descriptions of mytho- logical scenes, names of gods, etc., which occur in

no other text ; -among these worthy of special men- tion are the Judgment Scene and the accompanying texts, and the Vignette to the XVII th Chapter.

Plate VIII gives us a Vignette and a few lines of text from the Papyrus of Hu-nefer, a scribe and super- intendent of cattle who flourished in the reign of Seti I, about B. C. 1370; the cartouche of the king affords conclusive proof as to its date. This document is remarkable from many points of view. It is the shortest perfect MS. of its class known, measuring 18 feet by 1 ft. 3 3 /s m - The Vignettes are beautiful specimens of the artist's work, and the scene in which the performance of the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth" is depicted is the most perfect known ; but the Vignette to Chapter XVII is imperfect when com- pared with that of the Papyrus of Ani. The copy of Chapter I is so good that M. Naville employed it as the standard text in his Todtenbuch, but the copy of Chapter XVII is so incomplete and incorrect that he found it useless even for purposes of comparison. Here again we see that the Vignettes were executed at the expense of the text ; in spite of this, however, the papyrus is valuable, for it contains a Hymn to Osiris by the god Thoth which is not found elsewhere in the same form. The text is written in a good, bold hand, but with little attention to the details of the characters ; and the Judgment Scene exhibits many peculiarities, both in respect of text and arrangement.

Plates IX and X illustrate the Vignettes and the

Plate VHI THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XlXth DYNASTY.

From the Papyrus of Hu-nefer, Brit. Mus. No. 9,901, sheet 2.

hieratic and hieroglyphic texts which are found in Books of the Dead of the twentieth dynasty. In Plate IX we see the "royal mother Netchemet" standing behind her son Her-Heru ; the dress and ornaments of these royal personages shew the change which has taken place in such matters since the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, and in the manner of depicting them. The colours of the Vignettes are more crude, the delicacy of design and of execution alike has de- parted, and a comparison of the text with that of the Papyrus of Nu shews that the skill of the scribe had deteriorated. The hieratic text on Plate X gives an excellent idea of the writing of the period. In the twentieth dynasty Books of the Dead inscribed for the priests of Amen began with a Vignette, either plain or coloured, in which the deceased was seen making offerings to Osiris or to the gods of Thebes. This was followed by a selection of Chapters from the Book of the Dead in use in the eighteenth dynasty, or by a series of texts peculiar to the period accom- panied by Vignettes taken from other funeral works. Sometimes, as in the case of the Princess Nesi-Khonsu, the document begins with a long, detailed list of the titles of Amen-Ra, who by this time had usurped the attributes of the old gods of Egypt, which is followed by a series of statements in which the god, in apparently legal language, swears to confer every favour possible upon the deceased lady. Such documents are not very long, and they are usually much narrower

than Books of the Dead of the earlier period. The mythological figures and scenes characteristic of the later documents of the priests of Amen are not yet well understood, for only a few have been published in entirety.

Of papyri of the twenty-first dynasty which pre- serve many characteristics of the earlier period may be mentioned that of Anhai, a priestess of Amen (Brit. Mus. No. 10,472), a section of which is shewn on Plate XL Here we have, however, a w T ork sui generis which is very instructive from many points of view. The artist's work is the most valuable part of the papyrus, and the use of gold for purposes of illumination appears for the first time. In addition to the Vignettes of the older period we find here the scene of the Creation given much as it is found on the Sarcophagus of Seti I, and a rare Vignette which seems to refer to Khemennu, the city of Thoth. The texts are fragmentary and often have no connexion with the Vignettes which accompany them, but many of the Vignettes are of considerable interest. The handwriting is, in some places, very good, but it lacks the bold firmness which is characteristic of the older scribes. In papyri of the eighteenth dynasty we find many mistakes, but most of them may be attri- buted to momentary carelessness on the part of a weary scribe; whereas in those of the twenty- first and succeeding dynasties the writers of the texts seem to be altogether reckless. Texts are copied beginning

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XXth DYNASTY.

From the Papyrus of Queen Netchemet, in the possession of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XXth DYNASTY.

c "" m * ho Dorwmic nf .£>ju>on NAtnhnmAt Rr»it Mms. Nn. 10.490. shfifit 4.

at the end instead of at the beginning, omissions of whole sections are frequent, texts that have proper Vignettes are copied without the least regard to the correct Vignettes, and what is intended to be a Chapter frequently consists of nothing but a series of frag- ments of sentences copied without break merely to fill up the space which the artist had spared for the purpose. It seems as if the artist both painted the Vignettes and wrote the text, and as if his sole aim was to produce a handsome, but not accurate, document. The contents of the papyri reflect, no doubt, the religious views commonly held at that period, and, if this be so, it is clear that the priests of Amen held the texts, which they inserted alongside of the Chapters of the older period, to be of equal value and authority. Some of them went so far as fill their papyri with religious compositions which are never to be found in the old works. In Plate XII we have a Vignette with a few lines of text from the papyrus Brit. Mus. No. 10,478, which I believe was written in the twenty-second dynasty. The artist's work is a copy, or rather a very poor imitation, of the illuminating of the nineteenth dynasty, and the text consists of a series of compositions referring to the offerings which were to be made to the gods of the Qerti, or divi- sions of the underworld. Strictly speaking, these have nothing whatever to do with the Book of the Dead, but in the opinion of the scribe they were equally efficacious. In the same dynasty a large number of

copies of selections of Chapters from the Book of the Dead were written in hieratic, with Vignettes traced in outline in black ink. In some of these the papy- rus measures about 40 ft. by 1 ft. 6 in., and in others the dimensions are considerably less. An idea of the appearance of such papyri may be gained from Plate XIII, which illustrates both the fine drawing and small but clear hieratic writing of the period. It is probable that the Books of the Dead written in hieratic during the twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second dynasties belong to a Recension different in many respects from the Theban, but that such Recension is akin to the Theban there is no doubt whatever. In both the Chap- ters have no fixed order, and in both the Chapters have special titles, a characteristic which distinguishes them from the sections of the Books of the Dead of the fifth, sixth, eleventh and twelfth dynasties. It is tolerably easy to identify the papyri which were inscribed before B. C. 900, in fact, as long as the power of the priests of Amen was paramount at Thebes, the copies of the Books of the Dead which were inscrib- ed for them reflect the prosperity of the confraternity. But when it became necessary for the priests to hide at Der el-bahari the mummies of the kings and queens who had been their greatest benefactors, and troublous times came upon them, everything re- lating to the rites and ceremonies connected with the dead suffered, and the relatives and friends of the dead were obliged to do for them not what they

Plate XT. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XXIst DYNASTY

From the Papyrus of Anhai, Brit. Mus. No. 10,472, sheet 5.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XXIInd DYNASTY.

From Papyrus, Brit. Mus. No. 10,478, sheet 7.

would, but what they could. Eventually, it would seem, a time came when no Books of the Dead were written, and this period corresponds, I believe, to the final failure of the domination of the priests of Amen. This is not the place to lament the mistake which the priests of Amen made when they tried to rule Egypt temporally as well as spiritually, or to regret the policy which made them exalt their god Amen above the older gods of the country whom the people had known and worshipped from time immemorial ; it is sufficient to know that in each matter they failed. They lost their own temporal power as the result of their intrigues, and at best they only succeeded in obtaining for their god a place side by side with the old gods. It must, however, not be forgotten that we owe some of the best and finest copies of the Book of the Dead to scribes who had married priestesses of Amen, and who were themselves attached to the brotherhood.

With the rise of the kings of the twenty-sixth dy- nasty to power the Book of the Dead enters upon a new lease of life, and a general revival of ancient religious customs took place ; the temples were re- paired, ancient and long forgotten texts were re-co- pied, and artists and sculptors took their models from the best works of the masters of the Early Empire. Early in this dynasty, it appears, the priesthood which succeeded the priests of Amen awoke to the con- sciousness of the fact that the texts of the Book of

the Dead needed re-editing and re-arranging, and they set to work to try to put some system into them. How and when exactly the work was done we know not, but it is probable that it was carried out by an assembly or college of priests. We have seen above that scribes tied themselves to no one plan in making their copies of the Book of the Dead and that the work of the artist on the Vignettes (which were subordinate matters originally) was at times allowed to drive the text from the papyrus ; in the best papyri, too, the selection of texts copied is never the same, and the order of them is never the same. In fact each papyrus had a plan of its own. These things the priests of the twenty-sixth dynasty tried to correct, and the result of their labours was a Recension of the Book of the Dead which is usually called the "Sai'te". A number of papyri are extant which are inscribed therewith, and an examination of them shews that the Chapters follow a certain order, and that al- though the papyri vary in length, the selection of Chapters being not as full in some of them as in others, this order has few exceptions. Each of the early Re- censions of the Book of the Dead known to us ex- hibits peculiarities which reflect the religious views of the time when it was written, and the Sai'te Recen- sion is not an exception to the rule, for included in it are four Chapters (CLXII— CLXV) which have no counterparts in the papyri of the older period ; they are remarkable also for containing a number of for-

Plate XIII. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XXIInd DYNASTY.

From the Papyrus of Heru-em-heb, Brit. Mus. No. 10,257, sheet 14.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD AFTER THE XXVIth DYNASTY.

From the Papyrus of Heru, Brit. Mus. No. 10,479, sheet 4.

eign words. It has been suggested that these Chapters are of Nubian origin, and if so it would be interesting to know the circumstances under which they were inserted in the Book of the Dead. It is difficult to

identify with certainty the papyri which were actually written during the twenty-sixth dynasty, but MSS. written in the period immediately preceding the Ptole- maic are not difficult to recognize. Plate XIV gives fourteen lines of text and part of a Vignette from a document of this class (Brit. Mus. No. 10,479), ar >d shews what a well defined class it is. The text is written with black ink in vertical columns of spidery hieroglyphics separated by black lines, and the Vig- nettes occupy small spaces above it ; the Vignettes of the Sunrise or Sunset, the Judgment Scene, and the Elysian Fields occupy the whole length of the papyrus. Sometimes the Vignettes are all mixed together, but, even when coloured, they lack the artistic appearance and good work of the illuminated papyri of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties.

The Recension in use in the Ptolemaic period is well illustrated by Plate XV, which is reproduced from Lepsius' edition of the Turin Papyrus ; this pa- pyrus is probably the best and longest MS. of the class known. The selection of Chapters is remarkably full ; the number of Chapters, however, is not 165 but 153, for three of them (Chaps. XVI, CXLIII, and CL) are in reality Vignettes, and nine others (Chaps. XL VIII, XLIX, LXXIII, CV1I, CXI, CXX, CXXI,

CXXIX, and CXXXIX) are duplicates of Chapters found in other parts of the papyrus. The titles of the Chapters, catch-words, parts of Rubrics, etc., are written in red.

Meanwhile, however, a number of short religious works for funeral use had been composed, presumably by the priests, and it seems that towards the end of the Ptolemaic period it was more usual to inscribe these upon papyri than the Chapters of the old Re- censions of the Book of the Dead. It seems as if an attempt was made to extract only the essential por- tions of the old works and to omit from the shortened new texts the Chapters which referred to faiths which were dead and to beliefs which had little or no influence in those modern times. Added to this, the knowledge of such matters must have disappeared from the com- munity long before the Ptolemies ruled the land, and, though the belief in the resurrection of the spiritual body and in life everlasting beyond the grave re- tained its power over the people as firmly as ever, most men had no knowledge whatever of the texts which their forefathers who were dead and gone imagined to be necessary for the attainment of the same. The sepulchral stelae and coffins shew that neither the employer nor the employed had an exact idea of the import of the texts and symbols which were cut or painted upon them, and to ignorance as much as to haste must be attributed the blunders which occur in funeral texts of this period. Here and

there we find an attempt to preserve Vignettes and texts of the old period along with the modern work, and a good example of this class of document is the Papyrus of Kerasher (Brit. Mus. No. 9,995), a portion of which is reproduced on Plate XVI. Here we have a representation of the Judgment Scene, crude alike in colour and detail, a part of the Vignette of the first Chapter of the old Book of the Dead, a num- ber of the Pylons discussed in Chapters CXLV and CXLVI, etc., and two horizontal lines of hieroglyphics which contain prayers reflecting those of an earlier period. No MS. could more clearly shew how little knowledge of the old Book of the Dead remained in the hands of the scribes at that time ; artistic skill, moreover, had

sunk very low, for it will be noticed that the censer which the white-skirted priest is carry- ing before the bier, and which he was supposed to carry in his hand, is almost as long as he is high ! The coloured portion of this papyrus is followed by three columns of text in hieratic which form the work entitled Shai en Sensen, or "Book of Breathings" (see Plate XVII), wherein we find no hymns, and no ad- dresses to the gods, and in fact no words which do not directly refer to the future life of the deceased in the world beyond the grave. Here we have an epitome of all that the Egyptian hoped to obtain in the "land of eternity".

We have now reached the end of the Graeco-Roman period, but the end of the Book of the Dead is not

yet, for belonging to the Roman period we find a number of small rolls of papyri inscribed in very cursive hieratic with a series of statements or asser- tions referring to the happiness of the deceased in the next world. Such papyri have no Vignettes, and as for the texts, both hymns and Chapters of the old Book of the Dead in any Recension are as absent from them as if they had never existed. The aim of the writer of such documents was not to glorify the gods, but to secure the goods of the next world by means of the smallest amount of writing possible, and at the least expense. On Plate XVIII is reproduced a portion of a papyrus of this class (Brit. Mus. No. 10,111), and a comparison of it with the earlier Plates in this book will shew at once the change which had come over the Book of the Dead. What form the Book of the Dead took in the early centuries of the Christian era cannot be said, but it seems not to have died out utterly, for selections from it are found copied upon the outer and inner swathings of mummies and upon coffins of the Roman Period ; on a coffin in Paris, which was probably made about the end of the se- cond century of our era, are written a number of texts which are as old as the time of the Pyramids at Sakkara, and this fact proves that when such documents were needed originals from which to copy them could always be found. There is good reason for assuming that the art of making mummies was practised until the end of the fifth century of our era, and there is

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (OR BOOK OF BREATHINGS) IN THE GR/CCO-ROMAN PERIOD.

From the Fapyrus of Kerasher, Brit. Mus. No. 9,995, sheet 2.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE ROMAN PERIOD.

From Papyrus Brit. Mus. Nc. 10,111.

no doubt that in certain places the belief that the preservation of the natural body was absolutely ne- cessary for the growth, development, and existence of the spiritual body, existed in full force until a much later date. It is not possible to assign a date to the period when the decay of the Book of the Dead began, but it is probably contemporary with the advent of the Greeks in Egypt. Up to that period Egypt may be described as the home of a nation that was given up entirely to the care of the dead and to the consideration of the future life ; a few of its kings were soldiers in the true sense of the word, but it is a striking fact that the temples and tombs of Egypt are the chief monuments of one of the oldest and greatest civilizations of the world. A tottering religion would be rudely shaken by the invasions of the country by Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and others, and the permanent occupation of Egypt by Greeks and Romans would

continue the work which frequent disturbances throughout the country had be- gun. The final blow, however, was not inflicted until the Egyptians began to renounce their own ancient religion and to become converts of the preaching of Saint Mark and his followers ; when they were once able to believe that Christ had the power to raise up their bodies in a spiritual form they felt that there was no need to have them mummified, and simultane- ously the need for the Chapters of the Book of the Dead disappeared.

