

OSIRIS AND
THE EGYPTIAN
RESURRECTION
BY E. A. WALLIS BUDGE
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OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN AN-
TIQUITIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.
ILLUSTRATED AFTER DRAWINGS FROM
EGYPTIAN PAPYRI AND MONUMENTS



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I
DEDICATE THIS BOOK
ON
THE FUNDAMENTALS OF SÚDÂNÍ AND
EGYPTIAN RELIGION
BY PERMISSION
TO THE HONOURABLE
LIONEL WALTER ROTHSCHILD,
TRUSTEE OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
WITH
SINCERE GRATITUDE AND THANKS.

a

PREFACE.

THE Chapters printed in these volumes are the result of a study undertaken with the object of attempting to discover the source of the fundamental beliefs of the indigenous Religion of Ancient Egypt, to trace their development through a period of some two score centuries, and to ascertain what were the foreign influences which first modified Egyptian beliefs, then checked their growth, and finally overthrew them. There is no doubt that the beliefs examined herein are of indigenous origin, Nilotic or Sûdânî in the broadest signification of the word, and I have endeavoured to explain those which cannot be elucidated in any other way, by the evidence which is afforded by the Religions of the modern peoples who live on the great rivers of East, West, and Central Africa. The central figure of the ancient Egyptian Religion was Osiris, and the chief fundamentals of his cult were the belief in his divinity, death, resurrection, and absolute control of the destinies of the bodies and souls of men. The central point of each Osirian's Religion was his hope of resurrection in a transformed body and of immortality, which could only be realized by him through the death and resurrection of Osiris. I have therefore made Osiris, and the beliefs which grew up under his cult, the central consideration of this enquiry, and have grouped about the history of the god the facts in modern African Religions which are similar and which I consider to be cognate to the old beliefs. The general argument of the book is indicated in the following paragraphs.

The materials now available for the enquiry may be divided roughly into two main classes :—1. The Magical, Religious, and Mythological Texts written by native Egyptians for Egyptians. 2. Accounts of the Magic, Religion, Mythology, and Gods of Ancient Egypt written by Greek and Roman historians and philosophers, *e.g.*, Herodotus, Diodorus, Plutarch, Apuleius, and others,

for the use and information of their countrymen. An examination of the statements on the ancient Religion of Egypt found in the works of the above-mentioned and other classical writers, carried on side by side with a study of the Egyptian texts, convinced me that the information supplied by them was wholly unsuitable for the solution of the numerous problems which confront the student of the ancient Egyptian Religion at every turn. The reason of this is not far to seek. The works of classical writers on Egypt and her Religion contain much extremely valuable information, some of which is supported by the native Egyptian texts. On the other hand, there are incorporated with such information many fantastic theories and imaginings which are not only unsupported, but are absolutely contradicted by the facts drawn from the Egyptian monuments; Herodotus and others wrote down, no doubt, accurately enough, so far as they understood it, what they were told by Egyptian priests and by their well-educated friends in Egypt, but it is quite clear, by the construction which they put upon much of the information which they received, that they did not really understand the rudimentary principles of the Egyptian Religion, or its primitive cults, or the nature of their symbolism. There is no evidence in their works that they knew of, or even suspected, the existence in it of the all-embracing beliefs in the power of the great ancestral spirit, and in the resurrection of men in general and their immortality, which are the chief characteristics of the Egyptian Religion. And these writers had no knowledge of the details of the cult of Osiris, and of his history, such as we now possess (thanks to the religious texts of the VIth dynasty), because they could not read the native literature of Egypt. They can hardly be blamed for this, because it is certain that very few of the Egyptian priests took the trouble to read and study it, and to arrange systematically the facts of their Religion which were to be derived from their ancient writings. The confusion and contradictions which appear in the religious texts written under the XXth and following dynasties prove beyond all doubt that the knowledge of the early dynastic Religion of Egypt possessed by the priests in general after, let us say,

1200 B.C., was extremely vague and uncertain. Such being the case, the information which they could impart to cultivated and enquiring foreigners is almost useless of itself for historical investigations. Moreover, the character of the Religion of Egypt changed entirely under the New Empire. Its spiritualities became buried under a mass of beliefs which were purely magical in character, and men in general relied for salvation upon spells, incantations, magical figures, and amulets; only the wise few clung to the beliefs of their ancestors. When Herodotus visited Egypt the knowledge of the Religion of the Ancient and Middle Empires had practically died out.

The general untrustworthiness of the information about the Egyptian Religion supplied by classical writers being thus evident, it is clear that, if we wish to gain exact knowledge about the subject, we must seek for it in the study of the native literature, which is comparatively large and full. A cursory examination of it leads us to hope that we shall find in it all the material we need for the purposes of our enquiry, but a fuller investigation of its contents produces at first a feeling somewhat akin to disappointment. For we find that in no portion of it does there exist a text which is not associated with magic, that no text contains a connected statement of the purely religious beliefs which we know the Egyptians certainly possessed, that on many vital points no text supplies any direct information whatsoever; and finally, that there is in Egyptian no word for "religion" in our sense of the word. After a still further examination, however, the feeling of disappointment vanishes, for if the facts supplied by texts of one period be compared with those afforded by texts of another, it becomes clear that they are all intimately related. The writers of them all assumed the existence of the same beliefs in their readers, and also a knowledge of the essentials of the native Religion of Ancient Egypt, which were understood and were received generally. Thus if we compare the contents of works of the post-Saïte Period, *e.g.*, The Book of Breathings, The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, The Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys, The Book of Making the

Spirit of Osiris, The Book of Traversing Eternity, with those of the works of the New, Middle, and Ancient Empires, *e.g.*, the various Recensions of the Book of the Dead, The Book Am-Tuat, The Book of Gates, The Book of Opening the Mouth, The Book of Funerary Ceremonies, and The Book of the Two Ways, we find that the fundamental beliefs in them all are the same, and that the object of one and all was the same, namely, to procure the resurrection and immortality of the persons on whose behalf they were written and recited. In each and all of these a knowledge of the same facts is assumed by the writers to be possessed by the readers, and their acceptance by the readers is regarded as beyond question. In spite of all the popular developments of religious magic which flooded the old Religion of Egypt after the downfall of the New Empire, and the introduction of foreign gods, and the growth of the cults of local tree-gods, phallic gods, etc., the essentials of the indigenous Religion of the country remained unchanged from the time of the early dynasties to the end of the Graeco-Roman Period.

Of the Egyptian works mentioned above the most important for the purpose of an enquiry into the Religion of Ancient Egypt is the Book "Per-em-hru," commonly known as the Book of the Dead. In the oldest form of it with which we are acquainted, namely, that which was in use under the Vth and VIth dynasties, it consists of a long series of spells, and incantations, and rhythmical formulae, etc., which were recited by the priests, probably at regular intervals during the year, for the benefit of the dead. This form is generally known as the "Heliopolitan Recension," because it was the work of the priests of Anu, or Heliopolis, who added to the indigenous sections of it a number of texts in which was promulgated their own particular worship, namely, that of the Sun-god Rā. Each spell and incantation was believed to produce a specific result, but what that result was is not always defined, and the variant titles of some spells prove that the Egyptian priests were not always certain what was the exact result which the recital of the spells would produce. Mixed with these spells are short texts which show that so far back as 3400 B.C. the

Egyptians possessed conceptions of truth, justice, and righteousness. According to these the life everlasting in heaven, in the kingdom of Osiris, could only be attained by those who had lived righteous lives upon earth, and who had been declared to be speakers of the truth in the Judgment Hall of Osiris. The Egyptians set truth-speaking above all other virtues, and in the Great Judgment which took place in the Hall of Osiris the man who had spoken the truth on earth triumphed. Osiris himself was declared by Thoth and by the Great Jury of the gods who tried him to be "TRUTH-SPEAKER," *Maā Kheru*, and the soul of the man after whose name these words could be written with the authority of Osiris was sure of eternal life and bliss.

Under the XIth and XIIth dynasties these spells and texts were copied on to sarcophagi and coffins, *e.g.*, the coffin of Amamu and the coffins from Barshah, and a title was given to each, as, for example, "Chapter of not dying a second time," which generally indicated the object with which the spell was recited. Sometimes a Rubric was added which described the effect which would be produced if the recital of the spell were accompanied by the performance of certain ceremonies. Each spell was complete in itself, and the spells and Chapters taken together composed the Book of the Dead. Under the XVIIIth dynasty an attempt was made to group them together according to their subject matter, and it became the fashion to add to the Chapters vignettes, which were first of all traced in outline in black ink, and were in later times painted in brilliant colours. The idea underlying the addition of the vignettes is not clear, but it seems to have been magical. Under the XVIIIth dynasty it became customary to preface the Chapters and vignettes by a large scene in which was depicted the Weighing of the Heart in the Judgment Hall of Osiris. Such scenes form one of the principal characteristics of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead. Down to the end of the XIXth dynasty the Book of the Dead was regarded generally as the final authority on Egyptian psychology and eschatology as understood by the priests of the cult of Osiris. Under the XXth dynasty the priests of

Āmen-Rā succeeded in forcing their god into a position in the Other World which was little inferior to that of Osiris, and this action is reflected in funerary papyri which were written at Thebes under the XXth and XXIst dynasties. With the downfall of the rule of the priests of Āmen-Rā at Thebes Osiris regained his old position of absolute and supreme power in the Other World, and in copies of the Saïte Recension of the Book of the Dead written between 600 B.C. and 100 B.C. the special claim of kingship of all the gods of the Other World put forward by the priests of Āmen-Rā for their god does not appear.

The above facts show that the Book of the Dead existed in an organized and written form during the greater part of the Dynastic Period, and to it we must have recourse if we would understand the Religion of the Egyptians during that time. We might reasonably expect that it would supply us with all the information we require about the Egyptian Religion, and in such a form that there could be no doubt about its meaning. Unfortunately, such is not the case, for however carefully we study the various Recensions, and collate papyri, and arrange the facts available, we find that many gaps still exist in our knowledge, and that our ignorance of the exact meanings of many words makes it impossible to arrive at definite conclusions in many cases. Moreover, we find that such information as we have is not always understood in the same way by all Egyptologists, and that the deductions which they make from the same texts frequently differ in character, and are sometimes wholly contradictory. When, in connection with my official work, I began to enquire into the Religion of Egypt I found that some authorities thought that it was full of the spiritual and metaphysical conceptions which characterize the Religions of some highly civilized modern nations, and was highly philosophical in its nature. Others thought that it consisted of a series of crude and savage beliefs which found expression in disgusting ceremonies, and cannibalistic orgies, and licentious rites, similar to those which are performed at the present day among the Negroes and Negroid peoples in the Southern and Western Sūdān. Others

regarded it as a kind of solar cult based upon beliefs which were originally derived from Asia, but which were so corrupted and overlaid with native additions as to be unrecognizable. Others, again, considered it to be wholly phallic in character, and there were yet others who thought that it was nothing but a system of Black Magic, and undeserving of the name of a Religion.

When I had considered these views in detail it seemed to me that their authors must have described the Religion of Egypt from different standpoints, and that their conflicting opinions had been based upon some aspects of it, without due attention having been given to others. It was quite obvious that all these opinions could not be right at the same time, and that the only course left for the enquirer to pursue under the circumstances was to examine them one by one, and to compare them with facts derived exclusively from ancient Egyptian texts. The principal texts available at that time (1883) were the published copies of the papyri of Nebseni, Qenna, Neb-qet and Sutimes, the texts from coffins at Berlin, the Turin Papyrus, the Book of Opening the Mouth, the Book of Gates, and the first portion of the text of Unás. In the years which followed editions of many magic, religious, and liturgical papyri appeared, and before the close of last century the material available for an enquiry into the character of the Egyptian Religion was abundant. In fact, the student was then able to compare for the first time the contents of the Heliopolitan, Theban, and Saïte Recensions of the Book of the Dead with those of several other cognate funerary works which, though belonging to a later period, are of great value.

The examination of this material occupied much time, but the more it was worked the clearer it became that many of the theories current as to the Egyptian Religion were wrong. The facts derived from the texts, when arranged, proved beyond all doubt that the indigenous Religion of ancient Egypt was unlike any of the Asiatic Religions with which it had been compared, and that all its fundamentals remained unchanged throughout the Dynastic Period. Moreover, the evidence

of the tomb-deposits of the Predynastic, Archaic, and early Dynastic Periods which, thanks to the excavations of tombs made at Abydos, Naqadah, Ballâs, and other parts of Upper Egypt, had become available, proved that the religious beliefs of the people who had made these tombs were substantially the same in all three Periods. And it became clear that the general character of the Religion of the dynastic Egyptians was identical with that of the Religion of the primitive Egyptians. In other words, the facts derived from the papyri, sarcophagi, coffins, stelae, etc., were supported in a remarkable manner by the testimony of early tomb-deposits. The evidence derived from the Egyptian texts also supplied information about several beliefs and characteristics of the Religion in all periods. It showed *inter alia* that the Egyptians believed in the existence of God Almighty, and that His behests were performed by a number of "gods," or as we might say, emanations, or angels; that magical rites and ceremonies of all kinds were closely associated with beliefs of a highly spiritual character; that the religion was not phallic, although the importance of the organs of generation, male and female, was greatly emphasized in connection with the worship of such "gods" as Menu and Amen; that birds, beasts, fishes, reptiles, trees, stones, etc., were venerated because they were believed to form the habitations of "gods" and spirits at certain times and under certain circumstances; that amulets of all kinds were worn by the Egyptians, when living, and were laid on the bodies of the dead *because* it was thought that the benevolent, indwelling spirits would protect them from the spirits of evil; that sacrifice was of vital importance, both for the living and the dead, and was regarded as worship of the highest kind; that the natures of material objects were transmuted into spirit entities when they were laid upon consecrated altars, etc. There is no need to refer here to the doctrines of reward and punishment, resurrection and immortality, for the existence of these among the Egyptians was demonstrated by E. de Rougé in 1860, and again by P. Pierret in 1881.

All these characteristics seemed to indicate that the Egyptian Religion was of African rather than Asiatic

origin, as many had supposed, but the chief obstacle to the acceptance of this view was the fact that the religious literature of Egypt contains numerous hymns to the Sun-god under his various forms, *e.g.*, Temu, Rā, Horus, and Kheperā, and frequent allusions to a heaven in which Rā is the King and Lord of all the Gods. It is well known that the cult of Rā, under one phase or another, was the form of Religion accepted by the Pharaohs, and the priesthood, and a limited aristocracy, from the middle of the Vth dynasty onwards. And as each king, beginning with Assā, delighted to call himself "son of Rā," and regarded himself as an incarnation of Rā, this is not to be wondered at. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the great bulk of the people of Egypt adopted the cult of Rā, and many Chapters of the Book of the Dead prove that the Moon-god was their favourite object of worship. Many African peoples, especially those who live in the great forests and on the Nile, Congo, Niger, and other great rivers, not only regard the Sun with indifference, but with positive dislike; on the other hand, the Moon and its spirit are venerated devoutly. Proofs of this fact are found in the writings of many travellers, whose works are quoted in their proper place in this book. Taking into consideration all the information available on the subject, it is tolerably clear that the cult of the Sun-god was introduced into Egypt by the priests of Heliopolis, under the Vth dynasty, when they assumed the rule of the country and began to nominate their favourite warriors to the throne of Egypt. These astute theologians, either by force or persuasion, succeeded in making the official classes and priesthood believe that all the indigenous great gods were forms of Rā, and so secured his supremacy. Meanwhile, the bulk of the people clung to their ancient cult of the Moon, and to their sacred beasts and birds, etc., and worshipped the spirits which dwelt in them, wholly undisturbed by the spread of the foreign and official cult of the Sun-god, which appealed so strongly to the great mixture of peoples in the Eastern Delta, and in the desert to the east and north-east of Egypt. It seems to me, then, that the existence of the cult of Rā in Egypt

does not affect the enquiry into the indigenous Religion of Egypt in any way.

