

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

THE
EGYPTIAN HEAVEN AND HELL

BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D., D.Litt., D.Lit.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

VOL. III.

THE CONTENTS OF THE BOOKS OF
THE OTHER WORLD DESCRIBED
AND COMPARED

CHICAGO

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.

LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO. LTD.

1906

THE EGYPTIAN HEAVEN AND HELL

VOLUME III

THE CONTENTS OF THE BOOKS OF THE OTHER WORLD
DESCRIBED AND COMPARED

BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE



Scene from the Papyrus of Nekht, allowing the deceased and the wife worshipping Osiris in the Other World, and the manner of the house in which they expect to live, and their vineyard and garden with its lake of water. (British Museum, No. 10,471, sheet 21.)

LONDON; KEGAN, PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN 1905

Egyptian Heaven And Hell Volume III By E. A. Wallis Budge.
This web edition created and published by Global Grey 2013.

GLOBAL GREY

NOTHING BUT E-BOOKS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

CHAPTER I. ORIGIN OF ILLUSTRATED GUIDES TO THE OTHER WORLD

CHAPTER II. THE EARLIEST EGYPTIAN CONCEPTION OF THE OTHER WORLD

CHAPTER III. THE REUNION OF THE BEATIFIED AND THEIR RECOGNITION OF EACH OTHER IN THE OTHER WORLD

CHAPTER IV. THE BOOK AM-TUAT AND THE BOOK OF GATES

CHAPTER V. THE CONTENTS OF THE BOOK AM-TUAT AND THE BOOK OF GATES COMPARED

CHAPTER VI. SECOND DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. THE KINGDOM OF KHENTI-AMENTI-OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

SECOND DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. THE KINGDOM OF KHENTI-AMENTI-OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

CHAPTER VII. THIRD DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. THE KINGDOM OF KHENTI-AMENTI-OSIRIS, ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

THIRD DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. THE KINGDOM OF KHENTI-AMENTI-OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

CHAPTER VIII. FOURTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. THE KINGDOM OF SEKER ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

FIFTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. THE KINGDOM OF SEKER ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

CHAPTER IX. FOURTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. THE KINGDOM OF KHENTI-AMENTI-OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

FIFTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. THE KINGDOM OF KHENTI-AMENTI-OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

CHAPTER X. SIXTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

SEVENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS
ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

EIGHTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS
ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

NINTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS
ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

CHAPTER XI. SIXTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. KINGDOM OF
OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

SEVENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS
ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

EIGHTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS
ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

CHAPTER XII. TENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. KINGDOM OF
TEMU-KHEPERA-RA ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

ELEVENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. KINGDOM OF TEMU-
KHEPERA-RA ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

CHAPTER XIII. NINTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. KINGDOM OF
TEMU-KHEPERA-RA ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

TENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. KINGDOM OF TEMU-
KHEPERA-RA ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

ELEVENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. KINGDOM OF TEMU-
KHEPERA-RA ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

CHAPTER XIV. TWELFTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. EASTERN
VESTIBULE OF THE TUAT, OR THE ANTECHAMBER OF THE
WORLD OF LIGHT ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

TWELFTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. EASTERN VESTIBULE OF
THE TUAT ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

PREFACE

THE present work is the outcome of two lectures on the Books of the Tuat, i.e., the Egyptian Underworld, or "Other World," which I had the honour to deliver at the Royal Institution in the spring of 1904, and it has been prepared at the suggestion of many who wished to continue their inquiries into the beliefs of the Egyptians concerning the abode of the departed, and the state of the blessed and the damned.

The object of all the Books of the Other World was to provide the dead with a "Guide" or "Handbook," which contained a description of the regions through which their souls would have to pass on their way to the kingdom of Osiris, or to that portion of the sky where the sun rose, and which would supply them with the words of power and magical names necessary for making an unimpeded journey from this world to the abode of the blessed. For a period of two thousand years in the history of Egypt, the Books of the Other World consisted of texts only, but about B.C. 2500 funeral artists began to represent pictorially the chief features of the "Field of Peace," or "Islands of the Blessed," and before the close of the XIXth Dynasty, about 1300 years later, all the principal books relating to the Tuat were profusely illustrated. In the copies of them which were painted on the walls of royal tombs, each division of the Tuat was clearly drawn and described, and each gate, with all its guardians, was carefully depicted. Both the living and the dead could learn from them, not only the names, but also the forms, of every god, spirit, soul, shade, demon, and monster which they were likely to meet on their way, and the copious texts which were given side by side with the pictures enabled the traveller through the Tuat--always, of course, provided that he had learned them--to participate in the benefits which were decreed by the Sun-god for the beings of each section of it.

In primitive times each great city of Egypt possessed its own Other World, and, no doubt, the priests of each city provided the worshippers of their gods with suitable "guides" to the abode of its dead. In the beginning of the Dynastic Period, however, we find that the cult of Osiris was extremely popular, and therefore it was only natural that great numbers of people in all parts of Egypt should hope and believe that their souls after death would go to the kingdom in the Other World over which he reigned. The beliefs connected with the cult of Osiris developed naturally out of the beliefs of the Predynastic

Egyptians, who, we have every reason to think, dealt largely in magic both "Black" and "White." Many of the superstitions, and most of the fantastic and half-savage ideas about the gods and supernatural powers enshrined in the great collection of religious texts called PER-EM-HRU, were inherited by the Dynastic Egyptians from some of the oldest dwellers in the Nile Valley. Those who died in the faith of Osiris believed in the efficacy of the Book PER-EM-HRU, and were content to employ it as a "Guide" to a heaven which was full of material delights; the number of those who were "followers" of Osiris was very large under every dynasty in Egypt. On the other hand, from the IVth Dynasty onwards there was a very large class who had no belief in a purely material heaven, and this being so, it is not surprising that Books of the Other World containing the expression of their views should be composed.

The principal Books of the Underworld in vogue under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties were:--1. PER-EM-HRU, or, "[The Book] of the Coming Forth by Day." 2. SHAT ENT AM TUAT, or, "The Book of that which is in the Tuat." 3. The composition to which the name "Book of Gates" has been given. Now the first of these, which is commonly known as the "Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead," has supplied us with much valuable information about the beliefs which flourished in connection with an early form of the ancient cult of Osiris in the Delta, and with the later form of his worship, after he had absorbed the position and attributes of Khenti-Amenti, an old local deity of Abydos. The two other Books, however, are as important, each in its own way, as the "Book of the Dead," for they throw considerable light on the development of the material and spiritual elements in the religion of Egypt, and commemorate the belief in the existence of numbers of primitive gods, who are unknown outside these Books. The "Book Am-Tuat," in the form in which we know it, was drawn up by the priests of the confraternity of Amen-Ra at Thebes, with the express object of demonstrating that their god was the overlord of all the gods, and the supreme power in "Pet Ta Tuat," or, as we should say, "Heaven, Earth, and Hell." The Tuat, or Other World, which they imagined included the Tuat of every great district of Egypt, viz., the Tuat of Khenti-Amenti at Abydos, the Tuat of Seker of Memphis, the Tuat of Osiris of Mendes, and the Tuat of Temu-Kheper-Ra of Heliopolis.

In the BOOK AM-TUAT the god Amen-Ra was made to pass through all these Tuats as their overlord and god, and his priests taught that all the gods of the dead, including Osiris, lived through his words, and

that such refreshing as the beings of the Tuat enjoyed each day was due to his grace and light during his passage through their regions and Circles. Moreover, according to the dogmas of the priests of Amen-Ra, only those who were fortunate enough to secure a place in the divine bark of the god could hope to traverse the Tuat unharmed, and only those who were his elect had the certainty of being re-born daily, with a new supply of strength and life, and of becoming of like nature and substance with him.

In the BOOK OF GATES the dogmas and doctrines of Osiris are far more prominent, and the state of the beatified closely resembles that described in the "Book of the Dead." In primitive times in Egypt men thought that they would obtain admission into the kingdom of Hetep by learning and remembering the secret name of this god and certain magical formulae, and by pronouncing them in the correct way at the proper time. The need for a consciousness of sin, and repentance, and a life of good works, were not then held to be indispensable for admission into the abode of the beatified. From the "Book of Gates," however, we learn that in the later Dynastic Period a belief was prevalent that those who worshipped the "great god" on earth, and made all the duly-appointed offerings, and turned not aside to "miserable little gods," and lived according to *maat*, i.e., uprightness and integrity, would receive a good reward because they had done these things. The texts in these Books state that the beatified live for ever in the kingdom of Osiris, and feed daily upon the heavenly wheat of righteousness that springs from the body of Osiris, which is eternal; he is righteousness itself, and they are righteous, and they live by eating the body of their god daily. On the other hand, the wicked, i.e., those who did not believe in the great god or make offerings, are hacked to pieces by the divine messengers of wrath, and their bodies, souls, and spirits are consumed by fire once and for all.

The Egyptians had no belief in a purgatory. The fires of the Other World were, it is true, occupied daily in burning up the damned and the opponents of the Sun-god, but each day brought its own supply of bodies, souls, spirits, demons, etc., for annihilation. In all the Books of the Other World we find pits of fire, abysses of darkness, murderous knives, streams of boiling water, foul stench, fiery serpents, hideous animal-headed monsters and creatures, and cruel, death-dealing beings of various shapes, etc., similar to those with which we are familiar in early Christian and mediæval literature, and it is tolerably

certain that modern nations are indebted to Egypt for many of their conceptions of hell.

In the present work the object has been to give the reader the complete hieroglyphic texts of the BOOK A-M-TUAT and the BOOK OF GATES, with reproductions of all their illustrations in black and white, and English translations and descriptions. The illustrations of the former work have been specially traced from the plates of the excellent edition of the tomb of Seti I. published by MM. G. Lefébure, U. Bouriant, V. Loret, and E. Naville, in the second volume of the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, Paris, 1886. The illustrations of the BOOK OF GATES have been traced from Bonomi's *Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I.*, London, 1864, but for certain scenes I was permitted by the late Mr. G. Birch, Keeper of Sir John Soane's Museum, to compare the tracings with the scenes on the sarcophagi-itself. A copy of the scene on the portion of the cover, which I acquired for the Trustees of the British Museum a few years ago, has also been included.

The plan followed has been to devote a chapter to each Division of the Tuat, and to give the hieroglyphic texts, with short descriptions of the various gods, &c., and translations, as near to the scenes to which they refer as possible. With a view of making the edition as complete as possible, I have added a transcript of the "Summary" of the BOOK AM-TUAT from Dr. Pleyte's facsimile of the Leyden Papyrus, and a translation for the convenience of the reader who may wish to compare the Divisions of Am-Tuat with those of the BOOK OF GATES. The former have been printed in one volume, and the latter in another; the full index given at the end of the introductory volume will, it is hoped, make reference and comparison easy. All general descriptions, and such explanations of the scenes as are possible in the present state of our knowledge have been given in a series of chapters in this volume, together with an account of the origin and development of "guides" to the Other World, and a rendering of a recently published and very important text from a coffin at Cairo. This text proves that the Egyptians believed in the reconstitution of family life in the Other World, and thought that every man, and woman, and child would possess such a measure of individuality that they would know their relatives and friends in the Other World, and would be known by them (see within, Chapter III).

The first translation of the BOOK AM-TUAT was published by Prof. G. Maspero in the *Revue des Religions*, 1888, tom. xvii., pp. 251-310; tom. xviii., pp. 1-67. This has been reprinted, with certain modifications and additions, in his *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, tom. ii., pp. 1-181, Paris, 1893. The text chosen by him for elucidation was that published by M. G. Lefébure in his edition of the tomb of Seti I., and this he supplemented with extracts from other versions of the work given on sarcophagi, papyri, etc. The "Summary," or Short Form of AM-TUAT, was first published in a complete form, with variant readings, by M. G. Jéquier (see his *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hades*, Paris, 1894). In Prof. Maspero's work mentioned above he also discussed and analysed the earlier sections of the BOOK OF GATES, of which M. E. Lefébure published a translation of the texts, as found on the sarcophagus of Seti I., in the *Records of the Past*, vol. x., pp. 79-134, London, 1878, and vol. xii., pp. 1-35, London, 1881. In preparing the present edition of the two great Books of the Other World I have availed myself of these works, and also of the valuable editions of the texts from the royal tombs at Thebes, which M. E. Lefébure has published in the first and second fasciculi of the third volume of the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, Paris, 1889.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

LONDON,
October, 1905.



CHAPTER I. ORIGIN OF ILLUSTRATED GUIDES TO THE OTHER WORLD

THE inhabitants of Egypt during the Dynastic Period of their history possessed, in common with other peoples of similar antiquity, very definite ideas about the abode of departed spirits, but few, if any, ancient nations caused their beliefs about the situation and form, and divisions, and inhabitants of their Heaven and Hell, or "Other World," to be described so fully in writing, and none have illustrated the written descriptions of their beliefs so copiously with pictorial representations of the gods and devils, and the good and evil spirits and other beings, who were supposed to exist in the kingdom of the dead. It is now generally admitted that Egyptian Dynastic History covers a period of nearly five thousand years, but it must not be assumed for one moment that it is at present possible to describe in a connected or complete form all the views and opinions about their Other World which were held by the theologians and the uneducated classes of Egypt during this long space of time, and it must be said at once that the materials for such a work are not forthcoming. All that can be done is to collect from the copies that have come down to us of the books which relate to the state and condition of the dead, and to the abode of departed spirits, the beliefs which are enunciated or referred to therein, and, taking them so far as possible in chronological order, to piece them together and then make deductions and draw general conclusions from them. We must always remember that the texts of the various Books of the Dead are far older than the illustrations found in the later recensions of them which are now in our hands, and that such illustrations, in matters of detail at least, reflect the opinions of the priestly class that held religious supremacy at the time when they were drawn or painted. In cases where archetypes were available the artist was careful to follow in all general matters the ancient copies to which he had access, but when new beliefs and new religious conceptions had to be illustrated, he was free to treat them pictorially according to his own knowledge, and according to the wishes of those who employed him.

The oldest Books of the Dead known to us, that is to say, the religious compositions which are inscribed on the walls of the chambers and corridors of the pyramids of kings Unas, Teta, Pepi I., Mer-en-Ra, and Pepi II., are without illustrations of any sort or kind, and it is not easy to account for this fact. That the Egyptians possessed artistic skill

sufficient to illustrate the religious and general works which their theologians wrote or revised, under their earliest dynasties of kings of all Egypt, is evident from the plain and coloured bas-reliefs which adorn the walls of their *mastabas*, or bench-shaped tombs, and we can only point out and wonder at the fact that the royal pyramids contain neither painted nor sculptured vignettes, especially as pictures are much needed to break the monotony of the hundreds of lines of large hieroglyphics, painted in a bluish-green colour, which must have dazzled the eyes even of an Egyptian. The reason, however, why such early texts are not illustrated is probably not far to seek. Professor Maspero has proved that the "pyramid texts" contain formulae and paragraphs which, judging from the grammatical forms that occur in them, it is easy to see must have been composed, if not actually written down, in the earliest times of Egyptian civilization. These formulae, &c., are interspersed with others of later periods, and it seems as if, at the time when the "pyramid texts" were cut into stone, these religious compositions were intended to contain expressions of pious thought about the hereafter which would satisfy both those who accepted the ancient indigenous beliefs, and those who were prepared to believe the doctrines which had been promulgated by the priests of the famous brotherhood of Ra, the Sun-god, who had made their headquarters in Egypt at Annu, i.e., On, or Heliopolis. The old native beliefs of the country were of a more material character than the doctrines which the priests of Heliopolis taught, but it was found impossible to eradicate them from the minds of the people, and the priests therefore framed religious works in such a manner that they might be acceptable both to those who believed in the old animal-gods, tree-gods, plant-gods, &c., of Egypt, and those who preferred a purely solar cult, such as that of the worship of the Sun-god Ra. The oldest Books of the Dead, in fact, represent the compromise arrived at under the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties, between the priests of the old and the new religions. This being so, the religious texts of the period represent too much a patch-work belief for purposes of systematic illustration, and in the result, and perhaps also through the funeral customs of the day, the growth in men's minds of the wish for illustrated guides to the Underworld was retarded.

When the glory of sovereignty departed from the kings who held court at Memphis after the end of the rule of the VIth Dynasty, the system of solar theology, which had been promulgated in Lower Egypt by the priests of Heliopolis, began to make its way into Upper Egypt, and wherever it came it assumed a leading position among the religious

systems of the day. The kings of the VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties, like those of the IIIrd, IVth, and VIth, came from Memphis, but they had comparatively little power in the land, and, so far as we know, they did not build for themselves pyramids for tombs, and there is no evidence forthcoming to show that they filled the walls of their sepulchres with religious texts. They carried on neither wars nor building operations of any importance, and it seems that their tombs were neither large nor magnificent. Owing to their feeble rule the governors of Suten-henen, or Herakleopolis, and those who ruled in the provinces near that city, succeeded in gaining their independence, and the kings of the IXth and Xth Dynasties were Herakleopolitans; their rule gradually extended to the south, and the religious influence of their priests was so great that they succeeded in forcing many of their mythological legends and beliefs into the accepted religion of the country, and these subsequently became part and parcel of the great Recension of the Theban Book of the Dead. The dominion of the Herakleopolitans, however, was of comparatively short duration, and it collapsed under the attacks of the bold and vigorous governors of the Thebaïd, whose capital was at Thebes. Judging from the historical evidence concerning the period which lies between the VIth and the XIth Dynasties, neither the two last Memphitic nor the two Herakleopolitan Dynasties of kings did anything to improve the general condition of the country, and it seems as if they found it necessary to employ all their energies to maintain their position and the little real power in the country which they possessed.

As this was the case, we need not wonder that all magnificence disappeared from funeral rites and ceremonies, and that the tombs of the period were small and unimportant. The gods were worshipped and the dead were buried as matters of course, but it goes without saying that kings, whose authority was not consolidated, and whose power was ineffective except in the immediate neighbourhood of the towns in which they lived, who were unable to wage wars in Syria and Sinai and to bring back much spoil, could neither establish Colleges of priests nor endow new temples; for in ancient Egypt, as elsewhere, the fortunes of the gods and the wealth of their sanctuaries increased or declined according as the inhabitants of the land were prosperous or otherwise. Similarly also, when the community was suffering from the evil effects of a long period of civil wars, and business was at a standstill, and farmers were unable to carry on the usual agricultural operations on which both the government and the priesthood ultimately depended for support, it was impossible for men to bury

their dead with all the pomp and ceremony which were the characteristics of funerals in times of peace and prosperity. The innate conservatism of the Egyptians made them cling to their ancient beliefs during this period of stress, but no important pyramids were built, and very few private funeral chapels were maintained at expensive rates, and the souls of the dead were committed to such protection as could be obtained by the prayers of their relatives and friends, and by the utterance of religious formulae, and by inexpensive amulets.

With the rise to power of the Princes of Thebes, things took a turn for the better so far as worship in the temples and the care for the dead were concerned. So soon as they had overcome their enemies the Princes of Herakleopolis, and their confederates the Princes of Asyut, and had firmly established themselves on the throne of Egypt, they sent men to reopen the quarries in the First Cataract and in the Wadi Hammamat near Coptos. This is a sure proof that the new line of kings, most of whom bear the name of Menthu-hetep, had need of large quantities of granite, and of sandstone of various kinds, and such materials can only have been required for the building of temples and palaces, and funeral altars and stelae, sarcophagi, &c. The fact that the work was begun again in the quarries also proves that the authority of the Menthu-heteps was well established. Menthu-hetep II., we are told by an inscription set up in the Wadi Hammamat by his officer Amen-em-hat, caused to be quarried a block of stone which measured eight cubits, by four cubits, by two cubits, i.e., about thirteen feet six inches long, six feet six inches wide, and three feet six inches thick, and it is probable that he required this for a sarcophagus. This king is also famous as the maker of a well in the desert, the mouth of which was about sixteen feet six inches square; and at one time he employed several thousands of men, including three thousand carriers or boatmen, in his stone-works. His successor, Menthu-hetep III., continued the work in the quarries, and built himself a pyramid, called Khu-ast, in the mountain of Tchesert at Thebes, which may now be identified with that portion of the great Theban cemetery to which the name Der al-Bahari was given by the Arabic-speaking Egyptians.

This building is mentioned in the great Abbott Papyrus preserved in the British Museum (No. 10,221), where it is declared to have been found unviolated by the members of the Commission which was appointed to inquire into the condition of the royal tombs, after the robberies which had taken place in them about the period of the rule of the priest-kings of Thebes, B.C. 1,000. The remains of the tomb of

Menthu-hetep III. have been recently discovered,¹ and though at the time of writing it has not been completely excavated, sufficient has been done to show that it is a very remarkable building. It is clear that the lower part of it is rectangular, and that it was surrounded by a colonnade; the outside is eased with limestone slabs, behind which is a "wall of rough and heavy nodules of flint, and the middle is filled with rubbish and loose stones." On this rectangular building, or base, a small pyramid probably stood, at least, this is what we should expect. The remains already excavated prove that this base was surrounded by a triple row of columns, which supported a ceiling and formed a hypostyle passage or colonnade, which "must have been quite dark, or nearly so (like the ambulatories surrounding the shrines in later temples), for the outside was closed by a thick wall." Between this wall and the edge of the platform on which the building stood was an outer colonnade of square pillars, but the pillars no longer exist. In the rock below the pavement of this colonnade a number of tombs were hewn; each consisted of a pit from twelve to fifteen feet deep, which led to a small rectangular chamber, wherein originally stood a limestone sarcophagus. In these tombs women who were both priestesses of Hathor and members of the royal *harim* were buried, and further excavations will no doubt reveal the fact that Menthu-hetep's high officers of state were buried in somewhat similar tombs in the immediate neighbourhood of the remarkable monument which the Egypt Exploration Fund has brought to light through the exertion of Prof. E. Naville and Mr. H. R. Hall.

The facts given above indicate that Menthu-hetep III. built a splendid tomb at Thebes, and it seems that in certain particulars he copied the royal pyramid tombs of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties. It is unlikely that the superstructure which he set upon the rectangular base, to which reference has been made above, and which is assumed to have been in the form of a pyramid, was as large as any of the important pyramids of Giza, and the base on which it rested is "a new and interesting fact in Egyptian architecture"; but when he set his funeral monument on the rocky platform in the mountain of Tchesert it is more than probable that either he or his architect had in mind the rocky platform on which the great Pyramids of Giza stand, and it seems as if he built it on a massive rectangular base, so that it might appear conspicuous and imposing from a distance. Like the earlier royal builders of pyramids, Menthu-hetep built a funeral temple in

¹ See a letter in the *Times* of June 22nd, 1905 (p. 4), on the "Most Ancient Temple at Thebes," by Prof. E. Naville and Mr. H. R. Hall.

connexion with his pyramid, and established an order of priests, who were to perform the services and ceremonies connected with his worship, and he allowed the ladies of his court to be buried round about it, just as did the kings of old who reigned at Memphis. The great feature of Menthu-hetep's monument, which has no parallel in the older pyramids in the north of Egypt, is the ramp, with a double row of square columns on each side of it, which he built on the front or eastern face of the temple platform.

Now whilst Menthu-hetep III. was employed in building his pyramid and funeral temple, the hereditary governors and nobles of important provinces in Upper Egypt were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunity which peace and the renewed prosperity of the country gave them, and they began to make rock-hewn tombs for themselves and the members of their families in the hills, and to cause their bodies to be buried in elaborately inscribed or painted wooden coffins. Of coffins of this period, one of the oldest examples is that of AMAMU which was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum so long ago as 1834.² On the inside of this coffin is inscribed in black ink in the hieratic character a series of texts which are extracts from the Heliopolitan Recension of the Book of the Dead; these are enclosed within a coloured border, formed of rectangles, painted in blue, green, yellow, and red. Above the texts are carefully drawn, and painted as nearly as possible in their natural colours, representations of most of the objects which the deceased hoped he would use in the Underworld, and these pictures prove that the knowledge of the elaborate funeral rites and ceremonies, which were observed at Memphis under the IVth Dynasty, had descended in a complete state to the period when Amamu's coffin was made and ornamented.

In connection with Amamu's coffin reference must be made to a large group of coffins which was excavated a few years ago at Al-Barsha, a place situated on the north side of a rocky valley, just behind the modern Coptic village of Der An-Nakhla, near Shekh Abada (the ancient Antinoë), in Upper Egypt. All the coffins found here are rectangular in shape, and have so much in common with the coffin of Amamu, in respect of shape, and in the arrangement of their texts and pictures, including the representations of *mastaba* doors, that it seems impossible to assign to them a date much earlier or later than the period of the XIth Dynasty. For our present purpose, however,

² See Birch, *Ancient Egyptian Texts from the Coffin of Amamu in the British Museum*, London, 1886.

whatever be their exact date, they are of the greatest importance, for on the insides of the panels of some of them are painted the oldest known illustrations of certain sections of Books of the Dead. The texts inscribed on them contain extracts from the Heliopolitan Recension of the Book of the Dead, of which we know so much from the selections given in the Pyramids of Unas, Teta, and other kings, but side by side with these are copies of chapters belonging to Books of the Dead, which seem to have been originally composed at some anterior period, and which were intended to reflect the more popular and more materialistic religious views and beliefs. Among such books must be mentioned the "Book of Two Ways," or the "Two Ways of the Blessed Dead," of which a version inscribed on a coffin in the Berlin Museum has been recently published.³ The rubrical directions of this work show that it was compiled when implicit belief existed in the minds of the Egyptians as to the efficacy of certain "words of power" (*hekau*) and of pictures of the gods, and it is clear that many portions of it are purely magical, and were intended to produce very material results. Thus concerning one passage a rubric says, "Whosoever knoweth this Chapter may have union with women by night or by day, and the heart (or, desire) of the woman shall come to him whensoever he would enjoy her." This rubric follows a text⁴ in which the deceased is made to pray for power of generation similar to that possessed by the god Beba, and for the will and opportunity of overcoming women, and it was to be written on a bandlet which was to be attached to the right arm. Moreover, the soul which had knowledge of certain sections of the work would "live among the living ones," and would "see Osiris every day," and would have "air in his nostrils, and death would never draw nigh unto him."⁵ The illustrations which accompany the texts on the coffins from Al-Barsha make it evident that under the XIth Dynasty the Egyptian theologian had not only divided the Under-world in his mind into sections, with doors, &c., but that he was prepared to describe that portion of it which belonged to the blessed dead, and to supply a plan of it! Besides the sections from the "Pyramid Texts," to which reference has already been made, and the "Book of the Two Ways," the coffins of Al-Barsha contain a number of texts of various lengths, many of which have titles, and resemble in form the Chapters of the great Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead. Examples of these have been published in Prof. Maspero's *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xxvi., p. 64 ff., by M. P. Lacau, e.g., "Chapter of the Seven Addresses of

³ Schack-Schackenburg, *Das Buch von den Zwei Wegen des Seligen Toten*, Leipzig, 1903.

⁴ See page 49, l. 9-p. 51, l. 11.

⁵ See page 49, ll. 4-9.

homage to the goddess Meh-urt"; [Chapter of] "the reassembling of the kinsfolk of a man in Neter-khert"; "Chapter of driving back Kebka"; "Chapter of setting out for Orion," &c.

From the considerations set forth above it is quite clear that the practice of illustrating certain sections of Books of the Dead existed under the XIth Dynasty, and there is no good reason for doubting that it continued to be observed during the prosperous rule of the kings of the XIIth Dynasty. Under the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties the selections of extracts from Books of the Dead which were intended to benefit royal souls in the Underworld were cut upon the walls of the chambers and corridors of their pyramids, and in the case of private individuals texts intended to produce the same effect were usually cut into the walls of the chambers wherein their stone sarcophagi were placed. The pyramids of the kings of the XIth and XIIth Dynasties, whether in the north or south of Egypt, are not, so far as the information at present available goes, characterized by lengthy extracts from Books of the Dead, and officials and men of rank in general were content to dispense with the cutting of religious inscriptions into the sides of stone sarcophagi, and into the walls of the passages and chambers of their tombs in the mountains, and to transfer them to the sides of their brightly painted, rectangular wooden coffins. The practical advantages of this change are obvious. Wooden coffins were easier to obtain and cheaper than stone sarcophagi, longer and fuller selections from religious texts could be easily and quickly traced upon them in the hieratic character, which an expert scribe could, no doubt, write at a rapid rate, the expense of adding coloured drawings was small, and, above all, the deceased would have close to his mummy the sacred writings on which he so greatly relied for assistance in the Other World. The coffin which was fully inscribed could easily be made to hold copies of all the texts deemed to be of vital importance to the dead, and such a coffin when, as was frequently the case, it was placed in a massive, outer, wooden coffin, served the purpose of the large rolls of papyri inscribed with religious and funeral texts, and illustrated with elaborately painted vignettes, which were buried with the dead from the XVIIIth to the XXVIth Dynasty.

After the death of Amen-em-bat III., who was perhaps the greatest king of the XIIth Dynasty, the whole country fell into a state of confusion, and the kings of Thebes ceased to be masters of all Egypt. The kings of the XIIIth Dynasty were Theban and reigned at Thebes, and appear to

have maintained their hold in a considerable degree upon Upper Egypt; but the kings of the XIVth Dynasty reigned at Xoïs, in the Delta, and many of them were contemporaries of the kings in Upper Egypt. The kings of the XVth and XVIth Dynasties were Hyksos, or "Shepherd Kings," and their rule was overthrown by Seqenen-Ra, III., a king of the XVIIth Dynasty, and a Theban, probably about B.C. 1800. In the interval between the XIIth and the XVIIIth Dynasties the ceremonies connected with the worship of the gods in their temples, and the funerals of kings and officials, lost the magnificence which had characterized them under the XIIth Dynasty, and the building of pyramids and the making of rock-hewn tombs ceased for a period of some hundreds of years. With the rise to power of the Theban kings, who formed the XVIIIth Dynasty, a marvellous development of temple and funeral ceremonies took place, and, thanks chiefly to the vast quantities of spoil which were poured into Thebes by the victorious armies of Egypt on their return from Western Asia, the cult of the gods and of the dead assumed proportions which it had never reached before in Egypt.