We are now able to summarize the various forms of the Book of the Dead as follows : — It first exist- ed in oral tradition only, and was next written down to preserve it ; of these forms nothing whatever is known. The first historical Recension was that made by the priests of Heliopolis, and the oldest copies of it known are cut in hieroglyphics upon the walls of the chambers and passages inside the Pyramids of Sakkara of the fifth and sixth dynasties. The second Recension was written or painted upon sar- cophagi and coffins of the eleventh and twelfth dy- nasties in cursive hieroglyphics. The third Recen- sion was written in hieroglyphics upon papyri from the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasty, the various Chapters having no fixed order ; this Recension was illustrated by a large number of Vignettes. The fourth Recension was written in hieratic upon papyri during the twenty-first and twenty-second dynasties, and in- cluded extracts from various funeral books which were illustrated by Vignettes of an unusual character. The fifth or Sai'te Recension was made, probably, in the twenty-sixth dynasty ; the Chapters have a fixed order and were written on papyri both in hieratic and hiero- glyphics. The sixth Recension which was in use in Ptolemaic times much resembled the Sai'te, and may be regarded as the last form of the Book of the Dead, for the extracts from it written for the benefit of the dead upon small pieces of Papyri in the Graeco- Roman and Roman periods need hardly be considered.

Thus the great religious work of the Egyptians, which had lasted for thousands of years and which in early times, cut in fine, bold hieroglyphics, covered the walls and passages of the tombs of kings, ended its existence in almost illegible scrawls hastily traced upon scraps of papyrus only a few inches square.

From first to last throughout the Book of the Dead, with the single exception of Herutataf, the second son of Cheops, no man is mentioned as the author or reviser of any Chapter or of any part of it ; certain Chapters may shew the influence of the cult of a cer- tain city or cities, but the Theban Book of the Dead, at all events, cannot be regarded as the work of any one man or body of men, and it does not re- present the religious views and beliefs of any one part only of Egypt. From time immemorial the god Thoth, who was both the divine intelligence which at crea- tion uttered the words that were carried into effect by Ptah and Khnemu, and the scribe of the gods, was associated with the production of the Book of the Dead, and, though he was primarily the god of time and chronologer of heaven and earth, he ap- pears frequently as the advocate and helper of the deceased. In the CLXXXIInd Chapter (see p. 341) he is called the "scribe of right and truth who abo- "minateth sin", and again, "Behold, he is the writing "reed of the god Neb-er-tcher, the lord of laws, who "giveth forth the speech of wisdom and understand- ing, whose words have dominion over the two lands".

Of himself the god says, "I am Thoth, the lord of "right and truth, who trieth the right and the truth "for the gods, the judge of words in their essence, "whose words triumph over violence .... I have "made Ra to set

as Osiris, and Osiris setteth as Ra "setteth". The deeds which Thoth claims to have done on behalf of Osiris are set forth at length in the two hymns to Osiris which form the CLXXXIInd and CLXXXIIIrd Chapters (see p. 340 ff.). In several places in the Book of the Dead the deceased is made to refer to the "might of the words of the utterances "of the god Thoth", and much of what this god did for "his brother" Osiris was effected by this power. The belief in the efficacy of the words of Thoth continu- ed till the latest period, for in the Book of Breathings (see p. CXCVII) we read, "Thoth, the most mighty god, "the lord of Khemennu, cometh to thee, and he writeth "for thee the Book of Breathings with his own fingers". Finally, mention must be made of the various places in the tomb where the papyri inscribed with the Chap- ters of the Book of the Dead were placed. When the Egyptians ceased to cut the Chapters on the walls of the chambers and passages of pyramids, they wrote or painted them upon the sides, inner and outer, of wooden coffins, and this custom obtained until the end of the rule of the native kings of Egypt, about B. C. 350 ; the Vignettes were copied upon coffins, long after all knowledge of their meaning had been forgotten, until as late as the third century of our

era. The inscribed papyrus was sometimes placed in a separate box beside the coffin, and sometimes a niche in the wall was specially cut for it ; the most perfect of the papyri known have been found in niches. Frequently the papyrus was laid by the side of the mummy in the coffin, and in this case it is usually found broken by the movements of the mummy when the coffin was carried along. More frequently the papyrus was laid under the hands and between the thighs before the final swathing took place ; it was also placed between the legs just above the ankles. Such papyri are usually much broken, and they are often much discoloured by the moisture of the sub- stances, bitumen, cedar oil, etc., used in the process of embalmment. In the time of the greatest power of the priests of Amen, in the twenty-first dynasty, large wooden figures of Osiris standing upon a pedestal £==> were made to serve as cases for the papyri, which were tightly rolled up and tied, and pushed up inside the figures through holes in the bottom of the pedestals.' In later times, about B. C. 3oo, the figures were made solid, and vertical cavities were cut in the backs of them to hold the papyri ; still later, i. c, in the Roman period, when the papyri became very small, they were laid in cavities in the sides of the pedestals, which also contained mummi- fied portions wrapped in linen of the bodies of the

i. A good example of this class of figure, that of Anhai, a priestess of Amen, is figured in my Mummy, p. 216.

persons for whom they were made. Over the mummi- fied remains, which are placed in the upper parts of the pedestals, we often find small models of sepulchral chests or coffins surmounted by figures of Anubis and hawks. The figure of the god above is no longer that of Osiris simply, but it represents the triune god Ptah- Seker-Ausar, the god of the resurrection, and has all the attributes which belong to the ancient gods Ptah and Seker. In this trinity the creator of the world, the sun, and Osiris as god of the dead were repre- sented. Some think that Ptah in this trinity represents the personification of the period of incubation which follows death and precedes the entry into eternal life. The exact position of Seker cannot be definitely de- scribed ; he is usually depicted as a mummied body with the head of a hawk, and he sometimes holds in his

hands the emblems of power, rule, and sove- reignty which belong to Osiris ; he is said to be the incarnation of the Apis bull at Memphis.

It will be noticed in reading the translation of the Book of the Dead given in this volume that the de- ceased is always identified with the god Osiris, and that he is frequently called by the god's name. And if the religious texts written for the benefit of the dead in all periods be examined it will be found that from the fifth dynasty to the latest times Osiris is always regarded as the king and god of the dead, and that Egyptian writers always assume the identity of the blessed dead with their god. Thus in the text inscribed on the Pyramid of Unas ' the writer identi- fies the king with the god Osiris and says to the god Tem, "O Tern, behold thy son, this motionless Osiris, "thou hast given him that whereon he may live. If "he liveth this Unas liveth ; if he dieth not, this Unas "dieth not ; if he perisheth not, this Unas perisheth not ; "if he begetteth not, this Unas begetteth not ; if he be- "getteth, this Unas begetteth." And throughout the re-

ligious literature the deceased always claims that what- ever was done by the gods for Osiris should also be done for him by them. The hymns addressed to Ra and other great gods dwell more on the majesty and power which they exhibit in heaven and upon earth than upon their goodness to man ; but with Osiris the case is different, and it is -evident that in the earliest period he was regarded more in the light of a god who could be known, and who was known more or less personally — if we may use the word — and he was of all the gods the one singled out to receive the petitions of mankind for everlasting life.

It is impossible to say when Osiris began to be regarded as the god of the dead, and it is only from brief allusions that any history of him can be formed. Throughout the Egyptian texts it is assumed that the god suffered death and mutilation at the hands of his enemies ; that the various members of his body were scattered about the land of Egypt ; that his sister- wife Isis sought him sorrowing and at length found him ; that she fanned him with her wings and gave him air ; that she raised up his body and was united unto him ; that she conceived and brought forth a child (Horus) ; and that he (Osiris) became the god and king of the underworld. In the legend of Osiris as given by Plutarch (De hide et Osirlde) it is said that he was murdered at the instigation of Typhon or Set, who tore the body into fourteen pieces, which he scattered throughout the land ; Isis collected these

pieces, and wherever she found one she built a tomb. After the death of Osiris, his son Horus did battle with Typhon his father's murderer, and, in the words of the Egyptians, "avenged his father". Notwithstand- ing the death and mutilation which the god suf- fered the Egyptians firmly believed that he rose from the dead with a body perfect in all its members, and that corruption and decay had no power over him. This fact may be deduced from a large number of passages in texts of all periods, but in one in parti- cular which forms part of Chapter CLIV of the Book of the Dead' a definite statement of it occurs. The deceased says to Osiris, "Do thou embalm these my "members, for I would not perish and come to an "end, [but would be] even like unto my divine father "Khepera, who is the divine type of him that never

"saw corruption Let not my body become

"worms but deliver me as thou didst deliver thyself

" Homage to thee, O my divine father Osiris,

"thou hast thy being with thy members. Thou didst "not decay, thou didst not become worms, thou didst "not waste away, thou didst not become corruption, "thou didst not putrefy, and thou didst not turn into "worms. I am the god Khepera, and my members "shall have an everlasting existence. I shall not decay, "I shall not rot, I shall not putrefy, I shall not turn "into worms, and I shall not see corruption beneath

"the eye of the god Shu. I shall have my being, I "shall have my being. I shall live, I shall live. I shall "germinate, I shall germinate, I shall germinate. I shall "wake up in peace ; I shall not putrefy ; my intestines "shall not perish ; I shall not suffer from any defect ; "mine eye shall not decay ; the form of my visage "shall not disappear ; mine ear shall not become deaf; "my head shall not be separated from my neck ; my "tongue shall not be carried away ; my hair shall "not be cut off ; mine eyebrows shall not be shaved "off ; and no baleful injury shall come upon me. My "body shall be stablished, and it shall neither fall "into decay nor be destroyed upon this earth". The oldest copy of this Chapter is inscribed upon one of the wrappings of the mummy of Thothmes III, who reigned about B. C. 1550, and the latest is found in the Turin Papyrus (edited by Lepsius in 1842), which dates from the Ptolemaic period. From these extracts we see that the deceased bases his certainty of an everlasting life, which was to be lived in a body which was perfect in all its members, upon the as- surance that Osiris died, and rose again, and lived in a body which was perfect in all its members ; and it followed for the Egyptian that if Osiris did not die and rise again his belief in a resurrection was vain. It is difficult to say with certainty whether the ancient Egyptian believed that Osiris endured pain and suffered death on his behalf or not ; but it is quite clear that he believed there was some very

definite connexion between the resurrection of Osiris and of himself, and also that the god was able to raise him up and to give him everlasting life, because he himself had conquered death and risen, and had be- come the master of everlasting life. If the legend of Plutarch, which states that Osiris was once a man who lived upon earth, really represents an Egyptian belief we may, perhaps, conclude that the manhood which was common to the god and to the suppliant supplied the reason why the prayers which are put into the mouth of the dead are always addressed to Osiris. At all events, closer personal relations existed between man and Osiris than between man and any other god ; moreover, for countless generations he was the type and emblem of the resurrection, and, relying upon his power to give immortality to man, untold generations lived and died. The ceremonies connected with the celebration of the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Osiris were performed with great solemnity, and it has been thought that a represen- tation of them took place annually in certain of his shrines.

The forms in which Osiris is depicted on the monu- ments and in papyri are very numerous, but we need only refer here to those which concern him in his character as king, god, and judge of the dead. In papyri he is seated on a throne within a covered shrine ; his form is that of a bearded mummy wear- ing the atef crown, and he holds in his hands the

crook and flail (or whip), emblems of sovereignty and dominion. On the side of the throne (which rests upon a pedestal made in the form of / — >, the sym- bol of that which is straight or right,) is the emblem of the union of Southern and Northern Egypt, which typifies the sovereignty of the god over the whole land ;

the throne is sometimes placed upon water, wherein we may probably see the origin- of the tra- dition of certain Eastern peoples which makes the throne of the Deity to rest above running water. Be- hind him frequently stand the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, and facing him, standing upon a lotus flower, are the four children of Horus (see p. 14). Thus seated praise was offered to him in these words : — "Glory be to thee, Osiris Un-nefer, the "great god within Abydos, king of eternity, lord of "the everlasting, who passeth through millions of "years in his existence" (p. 11). "Praise be unto thee, "O Osiris, lord of eternity, Un-nefer, Harmachis, "whose forms are manifold, and whose attributes are "majestic .... Those who have lain down (/. c, the "dead) rise up to see thee, they breathe the air and "they look upon thy face when the disk riseth on its "horizon ; their hearts are at peace inasmuch as they "behold thee, O thou who art Eternity and Everlast- "ingness" (p. 34). In an address to Osiris by Thoth which forms the CLXXXIInd Chapter of the Book of ■the Dead (see p. 340) he is said to be the "Governor of those who are in the underworld", and "to make

men and women to be born again", the new birth being the birth into the life which is beyond the grave ; and being himself everlasting he had power to bestow eternal existence upon his followers.

Concerning the form in which Osiris rose from the dead the texts are silent, and nothing is said as to the nature of his body in the underworld ; that he dwelt in the material body which was his upon earth there is no reason whatever to suppose, for there are in- dications in the texts which point to a definite belief in the resurrection of a spiritual body, both in the case of the god and of men. Before, however, this point is touched upon reference must be made to the ideas which the Egyptians held concerning the com- ponent parts of man's entity, material, spiritual, and mental. The physical or material body, called khaf, was liable to decay, and could only be preserved by mummifying ; both gods and man possessed bodies of this nature. When the material body had been brought to the tomb for burial, provided that the prescribed prayers had been said over it and the proper cere- monies had been duly performed by the priests, it acquired the power of sending forth from itself a body, called sahu, which was able to ascend to heaven and to dwell with the gods there. The only suitable ren- dering for the word sahu is "spiritual body", and this meaning fits very well into the translation of the texts where the word is found. The educated Egyptian never believed that the material body would rise

again and take up a new life, for he well understood that flesh and blood could not inherit immortality. It has been urged by some that the custom of mummi- fying the dead, which obtained throughout Egypt for so many thousands of years, was maintained because the Egyptian believed in the resurrection of the ma- terial body, but it is not so ; they mummified their dead simply because they believed that spiritual bodies would "germinate" in them. In several places it is distinctly said that the "soul is in heaven, and the body upon earth",' and even the dead body of Osiris himself rested upon earth in Heliopolis (see p. 290) ; elsewhere 2 it is said to the deceased, "Thy soul is "in heaven before Ra, thy ka hath what should be "given to it with the gods, thy sahu hath power (or "is glorious) with the khus, and thy body (khat) is "stablished in the underworld (tuat)." It is possible that certain simple folk may have been led to believe that because meat offerings and drink offerings in abundance were taken to the tombs the deceased must naturally partake of them, and it is more than probable that the Egyptians in a semi-savage state made such offerings because they believed them ne- cessary for their dead.

The offerings taken to the tomb were intended for the ka of the deceased. The word ka has formed the subject of several learned dissertations by various scho-

lars, and it is now generally rendered by "double" ; it has its equivalent in the Coptic svco and in the Greek sl'ckoXov, and in certain places may be rendered by all the meanings of these equivalents. This abstract individuality or personality possessed all the attributes of the man himself, and, though its normal dwelling- place was in the tomb along with the body, it could wander about at will ; it was independent of the man to whom it belonged and could even go and dwell in the statue of a man. The ka could both eat and drink, and at a very early period a small chamber was specially prepared for it in the hall of the tomb ; this was provided with an opening through which it might snuff the smell of the incense and other offerings made therein, and it was the duty of certain members of the priesthood to minister duly and re- gularly to its needs. When actual offerings failed it would seem that the ka fed upon those which were painted or sculptured upon the walls and altars in the tomb, and when these were wanting it appears that it might even be reduced to eating offal and drinking filthy water.