During the years 1890-93, I was engaged officially in preparing for publication the volume which the Trustees of the British Museum issued with the second edition of their *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani*, and in the three following years I prepared privately the edition of The Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead which appeared, with an English translation and an Egyptian-English Vocabulary, in three volumes in 1897. The writing of the Introductions brought me face to face with the difficulty of explaining the belief in the existence of the Dual Soul, and the extraordinary ideas as to its functions and capabilities which underlie the Chapters of the Heart (XXVI-XXXB), and the Chapters of Transformations (LXXVI ff.), and ancient Egyptian psychology and eschatology in general. None of the existing works on the Egyptian Religion explained the difficulties, but a perusal of the articles which Professor Maspero had contributed to the *Revue des Religions* (tom. XII, p. 123 ff. ; tom. XV, p. 159 ff. ; and tom. XIX, p. 1 ff.) showed that this eminent Egyptologist had battled with the same difficulties, and that he, like myself, was disposed to explain them by references to the beliefs of modern African peoples in the Sûdân and West Africa. Moreover, the writings of the late E. Lefébure and of Professor Wiedemann, of Bonn, contained evidence that they shared the same view.

Early in the summer of 1897 my official duties led me to Marawi, in the Dongola Province of the Egyptian Sûdân, and I took up my abode in the neighbouring village of Shibbah to be near the excavations which were carried out that year at Gebel Barkal. During the months I lived there I came into contact with shêkhs and "fikîs" (*i.e.*, religious teachers) and many kinds of natives, and from them I learned much about Sûdânî beliefs and religion. The information I gained confirmed and supplemented the reports on such matters which I had heard in Egypt on several occasions from Egyptians who had lived in the Sûdân under the rule of Isma'îl Pâshâ, and I found that it explained many of the beliefs which are enshrined in the Book of the Dead

During subsequent visits to the Sûdân I became convinced that a satisfactory explanation of the ancient Egyptian Religion could only be obtained from the Religions of the Sûdân, more especially those of the peoples who lived in the isolated districts in the south and west of that region, where European influence was limited, and where native beliefs and religious ceremonials still possessed life and meaning. I then began to read systematically the books of all the great travellers in the Sûdân, beginning with the Travels of Ibn Baţûtah, and ending with recent publications like Mr. Ward's *Voice from the Congo*. The notes made in the course of this reading formed a large mass of material which seemed to me to be of great value for the comparative study of the Egyptian and Sûdânî Religions, and they illustrated in a remarkable manner the similarity of ancient Egyptian and modern African religious beliefs. It may be objected that the modern beliefs and superstitions of the Sûdân and Congo-land and Dahomey are survivals of ancient Egyptian religious views and opinions, but the objection seems to me to possess no validity. The oldest and best form of the Egyptian Religion died more than 3,000 years ago, and many of the most illuminating facts for comparative and illustrative purposes are derived from the Religions of peoples who live in parts of Africa into which Egyptian influence never penetrated. The power of the Egyptians reached no farther than the northern end of the "Island" of Meroë, and it was not truly effective beyond Napata, the modern Marawi, near the foot of the Fourth Cataract. Modern Sûdânî beliefs are identical with those of ancient Egypt, because the Egyptians were Africans and the modern peoples of the Sûdân are Africans. And making allowance for differences in natural circumstances and geographical position, ancient and modern Nilotic peoples give outward expression to their beliefs in the same way.

Having arranged my notes and extracts from the works of travellers, it became apparent that it was hopeless to expect to print them all as they stood, for the result would be an unwieldy and unreadable notebook. The general evidence derived from the Religion

of Ancient Egypt showed that all the great fundamental beliefs centred in Osiris and his cult, and I therefore decided to attempt to write the history of the god and of his principal forms, to describe the salient points of his worship, and to illustrate the beliefs which were crystallized in it with the facts collected in Egypt and the Sûdân, and those derived from narratives of travellers in those countries. With the cult of Osiris was bound up all that was best in the civilization of Egypt during the Dynastic Period. It weaned the primitive Egyptians from cannibalism and from cruel and barbarous customs, it taught them to respect human life and to regard man as the image of God, and his dead body as a sacred thing, it induced them to devote themselves to agricultural labours, and it improved their morality. Above all, it transformed them from nomad hunters and thieves into a settled people with a god, a priesthood, and a worship, and taught them to believe in divine incarnation, and gave them a hope of resurrection and immortality, and of an existence in heaven, which, they were taught, could only be attained by those who had lived righteous lives upon earth, and through the mercy of Osiris.

The Egyptian texts now available enable us to trace the history of the cult of Osiris from the Archaic to the Roman Period with tolerable completeness, but its beginning is hopelessly lost in obscurity. Osiris was, I believe, an African, though not necessarily a Nilotic, god, and the birthplace of his cult seems to have been Upper Egypt. The exact meaning of his name is uncertain, for that of "Seat-maker," which is suggested by the Pyramid Texts, is hardly convincing; it is better to admit the fact at once and to say that its meaning is unknown. As regards the seat of his worship in Upper Egypt, it is quite certain that a shrine of the god existed at Abydos under the Ist dynasty. At first sight it seems as if he was merely a deified king who had lived and reigned in the immediate neighbourhood of that town. Early in the Dynastic Period his priests cleverly succeeded in incorporating in his worship all that was best in the local cults, and the ideals of morality, justice, and righteousness which

they grouped about it appealed quickly to the people all over Egypt. The spread of the cult was rapid, both in Upper Egypt and in the Delta, because no other cult offered to its adherents the hope of the resurrection and immortality. Among the tribes of Egypt in general the cult of Osiris took the place of the cult of ancestral spirits, which was universal in the Nile Valley in primitive times, but the people lost nothing by the exchange, for Osiris became the divine ancestor of them all. His human nature, they thought, enabled him to understand the needs, troubles, and griefs of men, and to listen sympathetically to their prayers, and his divine nature gave him powers to help them in this world and in the next, which no other Ancestor-god ever possessed. Osiris, the divine Ancestor, became the Father of the souls of the Egyptians, and the symbol of their hope of resurrection and immortality.

The early religious texts of Egypt prove beyond all doubt that the Egyptians, in common with many peoples in other parts of the world, when in a primitive state of civilization, were cannibals in the Predynastic Period, and that, like many of the Nilotic tribes of the present day, they ate the bodies of enemies slain in battle as a matter of course. Before the coming of the cult of Osiris they must have eaten their own dead, as many modern tribes do, and there is reason to think that, even after they had learned to know Osiris, the natural liking for human flesh, which is common to most African peoples, asserted itself in times when food was scarce and during famines. The disposal of the bodies of the dead must always have been a matter of difficulty in Egypt, for land suitable for purposes of agriculture was far too valuable to the living to be given up to the dead. The bodies of kings, chiefs, nobles, and rich men were always buried, sometimes in tombs hewn in the rocks, and sometimes in the sandy soil on the edge of the desert, and at one time it must have been thought that they were the only members of the population who would enjoy a future existence. The bodies of the bulk of the people were either laid in extremely shallow graves, from which they would be dragged easily by the dogs, and by the wolves, foxes, and jackals of the desert,

or were thrown out boldly into the desert (or into "the bush" as they say in the Southern Sûdân at the present day) to be eaten by the leopards, hyenas, lynxes, etc.

If we assume that during the Dynastic Period, which lasted about four thousand years, the population of Egypt was about four millions, and that the average duration of a generation was twenty-five years, we find that the number of bodies to be disposed of would reach the large total of eight hundred millions. Now it is quite clear that only a very small percentage of these bodies can have been "buried" in such a way that they would be preserved for an indefinitely long period. For the cost of preparing tombs in the hills and of equipping them with funerary furniture even of the most inexpensive kind, or of digging graves and providing them with suitable "deposits," was wholly prohibitive for the greater part of the population. The number of bodies which were made into mummies must have been very small. That very few people were "buried" in Egypt is proved by the comparatively small number of tombs which have been found up to the present time. For, if we were to add together the numbers of all the ancient Egyptian tombs known both to Europeans and natives, it is very doubtful if the total would exceed fifty thousand, if we exclude the Predynastic graves. Many of the rock-hewn tombs were used over and over again, no doubt for many generations, but even so, the proportion of the "buried" bodies to the unburied is very small indeed. Attempts have recently been made to calculate the duration of certain periods of Egyptian history by computing the number of graves found in groups of cemeteries, but it seems to me that all calculations of the kind are worthless, because we do not know what proportion of the population was buried in any century, or even generation.

Now the spread of the cult of Osiris, however great, could never alter the material resources of the country, and make it possible for all persons to be buried in such a way that their bodies would be preserved for an indefinitely long period. Its priests, however, could, and I believe did, lay a *tabû*, or ban, on the eating of the dead, because the bodies of all Osirians belonged to

the god. From them, moreover, by means of the ceremonies performed by the priests and the words of their services, were raised up their spirit-bodies, which were to inherit eternity. According to the priests of Osiris immortality could only be attained by belief in their god, and the souls of unbelievers could not enter his kingdom ; they had, to all intents and purposes, no hope of resurrection, and therefore could have no existence in the Other World. What the fate of the body of an Osirian was ultimately mattered very little, provided that the sacred words of the liturgy of the dead had been said over it, for through these the genesis of the spirit-body and its union with its soul in Abydos or Busiris were assured. The costly tombs, and elaborate mummification, and funerary ceremonies, and splendid copies of the Book of the Dead, and inscribed amulets, with which the great and wealthy provided themselves, availed their owners nothing in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, and the true Osirian must have regarded them more as evidences of wealth and power than as effectual means of salvation. For he knew that in that Hall the hearts of kings and peasants alike were weighed in the Balance before a just Judge, and that the sentence pronounced was in accordance with the evidence given by the Warder of the Balance. The pleadings of Thoth, who had acted as advocate for Osiris on a memorable occasion, were heard by Osiris, and his recommendations appear to have been generally adopted by the god. As no man could possibly fulfil the demands of the Law, it was the mercy of Osiris which ultimately decided the fate of a soul in the Other World, and not the splendour of a tomb, or the magnificence of a funeral procession. The king who was declared justified in the Judgment lived presumably with the rank and state of a king in the Other World, the noble as a noble, and the poor man as a poor man ; but for all there was only the same hope, and that hope was Osiris. Osiris the god became this hope because he had lived in a body which had suffered, and died, and had been mutilated, and had, after reconstitution, been raised from the dead by the god incarnate in it, and had passed into heaven.

The texts and monuments also indicate that the

primitive Egyptians were in the habit of burying slaves alive in the graves of great kings and chiefs, so that their spirits might depart to their masters in the Other World, and minister to their souls there as they had ministered to the needs of their bodies upon earth. A vignette in the Book "Am-Ṭuat" even suggests that slaves had been buried alive in the tomb, one at each of the four corners, which held the mortal body of Osiris. Moreover, the presence of the bodies of the women in the tomb of Amen-ḥetep II at Thebes proves that in the XVIIIth dynasty favourite wives were either poisoned or strangled, or allowed to commit suicide, so that their spirits might go to their husband in the Other World and continue their wifely service to him. The blood-thirsty character of this king, which displayed itself in hanging the bodies of seven vanquished chiefs at the bow of his boat, and in exposing them on the walls of Thebes and Napata, suggests that the unfortunate women in his tomb were slain in accordance with his wishes. The absence of bodies of women and slaves from the other royal tombs and from the *maṣtabahs* of Gīzah, Ṣaḳḳārah, etc., seems to indicate that tomb-murders became less and less frequent as the cult of Osiris spread in Egypt. The custom of burying figures of stone, wood, faience, etc., with the dead, instead of living slaves with their arms and legs broken at the joints, seems to be as old as the XIth dynasty at least. Other cruel and savage customs also disappeared, and in the sacramental ceremonies of the later period we find the blood of the grape, the bread-cake, and the flesh of newly slaughtered animals, taking the place of the human flesh and blood which played such prominent parts in the older ceremonies.

The sacrificing of prisoners of war to one or other of the gods seems to have gone on to the end of Egyptian history, and the reliefs on the monuments in which kings are seen in the act of "smashing" the heads of living captives are certainly representations of events which actually happened. The importance attached by Africans in all periods to "watering" the statues of gods and divine personages with human blood at frequent intervals, and in all times of war, scarcity, trouble, and distress, is

too well known to need mention. And their innate proclivities suggest that portions at least of the bodies of human victims slain to "give life" to the gods were eaten sacramentally. Among the sun-worshippers of Egypt the sacrifice of human victims to the god was held to be of vital importance for the god and themselves, and the festival in which the "smashing of the *Antiu*" (*i.e.*, the dwellers in the Eastern Desert) was commemorated at Heliopolis was the principal religious event of the year in that city. The festival commemorated a great victory of a decisive character over certain rebel tribes, and the atrocities which triumphant Africans can commit when drunk with slaughter and mad with the smell of blood, readily suggest what was the horrible fate of the *Antiu*. In the Sun-temples at Abû-Şîr of the IVth dynasty, wherein the presence of the god was symbolized by a stone somewhat resembling an obelisk in shape, countless human beings were sacrificed. The size and number of the conduits for carrying away the blood of the victims bear incontrovertible evidence of the magnitude of the slaughterings which took place. And we have it on the authority of Procopius (*De Bello Persico*, I, xix, p. 103) that the Blemmyes at Philæ were in the habit of sacrificing men to the sun so late as the reign of Diocletian.

We may now summarize briefly the character of the ancient Religion of Egypt. The Recensions of the Book of the Dead and cognate works prove that, in addition to Osiris, the Egyptians paid divine honours to the Sun-god, Moon-god, Air-god, Water-god, Sky-god, Earth-god, Nile-god, and to a host of spirits, of whom we know the names of about three thousand. What relation all these "gods" and spirits bore to each other and to Osiris is not at first clear, and it is the realization of the existence of these which has induced some writers to declare that the Egyptian Religion was nothing but a polytheistic cult. And yet it was not, for the Egyptians believed in the existence of One Great God, self-produced, self-existent, almighty and eternal, Who created the "gods," the heavens and the sun, moon and stars in them, and the earth and everything on it, including man and beast, bird, fish, and reptile. They believed that

He maintained in being everything which He had created, and that He was the support of the universe and the Lord of it all. Of this God they never attempted to make any figure, form, likeness, or similitude, for they thought that no man could depict or describe Him, and that all His attributes were quite beyond man's comprehension. On the rare occasions in which He is mentioned in their writings He is always called "Neter"

𓂏, *i.e.*, God, and besides this He has no name. The exact meaning of the word "Neter" is unknown. His behests were carried out in heaven, earth, and the Other World by a number of "great gods" who formed His Council, and who were in turn served by lesser "gods" and spirits. The two eldest of the great gods, Shu and Tefnut, were produced by God from His own Person, and with Him they formed the first Egyptian Trinity. Shu and Tefnut produced Kēb and Nut, and they in turn produced Osiris and Isis, and Set and Nephthys, all of whom were born on the earth at the same time, each having a mortal body. Osiris was white and was the personification of good, Set was black (or red) and was the personification of evil. These two gods fought each other continually, and at length Set killed the mortal body of Osiris. Osiris begot by Isis a son called Horus, who avenged his father and slew Set. Osiris rose from the dead and became the king of heaven, the abode of righteous souls, and Set, who took the form of a black pig, became the lord of the region where the souls of the damned congregated.

The management of the physical world and of the lives and affairs of men was deputed by God to the "gods," "goddesses," and spirits, of whom some were supposed to view man and his affairs benevolently, and others malevolently. Little by little the fear of these obtained great power over the minds of men, and at length the worship due to God from men was paid by men to them. No proof of any kind is forthcoming which shows that the Egyptians ever entirely forgot the existence of God, but they certainly seem to have believed that he had altogether ceased to interfere in human affairs, and was content to leave the destinies of men to

the care of the "gods" and spirits. Now the Egyptians were not satisfied with this state of affairs, and they craved to know a god who possessed a nature akin to their own, and who because he was of like nature to themselves would be more sympathetic towards them than the Sun-god, or the Earth-god, or any other impersonal nature-god or spirit. To satisfy this craving the primitive theologians of Egypt invented the dogma which declared that Osiris and Set, and Isis and Nephthys, appeared on earth in the forms of human beings, and that their mortal bodies were absolutely similar in every respect to the bodies of men born of women. It is nowhere stated where, or by what means, Osiris and Set obtained their mortal bodies, nor whether they were created from the dust of the earth, or derived from a human mother. The Egyptians do not seem to have troubled themselves about questions of this kind, but were quite satisfied to believe that Osiris became incarnate in a mortal body, which possessed the nature of ordinary man. Other dogmas made Osiris to suffer death at the hands of Set, to beget a son by Isis after his death, to rise from the dead in a transformed body, and to dwell in heaven as the lord of righteous souls. This information is derived from texts which are as old as the VIth dynasty, and thus we see that as early as 3500 B.C. the Egyptians believed that gods became incarnate in man.