The chief deity of Thebes was Amen, the "Hidden," or perhaps "unknown," god, in whose honour a shrine was built to the north of the city, in a place called "Ap," or "Apt," by the Egyptians, and "Karnak" by the modern inhabitants of Luxor. It is impossible to say at present exactly when the first sanctuary of this god was built at Thebes, but the discovery of the large collection of 457 votive statues of kings and officials and other objects, made by M. Legrain⁶ in 1901-2, indicates that the foundation of the sanctuary of Amen dates from a very early period of Dynastic History.⁷ Be this as it may, the god Amen seems to have enjoyed no special importance or popularity in Egypt until the XIIth Dynasty, when his sanctuary appears to have been rebuilt and enlarged; but so long as his priests were dependent for maintenance upon the revenues of Upper Egypt alone neither they nor their god can have enjoyed any very great wealth. When Seqenen-Ra III. defeated the Hyksos, and made himself master of all Egypt, and when Aahmes I. (Amasis) drove the Hyksos out from their stronghold Avaris, in the Delta, thus completing the work of the deliverance of the country from a foreign yoke, which Seqenen-Ra III. had begun, they attributed the success of their arms to their god Amen, who was from this time forward regarded not only as the principal god of the Egyptians, but as the "king of the gods." Soon after Amen-hetep I., the successor of

⁶ See Maspero's *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xxvii., p. 67.

⁷ According to M. Legrain, the IIIrd Dynasty (*Recueil*, tom. xxvii., p. 67).

Aahmes I., came to the throne, he made war against the Nubians, and became master of the gold-producing districts of the Eastern Sudan. His next care was to rebuild, or perhaps to repair and add to, the sanctuary of Amen, and he founded the famous College of priests of Amen, whose counsels guided, both for good and for evil, the destinies of Egypt for several hundreds of years. He richly endowed these priests and their god and his temple, and on many of the coffins of this brotherhood are representations of members of the order in the act of worshipping his names, and of pouring out libations before his cartouches. The priests of Amen had, no doubt, good reason for worshipping Amen-hetep with such devotion.

It is unnecessary to describe in detail the growth of the cult of Amen under the XVIIIth Dynasty, and it will suffice to say that the history of his cult is, practically, the history of Egypt for nearly one thousand years. His priests made him possessor of the principal attributes and titles of all the ancient gods of Egypt, and their absolute power enabled them to modify the old systems of belief of the country. They introduced the primitive gods of the land into their own system of theology, but assigned to them subordinate positions and powers inferior to those of Amen, or Amen-Ra, as he was called, and the new editions of most of the old religious works which appeared at Thebes bore the traces of having been edited in accordance with their views and opinions. In many of its aspects the cult of Amen was less material than that of many of the old gods, and the religion of the priests themselves ruthlessly rejected many of the primitive beliefs which survived among the populace in general. They were obliged to tolerate and respect the universal belief in Osiris as the judge, king, and god of the dead, for they, of course, found it impossible to eliminate from the minds of the people the effect which the traditions of a material heaven, handed down for untold generations, had made upon them. Among the servants of Amen and his temple, however, there were some who preferred to put their faith in the religious writings which had satisfied their ancestors many centuries before, and to these we owe the great collection of religious and funeral texts called PER EM HRU, "[The Book of] Coming forth by Day," which is now commonly known as the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead.

It is true that the subject matter of many of the texts is older than the IVth Dynasty, and that the phraseology of some dates from the period of the Vth and VIth Dynasties, and that the forms in which most of them are cast are not more recent than the XIth or XIIth Dynasty, but it

is equally true that the editing and arrangement of them by the Theban priests, to say nothing of the addition of supplementary hymns, Chapters, and coloured illustrations, produced a very decided change in the general teachings of the collection.

"The Book of Coming Forth by Day," in its Theban form, was an illustrated guide to the kingdom of Osiris, but its teachings did not satisfy the strict followers of Amen-Ra, and they brought into use a Recension of a work in which they were able to promulgate the particular ideas of their order as to the future state of the dead. The followers of Osiris believed that the righteous dead would find their everlasting abode in the kingdom of that god, and would enjoy in a fertile land, with running streams, a life very like that which the well-to-do Egyptian lived upon earth. The followers of Amen-Ra aimed at securing a place in the boat of the Sun-god, i.e., the "Boat of Millions of Years," so that they might sail over the sky with him each day, and enjoy the sight of the earth on which they had lived, and might, under his all-powerful protection, pass through the regions of darkness by night, and emerge in heaven, being reborn each day. In the kingdom of Osiris the beatified dead ate bread-cakes made from one wonderful kind of grain, and drank beer made from another kind, and enjoyed conjugal intercourse, and the company of their relations and friends; all their material comforts were supplied by the use of words of power, &c., by which they even obtained entrance into that kingdom.

Entrance to the Boat of Millions of Years was likewise obtained by the knowledge of magical words and formulae, and of the secret names of the great gods, but the food on which lived the beatified souls who succeeded in securing a place in the Boat consisted of the emanations of the god Ra, or, according to the priests of Amen, Amen-Ra. In other words, the beatified souls in the Boat became beings formed of the light of Ra, on which they subsisted. The belief that the souls of the righteous flew into the Boat of Ra is a very old one, but the doctrine in the form in which it was developed by the priests of Amen can never have been universally accepted in Egypt, for it was not sufficiently material to satisfy any but the educated classes. The great kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, being convinced that their military successes were due to the influence and operation of Amen-Ra, dutifully accepted the instructions of the priests of the god in all matters relating to his worship, and they permitted them to prepare tombs for them in the Valley of Biban al-Muluk at Thebes, which were built and ornamented according to the views held by the followers of

Amen-Ra concerning the Other World. The oldest tombs here, i.e., those of the XVIIIth Dynasty, are usually entered by means of long, sloping corridors that lead down into the chambers which held the sarcophagi, and into smaller halls which adjoin the large chambers; in the later tombs the corridors are often very long, and it is this characteristic which caused certain Greek writers to call them Σύριγγες, i.e., "shepherd's pipes." Of the forty-five tombs in this valley (Strabo mentions forty only), the oldest royal tomb appears to be that of Thothmes I., and the most recent that of Rameses XII., of the XXth Dynasty. These tombs vary greatly in details, just as they do in size and in the arrangement and number of their chambers, but it seems that each tomb was intended to represent the Underworld, and that the ceremonies, which were performed in it as the mummy was taken from the entrance to the last chamber in which it was to rest, were highly symbolical, and that the progress of the body through the tomb was, so far as it was possible, made to resemble that of the Sun-god through the hours of the night in the Other World.

The religious texts with which the walls of the royal tombs are decorated do not consist of extracts from the funeral works of the Ancient and Middle Empires, but of sections from a work entitled AM-TUAT, i.e., [The Book of] "what is in the Tuat," or Underworld, and many of these are illustrated more or less fully with coloured pictures of the gods, mythological scenes, &c. The rubrics show that portions of this work belong to remote antiquity, and many of the beliefs which appear in it are the products of the period when the Egyptians were partly, if not wholly, savages. In the book itself numbers of gods and mythological beings are mentioned whose names are not found elsewhere in Egyptian literature. As we find it in the tombs of the royal followers of Amen, the Book "Am-Tuat" contains all the dogmas and doctrines which the priests of Amen held concerning the future life and the state and condition of the dead, and it is quite easy to see that the great object of those who compiled it was to prove that Amen-Ra was not only the head of the gods in heaven, and the ruler of the world which he had created, but also the king of all the gods of the dead, and the master of all the beings who were in the Underworld. In other words, the priests of Amen asserted the absolute sovereignty of their god, and their own religious supremacy. It is, however, interesting to note that certain kings did not entirely shake off their belief in Osiris, and in the efficacy of the Chapters of the Book of Coming Forth by Day, for Thothmes III. was swathed in a linen sheet on which was written a copy of the CLIVth Chapter, and Amen-hetep III. was rolled up in

sheets whereon extracts from several Chapters of that work were inscribed. Seti I. went a good deal further, for although fully illustrated copies of Divisions I.-XI. of the Book "Am-Tuat" were painted on the walls of his tomb, he took care to have a complete copy of the Book of Gates,⁸ with full illustrations, and copies of the LXXIIInd and LXXXIXth Chapters of the Book of Coming Forth by Day cut on his alabaster sarcophagus.

The Chapter which Thothmes III. believed to be all-powerful is entitled "Chapter of not letting the body perish," and if its words really express his convictions, he must have been terrified at the idea of his material body falling into dust and decay, and must have hoped for its resurrection through Osiris. The Chapters which Seti I. had cut on his sarcophagus are entitled the "Chapter of Coming Forth by Day, and of making a way through Ammehet," and the "Chapter of causing the soul to be united to its body in the Underworld." In the former he declares that he knows the names of the gods who preside over the Other World, and also the proper words of power, and because he has this knowledge he demands admission into Sekhet-Aaru, a portion of Osiris's kingdom of Sekhet-hetepet, and a constant and abundant supply of wheat (for bread), barley (for beer), incense, unguents, &c., and the power to assume any form he pleases at will. In the latter he calls upon certain gods to make his soul rejoin its body, and, addressing the gods who tow the Boat of Millions of Years, he asks them to cause him to be born from the womb of the Sky-goddess Nut in the eastern horizon of heaven, [daily,] for ever.

It has already been said that a complete illustrated copy of the Book of Gates was also inscribed on the sarcophagus of Seti I., and it is not easy to explain this fact until we remember the important position which it makes Osiris to hold in the Other World. That the book is formed of very ancient materials is evident from the last sections, which certainly contain magical texts and pictures specially prepared with the object of making the sun to rise, and there is little doubt that the latter are representations of the ceremonies which the, primitive Egyptians actually, performed to produce that most desirable effect. The earlier sections of the Book are, full of magical ideas, but scattered among them are expressions of beliefs which, it seems, must belong to a later period of civilization, and passages which impress the reader with the idea that they were composed by men who believed that the

⁸ See within, Chapter IV., p. 85.

righteous would be rewarded and the wicked punished in the world to come. Special prominence is given to the conception of the Judgment, wherein Osiris is the Judge of the dead. As the result of this Judgment the righteous have allotments of land meted out to them, which vary in size according to their deserts, and the wicked are slain, and their bodies cut in pieces, and their souls destroyed. In many particulars the views of the Book of Gates concerning the future state agree closely with those of the Book of Coming Forth by Day.

The net result of the facts stated in the last two paragraphs proves that Seti I. relied for salvation upon the protection, part magical and part religious, afforded by the sacred writings of two great schools of religious thought, the leaders of which in his day preached opposing and contradictory doctrines. It may be argued that by filling the walls of his tomb and sarcophagus with the texts of such books he was merely acting from the point of view of religious expediency, wishing to indicate his impartiality in respect of the followers of Amen and the followers of Osiris, and his respect for the ancient traditional beliefs, however material, crude, and impossible they may have appeared to him personally. This, however, is unlikely to have been the case, and it is far more probable that he believed every religious or funeral text to have its own special value as a means of salvation, and that he selected for inscribing on the walls of his tomb and sarcophagus those which he thought would be the most likely to secure for him in the next world an existence which would be at once happy and everlasting. Therefore Seti I. provided himself with amulets, *ushabtiu* figures, magical formulae, pictures of gods and fiends to be used in working sympathetic magic, religious formulae and copies of hymns and funeral works, an inscribed tomb and sarcophagus, &c.; in fact, he was painfully anxious to omit nothing from the inscriptions in his tomb which would propitiate any god, or appease the wrath and turn aside the opposition of any of the fiends wherewith he had filled his Underworld.



CHAPTER II. THE EARLIEST EGYPTIAN CONCEPTION OF THE OTHER WORLD

HAVING briefly referred to the origin and development of the magical, religious, and purely funeral texts which, sometimes with and sometimes without illustrations, formed the "Guides" to the Ancient Egyptian Underworld, the form of the conceptions concerning the place of departed spirits as it appears in the Recensions of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties must now be considered. To reconstruct the form which they took in the Predynastic Period is impossible, for no materials exist, and the documents of the Early Empire are concerned chiefly with providing the deceased with an abundance of meat, drink, and other material comforts, and numbers of wives and concubines, and a place in Sekhet-Aaru, a division of Sekhet-hetepet, to which the name "Elysian Fields" has not inaptly been given. In later times Sekhet-Aaru, or Sekhet-Aanru, comprised all Sekhet-hetepet. Of Sekhet-hetepet as a whole the earliest known pictures are those which are painted on the coffins of Al-Barsha, and of no portion of this region have we any detailed illustrations of the occupations of its inhabitants older than the XVIIIth Dynasty. To the consideration of Sekhet-Aaru, which was the true heaven of every faithful worshipper of Osiris, from the time when he became the judge and benevolent god and friend of the dead down to the, Ptolemaic Period, that is to say, for a period of four thousand years at least, the scribes and artists of the XVIIIth Dynasty devoted much attention, and the results of their views are set forth in the copies of PER-EM-HRU, or the Theban Book of the Dead, which have come down to us.

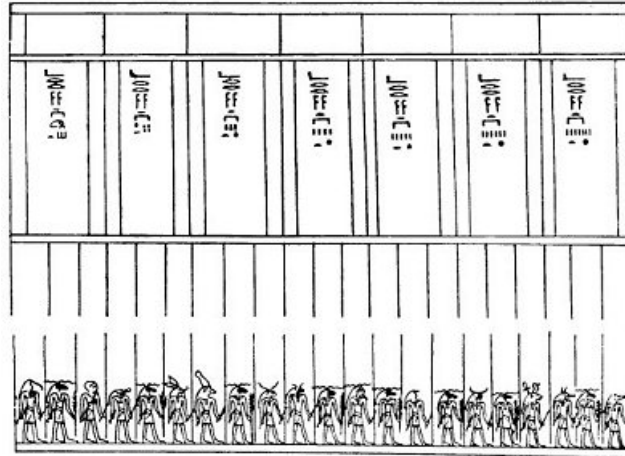
In one of the oldest copies of PER-EM-HRU, i.e., in the Papyrus of Nu,¹ is a vignette of the Seven *Arits*, or divisions of Sekhet-Aaru; the portion shown of each *Arit* is the door, or gate, which is guarded by a gatekeeper, by a watcher, who reports the arrival of every comer, and by a herald, who receives and announces his name. All these beings save two have the head of an animal, or bird, on a human body, a fact which indicates the great antiquity of the ideas that underlie this vignette. Their names are:--

Arit I. Gatekeeper. SEKHET-HRA-ASHT-ARU.

¹ British Museum, No. 10,477, sheet 26 (Chapter cxliv.).

Watcher. SEMETU.

Herald. HU-KHERU.



The Seven Arits, each with its Gatekeeper, its Watcher, and its Herald

Arit II. Gatekeeper. TUN-HAT.

Watcher. SEQET-HRA.

Herald. SABES.

Arit III. Gatekeeper. AM-HUAT-ENT-PEHUI-FI.

Watcher. RES-HRA.

Herald. UAAU.

Arit IV. Gatekeeper. KHESEF-HRA-ASHT-KHERU.

Watcher. RES-AB.

Herald. NETEKA-HRA-KHESEF-ATU.

Arit V. Gatekeeper. ANKH-EM-FENTU.

Watcher. ASHEBU.

Herald. TEB-HER-KEHAAT.

Arit VI. Gatekeeper. AKEN-TAU-K-HA-KHERU.

Watcher. AN-HRA.

Herald. METES-HRA-ARI-SHE.

Arit VII. Gatekeeper. METES-SEN.

Watcher. AAA-KHERU.

Herald. KHESEF-HRA-KHEMIU.

From another place in the same papyrus,² and from other papyri, we learn that the "Secret Gates of the House of Osiris in Sekhet-Aaru" were twenty-one in number; the Chapter (CXLVI.) gives the name of each Gate, and also that of each Gatekeeper up to No. X., thus:--

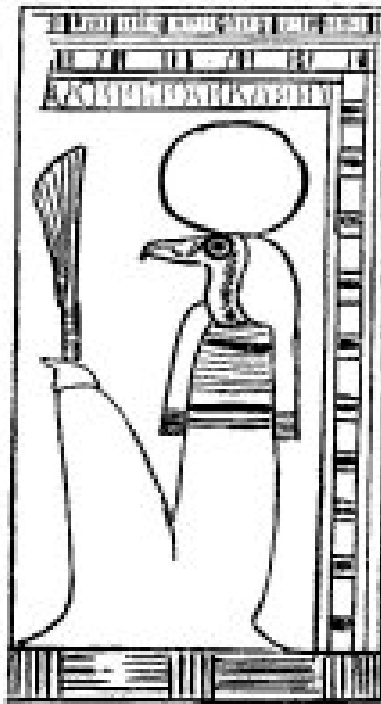
I. *Gate.* NEBT-SETAU-QAT-SEBT-HERT-NEBT-KHEBKHEBT-SERT-METU-KHESEFET-NESHENIU-NEHEMET-UAI-EN-I-UAU.

Gatekeeper. NERI.

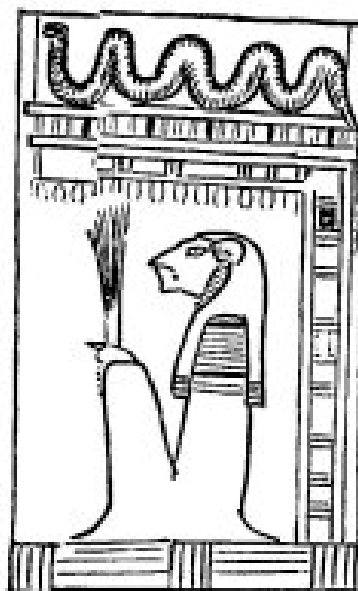
II. *Gate.* NEBT-PET-HENT-TAUI-NESBIT-NEBT-TEMEMU-TENT-BU-NEBU.

Gatekeeper. MES-PEH. (or, MES-PTAH).

² Sheet 25.



Gate I



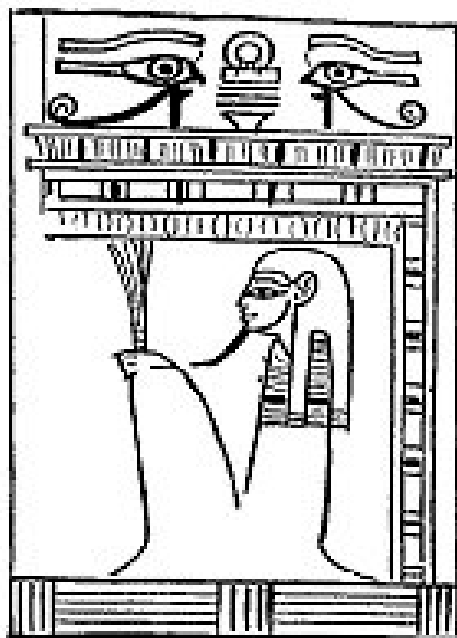
Gate II.

III. *Gate.* NEBT-KHAUT-AAT-AABET-SENETCHEMET-NETER-NEB-AM-S-HRU-KHENT-ER-ABTU.

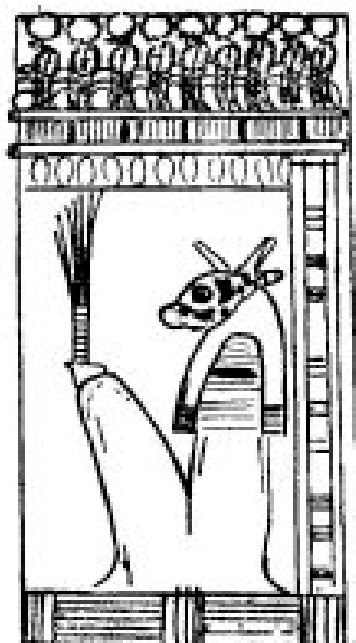
Gatekeeper. ERTAT-SEBANQA.

IV. *Gate.* SEKHEMET-TESU-HENT-TAUI-HETCHET-KHEFTI-NU-URT-
AB-ARIT-SARU-SHUT-EM-AU.

Gatekeeper. NEKAU.



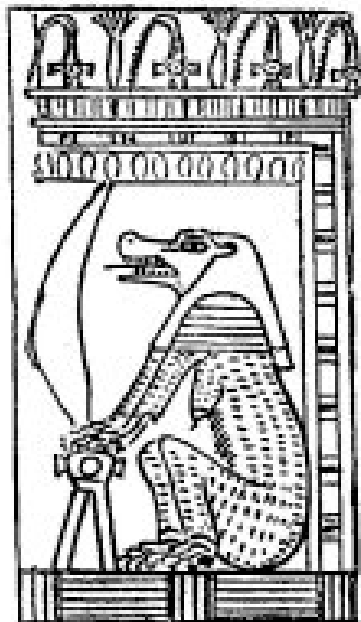
Gate III.



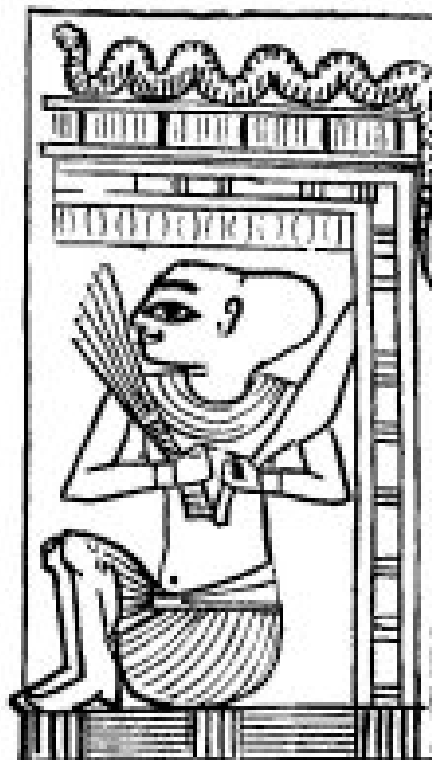
Gate IV

V. *Gate*. NEBT-REKHU-RESHT-TEBHET-TATU-AN-AQ-ERES-UN-TEP-F.

Gatekeeper. HENTI-REQU.



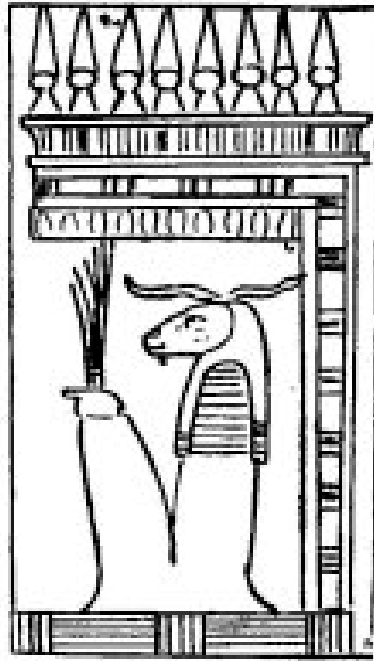
Gate V.

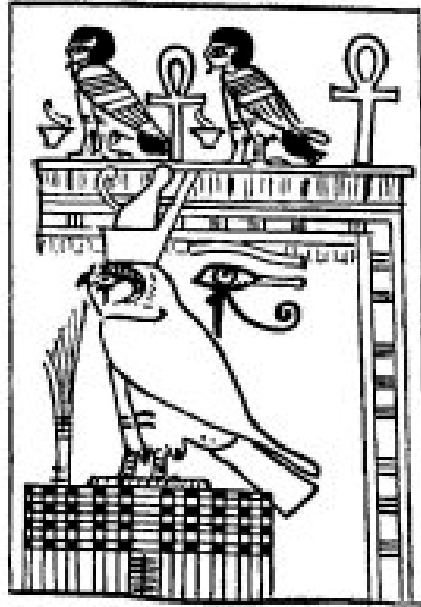


Gate VI.

VI. *Gate.* NEBT-SENKET-AAT-HEMHEMET-AN-REKH-TU-QA-S-ER-
USEKH-S-AN-QEMTU-QET-S-EM-SHAA-AU-HEFU-HER-S-AN-REKH-
TENNU-MES-EN-THU-KHER-HAT-URTU-AB.

Gatekeeper. SMAMTI.

**Gate VII.**



Gate VIII.

VII. *Gate.* AKKIT-HEBSET-BAK-AAKEBIT-MERT-SEHAP-KHAT.

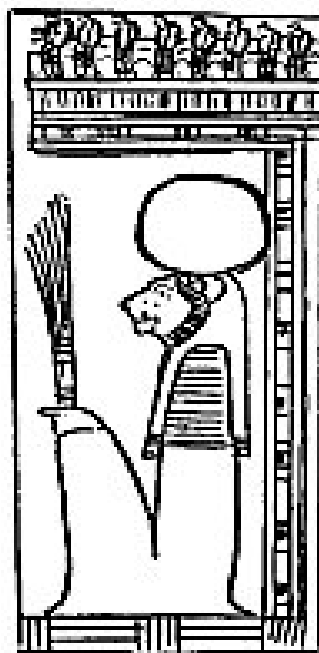
Gatekeeper. AKENTI.

VIII. *Gate.* REKHET-BESU-AKHMET-TCHAFU-SEPT-PAU-KHAT-TET-SMAM-AN-NETCHNETCH-ATET-SESH-HER-S-EN-SENT-NAH-S.

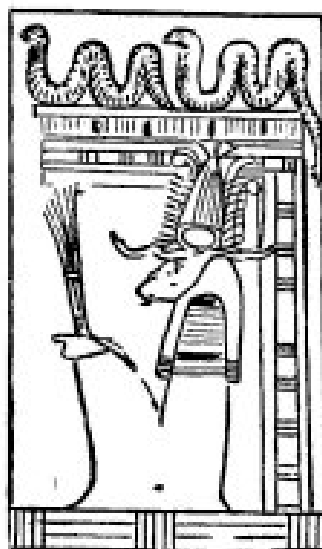
Gatekeeper. KHU-TCHET-F.

IX. *Gate.* AMT-HAT-NEBT-USER-HERT-AB-MESTET-NEB-S-KHEMT-SHAA-. . . -EM-SHEN-S-SATU-EM-UATCHET-QEMA-THESET-BES-HEBSET-BAK-FEQAT-NEB-S-RA-NEB.

Gatekeeper. TCHSEF.



Gate IX



Gate X.

X. Gate. QAT-KHERU-NEHESET-TENATU-SEBHET-ER-QA-EN-KHERU-S-NERT-NEBT-SHEFSHEFT-AN-TER-S-NETET-EM-KHENNU-S.

Gatekeeper. SEKHEN-UR.

XI. *Gate.* NEMT-tesu-UBTET-SEBAU-HENT-ENT-SEBKhet-NEBT-ARU-NES-AHEHI-HRU-EN-ANKHEKH.³

XII. *Gate.* NAST-TAU-*SI*-SEKSEKET-NEMMATU-EM-NEHEPU-QAHIT-NEBT-KHU-SETEMTH-KHERU-NEB-S.

XIII. *Gate.* STA-EN-ASAR-AAUI-F-HER-S-SEHETCHET-HAP-EM-AMENT-F.

XIV. *Gate.* NEBT-TENTEN-KHEBT-HER-TESHERU-ARU-NES-HAKER-HRU-EN-SETEMET-AU.

XV. *Gate.* BATI-TESHERU-QEMHUT-AARERT-PERT-EM-KERH-SENTCHERT-SEBA-HER-QABI-F-ERTAT-AAUI-S-EN-URTU-AB-EM-AT-F-ART-ITET-SHEM-S.

XVI. *Gate.* NERUTET-NEBT-AATET-KHAA-KHAU-EM-BA-EN-RETH-KHEBSU-MIT-EN-RETH-SERT-PER-QEMAMET-SHAT.

XVII. *Gate.* KHEBT-HER-SENF-AHBIT-NEBT-UAUIUAIT.

XVIII. *Gate.* MER-SETAU-AB-ABTU-MERER-S-SHAT-TEPU-AMKHIT-NEBT-AHA-UHSET-SEBAU-EM-MASHERU.

XIX. *Gate.* SERT-NEHEPU-EM-AHA-S-URSH-SHEMMET-NEBT-USERU-ANU-EN-TEHUTI-TCHESEF.

XX. *Gate.* AMT-KHEN-TEPEH-NEB-S-HEBS-REN-S-AMENT-QEMAMU-S-THETET-HATI-EN-AM-S.

XXI. *Gate.* TEM-SIA-ER-METUU-ARI-HEMEN-HAI-NEBAU-S.

From the above lists, and from copies of them which are found in the Papyrus of Ani, and other finely illustrated Books of the Dead, it is quite clear that, according to one view, Sekhet-Aaru, the land of the blessed, was divided into seven sections, each of which was entered through a Gate having three attendants, and that, according to other traditions, it had sections varying in number from ten to twenty-one, for each of the Gates mentioned above must have been intended to

³ The names of the gatekeepers of Gates XL-XXI. are not given in the papyri.

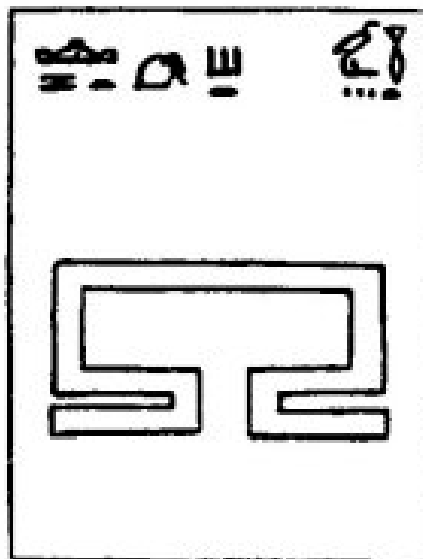
protect a division. It will be noted that the names of the Ten Gates are in reality long sentences, which make sense and can be translated, but there is little doubt that under the XVIIIth Dynasty these sentences were used as purely magical formulae, or words of power, which, provided the deceased knew how to pronounce them, there was no great need to understand. In other words, it was not any goodness or virtue of his own which would enable him to pass through the Gates of Sekhet-Aaru, and disarm the opposition of their warders, but the knowledge of certain formulæ, or words of power, and magical names. We are thus taken back to a very remote period by these ideas, and to a time when the conceptions as to the abode of the blessed were of a purely magical character; the addition of pictures to the formulae, or names, belongs to a later period, when it was thought right to strengthen them by illustrations. The deceased, who not only possessed the secret name of a god or demon, but also a picture of him whereby he could easily recognize him when he met him, was doubly armed against danger.

In addition to the Seven Arits, and the Ten, Fourteen, or Twenty-one Gates (according to the manuscript authority followed), the Sekhet-Hetepet possessed Fourteen or Fifteen Aats, or Regions, each of which was presided over by a god. Their names, as given in the Papyrus of Nu,⁴ are as follows:--

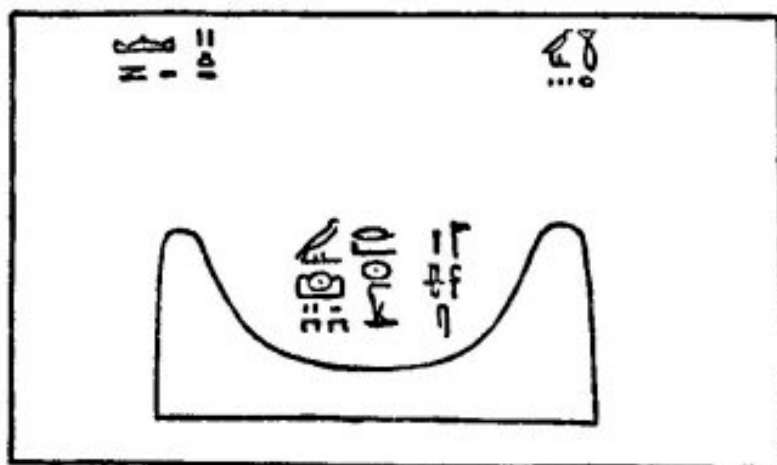
Aat I. AMENTET wherein a man lived on cakes and ale; its god was AMSU-QET, or MENU-QET.