Connected in some inexplicable way with the ka was the 6a, or soul, which according to some texts is said to eat of the funeral offerings along with the ka, in whom or with whom it was supposed to dwell, but according to others it ascended into heaven where it lived with Ra and the beatified dead. From one point of view it is not a material thing, and from

another it is a tangible thing ; it is depicted as a human-headed hawk, and in a Vignette in the Papyrus of Nebqet (ed. Deveria and Pierret, pi. 3) it is seen flying down the funeral pit bearing air and food to the mummified body, lying in the mummy chamber, to which it belongs. The ba could leave its place in heaven and visit the body whenever it pleased, and it had power to assume any form which it pleased.

Certain of the characteristics of the ba were shared by the heart, db, which was believed to be the source both of life and of good and evil in man. The pre- servation of the heart was of the first importance, and several Chapters of the Book of the Dead were composed with the object of keeping it out of the clutches of the "stealers of hearts". In the Judgment Scene it is the one member of the body which is singled out for special examination, and the large numbers of heart amulets which are preserved in the national collections of Egyptian antiquities testify to the anxiety which the Egyptians felt as to its se- curity.

With the ba, or soul, the khaibit, or shadow, is often mentioned, and it seems to have been nourished by the offerings which were made in the tomb of the man to whom it belonged. It had an existence apart from the body, and like the ka, or double, it could wander wherever it pleased. An interesting passage concerning the shadow is found in the XCIInd Chapter of the Book of the Dead where the deceased prays : —

"0 keep not captive my soul, keep not ward over "my shadow, but let a way be opened for my soul "and for my shadow, and let them see the Great "God in the shrine on the day of the judgment of "souls, and let them recite the utterances of Osiris, "whose habitations are hidden, to those who guard "the members of

Osiris, and who keep ward over the "khus, and who hold captive the shadows of the dead "who would work evil against me" (see p. J 52).

Another integral part of a man was the k/111, or "shining", translucent covering (?) of the spiritual body, which dwelt in heaven with the gods. It is difficult to explain its exact relationship to the double, and the soul, and the heart, and the shadow, but in cer- tain passages in which the word occurs it seems as if it had some close connexion with the soul, for it is mentioned along with it.

In several passages, both in early and late texts, the sekhem of a man is mentioned with the ba, or soul, and sometimes with both the ha, or double, and the ba. One of the meanings of sekhem is "form" or "statue", but another meaning is "power", and it seems as if the Egyptians conceived the idea of the power or vital force of a man living with him in heaven. The gods were supposed to possess doubles, and souls, and shadows, and hearts, and khus* but it is doubtful if they w r ere endowed with sckhemu ; it is probable that they were not ; many of them were themselves sekhcmu or "Powers".

There remains now but one attribute of a man to mention, and that is the ren or name ; in Egypt a man took the most extraordinary precautions to pre- vent his name from being blotted out, for it was the common belief that unless the name of a person were preserved he ceased to exist. Already in the Pyramid texts, as Dr. Wiedemann has pointed out ' we find the deceased making supplication that his name may flourish (literally, germinate) along with the names of Tem, Shu, Seb, and other gods, and the same desire is expressed in texts from the sixth dynasty down to the Roman period, when we find that a number of papyri were inscribed with invocations to one or more gods with the sole object of making to flourish 2 the names of those for whom they were copied. The ren, or name, had some close connexion with the ka, or double, as may be seen from the passage in the text of Pepi I. 3

Thus we see that the saku, or spiritual body, the ka, or double, the ba, or soul, the ab, or heart, the khu, or shining form, the sekhem, or vital force, and the ren, or name, and the khaibit, or shade, were all believed to come into existence after death, and it seems that the various parts which we have enumer-

i. Recueil de Travaux, torn. XVII, p. 17.

2. An interesting collection of such documents was published by Lieb- lein in i8g5 entitled Le livre Que mon nom fleurisse.

3. "Pepi passeth on with his flesh, Pepi is happy with his name, Pepi liveth with his ka" (1. 169).

ated together made up the spiritual body which "ger- minated" in the kkat or material body. There is little doubt that the beliefs in the existence of these various members of the spiritual body are not all of the same age, and they probably represent several stages of intel- lectual development on the part of the Egyptian ; their origin and development it is now impossible to trace, for already in the fifth and sixth dynasties their exis- tence is accepted as an accomplished fact.

A question naturally arises at this point, as to when this spiritual body began its existence ; but unfortunately no satisfactory answer can at present be given to it, for no text yet discovered supplies the necessary information. It is natural to suppose that the sahu, or spiritual body, came into being as a result

of the prayers which were recited on the day of the burial of the mummified body, and of the ceremonies which were performed at the same time. On the other hand, there exist distinct proofs that the Egyptians believed in a Judgment which was to be held in the domain of Osiris, and we should hardly expect the spiritual body to begin its career until after the trial of the heart in the Balance, and until the verdict of the gods at this Judgment was favour- able to the deceased. The whole question is full of difficulty, chiefly because the Egyptians themselves did not, I imagine, form definite ideas on such sub- jects, or if they did, they did not put them in writ- ing. It is, however, perfectly certain that they be-

lieved that Osiris had the power to make men to be born after death into a new life, and that such life was everlasting ; and they ascribed to him this power because he had himself suffered death and mutilation and had risen from the dead.

An examination of the papyri inscribed with the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead shews that they may be divided into two classes, viz., (i) those in which the Chapters of Coming forth by Day are preceded by Introductory Hymns to Ra and Osiris, and by a Judgment Scene, and (2) those in which they are preceded by a simple Vignette in which the god Osiris is seen seated within a shrine. The oldest papyri of the eighteenth dynasty ' lack such Introductory Hymns and the Judgment Scene, which appear most often in the illuminated papyri of the last half of the eighteenth dynasty ; they continue in the nineteenth dynasty, but frequently in a less full form. In the older Recensions of the Book of the Dead there is no attempt to describe the Judgment pictorially, and al- though it is pretty certain that every Egyptian believed that he would be judged after death, there is no de- finite statement of the fact. It will be noticed that a

1. E.g., the Papyrus of Nebseni and the Papyrus of Nu.

section of Chapter XXX b contains the words, "My "heart, my mother; my heart, my mother! My heart "whereby I came into being ! May naught stand up to "oppose me at my judgment ; may there be no opposition to me in the presence of the sovereign princes "[of Osiris] ; may there be no parting of thee from "me in the presence of him that keepeth the Balance" (see p. 79). "Let there be joy of heart unto us at the "weighing of words. Let not that which is false be "uttered against me before the great god, the lord "of Amentet" (see p. 80). Here clearly we have sug- gested the idea of weighing the heart, as the symbol of the seat of life and the source of good and evil actions, and as a matter of fact the Vignette of the Chapter, which first appears in the eighteenth dy- nasty, represents the deceased sitting in one pan of the scales and being weighed against his heart which is placed in the other. It is not easy to say exactly what belief underlies this Vignette, but it seems to indicate that the guardian of the scale weighed the body to see if it had carried out properly the heart's directions, and that if it had done so it would counter- balance exactly the heart, and the beam of the scales would be straight. This testing of the body or heart, or both, took place in the presence of Osiris on the day when "words were weighed".

In the Papyrus of Ani (sheet 3i) four small Vig- nettes accompany the Negative Confession, which forms part of the CXXVth Chapter, and in one of

these we see the heart of the deceased in one pan of the balance, and a feather, emblematic of Right and Truth, /. e., "what is straight", in the other. The god Anubis is testing the tongue of the balance, and close

by stands the monster Am-met or "eater of the dead". Here we have a proof that in addition to the weighing of a man's body against his heart, the heart itself was weighed against Right and Truth, and that this stage of the Judgment also took place in the presence of the god Osiris, the judge of the dead. In the eighteenth dynasty, if not earlier, the idea of the Judgment took great hold upon the minds of the Egyptians, and it found expression in the large and elaborate Vignette which is prefixed to the copies of the Chapters of Coming Forth by Day which were made at this period ; it is, however, impossible to say whether the large Vignette is a development of that which accompanies the CXXVth Chapter, or whether each had a distinct origin. When once the idea of the great Judgment Scene had developed itself it seems to have been felt that the deceased ought not to enter into the Hall of Judgment without having first uttered words of prayer and praise to the great gods Ra and Osiris, to the former as the greatest of the cosmic gods, and to the latter as the judge and god of the dead ; hence were composed the Intro- ductory Hymns to Ra and Osiris, of which several examples are known.

In the hymns to Ra the deceased apostrophizes

the glory and majesty of trie One god, the creator of the world and all that therein is, who manifests himself to his creatures under the form of the sun, by whose heat and light men and women, beasts and feathered fowl, fish and creeping things, trees and herbs have their being. The darkness of night into which the sun disappeared when he set was personi- fied as an enemy of the sun, and the daily victory of light over darkness was hymned with gladness by his worshippers. From one point of view the Egyp- tian regarded the course of the sun as a type of his own life, and day symbolized life and night death ; the conflict in which the sun engaged with the powers of darkness typified the struggle of the deceased with his enemies in the underworld, and man hoped that he would overcome them even as the sun vanquished all who opposed his course. In a fine hymn (see p. 10) the deceased says : — "O thou beautiful Being, thou "dost renew thyself in thy season in the form of the "Disk within thy mother Hathor ; therefore in every "place every heart swelleth with joy at thy rising

"eternally O Ra, the divine man-child, the heir

"of eternity, self-begotten and self-born, prince of the "Tuat, governor of the regions of Aukert, . . . thou "god of life, thou lord of love, all men live when "thou shinest ; thou art crowned king of the gods. "Those who are in thy following sing unto thee with "joy and bow down their foreheads to the earth "when they meet thee, thou lord of heaven, thou lord

"of earth, thou king of Right and Truth, thou lord "of eternity, thou prince of everlastingncss, thou so- vereign of all the gods, thou god of life, thou crea- "tor ot eternity, thou maker of heaven wherein thou "art firmly established. The company of the gods "rejoice at thy rising, the earth is glad when it be- "holdeth thy rays, the peoples that have been long "dead come forth with cries of joy to see thy beau-

"ties daily The Serpent-fiend (/. c, Darkness)

"hath fallen, his arms are hewn off, the knife hath "cut asunder his joints. Ra liveth in unchanging and "eternal law and order." Again, in another hymn (see p. 8) we read : — "Thou risest, thou risest, thou "shinest, thou shinest, thou art crowned king of the "gods. Thou art the lord of heaven, thou art the lord "of

earth ; thou art the creator of beings celestial and "of beings terrestrial. Thou art the One god who came "into being in the beginning of time. Thou didst create "the earth, thou didst fashion man, thou didst make "the watery abyss of the sky, thou didst form Hapi "(7. e., the Nile), thou didst create the watery abyss and "didst give life to all that therein is. Thou hast knit "together the mountains, thou hast made mankind and "the beasts of the field to come into being, thou hast "made the heavens and the earth. Thou art crowned "Prince of heaven, thou art the One dowered [with "all sovereignty] who comest forth from the sky. Ra "is victorious ! O thou divine youth, thou heir (liter- "ally, flesh and bone) of everlastingness, thou self-

"begotten one, thou who didst give thyself birth! "O One, mighty [one], of myriad forms and aspects, "king of the world, Prince of Annu, lord of eternity "and ruler of everlastingness, the company of the "gods rejoice when thou risest and when thou sailest "across the sky .... Thou art unknown, and no tongue "is worthy (?) to declare thy likeness ; only thou thy- "self [canst do this]. Thou hearest with thine ears, "and thou seest • with thine eyes. Millions of years "have gone over the world ; I cannot tell the num- "ber of those through which thou hast passed." From these passages it is clear that the Egyptians believed that the god who was typified by the sun was eter- nal, immortal, and unknown (/. <\, invisible), that he created himself, and the world, and the beings and things in it ; he was also One and Alone, and there was none like unto him, for the gods, of whom he was king, only possessed certain of his attributes and characteristics. It has been denied by some that his oneness or unity is the same as the unitv of God Almighty, though I believe there is no good reason for this view ; but whether it be or not it is per- fectly certain that when the Egyptians declared that their god was One they meant exactly what the He- brews meant when they declared that Jehovah was One, 1 and what the Arabs meant, and still mean when

i. "Hear, O Israel, Adonai our God is God One" ("HN) Deutero- nomy VI. 4.

they cry out that Allah is One. 1 At all events the One god of the Egyptians possessed all the essential attributes of the Christian's God.

In the hymns to Osiris the deceased enumerates the various titles of the god and mentions his most ancient shrines. Osiris is declared to be the son of Seb, the earth-god, and of Nut, the sky-goddess, and "as prince of gods and men" to have "received the crook, and the whip, and the dignity of his divine fathers" ; he is the king of eternity and lord of ever- lastingness, and his existence is for millions of years. In his name "Osiris" he is most terrible, and he en- dureth for ever in his name "Un-nefer". Though possessing the attribute of eternal which is ascribed to Ra he is not "self-begotten and self-born" like that god ; Ra has no offspring in the human sense of the word, but Osiris begot a son (after his death, accord- ing to one legend), who succeeded to his father's throne upon earth and "avenged" him on Set his murderer. From Ra the deceased asks only that he may behold him "at dawn each day" (see p. 9), but from Osiris he asks (see p. 1 2) that his ka, or double, may have "splendour in heaven, and might upon earth, and triumph in the underworld". And he adds, "May I sail down to Tattu (Mendes or Busiris) like "a living soul and up to Abtu (Abydos) like a Beimu

1. "He God is One (XLl JdH ii,) ; the eternal God ; he begetteth not, neither is he begotten ; and there is not any one like unto him". Koran, Chap. CXII.

"bird ; may I go in and come out without repulse at "the pylons of the lords of the underworld ; may there "be given unto me loaves of bread in the house of "coolness, and offerings of food in Annu (Heliopolis), "and a homestead for ever in Sekhet-Aru with wheat "and barley therefor."

Judging by the arrangement of the Papyrus of Ani, the Papyrus of Hu-ncfer, the Papyrus of Qenna, and other documents of the period, it seems pretty clear that the Introductory Hymns and the Vignette of the Judgment Scene together formed a special section of the fine papyri of the Theban Recension. The Vignette of the Judgment Scene varies in detail greatly in the various papyri, though the essential parts of it are al- ways preserved ; the fullest form known of it is given in the Papyrus of Ani and may be thus described : — In one portion of a chamber in the domain of Osiris, which we may assume to be the Hall of the Double Maat, or Right and Truth, a balance is set wherein the heart of the deceased is to be weighed ; the beam of the balance is suspended upon a projection from the standard made in the form of the feather which sym- bolizes Right and Truth. Upon the beam of the ba- lance sits the dog-headed ape which was associated with Thoth, the scribe of the gods. The weighing of the heart is carried out in the presence of the com- pany of the gods, which is here represented by the following" members of it : —

i . Ra-Heru-Khuti, or Ra-Harmachis, the great god

within his boat. This boat was called the "Bark of millions of years", and there sat in it along with Ra the gods Khepera and Tem, his own forms in the morning and evening respectively.

2. Temu or Tem, the form of Ra at eventide. He was the head of the company of gods at Heliopolis, and is always represented in human form. This fact indicates that already in the earliest times known to us he had gone through all the various stages through which gods pass and had assumed a final and de- finite form.

3. Shu, the son of Ra and Ilathor, who lifted up the goddess Nut, or the sky, from the embrace of Seb the earth-god ; he typified the light.