Now, if we examine the Religions of modern African peoples, we find that the beliefs underlying them are almost identical with those described above. As they are not derived from the Egyptians, it follows that they are the natural product of the religious mind of the natives of certain parts of Africa, which is the same in all periods. The evidence of the older travellers, De Brosses, Mungo Park, Livingstone, and others, and that of more recent travellers such as Dr. Nassau and Sir Harry Johnston, proves that almost every African people with whom they came in contact possessed a name for God Almighty, in Whose existence and power they firmly believed. Their attitude towards God was, and is, exactly that of the ancient Egyptians. As the view advanced by Mungo Park in the XXIst Chapter of his *Travels in the Interior of Africa* represents the opinion

of most travellers, from the days of Andrew Battell to those of Sir Harry Johnston, it must be quoted here. He says: "Some of the religious opinions of the Negroes, though blended with the weakest credulity and superstition, are not unworthy of attention. I have conversed with all ranks and conditions upon the subject of their faith, and can pronounce, without the smallest shadow of doubt, that the belief in one God, and of a future state of reward and punishment, is entire and universal among them. It is remarkable, however, that, except at the appearance of a new moon, as before related, the Pagan natives do not think it necessary to offer up prayers and supplications to the Almighty. They represent the Deity, indeed, as the creator and preserver of things; but, in general, they consider him as a being so remote, and of so exalted a nature, that it is idle to imagine the feeble supplications of wretched mortals can reverse the decrees, and change the purposes of unerring Wisdom. . . . The concerns of this world, they believe, are committed by the Almighty to the direction and superintendence of subordinate spirits, over whom they suppose that certain magical ceremonies have great influence."

This remarkable statement may be supplemented by the opinion of George Grenfell (see *Grenfell and the Congo*, vol. ii, p. 635), who says: "In the east and south-east of Africa the conception of the Deity *may* be gradually attained through steps of ancestor-worship. . . . But in the Congo basin God is rather imagined as the pre-existing Creator, Who has probably called men into existence, however indifferent He may afterwards show Himself to the fate of each human being. . . . In the beliefs of many of these Congo Negroes the Supreme God of the Sky is too far off to care about humanity; He created all things, and left everything but the supreme command to a multitude of petty spirits; or He allowed unchecked the spitefulness of a lesser god, a more or less malignant Devil."

The facts quoted in the preceding paragraphs show that it is wrong to class the Religion of Ancient Egypt with the elaborate theological systems of peoples of Asiatic or European origin, and worse than useless to

attempt to find in it systems of theological thought which resemble the Religions of peoples who live on a higher level of civilization than the primitive Egyptians. The fundamental beliefs of the ancient Egyptian belong to a time when he was near to Nature, and when he leaned more upon God than he did upon himself. As he grew more civilized he relied more upon himself, and less upon God, and the forms and ceremonies of religion were then brought into existence by the priests. In its earliest form his religion was not a matter of creed and dogma, but a personal, natural and spontaneous pouring out and uplifting of the emotions from the individual to the Infinite. His religious ceremonials may, it is true, have begun with the worship of the powers of procreation, or of their symbols, the organs of generation, or of spirits of some kind; but the Egyptian's Religion was much older than these, and it must have originated in his sensations, emotions, and instincts. Religion was a reality to him long before he could describe it, and the spirits which he could not see were also realities to him. So real, in fact, were they that the fear of what he thought they could or would do to him became the prime mover of his actions as regards the practical worship of them, or religious ceremonials. In times of difficulty caused by the human beings who lived round about him, and who were always more or less his foes, he appealed for guidance and help as a matter of course to his father and grandfather, so long as they lived, and when they were dead he turned to their spirits for assistance. So long as he was helped out of his troubles, and was successful in all his undertakings, he attributed his good fortune to the power of his father's or grandfather's spirit. But when disaster followed all his efforts he was naturally driven to look for help beyond his father's spirit, to that great, first Spirit, Who had made the first member of his own and of every other tribe, and everything which existed in the world. In this way the Egyptians first found God, the Creator of all. His religion, which was wholly natural and personal, was at all times a mixture of fear of spirits in general, and of hope in the power of ancestral spirits. This power developed later in his mind into the veritable power of

God, Whom he believed to be incarnate in his great ancestor Osiris.

What Major A. G. Leonard says of the religion of the Lower Niger tribes is equally true, in my opinion, of the religion of the ancient Egyptians. Their religion, which was their entire sociology and existence, is nothing from beginning to end but a long chain of ancestral precedents, every single link and rivet of which became a custom and a law from their spiritual fathers unto themselves in the flesh. The fathers of the tribes became first spirit fathers, and when these had developed into ancestral "gods," a system of worship grew up around them, and their propitiation was held to be necessary; out of this worship religious customs arose, a formula of offerings and sacrifices gradually developed, and this finally took the form of ritual.

In setting the facts given in the following pages before the reader I make no claim to have cleared up all the difficulties which surround the history of the origin and development of the Egyptian Religion, but I certainly think that they indicate the means which must be used in explaining fundamental Egyptian beliefs and religious ceremonial. Whether I have succeeded in showing that a general resemblance exists between ancient Egyptian beliefs and the beliefs of modern Sūdāni peoples, the reader will decide. It is important to have the facts collected, and it is high time for the attention of students of comparative African Religion to be directed to them. The plan of this book is simple. I have first of all given the history of Osiris as it is found in the works of Greek and Roman writers. This is followed by a chapter on the death and mutilation of gods, the facts for which are derived from early texts. Next follow a series of chapters in which the various forms of Osiris are described and discussed, and a chapter containing details of the heaven of Osiris and the state of beatified souls and spirit-bodies in the heaven of Osiris. The sources from which the information on these points is drawn are the texts in the corridors and chambers of the royal pyramids at Šakḳārah. The translations of the passages given in Chapter IV and in the Appendix appear in English

for the first time. Other chapters are devoted to describing the principal forms of Osiris, and the cult of Osiris as practised at Abydos, Denderah, etc., and to the history of the decline of the cult of Osiris, and the extraordinary growth of the cult of Sarapis and Isis, not only in Egypt, but in the Islands of the Mediterranean and in Southern Europe. A lengthy chapter containing a series of comparisons between ancient Egyptian and modern Sûdânt Religion and magic is also given. Some important notes, too late for insertion in their proper places, will be found in Vol II, pp. 364-6.

My grateful thanks are due to the Hon. Lionel Walter Rothschild for the kind assistance he has afforded me in all questions relating to the African animals, birds, reptiles, and insects which appear in Egyptian mythology, and for the trouble he has taken in explaining to me the various specimens of them which are preserved in his great collections at Tring Park. To Mr. T. A. Joyce, M.A., of the British Museum, I am also much indebted for information about the manners, customs, and Religion of many West African and Congo-land peoples, and for references to exhibits in the National Collection. I have also derived much information from the invaluable *Annales du Musée du Congo*, and especially from the volume of *Notes Ethnographiques*, by Mr. E. Torday and Mr. Joyce. These works throw great light on the social life and religious customs of the primitive Egyptians. My obligations to the works of the great travellers and missionaries, Mungo Park, Burton, Speke, Junker, Stanley, Sir Harry Johnston, Livingstone, Krapf, Nassau, and George Grenfell, to name only a few, are acknowledged throughout in the notes.

I am indebted to Messrs. Harrison and Sons for the skill and care with which they have printed this book and to their Reader, Mr. G. Bishop, for the attention which he has devoted to the reading of the proofs.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

BRITISH MUSEUM,

September 4th, 1911.

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OSIRIS AND THE EGYPTIAN RESURRECTION

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF OSIRIS AS TOLD BY CLASSICAL WRITERS.

THE religious literature of all the great periods of Egyptian history is filled with allusions to incidents connected with the life, death, and resurrection of Osiris, the god and judge of the Egyptian dead; and from first to last the authors of religious texts took it for granted that their readers were well acquainted with such incidents in all their details. In no text do we find any connected history of the god, and nowhere are stated in detail the reasons why he assumed his exalted position as the judge of souls, or why, for about four thousand years, he remained the great type and symbol of the Resurrection. No funerary inscription exists, however early, in which evidence cannot be found proving that the deceased had set his hope of immortality in Osiris, and at no time in Egypt's long history do we find that the position of Osiris was usurped by any other god. On the contrary, it is Osiris who is made to usurp the attributes and powers of other gods, and in tracing his history in the following pages we shall find that the importance of the cult of this god grew in proportion to the growth of the power and wealth of Egypt, and that finally its influence filled both the national and private life of her inhabitants, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Sixth Cataract at Shablûkah. The fame of Osiris extended to the nations around, and it is to the hands of foreigners that we are indebted for connected, though short, narratives of his history. These, though full of misunderstandings and actual misstatements, are of considerable interest and value, and we must summarize them and set their principal contents before the reader

before we attempt to set out the facts concerning the god which are found in the texts of ancient Egypt.

Plutarch, who was born at Chaeroneia, in Boeotia, about the middle of the first century after Christ, in his famous treatise on Isis and Osiris¹ informed the Lady Clea, for whom he wrote the work, that Osiris was the son of Rhea (in Egyptian, Nut, the Sky-goddess) and Chronos (in Egyptian, K̄eb, the Earth-god). He was born on the first of the five epagomenal days of the Egyptian year, and became king of Egypt; whether he reigned from his birth or was crowned king after he had grown up is not stated. Having become king, he devoted himself to improving the condition of his subjects. He weaned them from their miserable and barbarous manners, he taught them how to till the earth and how to sow and reap crops, he formulated a code of laws for them, and made them to worship the gods and perform service to them. He then left Egypt and travelled over the rest of the world teaching the various nations to do what his own subjects were doing. He forced no man to carry out his instructions, but by means of gentle persuasion and an appeal to their reason, he succeeded in inducing them to practise what he preached. Many of his wise counsels were imparted to his listeners in hymns and songs, which were sung to the accompaniment of instruments of music. During the absence of Osiris his own kingdom was administered by his wife Isis, who performed the duties committed to her charge with great wisdom and prudence. Her task was not easy, for she found it necessary to use all vigilance and to be ever ready to counteract the changes which Typhon,² her brother-in-law, was continually endeavouring to introduce.

After Osiris returned from his travels Typhon appears to have made up his mind to get rid of him, and to

¹ *De Iside et Osiride*; see Didot's edition of his *Scripta Moralia*, tom. I, p. 429, where the Greek text is printed side by side with a Latin translation. A most useful English version is that of Squire, published at Cambridge in 1744. The French version, with notes, of Amyot, published at Paris in 1818-1820, contains much interesting information. The German version of Parthey is also useful.

² In Egyptian TEBHA 

seize the kingdom, and to take possession of his wife, Isis, with whom he was violently in love. With the view of carrying out his baleful design, he hatched a plot, and persuaded seventy-two persons, as well as a certain queen of Ethiopia, who was called Aso ('Ασω), to join in the



Osiris being embraced by Isis and Nephthys. The four mummy figures are the Children of Horus, Akeset, Hap, Tuamutef, and Qebhsenuf. The deities in the circles are Amen and Rā, Shu and Tefnut, Keb and Nut, Hathor and Maāt.
From a bas-relief at Philae.

conspiracy. He caused a very handsome box, or chest, to be made the exact size of the body of Osiris, the measure of which he had caused to be taken by craft, and having richly decorated it, he had it brought into his dining room and left there. He then invited Osiris to a banquet, at which all the fellow-conspirators were

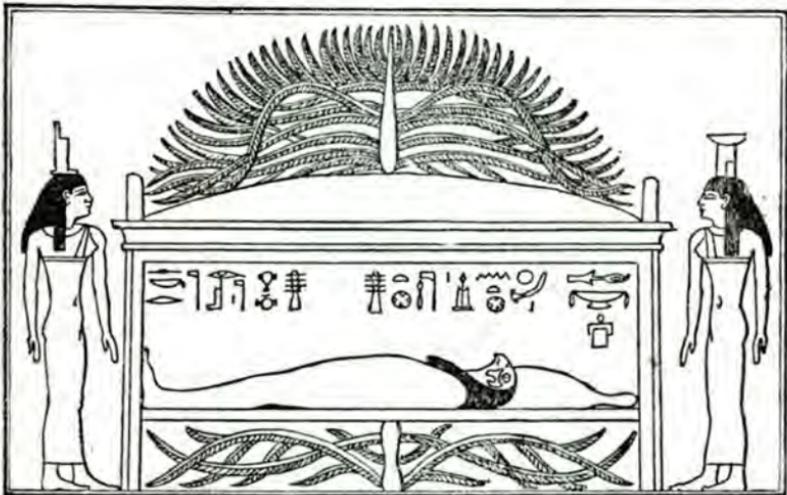
present, and whilst the guests were admiring the handsome box, Typhon, speaking as if in jest, declared that he would give it to him that was able to lie down comfortably in it. Thereupon one after the other of the seventy-two conspirators tried to get into the box, but were unable to do so. At length Osiris expressed his willingness to make trial if the box would contain him, and finding that it did he lay down in it. All the conspirators rushed to the box, and dragging the cover quickly over it, they fastened it in position with nails, and then poured lead over it. Thus it became impossible for Osiris to breathe, and he was suffocated. The conspirators, under the direction of Typhon, then dragged the box from the banqueting hall to the bank of the Nile, and cast it into the river, which carried it northwards, and it passed out to sea by the Tanitic mouth of the Nile. The day of the murder of Osiris was the 17th of the month of Hathor,¹ when the sun was in the constellation of Scorpio; according to some Osiris was in the 28th year of his reign, and according to others, in the 28th year of his age. When the report of the murder reached Isis, who was then in the city of Coptos, she immediately cut off one of the locks of her hair, and put on mourning apparel, and wandered about the country in a distraught state searching for the box which contained her husband's body. Certain children who had seen the box thrown into the Nile told her what had been done with it, and how it had floated out to sea by way of the Tanitic mouth of the Nile.

Meanwhile the waves had carried the box to the coast of Syria and cast it up at Byblos,² and as soon as it rested on the ground a large Erica tree sprang up, and growing all round the box enclosed it on every side.

¹ November. This day is marked as triply unlucky  in the Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days given in the Papyrus Sallier IV (Brit. Mus. No. 10,184); see also Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri*, Plates XXXI and XXXII. On this day great lamentation was made by Isis and Nephthys for their brother Osiris, the sounds of which were heard from Saïs in the north to Abydos in the south.

² The old town was situated on a tract of high ground between Sidon and the Promontory Theoprosopon. See Strabo, XVI, ii, 18. The modern village of Jebel is near the site.

The king of Byblos marvelled at the size of this tree, and had it cut down, and caused a pillar for his palace to be made of that portion of the trunk which contained the box. When this news reached Isis she set out at once for Byblos, and when she arrived there she sat down by the side of the fountain of the palace and spoke to no one except the queen's maidens, who soon came to her. These she treated with great courtesy, and talked graciously to them, and caressed them, and tired their



The Funeral Coffer of Osiris and the Erica tree. At the head stands Nephthys and at the foot Isis.

From a bas-relief at Denderah.

heads, and at the same time transferred to them the wonderful odour of her own body. When the maidens returned to the palace the queen perceived the odour which emanated from their hair and bodies, and learning from them that it was due to their contact with Isis, she sent to her and invited her to come to the palace. After a conversation with her she appointed her to be the nurse of one of her children. The name of the king of Byblos was Melkarth¹, and that of his wife Astarte (Ishtar, Ashtoreth). Isis gave the child her finger instead of her breast to suck, and at night she burned away in fire his mortal parts, whilst she herself, in the form of a swallow,

¹ Plutarch calls him Malkandros, but this seems to be a mistake for מלקרת.