Aat II. SEKHET-AARU. Its walls are of iron. The wheat here is five cubits high, the barley is seven cubits high, and the Spirits who reap them are nine cubits high. The god of this Aat is RA-HERUKHUTI.

⁴ Sheets 28, 29, and 30.



Aat I.

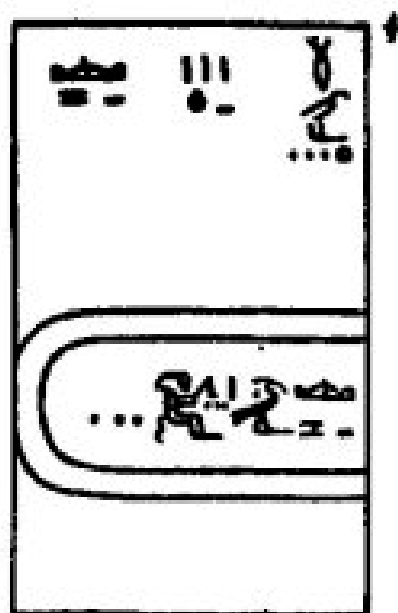


Aat II.

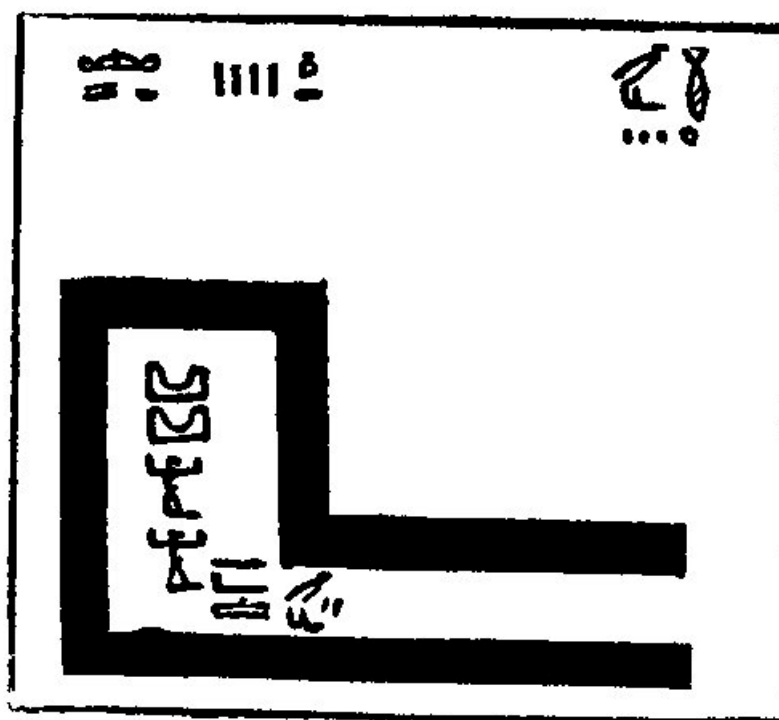
Aat III. AATENKHU. Its god was OSIRIS or RA.

Aat IV. TUI-QAUI-AAUI. Its god was SATI-TEMUI.

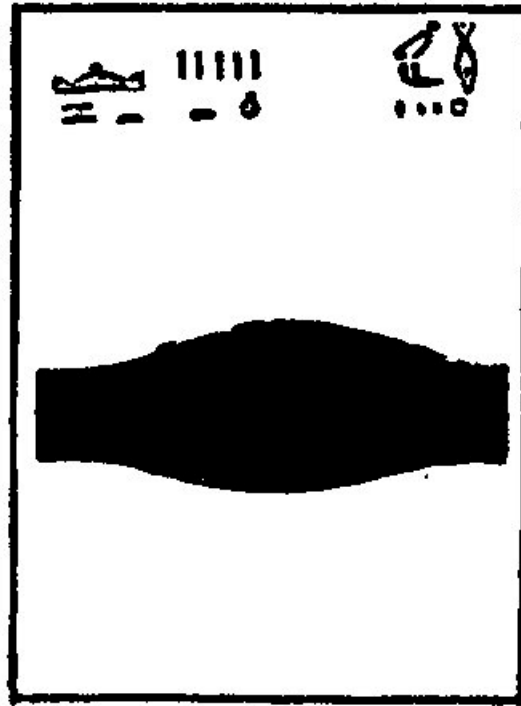
Aat V. AATENKHU. The Spirits here live upon the inert and feeble. Its god was probably OSIRIS.



Aat III.



Aat IV.

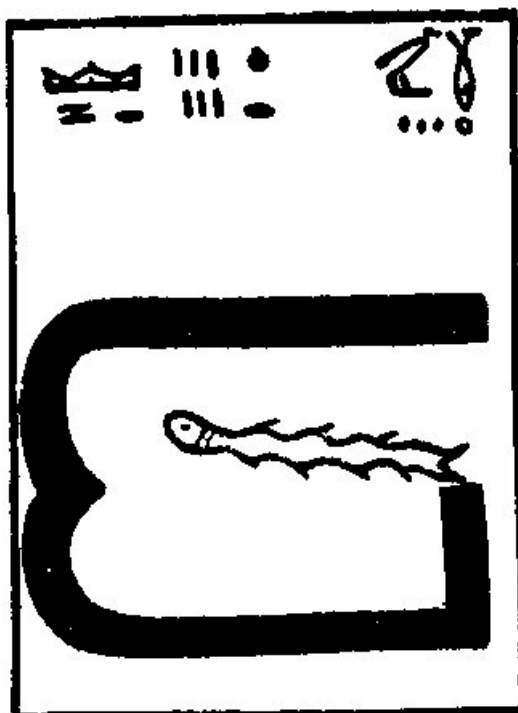


Aat V.

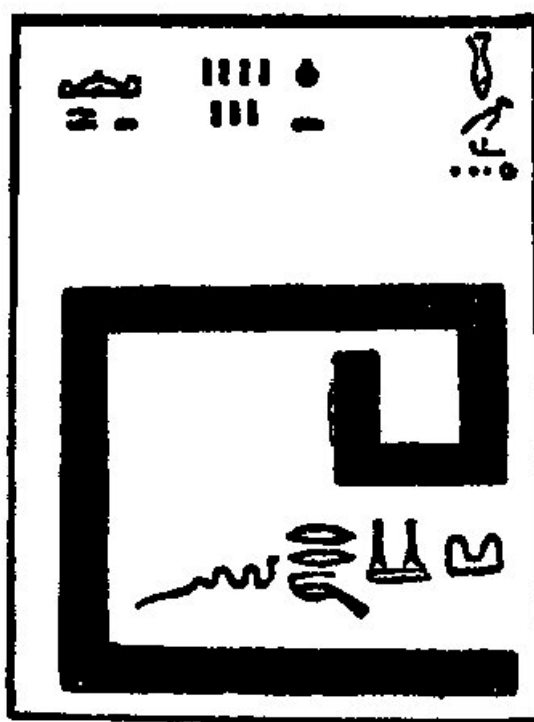
Aat VI. AMMEHET, which is presided over either by SEKHER-AT or SEKHER-REMUS. This was sacred to the gods, the Spirits could not find it out, and it was accursed for the dead.

Aat VII. ASES, a region of burning, fiery flame, wherein the serpent REREK lives.

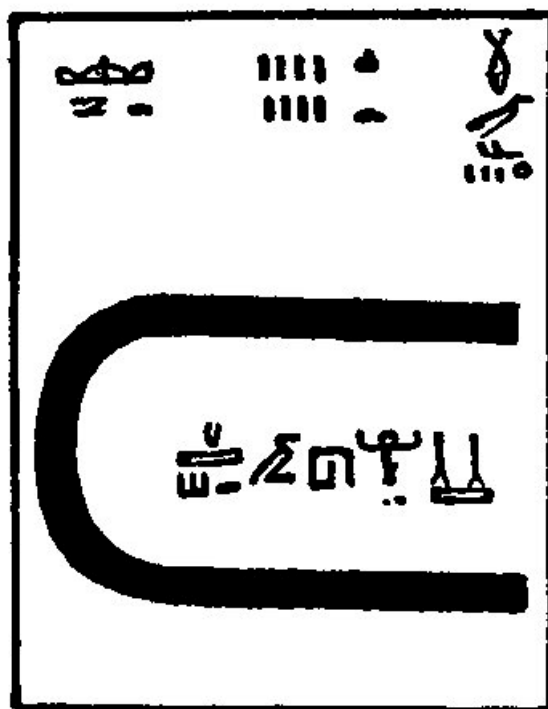
Aat VIII. HA-HETEP, a region containing roaring torrents of water, and ruled over by a god called QA-HA-HETEP. A variant gives the name of this Aat as HA-SERT, and that of its god as FA-PET.



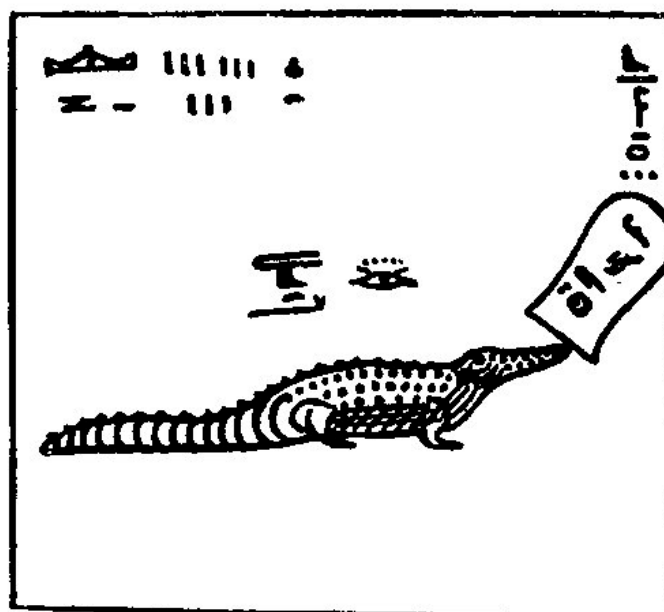
Aat VI.



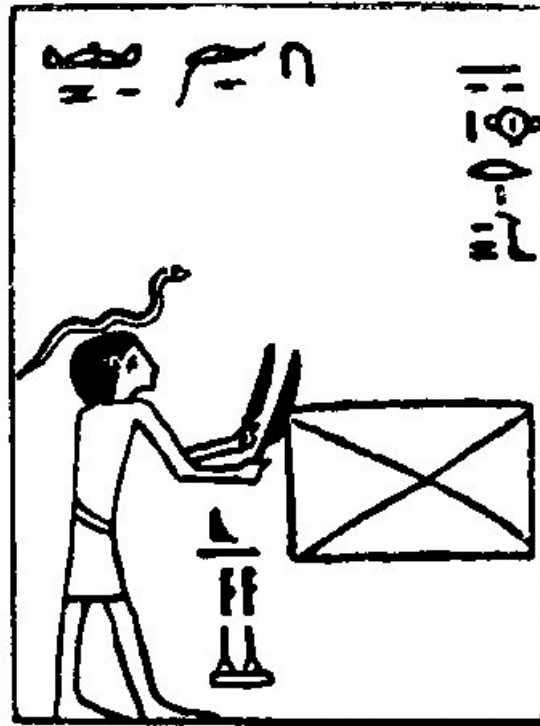
Aat VII.



Aat VIII



Aat IX.



Aat X.

Aat IX. AKESI, a region which is unknown even to the gods; its god was MAA-THETEF, and its only inhabitant is the "god who dwelleth in his egg."

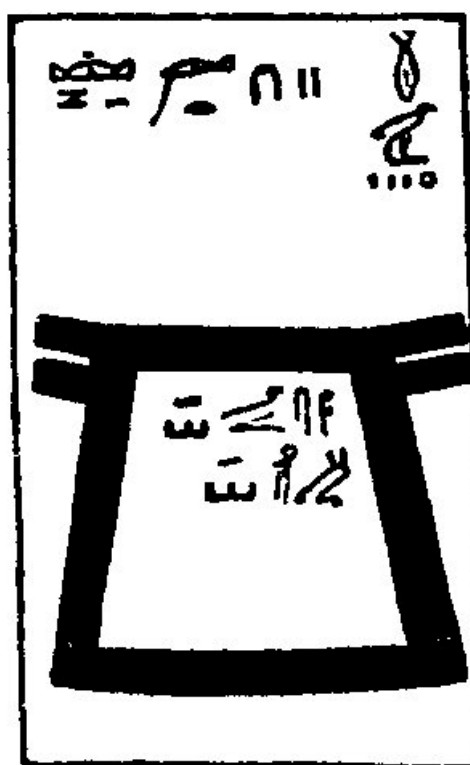
Aat X. NUT-ENT-QAHU, i.e., the city of Qahu. It was also known by the name APT-ENT-QAHU. The gods of this region appear to have been NAU, KAPET, and NEHEB-KAU.

Aat XI. ATU, the god of which was SEPT (Sothis).

Aat XII. UNT, the god of which was HETEMET-BAIU; also called ASTCHETET-EM-AMENT.



Aat XI.

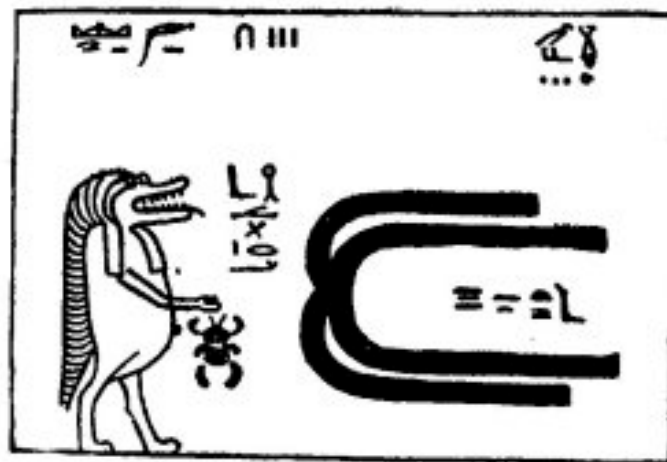


Aat XII.

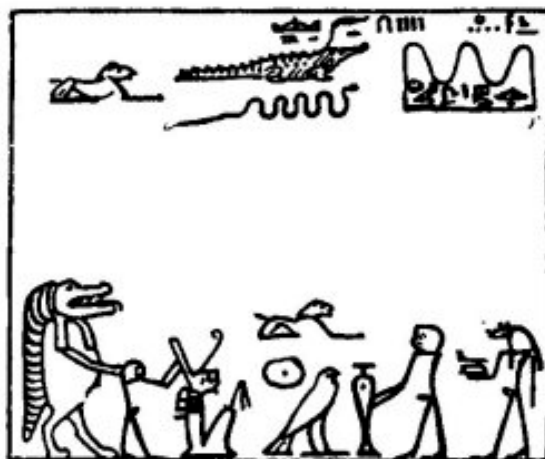
Aat XIII. UART-ENT-MU: its deity was the hippopotamus-god called HEBT-RE-F.

Aat XIV. The mountainous region of KHER-AHA, the god of which was HAP, the Nile.

A brief examination of this list of Aats, or Regions, suggests that the divisions of Sekhet-hetepet given in it are arranged in order from south to north, for it is well known that Amentet, the first Aat, was entered from the neighbourhood of Thebes, and that the last-mentioned Aat, i.e., Kher-aha, represents a region quite close to Heliopolis; if this be so, Sekhet-Aaru was probably situated at no great distance from Abydos, near which was the famous "Gap" in the mountains, whereby the spirits of the dead entered the abode set apart for them.



Aat XIII.



Aat XIV.

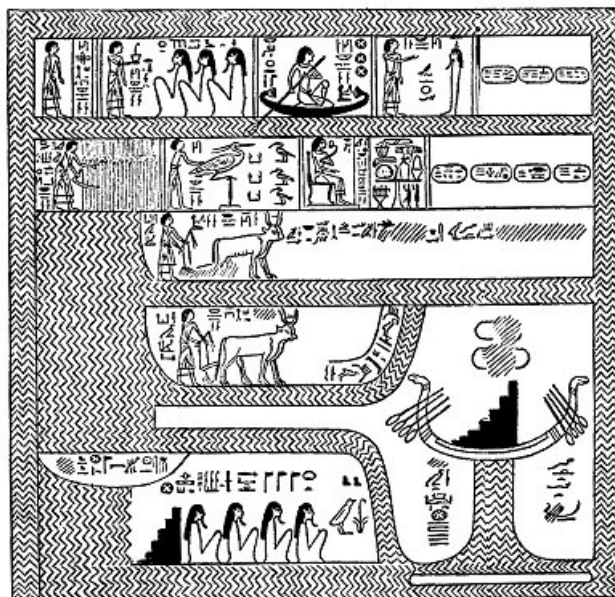
We see from this list also that the heaven provided for the blessed was one such as an agricultural population would expect to have, and a nation of farmers would revel in the idea of living among fields of wheat and barley, the former being between seven and eight feet, and the latter between nine and ten feet high. The spirits who reaped this grain are said to have been nine cubits, i.e., over thirteen feet, in height, a statement which seems to indicate that a belief in the existence of men of exceptional height in very ancient days was extant in Egypt traditionally.

Other facts to be gleaned from the list of Aats concerning Sekhet-Aaru are that:--1. One section at least was filled with fire. 2. Another was filled with rushing, roaring waters, which swept everything away before them. 3. In another the serpent Rerek lived. 4. In another the Spirits lived upon the inert and the feeble. 5. In another lived the "Destroyer of Souls." 6. The great antiquity of the ideas about the Aats is proved by the appearance of the names of Hap, the Nile-god, Sept, or Sothis, and the Hippopotamus-goddess, Hebt-re-f, in connection with them.

The qualification for entering the Aats was not so much the living of a good life upon earth as a knowledge of the magical figures which represented them, and their names; these are given twice in the Papyrus of Nu, and as they are of great importance for the study of magical pictures they have been reproduced above.

Of the general form and the divisions of Sekhet-Aaru, or the "Field of Reeds," and Sekhet-hetepet, or the "Field of Peace," thanks to the

funeral papyri of the XVIIIth Dynasty, much is known, and they may now be briefly described. From the Papyrus of Nebseni⁵ we learn that Sekhet-hetep was rectangular in shape, and that it was intersected by canals, supplied from the stream by which the whole region was enclosed. In one division were three pools of water, in another four pools, and in a third two pools; a place specially set apart was known as the "birthplace of the god of the region," and the "great company of the gods in Sekhet-hetep" occupied another section of it.

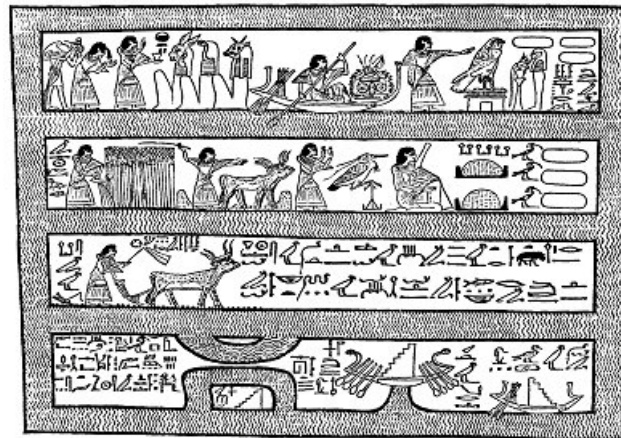


Sekhet-Hetepet (Papyrus of Nebseni, British Museum, No. 9900, sheet 17).

At the end of a short canal was moored a boat, provided with eight oars or paddles, and each end of it terminated in a serpent's head; in it was a flight of steps. The deceased, as we see, also possessed a boat wherein he sailed about at will, but its form is different from that of the boat moored at the end of the canal. The operations of ploughing, and of seed-time and harvest, are all represented. As to the deceased himself, we see him in the act of offering incense to the "great company of the gods," and he addresses a bearded figure, which is intended probably to represent his father, or some near relation; we see him paddling in a boat, and also sitting on a chair of state smelling a flower, with a table of offerings before him. None of the inscriptions mentions Sekhet-Aaru, but it is distinctly said that the reaping of the grain by the deceased is taking place in Sekhet-hetep, or Sekhet-hetepet.

⁵ British Museum, No. 9,900, sheet 17.

In chronological order the next picture of Sekhet-hetepet to be considered is that from the Papyrus of Ani, and it will be seen at a glance that in details it differs from that already described. Ani adores the gods in the first division, but he burns no incense; the boat in which he paddles is loaded with offerings, and he is seen dedicating an offering to the bearded figure. The legend reads, "Living in peace in Sekhet--winds for the nostrils." The second division contains scenes of reaping and treading out of corn, but only three pools of water instead of four.



Sekhet-Hetepet (Papyrus of Ani, British Museum, No. 10,740, sheet 32).

In the third division we see Ani ploughing the land by the side of a stream of untold length and breadth, which is said to contain neither fish nor worms. It is important to note that this division is described as SEKHET-AANRU. The eyot which represents the birthplace of the god of the city has no title, and the larger island, which is separated from it by a very narrow strip of ground, contains a flight of steps, but no gods. In the left-hand corner is a place which is described as "the seat of the Spirits, who are seven cubits in height"; the "grain is three cubits high, and it is the perfect Spirits who reap it." In the other portion of this section are two boats instead of one as in the Papyrus of Nebseni.

In connection with the two pictures of Sekhet-hetepet described above, it is important to consider the text which accompanies the older of them, i.e., that of the Papyrus of Nebseni. The deceased is made to say that he sails over the Lake of Hetep (i.e., Peace) in a boat which he brought from the house of Shu, and that he has come to the city of Hetep under the favour of the god of the region, who is also called Hetep. He says, "My mouth is strong, I am equipped [with words of power to use as weapons] against the Spirits let them not have

dominion over me. Let me be rewarded with thy fields, O thou god Hetep. That which is thy wish do, O lord of the winds. May I become a spirit 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 powerful therein, may I never be in a state of servitude therein, and may I be in authority therein [Let me] live with the god Hetep, clothed, and not despoiled by the 'lords of the north,'⁶ and may the lords of divine things bring food unto me. May he make me to go forward and may I come forth; may he bring my power to me there, may I receive it, and may my equipment be from the god Hetep. May I gain dominion over the great and mighty word which is in my body in this my place, and by it I shall have memory and not forget." The pools and places in Sekhet-hetepet which the deceased mentions as having a desire to visit are UNEN-EM-HETEP, the first large division of the region; NEBT-TAUI, a pool in the second division; NUT-URT, a pool in the first division; UAKH, a pool in the second division, where the *kau*, or "doubles," dwell; TCHEFET, a portion of the third division, wherein the deceased arrays himself in the apparel of Ra; UNEN-EM-HETEP, the birthplace of the Great God; QENQENTET, a pool in the first division, where he sees his father, and looks upon his mother, and has intercourse with his wife, and where he catches worms and serpents and frees himself from them; the Lake of TCHESERT, wherein he plunges, and so cleanses himself from all impurities; HAST, where the god ARI-EN-AB-F binds on his head for him; USERT, a pool in the first division, and SMAM, a pool in the third division of Sekhet-hetepet. Having visited all these places, and recited all the words of power with which he was provided, and ascribed praises to the gods, the deceased brings his boat to anchor, and, presumably, takes up his abode in the Field of Peace for ever.

From the extract from the Chapter of Sekhet-Aaru and Sekhet-hetepet given above, it is quite clear that the followers of Osiris hoped and expected to do in the next world exactly what they had done in this, and that they believed they would obtain and continue to live their life in the world to come by means of a word of power; and that they prayed to the god Hetep for dominion over it, so that they might keep it firmly in their memories, and not forget it. This is another proof that in the earliest times men relied in their hope of a future life more on the learning and remembering of a potent name or formula than on the merits of their moral and religious excellences. From first to last

⁶ Probably the marauding seamen who traded on the coasts of the Mediterranean, and who sometimes landed and pillaged the region near which the primitive Elysian Fields were supposed to have been situated.

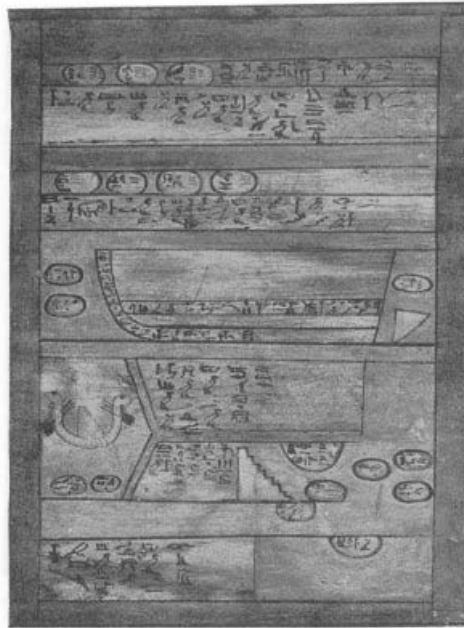
throughout the chapter there is no mention of the god Osiris, unless he be the "Great God" whose birthplace is said to be in the region Unen-hetep, and nowhere in it is there any suggestion that the permission or favour of Osiris is necessary for those who would enter either Sekhet-Aaru or Sekhet-hetep. This seems to indicate that the conceptions about the Other World, at least so far as the "realms of the blest" were concerned, were evolved in the minds of Egyptian theologians before Osiris attained to the high position which he occupied in the Dynastic Period. On the other hand, the evidence on this point which is to be deduced from the Papyrus of Ani must be taken into account.

At the beginning of this Papyrus we have first of all Hymns to Ra and Osiris, and the famous Judgment Scene which is familiar to all. We see the heart of Ani being weighed in the Balance against the symbol of righteousness in the presence of the Great Company of the Gods, and the weighing takes place at one end of the house of Osiris, whilst Osiris sits in his shrine at the other. The "guardian of the Balance" is Anubis, and the registrar is Thoth, the scribe of the gods, who is seen noting the result of the weighing. In the picture the beam of the Balance is quite level, which shows that the heart of Ani exactly counterbalances the symbol of righteousness. This result Thoth announces to the gods in the following words, "In very truth the heart of Osiris hath been weighed, and his soul hath stood as a witness for him; its case is right (i.e., it hath been found true by trial) in the Great Balance. No wickedness hath been found in him, he hath not purloined the offerings in the temples,⁷ and he hath done no evil by deed or word whilst he was upon earth." The gods in their reply accept Thoth's report, and declare that, so far as they are concerned, Ani has committed neither sin nor evil. Further, they go on to say that he shall not be delivered over to the monster Amemet, and they order that he shall have offerings, that he shall have the power to go into the presence of Osiris, and that he shall have a homestead, or allotment, in Sekhet-hetepet for ever. We next see Ani being led into the presence of Osiris by Horus, the son of Isis, who reports that the heart of Ani hath sinned against no god or goddess; as it hath also been found just and righteous according to the written laws of the gods, he asks that Ani may have cakes and ale given to him, and the power to appear before Osiris, and that he may take his place among the "Followers of Horus," and be like them for ever.

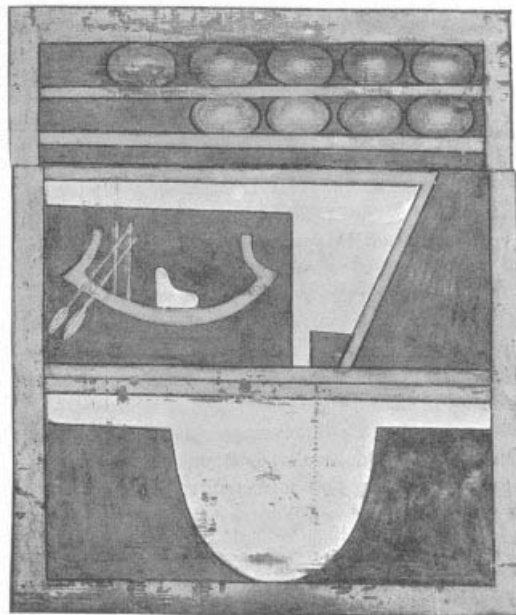
⁷ Ani was the receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues of the gods of Thebes and Abydos, and the meaning here is that he did not divert, to his own use any portion of the goods he received.

Now from this evidence it is clear that Ani was considered to have merited his reward in Sekhet-hetepet by the righteousness and integrity of his life upon earth as regards his fellow-man, and by the reverence and worship which he paid to every god and every goddess; in other words, it is made to appear that he had earned his reward, or had justified himself by his works. Because his heart had emerged triumphantly from its trial the gods decreed for him the right to appear in the presence of the god Osiris, and ordered him to be provided with a homestead in Sekhet-hetep. There is no mention of any repentance on Ani's part for wrong done; indeed, he says definitely, "There is no sin in my body. I have not uttered wittingly that which is untrue, and I have committed no act having a double motive [in my mind]." As he was troubled by no remembrance of sin, his conscience was clear, and he expected to receive his reward, not as an act of mercy on the part of the gods, but as an act of justice. Thus it would seem that repentance played no part in the religion of the primitive inhabitants of Egypt, and that a man atoned for his misdeeds by the giving of offerings, by sacrifice, and by worship. On the other hand, Nebseni is made to say to the god of Sekhet-hetep, "Let me be rewarded with thy fields, O Hetep; but do thou according to thy will, O lord of the winds." This petition reveals a frame of mind which recognizes submissively the omnipotence of the god's will, and the words "do thou according to thy will" are no doubt the equivalent of those which men of all nations and in every age have prayed--"Thy will be done."

The descriptions of the pictures of Sekhet-hetep given above make it evident that the views expressed in the Papyrus of Nebseni differ in some important details from those which we find in the Papyrus of Ani, but whether this difference is due to some general development in religious thought, which took place in the interval between the periods when the papyri were written, cannot be said.



Sekhet-hetepet, showing the Sekhet-Aaru, with the magical boat and flight of steps, the birthplace of the gods, &c. (From the inner coffin of Kua-tep, British Museum, No. 30,840.)