4. Tefnut, the twin-sister of Shu ; she is depicted as a woman with the head of a lioness ; she typified moisture.

5. Seb, the earth-god, the son of Shu, husband of Nut, and by her father of Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys.

6. Nut, the female counterpart of Nu, or the watery mass from which all the gods were evolved, and upon which the "Bark of millions of years floated".

7. Isis, the sister -wife of Osiris and mother of "Horus son of Isis"; she probably typified the dawn.

8. Nephthys, daughter of Seb and Nut, sister of Osiris and Isis, and the sister-wife of Set ; she is also said to be the mother of Anubis by Osiris ; she pro- bably typified eventide or twilight.

9. Horus, the sun-god, who is to be distinguished from Horus the son of Isis. He is represented in human form but with the head of a hawk ; the hawk was the symbol of Horus, and the worship of that bird is probably the oldest in Egypt.

10. Hathor, the goddess of that portion of the sky wherein Horus the sun-god rose and set.

1 1 . Hu and Sa, two gods who had their places in the boat of the sun at creation.

It will be noticed that several of the gods, e. g., Nu, Ptah, Khnemu, Khepera, Set, Anpu, Ap-uat, Amsu, Hapi, and several goddesses, c. g., Maat, Nit, Sekhet, Bast, Serq, Uatchit, 1 are not here represent- ed ; the explanation of this fact is that only the gods and the goddesses of the funeral company of Osiris are considered to be interested in the judgment of the dead.

On one side of the scale we see the god Anubis testing the tongue of the balance, and behind him stand Thoth, the scribe of the gods, writing down the result of the weighing, and the tri-formed 2 beast Am-mit, the "Eater of the Dead", who is waiting to devour the heart of Ani should it be found light in the balance. On the other side of the balance are Ani's "luck" or "destiny" ; an object called meskhen which has been described as a "cubit with human

1. For descriptions of these deities see my Papyrus of Ani, p. CVIIf.

2. One-third crocodile, one-third lion, and one-third hippopotamus.

head", it either typifies the embryo, or has some connexion with the birth of Ani ; his soul in the form of a human-headed bird perched upon a pylon ; and behind these are the goddesses Renenet and Mes- khenet who presided over Ani's birth- chamber and rearing. Behind these stand Ani himself and his wife Thuthu with heads reverently bent. Ani is here de- picted in human form, and wearing garments and ornaments similar to those which he wore upon earth. It is quite clear that the body which he has in this Hall of Judgment cannot be the body with which he had been endowed upon earth, and we are probably to understand that it is his spiritual body, wearing the white robes of the beatified dead in the world beyond the grave, which we see. He is perfect in all his members, which are endowed with the strength and power that belong to those w 7 ho have risen in a spi- ritual or glorified body from the dead. Though he stands at the entrance of the Hall and the weighing of the heart has not yet taken place, the artist de- picted him in the form in which it was always assumed the just would appear before Osiris. The heart having been placed in one pan of the scales and the feather, symbolic of truth, in the other, Ani utters the words which form Chapter XXX b of the Book of the Dead (see p. 79) wherein he prays that there may be no parting of his heart from him in the presence of the guardian of the Balance. This done, Anubis tests the tongue of the balance, and finds that the beam is

exactly straight and that the heart balances the fea- ther exactly; the dog-headed ape seated on the stand- ard reports this to Thoth, who, standing with his writing-reed in hand, is ready to note the result and to declare it to the gods. It is interesting to observe that the heart was only required to balance the fea- ther and not to outweigh it, a fact which indicates that the pious Egyptian w 7 as supposed to be able to satisfy the demands and requirements of the law, and that he took his stand in the Judgment and hoped for acquittal by virtue of the good deeds which he had done in the body.

The god Thoth next addressed the company of the gods as follows : — "Hear ye this judgment. The heart "of Osiris hath in very truth been weighed, and his "soul hath stood as a witness for him ; it hath been

"found true by trial in the Great Balance. There hath "not been found any wickedness in him ; he hath not "wasted the offerings in the temples ; he hath not "done harm by his deeds ; and he spread no evil "reports [about men] while he was upon earth." To this speech the gods reply : "That which cometh forth "from thy mouth [O Thoth, dwelling in Khemennu,] "is confirmed. Osiris, the scribe Ani, is holy and "righteous. He hath not sinned, neither hath he done "evil against us. The devourer Amemet shall not be "allowed to prevail over him, and meat-offerings and "entrance into the presence of the god Osiris shall "be granted unto him, together with a homestead for

"ever in Sekhet-hetepu, as unto the followers of "Horus." '

The gods confirm the report of Thoth, and Ani, having been found just, is led into the presence of Osiris by "Horus the son of Isis". The words "found just" represent in a measure the words mad khcru (masc.) or madt khcru (fem.) which are always added after the name of the deceased in funeral texts ; there is no example of their application to a living person. Much has been written about them, and many ren- derings have been suggested for them, such as "true of voice", "justified", "triumphant", "victorious"; they actually mean "right" (mad.) and "word" (khcru), and seem to be meant to express the belief on the part of the writer that the deceased has satisfactorily passed the ordeal of judgment, and that he has attained to the state in which his commands, whatever they may be, will be carried out duly and effectually.

While Horus is leading Ani into the presence of his father he addresses Osiris, saying, "I have come "unto thee, O Un-nefer, and I have brought the Osiris "Ani unto thee. His heart hath been [found] right- "eous coming forth from the balance, and it hath not "sinned against any god or goddess. Thoth hath "weighed it according to the decree uttered unto

i. The Heru-shesu, or followers of Horus, are a class of mythological beings or demi-gods who already in the Pyramid Texts are supposed to recite prayers on behalf of the deceased, and to assist Horus and Set in "opening his mouth". For a description of this ceremony, see my Papyrus of Ani, p. 26, f.

"him by the company of the gods ; and it is very true "and righteous. Grant unto him cakes and ale ; and "let him enter into the presence of Osiris (V. <?., into "thy presence) ; and may he be like unto the fol- lowers of Horus for ever." In the last division of the Judgment Scene we see Ani kneeling by a table of offerings placed before the shrine of the god Osiris, to whom he says, "0 lord of Amentet, I am in thy "presence. There is no sin in me, I have not lied "wittingly, nor have I done aught with a false heart. "Grant that I may be like unto those favoured ones "who are round about thee, and that I may be an "Osiris greatly favoured of the beautiful god and be- "loved of the lord of the world, [I] the royal scribe "indeed, who loveth him, Ani, triumphant before the "god Osiris." It will be noticed that Ani now has his hair whitened, and that he wears upon his head the object which is called a cone, the signification of which is unknown. He has at length penetrated to the throne of "Osiris, the lord of eternitv" — as the words written above him read — and Ani's petition to the god is that he may become "an Osiris", that is to sav, a being endowed with a spiritual body which can never again see death or suffer corruption. The answer of Osiris is not given in the papyrus, nor is it, as far as I have seen, in any papyrus where a similar petition is made ; but just as it is always as- sumed that the heart of the deceased will always ba- lance the feather of law or right and truth, so is it also

assumed that the petition of the deceased will always be favourably received, and that he will henceforth be free to go about in the god's domains without let or hindrance, and to participate in all the occu- pations of the great god himself. Thus the Judgment Scene ends, and this section of the papyrus in which it is found is followed by the "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day".

The question naturally arises here : — When did the judgment in the Hall of Osiris take place? To this no definite answer can be given, for the reason that no text supplies the information needed. There are no grounds, so far as I see, for assuming that the Egyptians believed in a great general day of judg- ment when all the world shall be judged, and the wicked shall be punished, and the righteous shall be rewarded, or for thinking, as some have done, that the mummified bodies were laid in the tomb to await a general resurrection. On the contrary, all the evi- dence seems to point to the conclusion that the judg- ment of each individual was thought to take place immediately after death, and if this was the belief it follows that punishment or reward was allotted to the dead at once. The evil heart, . or the heart which had failed to balance the feather symbolic of the law, was given to the monster Am-mit to devour ; thus punishment consisted of instant annihilation, unless we imagine that the destruction of the heart was extended over an indefinite period. The difficulty of the sub-

ject is further complicated when we come to consider the use and object of the funeral ceremonies and prayers. If at his death the soul of a man passed to immediate judgment, what could the ceremonies and prayers of the priests avail it? We know that the embalming of a body in the best and most ex- pensive way occupied a period varying from seventy to about one hundred days, and that several more days were necessary before the body was coffined and laid with the proper ceremonies in the tomb. If the prayers which the priests recited and the cere- monies which they performed over it at the grave were absolutely necessary for the future well-being of its soul, and if the soul could not begin its beati- fied existence until such prayers had been said and such ceremonies had been performed, it is difficult to understand why such a lengthy process of embalm- ment was resorted to, for during the period which elapsed between death and burial the soul must have tarried in some intermediate place. In the absence of exact knowledge we can only assume that certain prayers were said for the benefit of the deceased im- mediately after death, and that such prayers assured his acquittal in the Hall of Osiris, and procured for him entrance into the abode of the blessed. This done, the embalmment of the body might be carried out at the convenience of all concerned, and the elabo- rate and formal ceremonies connected with the se- pulture of the great would follow in due course. The

beliefs which are connected with the judgment of the dead are so numerous and so conflicting", and belong to so many various periods of development of reli- gious thought in Egypt that it is impossible to har- monize them ; as new nexts are discovered the diffi- culties will probably disappear one by one, and the future labours of Egyptologists will clear up many obscure passages which up to the present have been misunderstood.

At a very early period in their history the Egyp- tians believed in the existence of a place wherein the blessed dead led a life of happiness, the charac- teristics of which much resemble those of the life which he had led upon earth ; these characteristics are so similar that it is hard to believe that in the early times the

one life was not held to be a mere continuation of the other. At all events the de- lights and pleasures of this world were believed to be forthcoming in the next, and a life there in a state of happiness which depended absolutely upon material things was contemplated. Such ideas date from the time when the Egyptians were in a semi- savage state, and the preservation of them is pro- bably due to their extreme conservatism in all mat- ters connected with religion ; the remarkable point about them is their persistence, for they occur in texts which belong to periods when it was impossible for the Egyptians to have attached any serious im- portance to them, and some of the coarsest ideas

are in places mingled with the expression of lofty spiritual conceptions. In a passage in the text of Unas it is said of this king (1. 62 3), "Unas hath come "to his pools which are on both sides of the stream "of the goddess Meht-urt, and to the place of ver- "dant offerings, and to the fields which are on the "'horizon ; he hath made his fields on both sides of "the horizon to be verdant. He hath brought the "crystal to the Great Eye which is in the field, he "hath taken his seat in the horizon, he riseth like "Sebek the son of Neith, he eateth with his mouth, "he voideth water, he enjoyeth the pleasures of love, "and he is the begetter who carrieth away women "from their husbands whenever it pleaseth him so to "do". And in the text of Teta (1. 286 f.) we read, "Hail, Osiris Teta, Horus hath granted that Thoth "shall bring thine enemy unto thee. He hath placed "thee behind him that he may not harm thee and "that thou mayest make thy seat upon him, and that "when coming forth thou mayest sit upon him so that "he may not be able to force intercourse upon thee". These passages give a very clear idea of the state of Egyptian morals when they were written, and they indicate the indignities to which those vanquished in war, both male and female, were exposed at the hands of the conquerors.

The texts of the early period, as will be seen from the extracts given further on, give a large amount of information about the pleasures of the deceased in

the world beyond the grave, but no attempt to illu- strate the employments of the blessed dead is given until the eighteenth dynasty, when the Vignette to the CXth Chapter of the Book of the Dead was in- serted in papyri. Here we have an idea given of the conception which the Egyptian formed of the place wherein he was to dwell after death. A homestead or farm, or country, intersected with canals is at once his paradise and the home of the blessed dead, and the abode of the god of his city. This place is called Sekhet-Aaru or "Field of Reeds", and this name seems to indicate that the Egyptian placed his paradise in the north of Egypt, probably in some part of the Delta or in the islands of the sea still further north. Certain it is that the deceased prays several times that the "sweet breath of the north wind" may be given unto him, and those who have experienced the discomfort of a south wind on a hot day in Egypt will sympathize with him. The Field of Reeds, however, was but a portion of the district called "Sekhet-Hetep" or "Sekhet-Hetepet", or "Fields of Peace", over which there presided a number of gods, and here the deceased led a life which suggests that the idea of the whole place originated with a nation of agriculturists. In the coloured Vignette which faces Chapter CX (see p. i 70) the scribe Ani is seen being introduced to the gods of Sekhet-hetep by Thoth, who accompanies him to smooth his way and to do for him all that he did for Osiris. Next we see him

sailing- in a boat laden with offerings which he is bearing to the hawk -god. Lower down we see him reaping wheat and driving the oxen which tread out the corn, and beyond that he is kneeling before two heaps of grain, one red and one white. In the next division he is ploughing the land of Sekhet-Anru or Sekhet- Aaru by the side of a stream of vast length and un- known breadth, which contains neither worm nor fish. In the fourth division is the abode of the god Osiris, and here are the places where dwell those who are nourished upon divine food, and the spiritual bodies of the dead. In one section of this division the de- ceased placed the god of his city, so that even in respect of his religious observances his life might be as perfect as it was upon earth. His wishes in the matter of the future life are well expressed in the following prayer (see p. 172): — "Let me be reward- ed with thy fields, O god Hetep ; that which is "thy wish shalt thou do, O lord of the winds. May "I become a Khu therein, may I eat therein, may I "drink therein, may I plough therein, may I reap "therein, may I fight therein, may I make love therein, "may my words be mighty therein, may I never be "in a state of servitude therein, but may I have au- thority therein." Elsewhere in the same Chapter the deceased addresses the gods of the various lakes and sections of the Elysian Fields, and he states that he has bathed in the holy lake, that all uncleanness has departed from him, and that he has arrayed himself

in the apparel of Ra ; in his new life even amuse- ments are provided (but they are the amusements of earth), for he snares feathered fowl and sails about in his boat catching worms and serpents. A remark- able passage in the text of Unas (1. 496 ff.) describes the deceased king as a soul in the form of a god who devours his fathers and mothers, and -mankind generally, and gods. He hunts and entraps the gods in the plains of the next world, and having tied them securely he slays and disembowels them. The choice portions of their bodies he boils and consumes at his meals at dawn, eventide, and midnight ; the remainder he burns to heat the cauldrons. He eats the hearts carefully so that he may absorb the vital powers of the gods, and by eating other portions also he ac- quires all the attributes of the god. Inasmuch as he has eaten the bodies of the gods he becomes indeed a god, and since they possessed the attribute of ever- lasting life and could not die again, the king becomes straightway possessed of their attributes. Here again we have a trace of a savage custom, namely that of cutting out a portion of some intestine of a foe and eating it in order to acquire his mental and physical powers ; such a custom must have disappeared from Egypt long before the monuments known to us were made, and it is hard to understand the retention of such a notion in a text filled with sublime thoughts and ideas. In the texts of all periods w 7 e read often that the deceased lives with Ra, that he stands among the

company of the gods, and that he is one like unto the divine beings who dwell with them ; but little is told us concerning his intercourse with those whom he has known upon earth, and if it were not for some two or three passages in the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead we should be obliged to as- sume that the power to recognize the friends of earth in the next world was not enjoyed by the deceased. But that he really possessed this power, at least so far as his parents were concerned, we learn from the CXth Chapter, where the deceased, addressing a pool or lake situated in the first section of the Elysian Fields, says (see p. 175), "O Qenqentet, I have en- tered into thee, and I have seen the Osiris [my "father], and I have identified my mother," a delight, however, which he brackets with the pleasures of mak- ing love and of

catching worms and serpents ! In the papyrus of the priestess Anhai (Brit. Mus. No. 10,472) we actually see the deceased lady in converse with two figures, one of whom is probably her father and the other certainly her mother, for above the head of the latter are written the words "her mother" (mut-s) followed by the name. A supplementary proof of this is afforded by a passage in the Lllnd Chapter, where the deceased says (see p. io3) : — "The gods shall "say unto me : 'What manner of food wouldst thou '"have given unto thee?' [And I reply :] 'Let me eat " 'my food under the sycamore tree of my lady, the " 'goddess Hathor, and let my times be among the

' 'divine beings who have alighted thereon. Let me ' 'have the power to order my own fields in Tattu ' 'and my own growing crops in Annu. Let me live ' 'upon bread made of white barley, and let my ale ' 'be [made] from red grain, and may the persons of ' 'rav father and mv mother be given unto me as ' 'guardians of my door and for the ordering of my ' 'territory.' " The same idea is also expressed in the CLXXXIXth Chapter (1. 7). Thus the deceased hoped to have in the next world an abundance of the ma- terial comforts which he enjoyed in this world, and to meet again his own god, and his father and mother ; as we see him frequently accompanied by his wite in several Vignettes to other Chapters we may assume that he would meet her again along with the children whom she bore him.