The Tet of Osiris, with the plumes, horns, disk, breast-plate and pectoral of the god.
From a bas-relief at Abydos.

flew round and round the pillar which contained the body of Osiris, uttering mournful chirpings. After she had treated the child thus for some time, the queen one night saw her son burning in the fire, whereupon she uttered a piercing cry, and so prevented him from obtaining the gift of immortality which was about to be bestowed upon him. Then Isis revealed herself to the queen, and told her her story, and begged that the pillar might be given to her. When this had been done, she removed it and cut out the box, and having wrapped the pillar up in fine linen and anointed it with unguents, she gave it back to the king and queen, who sent it to the temple of Byblos, where it was duly and regularly worshipped by the people of the city. The tree trunk, or pillar, is confused with the Tet, the raising up of which to an upright position was one of the most sacred ceremonies of the great festival of Osiris. The illustration shows the Tet in the form in which it was worshipped at Abydos. This done, Isis threw herself upon the box and uttered such piercing shrieks and lamentations that the younger of the king's sons was frightened into convulsions and died on the spot. She then placed the box in a boat, and taking the elder son with her, she set sail for Egypt.

Soon after her departure she

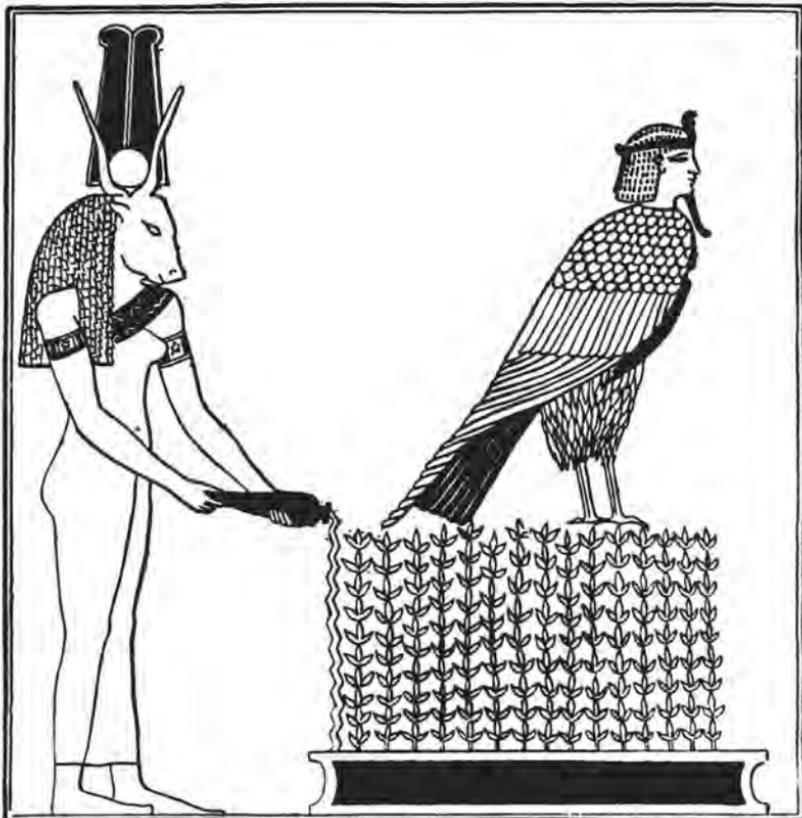
opened the box, and laying her face on that of her dead husband, she embraced his body, and wept bitterly. Meanwhile the boy, wondering what was happening, stole up behind and spied upon her ; when Isis became aware of this she turned round suddenly, being in a great passion, and in her anger cast so terrible a look upon him that he died of fright. Some, however, say that he did not die through the wrath of the goddess, but that he fell into the sea and was drowned. He is said to be the "Maneros" upon whom the Egyptians call during their feasts.

In due course Isis arrived in Egypt from Byblos, and having placed the box in an out-of-the-way place, she set out to visit her son Horus, who was being reared at Butus.¹ The box was, however, discovered by Typhon, the murderer of Osiris, one night whilst he was hunting by the light of the moon, and knowing whose the body was, he broke it up into fourteen pieces, which he scattered throughout the country. When the news of the dismemberment of Osiris reached Isis, she set out in search of his scattered limbs. This region of the Delta being full of marshes and canals Isis travelled about in a boat made of the papyrus plant, which was sacred to her. No crocodile dared to attack her in her papyrus boat, and unto this day men make their boats of papyrus, because they believe that when in them they are safe from the attacks of crocodiles. Isis was successful in her search, and wherever she found a member of her husband's body she buried it, and built a sepulchre over it ; this explains why there are so many tombs of Osiris in Egypt. Some say that Isis only buried figures of Osiris in the various cities and pretended that they were his body, so that she might thereby cause the worship of her husband to be general, and that Typhon, distracted by the number of the tombs of Osiris, might despair of ever being able to find the true one. Isis found all the members of the body of Osiris save one, which was cast by Typhon into the Nile after he had severed it from the body, and had been eaten by the Lepidotus, Phagrus, and Oxyrhynchus fishes, but she made a figure of it which was ever after used in commemorative festivals.

¹ The city Pe-Tep of the hieroglyphic texts.

8 Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection

After these things Osiris returned from the Other World and encouraged his son, Horus, to do battle with Typhon. A fight took place between them which lasted for several days, and at length the murderer of Osiris was vanquished and taken prisoner, and handed over to the custody of Isis. Feeling some



The cow-headed Isis pouring out a libation in honour of the soul of Osiris, which rises in the form of a man-headed hawk from the plants growing in a sacred lake.

From a bas-relief at Philae.

compassion for her brother-in-law she cut his bonds, and set him at liberty, an act which enraged Horus so greatly that he tore the royal crown off his mother's head. In its place Thoth gave her a crown made in the shape of an ox's head. Typhon made use of his liberty to accuse Horus of illegitimacy, but the matter was tried before the gods, and by the assistance

of Thoth, who acted as his advocate, Horus was enabled to prove to the gods that he was the lawful successor to the throne of his father, Osiris. Subsequently Isis had union with her husband, Osiris, and the result of the god's embrace was the child Harpokrates, who came into the world prematurely, and was lame in his lower limbs in consequence. "Such are the principal facts of this famous story, the more harsh and shocking parts of it, such as the dismemberment of Horus, and the beheading of Isis being omitted."

Diodorus, who was born at Agyrium in Sicily in the latter half of the first century B.C., relates in his famous history the following concerning Osiris and Isis: The early generations of men thought there were two principal gods that were eternal, that is to say, the sun and the moon; the former they called "Osiris," and the latter "Isis." The name Osiris means "many-eyed" (*πολυόφθαλμον*), and is rightly applied to the sun, which darts his rays everywhere, seeing as it were with many eyes what is on land and sea. The name "Isis" means "ancient," and has been applied to the moon from time immemorial. Osiris and Isis govern the whole world, and they foster and protect everything in it, and they divide the year into three parts, spring, summer, and winter.¹ After Hephaistos, the next king who reigned over Egypt was Kronos (in Egyptian, *Keb*), who married his sister Rhea (in Egyptian, *Nut*), and became the father of Osiris and Isis. Others say that Zeus and Hera were the rulers of Egypt, and that from them five gods were born, one upon each of the five epagomenal days, viz., Osiris, Isis, Typhon, Apollo, and Aphrodite. Those who hold this view identify Osiris with Bacchus, and Isis with Ceres. Osiris married Isis, and after he became king he performed many things for the benefit and advantage of mankind generally. He abolished cannibalism, which was common in Egypt, he taught the people to plough and to sow, and to raise crops of wheat and barley, and Isis showed them how to make bread, and was the first to make them acquainted with the use to which wheat and barley could be put. For this reason they offer to Isis the firstfruits of the ears of

¹ Book I, Chap. 11.

corn at harvest, and invoke her powerful assistance with loud cries. It is also said that Isis formulated a code of laws which provided wholesome punishments for wild and violent men.¹

Osiris was greatly devoted to agriculture. He was brought up in Nysa, a town of Arabia Felix, where he discovered the use of the vine. He was the first to drink wine, and he taught men to plant the vine, and how to make and preserve wine. He held Hermes (in



Thoth, the advocate of Osiris, bearing life and serenity.



Thoth, the advocate of Osiris, writing on his palette.

From the Papyrus of Hunefer.

Egyptian, Thoth) in high honour, because of his ingenuity and power of quick invention. Hermes taught men to speak distinctly, he gave names to things which possessed none before, he invented letters, and instituted the worship of the gods, he invented arithmetic, music, and sculpture, and formulated a system of astronomy. He was the confidential scribe of Osiris, who invariably accepted his advice upon all matters. Osiris raised

¹ Book I, Chap. 14.

a large army, and he determined to go about the world teaching mankind to plant vines and to sow wheat and barley. Having made all arrangements in Egypt he committed the government of his whole kingdom to Isis, and gave her as an assistant Hermes, his trusted scribe who excelled all others in wisdom and prudence. He appointed to be the chief of the forces in Egypt his kinsman Hercules, a man of great physical strength. Osiris took with him Apollo (in Egyptian, Horus), Anubis who wore a dog's skin, Macedo who wore a wolf's skin, Pan (in Egyptian, Menu), and various skilful husbandmen. As he marched through Ethiopia, a company of satyrs was presented to him; he was fond of music and dancing, and therefore added them to the body of musicians and singers, both male and female, who were in his train. Having taught the Ethiopians the arts of tillage and husbandry, he built several cities in their country, and appointed governors over them, and then continued his journey. On the borders of Ethiopia he raised the river banks, and took precautions to prevent the Nile from overflowing the neighbouring country and turning it into a marsh, and he built canals with flood-gates and regulators. He then travelled by way of the coast of Arabia into India, where he built many cities, including Nysa, in which he planted the ivy plant. He took part in several elephant hunts, and journeying westwards he brought his army through the Hellespont into Europe. In Thrace he killed Lycurgus, a barbarian king, who refused to adopt his system of government. Osiris became a benefactor of the whole world by finding out food which was suitable for mankind, and after his death he gained the reward of immortality, and was honoured as a god.

For some time the priests kept secret the manner of his death, but at length some of them, being unable to keep the knowledge to themselves, divulged the matter. Osiris was, in fact, murdered by his wicked brother, Typhon, who broke his body into twenty-six pieces, and gave a piece to each of his fellow-conspirators, to make them equally guilty with himself, and so to force them to raise him to the throne of Osiris and to defend him when there. Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, with the

assistance of her son Horus, avenged his murder, and took possession of the throne of Egypt. She searched for and found all the pieces of her husband's body save one, and she rejoined them by means of wax and aromatic spices, and made the body to be of the former size of Osiris. She then sent for the priests and told each of them that she was going to entrust to them the body of Osiris for burial, and she assigned to them one-third part of the country to serve as an endowment for his worship. Isis ordered them also to dedicate to Osiris one of the beasts which they bred, and, whilst it was alive, to pay to it the same veneration which they paid

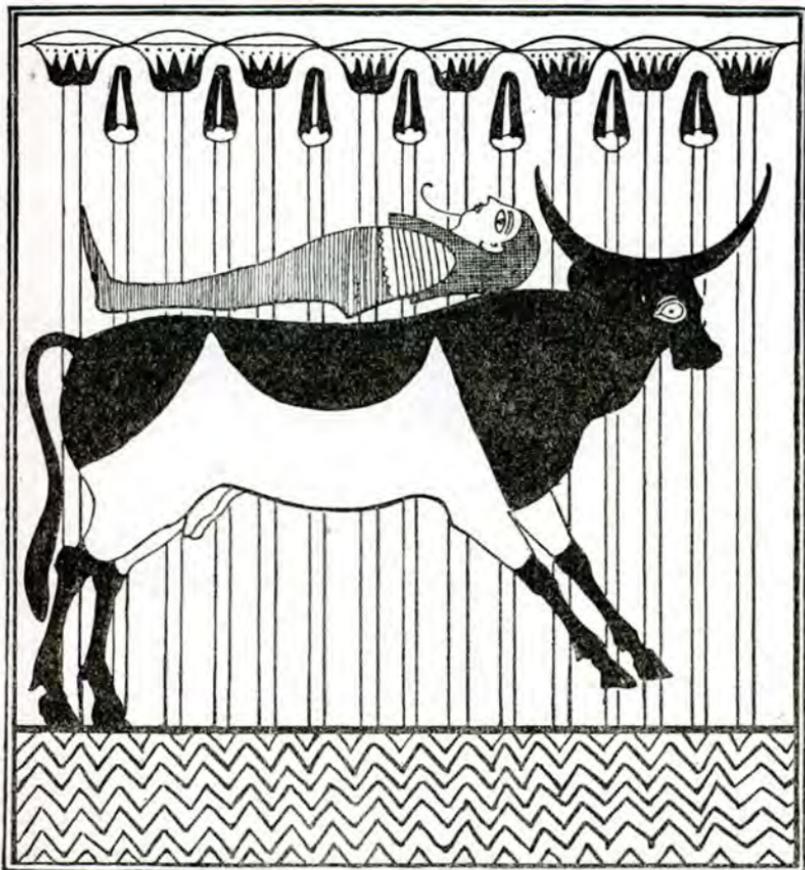


Isis addressing the mummy of Osiris as it lay in her boat ready for removal to the tomb.

to Osiris, and when it was dead, to worship it as sincerely as they did Osiris. This the priests did, and the animal they dedicated to Osiris was the bull, and they renewed their mournings for Osiris over the graves of two bulls in particular, namely, Apis and Mnevis. Isis also ordered that models of the missing part of the body of Osiris should be made, and they were adored in the temples, and were held generally in great veneration.

Isis then made a vow never to marry again, and she spent the rest of her days in administering justice among her subjects, and she excelled all other princes in her works of charity towards her own people. After her death she was numbered among the gods; her tomb, according to some, is at Memphis, and, according to others, at Philae. It is said that Isis discovered many medicines, and that she was greatly skilled in the art of

physic. Even as a goddess she interests herself in healing men's bodies, and to all who seek her help she appears in dreams and gives relief. Several people who were sent away by the physicians as incurable have been restored to health by her ; and the lame have been



Osiris in the form of a bull, bearing a mummy of one of his worshippers on his back.
From a coffin in the British Museum (No. 29,777).

made to walk and the blind to see by her powerful help. They say that she discovered a medicine which would raise the dead to life, and that by means of it she restored to life her son Horus, who had been killed by Titans, and whose body had been thrown into the water ; to him she gave this medicine, and he not only came to life again but became immortal. From Isis, Horus learned

the arts of physic and divination, which he used for the benefit of mankind.¹

[Julius Firmicus Maternus, who had practised the law, and who flourished in the first half of the fourth century A.D., treats the history of Osiris in a somewhat different manner. In his short treatise *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*,² which appears to have been written with a view of exposing the futility of idolatry, and the absurdity of raising men to the rank of gods and then worshipping them, rather than to show the excellence of the Christian religion, he writes of Osiris thus:—Osiris and Isis were brother and sister, and



Nephthys addressing the mummy of Horus, who had been slain by Set and his fiends.

Typhon was the husband of Isis. Finding that Isis was overtaken by illicit love for her brother, Typhon slew Osiris in a crafty manner, and having torn the body in pieces, he scattered the quivering limbs along the banks of the Nile. Isis thrust her husband Typhon from her in disgust, and joining to herself her sister Nephthys and the dog-headed Anubis, she determined to search for the limbs of Osiris and bury them. With the help of Anubis she found them, and gave them burial, and Osiris, who had been a just man, was henceforward worshipped in the temples under the form of a figure made to resemble him. Typhon, on the other hand,

¹ Book I, Chap. 25.

² See *Mythologici Latini*, edited by Commelinus, 1599.

being proud, haughty, and arrogant, was held in abomination. In the sanctuaries of Osiris his murder and dismemberment were annually commemorated with weepings, and wailings, and great lamentations. His worshippers shaved their heads, and beat their breasts, and gashed their shoulders, and inflicted wounds on their bodies in imitation of the cuts and gashes which Typhon made in the body of Osiris. Whenever possible they cut into the scars which were left by the gashes of the preceding year, so that the remembrance of the abominable murder of Osiris might be renewed in their minds. When they have done this for a certain number of days, they pretend that the mutilated remains of the god have been found and rejoined, and then they turn from mourning to rejoicing. Those who defend these practices say that grain is the seed of Osiris, that Isis is the earth, and that Typhon is heat.