Sekhet-hetepet, showing the Sekhet-Aaru with the magical boat, the nine lakes, the birthplace of the gods, &c. (From the outer coffin of Sen, British Museum, No. 30,841.)

There is abundant evidence in the Papyrus of Ani that Ani himself was a very religious man, and we are not assuming too much when we say that he was the type of a devout worshipper of Osiris, whose beliefs, though in some respects of a highly spiritual character, were influenced by the magic and gross material views which seem to have been inseparable from the religion of every Egyptian. Though intensely logical in some of their views about the Other World, the Egyptians were very illogical in others, and they appear to have seen neither difficulty nor absurdity in holding at the same time beliefs which were inconsistent and contradictory. It must, however, in fairness be said that this characteristic was due partly to their innate conservatism in religious matters, and their respect for the written word, and partly to their fear that they might prejudice their interests in the future life if they rejected any scripture or picture which antiquity, or religious custom, or tradition had sanctioned.

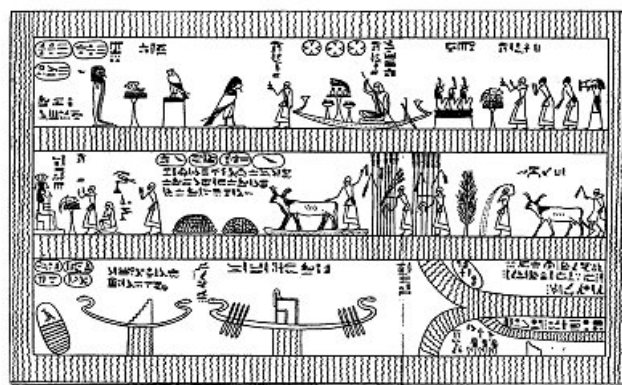
Certain examples, however, prove that the Egyptians of one period were not afraid to modify or develop ideas which had come down to them from another, as may be seen from the accompanying illustration. The picture which is reproduced on p. 53 is intended to represent Sekhet-hetepet, and is taken from the inner coffin of Kua-Tep, which was found at Al-Barsha, and is now in the British Museum (No. 30,840); it dates from the period of the XIth Dynasty. From this we see that the country of the blessed was rectangular in shape, and surrounded by water, and intersected by streams, and that, in addition to large tracts of land, there were numbers of eyots belonging to it. In many pictures these eyots are confounded with lakes, but it is pretty clear that the "Islands of the Blessed" were either fertile eyots, or oases which appeared to be green islands in a sea of sand. Near the first section were three, near the second four, near the third four, three, being oval, and one triangular; the fourth section was divided into three parts by means of a canal with two arms, and contained the birthplace of the god, and near it were seven eyots; the fifth is the smallest division of all, and has only one eyot near it. Each eyot has a name which accorded with its chief characteristic; the dimensions of three of the streams or divisions are given, the region where ploughing takes place is indicated, and the positions of the staircase and the mystic boat are clearly shown. The name of the god Hetep occurs twice, and that of Osiris once.

If now we compare this picture with that from the Papyrus of Nebseni we shall find that the actual operations of ploughing, reaping, and

treading out the corn are depicted on the Papyrus, and that several figures of gods and the deceased have been added. The text speaks of offerings made by the deceased, and of his sailing in a boat, &c., therefore the artist added scenes in which he is depicted doing these things; and the lower part of the picture in the Papyrus has been modified considerably.



Sekhet-hetepet. (From the Papyrus of Anhai--XXIInd Dynasty.)



Sekhet-hetepet. (From the Turin Papyrus-Ptolemaic Period.)

In the second division it may be noted that Nebseni is seen laying both hands on the back of the Bennu bird; there is no authority for this in the older copy of the picture. In the illustration on p. 55, which is

reproduced from the coffin of Sen, in the British Museum (No. 30,841), a still simpler form of Sekhet-hetepet is seen; here we have only nine eyots, which are grouped together, and no inscription of any kind.

Still further modifications were introduced into the pictures of Sekhet-hetepet drawn in later times, and, in order that the reader may be enabled to trace some of the most striking of these, copies of Sekhet-hetepet from the Papyrus of Anhai (about B.C. 1040), and from that of Auf-anh (Ptolemaic Period), are reproduced on pp. 59 and 61.



CHAPTER III. THE REUNION OF THE BEATIFIED AND THEIR RECOGNITION OF EACH OTHER IN THE OTHER WORLD

HAVING now described Sekhet-hetep and the Halls and Gates of the Other World according to the Book of Coming Forth by Day (PER-EM-HRU), We may pass on to consider how far souls in Sekhet-hetep had the power to know and recognize each other, and to enjoy intercourse with relatives and friends. From many scenes and passages in texts it has for some time past been clear that husband met wife, and wife met husband again beyond the grave, for in the Papyrus of Ani we see Ani accompanied by his wife in the House of Osiris and in many other places, and in the Papyrus of Anhai¹ we see Anhai bowing before two mummied forms, which represent her father and mother, and seated in a boat side by side with her husband. From the Papyrus of Nebseni² we know that the meeting of the deceased with his mother, father, and wife was believed to take place on the island in the first division of Sekhet-hetep called Qenqentet, for he says, "O Qenqentet, I have entered into thee, and I have seen the Osiris (i.e., his father) and I have gazed upon my mother, and had union [with my wife]."³ Other passages in the PER-EM-HRU indicate that the Egyptian hoped to meet again other people besides his father, mother, and wife, in Sekhet-hetep. Thus in the LIInd Chapter the deceased is made to say, "Let me have the power to manage my own fields in Tattu (Mendes), and my own growing crops in Aunu (Heliopolis). Let me live upon bread made from white grain, and let my beer be made from red grain, and may my ancestors, and my father and my mother be given unto me as guardians of my door and for the ordering of my territory." This petition is repeated in Chapter CLXXXIX., lines 7-9, which was written with the object of preventing a man from being hungry, and so being obliged to eat filth or offal.

From another passage (Chapter LXVIII., lines 13, 14) it is clear that the deceased expected to find in the Other World slaves, or domestic servants, who would help him to cultivate the land which he believed would be allotted to him, and there is reason for supposing that such beings would have been known to him upon earth. He says, "I have

¹ See page 59.

² *Book of the Dead*, Chapter CX., line 39.

³ From this passage it seems that a man who died before his expected to find another woman in Sekhet-hetep whom he might marry.

gained the mastery over the waters, I have gained the mastery over the canal, I have gained the mastery over the river, I have gained the mastery over the furrows, I have gained the mastery over the men who work for me, I have gained the mastery over the women who work for me in Neter-khert, I have gained the mastery over the things which were decreed to me on earth in Neter-khert." Thus we see that every pious Egyptian hoped to live again with the members of his household after death in Sekhet-hetepet.

Now the word which I have rendered "ancestors" in the extract given above is *abtu*, or *abut*, and its form and evident meaning suggest a comparison with the common Semitic word for "fathers"; the determinatives prove that the word describes people of both sexes. It occurs twice in the PER-EM-HRU, viz., in Chapter LII., line 6, and Chapter CLXXXIX., line 7,⁴ and was translated "persons" by me in 1896; the oldest example of the use of the word was published by M. P. Lacau in *Recueil*, 1904, p. 67.

The very short form of the prayer of the deceased that he may enjoy the companionship of his father and mother in Sekhet.-hetep is the outcome of a belief which is very ancient; and it finds its fullest expression in an important Chapter, which M. Lacau has published⁵ according to the texts on two coffins of the XIth Dynasty, which were found at Al-Barsha, and are now in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo.⁶ This Chapter supplies us with some valuable information concerning the reunion and recognition of relatives and friends in Sekhet-hetep, and M. Lacau's excellent edition of the text is a useful contribution to the literature which specially concerns Sekhet-hetep. The words which stand at the head of the Chapter read, "THE GATHERING TOGETHER OF THE ANCESTORS OF A MAN TO HIM IN NETER KHER,"⁷ and the text begins:

"Hail, Ra! Hail, Tem! Hail, Seb! Hail, Nut! Grant ye unto Sepa that he may traverse the heavens (or sky), that he may traverse the earth, that he may traverse the waters, that he may meet his ancestors, may meet his father, may meet his mother, may meet his grown up sons and daughters, and his brethren, and his sisters, may meet his friends, both

⁴ See my edition of the *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, text, pp. 124, 493.

⁵ See RECUEIL, 1904, pp. 67-72, and *La Réunion de la Famille*, by M. J. Baillet, in *Journal Asiatique*, Xème Série, tom. iv., p. 307, where a rendering of the Chapter into French will be found.

⁶ They bear the numbers 28083 and 28087.

⁷ A name of the Underworld.

male and female, may meet those who have been as parents to him,⁸ and his kinsfolk (cousins?),⁹ and those who have worked for him upon earth, both male and female, and may meet the concubine whom he loved and knew."

"Behold, O Qema-ur (i.e., Great Creator), make Sepa to rejoin his grown up sons and daughters, and his concubines whom it is his heart's desire [to meet], and make thou Sepa to rejoin his friends, both male and female, and those who have worked for him upon earth."

"And if it happen that his father should be turned aside, or opposed or removed, when he would appear to him, or his mother when she would reveal herself to him, when Sepa wisheth to rejoin his ancestors, and his father and his mother, and his men and his women, and if it happen that there should be turned aside or opposed, or done away the reunion of Sepa with his little children, or his reunion with his brethren and sisters, and with his friends, and with his foster-parents, and with his kinsfolk, and with those who have worked for him upon earth: then verily the heart which is provided [with words of power] shall be removed from Ra, and the choice oxen for sacrifice shall be driven away from the altars of the gods, and the bread-cakes shall not be shattered, and the white bread-cakes shall not be broken in pieces, the meat-offering shall not be cut up in the divine chamber of sacrifice, and for you ropes shall not be coiled, and for you boats shall not be manned.

"But if he shall be with his father when he appeareth, and if he shall receive his mother when she maketh herself visible, and if he shall be rejoined to his ancestors and to his fathers and his mothers, and his men and his women, and his little children, and his beloved ones, and his foster-parents, and his kinsfolk, and his [grown-up] sons and daughters, and his concubines, whom it is his heart's desire [to meet], and his friends, and those who have worked for him upon earth; and if he shall rejoin all his ancestors in heaven, and on earth, and in Neter-kher, and in the sky, and in Aakeb (i.e., a region of the sky), and in Hap (the Nile), and in Akeb (i.e. the watery abyss of the sky), and in Het-ur-kau, and in Tetu, and in Tetet (?), and in Pa-ur, and in Abakher, and in Abtu: then verily the bread-cakes shall be shattered, and the white bread-cakes shall be broken in pieces, and verily the meat offerings

⁸ Perhaps "his uncles and aunts," or "foster-parents."

⁹ Or "connexions."

shall be cut up in the divine chamber of sacrifice, and verily ropes shall be coiled, and verily boats shall be manned, and verily the Boat of Ra shall journey on its way, being rowed by the mariners of the AKHEMU-SEKU and the AKHEMU-URTCHU; now his name is unknown, his name is unknown.

"The goddess Hathor surroundeth Sepa with the magical protection of life, but it is Seb who equippeth him.¹⁰ The sister of Sepa [and] wife [is] the guardian of the wood of the Great Field.¹¹ And, moreover, the sister of Sepa, the guardian of the wood of the Great Field, saith, 'Verily thou shalt come with rejoicing, and thy heart shall be glad, and there shall be food to Sepa, and winds shall be given unto thee, yea, thy ancestors have commanded this [to be done]'; therefore shall Sepa come with gladness, and his heart shall be glad, and his ancestors shall be given unto him. And the great ones of the ancestors of Sepa shall come [to meet him] with joy, and their hearts shall be glad when they meet him; and they shall bear in their hands their staves, and their mattocks, and their tools for ploughing, and their metal weapons of the earth, and shall deliver him from the things which the goddess doeth, and from the actions (?) of Nut, and from the mighty things which the Two-Lion¹² God doeth to every soul, and to every god. The ancestors of Sepa shall make him to be delivered [RUBRIC]. May be rejoined ancestors, and father, and mother, and foster-parents, and kinsfolk, and young children, and wives, and concubines, and beloved ones (i.e., friends) male and female, and servants (i.e., slaves), and the property of every kind which belongeth to a man, to him in Neter-kher (the Underworld)."

The Rubric ends with the words, "rope of Maat, millions of times," which indicate that the whole Chapter, probably including the Rubric, was to be said by the person who wished to rejoin his friends in the Underworld regularly and unceasingly for millions of times. The phrases *shes maat heh en sep* occur very often in the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, and a full list of the passages will be found in the *Vocabulary* to my edition of that work, page 328.

¹⁰ Or, It is Seb who is the funeral chest, or sarcophagus, the allusion being to the fact that it was in the body of Seb, i.e., the earth, that the deceased was laid.

¹¹ The meaning of this line is not clear to me. The word *khet* is often applied to wheat or barley, as the "wood," or "plant" of life. By "Great Field" I understand Sekhet-hetep.

¹² I.e., Shu and Tefnut.

A perusal of the above Chapter shows that it is the expression of beliefs and ideas concerning the future life which belong to a very early period of civilization, and to a time when the Egyptians held most primitive views about their gods. The first paragraph calls upon two forms of the Sun-god, and the god of the earth, and the god of the sky, to allow the deceased to pass through the sky, and the earth, and the waters, to meet his ancestors, mother, father, wives, women of pleasure, sons and daughters of all ages, brothers and sisters, foster-Parents (or perhaps uncles and aunts), cousins, connexions, friends of both sexes, "the doers of things," both men and women, etc. Portions of the second paragraph are difficult to render exactly, but it seems that in it the deceased is made to say that in the event of his being prevented from meeting or rejoining his father, mother, and other near and dear relatives and friends, the customary funeral offerings shall be promptly discontinued, and the heart of Ra, which is equipped with its word (of power), shall be removed from him; if, on the other hand, he is made to rejoin all his near and dear relatives and connexions, and is allowed and enabled to travel about and visit them in the various holy cities in heaven, bread and meat offerings shall be duly made on earth for the gods, and the Boat of Ra shall travel on its way. In other words, the deceased undertakes to provide offerings to the gods whom he mentions so long as he is allowed to rejoin his relatives at will, but if he is hindered in any way, he threatens that the progress of Ra himself shall be hindered, and that the god shall suffer the loss of his heart with its word of power.

The Cow-goddess Hathor is said to endue him with the protection of her magical power, and the earth-god Seb to supply him with all he needs, and the guardian of the staff [of life] promises that he shall be supplied with food and air in the Great Field, because the ancestors of the deceased who are already living there have given orders to this effect. These same ancestors, it is declared, shall come out to meet him, and as it is possible that some attempt may be made to stop or injure him by Seb (?), Nut, Shu and Tefnut, they shall bring their sticks, and staves, and clubs, and other weapons in their hands, so that they may be ready to defend their relative, and lead him to their abode. Here we have a good description of the manner in which Egyptian peasants have always turned out to defend a friend, and how they have always armed themselves with clubs, and sticks, and handles of ploughs, or, flails, whenever a fellow villager had to be rescued from the clutches of foes or from the authorities, and have gone forth to his assistance. Not only would their spirits defend their spirit relative in the Other-World,

but they would also defend him by exactly the same means which their bodies would have employed to defend his body upon earth.

From one end of the chapter to the other there is no mention of Osiris, who in later times became the god of the Resurrection, and it is quite clear that the deceased believed that his reunion with his ancestors and family could be brought about without the help of any god, simply by the recital of the Chapter "Millions of times with never-ending regularity." The repetition of the whole chapter was unnecessary, for if a man recited the words of the Rubric an infinite number of times he would not only be able to rejoin his relatives, but also to regain in the Other World possession of all the property of every kind which he had enjoyed on this earth. The Rubric had, in fact, so far back as B.C. 2600, become a traditional magical formula of a most powerful character, and it must have been composed at the time when the abode of the blessed was supposed to resemble the "great field" in which the men of a village assembled to celebrate a festival, and before the ideas concerning Sekhet-Aaru and Sekhet-hetep, with which we are familiar from the "Book of Coming Forth by Day," were evolved. The texts of the Chapter and Rubric are of such interest that copies of them are printed as an Appendix to the present section (*Note: these hieroglyphic sections are omitted from the etext--JBH*).

We have now before us all the principal facts which are necessary for forming an opinion as to the kind of heaven which the primitive Egyptian hoped and expected to enjoy, and of the means which he took to obtain admission therein. He either bought, or persuaded, or forced, the "servant of the god," or priest, to give him words of power, i.e., names of gods, and magical formulae, which he learned, or had written down for him, and he relied for admission into the next world upon his knowledge of these, or copies of them which were buried with him, and upon the recitals of them at proper times and seasons by his relatives and friends, and upon offerings made upon earth to the gods on his behalf. Once in the abode of the blessed he was free to go wherever he pleased, to travel from one sacred place to another, to visit his friends, to eat, to drink, to enjoy the society of his wives and women of pleasure, and to rejoice in a family life which was only a glorified duplicate of that which he had known on earth. The gods he knew there were much like himself, and the extent and fervour of the worship which he devoted to them was exactly in proportion to the assistance which they rendered to him; his chief anxiety was not to forget the words of power which he had learned. His occupation

consisted in watching the growth of crops, for all the necessary work was performed by beings who carried out his every behest. We now pass on to describe the abode of the blessed according to the "Book Am-Tuat" and the "Book of Gates."



CHAPTER IV. THE BOOK AM-TUAT AND THE BOOK OF GATES

"AM-TUAT," or SHAT AM-TUAT, i.e., the "Book of what is in the Tuat," is the name given by the Egyptians to the large funeral book in which the priests of Amen describe the Other World according to the views of their order, and the passage of their god Amen-Ra, through the mysterious country which he traversed during the hours of the night. Its object, in the first place, was to impress the followers of Amen and others with the idea of the absolute supremacy of that god in the realms of the dead, and to show that all the gods of the dead in every place of departed spirits throughout Egypt rendered to him homage in one form or another, and in return received benefits from him. And in the second place, the book, being an actual "guide" to the Underworld, with pictures of its various divisions and of the gods and demons of every kind that were to be met with in them, was invaluable for the faithful, who were able to learn from it, whilst they were living upon earth, how to find their way from this world to the next, and how to identify the beings who would attempt to bar their way, and what to say to them. The BOOK AM-TUAT was a very lengthy work, and a complete copy of it occupied much space whether on walls or on papyrus, and, as poor folk could not afford tombs with chambers and corridors sufficiently large to hold all its texts and pictures, they were obliged to be content with sections, and smaller extracts from it. The need of a shortened form of the work was felt at a comparatively early period after it came into general use, and it is therefore not surprising to find that the priests collected all the facts, which were absolutely essential for the soul that had to travel by itself through the Other World, into a small book that may for convenience be called the "SUMMARY OF AM-TUAT." In this "Summary" all the lengthy speeches of Amen-Ra, and the answers of the gods, and, of course, all pictures are omitted.

The oldest copies of the BOOK AM-TUAT are found in the tombs of Thothmes III., Amen-hetep II., and Amen-hetep III., at Thebes.¹ The

¹ The tombs of Amen-hetep II. and Thothmes III. were discovered by M. Loret in 1898, and, according to the description of them published in the French journals, the copies of Am-Tuat on their walls were in a good state of preservation. The copy of the work in the tomb of Amen-hetep III., written in hieratic, was well preserved in Champollion's time, but is now illegible; see Champollion, *Lettres*, 13^e Lettre; and Champollion, *Monuments*, iii. 232-234. The text of the Third Hour was published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 78 and 79. See also *Description de l'Égypte*, Antiq. tom. iii. 193, tom. x., 218, and plates, tom. ii., 80, 81; and Lefébure in *Mémoires Mission Arch. Française*, tom. iii., p. 172.

most complete and best illustrated copy is that which is found on the walls of the tomb of Seti I. at Thebes; here we have eleven out of the twelve sections of the BOOK AM-TUAT, and the first six divisions of the SUMMARY of the work. The texts and pictures of this fine copy have been completely published by M. Lefébure, assisted by MM. Bouriant, Loret,² and Naville, and M. Maspero has translated and discussed the work at length in one of the most important of his luminous dissertations on Egyptian mythology.³ The next fullest copy is found in the tomb of Rameses VI.,⁴ and provides us with eleven divisions, but the drawings are less careful, and the texts are less accurate, and contain numerous additions which appear to represent beliefs of a later period. The history of the Book AM-TUAT shows us that the Egyptians treated it as they treated their older Books of the Dead; they first copied it on the walls of tombs, then on the sides of stone sarcophagi and wooden coffins, and next on rolls of papyrus. We have seen how the kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties had it copied on the walls of their tombs, and it must now be noted that Rameses III. decorated his red granite sarcophagus with scenes relating to the course of the sun in the Other World.⁵ This sarcophagus is preserved in the Museum of the Louvre in Paris, and its cover is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Among other sarcophagi inscribed with text and pictures from the BOOK AM-TUAT may be mentioned those of: 1. Horus, son of Tarut-en-Sekhet;⁶ 2. Tchet-hra, a priest of Ptah;⁷ 3. Qem-Hap,⁸ the son of Takhaau; and Nekht-neb-f. Now, whilst on the walls of tombs, and on the side of sarcophagi, divisions Nos. I.-XI. are found, the only divisions which are met with on papyrus are Nos. IX.-XII. Thus the Louvre Papyrus, No. 3071, which formed the subject of a special study by Devéria⁹ and Pierret,¹⁰ and the Turin Papyrus, published by Lanzone¹¹ and the Leyden Papyrus T. 71,¹² contain each

² See *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Miss. Arch. Française*, tom. ii., Paris, 1886.

³ See *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, in *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, tom. ii., p. 1 ff., Paris, 1893.

⁴ See Lefébure, *op. cit.*, tom. iii., fasc. 1, p. 48 ff.

⁵ See E. de Rougé, *Notice Sommaire des Monuments Égyptiens exposés dans les Galeries du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1876, p. 51.

⁶ See E. de Rougé, *Notice Sommaire*, p. 52. It contains the figures of the eleven divisions, with very few inscriptions; see Jéquier, *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hades*, p. 25.

⁷ See E. de Rougé, *Notice Sommaire*, p. 52. This sarcophagus is made of basalt, is beautifully cut, and was brought to France by Champollion. See also Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. ii., plates 1-24.

⁸ See Schäfer in Jéquier, *op. cit.*, p. 26, notes 3 and 4.

⁹ See *Catalogue des Manuscrits Égyptiens*, Paris, 1881, p. 15.

¹⁰ See Pierret, *Études Égyptologiques*, tom. ii., p. 103-148.

¹¹ See Lanzone, *Le Domicile des Esprits*, Paris, 1879, folio.

¹² See *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Leyde*, pp. 253-255.

the last four divisions only. The Leyden Papyrus T. 72¹³ contains divisions X., XL, and XII., the Berlin Papyrus No. 3001 contains divisions IX., X. and XII., and the Berlin Papyrus No. 3005 contains divisions X. and XI. only. There are several papyri in the British Museum inscribed with similar selections.

The principal authorities for the text of the SUMMARY of AM-TUAT are those which M. Jéquier consulted when preparing his edition, viz., the Berlin Papyrus No. 3001, the Leyden Papyrus T. 71, the Louvre Papyrus No. 3071, the Papyrus of Turin, published by Lanzone, and, of course, the tomb of Seti I., which gives the text of the first six divisions. The most valuable of all these is the Leyden Papyrus T. 71, of which an excellent fac-simile, with a complete translation, was published by Drs. Pleyte and Boeser in 1894;¹⁴ in this papyrus the text of the SUMMARY only fills 119 short columns, and the great popularity of the work is attested by the fact that the priests of Amen were induced to compress all the most important portions of Am-Tuat into so small a compass.

Similar in many details, but widely different from the BOOK AM-TUAT in point of fundamental doctrine, is the great funeral work to which the names "Book of the Lower Hemisphere,"¹⁵ "Book of Hades," "Livre de l'Enfer," have been given. A glance at the pictures which accompany the texts of this Book is sufficient to show that it deals with the passage of the Sun-god through the Other World during the hours of the night, but, as M. Maspero pointed out long ago, it is wrong to call the region through which the god passes by the name of "Lower Hemisphere," for it suggests that it is below the surface of our earth, which is not the case. There is much to be said also against the titles "Book of Hades," and "Book of Hell," and as among the prominent characteristics which distinguish it from the BOOK AM-TUAT is a series of gates, it will be convenient and more correct to call it the "BOOK OF GATES." The form in which we first know this work is, clearly, not older than the XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty, but many parts of it are very much more ancient. As the BOOK AM-TUAT was composed with the view of asserting the absolute supremacy of Amen-Ra in the Other World, so the BOOK OF GATES was compiled to prove that, in spite of the pretensions of the priests of Amen-RA, Osiris, the ancient god of the dead, was still the over-lord of the Underworld, and that his

¹³ See Jéquier, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁴ *Papyrus Funéraire Hiéroglyphique, Sha-am-Tua* (T. 71). Publié dans la 32ième Livraison des *Monuments Égyptiens du Musée*, Leyden, 1894.

¹⁵ See Devéria, Catalogue, Sect. ii., *Le Livre de L'Hémisphère Inférieur*.

kingdom was everlasting. The BOOK AM-TUAT practically ignores Osiris, and is silent even concerning the doctrines of the Judgment and Sekhet-Hetepet, and in fact about all the fundamental principles of the religion of Osiris as regards the dead, which had been universally believed throughout Egypt for thousands of years.

The most complete copy of the BOOK OF GATES known to us is found inscribed on the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I,¹⁶ king of Egypt about B.C. 1375, and it consists of two parts:--1. A series of texts and pictures which describe the progress of the Boat of the Sun-god to the kingdom of Osiris, the Judgment of the Dead, the life of the beatified in Sekhet-Hetepet, the punishment of the wicked, and the foes of the Sun-god. 2. A series of texts and pictures which represent the magical ceremonies that were performed in very ancient times with the view of reconstructing the body of the Sun, and of making him rise each day. That the BOOK OF GATES embodied many of the most ancient Egyptian religious beliefs and traditions is evident, but it is quite certain that it never became as popular as the BOOK AM-TUAT; it must always be a matter for wonder that Seti I., having covered several walls in his tomb with the texts of this Book, should fill several more with sections of the BOOK OF GATES, and then have a complete copy of it cut and inlaid on the sides of his alabaster sarcophagus and its cover!

We may now consider the region through which the Sun-god passed during the hours of the night, and the descriptions of its divisions and their inhabitants which are furnished by the BOOK AM-TUAT and the BOOK OF GATES. This region was called by the Egyptians "Tat," or "Tuat," or "Tuaut"; the oldest form of the name, and that which is met with in the earliest of the Pyramid Texts is "Tat;" the chief god of the Tuat was called "Tuat," or "Tuaut," and the beings who lived therein were called "Tuatiu." The meaning of the name Tat, or Tuat, is unknown, and it is useless to speculate upon it or to invent etymologies for it; it was applied to the home of the beatified spirits and the damned, no doubt in predynastic times, and the exact meaning which it conveyed to the minds of those who first used it has been lost.

¹⁶ See *The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I., King of Egypt, now in Sir John Soane's Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields*, drawn p. 86 by Joseph Bonomi, and described by Samuel Sharpe, London, 1864. A description of the pictures and texts was given by M. Pierret in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1870; small portions of the text were discussed by Goodwin and Renouf in *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1873, p. 138, and 1874, p. 101; and an English rendering of the whole text was given by E. Lefébure, in the *Records of the Past*, vol. x., p. 79 ff., vol. xii., p. 1 ff.

To describe its general situation is less difficult, but not many details as to its exact extent are forthcoming.

To find a word which shall at once describe the situation and character of the Tuat is impossible, for the reason that the Egyptian conception of the place of departed spirits is unique. The Tuat is not the "Lower Hemisphere," because it is not under the ground, and though for want of a better word I have frequently used "Underworld," when speaking of the Tuat, it is unsatisfactory, for unless it is specially defined to mean the place of departed spirits in general, it produces a wrong impression in the mind. Again, the word Tuat must not be rendered by "Hades," or "Hell," or "Sheol," or "Jehannum," for each of these words has a limited and special meaning. On the other hand, the Tuat possessed the characteristics of all these names, for it was an "unseen" place, and it contained abysmal depths of darkness, and there were pits of fire in it wherein the damned, i.e., the enemies of Osiris and Ra, were consumed, and certain parts of it were the homes of monsters in various shapes and forms which lived upon the unfortunate creatures whom they were able to destroy. On the whole, the word Tuat may be best rendered by "The Other World,"¹⁷ or "Underworld," always provided that it be clearly understood that the Egyptians never believed it to be under the earth.

In inventing a situation for the Tuat the Egyptians appear to have believed that the whole of the habitable world, that is to say, Egypt, was surrounded by a chain of mountains lofty and impassable, just like the Jebel Kaf¹⁸ of Muhammadan writers; from one hole in this mountain the sun rose, and in another he set. Outside this chain of mountains, but presumably quite close to them, was the region of the Tuat; it ran parallel with the mountains, and was on the plane either of the land of Egypt or of the sky above it. On the outside of the Tuat was a chain of mountains also, similar to that which encompassed the earth, and so we may say that the Tuat had the shape of a valley; and from the fact that it began near the place where the sun set, and ended near the place where he rose, it is permissible to say that the Tuat was nearly circular in form. That this is the view taken by the Egyptians themselves is proved by the scene which is reproduced in the BOOK OF GATES (page 303). Here we have the body of Osiris bent round in a circle, and the hieroglyphics enclosed within it declare that it is the Tuat. With the identification of Osiris with the Tuat we need not deal

¹⁷ See Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, tom. ii. p. 27.

¹⁸ See Yakut's Geographical Dictionary, ed. Wüstenfeld, tom. iv., page 18.

here, but it is important for our purpose to note that in the time of Seti I. the Egyptians assigned a circular form to the Tuat. The view put forward by Signor Lanzone to the effect that the Tuat was the place comprised between the arms of the god Shu and the body of the sky-goddess Nut, whom, according to the old legend, he raised up from the embrace of her husband the Earth-god Seb, so forming the earth and the sky, thus appears to be untenable.¹⁹

Now as the Tuat was situated on the other side of the mountains which separated it from Egypt, and from the sun, moon, and stars which lighted the skies of that country, it follows that it must have been a region which was shrouded in the gloom and darkness of night, and a place of fear and horror. At each end of the Tuat was a space which was neither wholly darkness nor wholly light, the western end being partially lighted by the setting sun, and the eastern end by the rising sun. From the pictures in the BOOK AM-TUAT and the BOOK OF GATES we learn that a river flowed through the Tuat, much as the Nile flowed through Egypt, and we see that there were inhabitants on each of its banks, just as there were human beings on each side of the Nile. At one place the river of the Tuat joined the great celestial waters which were supposed to form the source of the earthly Nile.