It will be noticed that little is said throughout the Book of the Dead about the spiritual occupations of the blessed dead, and we are told nothing of the choirs of angels who hymn the Deity everlastingly in the religious works of later Western nations. The dead who attained to everlasting life became in every respect like the divine inhabitants of heaven, and they ate the same meat, and drank the same drink, and wore the same apparel, and lived as they lived. No classification of angels is mentioned, and grades of them like Cherubim, and Seraphim, Thrones, Powers, Dominions, etc., such as are found in the celestial hier- archy of Semitic nations are unknown; a celestial city

constructed on the model described in the Apocalypse is also unknown.

We have seen that the Elysian Fields much resembled the flat, fertile lands intersected by large canals and streams of running water such as must always have existed, and may still be seen in certain parts of the Delta; of the distance to be traversed by the dead be- fore they were reached nothing whatever is said. As the Egyptian made his future world a counterpart of the Egypt which he knew and loved, and gave to it heavenly counterparts of all the sacred cities thereof, he must have conceived the existence of a water way like the Nile, with tributaries and branches, whereon he might sail and perform his journeys. According to some texts the abode of the dead was away beyond Egypt to the north, but according to others it might be either above or below the earth. The oldest tradition of all placed it above the earth, and the sky was the large flat or vaulted iron surface which formed its floor; this iron surface was supported upon four pillars, one at each of the cardinal points, and its edges were some height above the earth. To reach this iron ceiling of the earth and floor of heaven a ladder was thought to be necessary, as we may see from the following pas- sage in which Pepi the king says, "Homage to thee, "O ladder 1 of the god, homage to thee, O ladder of Set. "Set thyself up, O ladder of the god, set thyself up,

"O ladder of Set, set thyself up, O ladder of Horus, "whereby Osiris appeared in heaven when he wrought

"protection for Ra For it is thy son Pepi, and

"this Pepi is Horus, and thou hast given birth to this "Pepi even as thou hast given birth to the god who is "the lord of the ladder. Thou hast given unto him the "ladder of the god, and thou hast given unto him the "ladder of Set, whereby this Pepi hath appeared in "heaven, when he wrought protection for Ra." And in another place (1. 182) we read, "Pepi goeth to his "mother Nut there (I. c, in heaven), and he entereth "therein in his name of 'Ladder'." Elsewhere we are told that (1. 169): — "Pepi is holy. He hath received "his staff, he is provided with his throne, and he hath "taken his seat in the boat of the double company of "the gods. Ra acteth as his pilot in his journey to "the West, and he stablisheth his throne for him at "the head of the lords of Kas, and he hath inscribed "[his name] at the head of the living. The Peh-ka "which is in the waters openeth its doors to this Pepi, "and the iron [which formeth] the ceiling of the heavens "unbolteth its gates to this Pepi; Pepi passeth through "them having his panther skin upon him, and his w T hip "in his hand."

A later belief placed the abode of the departed away to the west or north-west of Egypt, and the souls of the dead made their way thither through a gap in the mountains on the western bank of the Nile near Abydos. A still later belief made out that the abode of the

departed was a long, mountainous, narrow valley with a river running along it; starting from the east it made its way to the north, and then taking a circular direc- tion it came back to the east. In this valley there lived all manner of fearful monsters and beasts, and here was the country through which the sun passed during the twelve hours of night. 1 It is impossible to recon- cile all the conflicting statements concerning the abode of the dead, and the Egyptians themselves held differ- ent views about it at different periods. The following extracts, however, from the Pyramid Texts 2 will shew the reader what views were held by them concerning the home of the blessed dead in the next world, and concerning their treatment therein by the gods.

(L. 468) "Behold Unas, cometh, behold, Unas cometh, "behold, Unas cometh forth! And if Unas cometh not of "his own accord thy message having come to him shall "bring him. Unas maketh his way to his abode, and "the cow-goddess of the Great Lake boweth down be- "fore him ; none shall ever take away his food from "the Great Boat, and he shall not be repulsed at the "White House of the great ones by the region Mes- "khent on the border of the sky. Behold, Unas hath "arrived at the height of heaven and he seeth his body "in the Semketet boat, 3 and Unas laboureth therein ; "he hath satisfied the uraeus in the Mat boat 4 and hath

2. Maspero, Pes Inscriptions des Pyramides de Saqqarah, Paris, 1894.

3. /. e., the boat of the setting sun.

4. I. e., the boat of the rising sun.

"washed it, and the henmcmct beings have testified "concerning him, the winds and storms of heaven have "strengthened him, and they introduce him to Ra. "make the two horizons of heaven to embrace Ra so "that he may go forth towards the horizon. make the "two horizons of heaven to embrace Heru-khuti (Har- "machis), so that he may go forth towards the horizon "with Ra. make the two horizons of heaven to em- "brace Unas so that he may go forth towards the hori- "zon with Ra. O make the two horizons of heaven to "embrace Unas so that he may go forth towards the "horizon along with Heru-khuti and Ra. This Unas is "happily united to his ka, his panther skin and his "grain bag are upon him, his whip is in his hand, his "sceptre is in his grasp. They bring to him the four "Khus who dwell in the hair of Horus, who stand on "the east side of heaven and are glorious by reason of "their sceptres, and they declare the fair name of Unas "to Ra, and they make him to escape from Neheb-kau, "and the soul of this Unas liveth in the north of the "Sekhet- Aaru, and he saileth about in the Lake of "Kha. Whilst this Unas saileth towards the east side "of the horizon, whilst he saileth, saileth towards the "east side of heaven, his sister the star Septet giveth "him birth in the Tuat."

(L. 476) "Thou hast thy heart, Osiris, thou hast thy "legs, Osiris, thou hast thine arms, Osiris ; and Unas "himself hath his heart, and Unas himself hath his legs, "and Unas himself hath his arms. He hath walked

"with his legs towards heaven, he hath come forth "with them into heaven, and his mouth declareth it- "self by the great dew. Unas flieth like a feathered "fowl, he hovereth and alighteth like a beetle, he flieth "like a feathered fowl and alighteth like a beetle upon "the empty seat which is in thy boat, O Ra."

(484) "Kindle the fire in order that the flame may "rise up, and throw incense upon it in order that the "[smell of] incense may rise up. Thy scent cometh to- "wards Unas, incense ; thy scent cometh toward Unas, "incense. Your scent cometh towards this Unas, and "the scent of Unas cometh towards you, ye gods. "Unas is with you, and you are with Unas, O ye "gods. Unas liveth with you, and you live with Unas, "0 ye gods. Love ye Unas, O ye gods, love him, O "ye gods. Come, O part of Ra, come, O matter which "cometh forth from the thighs of Horus. Come, O ye "who have come forth. Come, O ye who have come "forth. Come, ye who are feeble. Come, O ye who "are feeble. Come, Shu. Come, Shu. Come, Shu. For "Unas cometh forth upon the thighs of Isis, for Unas "is feeble, O ye gods, upon the thighs of Nephthys, "and he hath been ejected [from the womb]."

(579) "He who setteth up the ladder for Osiris is "Ra, and he who setteth up the ladder is Horus for "his father Osiris wdien he goeth forth to his soul ; Ra "is on one side and Horus is on the other, and Unas "is between them, being indeed the god of holy "dwelling-places coming forth from the sanctuary.

'Unas standeth up and is Horus. Unas sitteth down 'and is Set ; Ra receiveth him, soul in heaven and 'body in earth."

(584) "Those who are happy and who see [Unas], 'those who are content and who contemplate [Unas] 'are the gods. If this god come forth towards heaven, 'Unas also shall come forth towards heaven ; and he 'shall have his souls upon him, and his books shall be 'upon both sides of him, and his inscribed amulets 'shall be upon his feet, and the god Seb shall do 'for him what hath been done for himself. The divine 'souls of the city of Pe and the divine souls of the 'city of Nekhen shall come unto him, along with the 'gods of heaven

and the gods of the earth, and they 'shall lift Unas up upon their hands. Come forth, then, 'Unas, to heaven, and enter therein in thy name of ' 'Ladder'. Heaven hath been given unto Unas and 'earth hath been given unto him ; this is the decree 'which Tem hath issued to Seb, and the domains of 'Horus, and the domains of Set, and the Sekhet-Aaru 'with their harvests adore thee in thy name of Khonsu- 'Sept"

(59) "Teta hath not hunger like Shu, Teta. hath not 'thirst like Tefnut, for Hapi, Tuamautef, Qebhsennuf, 'and Amset (7. e., the four children of Horus) destroy 'the hunger which is in the belly of Teta, and this 'thirst which is upon the lips of Teta. The hunger '[of Teta] is with Shu, the thirst of Teta is with Tef- 'nut ; Teta liveth upon the daily bread which cometh

"in its season, he liveth upon that upon which Shu

"liveth, and he eateth that which Shu eateth

"Filth is an abomination to Teta, and he rejecteth fil-

"thy water Ye have taken Teta to you, O ye

"gods, and he eateth what ye eat, he drinketh that "which ye drink, he liveth upon that upon which ye "live, he sitteth down as ye sit, he is mighty with "the might which is yours, he saileth about even as "ye sail about ; the house of Teta is a net in the "Sekhet-Aaru, he hath streams of running water in "Sekhet-hetep, the offerings of Teta are with you. O "ye gods, the water of Teta. is as wine even as [is "water to] Ra, Teta revolveth in heaven like Ra, and "he goeth round about the sky like Thoth."

(156) "The two doors of heaven are opened for "thee, O Teta, for thou hast raised up thy head for "thy bones, and thou hast raised up thy bones for "thy head. Thou hast opened the two doors of hea- "ven, thou hast drawn back the great bolts, thou hast "removed the seal of the great door, and, with a face "like that of a jackal and a body like that of a fierce "lion, thou hast taken thy seat upon thy throne, and "thou criest to the Khus, 'Come to me. Come to me. " 'Come to Horus, who hath avenged his father, for " 'it is Teta. who will lead thee in.' Thou puttest thy "hand upon the earth, and with thine arm thou doest "battle in the Great Domain, and thou revolvest there "among the Khus, and thou standest up like Osiris."

"Hail, Osiris Teta, Horus hath come to embrace thee

"with his arms, and he hath made Thoth to drive away "for thee in defeat the followers of Set, and he hath "taken them captive on thy behalf, and he hath re- "pulsed the heart of Set, for he is stronger than Set; "and now, thou art come forth before him, and Seb "hath watched thy journey, and he hath set thee in "thy place and hath led unto thee thy two sisters Isis "and Nephthys. Horus hath united thee unto the gods, "and they shew themselves as brothers unto thee in "thy name Sent, and they do not repulse thee in thy "name Atert. He hath granted that the gods shall "guard thee, and Seb hath set his sandal upon the "head of thine enemy. Thou hast driven back [the "enemy], thy son Horus hath smitten him, and he hath "torn out his own eye and given it unto thee in order "that thou mayest be strong thereby, and that thou "mayest gain the mastery thereby among the Khus. "Horus hath permitted thee to hack thine enemy in "pieces with this [eye], he

smiteth down thine enemy "with it, for Horus is stronger than he is, and he "passeth judgment upon his father who is in thee in "thy name 'He whose father is stronger than hea- "ven\ The goddess Nut hath made thee to be a god "unto Set in thy name of God, and thy mother Nut "hath spread out her two arms over thee in her name "of 'Coverer of heaven'. Horus hath smitten Set and "he hath cast him down beneath thee, and Set beareth "thee up and is a mighty one beneath thee, inasmuch "as he is the great one of the earth which he ordereth

"in thy name of Ta-tcheser-ta. Horus hath granted that "Set shall be judged in his heart in his house with "thee, and he hath granted that thou shalt smite him "with thy hand whensoever he doeth battle with thee. "Hail, Osiris Teta, Horus hath avenged thee, and he "hath caused his ka which is in thee [to make] thee "to rest in thy name of Ka-hetep."

"Hail, Osiris Teta, Seb hath given to thee thy two "eyes that thou mayest rest in the two eyes of this "Great One (/. i\, Osiris) who is in thee. Seb hath made "them to be given unto thee by Horus that thou may- "est rest upon them, that Isis and Nephthys may see "thee, and that they may find thee. Horus hath made "an offering unto thee, Horus hath granted that Isis and "Nephthys may protect thee and they have handed "thee over to Horus that he may rest upon thee. Horus "hath glorified thee in thy name of 'Horizon' where Ra "sheweth himself in thy arms in thy name of 'Dweller "in the palace'. Thou hast made thy hand to be like "a wall behind him, behind him, to give stability to "his bones and to magnify his heart."

(198) "The right side of Teta belongeth to Ho- "rus who smiteth the Tchentru in his two sceptres (?) "and Nephthys in the two eyes ; the left side of Teta "belongeth to Set who judgeth Teta."

"Hail, bolt which closeth the door of Nut, it is Teta, "Shu who cometh forth from Tem. Hail, Nu, grant that "the door may be opened to Teta, for he cometh as "a divine soul."

"Nu hath adjudged Teta to Tern, and Peka hath ad- judged Teta to Shu. He granteth that the two doors "of heaven shall be opened, and he hath decreed that "Teta. shall be among men without name ; but behold, "thou hast grasped Teta. by the hand and thou hast "drawn him to heaven so that he may never die upon "earth among men. O Father of Teta, O Father of "Teta in the darkness, O Father of Teta, Tern in "the darkness, thou hast brought Teta. near thee, be- "cause he hath performed the shooting forth of flame, "and the making protection, even as the four goddesses "Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Serqet-Hetu did for the "father of Nu on the day of protecting the throne. O "road of Horus, extend thy sail for Teta., give thy hand "to Teta.. Hail, Ra, come, for Teta passeth to the shore "even as thy followers the Unka, who love thee, have "passed thee ; stretch out thy hand to the West, stretch "out thy hand to Teta, stretch out thy hand to the "East, stretch out thy hand to Teta, even as thou hast "done to the place where is thy eldest son."