Another ceremony which connects Osiris with some local tree-god is also described by Firmicus Maternus (*op. cit.*, p. 299). He says that in the mysteries of Isis a pine tree was cut down and hollowed out, and that with the pith of the tree a figure of Osiris was made, which was then buried and, having been kept for a year, was burned.¹ Macrobius, who flourished in the first half of the fifth century A.D., held the view that Osiris was the sun and Isis the earth. In proof of his assertion that Osiris is the sun he says that the Egyptians represent this god in their hieroglyphs under the form of a sceptre with an eye in it, and that they indicate by this the idea of the god surveying the universe from his exalted throne in the sky.²

The accounts of Osiris and Isis given by Diodorus,

¹ In Isiacis sacris de pinea arbore caeditur truncus. Hujus trunci media pars subtiliter excavatur. Illis de feminibus factum idolum Osiridis sepelitur. . . . Sed et illa alia ligna quae dixi, similis flamma consumit, nam etiam post annum ipsorum lignorum rogom flamma depascitur.

² Nec in occulto est, neque aliud esse Osirin, quam solem, nec Isin aliud esse, quam terram, ut diximus, naturamve rerum hinc Osirin Aegyptii, ut solem esse asserant, quoties hieroglyphicis litteris suis exprimere volunt, insculpunt sceptrum, inque eo speciem oculi exprimunt, et hoc signo Osirin monstrant, significantes hunc deum solem esse, regalique potestate sublimem cuncta despiciere. —*Saturnaliorum*, Book I (Panckoncke's edition, tom. I, p. 253).

Plutarch, Firmicus Maternus, and Macrobius, which have been summarized above, are important, and it is clear from the allusions to Osiris and Isis, which are scattered through the works of other authors of the early centuries of the Christian Era that, speaking generally, they represent the views which were current among classical writers at that time. Both Plutarch and Diodorus agree in assigning a divine origin to Osiris, and both state that he reigned in the form of a man upon the earth. This being so it is clear that the Egyptians generally believed that a god made himself incarnate, and that an immediate ancestor of the first Pharaoh of Egypt was a being who possessed two natures, the one human and the other divine. As a man he performed the good works which his divine nature indicated to him, he abolished cannibalism, he improved the manners and morals of men, he taught them to live according to law, to worship the gods, and to practise the arts of agriculture. Filled with love for man he set out to travel over the whole world so that he might teach all non-Egyptians to embrace his beneficent doctrine, and enjoy the blessings which accrue to God-fearing and law-abiding peoples. This god-man was hated by his brother, who by a cunning device inveigled him into a box, which he closed and sealed with lead, and thus killed him. The body of the man-god was thrown into the river, and carried thereby to the sea, whence by some means it was brought to Byblos in Syria.

The events which are stated by Plutarch to have happened to the body in this place are, clearly, interpolations of a comparatively late period, and were, I believe, invented to explain the similarity of the popular worship of Byblos with that of Osiris. Where the box was carried seems beyond doubt to have been the papyrus swamps, or the reedy marshes in the east of the Delta. "Byblos" (*Bύβλος*) is a well-known word for the papyrus plant, and some copyist, who knew nothing of the fact that the Delta was full of papyrus marshes, concluded that the word in his text referred to the town of Byblos, and so modified the legend considerably. Plutarch tells us that Isis left the box in an

out-of-the-way place whilst she went to visit her son Horus at Butus, *i.e.*, the Pe-Tep of the Egyptian inscriptions. Now, the well-known legend cut on the Metternich Stele says that Isis brought forth her son Horus among the papyrus swamps, and that she reared him there herself, therefore there must be some confusion in the sources of Plutarch's information. At all events, Isis seems to have left the box for some reason, and during her absence Typhon found it, dragged out the body of Osiris, and tore it into fourteen pieces, which he scattered about the country. Thirteen of these pieces were found by Isis, who buried them, and built sanctuaries over them. Osiris then returned from the Other World, and encouraged Horus to do battle with Typhon, and in the fight which ensued Horus was victorious.

From what Plutarch says we are bound to conclude that the Egyptians did not believe that Osiris perished and came to an end with the dismemberment of his body by Typhon, for if they did Plutarch could not have told us that Osiris returned from the Other World. Unfortunately he does not say whether Osiris came in the form of a spirit, or in his natural body, which he had raised from the dead, but it is clear that he had the power of speech and thought, and that he appeared in a form which Horus could recognize. The divine part of Osiris did not die, it was only the mortal body, which he put on when he came from the abode of the gods to reign upon earth, that suffered death. In the divinity and immortality of the god-man Osiris lay the strength of the power with which he appealed to the minds and hopes of the Egyptians for thousands of years, and we shall see in the course of the following pages that both these conceptions of Osiris are of purely African origin, and that they were in existence long before the Dynastic Period in Egypt. The narratives of Plutarch and Diodorus contain a great many statements about Osiris and Isis which can be substantiated by texts written three thousand years before the Christian Era, but they are arranged in wrong order, and many of them are joined together in such a way that it is certain that neither the classical writers nor their informants

understood the original form of the history of Osiris. Thus Firmicus Maternus says that Isis was the wife of Typhon, and that Osiris was murdered because she loved him. It is difficult to believe that so learned a man as Firmicus Maternus was ignorant of what Plutarch and Diodorus had written about Osiris, Isis, and Typhon, and it is equally difficult to explain how such a confounding of persons took place in his mind. Macrobius states, as we have seen, that Osiris was the sun and Isis the earth.

In considering these contradictory statements the only possible conclusion we can arrive at is that none of the classical writers had any exact knowledge of the meaning of the history of Osiris, and that none of them understood the details of his cult. It must, however, be admitted that this is not to be wondered at, for they could not read the Egyptian texts and they did not understand the ancient Egyptian religion. They were only acquainted with the phase of the cult of Osiris which existed in the Ptolemaic Period, and they were incapable by race and education of appreciating the conceptions and ideas which underlay Egyptian symbolism. We are better off than they because, thanks to the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, we are able to read, and often to understand, what the Egyptians thought and wrote about Osiris and Isis. And we can see that in very primitive times Osiris passed through many forms, and that his attributes were changed as the result of the development of the minds of the Egyptians and the natural modification of their religious views. Osiris, as we know him, was a compound of many gods, and his cult represented a blending of numerous nature cults, many of them being very ancient. As his worship spread throughout Egypt in the Dynastic Period he absorbed many of the attributes of local "gods" and "spirits," but so long as his priests gave to the peoples whose own local gods had been dispossessed by Osiris the essentials which their belief demanded, they were content.

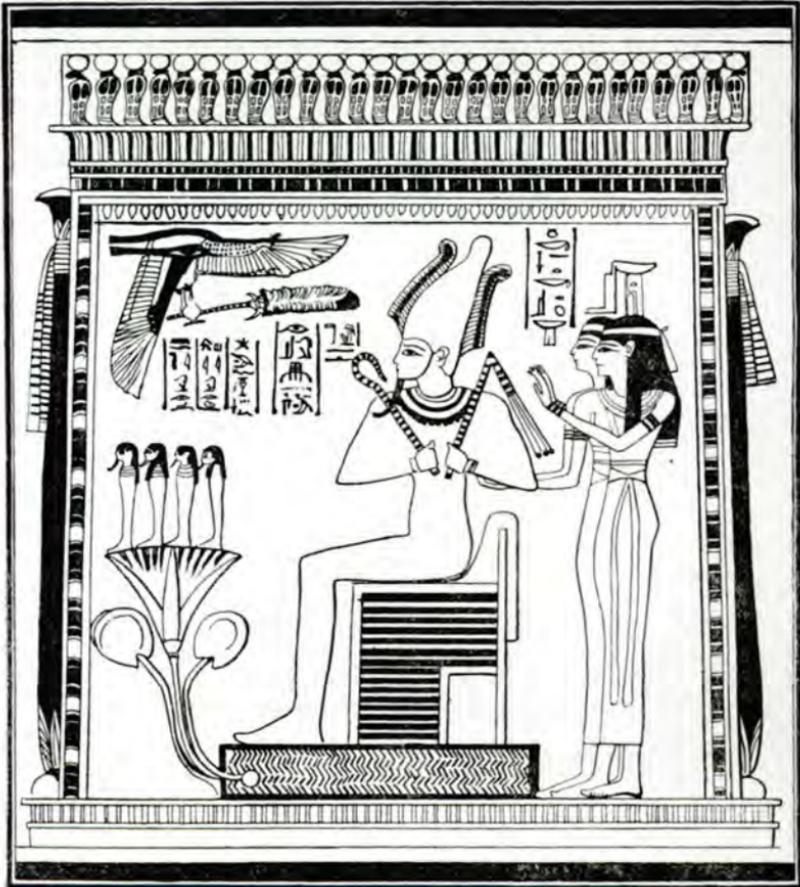
The Egyptian texts and the works of classical writers enable us to identify many of the "gods" and "spirits," the attributes of whom were absorbed by Osiris. In

the earliest times we find him identified with the spirit of the growing crop and the grain god, and he represented the spirit of vegetation in general. His chief assistant was his wife Isis, who taught men to prepare the grain which her husband had given them, and to make the flour into bread. His connection with the Persea-tree, and the legend which associates him with the Erica-tree, prove that at one time he was a tree-spirit, and that he absorbed the attributes of many tree-spirits both in the north and south of Egypt. Plutarch says that he was the first to drink wine, and to teach men to plant the vine, and this view is supported by vignettes in the Papyrus of Anhai and the Papyrus of Nekht. In the former we see growing near a pool of water a luxuriant vine, the fruit and branches of which extend to the figure of Osiris, who is seated upon a throne.¹ In the latter we see the Lady Anhai entering into the presence of Osiris bearing long branches of vine-leaves. As a great god of agriculture he controls the order of the seasons, and thereby assumes some of the powers of Thoth. His connection with agriculture made it important for him to have the control of the necessary water supply of the country, and he was therefore endowed with the powers of Hep, or Heper, the great god of the Nile. In the Papyrus of Hunefer his throne is actually placed by, or above, a lake of water (see illustration). As grain could not be grown without the help of the bull or ox in ploughing, we find him identified with more than one Bull-god, and in the Book of the Dead he is addressed as the "Bull of Amentet," *i.e.*, "Bull of the Other World." The female counterpart of an early Bull-god was the Cow-goddess Hathor, whose attributes were absorbed by Isis before the downfall of the Ancient Empire, probably about the same time that the Bull-god was merged in Osiris.

So far back as the period of the VIth dynasty Osiris was credited with having begotten a child by Isis after his death, and thus he became the symbol of all the gods of virility and reproduction. At one time he must have been the god of the moon, a fact which is proved by

¹ See the Frontispiece to Volume I of this work.

many passages in Egyptian texts, and by the statements of Plutarch that Osiris lived or reigned twenty-eight years, and that Typhon broke his body into fourteen pieces. The Bull Apis was, the texts tell us, the "living soul of Osiris," and was, according to Plutarch, begotten



Osiris seated on his throne by, or above, a lake of water.
From the Papyrus of Hunefer.

not by a bull, but by a "ray of generative light which "appeared from the moon, and rested upon the cow his "mother at a time when she was strongly disposed for "generation."¹ Two of the greatest of the monthly festivals were those which were celebrated on the 1st and

¹ Chap. XLIII.

15th days of each month, *i.e.*, the first day of the period of the waxing moon, and the first day of the period of the waning moon. The fourteen parts into which the body of Osiris was broken refer, beyond doubt, to the fourteen pieces which were assumed to be broken or bitten off from the moon during its period of waning, just as the



Osiris in the character of Menu, the "god of the uplifted arm," and Harpokrates as they sat in the disk of the moon, from the third day of the new moon until the fifteenth day. Below is the Crocodile-god Sebek bearing the mummy of the god on his back. To the left stands Isis.

From a bas-relief at Philae.

twenty-eight years of the reign, or life, of Osiris, refer to the days of the moon's life. Apart from the fact that Osiris is actually called "Āsar Aāh," *i.e.*, "Osiris the Moon," there are so many passages which prove beyond all doubt that at one period at least Osiris was the Moon-god, that it is difficult to understand why Diodorus stated that Osiris was the sun and Isis the moon. The Egyptian texts suggest that in late times the Sun-god of night may have been regarded as a form of Osiris, and in

the last section of the Book *Âm-Tuat*,¹ we see the mummied form in which he passed through the *Tuat*, or Other World; but Osiris the Moon-god and the Sun-god were two entirely distinct beings and the Egyptians never confounded them, whatever the Greeks may have done.

The more the religious texts are examined the more clear does it become that from the XIIth dynasty downwards, there is hardly a local god of any importance with whom, sooner or later, Osiris was not identified. Grain-spirits, tree-spirits, tree-gods, animal-gods, reptile-gods, bird-gods, all were absorbed by Osiris, and additions to his attributes continued to be made until his original form disappeared under a mass of confused and often contradictory descriptions. In religious theorizings the Egyptians never forgot anything which had been imagined and had found expression in the written word, and they discarded no view or belief, however contradictory, fearing lest they should suffer material loss in this world, and spiritual loss in the next. The result of this was to create in their religion a confusion which is practically unbounded, and we need not wonder that ancient Greek and Roman writers produced histories of Egyptian gods and goddesses which border on the ridiculous. They, as well as modern investigators of the Egyptian religion, read into the texts ideas and meanings which were, and still are, wholly foreign to the African mind. The Egyptian was never a profound theologian, and in primitive times his religion was largely a mixture of magic and materialism. The idea of the god-man Osiris was developed naturally from the cult of the ancestor who, having been a man, was supposed to be better able to understand the wants of living men than the great unknowable God, whose existence was dimly imagined. Somehow and somewhere the belief arose that this particular god-man Osiris had risen from the dead, as the result of a series of magical ceremonies which were performed by Horus, his son, under the direction of the great magician-priest Thoth and with the help of the embalmer, or medicine-man, Anubis, and it grew and increased until it filled all Egypt. The fundamental

¹ See Budge, *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, vol. I, p. 277.

attractions of Osiris worship were the humanity of the god and his immortality, and to these were added later the attributes of a just but merciful judge, who rewarded the righteous and punished the wicked. That these appealed irresistibly to the Egyptians of all periods is proved by the absorption into Osiris of all the other gods of the dead in Egypt.

CHAPTER II.

THE NAME AND ICONOGRAPHY OF OSIRIS.

THE name of the Egyptian god-man, which is commonly known by its Greek form "Osiris," is written in hieroglyphs with the signs which are read AS-AR or AS-ARI. In the Ptolemaic Period we have which are to be read US-ARI. Other forms are User Usri Ausares User etc.¹ The Coptic and Syriac forms, *oucipi* and *ouisour* *Usiri*, *Usiris*, show that the *u*-sound predominated at the beginning of the name in the later period, just as Muhammadans to-day pronounce the name of God "Ullah," instead of "Allah," but this was probably due to the fact that in the later period the Egyptians assigned a meaning to the name Osiris which it had not in the earliest times.

About the meaning of the name As-ari or Us-ari many theories have been formed, but none of the meanings proposed is satisfactory. Diodorus² and Plutarch³ thought that Osiris meant "many eyes," but whatever the name means it cannot mean that. Jablonski⁴ and, following him, Leemans,⁵ connected the name with the Coptic words *ouy* and *ipi*, "to do much," and Sharpe derived it from the Coptic words *wy* and *ipi*, "to cry out much."⁶ Etymologies have been found for

¹ See Lefébure, *Le Mythe Osirien*, Paris, 1875, p. 131; and Erman, *A.Z.*, Bd. 46 (1910), p. 92.

² I, 11.

³ Chap. 10.

⁴ *Panthéon*, II, 7.

⁵ *Horapollo*, p. 243.