How, or when, or where the belief arose it is impossible to say, but it seems that at a very early period the inhabitants of Egypt thought that the souls of the dead when they departed from this world made their way into the Tuat, and took up their abode there, and long before the Dynastic Period the Tuat was regarded throughout Egypt as the kingdom of the dead. Certain sections of it were considered to belong by traditional right to certain cities, e.g., Heliopolis, Memphis, Herakleopolis, Abydos, etc., each possessing its own "Other World" and gods of the dead, and all these had to be considered by the theologians who formulated general plans of the Tuat. How the Egyptians imagined the dead to live in the Tuat, or upon what, is not clear, but they seem to have thought that all their wants could be provided for by the use of words of power, amulets, talismans, etc. In the earliest times of all the souls of the dead remained in the "Other World" which belonged to their town or city, but when Osiris attained to the supreme power over the dead, it was only natural that departed spirits should flock from all parts of Egypt to his kingdom, wherein the beatified enjoyed a life very much like that which they had lived upon

¹⁹ See Lanzone, *Le domicile des Esprits*, p. 1.

earth. The celestial kingdom of Osiris, that is to say, Sekhet-Hetepet or Sekhet-Aaru, was originally a copy of some very fertile region in the Delta, and, to the very end of the period of native Egyptian rule, the Egyptian Paradise consisted of green fields intersected by streams of living, i.e., running water, with abundant crops of wheat and barley, and its appearance represented a typical middle-Delta landscape. So long as Osiris had his kingdom in the Delta, probably near the ancient city of Mendes, the souls of the dead travelled from south to north, but at a later period, when Osiris had absorbed the position and attributes of KHENT-AMENTI, perhaps the oldest god of the dead of Abydos, departed spirits made their way from north to south, so that they might enter the Tuat by the "Gap" in the mountains there. Still later, the Egyptians reverted to their old belief as to the situation of the domain of Osiris, and the books which deal with the Tuat always assume that it lies far away to the north, and were intended to guide souls on their way to it.

The ultimate fate of the souls of human beings who had departed to the Tuat must always have been a matter of speculation to the Egyptians, and at the best they could only *hope* that they had traversed the long, dark, and dangerous valley in safety. The same may be said of numbers of the gods, who in very early times were believed to possess a nature which closely resembled that of men and women, and to be in danger of extermination in the Tuat. Of the gods the only one about whose successful passage of the Tuat there was no doubt was Ra, or according to the priests of Amen, Amen-Ra, for he rose each morning in the East, and it was manifest to all that he had overcome whatsoever dangers had threatened him in the Tuat during the past night. This being so, it became the object of every man to obtain permission to travel in the boat of Ra through the Tuat, for those who were followers of Osiris could disembark when it arrived at his kingdom, and those who wished to remain with Ra for ever could remain in it with him. To each class of believer a guide to the Tuat was necessary, for up to a certain place in that region both the followers of Osiris and the followers of Ra required information about the divisions of the Tuat, and knowledge of the names of the Halls and Gates, and of the beings who guarded them and who were all-powerful in the land of darkness. For the worshippers of Amen, or Amen-Ra, the BOOK AM-TUAT was prepared, whilst the followers of Osiris pinned their faith to the BOOK OF GATES. From each of these Books we find that the Sun-god was not able to pass through the Tuat by virtue of the powers which he possessed as the great god of the world, but only through his

knowledge of the proper words of power, and of magical names and formulae, before the -utterance of which every denizen of the Tuat was powerless. Osiris had, of course, passed through the Tuat, and seated himself on his throne in the "House of Osiris," but even he would have been unable to perform his journey in safety through the Tuat without the help of the words of power which Horus, the son of Isis, the son of Osiris," had uttered, and the magical ceremonies which he had performed. Words and ceremonies alike he learned from Isis, who, according to a later tradition, obtained the knowledge of them from Thoth, the Divine Intelligence. Now if Osiris and Ra had need of such magical assistance in their passage through the Tuat, how much greater must have been the need of man!

The Tuat was, according to the authors of the funeral works of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, divided into twelve portions, some of which are called "SEKHET," i.e., "Field," others "NUT," i.e., "City," others "ARRIT," i.e., "Hall," and others "QERRET," i.e., "Circle." The first indicates that the region to which it was applied was believed to consist of cultivated lands, the second suggests a place where there were many buildings and houses, the third a territory which was vast and spacious, and which, in some respects, represented an empty courtyard, or hall, or compound of a house, and the fourth probably describes the circular form of some divisions. Now since the Tuat was traversed by the sun-god during the hours of the night,, the Egyptians regarded each of these divisions as the equivalent of an hour, and hence it came that the sections of the Books of the Tuat were often called "Hours," the First Hour corresponding to the First Division, and so on up to the Twelfth Hour. It will, however, be urged that during the summer in Egypt the night is not twelve hours long, but the answer to this objection is that the first division is in reality only the ante-chamber of the Tuat, and the twelfth the ante-chamber of the sky of this world, into which the Sun-god enters to begin the new day. The divisions II. to XI. of the Tuat have an entirely different character from the ante-chamber of the Tuat and that of the sky.

It has already been said that a river flows from one end of the Tuat to the other, and its existence can only be explained in one way. At a very early period of their history the Egyptians believed that the Sun-god passed over the sky, which they held to be a vast watery mass, in some kind of boat; the belief in the existence of such a boat was absolutely necessary, for unless the fire of the sun was protected from contact with the water of the sky, it would, they argued, be extinguished. So far

back as the period when the Pyramids of Giza were built, the existence of two boats was assumed; in one, called MATET, the Sun-god sailed from the time he rose until noon, and in the other, called SEKTET, he sailed from noon to sunset. When the conception of the existence of the Tuat was evolved, and the belief that the Sun-god passed through it each night gained credence, it became necessary to find some means of transport for the god. It was impossible to remove him from his boat, which was, like himself, eternal, hence its name, "Boat of Millions of Years," and even if it had been possible the difficulty remained either of taking his boat back from the place of sunset to the place of sunrise, so that it might be ready for him on the following morning when he emerged from the Tuat, or of providing him with a new boat each day. The simplest way was to assume in the Tuat the existence of a river which was in direct communication with the watery mass of the sky on which Ra sailed by day, and to make the Sun-god to enter the Tuat on it. This was the natural way out of the difficulty, for apart from the fact that no other means of transport for the god could be devised, it was consistent with experience that kings, and nobles, and high officials, always travelled through Egypt by water. No animal and no chariot could convey the god through the Tuat, for, even had animals or chariots suitable for the purpose existed, they must have been consumed by the god's fire. We shall see later that there was one division of the Tuat through which the Sun-god could not pass even in his boat, and that he was obliged to leave it and travel on the back of a serpent.

From the titles of the BOOK AM TUAT, as it is found in the tomb of Seti I., we may gather that the pictures accompanying the texts were supposed to be exact copies of the divisions of the Tuat as they actually existed in AMENTI, i.e., the "hidden place," or the "Other World," and the texts were supposed to give the traveller in the Tuat all the information he could possibly require concerning the "souls, the gods, the shadows, the spirits, the gods of the Tuat, the gates of the Tuat, the hours and their gods, and the gods who praise Ra, and those who carry out his edicts of destruction." The divisions of the Tuat according to this work are:--

Division I. *Names*--MAATI, and NET-RA.

Warder--ARNEBAUI.

Hour-goddess--USHEM-HATIU-KHEFTIU-NU-RA.

Division II. *Name*--URNES.

Warder--AM-NEBAUI.

Hour-goddess--SESHET-MAKET-NEB-S.

Division III. *Name*--NET-NEB-UA-KHEPER-AUT.

Warder--KHETRA.

Hour-goddess--TENT-BAIU.

Division IV. *Name*--ANKHET-KHEPERU.

Name of the gate of this Circle--AMENT-SETHAU

Hour-goddess--URT-EM-SEKHEMU-S.

Division V. *Name*--AMENT.

Name of the gate of this Circle--AHA-NETERU.

Hour-goddess--SEKMET-HER-ABT-UAA-S.

Division VI. *Name*--METCHET-NEBT-TUAT.

Name of the gate of this City--SEPT-METU.

Hour-goddess--MESPERIT-AR-AT-MAATU.

Division VII. *Name*--TEPHET-SHETAT.

Name of the gate of this City--RUTI-EN-ASAR.

Hour-goddess--KHESFET-HAU-HESQETU-NEHA-HRA.

Division VIII. *Name*--TEBAT-NETERU-S.

Name of the Gate--AHA-AN-URT-NEF.

Hour-goddess--NEBT-USHA.

Division IX. *Name*--BEST-ARU-ANKHET-KHEPERU.

Name of the Gate--SA-EM-KEB.²⁰

Hour-goddess--TUATET-MAKTET-EN-NEB-S.

Division X. *Name*--METET-QA-UTCHEBU.

Name of the Gate--AA-KHEPERU-MES-ARU.

Hour-goddess--TENTENIT-UHETES-KHAK-AB.

Division XI. *Name*--RE-EN-QERERT-APT-KHATU.

Name of the Gate--SEKHEN-TUATIU.

Hour-goddess--SEBIT-NEBT-UAA-KHESFET-SEBA-EM-PERT-F.

Division XII. *Name*--KHEPER-KEKIU-KHAU-MEST.

Name of the Gate--THEN-NETERU.

Hour-goddess--MAA-NEFERT-RA.

The divisions of the Tuat according to the BOOK OF GATES are usually marked by Gates, which are guarded by serpents; they are as follows:--

Division I. *Name of Guardian Gods*--SET and TAT.

Name of the Region--SET-AMENTET, Western Vestibule.

Division II. *Name of the Serpent*--SAA-SET.

Division III. *Name of the Serpent*--AQEBI.

Name of the Gate--SEPTET-UAUAU.

²⁰ Or, SA-AKEB.

Division IV. *Name of the Serpent*--TCHETBI.

Name of the Gate--NEBT-S-TCHEFAU.

Division V. *Name of the Serpent*--TEKA-HRA.

Name of the Gate--ARIT.

Division VI. At the entrance to this division is the Judgment Hall of Osiris.

Name of the Serpent--SET-EM-MAAT-F.

Name of the Gate--NEBT-AHA.

Division VII. *Name of the Serpent*--AKHA-EN-MAAT.

Name of the Gate--PESTIT.

Division VIII. *Name of the Serpent*--SET-HRA.

Name of the Gate--BEKHKHI.

Division IX. *Name of the Serpent*--AB-TA.

Name of the Gate--AAT-SHEFSHEFT.

Division X. *Name of the Serpent*--SETHU.

Name of the Gate--TCHESERIT.

Division XI. *Name of the Serpent*--AM-NETU-F.

Name of the Gate--SHETAT-BESU.

Division XII. *Names of the Serpents*--SEBI, and RERI.

Name of the Gate--TESERT-BAIU, Eastern Vestibule.

From the above lists it is clear that in the BOOK AM-TUAT the actual divisions of the Tuat are considered without any reference to Gates, even if such existed in the scheme of the priests of Amen-Ra, and that according to the Book of Gates, the Gates of the divisions in the Tuat are the most important and most characteristic features. The absence of Gates in the BOOK AM-TUAT is not difficult to explain; the compilers of this work, wishing to exalt Amen-Ra, did away with the Gates, which were the most important features of the kingdom of Osiris, so that the necessity for Amen-Ra to seek permission of their warders, who were appointed by Osiris, was obviated.



CHAPTER V. THE CONTENTS OF THE BOOK AM-TUAT AND THE BOOK OF GATES COMPARED

THE WESTERN VESTIBULE OR ANTECHAMBER OF THE TUAT.

HAVING already briefly described the general character of the BOOK AM-TUAT and the BOOK OF GATES we may pass at once to the comparison of their contents. For the sake of convenience, in describing the various divisions of the Tuat let us assume that we are occupying the position of a disembodied spirit who is about to undertake the journey through the Tuat, and that we are standing at the entrance to the First Division awaiting the arrival of the BOAT OF THE SUN-GOD, on which we hope to have permission to travel. Every funeral rite has been duly and adequately performed, the relatives and friends of the deceased have made the legally appointed offerings, and said all the prayers proper for the occasion, amulets inscribed with magical names and formulae have been attached to the body, copies of sacred writings have been laid on it or near it in the tomb, the priests have said the final words which will secure for the soul a passage in the BOAT OF RA, and a safe-conduct to the abode of the blessed, whether this abode be in the boat itself or in the kingdom of Osiris. The result of all these things is that we have been enabled to pass through the tomb out into the region which lies immediately to the west of the mountain-chain on the west bank of the Nile, which we may consider as one mountain and call MANU, or the mountain of the Sunset. At this place are gathered together numbers of spirits, all bent on making their way to the abode of the blessed; these are they who have departed from their bodies during the day, and they have made their way to the sacred place in Western Thebes where they can join the BOAT OF THE SUN-GOD.

Some are adequately equipped with words of power, and amulets, and their ultimate safety is assured, but others are less well provided, and it will be the fate of many of these to remain in the place wherein they now are, and never to enter the HOUSE OF OSIRIS or the BOAT OF RA. They will not suffer in any way whatsoever, but will simply remain there, protecting themselves as best they can by any words of power they may possess until such time as they are overcome by some hostile being, when they will die, and take their places among the other dead

spirits, having failed to present themselves in the Judgment Hall of Osiris.

Now the dead who are in the various divisions of the Tuat do not, apparently, pass entirely out of existence; for, as we shall see later, they are revived once each day by light which the Sun-god casts upon them as he passes through the Tuat, and for a season they enjoy his rays, and when, as he leaves one division to enter another, the Gate closes upon him, and shuts out his light, they set up dismal cries at his departure, and then sink down into inertness in the darkness which will swallow them up for twenty-four hours. It is possible that the dead here referred to represent the primitive inhabitants of the country, and the gods of the dead whom they worshipped when on earth, but there is no doubt that to these were joined the spirits of those who for some reason or other failed to advance beyond one or other of the divisions of the Tuat.

Now, however, the time of evening has come, and the Sun-god in the SEKTET BOAT, wherein he has travelled since noon, draws nigh, flooding the FIRST DIVISION of the Tuat with light. This DIVISION, or antechamber, or vestibule, of the Tuat is, according to the BOOK AM-TUAT, called NET-RA, and before the Sun-god can come to the dweller in the Tuat he must pass over a space which is said to be 120, or 220, *atru*, or leagues, in length. The river URNES, on which the boat moves, is 300 *atru* in extent, and is divided into two portions. On looking into the BOAT OF THE SUN-GOD we see that this deity has transformed himself, and that he no longer appears as a fiery disk, but as a ram-headed man, who stands within a shrine; in other words, Ra has taken the form of Osiris, in order that he may pass successfully through the kingdom of the dead, whose lord and god is Osiris. The name given to this form is AF, or AFU, which means literally "flesh" and "a dead body;" it was as a dead body that Osiris first entered the Tuat, and those who wished to become what he became subsequently had to enter the Tuat as dead bodies and with the attributes wherewith he entered it. The boat then contains the body of the dead Sun-god, or AFU-RA; he has with him a crew of seven gods and one goddess; one of these acts as guide (AP-UAT), another as steersman, another as the "look out," and the goddess, or "lady of the boat," is there as representative of the Division through which they are about to pass. Besides these we have KA-SHU, i.e., the "double of Shu," the god of the atmosphere of this world, who is present in the boat in order to supply the god with air; HERU-HEKENU, who recites magical

formulae; and SA and HU, who represent the knowledge and intelligence necessary for the due performance of the journey. We may note that the boat moves by itself, and that the gods who form a procession in front of it do not tow it. As we have already described these in vol. i. (see pp. 4-8), it is needless to say here more than that they are all forms of the Sun-god, or deified aspects of him, and that they accompany their lord, who has transformed himself. Side by side with the boat of AFU-RA is a smaller boat, in which the coming into being of Osiris is depicted, and the beetle is there to typify the presence of Osiris, and to lead AFU-RA on his way through the DIVISION (vol. i., p. 7). As AFU-RA is preceded by a number of forms of the Sun-god, so the "form of Osiris," KHEPER-EN-ASAR, is preceded by a number of Osirian deities, three snakes and three goddesses, among them being NEITH of the NORTH, NEITH of the SOUTH, and the rare goddess ARTET (Vol. i., p. 7).

The direction in which AFU-RA is moving is northwards, and we may glance at the beings who are on the banks of the river of the Tuat. On the right hand are nine apes, "which sing to Ra as he entereth the Tuat," nine gods and twelve goddesses, who sing praises unto Ra, and twelve serpents, which belch forth the fire that gives light to lighten the god on his way (vol. i., pp. 12-15). On the left hand are nine apes, "which open the gates to the Great Soul" (i.e. AFU-RA), twelve goddesses, who open the gates in the earth, twelve goddesses, who guide the god, and nine gods, "who praise Ra" (vol. i., pp. 9-11). So soon as AFU-RA has entered this DIVISION (ARRIT) he calls upon the gods to let him proceed, and he asks for light and guidance from them; he bids one set of apes to open the doors to him, and the other to welcome him. As he is provided not only with the word of power, but has also the knowledge how to utter it, the gods straightway bid him enter the place where OSIRIS KHENTI-AMENTI dwells. The serpent goddesses sing hymns to him, and they lighten the darkness by pouring out fire from their mouths, the god takes possession of the grain which is in NET-RA, his word has its due effect upon every one, and the punishments which he adjudges to the condemned are carried out duly. As for the dead who are in this DIVISION they do not journey on with the god, but they are left behind (vol. i., p. 8), and when they see him pass through the fortified gate which guards the entrance to the SECOND DIVISION "they wail" (vol. i., p. 20). The texts say nothing about the actual condition of the dead whom AFU-RA leaves behind him, and nothing of the place, or places, whence they came; we can only assume that they are those who for some reason or other have

failed to obtain a seat in the BOAT of the god. They must not be confounded with the gods and goddesses and apes who are in attendance upon AFU-RA, for these are, in reality, officers of the Division whose duty it is to escort him to the Gate of the Second Division, and then to return to their places to await his return the following evening. In return for their services they receive food and drink by the command of the god. As the Boat of AFU-RA was assumed by the priests of Amen-Ra to begin its journey through the Tuat at Thebes, and as we are expressly told that the god was obliged to pass over a space of 120 or 220 *atru*, or leagues, before he came to the dwellers in the Tuat, it is probable that the first group of dead are those who entered the Tuat through the opening in the mountains behind Abydos, which was called the "GAP." The oldest god of the dead of Abydos was KHENTI-AMENTI, i.e., Governor of Amenti, AMENTI, i.e., the "hidden" land, being a name for the Underworld, or Other World," in general. This being so, it is clear that when AFU-RA came to the end of the FIRST DIVISION of the Tuat he arrived at the beginning of the dominions of KHENTI-AMENTI, whose attributes became absorbed subsequently into those of OSIRIS.

In the BOOK OF GATES the FIRST DIVISION is depicted in a different manner. The BOAT OF THE SUN is seen passing through the mountain of the horizon, which is divided into two parts; the god appears in the form of a beetle within a disk, which is surrounded by a serpent with voluminous folds. The only gods with him in the boat are SA and HEKA, here the personifications of the intelligence and the word of power. The duty of SA is to make all plans for the god's journey, and HEKA will utter the words of power which will enable him to overcome all opposition. On each half of the mountain is a sceptre, one having the head of a jackal, and the other that of a ram; each sceptre is supported by the god TAT and the god SET, the personifications of the Tuat and the Mountain respectively. One sceptre is mentioned in the text, which is somewhat obscure in meaning; it seems, however, that the jackal-headed sceptre uttered words on behalf of the god AFU-RA, and that the other typified him, taking the place of the ram-headed god with a human body which we have in the BOOK AM-TUAT. On each side of the Boat are twelve gods, who presumably represent the Twelve Hours of the Day, and the Twelve Hours of the Night; one group is called "Neteru Set" (*or* Semt), i.e., "Gods of the Mountain," and the other "Neteru Set-Amentet," i.e., "Gods of the Mountain of the Hidden Land." The gods of the Mountain are the offspring of Ra

himself, and they "emerged from his eye" (vol. ii., p. 85), and to them has Amentet been given as an abode.



CHAPTER VI. SECOND DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. THE KINGDOM OF KHENTI-AMENTI- OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

THE god AFU-Ra now enters the region URNES which derives its name from that of the river flowing through it; it is 309, or 480 *atru* or leagues in length, and 120 wide. URNES is a portion of the dominions of OSIRIS-KHENTI-AMENTI, the great god of Abydos, and it, no doubt, formed a section of the SEKHET-HETEPET according to the old theology of Egypt. The Boat Of AFU-Ra is now under the direction of the goddess of the second hour of the night, SHESAT-MAKET-NEB-S, and the uraei of Isis and Nephthys have been added to its crew. Immediately in front of it are four boats, which move by themselves; the first contains the full moon, of which Osiris was a form, the second the emblem of a deity of harvest, the third the symbols of another agricultural deity, and the fourth the Grain-god personified. All four boats contain either forms or symbols of Osiris, in his different aspects, as the god of ploughing, sowing, and reaping, and of the grain from the time when it germinates to the season of harvest.

When AFU-RA has come into URNES, he addresses the gods of the region, who are called "BAIU-TUATI," and tells them to open their doors so that they may receive air, and fresh food, and fresh water, in return for the deeds of valour which they have done on behalf of AFU-RA. It seems that at one portion of this Division the followers of Osiris and RA had to do battle against Apep and his friends, and that in return for their services the god gave them places here in which to dwell, with an abundance of wheat and barley, etc. The gods in reply welcome AFU-RA, and beg him to dissipate the darkness in Amenti, and to slay the serpents HAU and NEHA-HRA (vol. i., p. 40); they promise that those who guide his boat shall destroy APEP, that Osiris shall come to meet him and shall avenge him, and that he shall rest in Ament, and shall appear in the East the following morning under the form of KHEPERA. After this speech they lead AFU-RA into a state of peace in SEKHET-EN-PERTIU, the "Field of the Gods of grain," wherein are the boats of the Grain-gods already described. In this fair haven AM-RA rests, and every follower of Osiris hoped to follow his example.

If we consider for a moment the group of divine beings which stands on each bank of the river URNES it becomes evident that each god or

goddess belongs to the company of Osiris. To the right of the boat stand six gods, who either hold or wear an ear of corn and are connected with the growth of the grain (vol. i., p. 31), gods armed with knives, and connected with the harvest, gods of the seasons, each holding a notched palm-stick, the god of the year, the gods of SOTHIS and ORION (vol. i., p. 32) Osiris-Unnefer, Akhabit, Anubis, the "Eater of the Ass,"¹ etc. To the left of the Boat are six deities, each with a phallus in the form of a knife, the double god HORUS-SET (Vol. i., p. 29), various animal- and bird-headed gods, goddesses both with and without uraei on their heads, the "Crook" (*mest*) of Osiris, the serpent-protector of Osiris, and so on. The gods on the right of AFU-RA are they who give him "the seasons, and the years which are in their hands," and so soon as he speaks to them "they have life through his voice"; he, moreover, tells them what to do, and he orders that the herbs of the field of URNES shall be given to them in abundance.



Nekht spearing the Eater of the Ass.

The duties of these gods are simple: they supply the followers of AFU-RA, i.e., those spirits who have succeeded in entering his boat, with green herbs, they give them water, and they light the fires which are to destroy the enemies of Ra. It is not, however, easy to understand their position. All these gods are under the rule of AM-NEBAUI, who is "the lord of this Field," but it seems that they remain in a state of inertness until AFU-RA enters and shines upon them; and although they have their duties and know how to perform them, it is suggested by the texts that they perform nothing until he speaks to them. In other

¹ This is a name given to the serpent which is seen attacking an ass in the XIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead, and which is a form of the god Set; the Ass is probably a form of the sun-god RA. THE EATER OF THE GREAT PHALLUS, i.e., the Ass, was also a power of evil, yet here he is found seated among beneficent gods.

words, they are merely dead gods, until the word of power spoken by AFU-RA makes them produce grain on which to feed themselves and the followers of Ra." In this way is the power of Amen-Ra shown: his dead body, i.e., the night sun, is able to re-vivify all the gods of the kingdom of Osiris, and to make them work. The gods on the left have, first of all, to praise AFU-RA after he has entered URNES; they next "guard the day, and bring on the night until the great god cometh out into the East of the sky." Besides this their duty is to bring to the god's notice the words of those who are upon earth, and they make souls to come to their forms (vol. i., p. 34); they are also concerned with the "offerings of the night," and effect the overthrow of enemies.

From this passage it is clear that the Egyptians believed that words uttered on earth were taken to AFU-RA by his ministers, and it is difficult not to think that such words must have been in the form of petitions, or prayers, if only for sepulchral offerings. So soon as AFU-RA has passed through the Division, and his light has begun to leave them, all the gods of URNES "cry out in lamentation, and utter wailings because he has left them."

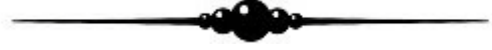
From the SUMMARY of the BOOK AM-TUAT we gather that the pictures and texts referring to this Division of the Tuat, or Hour of the night, were believed to possess special efficacy, and the faithful thought that if a man knew the names of its gods he would receive a place of abode in URNES, and would travel about with the god, would have the power of entering the earth and the Tuat and of going so far as the pillars which supported the heavens, would travel over the serpent AMU-AA (i.e., the Eater of the Ass), would eat the bread intended for the Boat of the Earth,² and would partake of the perfumed unguent of the god TATUBA.

Moreover, it is stated that the man who makes offerings to the BAIU-TUATIU (i.e., the divine souls of the Tuat), mentioning them by their names, shall in very truth receive innumerable benefits upon earth.

The texts giving these facts are most important, for they prove that in early times the abode of the blessed was believed to be in URNES, and that the making of offerings to the dead was inculcated as a meritorious act, and that it was believed to bring blessings upon him that made the offering even whilst he was upon earth. It may also be

² See within, page 126.

noted in passing that the heaven URNES was somewhat exclusive, for only the followers of Osiris and RA were admitted.



SECOND DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. THE KINGDOM OF KHENTI-AMENTI-OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

To advance into this Division the Boat of AFU-RA must first pass through the Gate which is guarded by the huge serpent SAA-SET, and this done the god now takes upon himself the form in which he appears in the BOOK AM-TUAT, i.e., that of a ram-headed man. The snake-goddess MEHEN, which surrounded the disk enclosing a beetle, now envelops the shrine in which he stands; it must be noted that SA and HEKAU stand, as before, in the Boat, which is now towed along by four gods of the Tuat, who represent the four quarters of the earth and the four cardinal points. The Boat is received by a company of thirteen gods, who are apparently under the rule of a god who holds a staff. The object of the visit of AFU-RA is to "weigh words and deeds in Ament, to make a distinction between the great and little gods, to assign thrones to the Spirits [who are pure], to dismiss the damned to the place set apart for them, and to destroy their bodies." (vol. ii., p. 91). Now this is an important statement, for it distinctly implies that a judgment of the dead takes place in the Second Division, or Hour, of the Tuat, which is here called AMENT, that the positions of the dead are graded, and that reward and punishment are meted out to the dead, according to their deserts. It is said by AFU-RA to the dwellers in AMENT, "the dead (*mitu*) shall not enter in after you"; which proves that, wherever the place of punishment was, it was not in the SECOND Division of the Tuat. The gods who assist AFU-RA in his work of judgment are said to live upon the offerings made to them upon earth; here was a direct inducement to the faithful to make offerings regularly to the gods of the Tuat, and it was understood that such acts of piety would tell on their behalf when their words and deeds came to be weighed in Ament. The reader will note that it is AFU-RA who is the judge here, and not Osiris.

Examining now the beings who are on both banks of the river we see that they fall naturally into two classes, viz., the good and the bad; the former are on the right hand of the god, and the latter on his left, just as saints and sinners are arraigned before God's throne in mediaeval pictures of the Judgment. The good are divided into two classes, "the HETEPTIU who praise RA," and the "MAATIU who dwell in the Tuat" (vol. ii., p. 93). The HETEPTIU are thus called because they made "offerings" (*hetepet*) to Ra upon earth, and burned incense to him; they

also sang praises to RA and worshipped him upon earth, and uttered *hekau*, or words of power, against APEP, the arch-foe of Ra (vol. ii., p. 94). From this text we see that it was not enough for the followers of Ra to praise him and give him gifts, but that they must also use magical words and formulae in order that Ra's foe may be destroyed; and, because when they were upon earth they made offerings to the Tuat-gods, now that they are themselves in the Tuat and have need of food, Ra declares that offerings made to them shall never fail, and their souls shall never be destroyed. The MAATIU beings have this name given to them because, as the text says, "they spoke *Maat*," i.e., what is true, "upon earth"; moreover, "they did not approach the *neterit*." Now the word *neterit* usually means "goddesses," but here it has an unusual determinative, which, however, suggests that it is used to express some idea of "evil" in connexion with the gods or goddesses, such as blasphemy, or contempt, or apostasy. On the whole it seems most likely that *neterit* means "false gods," that is to say, gods whom Ra would not recognize as such, and that the feminine form of the word, with the unusual determinative, indicates they were weak and miserable beings. As a reward for their veracity and orthodoxy (?) upon earth, the food on which they live is *Maat*, i.e., truth, and they themselves become *Maat*, or TRUTH itself, and they are permitted to invoke the god in the Gate. Ra, moreover, gives them the mastery over the waters of the region, which, though cool and refreshing to the MAATIU beings themselves, become "waters of fire" (vol. ii., p. 95) to those who are sinners and are involved in wickedness. We have already seen that the wicked were not allowed to enter this Division, therefore it appears that it was held to be possible for the dead round about it to attempt to drink of the cool waters, which straightway turned into fire and consumed them.

Turning now to those beings who stand to the left of the Boat (vol. ii., pp. 96-99), we see that they are twenty-four in number; of these four lie dead, or helpless, and are called ENENIU, i.e., the "Inert," and twenty stand with their backs bowed, and their arms tied at their elbows behind them, in an agonizing position. Here, it is clear, are beings who are fettered and stand awaiting their doom. The charges made against them are to the effect that: 1. They blasphemed Ra upon earth. 2. They invoked evil upon him that was in the Egg. 3. They thrust aside the right. 4. They spoke against KHUTI. The god referred to as being "in the Egg" is, of course, a form of the Sun-god, and we know from the LIVth Chapter of the Book of the Dead, that the EGG

was laid by KENKENUR, or the "Great Cackler." The good KHUTI is the form of the Sun-god at sunrise and sunset, and thus we see that all the sins which were committed by the ENENIU and their fettered companions were against Ra, and against forms of him. The name given to these is "STAU," i.e., "Apostates of the Hall of Ra," and sentence of doom is passed upon them by TEMU on behalf of Ra; it is decreed that their arms shall never be untied again, that their bodies shall be cut to pieces, and that their souls shall cease to exist (vol. ii., p. 97). Such are the things which take place in the Second Division of the Tuat according to the BOOK OF GATES, and, view them in whatever way we may, it is impossible not to conclude that the Egyptians thought that those who praised and worshipped Ra upon earth were rewarded with good things, whilst those who treated him lightly were punished. It is evident also that the offering up of propitiatory sacrifices and making of peace offerings were encouraged by the religion of Osiris, as being good both for gods and men.