(256) "This Teta. is Osiris and he hath motion ; "this Teta. hath detestation of the earth and he will "not enter into Seb. This Teta hath broken for ever "his sleep in his dwelling which is upon earth. The "bones of Teta flourish and obstacles to him are de- stroyed, for he is purified with the Eye of Horus. "The obstacles which he encountered are beaten down "by the two Tcliert goddesses {I. c, Isis and Neph- "thys), and Teta. hath cast to the earth his seed in

"Kes. The sister of this Teta., the lady of the city "of Pe, bewaileth him, and the two nurses who creat- "ed Osiris also create him ; Teta. is in heaven, this "Teta is in heaven like Shu and Ra. This Teta. pe- "risheth not, and nothing in him perisheth, nay this "Teta is the 'Governor of his leg' of the firstborn "gods. This Teta, sitteth not as the guardian of God. "The offerings of this Teta are for Horus and Ra, "and the sepulchral offerings of this Teta are in Nu.

"This is Teta, and he goeth with Ra. This Teta.

"cometh with Ra, he hath embraced his habitations, "he giveth opposition and destroyeth it, he gathereth "the Kas and delivereth them ; this Teta watcheth "and lieth down, and he hath destroyed the two Anuti "in Unnu. The foot of this Teta departeth not, and "the heart of this Teta is not repulsed."

(271) "Rise up, Teta, and lift up thy legs, most "mighty one, to go and seat thyself among the gods, "and do thou that which Osiris hath done in the House "of the Prince which is in Annu ; thou hast received "thy spiritual body (sah), and none shall set bounds "to thy foot in heaven and none shall repulse thee "on earth. The Khus who are the children of Nut "whom Nephthys hath suckled have gathered together "to thee, thou standest up upon thy strength, and "thou doest that which thou must do for thy Khu "in the presence of all the Khus. Thou goest to the "city, of Pe, thou art glorified and returnest ; thou "goest to the city of Nekhen, thou art glorified and

"returnest. Thou doest that which Osiris did, and be- "hold, this most mighty Khu Teta is upon his throne "and standeth up, being provided [with all things] like "the goddess Sam-ur. None shall repulse thee in any "place wherein thou wouldst enter, and none shall "set bounds to thy foot concerning any place wherein "it pleaseth thee to be."

"Hail, Osiris Teta, stand up, rise up, for thy mo- "ther Nut hath brought thee forth, and Seb hath "placed thy mouth for thee. The Great Company of "the gods have defended thee, and they have set "thine enemy beneath thee. Thou hast borne that "which is greater than thou art through them in thy

"name Atef-Mehur which is greater than thou

"art in thy name of Ta-Abtu. Thy two sisters Isis "and Nephthys come to thee, and they make thee "to pass by Qemt-urt in thy name of Qem-ur, and "Aneb-uatchet-urt in thy name of Uatch-mu .... Thy "sister Isis came to thee with thy members, and thou "wert united unto her, and thou didst give her seed "and didst provide her with offspring like Septet."

(287) "Hail, hail, rise up, Teta! Thou hast received "thy head, thou hast embraced thy bones, thou hast "gathered together thy flesh and blood, and thou "goest round about the earth seeking for food ; thou "hast received thy bread which decayeth never, and "thy beer which goeth bad never. Thou standest at "the gates which drive back the Rekhit. Khent-Men- "tef cometh forth unto thee, he graspeth thee by

"the hand, and he leadeth thee to heaven to thy fa- "ther Seb who is glad when he meeteth thee ; he "giveth thee his two hands, he maketh himself a "brother unto thee, he feedeth thee, he setteth thee "among the Khus who never perish, and the beings "whose habitations are hidden make adoration unto

"thee Rise up then, O thou Teta, who never

(33 1) "Of the exudations which have fallen from "the Eye of Horus upon the branches of the olive "tree of the two Horus-gods who are in the temples, "0 mighty lord of divine food in Annu, thou givest "bread to Teta and thou givest beer to Teta. Thou "makest Teta to flourish, thou makest his offerings

"to flourish, and thou makest his to flourish ;

"if Teta suffereth hunger, the two Lion-gods suffer "hunger ; if Teta suffereth thirst, thy mother Nekheb- "et suffereth thirst."

"Teta maketh broad the throne (?) with Seb ; Teta "lifteth on high the vault of heaven with Ra ; Teta "walketh round about in Sekhet-hetep. Teta is the "Eye of Ra who lieth down and is born each day."

(338) "Homage to thee, O Ra in thy beauty, in "thy splendours, in thy seats, and in thy plenitude. "Thou hast brought the milk of Isis to Teta, and the "water of the celestial stream of Nephthys, and [power] "to journey over the Great Green Sea, and life, and "strength, and health, and the pleasures of love, and "bread, and beer, and apparel, and every thing

'whereon Teta liveth, and [power] to hearken to the 'gods who speak (?) throughout the day, and to rest 'with them during the night, and to partake of the 'offerings which are made unto them. Teta looketh 'upon thee when thou goest forth in the form of 'Thoth leading the boat of Ra to the fields which 'are in Aasu, and when thou goest in among those 'who bear him up."

(384) "Homage to thee, Teta, on this thy day 'whereon thou standest up before Ra who cometh 'forth from the East, and who clotheth thee in thy

'spiritual body (sah) among the souls Anubis,

'Governor of Amenti, giveth thee thousands of cakes, 'thousands of vessels of beer, thousands of vases of 'oil, thousands of oxen, thousands of changes of ap- 'parel, and thousands of bulls. For thee is the Smen 'goose slain, for thee is the Therp goose shot with 'an arrow. Horus hath destroyed all the evil which 'is in Teta by his four children, and Set forgetteth 'what he wrought against Teta by means of his eight '[fiends], and those whose habitations are hidden throw 'open the doors to him. Rise thou, go to the earth 'and seek the things which have issued from thee. 'Rise thou up and pass thou on opposite to the Khus ; 'thy two wings are like those of a hawk and thy hair 'is like (the rays of) a star. Cast ye nothing evil 'upon Teta, neither do ye carry off the heart of Teta, 'nor steal away the place wherein it abideth."

(1) "Hail, thou Pepi, (2) thou journeyest on, thou

"art glorious, thou hast gotten power like the God "(3) who is on his throne, that is, Osiris. Thou hast "thy soul within thy body, (4) thou hast thy power "behind thee, thy ureret crown is upon thy head, (5) "thy head-dress is upon thy shoulder[s], thy face is "in front of thee, those who acclaim thee (6) are upon "both sides of thee, the followers of the God are fol- lowing after thee, the spiritual bodies (sahn) of the "God are upon both sides of thee, and they (7) make "the God to come ; the God cometh and Pepi com- "eth upon the throne of Osiris. The Khu which (8) "dwelleth in the city of Netat cometh, the Form which "dwelleth in the nome of Teni. Isis speaketh with "thee, and Nephthys holdeth converse with thee ; the "(9) Khus come unto thee paying homage [unto thee], "and they bow down, even to the ground, at thy feet "by reason of thy book, O Pepi, (10) in the cities of "Saa. Thou comest forth before thy mother Nut, and "she strengtheneth thine arm and she giveth unto thee "a path (1 1) in the horizon to the place where Ra "is. The doors of heaven are opened for thee, the "gates of Qebhu are unbolted for thee, thou findest "(12) Ra, who guardeth thee, and he strengtheneth "for thee thy hand, and he guideth thee into the "northern and southern heavens, (i3) and he setteth "thee upon the throne of Osiris. Hail, thou Pepi, the "Eye of Horus cometh unto thee and holdeth con- verse with thee, thy soul (14) which dwelleth with "the gods cometh unto thee, and thy form (sekhem)

"which dwelleth among the Khus cometh unto thee. "In the same way that the son avenged his father, "in the same way that Horus avenged Osiris, (15) "even so shall Horus avenge Pepi upon his enemies. "And thou shalt stand [there], O Pepi, avenged, and "armed, and provided with the (16) forms of Osiris "who is upon the throne of the Governor of Amenti, "and thou shalt have thy being as he hath his among "the indestructible Khus, (17) And thy soul shall stand "up upon thy throne provided with thy attribute[s], "and it shall have its being as thou hast thine in the "presence of him who is the Governor of the Living, "according to the decree of Ra, the great god, (18) "who shall plough the wheat and the barley and give "it unto thee as a gift therein. Hail, thou Pepi, it is "Ra who hath given unto thee all life and strength "for ever, along with (19) thy speech and thy body. "And thou hast received the attribute[s] of the God, "and thou hast become great therein before the gods "who dwell on the Lake. Hail, thou Pepi, thy soul "standeth (20) among the gods and among the Khus, "and the fear of thee constraineth their hearts. Hail, "Pepi, inasmuch as thou hast set thyself upon thy "throne (21) of the Governor of the Living, thy book "it is which worketh upon their hearts, and thy name "liveth upon earth, and groweth old upon earth, and "thou shalt neither perish nor decav for ever and "ever." (22)

"Rise thou up, O Pepi, stand thou up, O thou of

"great strength, and take thy seat at the head of "the gods ; and do thou the things which Osiris did "in the House of the Prince in Annu (Heliopolis). "Thou hast received thy (2 3) spiritual body (sah), and "thy foot shall not be restrained in heaven, and thou "shalt not be repulsed upon earth. And behold, the "Khus, who are the children of Nut to whom Neph- "thys hath given suck, have gathered themselves to- gether unto thee ; and thou standest up on thy "strength, and thou doest that which it is thine to "do in the presence of thy Khu (24) for all the Khus. "Thou journeyest to the city of Pe, and thou doest "what must be done therein and thou returnest; thou "goest to the city of Nekhen and thou doest what "must be done therein

and thou returnest. Thou doest "that which Osiris did and thou art upon his throne ; "(25) and this Khu, the one most mighty, standeth "up armed like Sma-ur, and wherever thou goest "none shall repulse thee, and none shall set a limit "to thy feet wherever it pleaseth thee to go."

"Hail, Osiris Pepi, (26) arise, stand up, for thy mo- "ther Nut hath given birth unto thee, and Seb hath "arranged (?) thy mouth for thee. The Great Com- "pany of the gods have avenged thee, and they "have put thine enemies beneath thee. Thou hast "carried that which is greater than thyself, through "them, (27) in thy name of 'Atef-meh-ur'; and thou "hast netted that which is greater than thyself, through "them, in thy name of 'Ta-Teni'. Thy two sisters

"Isis and Nephthys come unto thee and they make "thee to traverse Qemt-urt in thy name of 'Qem-ur', "and Aneb-uatchet-urt in thy name of (28) 'Uatch-ur' ; "and verily, thou art 'Urt-shent' in Shen-ur, and 'Teben- "shent' in Teben-pesh-rer-Ha-nebu, and 'Shent-aat' in "Shen-aa-sek-mu. And Isis and (29) Nephthys have "protected thee in the city of Saut from their master "who is in thee in thy name of 'Master of Saut', and "from their god who is in thee in thy name of 'God'. "They adore thee so that thou mayest not depart "from them in thy name of 'Morning Star' ; (3o) and "they bring [offerings] before thee so that thou mayest "not suffer pain in thy name of "Tchentru". Thy sister "Isis hath come unto thee rejoicing in thy love ; and "thou hast had intercourse with her, and hast made "her to conceive, and she is heavy with Septet. (3i) "And Heru-Sept cometh forth from thee as Heru the "dweller in Septet, and thou doest what must be "done in him in thy name of 'Khu, dweller in Tchent- "ru' ; and he avengeth thee in his name of 'Horus, "the son who avengeth his father'."

"Hail, Osiris Pepi, thou hast offered (32) thy liba- "tion, and thou hast made thy libation before Horus "in thy name of 'Comer forth from Qebh' ; thou hast "offered thine incense which maketh thee divine, and "thy mother Nut hath made thee to be as a god "to thine enemy in thy name of 'God'. Thou hast "offered the emanations which come forth from thee, "and Horus hath granted (33) that the gods .....

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"whithersoever thou goest ; thou hast offered the "emanations which come forth from thee, and Horus "hath granted that thou shalt judge his children "wheresoever thou takest them, and he decreeth for "thee the renewals of youth (34) in thy name of " 'Water of youth'. Horus hath strength, then, and he "judgeth his father in thee in his name of 'Heru- "Bat\"

"Hail, Pepi, thy journeying and the journeying of "thy mothers along with thee (41) are the journeying "of Horus when he journeyeth forth and the jour- "neying of his mothers who journey with him ; those "who are with him urge him on, (42) and they lead "him to the East. Hail, thou Pepi, thine arms are "Uapau, and thy face is Ap-uat. (a.3) Hail, thou Pepi, "a royal oblation ! thou seatest thyself in the regions "of Horus, and thou goest about through the regions "of Set ; thou seatest thyself upon the iron throne, "(44) and thou art judge at the head of the Great "Company of the gods who dwell in Annu. Hail, thou "Pepi, Khent-an-merti (or maati) guardeth thee whilst "thou guardest thy (45) calves ; hail, Pepi, Ar guard- "eth thee against the Khus. Hail, Pepi, know thou "that thou shalt receive (46) for thine holy oblation "which thou offerest each day, thousands of cakes, "thousands of vessels of ale, thousands of oxen, thou- sands of

feathered fowl, thousands of sweet things, "and thousands of linen garments. Hail, Pepi, (47) "thou hast thy water, thou hast thine abundance, thou

"hast thy purifying gums which are brought to thee "before thy brother Nekhekh."

"0 Osiris Pepi, thou risest as king of the South "and of the North by reason of thy power over the "gods and their Kas (i. e., doubles), and, behold, do "thou, O Nut, spread thyself over thy son Osiris "Pepi, and protect him, and deliver (62) him from "Set. Come, Nut, and protect thy son, for thou "must protect this mighty one. O Nut, cast thyself "over thy son Osiris Pepi, and protect him, O great "wife of this mighty one who is among thy children! "The god Seb hath come unto thee, O Nut, and thou "didst possess strength, and thou didst gain power "in the womb of thy mother Tefnut when as yet thou "wert not born ; O do thou unite life and strength "unto Pepi so that he may not die. Thou didst make "strong thy heart and didst spring forth from the "womb of thy mother in thy name of Nut ; thou ". . . . daughter (63) who didst gain the mastery over "thy mother, and didst make herself to rise as Queen "of the North, protect thou this Pepi who is within "thy womb that he may not die."

"For me, O Nut, to whom thou hast given birth

" proclaim the name of Osiris Pepi, (65) through

"Horus, beloved of the two lands, Pepi, the king of "the North and of the South, Pepi, the lord of the "diadems of the Vulture and of the Uraeus, beloved "[from] the womb, Pepi, the triple hawk of gold, Pepi "the flesh and bone of Seb by whom he is beloved,

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"Pepi, the friend of all the gods, Pepi, the giver of "all life, and stability, and power, and health, and "joy of heart, like the Sun, living for ever. (66) Thy "water is thine, thy flood is thine, that is to say, the "emanations which come forth from the God, the ex- cretions which come forth from Osiris ; thy hands "are washed, thine ears are opened, and this Form "(sekhem) doeth what hath to be done for his son. Thou "art washed and (67) and thy ka (double) is wash- "ed ; and thy ka hath sat down, and he eateth bread "with thee for ever and ever. Inasmuch as thou hast "gone and hast taken thy seat, Osiris, thy mouth "is open before thee, acclamations are upon thy hand, "thy nostrils are (68) gratified with the odour of the "uraeus, thy legs walk to keep the feast, thy teeth

"are , and thy fingers reckon up the lakes over

"which thou passest like the great Bull of Annu [and "of] the nome of Uatchet,' to go to the fields of Ra "(69) which he loveth. Rise up, then, O Pepi, and "die not."