⁶ *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 7.

the name in Assyrian and Sanskrit, but they are not acceptable. If we take one of the oldest forms of the name we have the two signs which compose it written thus,  or . The first sign is the hieroglyph for "seat," "throne," "place," and the second as a hieroglyph means "the eye," and with a derived sense it means "to see." However we arrange these meanings it is most improbable that the result can represent the meaning of the name *Asâr*, or *Osiris*. The late Dr. H. Brugsch assumed that "Us-iri" was the oldest form of the name *Osiris*, and stated boldly that these words meant "die Macht, die Kraft des Augapfels," or "Kräftig ist der Augapfel,"¹ but though "apple of the eye" may be a sufficiently good rendering of the second sign , "strong" and "mighty" cannot be accepted as meanings for the first sign , which means a "seat" or "throne," and nothing else. Even if we take the late form of the name  , which is written with the signs for a sceptre and an eye, his meaning "strength, or power, of the apple of the eye," cannot be deduced from them, unless we assume that  =  user, for which there is no justification. Having explained *Osiris* in this manner, Dr. Brugsch went on to say that the name "Isis," in Egyptian *Ast*²  , meant "the strong one," or "the mighty one," a meaning which is impossible. The second sign of the old form of the name *Osiris* , is, however, used as a verb, meaning "to make," "to do," "maker," "doer," etc., and if we apply it to the name we may render it by "he who makes a seat," or "seat maker," *i.e.*, he who takes his seat or throne. That this view was in the mind of the Egyptian scribes at least is proved by the forms   ,   , etc., which Dr. Erman has shrewdly noted in his article.

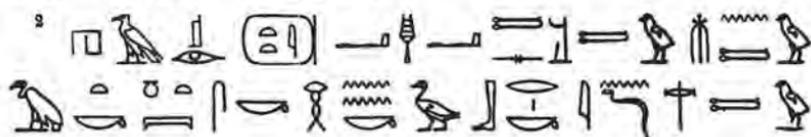
¹ *Religion und Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 81.

² Herr Grapow (*A.Z.*, Bd. 46, p. 108) calls attention to the reading

Ast   , *Isis*, which Lacau has published in *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. XXX, p. 192.

If "seat maker," or "he who takes [his] seat" be the meaning of the name Osiris, it is quite certain that his name must commemorate some very important event in the life of the god, and there should exist in the texts some description of it. The words, taking or making a seat or throne, naturally suggest the idea of coronation, but the idea of ascending a throne, or coronation, is always expressed by the word *khā*, , whilst the word used in connection with  in the name of Osiris is . We must therefore find some incident in the life of Osiris which involved "taking a seat" in such a manner that it deserved to be commemorated once for all in the god's name. This, fortunately, is not far to seek. In the text of King Tetà it is said: "Hail, Osiris Tetà! Wake up! Horus causes Thoth to bring to thee thine enemy, he sets thee on his back, he shall not defile thee. Make thy seat upon him. Come forth! Sit thou upon him, he shall not commit an act of pæderasty on thee."¹ In another place, in the text of the same king, we read: "Hail, Osiris Tetà! Stand up, rise up! Thy mother Nut gives thee birth, the god Kēb presses thy mouth for thee. The Great Company of the gods converse with thee. They set thine enemy beneath thee, they say to him: 'Carry thou one who is greater than thyself through thy name of Atfa-ur. Support one who is greater than thyself through thy name of Ta-Abtu.'²"

From these two passages it is clear that in the

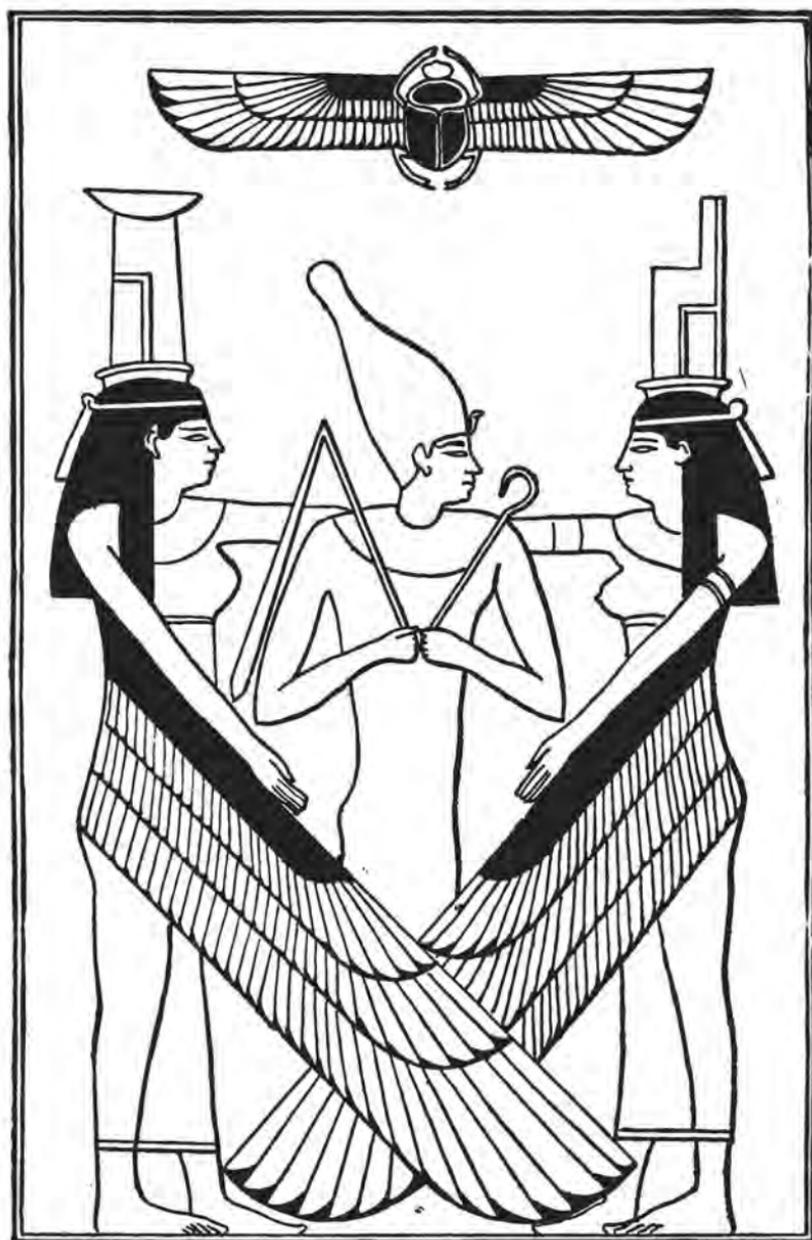


VIth dynasty a belief was current that, after Osiris had been raised from the dead and had entered into heaven, his son, Horus, caused Thoth to bring before him his old enemy Set, so that the murderer of Osiris might see, in a state of glory, the god whom he had killed. When Set appeared the gods threw him down, and Thoth lifted Osiris on to his back, and whilst Osiris sat there triumphant the gods mocked Set, and told him to carry one mightier than himself. At first, Osiris appears to have hesitated, for Thoth exhorted him to "make his seat upon him," and to "come forth and sit upon him." He further promised that Set should not defile him, and that he should not commit an act of paederasty¹ upon him. This passage shows only too plainly that in remote times in Egypt the victors committed nameless acts of abomination on the vanquished, besides frightful mutilations, and evidence is not wanting that such practices were not unknown in the Southern Sûdân a very few years ago. Osiris did as Thoth and Horus had arranged he should do, and "made his seat," or seated himself, upon the body of Set in triumph, and was, presumably, ever after called the "seat-maker," As-âr, or As-âri, which the Greeks turned into Osiris. The crudeness and, it may be added, childishness of the story prove that it is very ancient, and it probably existed in Predynastic times. It may be argued that the story was invented to provide an etymology for the name of Osiris, but even if this were the case it is still very ancient, for the text which contains it was cut upon King Tetâ's tomb under the VIth dynasty, and it is unlikely that it was new at that time.



¹ This view is also held by Maspero, *Les Pyramides*, p. 126, note 2, and by Wiedemann, *Sphinx*, Varia III, tom. XIV, p. 39.

It has already been mentioned in the preceding chapter that Osiris absorbed the attributes of many of the native gods of the dead who were worshipped in Egypt, and that he passed through several phases in which he was respectively a grain-spirit, a tree-spirit, a water-spirit, an animal-spirit, a star-spirit, etc., before he became the god-man, the first of those who rose from the dead. Traces of all these forms survived in his cult long after he became a god-man, just as allusions to his sufferings and death permeated the religious literature of Egypt for thousands of years after he was first alleged to have risen from the dead. Whether forms of the god Osiris were sculptured on the walls of the temples of the Ancient Empire, or similitudes of him were drawn on papyri and leather, or cut on wood under the early dynasties, cannot be said; certainly no examples of such representations have come down to us. It is, however, well known that the position of Osiris as the god-man was well established in the minds of the Egyptians at the beginning of the Dynastic Period, and that he was even at this remote time regarded as the head of a small company of five gods, each of whom was endued by his worshippers with human attributes. Osiris was a good, benevolent, and just king, who was murdered by his brother Set. Isis, his sister and wife, was a faithful and loving wife, who protected him and his interests with unremitting care during his life, and cherished his memory unceasingly after his death. She endured sorrow, pain, and loneliness in bringing forth his son Horus, and spared herself neither toil nor care in rearing him. As he grew up she taught him that it was his duty to avenge his father's murder, and encouraged a warlike spirit in him. Nephthys, her sister, attached herself to her with loving faithfulness, and assisted Isis by word and deed in all the trouble which she suffered through the murder of her husband, and through the poisoning of her child Horus. Set was the husband of Nephthys, and begat by her Anpu, or Anubis, who acted as embalmer of Osiris. Thus we see that the Egyptians regarded these gods and goddesses as a sort of holy family, all the members whereof were god-men and god-women. These appealed to the Egyptians



Osiris standing between Isis and Nephthys.
From a bas-relief at Philae.

through their affections and, if the word may be used, domestic virtues. Isis was the ideal wife and mother and the perfect woman, and, long before the death of the last native king of Egypt, she held in the hearts of her worshippers a position somewhat similar to that held by the Virgin Mary in the hearts of many Oriental Christians in Egypt, the Sûdân, Abyssinia, and Western Asia. This being so it is not surprising that Osiris, Isis, Horus, and Nephthys always appear in human form, and, though Set and Anubis are given animal heads, the literature of Egypt contains many passages which prove that they possessed human instincts and speech, and that on occasions they did work which men alone can do.

Osiris as the typical god-man who died and rose again is represented in the form of a mummy, or, at all events, in the form of a dead man who has been made ready for burial. This form is a development of an ancient presentment of a dead chief or ancestor, for Osiris took the place of the tutelary ancestor-god who was honoured and worshipped in every village of the Sûdân of any size from time immemorial. This ancestor-god was chosen to be the patron and protector of the village because of either the strength or the wisdom which he had displayed when upon earth, and many modern travellers have put on record that figures of ancestors still occupy prominent positions in African villages and settlements. Often they stand under a rude canopy formed of branches and leaves, which is supported by poles, but sometimes, like the figures of spirits and "gods," they are provided with small huts, or houses. As it has always been the custom to reserve ceremonial burial for the bodies of kings, chiefs, and men of high rank it is clear from the traditional accounts of the burial of Osiris, and of the numerous ceremonies which were performed in connection with it, that he must have been a great and powerful king. Moreover, the figures of the god which appear on sepulchral stelae of the latter part of the Middle Empire, and the reliefs sculptured on walls and pillars of temples of the New Empire, to say nothing of the fine vignettes in papyri of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, all represent him as a great king.

and in all essentials and special characteristics of the god they agree.

If we look at the stele of Menthu-ḥetep from Abydos¹ we see sculptured on the upper part the figure of a god in mummied form, wearing the White Crown ; he holds a sceptre in his left hand, and stands on the object , and from the back of his neck hangs a *menät* . From the head of his sceptre 

proceeds "life" , which he is presenting to his son the king of Egypt, Usertsen I, who appears standing upon the *serekh*² in the form of a hawk wearing the crowns of the South and the North. Behind the

god are the signs , *i.e.*,

"Khenti-Āmenti, the Lord of Abydos." Khenti-Āmenti was one of the oldest gods of Abydos, and was certainly connected with the dead, being, probably, the ancient local god of the dead of Abydos and its neighbourhood. Now, in the Pyramid Texts, which were written under the VIth dynasty, there are several mentions of Khenti-Āmenti, and in a large number of instances the name is preceded by that of Osiris. It is quite clear, therefore, that the chief attributes of the one god must have resembled those of the other, and that Osiris Khenti-Āmenti was assumed to have absorbed the powers of Khenti-Āmenti. In the representations of the two gods which are found at Abydos there is usually no difference, at least not under the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties. On some of the stelae and other monuments which belong to the XIIth dynasty,³ an addition of two feathers is made to the White Crown which Osiris Khenti-Āmenti wears,⁴ and it is possible that they typify the fusion of the two gods. In papyri of the

¹ Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. II, Plate 25.

² See my *Book of the Kings of Egypt*, Vol. I, p. XIII.

³ See Mariette, *Abydos*, II, Plate 41.

⁴ See the shrine of Pa-suten-sa in the British Museum, Egyptian Gallery, No. 174.

XVIIIth dynasty Osiris Khenti-Âmenti, or simply Osiris, is seen seated in a sort of shrine under a canopy, and from the XIIth dynasty onwards this is the traditional position of the god on stelae.

Before the XIIth dynasty figures or representations of Osiris, either by himself or with Khenti-Âmenti, are very rare, and some doubt if any exist. On a jar-sealing of Per-âb-sen, a king of the IIInd dynasty, are figures of two male beings, each of which wears the White Crown , and holds the sceptre  in one hand and the symbol of life  in the other.¹ It can hardly be doubted that these figures represent Osiris. On a second jar-sealing is, undoubtedly, a figure of Set,² on a third is a figure of Shu,³ and on a fourth is a figure of a goddess, who bears the "green" sceptre  in one hand, and  in the other, and who must be Isis.⁴ If figures of Set were drawn or sculptured under the IIInd dynasty, there is no reason why the figure of Osiris should not have been drawn also, and as in succeeding dynasties Osiris was the god *par excellence* of the White Crown, it is nearly certain that the figure on the jar-sealing, with the White Crown and sceptre and , is intended to be that of Osiris.

There is, however, a much older representation of a god whom I believe to be Osiris. This is found on an ebony tablet in the British Museum,⁵ which records several events that took place in a certain year of the reign of Semti, or Ten, who was formerly known as Hesepti. Here in the upper register, on the right, is seen the figure of a god seated on a throne, wearing the White Crown and holding a whip, or flail,  in his hands. The god is in mummied form. His throne is placed on

¹ De Morgan, *Recherches*, II, figs. 816, 819.

² Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, Plate XXII, No. 179.

³ *Ibid.*, Plate XXIII, No. 199.

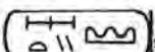
⁴ *Ibid.*, Plate XXIII, No. 192.

⁵ Third Egyptian Room, Table-Case L, No. 124. See the Chapter "Osiris and Dancing," where this tablet is figured.

the top of a flight of steps, and above it is a canopy, supported in front by poles, similar in every respect to the canopy under which Osiris is invariably seen seated in later monuments. Before the canopy is a figure of a king wearing the double crown of the South and North , and holding in one hand a paddle , and in the other a flail , or perhaps . On each side of him are three signs, which represent objects that were associated with dancing. The king, I believe, is dancing, though his back is turned to the god, and this representation appears to be the prototype of all the scenes, down to the Ptolemaic Period, in which the king dances before his god. Dancing was, and still is, an act of worship in Africa, and Osiris, according to Diodorus,¹ was a patron of dancers and musicians of all classes, both male and female.

The tablet on which the above scene is cut appears to be one of several on which the principal events of the reign of King Semti (Hesepti) were recorded, and to contain a list of the chief events of a particular year. (It is probable that the text of the Palermo Stele was compiled from a series of tablets of this kind.) The first event noted of the year was the performance by the king of some ceremony which was connected with the god who sat in a shrine placed on the top of a short flight of steps. The ceremony must have been a very important one, or it would not have been noted in this manner, and, in the light of reliefs and pictures of a later period, it is tolerably certain that it was connected with the founding and dedication of some building to the god, or the presentation of some great offering. About the identity of the king who is dancing before the god there is no doubt. On the left-hand side of the tablet we have his Horus name given, and it reads "TEN," the meaning of which is doubtful. Other



objects inscribed with Ten's names and titles show that he was called "Semti,"² , for which the Papyrus of Nu has , and the King-list of

¹ See above, p. 11.

² See Sethe, *A.Z.*, 1897, Band 35, p. 3.