CHAPTER VII. THIRD DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

I. THE KINGDOM OF KHENTI-AMENTI-OSIRIS, ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

THE Boat of AFU-RA, leaving the abode of the SOULS OF THE TUAT, now enters that of the BAIU-SHETAIU, or the "SECRET SOULS," and we find that a change has taken place as regards the crew. The goddess of the hour called TENT-BAIU has taken charge of the Boat, a hawk-headed god acts as steersman, and the number of the other gods is reduced to four. The region now entered by Afu-Ra is called NET-NEB-UA-KHEPER-AUT, and it is 309 (or 480) *atru* or leagues in length, and 120 in width; it is, in fact, a continuation of the domains of Osiris, and in it is the House of Tet wherein the great god of the dead himself dwells. The Boat of AFU-RA is preceded by three boats (vol. i., pp. 45-47) of a mystical character, containing hawk-gods, and mummied forms of gods who are akin to Osiris. Facing the boats are four forms of Osiris, with their arms and hands covered. Having arrived in this Division, AFU-RA cries out to its god, Osiris, who straightway creates these secret boats and sends them to bring AFU-RA to the place where he is. The abode of Osiris is situated on the NET-ASAR i.e., the "Stream of Osiris," a name given to the river of the Tuat in the THIRD DIVISION, and it is at the head of this river that the throne of Osiris rests according to some copies of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead. The inhabitants who are seen on both banks of the stream are called PERTIU, and they live on lands which have been allotted to them by Afu-Ra; in return for these they serve Osiris and defend him from the attacks of all his enemies. As the boat in which AFU-RA stands and the three other boats move on, the gods on the banks move with them and guard them, and when they have escorted the great god to the end of their territory, they return to their old places and await his coming on the following night.

On the right of AFU-RA are twenty-six gods, and of these eight are forms of Osiris, four of Osiris of the North, and four of Osiris of the South; all are under the rule of KHETRA, who is the "Warder of this Field" (vol. i., p. 60), but it is only when they hear the words of AFU-RA that they come to life. The work which they do in this region is to hew and hack souls in pieces, to imprison the shadows of the dead, and to carry out the sentence of death on those who are doomed to destruction in a place of fire; they cause fires to come into being, and flames to burst forth on the wicked.

Now in this case also the beings who are doomed to be burned in a place specially set apart for this purpose cannot be of the number of the gods who protect Osiris, for they were created by Ra to serve this god in this Division of the Tuat, and to attend upon himself as he made his journey through it each day! They must, then, be the dead of olden time who have reached this Division, but who through want of friends and relatives upon earth to make proper and sufficient offerings daily, or through some other cause, have failed to find nourishment and have perished in consequence. The realm of Osiris had to be cleared of such beings, and the gods whose duty it was to protect him destroyed them with fire. We may note, too, that in this Division the shadows and souls of the dead were supposed to wander about, and though we do not know how they arrived there, or exactly why they failed to please Osiris, it is quite certain that they were regarded as a danger to the god, and destroyed in consequence.

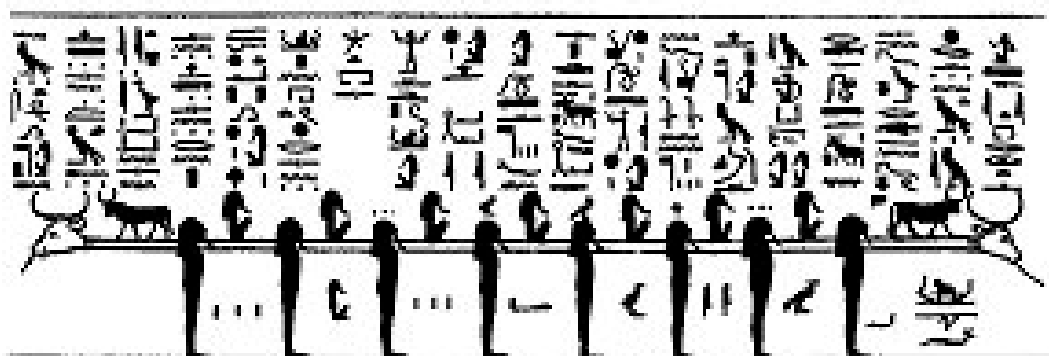
On the left of AFU-RA stands a row of deities (vol. i. p. 50 ff.), some wholly in animal forms, who appear to have taken part in the burial ceremonies which were performed for Osiris; the exact functions of many of them are unknown, and the names of certain of them are not found elsewhere. According to the text these gods are clothed with their own bodies of flesh, and their souls speak from them, and their shadows are joined to them. Having been addressed by they sing praises to the god, and when he has passed from their Division they, as well as the gods on the right of the BOAT, lift up their voices and weep. In return for the lands which were given them by Osiris, in the possession of which they were confirmed by AFU-RA, these gods have certain duties to perform, viz., to take vengeance upon the fiend SEBA, to make Nu to come into being, and to cause HAPI to flow. From this it appears that SEBA possessed at times power over Nu, that is to say, the great celestial watery mass which was the source of the river NILE in Egypt; to destroy this fiend was all-important, for without water the inhabitants of the Tuat could not live, and the cessation of the flow of the NILE would cause the ruin and death of the people of Egypt. It is interesting to note the connexion of the NILE with the chief domain of Osiris, and it is, no doubt, a reminiscence of the period in the history of the god when he was a water-god. A knowledge of the beings in these pictures and of the texts of this DIVISION was considered of very great importance for the deceased, for, knowing their forms and their names, he would not be terrified by their "roarings," and would not in his haste to escape from them fall headlong into their pits. In this DIVISION of the Tuat we see that AFU-RA was absolute master, and

that he is made to create its inhabitants to serve Osiris, and Khenti-Amenti, and himself, and to allot to them places to dwell in, and food to keep them alive. When he withdraws his light from them they weep, and sink into a state of inertness to await his return on the following day.



THIRD DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. THE KINGDOM OF KHENTI-AMENTI-OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

Before AFU-RA can pass into the THIRD DIVISION it is necessary for him to pass through a Gate which is protected by two strong walls, with a passage running between them. This passage is swept by flames of fire which proceed from two uraei; each end of it is guarded by a warder in mummied form, and on the inner side of the inner wall is a company of gods. The Gate is called SEPTET-UAUUAU, and the name of its monster serpent is AQEBI. So soon as the Boat enters the DIVISION or HOUR four of the gods of the region appear, and take it in tow; the god is in the same form as before, and has in no way suffered by his passage through the Gate, because at the word of SA the Gate opened, the flames which swept between the walls ceased, and the warders of the passage and the guardian gods withdrew their opposition. In this DIVISION a serious obstacle had to be overcome. Immediately in the fair way of the course of AFU-RA is a group of eight gods, called FAIU-NETERU, who bear on their shoulders a long pole-like object, each end of which terminates in a bull's head. This object is, intended to represent the long tunnel in the earth, each end of which was guarded by a bull, through which, according to one tradition, the night-Sun passed on his journey from the place of sunset to the place of sunrise. At intervals on the tunnel are seated seven gods called NETERU-AMIU, i.e., the "gods who are within," and they are intended to represent the guardians of the seven portions into which the tunnel was divided; the name given to the tunnel is "UAA-TA," i.e., "Boat of the Earth," but there is no doubt that it originally represented a kind of Tuat which was complete in itself, as the bulls' heads, one at each end of it, prove.



The Boat of the Earth.

The difficulty of passing through the "Boat of the Earth" is soon overcome, for the gods of the Tuat tow AFU-RA through it, and we see them at the other end of the Division still holding the tow-line in their hands. In front of them are the four gods, whose arms and hands are covered (vol. ii., p. 107), whom we have already seen in the BOOK AM-TUAT (Vol. i., p. 48), where they were in charge of the four boats which filled the picture. It is not difficult to explain why the "Boat of the Earth" was omitted by the Theban priests from their composition; had they kept it in it they would have been obliged to make their god AFU-RA, the night form of AMEN-RA, to submit to being towed through an inferior Tuat, and to being absorbed by the earth-god. The text which refers to this remarkable scene tells us that AFU-RA addresses the eight gods who support the "Boat of the Earth," and declares that he who is in it is "holy," and in reply the being or beings ENNURKHA-TA (?) say, "Praised be the BA," i.e., the ram-headed form of Osiris, which the god has taken, "which the double bull has swallowed (or, absorbed); let the god be at peace with that which he hath created." The gods also say, "Praised be RA, whose BA hath set himself in order with the EARTH-GOD," Thus it is quite clear that the "Boat of the Earth" is the abode of the "Earth-god."

To the right of AFU-RA, as he passes through this Division or Hour, are the twelve "holy gods who are in the Tuat," each in his shrine, with its doors thrown wide open; they are guarded by a huge serpent called SETI. These gods are in mummied form, and represent a large class of the beatified dead which exists in the realm of Osiris. According to the text which refers to them AFU-RA finds the shrines closed when he appears, and the gods within weeping and lamenting; at his word the doors fly open, and the occupants of the shrines obtain air and food and adore him, but when he has passed on the doors of the shrines close again, and the gods betake themselves to lamentations until he reappears on the following night. Thus another class of the dead owes its revivification, light, and food to the beneficence of AFU-RA rather than to Osiris.

A little beyond the Twelve Shrines is a group of Twelve Gods, who are partially immersed in the "Lake of Boiling Water"; in front of each is a large plant. The waters of this lake have the peculiar property of appearing cool to the taste and touch of the gods who live on it, and who feed upon the plants which grow in it. It is important to notice that the Lake is said to be boiling hot, and that "the birds betake themselves to flight when they see the waters thereof, and when they

smell the stench which is in it." Now this description tells us at once that the Lake of Boiling Water is no other than a collection of water which resembles that of the famous "ASPHALTITIS LACUS," or ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη, which is described by Diodorus Siculus (ii. 48; xix. 98). The water of this Lake is said to be very salt, and of an extremely noxious smell, and the fire which burns beneath the ground, and the stench of the bitumen render the inhabitants of the neighbouring country sickly and short-lived. The country round about is nevertheless well fitted for the cultivation of palms, wherever it is traversed by fresh water. It is quite clear that the author of the Egyptian text cannot have borrowed his description of the Lake from later writers, and it is equally clear that his account of it represents the tradition of the existence of some hot sulphur spring or bituminous lake which existed in Egypt, probably in or near one of the Oases. At Kharga, for example, there are several springs the waters of which reach a temperature of 97° Fahrenheit. As we see in the picture (vol. ii., p. 112) a large plant, or small tree, growing before each of its inhabitants, it is evident that some kind of vegetation flourished in the neighbourhood of the Lake, and the quaint costume of the gods, who, of course, typified the inhabitants of the region, suggests that they were not Egyptian. The dwellers in the LAKE OF BOILING WATER entreat AFU-RA to come to them, saying, "Send forth thy light upon us, O thou great god who hast fire in thine eye" (vol. ii., p. 113). In answer, the god decrees that their food shall consist of loaves of bread and green, herbs, and that their beer shall be made from the *kemtet* plant. This plant has not as yet been accurately identified, but it is tolerably certain that it belonged to a species which was characteristic of the neighbourhood of the Lake.

The beings who stand on the left hand of AFU-RA are divided into two groups: the first consists of nine men, and the second of nine gods, and each group is under the command of TEMU. Between TEMU and the first company, who are called TCHATCHA we see (vol. ii., p. 114) coiled the monster serpent APEP which has collapsed as a result of the utterance of the word of power by TEMU. This serpent tried to envelop the boat of AFU-RA with its folds, and then to force a way into his boat; but the TCHATCHA, i.e., "Great Chiefs," cut open its head, and slit its body in many places, and its destruction was finished by TEMU. These TCHATCHA live upon the same food as Ra, but they also partake of the offerings made upon earth to KHENTI-AMENTI, the ancient god of the dead of Abydos. The nine gods who follow these are called NEBU-KHERT, and their duty is to repulse the serpents SEBA and AF (vol. ii.,

p. 115), and to enchant and to render helpless and motionless APEP when he attempts to force the gates of KHENTI-AMENTI. Their food is the same as that of the TCHATCHA, but they possess a power of a remarkable character (which is represented by the words "maat kheru"), for they know how to utter words in such a way, and with such a tone of voice, that the effect which they wish them to have must of necessity take place. Everything which Osiris possessed as god and judge of the dead he owed to the "*maat kheru*," or "word of *maat*." As the god AFU-RA passes out of the THIRD DIVISION both the TCHATCHA and the NEBU-KHERT give themselves up to lamentation, and they return to the entrance, and wait for the re-appearance of his boat on the following night, when they will again attack SEBA, and AF, and APEP, and overcome them. The exact place which was set apart for the souls of human beings is nowhere described in the texts.



CHAPTER VIII. FOURTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. THE KINGDOM OF SEKER ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

THE Boat of AFU-RA has now passed out of the dominions of KHENTI-AMENTI, the ancient god of the dead of the city of Abydos, and has entered the kingdom of SEKER, who is probably the oldest of all the gods of the dead in Egypt. The dominions Of SEKER were situated in the deserts round about Memphis, and were supposed to cover a large extent of territory, and their characteristics were entirely different from those of the regions ruled over by KHENTI-AMENTI near Abydos, and from those of the kingdom of Osiris, the lord of Busiris and Mendes, in the Delta. The kingdom of SEKER was shrouded in thick darkness, and, instead of consisting of fertile plains and fields, intersected by streams of running water, was formed of bare, barren, sandy deserts, wherein lived monster serpents of terrifying aspect, some having two, and some three heads, and some having wings. This region offered so many difficulties to the passage of the boat of AFU-RA, that special means had to be found for overcoming them, and for enabling the god and his followers to proceed northwards to the House of Osiris. As there was no river in the land of SEKER a boat was useless to AFU-RA, and as the god was unable to travel through the FOURTH DIVISION boldly, and to allow himself to be seen by all the inhabitants thereof, it was arranged that he should pass through a series of narrow corridors, which were provided with doors. The pictures which illustrate the passage of the god through this DIVISION, or HOUR, are arranged in three registers, but the actual corridors through which he travelled are drawn across these obliquely.

The main corridor is called RE-STAU. At the end of the first section of it is the door MATES-SMA-TA (Vol. i., p. 63), at the end of the second section is the door MATES-MAU-AT (vol. i., p. 71), and at the end of the third section is the door MATES-EN-NEHEH (vol. i., p. 75). An inscription in this last tells us that it is the road by which the body of SEKER enters and that his form is neither seen nor perceived; hence it is clear that the road by which AFU-RA passed through this DIVISION was supposed to be high up above the dominions Of SEKER, and that he never saw that god at all. The name given to this DIVISION, or "CIRCLE," as it is called in the Summary, is ANKHET-KHEPERU, and that of its Gate is AMENT-SETHAU.

the goddess of the Hour is called URT-EM-SEKHEMU-S. We may now consider the means employed by AFU-RA for passing through this HOUR. Looking at the middle register (vol. i., p. 63) we see that the god has discarded his ordinary boat, and that he and his crew are standing in a boat which is formed of a two-headed serpent; a serpent was the best means of transport for the god, because it could glide easily along the sandy floor of the rocky corridor. From the "mouth of the boat," which is drawn by four gods, rays of light are emitted; this light is not strong enough to enable AFU-RA to see the beings who are on each side of him (vol. i., p. 66), but knowing they are there, he cries out to them, and they hear him. The hidden gods who march in front of the boat are few in number, and the names of many of them are unfamiliar; some of them are connected with Osiris, and all of them are under the control of ANPU, or ANUBIS, and perform some act which helps the boat along. Among them may be specially noted Thoth and Horus, above whose outstretched hands is the Eye which is here identified with SEKRI (vol. i., p. 75).

As AFU-RA journeys on his way there are on his right three serpents, a scorpion, a uraeus serpent, a three-headed serpent with wings and human legs, a few of the gods of the HOUR, a serpent with two necks and heads proceeding from one body, and a tail which terminates in another head (vol. i., pp. 67, 71, 75, 79). On his left are a few more gods and goddesses, the serpents HETCH-NAU, AMEN, HEKENT, and the terrible three-headed serpent MENMENUT, the face of which illumines the chamber in which KHEPERA is born daily (vol. i., p. 79). Over the back of the last-named serpent are fourteen heads, which, as M. Maspero has well shown, represent the gods of the first fourteen days of the month, and they are being carried by the serpent to fill the EYE which THOTH and HORUS are bringing through RE-STAU. The beings to the right and left of AFU-RA are ancient gods of the kingdom of SEKER, and each guards some door or corridor in it which leads to the hidden chamber of SEKER himself.



FIFTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. THE KINGDOM OF SEKER ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

This DIVISION, or HOUR, or CIRCLE, as it is described in the text, is called AMENT, and it contains the secret ways, and the doors of the hidden chamber of the holy place of the Land of SEKER, and his flesh, and his members, and his body, in the forms which they had in primeval times; the main gate is called AHA-NETERU, the gods are called BAIU-AMMIU-TUAT, and the goddess of the HOUR is SEMIT-HER-ABT-UAA-S. The Boat of AFU-RA is towed by seven gods and seven goddesses, and is preceded by a few gods who are led by Isis (vol. i., pp. 87, 91, 95, 99, 100, 107, 111); the texts make it clear that AFU-RA continues his journey by the help of KHEPERA. The corridor of RE-STAU through which he travels now bends upwards, and passing by the secret abode of SEKER, by which it is hidden, once more descends to its former level. The Land of Seker is in the form of an elongated ellipse, and is enclosed by a wall of sand; it rests upon the backs of two man-headed sphinxes, each of which is called AF and lives upon the voice, or word, of the great god. The duty of these is to guard the Image of Seker. The form in which this god is depicted is that of a hawk-headed man, who stands between a pair of wings that project from the back of a huge serpent having two heads and necks, and a tail terminating in a bearded human head. The Land of Seker is covered by a pyramid having its apex in the form of the head of a goddess, and above it is the vault of night, from which emerges the Beetle of KHEPERA. When the Boat of AFU-RA comes to the pyramid, the Beetle ceases to converse with the goddess of the apex, whose duty it is to pass on its words to SEKER, and betakes itself to the Boat, and begins the revivification of AFU-RA, who is led on without delay to the end of RE-STAU, where he is received by the MORNING STAR and the light of a new day.

The IMAGE of Seker, which has been described above, lives in thick darkness, and any light which is seen there proceeds from the "eyes of the heads of the great god whose flesh sendeth forth light," and the god himself lives upon the offerings which are made to the god TEMU upon earth. When AFU-RA has passed by in his boat there is heard in the Land of Seker a mighty noise which is like unto that heard in the heights of heaven when they are disturbed by a storm. On one side of the Land of Seker is the serpent TEPAN (vol. i., p. 95), which presents

to the god the offerings made to him daily; on the other is the serpent ANKHAAPAU, which lives upon its own fire, and remains always on guard. Close by are the emblems of the various forms of Seker. Behind the serpent TEPAN is a lake of boiling water, from which project the heads of those who are being boiled therein. This lake or stream is called NETU, and it is situated in the region of the kingdom of Seker which is called AMMAHET, the unfortunate beings who are in the boiling water weep when the Boat of AFU-RA has passed them by.

The gods who stand on the other side of the corridor through which AFU-RA passes are all invoked by him, and they all are assumed to help him on his way, not because they are in duty bound to do so, but because he acknowledged their power by asking their help. Some of them he appealed to because he had created them, but others are manifestly the servants of Seker, and their duty it was to guard his kingdom. A number of them are gods who were set over the waters which lay in the northern part of the DIVISION, and it was all important for AFU-RA to have their friendly help when he left the back of the serpent and rejoined his own boat. In one portion of the region to the left of AFU-RA we see the HETEP-NETERU, i.e., a company of eight prods, and the goddess QETET-TENT; the work of these gods is to be present at the destruction of the dead in the Tuat, and to consume their bodies by the flames which they emit from their mouths, and the goddess lives partly on the blood of the dead, and partly on what the gods give her. These gods are provided with blocks on which they cut in pieces the dead, and when they are not thus employed they sing hymns to their god, to the accompaniment of the shaking of sistra; they exist by virtue of the word of power which they have received, and their souls have been given to them (vol. i., p. 110). The dead who are here referred to are those who have succeeded in entering the dread realm of Seker, but who, for want of the influence over the gods there, which could only be obtained by sacrifices and offerings made upon earth, and by the knowledge of mighty words of power, were unable to proceed to the abode of Seker.

When they arrived in the AMMAHET, some of them were cast into a lake of liquid fire, or of boiling water, and others were first cut in pieces, and then consumed by fire. Thus there is no doubt that there was a hell of fire in the kingdom of Seker, and that the tortures of mutilation and destruction by fire were believed to be reserved for the wicked. Of the rewards of the righteous in this kingdom we have no knowledge whatsoever, and it seems as if the scheme of the Other

World of Seker made no provision for the beatified dead; at all events, it provided for them no fertile fields like the Sekhet-Hetepet of Osiris, and no Boat of Millions of Years wherein as beings of light they could travel in the company of the Sun-god for ever. The religion of Seker proclaimed that the god lived in impenetrable darkness, in a region of sand, closely guarded by terrible monster serpents, and it had little in it to induce the worshippers of the god to wish to be with him after their departure from this world. The cult Of SEKER is one of the oldest in Egypt, and in its earliest form it, no doubt, represents the belief as to the future life of some of the most primitive inhabitants of the country; in fact, it must have originated at a period when some influential body of priests taught that death was the end of all things, and when snakes and bulls were the commonest forms under which the gods of the neighbourhood of Memphis were worshipped. The oldest presentment of the Land of Seker which we have is, of course, not older than the XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty, and it must be remembered that it is the work of the priests of Thebes, who would be certain to remove any texts, figures, or details which they found inconvenient for their views. It is tolerably certain that the form in which they depicted it is much shorter than that in which it existed originally, and that the attributes and duties of many of the gods have been changed to suit the necessities of the cults of Osiris and Amen-Ra. Such changes have resulted in great confusion, and at the present time it is impossible to reduce these most interesting, but at the same time most difficult, scenes and texts to their original forms. The priests of Amen-Ra found it to be impossible to ignore entirely SEKER and his Land, when they were depicting the various Underworlds of Egypt, but it is very suggestive that they make the path of AFU-RA to be *over* and not *through* his kingdom, and that AFU-RA had to go on his way without entering the pyramid beneath which reposed the IMAGE of SEKER in the deepest darkness of night, in fact without seeing SEKER at all. On the other hand, they attached the greatest importance to the knowledge of the pictures of the FOURTH and FIFTH DIVISIONS, and they believed that it would enable the body of a man to rejoin his soul, and prevent the goddess KHEMIT, from hacking it in pieces, and would secure for the believer a share of the offerings made to Seker.



CHAPTER IX. FOURTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. THE KINGDOM OF KHENTI-AMENTI- OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

THE pictures and texts of this DIVISION, or HOUR, in the BOOK OF GATES vary considerably from those in the BOOK-AM-TUAT. The god AFU-RA. appears in his Boat as before with SA and HEKAU, and four gods tow him on his way; he has passed through the Gate which is called NEBT-TCHEFAU, and its guardian serpent TCHETBI has in no way resisted his progress. The region now entered by AFU-RA has no connexion with the Land of Seker, and it appears to be a continuation of the dominions Of KHENTI-AMENTI. Immediately in front of the boat are nine sepulchres, each containing a god in mummied form; these are the "gods who are in the following of Osiris, who dwell in their caves" (vol. ii., p. 123). Next come the twelve Hour-goddesses who stand in two groups; between the groups is the monster serpent HERERET, which spawns twelve serpents to be consumed by the Twelve Hour-goddesses. As AFU-RA goes on his way he adjures the Tuat gods to take him to the eastern part of heaven, so that he may visit the habitations of the god ARES, (or SAR), and when he has come to them, he orders the doors to open, and raises up the beings therein whose "souls are broken," and allots to them meat and drink. The Hour-goddesses are the daughters of RA, and their work is to guide their father through the night; six of them represent the first six hours of the night, and the other six the last six. These are here (vol. ii., p. 123) depicted together, whilst in the BOOK AM-TUAT each appears in the boat of AFU-RA in the Hour to which she belongs.

On the right of AFU-RA are the Twelve gods who "carry their doubles" (vol. ii., p. 131) and who live upon the offerings which are made to them and upon what is given to them by TESERT-BAIU, i.e., the place of holy souls. Their duty is to offer their kau or doubles to the god, whom they address as the "lord of years and of everlastingness which hath no diminution" (vol. ii., p. 130). Beyond these gods are two lakes, viz., the LAKE OF LIFE, and the LAKE OF THE LIVING URAEI. Round the LAKE OF LIFE stand twelve jackal-headed gods who invite AFU-RA to bathe in it, even as the "lord of the gods" did, and who state that the souls of the dead do not come near it because it is holy. When he passes out of this DIVISION they lift up their voices in lamentation (vol. ii., p. 132). The LIVING URAEI turn back the souls from their Lake, and the mere sound of the words which they utter destroys the shadows of

the dead who have succeeded in coming near it. They preserve with great care the flames and fire which are in them, so that they may hurl them at the enemies of AFU-RA.

In the course of his journey through this HOUR AFU-RA passes the shrine of KHENTI-AMENTI, the ancient god of Abydos, which is seen on the left (vol. ii., p. 137); he is in mummied form, wears the white crown, as befits a god of the South, and stands on a serpent. Immediately before the shrine is the Flame-goddess NESERT. Before and behind the shrine are twelve gods, at the head of the first company being HERU-UR, or "Horus the Aged." HERU-UR addresses the god in the shrine by the names "Osiris" and "Khenti-Amenti," and declares that he has performed the magical ceremonies which have made KHENTI-AMENTI to be the "Governor of the Tuat," to such purpose that the spirits of the blessed (*khu*) look upon him with awe, and the dead, i.e., the damned, (*mit*) are in terror of him. Here we have the proof of the existence of the belief that Osiris was enabled to travel safely through the Tuat by means of the spells, and incantations, and magical formulae, and words of power which were uttered by HERU-UR. The Twelve gods who are in front of the shrine ascribe praise and dominion to KHENTI-AMENTI, and declare that his son Horus has restored to him his crown, and crushed his enemies, and made strong OSIRIS-KHENTI-AMENTI. To these AFU-RA makes no answer, but he calls upon Horns to avenge him on those who work against him, and to cast them to the Master of the lords of the pits, so that they may be destroyed. Now the pits here referred to are four in number (vol. ii., p. 137), and they are filled with fire; into these the enemies of the god are cast, and the keepers of them are adjured by Horus to watch and tend the fires. Who the plotters against the god may be it is impossible to say, but it is quite clear that one portion of the FOURTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT was a fiery hell wherein all the wicked were consumed. It is interesting to note that of the beings who are to the left of the Boat of AFU-RA Horus is the only one whom the god addresses.



FIFTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. THE KINGDOM OF KHENTI-AMENTI-OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

The FIFTH, like the FOURTH DIVISION of the BOOK OF GATES, in no way resembles that in the BOOK AM-TUAT, and it has nothing whatsoever to do with the kingdom of SEKER. The god AFU-RA, having passed through the Gate of the DIVISION or HOUR, which is called ARIT, and which has been opened by the monster serpent TEKA-HRA that guarded it, is towed along by four of the gods of this section of the Tuat. The ministers of the god consist of nine gods whose hands and arms are covered, and twelve gods who are under the direction of HERI-QENBET-F; the nine gods are called KHERU-ENNUTCHI, i.e., "those who hold the serpent ENNUTCHI," and the twelve gods BAIU RETH AMMIU TUAT, i.e., the "souls of men who dwell in the Tuat" (vol. ii., pp. 144, 145). The exact functions of Ennutchi are not known, but his presence is baleful, and AFU-RA straightway calls upon the group of gods to destroy him; the god would press on to the next Gate, NEBT-AHAU, but ENNUTCHI can travel to that point, and he must therefore be removed.

The next group of gods is of peculiar interest, for they represent the souls of those who have spoken "what is right and true upon earth, and who have magnified the forms of the god RA." In return for such moral rectitude and piety, AFU-RA orders HERI-QENBET-F to invite them to "sit at peace in their habitations in the corner of those who are with myself," where praises shall be sung to their souls, and where they shall have air in abundance to breathe; they shall, moreover, have joints of meat to eat in SEKHET-AARU. Besides this, offerings shall be made to them upon earth, even as they are to the god HETEP, the lord of SEKHET-HETEPET (vol. ii., pp. 145, 146). Now from these statements some very interesting deductions may be made. In the first place, it is now certain that there was a place specially set apart for the souls of men in the Tuat, and that those who were allowed to enter it had lived a life of moral rectitude, and had followed after righteousness and integrity when they were upon earth. Secondly, they were allowed to live in the corner of the SEKHET-HETEPET with the great god himself, in the place where, as we know from the Papyrus of Ani (see above, p. 44), most wonderful grain grew. Thirdly, an everlasting supply of offerings made upon earth was assured them, and in this respect they were coequal with HETEP, the chief god of the

Field of Peace (or, Field of Offerings). Thus the religion of Osiris undoubtedly taught that those who were good on this earth were rewarded in the next world.

On the right of AFU-RA are the twelve gods called HENIU-AMMIU-TUAT, i.e., "those who sing praises in the Tuat," and the twelve gods called KHERU-ENNUHU-EM-UAT, i.e., "those who hold the cord in the Tuat," and the four HENBIU gods (vol. ii., pp. 148-150). The first company of gods are, as we learn from the text, engaged in praising AFU-RA, and they have been rewarded with the exalted office which they hold in Ament because they praised RA at sunrise and sunset when they lived upon earth, and because Ra was "satisfied" with what they did for him. They enjoy, moreover, a share of the offerings which are made to the god. A little beyond the HENIU are the "gods who hold the measuring cord," and by the orders of the great god they go over the fields of Amentet, and measure and mark out the plots of ground which are to be allotted to the KHU, or spirits of the righteous. Every spirit is judged by the god of law and righteousness, and only after a strict examination is he allowed to take possession of his allotment. As there seems to have been only one standard of moral and religious excellence all the allotments were probably of the same size. The food of the spirits who live in the homesteads which have been thus measured in SEKHET-AARU comes from the crops which grow in that region, and the four HENBIU gods, who superintended the measuring of the fields, are ordered to provide sand, that is to say soil, for the replenishing of the ground.