"Hail, Pepi, arise, stand up! (112) Thou art pure, "thy ka is pure, thy soul is pure, thy sekhem is pure ! "Thy mother cometh to thee, thy mother Nut, the "mighty creatress, cometh to thee, and she maketh "thee pure, O Pepi. She fashioneth thee, (11 3) O Pepi, "and thou hast motion, O Pepi ; thou art pure, thy "ka is pure, thy sekhem is pure among the Khus, and

1. /. e., the tenth nome of Upper Egypt.

"thy soul is pure among the gods, O Pepi. Hail, (114) "Pepi, thy bones have been presented unto thee, thou "hast received thy head before Seb, and he hath des- "troyed the evil which belongeth to thee, O Pepi, be- "fore Tem."

"Thou hast opened the gates of heaven, thou hast "unbolted the doors of (154) Qebhu, which repulse "the beings of understanding (rekhit). (155) And Ment "acclaimeth thee, mankind (henmemet) greeteth thee, "and the stars which never fail stand up before thee. "(156) Thy winds are incense and thy north wind is "a flame, for thou art he who hath become mighty "in the nome Teni, (157) and thou art the star that "existeth by thyself and which appeareth in the "eastern half of heaven, (158) which never groweth "old, and to which Horus of the city of Tat hath "given his body."

"Hail, thou stablished one, thou most exalted one "(159) among the stars which never fail, thou shalt "never perish "

(160) "The heavens speak and the earth quaketh "by reason of thy book, O Osiris, when thou makest "thine appearance. Hail, ye cows of Amutenen, who "have suckled Amutenen, go ye round about behind "him, and weep before him, and acclaim him by word "and deed, for Pepi, who goeth forth, goeth into hea- "ven among his brethren the gods."

(169) "Pepi is pure. Pepi hath taken his staff, he "hath provided himself with his throne, and he hath

"taken his seat in the boat of the Great and Little "Companies of the gods ; Ra transporteth Pepi to the "West, and he stablisheth the throne of Pepi above "the lords of has, and he writeth down Pepi at the "head of the living. The Peh-ka which dwelleth in "Qebh is opened unto this Pepi, and the iron which "formeth the ceiling of the sky is opened unto this "Pepi, and he passeth through onwards ; his panther "skin is upon him, and his sceptre and flail are in his "hand. And Pepi is sound with his flesh, he is happy "with his name, he liveth with (170) his ka. And he "(V. e., Ra) destroyeth the evil which is upon both "sides of Pepi, he driveth away the evil which fol- "loweth him, even as Maautu(?) who dwelleth in Se- "khem driveth away the evil which is upon both sides "of him and doeth away with the evil which follow- "eth him."

"Let Ra be embraced in the two horizons of hea- "ven, so that he may go forth therein before Heru- "khuti (Harmachis)."

"Let Heru-khuti be embraced in the two horizons "of heaven, so that he may go forth before Ra."

"Let Pepi be embraced in the two horizons of "heaven, (171) so that he himself may go forth before "Ra and before Heru-khuti."

"O enter into the verdant stream of the Lake of "Kha, fill with water the Fields of Aaru, and let "Pepi set sail for the eastern half of heaven towards "that place where the gods are brought forth, where-

"in Pepi himself may be born along with them as "Heru-khuti, for Pepi is triumphant, and Pepi ac- "claimeth and the ka of Pepi acclaimeth the [gods]. "And they invoke Pepi and they bring to him these "four [gods] who make their ways over the tresses "of Horus, and who stand with their sceptres in the "eastern half of heaven; (172) and they declare to "Ra the excellent name of Pepi, and they exalt the "excellent name of Pepi before Neheb-kau, for Pepi "is triumphant, and Pepi acclaimeth and his ka ac- "claimeth the gods. The sister of Pepi is Septet "(Sothis), and the birth of Pepi is the morning star, "and it is he who is under the body of heaven be- "fore Ra. Pepi is triumphant, and he acclaimeth and "his ka acclaimeth [the gods]."

"Pepi knoweth his mother, and he is not unmind- "ful of her, the White Crown, who begetteth and who "dwelleth in the city of Nekheb. She is the lady of "the great house, the lady of the land of union, the "lady of the hidden land, the lady of the field of the "boat, the lady of the lake which bringeth offerings, "she decreeth (173) the Red Crown and she is the "lady of the domains of the city of Tep. O mother "of this Pepi, cry out, and present the breast to him "and suckle him. O thou her son, Pepi, O father, the "breast hath been presented unto thee and it hath "suckled thee. O father, thou livest, O father ; thou "art little, O father ; thou comest forth into heaven "like the hawks having feathers like unto those of

"geese. O father, it is the god Hetch-hetch who bring- "eth these things to Pepi. O Sema-ur, thou bull of "offerings, remove thy horn and let this Pepi pass by. "Inasmuch as Pepi passeth through the .... and inas- "much as he goeth to heaven in full life and power, "this Pepi seeth his father, this Pepi seeth Ra."

"This Pepi is indeed god and the envoy (or angel) "of god. Pepi cometh, and he is pure in Sekhet-Aaru. "This Pepi goeth down to the Field of Kenset and "the followers of Horus purify him. They guard care- fully this Pepi, and they recite for him the 'Chapter "of Mau', and they also recite for him the 'Chapter "of coming forth in life and in power'. This Pepi "cometh forth to heaven in life and in power in the "boat of Ra, he piloteth for Ra the gods [thereof], "and [they rejoice] in this Pepi as they rejoice when "[Ra] goeth forth from the eastern part of the sky "in peace, in peace."

(179) "This Pepi cometh forth to the eastern part "of heaven where the gods are born, and where he "himself is born as Heru-khuti. Pepi is triumphant "(maa %eru) and the ka of Pepi is triumphant ; Pepi "maketh adoration and the ka of Pepi maketh adora- tion. The sister of this Pepi is Septet, he is born as the "Morning Star ; he goeth with you, and he journeyeth "with you in Sekhet-Aaru, and he draweth nigh as do "you unto the Field of Turquoise. He eateth of that of "which ye eat, he liveth upon that upon which ye live, he "putteth on apparel like unto the apparel which ye put

"on, he anointeth himself with the sweet-smelling sub- stances with which ye anoint yourselves, he receiveth "his water with you at the lake of Mena of this Pepi, "and he drinketh it out of the vessels of the Khus."

(185) "Ra hath purified heaven and Horus hath "purified the earth, and every god who is with them "purifieth this Pepi, for Pepi adoreth the god. O "thou path of Pepi which leadeth to the Great Halls, "testify ye concerning Pepi before these two great "gods, for Pepi is Unka, the son of Ra, who beareth "the

heavens upon his shoulders and who guideth "the earth. Hail, ye gods, let Pepi take his seat among "you. Hail, ye stars, bear ye Pepi upon your shoul- "ders as ye bear Ra, follow ye this Pepi as ye fol- "low Ap-uat, and love ye him as ye love ....•"

(188) "This Pepi hath come to thee, Lord of hea- "ven, this Pepi hath come to thee, Osiris, he strengthen- "eth thy face, and he arrayeth thee in the garment of a "god ; ... he hath purified thee in Aata, he hath des- "troyed the members of thine enemies, he hath hacked "them in pieces, and he hath changed himself into the "being who is among those who have been hacked in "pieces .... For Horus, the son to whom thou hast "given birth, hath not placed this Pepi among the "dead, but among the divine gods ; their water is "the water of this Pepi, their bread is the bread of "this Pepi, their purifications are the purifications of "this Pepi, and that which Horus hath done for Osiris "he hath also done for this Pepi."

THE ELYSIAN FIELDS OR HEAVEN. CXLIII

(304) "Heaven uttereth words, the earth quaketh, "Seb advanceth, the two divine nomes part asunder, "the ceremony of ploughing the earth is ended, and "the offering is set before Pepi, the living one, the "stablished one. He goeth forth from heaven and "goeth about over the iron sky in life and stability, "he saileth over it and overthroweth in his course "the fortifications of Shu. He goeth forth to heaven "upon his wings like a mighty duck which hath broken "its bonds, and Anubis leadeth the procession (?) which "Horus made in Abydos when Osiris was interred. "He goeth forth into heaven among the stars which "never perish (or diminish), his sister is Septet, and "his guide the Morning Star leadeth him to Sekhet- "Hetep, and he seateth himself there upon his iron "throne which hath lions' heads and feet in the form "of the hoofs of the bull Sema-ur. He standeth up "there in his vacant place between the two great "gods, and his sceptre, which is in the form of a "papyrus, he hath with him. He stretcheth out his "hand over the henmemet beings, and the gods come "to him, bending their backs in homage. The two great "gods watch one on each side of him and they find "Pepi, like the Great and Little Companies of the "gods acting as the judge of words, being the prince "[over] every prince. They bow down before Pepi, "and they make offerings unto him as unto the Great "and Little Companies of the gods."

(315) "Hail, Osiris, it is not Pepi who entreateth to

"see thee in the form in which thou art, who entreat- "eth to see thee in the form in which thou art, it is "thy son who entreateth to see thee in the form in "which thou art, it is Horus who entreateth to see "thee in the form in which thou art."

(426) "Pepi hath gone down into the Great Green "Sea, and thou, O Great Green Sea, hast drooped "thy head and bent thy back, and the children of "Nut, who come down upon thee putting their gar- lands upon their heads and round their necks, offer "the flowers which are the crowns of the pools of "Sekhet-hetep to Isis, the great lady ; and the god- "dess who beareth the pike in Akhet bringeth them "and spreadeth them out as a gift before her son "Horus, whom she suckleth at the breast, so that he "may traverse the earth in his two white sandals and "may go to his father Osiris. Pepi hath opened out "his way among the birds, he hath travelled with the "lords of food, he hath gone to the great lake which "is in Sekhet-Hetep on which the great gods alight, and "these great and imperishable beings give to him the "tree of life, whereon they

themselves do live, that he "also may [eat and] live thereon. Take, then, this Pepi "with thee to this great country which hath become "subject unto thee by the will of the gods, wherein "thou eatest during the night even [until] dawn, and "where thou becomest master of divine food, in such "wise that Pepi may eat of that of which thou eatest, "that he may drink of that of which thou drinkest."

The following- prayer, which is found in shortened forms in Graeco-Roman and Roman periods, occurs in the text of Pepi II. 1. 669, ff.

"Hail, Great Company of the gods who are in Annu, "grant that Pepi Nefer-ka-Ra may flourish, and grant "that his pyramid, his everlasting building, may flou- rish, even as the name of Temu, the Governor of "the Great Company of the gods, flourisheth. If the "name of Shu, the lord of the upper shrine in Annu, "flourisheth Pepi Nefer-ka-Ra shall flourish, and this his "pyramid, his everlasting building, shall flourish. If the "name of Tefnut, the lady of the lower shrine in Annu, "is stablished, the name of this Pepi Nefer-ka-Ra "shall be stablished, and this pyramid shall be sta- "blished for ever. If the name of Seb, the soul of "the earth(?), flourisheth, the name of Pepi Nefer-ka-Ra "shall flourish, and this his pyramid shall flourish, and "his everlasting building shall flourish. If the name "of Nut flourisheth in Het-Shenth in Annu, the name of "this Pepi -Nefer-ka-Ra shall flourish, and this his "pyramid shall flourish, and this his building shall "flourish for ever. If the name of Osiris flourisheth in "the nome Teni, the name of this Pepi Nefer-ka-Ra "shall flourish, and this his pyramid shall flourish, and "this his building shall flourish forever. If the name of "Osiris, Governor of Amenti, flourisheth, the name of "this Pepi Nefer-ka-Ra shall flourish, and this his pyra- "mid shall flourish, and this his building shall flourish for "ever. If the name of Set in Nubt (Ombos) flourisheth,

"the name of Pepi Nefer-ka-Ra shall flourish, and this "his pyramid shall flourish, and this his building shall "flourish for ever. If the name of Horus of Behutet "flourisheth, the name of this Pepi Nefer-ka-Ra shall "flourish, and this his pyramid shall flourish, and this "his building shall flourish for ever. If the name of "Ra flourisheth in the horizon, the name of this Pepi "Nefer-ka-Ra shall flourish, and this his building shall "flourish for ever. If the name of Khent-merti in Se- "khem is stablished, the name of this Pepi Nefer-ka- "Ra shall flourish, and this his Pyramid shall flourish, "and this his building shall flourish for ever. If the "name of Uatchit who dwelleth in Tep flourisheth, the "name of this Pepi Nefer-ka-Ra shall flourish, and "this his pyramid shall flourish, and this his building "shall flourish for ever."

The Egyptians, from the earliest to the latest period of their history, were addicted to the use of formulae which were thought to be able to effect results usu- ally beyond the power of man, and they accompanied such formulae with the performance of certain cere- monies. The formulae consisted of the repetition of the names of gods and supernatural beings, bene- volent or hostile to man as the case might be, and of entreaties or curses ; the ceremonies were of various kinds, and the object of the present chapter is to de- scribe briefly those which relate to the various sec- tions of the Book of the Dead.

The Egyptian believed that every word spoken under certain circumstances must be followed by some effect, good or bad ; a prayer uttered by a properly qualified person, or by a man ceremonially pure, in the proper place, and in the proper manner, must necessarily be answered favourably ; and similarly the curses which were pronounced upon a man, or beast, or thing, in the name of a hostile supernatural

being were bound to result in harm to the object cursed. It seems that this idea had its origin in the belief that the world and all that therein is came into being immediately after Thoth had interpreted in words the will of the deity, in respect of the creation of the world, and that creation was the result of the god's command. In very early times the Egyptian called in the professional religious man to utter words of good omen over the dead body of his relative or friend, and later the same words written upon some substance and buried with him were believed to be effectual in procuring for him the good things of the life beyond the grave. In the text on the pyramid of Unas (1. 583) is a reference to something written which the deceased was supposed to possess, in the following words : — "The bone and flesh which have "no writing 1 are wretched, but, behold, the writing "of Unas is under the great seal, and behold, it is "not under the little seal." And in the text on the pyramid of Pepi I we find the words, "The uraeus of "this Pepi is upon his head, there is a writing on "each side of him, and he hath words of magical "power at his two feet" ; thus equipped the king enters heaven.

In the reign of Cheops, however, we are told 2 that his second son Herutataf brought to the court a man

2. Wcstcar Papyrus, ed. Erman, pi. 11.

who possessed magical powers, and who was able to join the head to a decapitated body and to make the complete body live again as before. When Cheops ordered the head to be struck off from a prisoner that the sage might fasten it on again, the sage excused himself from performing this difficult task ; but when a goose was brought, and its head was cut off and laid on one side of the room and the body on the other, he spake certain magical words, whereupon the goose stood up and begun to waddle, and the head began to move towards it. When the head had joined itself again to the body the bird stood up and cackled. Thus, in that remote period a man claimed to be able to re- store life to decapitated creatures by means of words of magical power, and it seems that the belief in the efficacy of the words of Thoth was already well esta- blished ; in the late period the mourner consoled him- self by asserting that the Book of the Dead prepared for his dead relative or friend had been written by the fingers of the god Thoth himself.