Seti I at Abydos () , whence the name "Hesepti."

Now, in the Book of the Dead, certain sections, e.g., Chapter XXXB and Chapter LXIV, are said to have been "found" in the shrine of the god Henu by kings of the Ist and IVth dynasties. Thus, Chapter XXXB was "found" by Khufu's son Herutataf during the reign of Men-kau-Ra (Mycerinus).¹ One version of Chapter LXIV was "found" by the same person in the same reign,² but the other was "found" by the chief mason in the shrine at Hermopolis during the reign of Semti (Hesepti).³

There is no need to discuss here the exact meaning that we are to attach to the word "found" in these Rubrics of the Book of the Dead, for that has already been done at great length and with much learning by Professor Naville.⁴ All that concerns us here is the fact that in the XIth dynasty the learned men at Thebes believed that in the reign of Semti some work was carried out in connection with the editing, or re-editing, or perhaps even with the composing and writing of certain sections of the Book of the Dead. Now, this work was written for the benefit of the dead, and especially for those who accepted the doctrine of Osiris, therefore in the reign of Semti the cult of Osiris must have been in existence, and also writings which dealt with it and possessed an authoritative character. The scene on the wooden tablet proves beyond a doubt that a development of some religious cult took place in the reign of Semti, and if we connect this with the statements made in the Rubrics of Chapters XXXB,

¹ See the Papyrus of Amen-hotep in Naville, *Todtenbuch*, II, p. 99.

² See the Papyrus of Mes-em-neter (ed. Naville), and the Papyrus of Nu (ed. Budge), and Sir Gardner Wilkinson's transcript of the text of a coffin of the XIth dynasty (Budge, *Facsimiles of Hieratic Papyri*, Plate XXXIX ff.

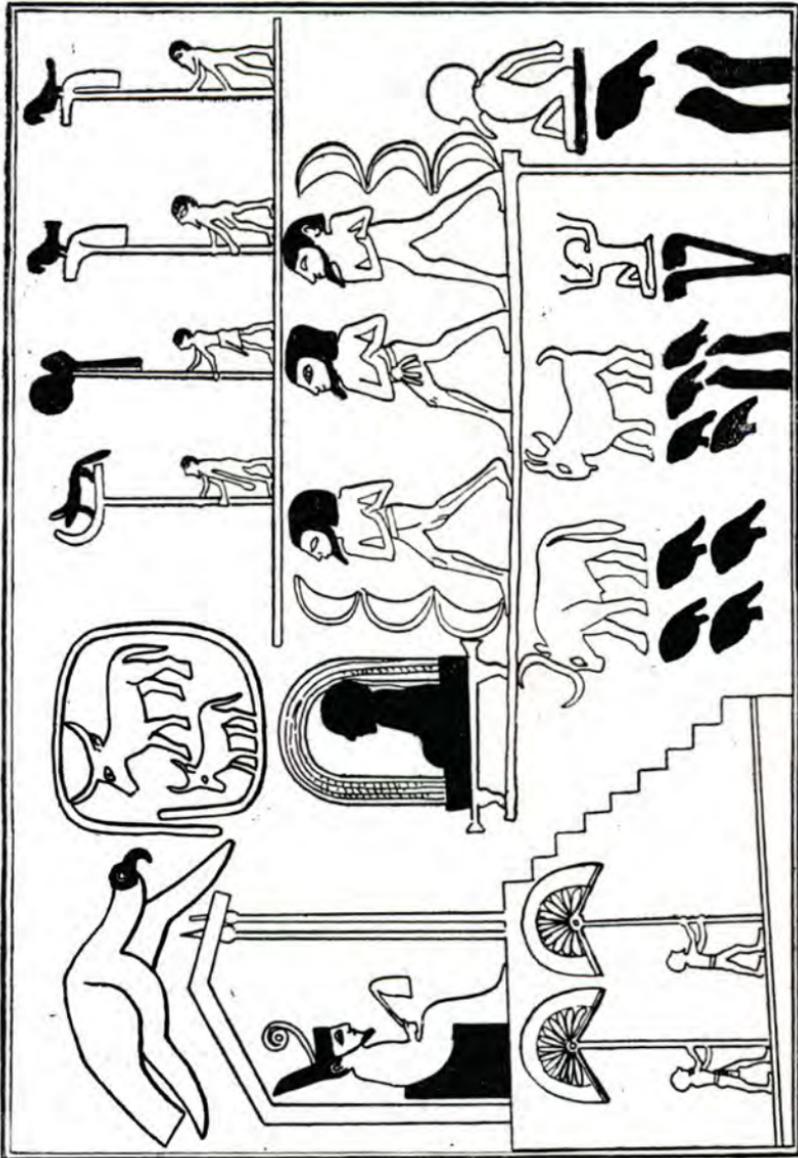
³ See the Papyrus of Nebseni (ed. Birch), the Papyrus of Nu (ed. Budge), and Budge, *Facsimiles of Hieratic Papyri*, p. xxii. In the Turin Papyrus (ed. Lepsius) Chapter CXXX is also said to have been "found" during the reign of Hesepti.

⁴ *La Découverte de la Loi sous le Roi Josias, une interprétation Égyptienne d'un Texte Biblique* (in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. XXXVIII, 2^e Partie, Paris, 1910).

LXIV, and CXXX of the Book of the Dead, as I believe we are entitled to do, we arrive at the conclusion that the cult referred to is that of Osiris, and that the god represented on the tablet is Osiris. If he be not Osiris, he must be a god whose form and attributes were absorbed, or usurped, by Osiris, for, from the XIIth dynasty to the end of the Ptolemaic Period, the representations of Osiris are substantially identical with the representation of the god on the top of the steps on the wooden tablet of Senti.

Among the explanations of the scene which have been put forward is one which takes the view that the figure on the top of the steps is that of a king, but this appears impossible. It is true that on the great mace of Nār-mer, a very early king, we have a scene represented in which what may be perhaps assumed to be the figure of a king is seated on a throne placed on the top of a flight of nine steps. The figure wears the Crown of the North ∇ , and holds a whip or flail in his hands, and he sits under a canopy, the front of which is supported by two spears. Above the canopy is a vulture, symbolic of protection, and by the side of the steps are two men holding large fans. The meaning of the whole scene has not yet been satisfactorily explained,¹ but three bearded male figures are dancing, and below, actually on one side of them, are figures of an ox, a goat, and a captive, with his hands tied behind his back. These represent the spoil taken during some expedition, and the numbers given below each figure show that it was very large. The oxen number 400,000, the goats 1,422,000, and the men 120,000. The figure seated on the four-legged frame under a cage or basket may be the captive king of the lands which have been plundered, but on this point more information is required. Now, although the figure under the canopy is probably that of King Nār-mer and not that of a god, the representation, taken together with that on the wooden tablet of Senti, has a direct bearing on the iconography of Osiris. They show that kings and gods were depicted in substantially the same forms, and that the throne of each was placed on the top of a

¹ See Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Part I, Plate XXVIb.



Scene from the mace-head of Nâr-mer. From Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Part I, Plate XXVIs.

pedestal made with a flight of steps up the front. All tradition makes Osiris a king, and it is certain that he must have lived at an early period. This being so, we should expect him to be represented in the form of an early king, and to occupy the throne of a king, and to sit under a royal canopy. That Osiris should have the form of a mummy is not a matter to wonder at, for he was the god-man-king risen from the dead, but it is difficult to see why Nār-mer should have this form, unless he also is supposed to be dead or risen from the dead.

It is impossible to believe that under the first eleven or twelve dynasties the Egyptians were unable to draw figures of Osiris or to cut them in stone, and the general absence of all representations of the god before the XIIth or XIIIth dynasty only proves that the custom of making similitudes had not yet grown up. The original home of Osiris as god of the North was in the Delta, and the centre of his worship was the temple city Per-Āsar-neb-Ṭeṭu,¹ the Busiris of the Greeks, which was situated in the IXth Nome of Lower Egypt. Here was preserved the backbone of the god, , and here grew the sacred acacia, and persea, and sycamore-fig trees which were associated with it. The oldest symbol of Osiris appears to have been the ṭeṭ , and it is probable that in very early times he was represented by this object alone, and that he had no other form. As his cult extended, Osiris assumed the forms of the gods of the dead of the districts through which it passed, and this is why he is found associated so closely with Ptaḥ and Seker of Memphis, and with Khenti-Amenti of Abydos. The shrine of Pa-suten-sa in the British Museum² supplies proof of this. On the monument we have, in sunk relief, a figure of Osiris in mummied form, holding the crook , or sceptre, in his right hand, and the whip  in the left. He wears the White Crown, with a feather



² Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 174.

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on each side of it, and above his forehead is the uraeus, or symbol of sovereignty; on the top of the shrine stands the figure of a hawk. In the inscriptions the deceased prays to Osiris Khenti-Âmenti and to Ptah-Seker for sepulchral offerings. This monument dates



Osiris seated in a shrine from the roof of which hang bunches of grapes.
From the Papyrus of Nebseni.

from the reign of Âmen-em-ĥât III, a king of the XIIth dynasty.

With the rise to power of the XVIIIth dynasty, the representations of Osiris become numerous, and as we should expect, the best authorities for them are papyri of the Book of the Dead. One of the oldest of these is the Papyrus of Nebseni, which was written about

1550 B.C.¹ The large figure of Osiris which ornaments the beginning is mutilated, but enough remains of it to show us the god seated on his throne; he holds the sceptre and whip, and wears the White Crown without plumes. He has a long, plaited beard and sits under a canopy made in the form of a funeral coffer, from which the side has been removed. The roof is supported by two pillars with lotus capitals, and from it hang many clusters of grapes. This fact is interesting as proving the connection of the god with the vine, and illustrating the statement of Diodorus² that Osiris was the first to plant the vine, and to teach men to make and drink wine. The titles of the god are mutilated, but he is certainly called "Lord of Abydos, great god, Governor of Eternity, Lord of Aukert, king of Everlastingness." Aukert³ is the name of the Other World, or Dead-land, of Heliopolis, and it is important to note that the god is made to claim the sovereignty of this region as well as that of Abydos. Before the god is a table loaded with offerings of all kinds. In Sheet 10 of the same papyrus Osiris appears in the same form and under the same canopy, but his throne rests on a reed mat , which is laid upon a plinth made in the form of a symbol of "law, truth, etc.," . The side of the throne is ornamented with scale work, and in the lower right-hand corner is a panel on which is drawn the symbol of the union of the South and North .

The figure of Osiris which ornamented the beginning of the papyrus of Nu (British Museum No. 10,477) is also much mutilated, only the crown of the god being visible; this crown is painted white, and it has two plumes, one on each side. In the Papyrus of Iuâu, the father-in-law of Amen-hetep III,⁴ which was written about 1450 B.C., Osiris wears a long white garment, which

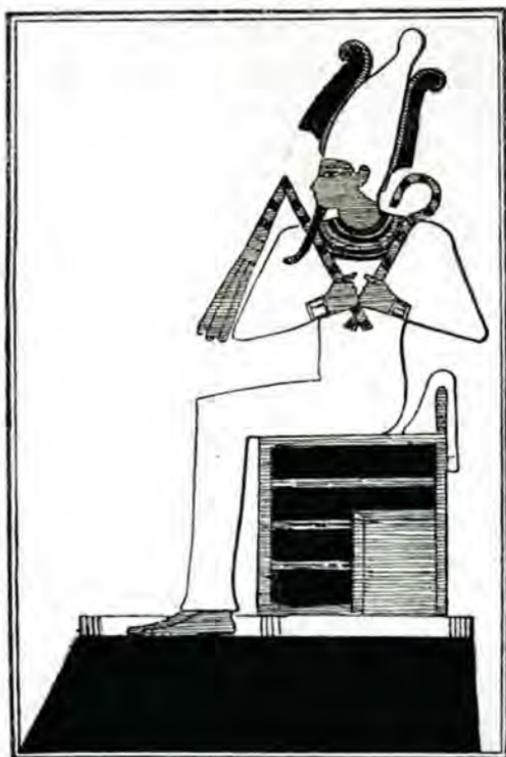
¹ British Museum Papyrus No. 9900. See *Photographs of the Papyrus of Nebeni in the British Museum*, London, 1876.

² Ed. Didot, Book I, Chap. 15.

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⁴ Naville, *The Funeral Papyrus of Iouiya*, London, 1908, Plate I.

extends from his neck to his ankles ; his crown also is white, and has a red feather on each side of it. His



Osiris in the form of a mummified man, seated on his throne, and holding a whip and flail.

plaited beard is unusually long, and round his neck he wears a deep collar. The skin of the god is of an earthy-red colour, and his general appearance is that of the large painted limestone Osirid figure of Amen-hetep I in the British Museum.¹ On Plate XXII of the printed edition we have a standing figure of Osiris, and except for not standing on the object \square his form is in every respect that of Khenti- \bar{A} menti, or Khenti- \bar{A} mentiu, which title is indeed given him in the text.

In the Papyrus of Ani (Plate 4) the flesh of Osiris is painted a green colour, and his long single white garment is decorated with a design of scale work. In addition to the sceptre and whip he holds in his hands another sceptre \uparrow . From the back of his neck hangs the *menät* ☉ amulet, which betokens "joy, pleasure, virility," etc. Behind him stand Isis and Nephthys, and before him, standing on a lotus, are the "four children of Horus," who assisted their father in rejoining the members of the god. Below these, hanging to a pole, is the skin of a

¹ Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 346 (Bay 3).

decapitated bull. The god is seated within a funeral coffer as before, but the raised part of the cover is in the form of a hawk's head, which probably indicates the fusion of Osiris and Seker, the old god of the dead of Memphis. Above the cover rise twelve uraei, and on the cornice is a row of uraei, each of which has a crown on its head; the capitals of the pillars of the coffer are also decorated with uraei. The side of the throne of Osiris is painted to represent the door of a tomb, with a row of uraei wearing disks on the cornice. The coffer rests upon a low pylon-shaped building, and is approached by a flight of steps. The god is called simply "Osiris, Lord of Eternity."



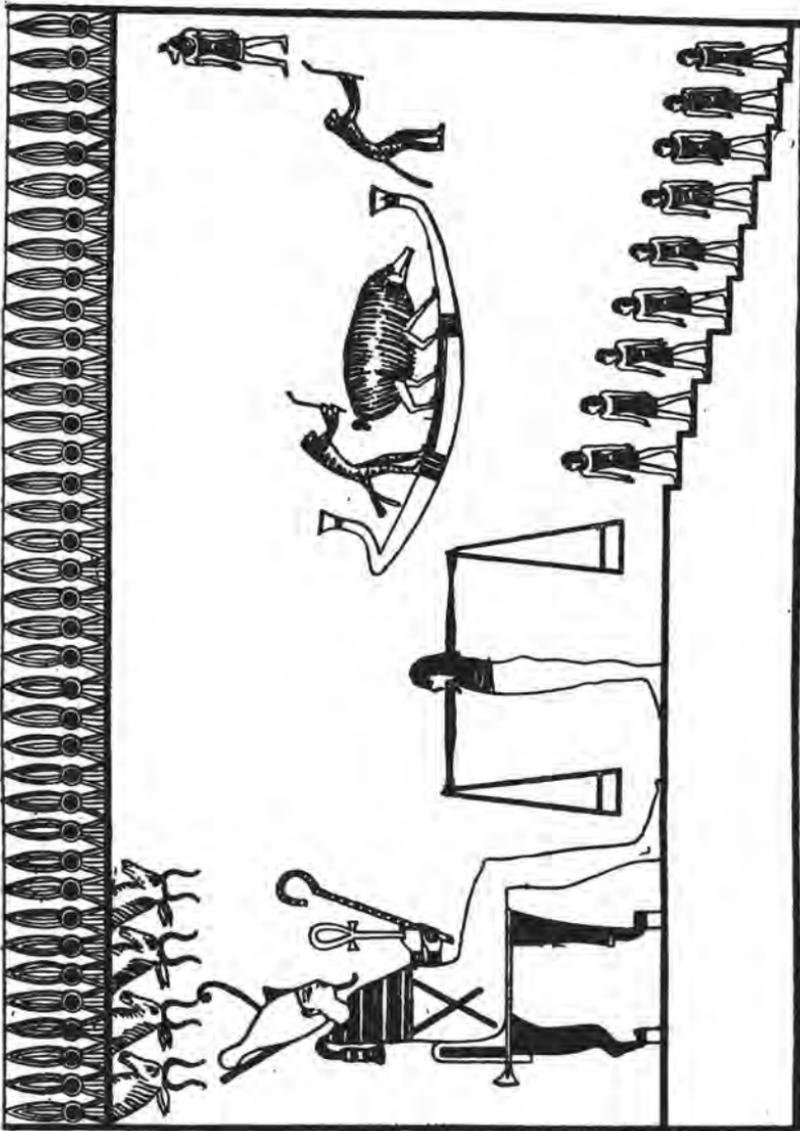
Osiris.