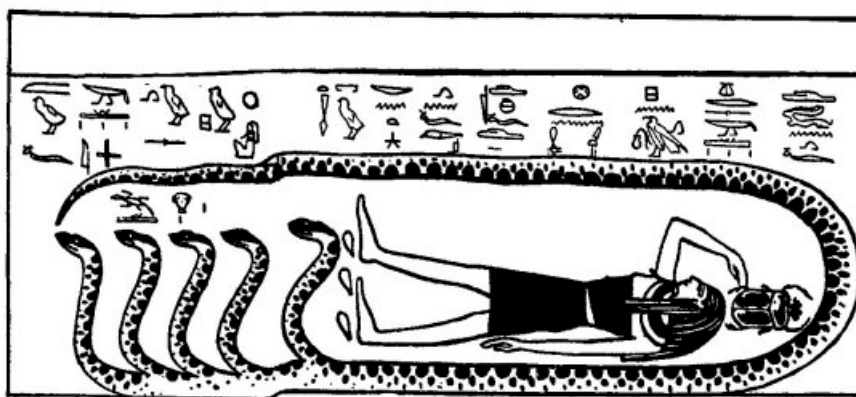
The beings who are on the left of AFU-RA, in this Division are not less interesting than those on the right. Among these are four representatives of the four great classes into which the Egyptians divided mankind, namely, the RETH (for REMTH), the NEHESU, the THEMEHU, and the AAMU (vol. ii., p. 153). Of these the RETH, i.e., the "men" par excellence, were Egyptians, who came into being from the tears which fell from the Eye of RA. The THEMEHU, or Libyans, were also descended from the Eye of RA. The AAMU were the people of the deserts to the north and east of Egypt, Sinai, etc., and the NEHESU were the black tribes of Nubia and the Sudan. It is noteworthy that the members of each nation or people keep together. The representatives of the Four Nations are followed by twelve gods who are called KHERU-AHAU-AMENT, i.e., "The Holders of the Time of Life in Ament," and who hold the serpent METERUI. These remarkable beings have in their hands the power to determine the length of life which is to be

meted out to the souls who have been doomed to destruction in Amenti, that is to say, they were able to defer the doom which had been decreed for souls, though in the end they were compelled to carry out the edict of destruction. In close connexion with these gods are the TCHATCHAU, or "Great Chiefs," who were believed to write the edicts of destruction against the damned (vol. ii., p. 156), and to record the duration of the lives of those who were in Amentet; in fact, they appear to have kept the registers of Osiris, and to have served in some respects as recording angels. From what has been said above it will be clear that all the scenes and texts which illustrate and describe the Kingdom of Seker have been omitted from the BOOK OF GATES, and that the first five sections of this work describe--1. The Antechamber of the Tuat. 2. The Divisions of the Kingdom of KHENTI-AMENTI, which extended from Abydos to a region a little to the north of Memphis. We may now proceed to consider the Kingdom of Osiris, the lord of Mendes and Busiris.



CHAPTER X. SIXTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

THIS DIVISION, or HOUR, is the first of four which are devoted to the Kingdom of Osiris; its name is METCHET-MU-NEBT-TUAT, its Gate is called SEPT-METU, and the Hour-goddess is MESPERIT-AR-AT-MAATU. Here we see at once that the god AFU-RA has re-entered his boat, and that he has discarded the serpent-boat in which he travelled through the Land of Seker; the boat advances by means of paddling and not by towing. The greater part of the road of AFU-RA in this DIVISION is occupied by a very long building--or series of houses, or chambers, set close together--which contains the forms of Osiris. Here are four representatives of each of four classes of beings, viz., the SUTENIU, or kings of Upper Egypt, the BATIU, or kings of Lower Egypt, the HETEPTIU, or those who have been abundantly supplied with offerings, and the KHU, or spirits of the beatified dead. Thus it seems that the first mansion of the House of Osiris contains royal folk, the rich, and the superlatively good (vol. i., p. 117-120); as AFU-RA passes these by he salutes them, and wishes them an abundant supply of offerings, and entreats them to hack APEP in pieces for him. Immediately beyond these we see represented the transformation of AFU-RA into the living Sun-god. Here is the five-headed serpent ASHT-HRAU, and on his back lies the dead Sun-god; with his right hand, which is raised above his head, he is drawing to himself the Beetle of KHEPERA, which is the type of regeneration, or new birth, or resurrection.



The Serpent Asht-hrau

This is the equivalent of the scene in the BOOK AIM-TUAT where the Beetle descends from the vault of night, and joining itself to the Boat of AFU-RA revivifies the dead Sun-god (see vol. i., p. 103). That this revivification of AM-RA should take place at the end of the SIXTH DIVISION is quite correct, for at this point the god arrives at the most northerly limit of his course. He has travelled due north from Thebes and Abydos, and has occupied six hours in performing the journey; he must now alter his course and travel towards the East so that he may appear at BAKHAU, the Mountain of Sunrise. The path over which he now journeys is called the "secret path of Amentet," and he who knoweth it, and the names of those who are on it, and their forms, shall partake of the offerings made to the gods of Osiris, and receive the gifts which his relatives shall make upon earth.

On the right of AFU-RA are a company of gods and goddesses, and a group of sceptres surmounted by crowns and uraei, and provided with knives; these are the beings who hold and cultivate the territory in this DIVISION, or HOUR, and minister to the wants of the followers of Osiris. Beyond these we have a lion, the two Eyes of Horus, three deities, and three small sepulchres,, into each of which, through an opening under the roof, a serpent is belching fire (vol. i., pp. 124-130). In each sepulchre is an "image" of Ra, i.e., a human head, a hawk's wing, and a hind-quarter of a lion, and these appear to be symbols under which the god was worshipped in and around Annu, or Heliopolis. On the left of AFU-RA are eight gods and four goddesses, whose duty it is to accompany his Boat, and to escort the souls and shadows of men through the Division, and to provide the spirits with food and water. Next is the monster serpent "AM-KHU," i.e., "Eater of the Spirits," whose duty it is to devour the shadows of the dead, and to eat up the spirits of the foes of Ra; from his back spring the heads of the Four Children of Horus, and they come into being when they hear the voice of AFU-RA. Beyond these are four Osiris forms, "which stand though they are seated, and move though they are motionless," and nine serpents armed with knives, which represent the ancient gods, TA-THENEN, TEMU, KHEPERA, SHU, SEB, ASAR (OSIRIS), HERU, APU, and HETEPUI. These gods had faces of fire, and lived in the water of TATHENEN, and they only came to life by virtue of the words of power of AFU-RA, who is now to be regarded as KHEPERA.



SEVENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

The name of this DIVISION, or HOUR, is THEPHET-SHETAT, the name of the Gate is RUTI-ASAR, and the goddess of the Hour is KHEFTES-HAU-HESQ-NEHA-HRA. On looking at the "secret path of AMENTET" wherein AFU-RA is still travelling, we note that the face of the god is turned in another direction, that the crew is increased by Isis and by SER, whose name has also been read SEMSU, and that the canopy under which AFU-RA stands is formed of the body of the serpent MEHEN (Vol. i., p. 140). There is a good reason for these changes, for the god has now to traverse a region where there is not sufficient water to float his boat or to permit of its being towed; moreover, his way is blocked by a monster serpent called NEHA-HRA, which lies on a sand bank 450 cubits long. In other words, the Boat of AFU-RA has arrived at a region of sandbanks and shallows, where serpents and crocodiles live; but the words of power of Isis, the great sorceress, and of SER, and of the god himself protect him from mishap, and eventually he passes through this division by taking upon himself the form of the serpent MEHEN in which he glides onwards. The region of the Tuat where the serpent APEP or NEHA-HRA lives is called TCHAU, and it is 440 cubits long, and 440 cubits wide; his head and his tail are caught in fetters by SERQET and HER-TESU-F respectively, and these gods have transfixed him to the ground with six huge knives (vol. i., p. 142). When the body of the serpent has been removed, AFU-RA advances, and, passing four goddesses each armed with a knife, arrives at four rectangular buildings. Inside each building (vol. i., p. 144) is a mound of sand, and at each end of each building is the head of a man. These buildings are the tombs wherein the four chief forms of the Sun-god have been buried, the first containing the "Form of TEM," the second the "Form of KHEPERA," the third the "Form of RA," and the fourth the "Form of OSIRIS." The heads which appear at the ends of the tombs are those of the enemies who were slain at the tombs, and were buried in the foundations in order to drive away evil spirits. The texts which refer to these scenes state that the four goddesses join in slaying APEP, that the human heads appear as soon as any one comes to the tombs; and that as soon as they have heard the voice of AFU-RA, and he has gone by, they "eat their own forms," i.e., they disappear until Ra again comes (vol. i., p. 145).

On the right of the Boat of AFU-RA, and facing it, are HORUS, and the twelve gods of the hours, who protect the tombs of Osiris, and assist RA in his journey (vol. i., pp. 154-156); next come twelve goddesses of the hours, who face in the opposite direction, and are entreated to guide "the god who is on the horizon to the beautiful Amentet in peace." Beyond these is the great Crocodile, called ABSHE-AM-TUAT, which is stretched out at full length over the tomb of Osiris; as the Boat of AFU-RA passes it, the god addresses words to Osiris, who for a season puts forth his head, which disappears as soon as the Boat has entered the next DIVISION.

On the left of AFU-RA we have also a number of gods and goddesses who belong to this DIVISION, and among them may be specially noticed the serpent MEHEN, the lord of this region; his body is bent in the form of a canopy, and beneath is the "Flesh of Osiris" in the form of a god (AFU-ASAR) seated on a throne (vol. i., p. 149). In front of it are a number of the enemies of Osiris, some decapitated by the LYNX-GODDESS, and some in fetters which are held in the hands of the god ANKU (vol. i., pp. 149, 150). Beyond these are three living souls, representatives of the blessed dead in this region, and the "Flesh of Tem" (AFU-TEM) in the form of a god seated on the back of a huge serpent resembling MEHEN (Vol. i., p. 151).



EIGHTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

The name of this DIVISION, or HOUR, or CITY, is TEBAT-NETERU-S, its Gate is called AHA-AN-URT-NEF, and its Hour-goddess is NEBT-USHAU.

The Boat of AFU-RA now enters one of the most holy places in the Kingdom of Osiris, for in it abide the Four Forms of TATHENEN. Looking at the Boat (vol. i., p. 164) we see that ISIS and SER are no longer in it, a fact which indicates that the dangers incidental to passing through this DIVISION are not great, and that it is towed by a company of gods. Immediately in front of them are nine SHEMSU, or "Followers," i.e., "servants" (of Osiris), each with an object before him (vol. i., p. 167), which indicates that he is a properly bandaged mummy, and leading these are Four Rams, each wearing a different kind of crown, which represent the Four Forms of TATHENEN (vol. i., pp. 168, 169).

The heads which are attached to the symbols of the "Followers" only appear when they hear the voice of AFU-RA, and when he has passed them they disappear; the huge knives which they have are used in slaughtering any of the enemies of Ra who may succeed in entering the City.

On the right and left of the path Of AFU-RA are a number of "Circles" in which dwell the "gods" who have been mummified, and for whom all the prescribed rites and ceremonies have been performed; the greater number of these gods are not well known, and their exact functions are not well understood.

The CIRCLES on the right are: 1. HETEPET-NEB-S, 2. HETEMET-KHEMIU, 3. HAPSEMU-S, 4. SEHERT-BAIU-S, 5. AAT-SETEKAU, 6. The door TES-AMEM-MIT-EM-SHETA-F. AS AFU-RA passes these gods their doors fly open and those within hear what he says, and they respond with cries which are like unto those of male cats, or the "noise of the confused murmur of the living," or the "sound of those who go down to the battle-field of Nu," or the "sound of the cry of the Divine Hawk of Horus," or the "twittering of the birds in a nest of water-fowl."

The CIRCLES on the left are: 1. SESHETA, 2. TUAT, 3. AS-NETERU, 4. AAKEBI, 5. NEBT-SEMU-NIFU, 6. The door TES-KHAIBITU-TUATIU. The sounds made by the gods in these resemble the "hum of many honey-bees," the "sound of the swathed ones," the "sound of men who lament," the sounds "of bulls and other male animals," and the sound of those "who make supplication through terror" (vol. i., pp. 170 ff.).



NINTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

The name of this DIVISION, or HOUR, Or CITY, is BEST-ARU-ANKHET-KHEPERU, the Gate is called SAA-EM-KEB, and its Hour-goddess is TUATET-MAKETET-EN-NEB-S. The Boat of AFU-RA now enters the last of the four DIVISIONS of the Kingdom of Osiris, and moves without the aid of towing. Immediately in front of it are twelve sailor-gods, each grasping a short paddle with both hands; they appear to have been depicted in front of the Boat because there was no room for them in it. The god is still under the form of MEHEN, and is still passing over the secret path of AMENTET, and his Sailors sing to him, and as they do so they scatter water from the stream with their paddles on the Spirits who dwell in this City (vol. i., pp. 189-191). In front of these are three deities, seated on baskets, and the god HETEP-NETERU-TUAT; they accompany the Boat of AFU-RA, and it is their duty to provide food, or offerings, for the gods who are in the DIVISION. On the right of the path of the god are twelve uraei, who lighten the darkness by means of the fire which they pour out from their mouths: they rest upon objects which suggest that they have received their places in this DIVISION because all the appointed funeral rites and ceremonies were duly performed for them (vol. i., p. 201). In front of these are the nine gods who represent the field-labourers in the Tuat (vol. i., pp. 204, 205), and each holds a heavy stick, similar to that which the peasants in Egypt have always carried to protect themselves. Their "ganger" is HERU-HER-SHE-TUAT, i.e., "He who is over the lakes (or sand) in the Tuat."

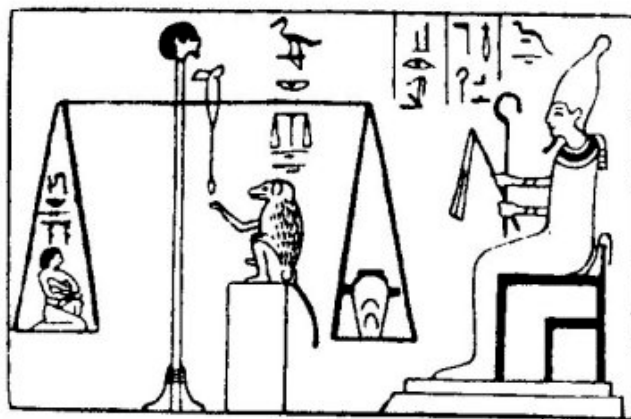
On the left of the path of the god are twelve gods, each of whom is seated on a weaving instrument (vol. i., p. 195), and twelve goddesses (vol. i., p. 199); the gods are the TCHATCHA, or "Great Chiefs" of Osiris, and their duty is to avenge Osiris each day, and to overthrow the enemies of Osiris, and the goddesses spring into existence when they hear the god's voice, and sing praises to Osiris each day.



CHAPTER XI. SIXTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

II. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

THE Boat of AFU-RA, having passed through the first five DIVISIONS of the Tuat, now, according to the BOOK OF GATES, arrives near the southern part of the Delta, and near the kingdom of Osiris, lord of Mendes and Busiris. Before, however, the god can enter it, he must pass through the Gate of the SIXTH DIVISION, which is called NEBT-AHA, and which is guarded by the monster serpent SET-EM-MAAT-F. In the Gate or close to it, is the JUDGMENT HALL of OSIRIS, and it is tolerably certain that no soul entered his kingdom without being weighed in the balance of the god. The scene in which the Hall is depicted is of great interest, for it is different in many important particulars from the representations of the Judgment which we find on papyri, even in those which belong to the period of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties. All the texts which describe it are written in hieroglyphics, but in many of them the hieroglyphics have, as Champollion pointed out, special and very unusual values, and the title "enigmatic writing" given to them by Goodwin is appropriate.



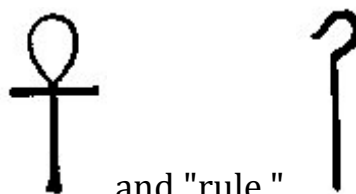
Nebseni being weighed against his heart.

In the ordinary Judgment Scenes we find that the heart of the deceased is weighed in the balance against the feather symbolic of Maat or righteousness, that the operation of weighing is carried out by Thoth and Anubis in the presence of the great gods, the owner of the heart himself sometimes looking on, that the gods accept and ratify the verdict of Thoth, and that the deceased is then led into the presence of

Osiris by Horus. Sometimes the heart of the deceased is weighed against his whole body, as in the Papyrus of Nebseni, and at other times the pans of the scales only contain weights. In the scene before us the arrangement is quite different. Osiris is seated on a chair of state, and wears the crowns of the South and North united; in Nebseni being weighed against his heart.



The Scales of Osiris, with weights.

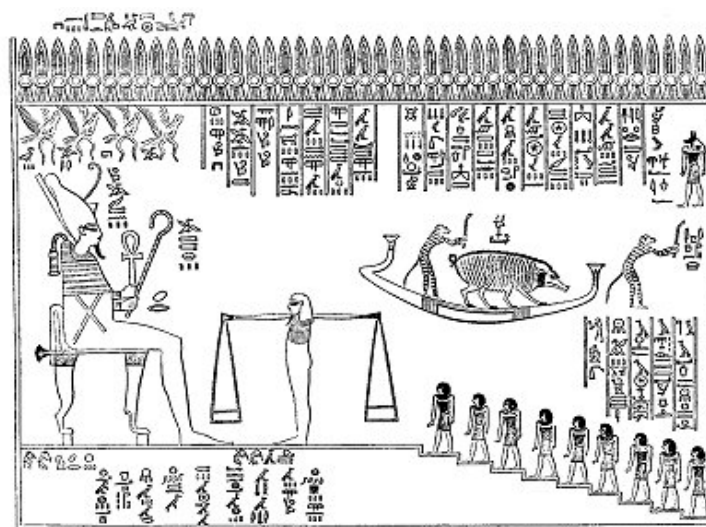


His hands are the symbols of "life," and "rule," . His chair stands on a raised platform, on the nine steps of which stand the nine gods who form his company; beneath the feet of the god, perhaps under his platform, are the dead, i.e., the damned, or his enemies. The top of the Hall is protected with a row of spear beads, and from the ceiling hang four heads of gazelle, or oryges; according to a legend certain enemies of Osiris transformed themselves into these animals, and were slain by the god. On the platform, immediately in front of the god, stands THOTH, in the form of a mummy, and he serves as the standard of the balance; the object in the pan is being weighed against



the symbol of "evil," , which it seems to counterbalance exactly. This being so, it seems that the wickedness of the deceased did not go beyond a recognized limit. ANUBIS, in the upper corner of the scene, addresses some words to THOTH, who bears the Balance on his shoulders. In the small boat near the Balance is a pig being beaten by

an ape;¹ the name of the pig is AM-A, but neither his functions, nor those of the ape are clearly known. The ape may be the equivalent of the dog-headed ape which sits on the beam of the Balance in the pictures in the Theban papyri, and the pig may represent the Eater of the Dead; but at present these are matters of conjecture. With reference to the pig it is interesting to note that in the Papyrus of Nekht the deceased is seen grasping a chain by which a serpent is fettered, and spearing a pig. The chief point of interest in the whole scene is the fact that the Judgment here depicted is of a more primitive character than that given in the Book of the Dead.



The Judgement Hall of Osiris according to the Book of Gates. (From Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, tom. iii, pl. cclxxii.)

The Boat of AFU-RA, having passed through or by the Hall of Osiris, now enters the abode of the blessed, and the pictures of the SIXTH DIVISION are intended to show us the occupations of those who have been declared to be "right and true." The Boat is towed through this DIVISION by four gods of the Tuat and immediately in front of it is a series of jackal-headed sceptres of SEB, to each of which two enemies are tied; by the side of each sceptre is a god, who takes care that the punishments which have been decreed by Osiris are duly executed. It is noteworthy that the two eyes of Ra are placed between the first two sceptres (vol. ii., p. 172). The Egyptian text (vol. ii., p. 183) makes it quite clear that the enemies of Osiris are tied to the standards of SEB according to the god's decree, and preparatory to slaughter in the Hall of Ra.

¹ The boat sometimes contains two apes (see Sharpe, *Eg. Inscriptions*, part ii., pl. 9), and in a tomb at Thebes one ape is in the boat and one outside it (see the illustration opposite).



Nekht spearing the pig of evil.

To the right of the path of AFU-RA are twelve MAATI gods who carry MAAT, and twelve HETEPTIU gods who carry provisions. These are they who offered up incense to the gods, and whose *kau* or "doubles have been washed clean, whose iniquities have been done away, and who were right in the judgement." Therefore has Osiris decreed them to be "Maat of Maat," i.e., most "righteous," and he has given them a place of abode in his own presence with peace and the food of Maat thereon to live (vol. ii., pp. 177, .186).

To the left of the path of AFU-Ra are twelve gods, each of whom is tending a colossal ear of wheat, and twelve gods provided with sickles, engaged in reaping. The ears of wheat here growing are the "members of Osiris," (*hat Sar*), that is, they are regarded as parts of the god's own body,² and the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Osiris and human beings on earth alike ate the body of the god when they ate bread of wheat. The wheat which grew in the kingdom of Osiris was, of course, larger, and finer in every respect than that which grew on earth, and it is expressly said that the "Khu," i.e., beatified spirits, feed upon the divine grain (NEPRA) in the land of the Light-god (vol. ii., p. 188). Therefore since the divine grain is here a form of Osiris, the Khu live upon the god himself, and eat him daily; this is exactly the kind of belief which we should expect the primitive Egyptians at one period to possess. The idea of a heaven wherein wheat grew luxuriantly, and food made of the same could be had in abundance, was evolved in their mind after the introduction of wheat into Egypt from Asia, and after the Egyptians had settled down to agricultural pursuits. The god of such a heaven was naturally the Corn-god NEPRA, but it seems as if Osiris were

² Prof. Wiedemann has collected a number of important facts on this subject in his most interesting paper "OSIRIS VÉGÉTANT."

identified with him at a very early period, and as if, finally, he absorbed all his attributes. The idea of a heaven of this simple character must of necessity be very old, and it presupposes the existence of beliefs concerning the future life which the later Egyptians must often in their secret hearts have repudiated. In the BOOK OF GATES we find NEB-AUT-AB, i.e., RA, decreeing that the wheat of this region should germinate, and that the plants should grow to a large size, and those who are tending the crops beseech him to shine upon them, for when he shines the grain sprouts and the plants grow.

Now, though Osiris was from a material point of view the Grain-god, or Corn-god, and the wheat was his members, which were eaten by his followers, he was also the lord of MAAT, i.e., "righteousness" and "integrity," and even the personification of those abstract qualities. When, addressing the MAATI gods, he declares they are "MAAT OF MAAT," he makes it clear that he considers them to be beings of like nature to himself, and that they will live upon MAAT; in other words, they have become Truth, and they will live upon Truth, and exist as Truth for ever. The MAATI gods apparently represent the highest conception of spiritual beings which the Egyptians arrived at in the early period, and which is only paralleled by that of a later period, according to which the followers of the Sun-god, who travelled with him in the Boat of Millions of Years, eventually became beings consisting of nothing but light. It would be useless to contend that either conception was believed in throughout the country generally, for the Egyptians as a nation believed in a heaven wherein happiness of a very material character was to be found; still there must have been among the educated and priestly classes devout men and women whose yearnings for future happiness would not be satisfied with promises of cakes, and ale, and love-making, and to whom the idea of becoming the counterpart of the eternal god of the dead would afford consolation and hope.



SEVENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

The SEVENTH DIVISION, or HOUR, is entered by the Gate PESTIT, which is guarded by a monster serpent called AKHA-EN-MAAT; the pictures and texts are incomplete on the sarcophagus of Seti I., and those which are given in vol. ii., p. 190 ff., are taken from M. E. Lefébure's *Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes*, tom. ii., part ii., pl. 11 ff. The Boat of AFU-RA is, as before, towed by four gods of the Tuat. The procession of the ministers of the god consists of twenty-four gods, twelve of whom have their hands and arms hidden; these last "are invisible beings, but those who are in the Tuat and the dead can see them," and RA promises them that they shall be with him in Het-Benben, that is to say, in the heavenly counterpart of one of the temples of the Sun-god of Heliopolis (see vol. ii., p. 194 ff.).

To the right of the path of AFU-RA are twelve gods armed with clubs having forked ends; they are called KHERU-METAUH, and their duty is to repulse the serpent APEP. Immediately in front of them is the serpent SEBA, on the head and back of which twelve human heads are seen; these make their appearance (vol. ii., p. 206 fl.) at the coining of AFU-RA, and the twelve gods who grasp the monster's body are exhorted to destroy them. The serpent is called SEBA, and APEP, and HEFAU. Beyond these groups of gods are twelve star-gods, who hold in their hands a long rope which is twisted round the neck of a god in mummied form called QAN, or AQEN, or NAQ (vol. ii., pp. 208, 209). To the left of the Path of AFU-RA is the god of the Tuat, called TUATI, who leans on a staff, and is in charge of the twelve mummies which lie on the back of the serpent NEHEP; the serpent has twenty-four lions' legs arranged at intervals (vol. ii., p. 210), and a mummy rests over each pair of them. The mummies are described as "those who are in inertness," and "those who are in the body of Osiris asleep."

As AFU-RA passes them the god TUATI encourages them to loosen their bandages, to untie and take off their wigs, to collect their bones, to gather together their flesh and their members, to open their eyes and look at the light, to get up from their state of inertness, and to take possession of their fields in SEKHET-NEBT-HETEPET. Beyond these is another group of gods whose duty it is to live near the pool of a

serpent, the water of which is of fire; its flames proceed from the serpent, and they are so fierce that the gods and souls of the earth dare not approach them. On the other hand, the gods of the pool are adjured to give water to KHENTI-AUKERT, i.e., the Governor of Aukert. Now Aukert is the name of the Other World, or Tuat, of HELIOPOLIS, and the mention of it and of HET-BENBEN suggests that the Kingdom of Osiris according to the BOOK OF GATES was made to include that of the god TEMU, a form of the Night-sun. The gods who sit round the lake of fire receive their bodies and souls from the serpent NEHEP, and then they journey into SEKHET-AARU, which apparently has not yet been reached.



EIGHTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. KINGDOM OF OSIRIS ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

The Boat of AFU-RA next passes through the Gate of Bekhkhi, which is guarded by the monster serpent SET-HRA, and is towed over this DIVISION, or HOUR, by the gods of the Tuat. The region is a remarkable one, and it certainly forms part of the Kingdom of the Sun-god of ANNU, or Heliopolis. At one end of the long Lake, or Pool, which represents the celestial waters of Nu (vol. ii., pp. 225, 226) stands the god "who dwelleth in Nu," and in the Lake itself we see four groups of beings in human forms who are called "Bathers" (Herpiu), "Floaters" (Akiu), "Swimmers" (Nubiu), and "Divers" (Khepau). The gods who tow the Boat call on the dwellers in this DIVISION to praise the soul of RA, which is in heaven, and his body, which is on earth; for heaven is made young again by his soul, and earth by his body. Then, addressing the god in the Boat, they declare that they will make his paths straight in AKERT, and that they will make his Boat to pass over the beings who are immersed in the waters of the Lake. The god "who dwelleth in Nu" then calls upon the beings in the water to pay homage to Ra, and he promises that they shall enjoy breath for their nostrils, and peace in their cisterns of water. Their souls, which are upon earth, shall enjoy offerings in abundance and shall never die, and shall be as fully provided with food as is Ra, whose body is on earth, but whose soul is in heaven.

On the left of the path of AFU-RA are twelve TCHATCHA, or "Great Chiefs," and nine SOULS, who are adoring a god (vol. ii., pp. 227, 231); before each Soul are a loaf of bread and some *sekemu* herbs. The TCHATCHA perform a very important duty in this DIVISION, for they distribute to the SOULS who have been ordered by RA, to live by the fiery Lake SERSER the food which has been allotted to them; in other words, they give the SOULS the portion of food which it has been decreed they should receive daily, and no more and no less, and the SOULS receive their destined allowance, and have to be content therewith. Judging from the texts here and elsewhere in the BOOK OF GATES it seems that there was some power in the Tuat, probably KHENTI-AMENTI, or OSIRIS KHENTI-AMENTI, who decreed that the beings therein should receive a regular, fixed, and unalterable allowance of food-each day, and who appointed ministers, who are here called TCHATCHA, to see that each being received his "ration,"

without addition, and without diminution. The Sun-god in passing through the Tuat confirms the "ration," and orders its continuance to each being therein.

On the right of the path of AFU-RA is HORUS THE AGED, leaning on a staff, and addressing a company of twelve of the enemies of Osiris (vol. ii., pp. 232-234), who stand with their arms tied together behind their backs in very painful attitudes. Before these is a huge serpent called KHETI, belching fire into the faces of the enemies of Osiris; in each of the seven undulations of the serpent stands a god, who is adjured by Horus to aid in the work of destruction. From the text we learn that the chief offences with which these enemies are charged is the "putting of secret things behind them, the dragging forth of the sacred object *sekem* from the secret place, or sanctuary, and the profanation of certain of the hidden things of the Tuat"; because of these things they are doomed to have their bodies first hacked in pieces, and then burned, and their souls utterly annihilated.



CHAPTER XII. TENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

I. KINGDOM OF TEMU-KHEPERA-RA ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

THE TENTH and ELEVENTH DIVISIONS, or HOURS, are intended to illustrate the passage of AFU-RA through the region of AKERT, Or AUKERT, that is to say, the Kingdom of the Sun-god of ANNU, or Heliopolis. The name of the TENTH DIVISION is METCHET-QAT-UTCHEBU, its gate is called AA-KHERPU-MES-ARU, and the Hour-goddess is TENTENIT-UHESET-KHAK-AB. The pictures and texts which illustrate and describe this region are of peculiar interest, for they refer to the union of KHEPERA with RA, i.e., the introduction of the germ of new life into the body of the dead Sun-god, whereby AFU-RA. regains his powers as a living god, and becomes ready to emerge into the light of a new day with glory and splendour. It must be understood that the constitution of this DIVISION is quite different from that of any which we have seen hitherto, and that the gods who are in it are peculiar to the region of Akert. It is impossible to say where Akert began or ended, but as the Tuat of the inhabitants of Heliopolis was represented by it, it follows, perhaps, that it was believed to be situated quite near that city. It is pretty certain that it comprised a part of the Eastern Delta, and that it extended along the eastern bank of the Nile some considerable distance to the south of Memphis, in fact, so far as BAKHAU, the Mountain of Sunrise; if this be so, it follows that when the Boat of AFU-RA entered this DIVISION the god would have to alter his course from east to south. As the Kingdom of Osiris marked the limit of his journey northwards, and the Boat then turned eastwards, so the northern end of AKERT marked the limit of his journey eastwards, and the Boat then turned southwards.