A common way to effect certain results, good or evil, was to employ figures made of various sub- stances, chiefly wax, or amulets made of precious stones and metals in various forms ; both figures and amulets were inscribed with words which gave them the power to carry out the work assigned to them by those who caused them to be made. It is well known that the Egyptians believed that the qualities and much else, including the ka, of a living original

could be transferred to an image thereof by means of the repetition over it of certain formulae, and a good or evil act done to a statue or figure resulted in good or evil to the person whom it represented.

In the Westcar Papyrus we are also told that the wife of a high Egyptian official called Aba-aner fell in love with one of the king's followers, and that she sent to him and told him of her desire ; subsequently the pair met in the woman's garden, and they passed the day in drinking and in pleasure. On the morrow the husband was told of his wife's conduct, and he determined to punish both with death. Having sent for his ebony box bound with fine metal, he made a waxen crocodile a few inches long, and having recited ma-

gical formulae over it he gave it to his chief servant, and told him to throw it into the water when he saw his wife's paramour going to bathe in the evening. When the guilty pair had passed another day to- gether and the young man went down to the river in the evening, the chief servant cast the waxen cro- codile into the water ; and as it was falling it turned into a huge living crocodile about twelve feet long, which swallowed the young man. Seven days later Aba-aner and the king Neb-ka went to the water where the crocodile was, and Aba-aner ordered it to give up the young man ; and it came out of the water and straightway brought up the young man. When the king had made some remark, Aba-aner picked up the crocodile, which at once turned into the small

waxen crocodile that it was originally, and when he again ordered it to devour the young man, it once more became a living reptile, and, seizing the young man, made its way to the water, and disap- peared with him. The faithless wife was burnt. The principal actors in this story are said to have flou- rished during the rule of the third dynasty of Egypt, nearly four thousand years before Christ, and it is a noteworthy fact that the narrative mentions the ebony and metal box and the making of a waxen crocodile in a way which seems to shew that their owner was in the habit of using the box and the wax frequently.' About the time of the eighteenth dynasty, we learn from a papyrus 2 that a man was prosecuted in Egypt for having made figures of men and women in wax, by which he caused sundry and divers pains and sicknesses to the living beings whom they represent- ed. And, according to Pseudo-Callisthenes, 3 Nectane- bus wrought magic by means of a bowl of water, some waxen figures, and an ebony rod. The waxen figures were made in the forms of the soldiers of the enemy who were coming against him by sea or by land, and were placed upon the water in the basin by him. Nectanebus then arrayed himself in suitable apparel, and, having taken the rod in his hand, be-

i. I have reproduced this paragraph from my Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, p. XIII.

z. Chabas, Le Papyrus Magique Harris, p. 170 ff. 3. Ed. Miiller, lib. 1. cap. 1 ff.

gan to recite certain formulae and the names of di- vine powers known unto him, whereupon the waxen figures became animated, and straightway sank to the bottom of the bowl ; at the same moment the hosts of the enemy were destroyed. If the foe was coming by sea he placed the waxen soldiers in waxen ships, and at the sound of the words of power both ships and men sank into the waves as the waxen models sank to the bottom of the sea. The same informant tells us that when Nectanebus wished Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, to believe that the god Am- nion had visited her during the night, he went forth from her presence into the plain and gathered a number of herbs which had the power of causing dreams, and pressed out the juice from them. He then fashioned a female figure in the form of Olympias, and inscribed the Queen's name upon it, and having made the model of a bed he laid the figure thereon. Nectanebus next lit a lamp, and, reciting the words of power which would compel the demons to send Olympias a dream, he poured out the juice of the herbs over the waxen figure ; and at the moment of the performance of these acts Olympias dreamed that she was in the arms of the god Ammon.

A tradition also exists to the effect that Aristotle gave to Alexander the Great a number of waxen figures nailed down in a box which was fastened by a chain, and which he ordered him never to let go out of his own hand, or at least out of that of one

THE MAGIC. OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD. CLIII

of his confidential servants. The box was to go wherev- er Alexander went, and Aristotle taught him to re- cite certain formulae over it whenever he took it up or put it down. The figures in the box were intended to represent the various kinds of armed forces that Alexander was likely to find opposed to him. Some of the models held in their hands leaden swords which were curved backwards, and some had spears in their hands pointed head downwards, and some had bows with cut strings ; all these were laid face downwards in the box. When Alexander was engaged in war with any nation armed with swords, or spears, or bows, if he recited the formulae which Aristotle had taught him, the swords of the foe would become as lead and bend backwards, the spears would become im- potent in the hands of those who held them and their heads would turn to the ground, and the strings of the bows would snap.

Returning to purely Egyptian sources for informa- tion concerning the use of wax figures we come to an important work, 1 consisting of several Chapters which were to be recited to keep away storm-clouds and thunder from the sky. One Chapter reads: — "Fire "upon thee, O Apep, thou enemy of Ra ! The Eye of "Horus prevaileth over the accursed soul and shade "of Apep, the flame of the Eye of Horus gnaweth into "that enemy of Ra, the flame of the Eye of Horus "eateth into all the enemies of P-aa in death and in

i. For the text and translation of it see Archaeologia, Vol. 52.

"life." The Rubric belonging to the Chapters orders that it shall be "recited over Apep written in green "ink upon a piece of new papyrus, and over a wax "figure of Apep on which his name is inscribed in "green ink ; this figure shall then be put in the fire "that the enemy of Ra may be devoured. When Apep "is put in the fire speak ye words of power and say, "'Taste thou, 1 death to thee, Apep. Get thee back, re- "treat, thou enemy of Ra, fall down, wriggle away, "depart, retreat. I have driven thee back, I have "hacked thee in pieces ; . . . . Back, thou fiend, an "end to thee! Therefore have I cast fire at thee, "therefore have I caused thee to be destroyed, there- "fore have I judged and condemned thee to an evil "doom. An end to thee, an end to thee ; taste thou, "an end to thee, mayest thou never rise up again! "An end, an end to thee, an end to thee, taste thou, "and come to an end. I have destroyed the enemy "of Ra.' This figure of Apep shall be burnt in a "grass fire, and when burnt, its ashes are to be mixed "with excrement and thrown into a fire. Afterwards, "when thou hast thrown Apep into the fire at day- "break of the festival of the six, spit upon him and "defile him with thy left foot ; thus shall be repulsed "the roarings of the Backward of Face. Thou shalt "do the like of this at daybreak on the festival of "the fifteenth day, for by means of it Apep shall be "repulsed and slain before the Sektet boat. Thou shalt i. /. e.. feel the flame.

THE MAGIC OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD. CLV

"do the like of this when tempests rage in the east- "ern parts of the sky when Ra sets in the land of "life, to prevent the arrival of red threatening clouds "in the eastern quarter of the sky. Thou shalt do the "like of this many times as a preventive against the "shower, the sun's disk shall shine, and Apep shall be

"overthrown in very truth." Elsewhere we are told that if it be wished to destroy the fiends which accompany Apep we must "write the names of their "fathers, and mothers, and offspring with green paint "upon new papyrus, and also inscribe their names "upon wax figures of them which shall be tied round "with dark hair. These figures shall be spit upon, and "shall be spurned with the left foot and stabbed with "a stone knife."

The most important mention ot figures in the Book of the Dead occurs in the Vlth Chapter which, properly speaking, forms one of the texts that accom- pany the scene of the Funeral Chamber as exhibited in Chapter CLI. When the Egyptian, in very early days, conceived the existence of the Elysian Fields it occurred to him that the agricultural labours which would have to be carried out there might entail upon himself toil and fatigue. To avoid this a short Chapter (V) was drawn up, the recital of which was believed to free the deceased from doing any work in the under- world. But it was felt that the work must be done by some person or thing, and eventually it became the custom to bury a figure or figures of the de-

ceased with him in his tomb so that it or they might perform whatever work fell to his share. It is pro- bable that in semi-savage times the wealthy Egyp- tian's burial was accompanied by the slaughter of several slaves, who were supposed to follow him to the next, world and to minister to his wants there ; the figures which were buried with the dead in the later times seem to have taken the place of the slaughtered slaves. To these figures the Egyptian gave the name ushabtiu, a word which is commonly rendered by "respondents" or "answerers", and they are often described in modern times as the "working figures of Hades". They are made of stone of various kinds, wood, faience, etc.; I know of none earlier than the Xlth dynasty. They are inscribed with a text in which the deceased says, "If I be called, or if I be "adjudged to do any work whatsoever of the labours "which are to be done in the underworld by a man "in his turn, let the judgment fall upon thee instead "of upon me always, in the matter of sowing the "fields, of filling the water-courses with water, and "of bringing the sands of the east to the west." To this the shabti figure makes reply, "Verily I am here, "[and will come] whithersoever thou biddest me."

Several of the Chapters of the Book of the Dead are followed by Rubrics which give directions for the performance of certain magical ceremonies, and among them may be specially mentioned the following : —

Chap. XIII. This Chapter was to be recited over

two rings made of ankh'am flowers ; one was to be laid on the right ear of the deceased, and the other was to be wrapped up in a piece of byssus whereon the name of the deceased was inscribed.

Chap. XIX. This Chapter was to be recited over the divine chaplet which was laid upon the face of the deceased while incense was burnt on his behalf.

Chap. C. This Chapter was to be recited over a picture of the boat of the Sun painted with a special ink upon a piece of new papyrus, which was to be laid on the breast of the deceased, who would then have power to embark in the boat of Ra and to journey with the god.

Chap. CXXV. The Judgment Scene was to be paint- ed upon a tile made of earth upon which neither the pig nor any other animal had trodden ; and if the text of the Chapter was also written upon it, the de- ceased and his children would flourish for ever, his name would never be forgotten, and his place would henceforth be with the followers of Osiris.

Chap. CXXX. This Chapter was to be recited over a picture of the god Ra wherein a figure of the de- ceased sitting in the bows was drawn ; this done the soul of the deceased would live for ever.

Chap. CXXXIII. This Chapter was to be recited over a faience model of the boat of Ra, four cubits in length, whereon the figures of the divine chiefs were painted; painted figures of Ra and of the Khu of the deceased were to be placed in the boat. A model of the starry

heavens was also to be made and upon it the model of the boat of Ra was to be moved about, in imitation of the motion of the boat of the god in heaven ; this ceremony would cause the deceased to be received by the gods in heaven as one of themselves.

Chap. CXXXIV. This Chapter was to be recited over figures of a hawk (Ra), Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Suti, and Nephthys painted on a plaque which was to be placed in a model of the boat of Ra wherein the deceased was seated ; this ceremony would cause the deceased to travel with Ra in the sky.

Chap. CXXXVIa. This Chapter was to be recited over a figure of the deceased seated in the boat of Ra.

Chap. CXXXVIIa. This Chapter was to be recited over four fires, fed by a special kind of cloth anoint- ed with unguent, which were to be placed in the hands of four men who had the names of the pillars of Ho- rus written upon their shoulders. Four clay troughs, whereon incense had been sprinkled, were to be filled with the milk of a white cow, and the milk was to be employed in extinguishing the four fires. If this Chapter were recited daily (?) for the deceased he would become like unto Osiris in every respect. The Rubric supplies a series of texts which were to be recited: — (i) over a Tet of crystal set in a plinth, which was to be placed in the west wall of the tomb ; (2) over a figure of Anubis set in a plinth, which was to be placed in the east wall ; (3) over a brick smeared

with pitch which was set on fire, and then placed in the south wall ; and (4) over a brick inscribed with the figure of a palm tree, which was set in the north wall.

Chap. CXL. This Chapter was to be recited over an utchat, or figure of the Eye of Horus, made either of lapis-lazuli or Mak stone, and over another made of jasper. During the recital of the Chapter four al- tars were to be lighted for Ra-Tem, and four for the Utchat, and four for the gods who were mentioned therein.

Chap. CXLIV. The seven sections of this Chapter were to be recited over a drawing of the Seven Arits, at each of which three gods were seated ; by these means the deceased was prevented from being turned back at the door of any one of the seven mansions of Osiris.

Chap. CLXII. This Chapter was to be recited over the figure of a cow made of fine gold which was to be placed at the neck of the deceased ; during the performance of this ceremony the priest is ordered to say, "O Amen, O Amen, who art in heaven, turn "thy face upon the dead body of thy son and make "him sound and strong in the underworld."

Chap. CLXIII. This Chapter was to be recited over a serpent having legs and wearing a disk and two horns, and over two utchats having both eyes and wings.

Chap. CLXIV. This Chapter was to be recited over

a three-headed, ithyphallic figure of Mut painted upon a piece of linen, and over the figures of two dwarfs painted one on each side of the goddess.

Chap. CLXV. This Chapter was to be recited over the figure of the "god of the lifted hand", who had a body in the form of that of a beetle.

Besides these a number of Chapters have Rubrics, varying in length from two to twenty lines, which declare that if the deceased be acquainted with their contents or if they be inscribed upon his coffin, they will enable him to attain great happiness and free- dom in the world beyond the grave. Seven other Chapters consist of texts which were written upon the amulets that were usually laid upon the mummy, namely Nos. XXX b, LXXXIX, CLV, CLVI, CLVII, CLVIII, and CLIX. Chapter XXX b is found inscribed upon thousands of large green basalt scarabs, which were usually set in a banded frame of gold and laid inside or upon the breast, just over the heart ; it is also found inscribed upon green basalt amulets made in the form of the heart. 1 The object of this amulet was to preserve the heart of the deceased and to pro- tect it from the attacks of those who were thought to steal away the hearts of the dead ; its use is as old as the IV th dynasty, in which period the text was not cut but painted upon it. Chapter LXXXIX, which was written to ensure the union of the soul with the

i. I have described the chief examples of this amulet in my Papyrus of Ani, p. 262.

body in the underworld, was recited over the human- headed hawk made of gold and inlaid with precious stones which was laid upon the neck of the mummy ; examples of this amulet have been found with a few words of the Chapter inscribed upon them. Chapter CLV is found inscribed upon Tets made of gold and precious stones which have been found attached to the neck of the mummy ; this amulet represents the tree-trunk, with four branches pointing to the four cardinal points, which contained the dead body of Osiris, and it bestowed upon its possessor stability and lasting preservation. Chapter CLVI is found in- scribed upon several carnelian "buckles" which have been found attached to the neck of the mummy ; this amulet gave to the deceased the powers which were enshrined in the blood and power and enchantments of the goddess Isis. Chapter CLVII is found inscribed upon gold vultures which have been found attached to the neck of the mummy ; this amulet gave the deceased the protection of the goddess Isis such as she exercised on behalf of her own son Horus. Chap- ter CLVIII was inscribed upon the collar of gold which was placed on the neck of the mummy ; this amulet gave the deceased freedom from the bandages with

which he was swathed. Chapter CLIX is found in- scribed upon several mother-of-emerald sceptres which were attached to the neck of the mummy ; this amu- let gave "protection" or "strength" to the deceased. Chapter CLXII is found inscribed upon circular pieces

of papyri laid down upon cartonnage backs, commonly known as "hypocephali" ; they were placed under the back of the head of the mummy and by this warmth, similar to that which he possessed upon earth, was imparted. Chapter CLXVI is found inscribed upon small pillows made of haematite and other substan- ces ; as the ordinary pillow raised the head of the mummy from the bed of the coffin, so this amulet raised the head of the deceased in the horizon and prevented it from being laid low. Finally, figures of the gods in metal, stone, faience, wood, wax, etc., were attached to the mummy in order to place it under the special protection of the deities whom they represented. The following are the amulets which are commonly found in Egyptian tombs, and their signifi- cations : —