A glance at the Boat of AFU-RA as it enters this DIVISION shows us that it is neither being towed nor rowed along. Immediately in front of it (vol. i., p. 209) is the serpent THES-HRAU, with HERU-KHENTI, in the form of a black hawk, sitting on its back; on one side is a goddess of the North, and on the other a goddess of the South. Next we have the serpent ANKH-TA, (vol. i., p. 210), and then a group of twelve gods, four having disks for heads, and carrying arrows, four carrying javelins, and four carrying bows (vol. i., p. 210, 211). The serpent is the "watcher of the Tuat in the holy place of Khenti-Amenti," and the weapons carried by the twelve gods are to enable them to protect AFU-RA against his enemies in this region. To the right of the path of

AFU-RA are twelve lakes of water, which are intended to represent the celestial watery abyss of Nu, from which the Nile on earth was supposed to obtain its supply. At, one end of the scene is Horus, who leans on a staff, and addresses the beings who are seen plunging, and swimming, and floating in the various lakes (vol. i., pp. 226, 227), and bids them to come to HAP-UR, and promises them that their members shall not perish, nor their flesh decay. Who the beings in the water are it is impossible exactly to say, but it is clear that they were supposed to have the power to hinder the progress of the Boat of AFU-RA, for Horus propitiates them with promises of health and strength, as we have seen above. A little beyond the lakes are four goddesses who "shed light upon the road of RA in the thick darkness," and in front of them, is the mystic sceptre which represents "SET the Watcher," who "waketh up and travelleth with the god."

To the left of the path of AFU-RA we see first the god P-ANKHI, i.e., "he who is endowed with the property of life," and KHEPER-ANKH, in the form of a beetle, who is pushing before him an oval of sand, which either contains his germ, or is intended to represent the ball of eggs which the *Scarabaeus sacer* rolls before him, and which he wishes to take through the DIVISION into the Eastern Horizon of the sky (vol. i., p. 216). Then we have the two serpents Menenui supporting a disk, and goddesses of the North and South (vol. i., p. 217). To the right of these are the goddesses NETHETH and KENAT, who spring from the axe SETFIT, which supports a disk. These four goddesses gather together souls on earth, and they purify the mighty spirits in the Tuat; they only become visible when AFU-RA appears, and so soon as he has passed them by they vanish. Beyond these is a long procession of deities who assist AFU-RA in his journey. The first eight, who are goddesses, stand before the Ape-god called AF-ERMEN-MAAT-F, who holds the Eye of Horus, and it is their duty to recite the words of power which shall cause splendour to issue from the Eye of Horus each day, and to sing praises to it (vol. i., pp. 219-221). The other deities only come into being when AFU-RA utters their names; they live in the shades which are in the mouth of the great god, and then their souls travel with him. Their work is to strip the dead of their swathings, and to break in pieces the enemies of Ra, and to order their destruction.



ELEVENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. I. KINGDOM OF TEMU-KHEPERA-RA ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

The name of this DIVISION, or HOUR, Or CITY, is RE-EN-QERERT-APT-KHATU, i.e., "Mouth of the Circle which judgeth bodies," the name of its Gate is SEKHEN-TUATIU, i.e., "Embracer of the gods of the Tuat," and the Hour-goddess is SEBIT-NEBT-UAA-KHESEFET-SEB-EM-PERT-F, i.e., "Star, lady of the Boat which repulseth Seba at his appearance." This DIVISION of the TUAT was very near the Mountain of the Sunrise, from which the newly-born Sun-god would appear soon after day-break, and the knowledge of the gods in it, and of their forms and names, was believed to ensure to its possessor the power to emerge from the Tuat as a spirit equipped for travelling with the Sun-god over the sky. The Boat of AFU-RA makes its way through this region, and on looking at it (vol. i., p. 233) we see on its prow a disk of light encircled by a serpent; the disk is that of the Star PESTU, and it "guideth this great god into the ways of the darkness which gradually lighteneth, and illumineth those who are on the earth." The Boat is now towed by twelve gods, who employ as a rope the immensely long serpent MEHEN, the tail of which is supposed to be fastened to the front of the Boat (vol. i., p. 235); so soon as they have towed the god to the end of this DIVISION, and he has set himself in the horizon, they return to their own places. Immediately in front of these gods are two Crowns, the White and the Red (vol. i., p. 237), which rest each on the back of a uraeus; so soon as AFU-RA comes three human heads look forth, one from each side of the White Crown, and one from the Red Crown, and they disappear when he has passed by. The leaders of this remarkable procession are four forms of the goddess NEITH Of Saïs, who spring into life so soon as the sound of the voice of AFU-RA is heard; these are Neith the Child, Neith of the White Crown, Neith of the Red Crown, and Neith of the phallus. These goddesses "guard the holy gate of the city of Saïs, which is unknown, and can neither be seen nor looked at."

On the right of the path of AFU-RA we see the two-headed god APER-HRA-NEB-TCHETTA, with the Crown of the South on one head, and the Crown of the North on the other. Next come the god TEMU, his body, and his soul, the former in the shape of a serpent with two pairs of human legs and a pair of wings, and the latter in that of a man, with a disk on his head, and his hands stretched out to the wings (vol. i., p. 242). In front of these are the body and soul of the Star-god SHETU,

who follows AFU-RA and casts the living ones to him every day. All the other deities here represented assist the god in his passage, and help him to arrive on the Horizon of the East.

The region to the left of the Boat is one of fire, and representations of it which we have in the BOOK AM-TUAT and the BOOK OF GATES may well have suggested the beliefs in a fiery hell that have come down through the centuries to our own time. Quite near the Boat stands Horus, holding in the left hand the snake-headed boomerang, with which he performs deeds of magic; in front of him is the serpent SET-HEH, i.e., the Everlasting Set, his familiar and messenger (vol. i., p. 249). Horus is watching and directing the destruction of the bodies, souls, shadows, and heads of the enemies of RA, and of the damned who are in this DIVISION, which is taking place in five pits of fire. A lioness-headed goddess stands by the side of the first pit which contains the enemies of RA; the fire with which they are consumed is supplied by the goddess, who vomits it into one corner of the pit.

The next four pits contain the bodies, souls, shades, and heads respectively, of the damned, the fire being supplied by the goddesses in charge. In the pit following are four beings who are immersed, head downwards, in the depths of its fires (vol. i., pp. 249-253). The texts which refer to the pits of fire show that the beings who were unfortunate enough to be cast into them were hacked in pieces by the goddesses who were over them, and then burned in the fierce fire provided by SET-HEH and the goddesses until they were consumed. The pits of fire were, of course, suggested by the red, fiery clouds which, with lurid splendour, often herald the sunrise in Egypt. As the sun rose, dispersing as he did so the darkness of night, and the mist and haze which appeared to cling to him, it was natural for the primitive peoples of Egypt to declare that his foes were being burned in his pits or lakes of fire. The redder and brighter the fiery glare, the more effective would the burning up of the foes be thought to be, and it is not difficult to conceive the horror which would rise in the minds of superstitious folk when they saw the day open with a dull or cloudy sky, with no evidence in it that the Sun had defeated the powers of darkness, and had suffered no injury during the night.

The presence of the pits of fire in this DIVISION suggests that we have now practically arrived at the end of the Tuat, and, according to the views of those who compiled the original description of AKERT, this is indeed the case. We have, in the Boat of AFU-RA, now passed through

the Tuat of Khenti-Amenti, the Tuat of Seker, the Tuat of Osiris, lord of Mendes and Busiris, and the Tuat of TEMU-KHEPERA-RA, lord of ANNU, i.e., the four great Tuats which comprised all the great abodes of the dead of all Egypt. Now to enter this group of Tuats it was necessary to pass through a forecourt or antechamber, which for purposes of convenience has been called a DIVISION of the Tuat, and before AFU-RA can emerge from the last of the group of Tuats into the light of a new day, he must pass through a region which corresponds to the forecourt of the Tuats, and serves actually as a forecourt of the world of light. In the forecourt of the Tuats the darkness became deeper and deeper the further it was penetrated, but in the forecourt of the world of light the darkness becomes less and less dense as the day is approached. Considered from this point of view, the Four Tuats only contain Ten Divisions, or Hours, which corresponded roughly with the Ten GATES of the Kingdom of Osiris, as set forth in many copies of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead. Strictly speaking, the addition of a forecourt to the world of light was unnecessary, but as the Theban priests had added one at the beginning of the Four Tuats, symmetry demanded that there should be another supplementary region at their end.

If now we treat the Ten Divisions of the Four Tuats as Hours, and assume that the Book of AFU-RA began its journey through them on an average between six and seven o'clock in the evening, it follows that the god reached the abode of Osiris about midnight, together with those souls who travelled with him. The souls who chose to be judged by Osiris, preferring a heaven full of material delights to spiritual happiness, disembarked, and passed into the Judgment Hall, where they received their sentence, and were made joyful or miserable. For the blessed homesteads were provided, and for the wicked slicings and gashings with knives, and pits of fire, wherein their bodies and souls and shadows were destroyed for ever. The evidence indicates that Osiris passed judgment on souls each day at midnight, and that the righteous were rewarded with good things shortly afterwards; the wicked also were punished with tortures and burnings, probably soon afterwards, or at all events before the Sun rose on the following day. Thus Osiris in the Tuat, and Ra in the world of light, would rejoice in freedom from foes until the time arrived for a new "weighing of words" to take place, and, according to one view, the enemies of Osiris, and the foes of Ra, were consumed in fire together, and it was the smoke and fire of their burning which were seen in the heavens at

sunrise. We may now consider the vestibule at the end of the Four Tuats, and describe the beings who were in it.



CHAPTER XIII. NINTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. KINGDOM OF TEMU-KHEPERA-RA ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

THE NINTH, TENTH and ELEVENTH DIVISIONS of the BOOK OF GATES contain series of pictures and texts which are very hard to explain satisfactorily, and the difficulty is further increased by the fact that only one copy of them is known, i.e., that on the sarcophagus of Seti I. It is quite certain that they cannot refer to the Kingdom of Osiris, and we are driven to conclude that they are intended to illustrate and describe the region of AKERT, which, as has already been said, formed the Tuat to which the worshippers of the Sun-god of Heliopolis relegated the spirits of their dead. The FIRST DIVISION of this remarkable region, i.e., the NINTH in the BOOK OF GATES, is entered by the Gate called AAT-SHEFSHEFT, which is guarded by the monster serpent AB-TA; a company of gods keep watch outside, and the corridor is swept by flames of fire, and a warder in mummied form stands on guard at each end of it.

When AFU-Ra has passed through, and the Gate is closed, the gods outside set up a wail, for they must abide in darkness until he re-appears. So soon as the god has entered the DIVISION four gods of the Tuat appear and take hold of the tow-line, but they cannot advance until a path is cleared for them. The obstacles in their way take the forms of the huge serpent APEP, and a great crocodile, the tail of which is in the form of a serpent's head and neck; the name of the latter monster is given both as SESHSESH and SESSI (vol. ii., pp. 242, 244). These have taken up their positions at the end of the DIVISION, in that portion of the Tuat which is not very far from the place of sunrise, and a company of beings appear on behalf of AFU-RA, and proceed to remove the monsters by means of words of power and magical ceremonies.

The company consists of six men, four apes, and four goddesses; in front of these are three men armed with harpoons, and grasping a rope, which passes over the prostrate body and head of the god AAI, its end being held fast in his two hands. AAI has on his head a small disk, which is set between two objects that resemble the ears of an ass, and these suggest that the figure is intended to represent a form of the Sun-god. The ass is well known as a type of the Sun-god, and "Eater of

the Ass" is equally well known as a name for SET or APEP. In an illustration from the Book of the Dead (Chapter XL.; see above, p. 113), the "Eater of the Ass" is seen biting into the back of an ass, which is being delivered by the scribe Nekht in his character of Osiris. That AAI is a solar being, and that he opposes APEP on behalf of Ra, is obvious. It seems, however, that he is in need of the help of the men with harpoons, and of their companions behind them, each of whom holds the ends of a pole or rope (of a net), which is bent in the shape of a bow over his or her head. The men are called HERU-METU-HEKAIU, i.e., "those who are over the words (which have) magical power"; the apes are called SAIU, i.e., producers of magical effects by making knots in ropes, over which they whisper incantations; and the women are called SAIT, and work the same kind of magic as the apes. The object which each member of these three groups holds with both hands above his, or her, head is probably a net and, as M. Lefébure has pointed out, it is actually so represented in the tomb of Rameses VI. (?). In the Babylonian legend of the fight between Marduk and Tiamat, the great she-monster of the deep, the god is made to provide himself with a net with which to entangle her feet. In the Book of the Dead (Chapter cliii. B.) we read of the net ANQET, and in the vignette we see three apes working it, and securing the fish which are caught inside it. As Apep was a monster of the deep, to make use of nets in his capture was a wise decision on the part of the friends of AFU-RA.



The Apes working the net.

Having taken up their positions for attacking Apep the men with the harpoons work the rope which is attached to AM, the goddesses and the apes shake out their rope nets over their heads, and recite their spells, and the men who know the proper words of power shake out

their nets and recite the formulae which shall have the effect of throwing APEP and SESSI into the state of stupefaction wherein it will be easy to slay them. The spells and words of power have their proper effect, the monsters are fascinated and slain, and the path of AFU-RA is clear.

On the right of the Boat of AFU-RA is the huge serpent KHEPRI, with a head and a pair of human legs at each end of his body; one head faces north (*or*, west), and the other south (*or*, east).

Behind each head is a uraeus, and between the uraei stands "HORUS OF THE TUAT," wearing the crowns of the South and North (vol. ii., p. 257).

A rope passes under KHEPRI, and on one side is hauled by Eight Powers (SEKHEMIU), and on the other by the "Souls of Ament," who are man-headed; by the "Followers of Thoth," who are ibis-headed; by the "Followers of Horus," who are hawk-headed; and by the "Followers of RA," who are ram-headed (vol. ii., pp. 255, 256, 258). It will be noted that the two pairs of legs of KHEPRI face in opposite ways, so that in whichever direction he moves one pair must walk backwards; the Eight Powers have overcome the resistance of the sixteen gods, and the face of Horus of the Tuat is towards the rising sun.

On the left of the path of AFU-RA we see a hawk-headed lion called HERU-AM-UAA, i.e., "Horus in the Boat," wearing the Crown of the South; on his back stands the two-headed god HORUS-SET (vol. ii., p. 247), whose faces typify Day and Night, and Light and Darkness, and the Sun-gods of the South and North. Above the hind-quarters of the lion is the head of the god ANA (?), wearing the Crown of the South; on the one side we have four gods of the South assisting in the raising of a column surmounted by the Crown of the South, and on the other four gods of the North assisting in the raising of a column surmounted by the Crown of the North.

These ceremonies appear to have some connexion with the magical rites which were performed in Egypt in primitive times in the making ready of the crowns for the Sun-god to wear on his rising. B

eyond these gods are: 1. The serpent SHEMTI, with four heads at each end of his body, and his warder APU. 2. The serpent BATA, with a head at each end of his body. 3. The serpent TEPI, with four human heads and bodies at each end of his body, and his warder ABETH. These are faced by two gods who are about to attack these serpents with nets, and who assist Horus by reciting words of power for him.



TENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. KINGDOM OF TEMU-KHEPERA-RA ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

In the TENTH DIVISION, or HOUR, which AFU-RA enters so soon as he has passed through its Gate, which is called TCHESERIT, and is guarded by the monster serpent SETHU, it seems that the reconstitution of the Sun-god took place. The god AFU-RA is towed by gods of the Tuat as before, and in this DIVISION all danger appears to have been removed from his path. First stands UNTI, with two stars, and he lights up the upper heaven; next come four deities of flame and fire, who travel with AFU-RA and give him light. These are followed by three star-gods, who draw towards them a small boat containing a face which is intended for ATEN, or the Sun's Disk. The winged serpent SEMI acts as a guide for the god; BESI, the Flame-god, collects fire to put in the new sun; ANKHI, the god of Time, in the form of a serpent, with two faces which look in opposite directions, decrees the length of the new Sun's life; the four goddesses cry "Enter in, O Ra! Hail, come, O Ra!" and the MEHEN serpent surmounted by the god HORUS-SET, with one bow in the dark, and the other in the light, leads the god into the East of heaven (vol. ii., pp. 266, 267).

On the right of the path of AFU-RA are the twelve AKHEMU-SEKU gods, each with his paddle; they are born each day, and after the new Sun-god has entered his boat they join him, and act as his mariners. Beyond these are twelve goddesses who help to tow the Boat of AFU-RA just before dawn, and then come a god of the Gates of the Tuat, the captain of the gods in the Boat, two gods who order the courses of the stars, a star-god in the form of an ape, the Eye of RA, which unites itself to the face of RA, and the guardian of the Gate of this DIVISION, who does not leave his place. All the other gods travel onwards to the day with AFU-RA. (vol. ii., pp. 273-278).

On the left of the path of AFU-RA we again see the serpent APEP. To his neck is attached a chain, which is grasped by the hands of the Four SETEFIU gods and the Twelve TCHATIU gods, and by the colossal hand AMEN-KHAT, and passing over five serpents, to each of which it is attached by a small chain, it disappears into the ground at the feet of the god KHENTI-AMENTI. Attached to the five small chains are figures of Seb and of the four children of Horus or Osiris, viz., MEST, HAPI,

TUAMUTEF, and QEBHSENNUF. Close to the body of APEP, and lying by the chain which is tied to him, is the goddess SERQ. In front APEP is attacked by the ANTIU and HENATIU gods, who are armed with knives and sticks having curled ends. We have seen that in the NINTH DIVISION Apep was stupefied by the SAIU and other workers of magic, but here it is clear the defeat of this monster is nearly complete. Now that he has been removed from the path of AFU-RA, and lies fettered, the great god can continue his journey in peace.



ELEVENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. KINGDOM OF TEMU-KHEPERA-RA ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

The gate which leads into the ELEVENTH DIVISION, or HOUR, is called SHETAT-BESU, and the name of the monster serpent which guards it is AM-NETU-F. Mummied forms guard the corridor between the walls .of the outworks, but the place of the company of gods who usually stand outside is occupied by two sceptres, or standards, one of which represents SAR, i.e., Osiris, and the other HORUS. The god AFU-RA enters this DIVISION in the form in which he has hitherto appeared, and he is towed by four gods who belong to it; we see, however, that APEP has not been wholly removed from the path of the god. The serpent lies here (vol. ii., p. 287) in fetters, and a company of the servants of AFU-RA who live in this DIVISION stand ready to attack him with the knives which they hold in their hands; their sceptres betoken their position as chiefs in the DIVISION. Next come four apes, each holding a large hand, and these stand, according to the text, two on the right and two on the left of the abode of the god; they hold up the Disk of the god, and sing praises to his soul when it looks upon them. In front of these are the goddesses AMENTET and HERIT, and the god SEBEKHTI, who presides over the entrance into the vestibule of the world of light.

On the right of the path of the Boat of AFU-RA are gods and goddesses of the South and North who stablish crowns on the head of Ra when he appears in the sky; gods who give names to Ra and all his forms; gods and goddesses who lament when Ra has gone out from Ament, and who drive away Set; and gods with bowed heads who sing praises to Ra and keep guard over the Hidden Door. The souls of these gods follow after Ra, and accompany him on his way, but their bodies stay always where we see them. Their guardian is (vol. ii., pp. 296-299) the god called MATI, who has the head of a cat or lion.

On the left of the path of the Boat of AFU-RA is a company of his ministers who perform various important duties for him. Four of them carry disks, and give the command to the Gate of AKERT So that the god may be allowed to pass through and set himself in the sky. The mention of AKERT in the text which refers to these is interesting, for it shows that the ELEVENTH DIVISION of the BOOK OF GATES

represents a portion of the Kingdom of the Sun-god of Heliopolis. Four other gods carry stars, and when AFU-RA passes out of this DIVISION, and is received into the arms of Nu, the Sky-god, they shout hymns of praise.¹ Before these are twelve gods with sceptres, four having human heads, four the heads of rams, and four the heads of hawks. The first four are the lords of the region, and stablish the domains of Ra in the sky; the second four provide offerings of bread and water for the god; and the third four set the shrine of Ra in the Matet-Sektet Boat, and place in it the paddles whereby it is to be paddled across the sky. The eight star-goddesses who sit upon uraei belong to the abode of the great god, four coming from the East and four from the West; they invoke the Spirits of the East, and join with them in singing hymns to the god, and in praising him after he has appeared in the sky. At the head of the whole . company stands a god with the head of a crocodile (vol. ii., pp. 290-293). The Kingdom of TEMU-KHEPERA-RA. differs from other Tuats from the fact that, according to the BOOK OF GATES, it contains no place specially set apart for the punishment of the enemies of Osiris and Ra, and of the damned. The pictures which illustrate it supply us with representations of the enemies of the Sun-god and of the beings who vanquish them, and secure his triumphant progress. Having arrived at the end of the ELEVENTH DIVISION the Boat comes to the end of the Fourth Tuat;² AFU-RA has effected his transformation as KHEPERA, and is now ready to appear in the sky of this world as RA. How he effects this we shall see from the next DIVISION.



¹ Compare Job xxxviii. 7--"When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy."

² The Four Tuats are the Kingdoms of Khenti-Amenti-Osiris, Seker, Osiris of Mendes and Busiris, and Temu-Khepera-Ra.

CHAPTER XIV. TWELFTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. EASTERN VESTIBULE OF THE TUAT, OR THE ANTECHAMBER OF THE WORLD OF LIGHT ACCORDING TO THE BOOK AM-TUAT

THE TWELFTH DIVISION, or HOUR, Or CITY, is called KHEPER-KEKIU-KHAU-MESTU, the name of its Gate is THEN-NETERU, and the Hour-goddess is MAA-NEFERT-RA; it is the "uttermost limit of thick darkness," i.e., it is not a part of the Tuat proper, and it contains the great celestial watery abyss Nu, and the goddess NUT. who is here the personification of the "womb of the morning." So soon as the Sun-god passes from the thighs of Nut he will enter the Matet Boat, and begin his course in the world of light. We see AFU-RA in his Boat as before, and in the front of it is the Beetle of Khepera, under whose form the god is to be re-born. The space in front of the Boat is filled by the body of a huge serpent called ANKH-NETERU, which lives upon the rumblings of the earth, and from the mouth of which *amakhiu*, or loyal servants, go forth daily. Twelve *amakhiu* of RA now take hold of the tow-line, and entering in at the tail of the serpent ANKH-NETERU draw AFU-RA and his Boat through its body, and bring him out at its mouth (vol. i., p. 263). During his passage through the serpent, the god transforms himself into Khepera and the twelve *amakhiu* who have been with him throughout his journey in the Tuat are, after they have passed out of the serpent's body, re-born on the earth each day. They enter the tail of the serpent as loyal servants, but, like their master, are transformed during their passage through its body, and they emerge from its mouth as "rejuvenated forms of RA" each day. They live on the earth during the day, but at sunset they rejoin their lord, and re-enter the Tuat; whilst they are upon earth to utter the name of the god is forbidden to them.

The transformation of the dead Sun-god into the living Khepera having been effected, twelve goddesses step forward when he emerges from the serpent, and tow the great god into the sky, and lead him along the ways of the upper sky. "They bring with them the soft winds and breezes which accompany the dawn, and guide the god to SHU," who is the personification of the atmosphere and of whatever is in the vault of heaven. Of this god are seen (vol. i., p. 277) only the head and arms, and when the Beetle of Khepera comes to him, he receives him, and places the newly-born Sun-god in the opening in the centre of the

semi-circular wall which ends this vestibule of the world of light, where he is seen by the people on earth in the form of a disk. This disk either represents a transformation of the Sun-god effected by Shu, or the celestial ball containing the germs of life, of which the type on earth is the ball of eggs which the sacred beetle is seen rolling along the ground. The mummified form in which the dead Sun-god travelled through the Tuat is now useless, and we see it cast aside and lying against the wall which divides the Tuat from this world; that there shall be no doubt about this it is described by the words "Image (or, form) Of AF."

Turning now to the beings who are on the right and left of the path of the god, we see in the upper register twelve goddesses, each of whom bears on her shoulders a serpent which produces light by belching fire from its mouth (vol. i., pp. 265, 266); these drive away APEP, and frighten the beings of darkness by their fires. Next to these are twelve gods who sing praises at dawn to the god, whom they assert to be "self-begotten" and the author of his own being, and they rejoice because at his new birth his soul will be in heaven, and his body on earth. These gods are indeed spirits of the East, and they are declared to have jurisdiction over the gods of the "land of the turquoise," i.e., Sinai. In the lower register we have a company of twenty-three gods (vol. i., pp. 271-274) who stand in the sky ready to receive Ra when he appears, and to praise him; some of them drive APEP to "the back of the sky," some support the Great Disk in the sky, and the duty of one of them, who is called SENMEKHEF and appears in the form of a serpent, is to burn up the enemies of Ra at dawn. Thus the Sun-god passed out of the Tuat even as he entered it, with praises, and as he did so he bade farewell to Osiris, the Lord of the Tuat, under one of whose forms he had completed successfully his journey, in these words:--"Life to thee, O thou who art over the darkness! Life [to thee]! in all thy majesty. Life to thee! O KHENTI-A-AMENTET-OSIRIS, who art over the beings of Amentet. Life to thee! Life to thee O thou who art over the Tuat. The winds of Ra are in thy nostrils, and the nourishment of Khepera is with thee. Thou livest, and ye live. Hail to Osiris, the lord of the living, that is to say, of the gods who are with Osiris, and who came into being with him the first time."



TWELFTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT. II. EASTERN VESTIBULE OF THE TUAT ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF GATES

The last section of the BOOK OF GATES contains representations of the Gate TESERT-BAIU, with its two doors (vol. ii., pp. 302, 303), which lead into that portion of the sky wherein the sun rises, and of the stablishing of the Sun-god in his Boat in the sky. This Gate has no company of gods in mummied forms to guard it, and in front of it are two standards, or sceptres, each of which is surrounded by a human head; above that on the left is the Beetle of KHEPERA, and over the other is the Disk of TEMU. In other words, the Gate is guarded by symbols of the rising and the setting sun. The corridor between the walls is swept by flames as before, and a warder in mummied form guards each end of it; the one, PAI or BAI, represents the dawn, and the other, AKHEKHI, the evening. Within the Gate are two doors, one guarded by the monster serpent SEBI, and the other by the monster serpent RERI. At the threshold is the uraeus of NEPHTHYS, and by the lintel is the uraeus of Isis, for these goddesses guard this "Secret Gate."

The god AFU-RA. having, as we have seen, transformed himself into KHEPERA, and, by the help of the god whose operations have been described, provided himself with a new face, or disk, and new light and fire, passes through the Gate TESERT-BAIU, which marks the end of the TUAT, into the Vestibule of the world of light. We no longer see him in the form of a ram-headed man, standing under the folds of the serpent MEHEN, but he appears as KHEPERA, i.e., as his Beetle, with the disk in front of him. From the scene which ends the BOOK OF GATES we learn that so soon as the god passes through the Gate of TESERT-BAIU he enters the waters of Nu, the god of the primeval watery abyss of the sky. The ministers of KHEPERA now appear with the MATET-SEKTET BOAT which they have in readiness, and the god takes his place in it, with the gods who are to guide and propel it. Nu then lifts the Boat up above his head, and the goddess NUT receives the Disk of the sun in her hands. It will be noted that she stands on the head of a god whose body is bent in such a way that it forms a circle: the explanatory text shows that the god is Osiris, and that his body is the Tuat. Thus we see that the "womb of Nut," from which the Sun-god is said to be born, lies quite close to the eastern end of the Tuat, and that it forms by itself the Vestibule which leads into the world of light.

Close to the high prow of the Boat we see (vol. ii., p. 303) the sun's disk passing through a gap in the mountain which divides the Eastern Vestibule of the Tuat from the sky of this world; this disk is the same which we have seen NUT receive from the Beetle of KHEPERA and whilst it is traversing the gap dawn is taking place on the earth. When the disk is on the horizon all men know that the monsters of the Tuat have failed to destroy AFU-RA or to obstruct his passage, that the god has, with the aid of KHEPERA, made all his transformations, that he has appeared in the sky again, full of light, and fire, and life, and that for another day at least all will be well with the world. Meanwhile the souls of the blessed who have travelled through the Tuat in the Boat with AFU-RA have escaped with him from all its dangers, and have made their transformations as he has done, and now they rise with him above this earth, and are able to look once again upon their own homes and haunts, and friends. Their companions are the gods who minister to Ra, and as they live upon the food of Ra, and are arrayed in his apparel, they become in all respects like him.

For the beings who were left in the Tuat, i.e., for those who were not provided for by Osiris in SEKHET-AARU and SEKHET-HETEPET, existence must have been a sad one, for they were obliged to sit in darkness and misery, except for the brief space each night when AFU-RA passed through their DIVISIONS, when the gods who were in his train lightened the darkness with the fire which proceeded from their bodies, and the god himself, taking pity on those to whom the making of offerings on earth had ceased, spoke the words which procured sustenance for them. Such acts of grace, however, cannot have been sufficient to secure the happiness of those upon whom they were bestowed, for, with every mention in the texts of the closing of the door of a DIVISION after the god has passed through it, we read that the souls who were outside the door uttered cries of lamentation and wailed bitterly.

It must be remembered that views such as are here described were held only by the priests Of AMEN-RA, who, as we have seen, tried to show that their god was lord of all the Tuats of Egypt, and that all the gods of the dead, including even Osiris, and all the blessed, depended upon him for light and food, which they received from him in return for the services which they rendered to him as their overlord. Those who held not these views, and were not followers of Osiris, believed, as did all the primitive Egyptians, that the Tuat was a place of darkness, hunger, thirst, and misery, and finally of annihilation. They

had no belief either in purgatory or in everlasting punishment; the beings in the Tuat lived just so long as their friends and relatives on earth made the prescribed funeral offerings on their behalf, and no longer. The shadows, souls, and bodies of those who were without food in the Tuat were, together with the fiends and monsters which opposed the progress of the Sun-god, destroyed by fire each day, utterly and finally; but each day brought its own supply of the enemies of Ra, and of the dead, and the beings which were consumed in the pits of fire one day were not the *same*, though they belonged to the *same classes*, as those which had been burnt up the day before.