From the Papyrus of Iuâu, Plate XXII.

In the Papyrus of Hunefer (Plate 5), which was written during the reign of Seti I, Osiris is arrayed wholly in white, and his throne is set by the side of a lake of water, out of which grows a lotus plant; on the flower stand the "four children of Horus." The coffer, which has a row of uraei above the cornice, rests on a low pylon-shaped building, as in the Papyrus of Ani, and is approached by a flight of steps. On the sarcophagus of Seti I we have a most interesting figure of Osiris, seated on his throne, which is here in the form of a chair, in his Hall of Judgment. He wears the double crown of the South and North and holds "life" ♀ and a sceptre ♂ in his hands. The throne has nine steps, similar to the throne represented on the mace of Nār-mer, and on each is one of the nine gods who formed the "Company" of Osiris. Osiris is not here seated within a funeral coffer, but in a sort of chamber, and he is dispensing judgment after the manner of an African king.¹

During the XXth, XXIst, and XXIInd dynasties the

¹ See Budge, *Book of Gates*, p. 159.

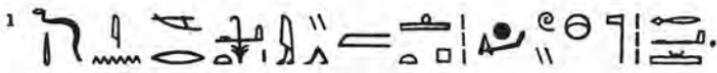


Osiris seated in judgment on a chair placed on the top of a flight of nine steps, on which stand the nine gods of his Company. The pig in the boat represents Set. In the right-hand corner stands Anubis. From a sarcophagus in the Louvre.

the bull's skin hanging from a pole, and behind him stand Isis and Nephthys. Before the open door of the shrine stand the Mert-goddess of the South and the Mert-goddess of the North, the former wearing a red, and the latter a green garment. Mert-shemā says: "Come in peace, protector of the Great Company of the Gods," and Mert-meht says: "Thou risest [in] beauty in the Horizon of Eternity."¹ The presence of these goddesses of vegetation connects Osiris with the inundation and crops of the country. In this picture the god is called Ptaḥ-Sekri-Āsar,² and thus is regarded as a triad of gods of the dead. The Papyrus of Nekht³ supplies another interesting picture of Osiris. The god is seated on his throne as usual, and behind him rises the mountain of Āmenti, from the top of which two arms are extended to receive the solar disk. Between the deceased and his wife and the god is a lake, or ornamental piece of water, from the sides of which grow date-palms, etc. From one corner of it a vine springs, and its luxuriant leaves and bunches of grapes extend towards the face of the god. Here again Osiris is specially connected with the vine, and the fact that the Lady Ānhai appears in her papyrus with vine branches about her (see Plate VI) as she stands before him is a further proof of this fact (see the Frontispiece to this volume).



Osiris of Philae.

- ¹ 

- ² 

³ British Museum, No. 10,471.

In the Ptolemaic Period some interesting additions appear in the scenes in which Osiris plays the chief part. Thus, in a relief at Denderah,¹ the god, arrayed in a garment which reaches to his ankles, stands holding his symbols of sovereignty. Before him stands "Horus, son of Isis and Osiris," holding a knife in his left hand. Between the god and his father is the terrible "slave stick" Y, which is stuck in the ground, and to it is tied by the arms an ass-headed man in a kneeling position. Three knives stick in his stomach. This



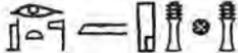
Osiris-Res, or "Osiris the Riser."

figure, of course, represents Set, who has been vanquished and wounded by Horus and his sons. In another relief Khenti-Amenti is given the head of the hawk of Seker,² and thus Osiris represents the ancient gods of the dead of Busiris, Memphis, and Abydos. In another relief are given the seven forms of Osiris as follows:—

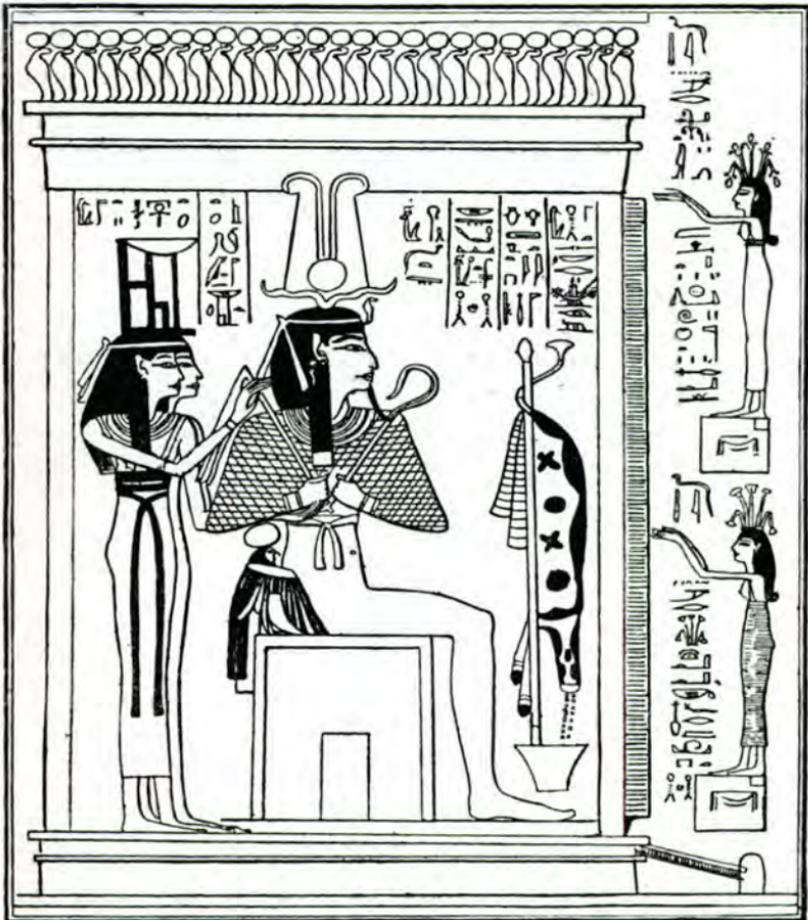
1. Osiris in Het-Tešet, *i.e.*, the Temple of Busiris.³
He holds in his hands a sceptre bearing the

¹ Mariette, *Denderah*, tom. IV, Plate 56.

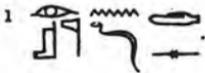
² *Ibid.*, Plate 38.

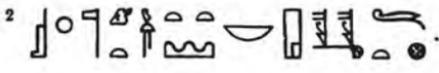
³  Mariette, *Denderah*, tom. IV, Plate 89.

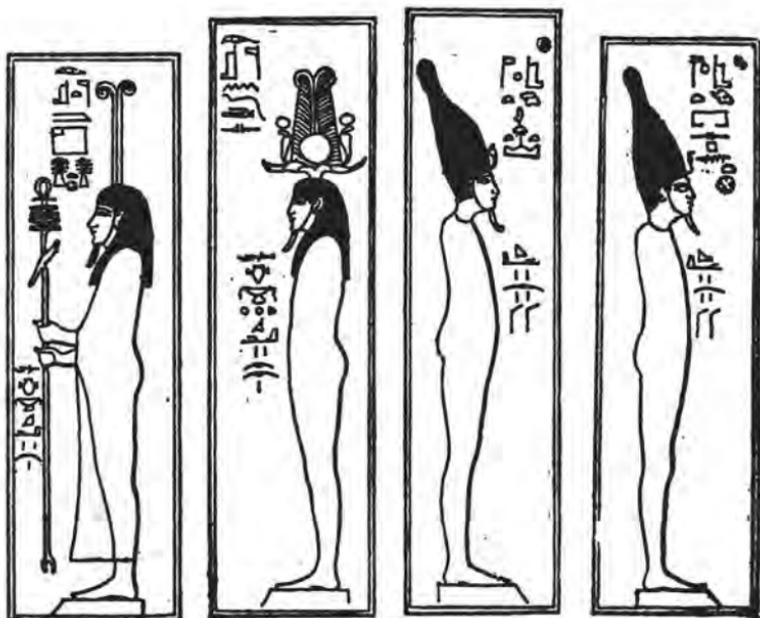
symbols of stability  and life , and has upon his head the symbol usually worn by the *Meskhenet* goddesses .



2. Osiris Netchetes.¹ He wears the crown  and his hands are hidden.
3. Another form of Osiris Khenti-Åmenti.² He wears the White Crown of the South, and his hands are hidden.

¹ 

² 



1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

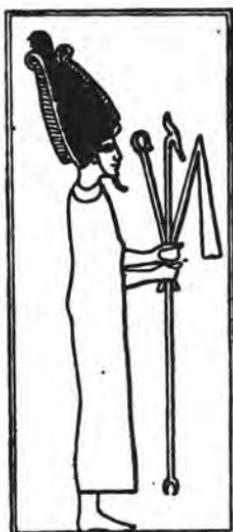
6.

7.

SEVEN FORMS OF OSIRIS WORSHIPPED AT ABYDOS.



Osiris wearing the White Crown and Plumes.



Osiris wearing the White Crown and Plumes.



Osiris wearing the Atef Crown.

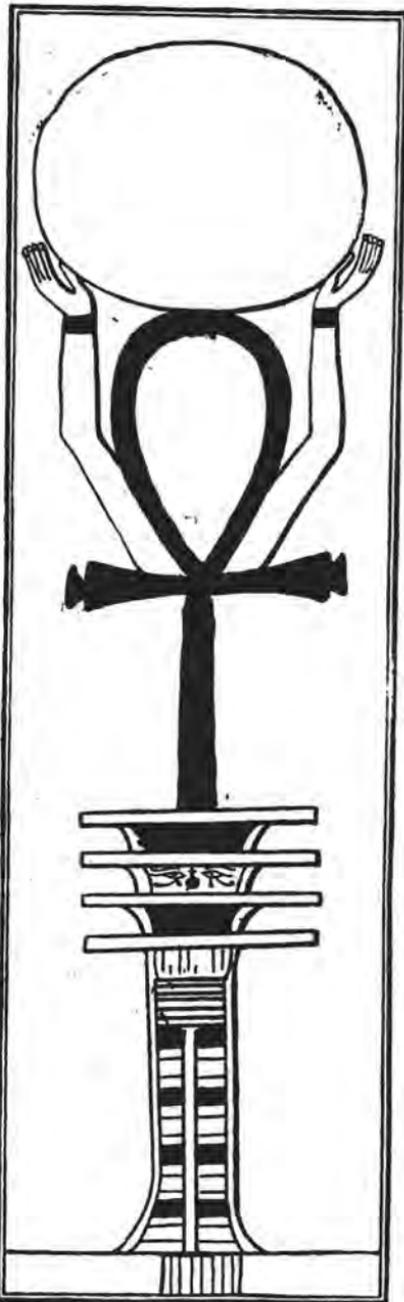


Osiris Un-Nefer.
From Lanzone, Plate 293.



Osiris, Lord of Eternity.
From Lanzone, Plate 295.

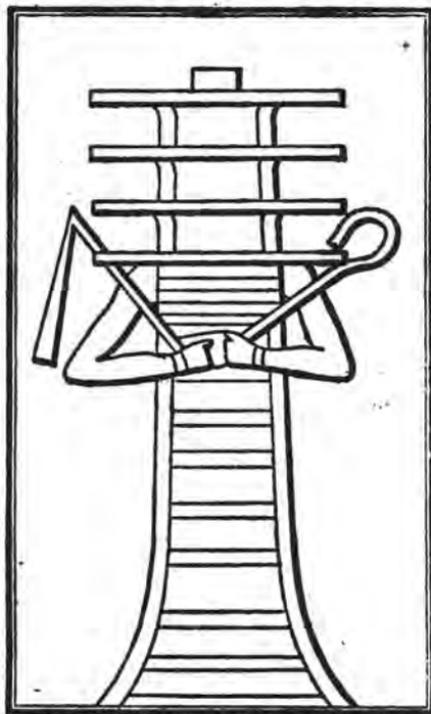
MISCELLANEOUS FORMS OF OSIRIS.



1. The Tet, from which proceed "Life" and a pair of arms supporting the solar disk.
From the Papyrus of Ani.



2. Osiris Un-Nefer.
From a bas-relief at Abydos.



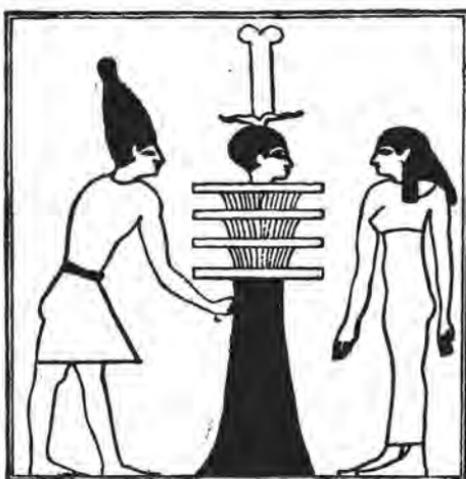
3. The Tet, with human arms and hands holding the sceptre and whip of Osiris.
From the Papyrus of Ani.



1. Țet̥ with the head of Osiris.



3. Țet̥ as an old man.



2. A priest supporting Țet̥ with the head of Osiris in the presence of Isis.

"Busiris."¹ The temple, or place, in which the Țet̥ was worshipped was, in later times, called "Per-Seḳer," *i.e.*, the "House of Silence."² At a very early period Osiris was assimilated to the Țet̥, and the ceremony of "setting up" the Țet̥ became the equivalent of the reconstitution of the backbone and of the body of Osiris generally. The Țet̥ can hardly have been a tree with branches, but it may have been confused with a tree trunk, or a sort of coffer or framework made of a tree trunk, in which the relic of Osiris, which was venerated at Busiris, was kept. Quite early in the Dynastic Period the cult of Osiris-Țet̥ made its way southwards, and reached the Nome of This, and became established

¹ From the Egyptian Per-Asār



² Bergmann in *A.Z.*, 1880, p. 90.

at the capital, Abtu, or Abydos. Under the New Empire it was confidently asserted that Abydos possessed the veritable body of Osiris, and the symbol of Osiris-Ṛet is described as the "holy Ṛet in Abydos."¹ The statement of Plutarch as to the rival claims of Busiris and Abydos shows that the tradition had reached the Greeks.² Sometimes the Ṛet is surmounted by the horns, feathers, disk, etc., which belong to Osiris, or Osiris Khenti-Amenti, and sometimes by the head and bust of Osiris, or by his head, with horns and plumes on the top of it. Rarely, Khenti-Amenti is represented as an old man, whose head forms the base of the Ṛet, on which rest the feathers, horns, etc., which are the attributes of Osiris (see p. 52).



Osiris-Seker.

A very unusual form of Osiris, or Osiris Un-Nefar, is found on a relief at Abydos³ (see p. 51). On a high pylon-shaped pedestal is a kneeling human figure, on the neck of which stands a Ṛet, within the loop of the symbol of "life," which takes the place of a head and neck. This figure is described as "Osiris Un-Nefar, dweller in the Temple of Men-Maāt-Rā,"⁴ and is entreated to give every kind of physical well-being to him (*i.e.*, to the king). The attributes of Un-nefar are not known. It is probable that in his oldest form he was a god of the



4. Ṛet as an old man.

¹ Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. I, Plate 16.

² Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, Chap. XXI.

³ Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. I, Plate 40.

⁴ .

54 Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection

dead, but in late times he was only a phase, so to speak, of Osiris. The name seems to mean "Beneficent Being," and in the New Empire it had already become a title of Osiris, as we see from the following phrases from the Hymn to Osiris in the Papyrus of Hunefer (Sheet 3) :



Isis setting up the standard with box containing the head of Osiris upon it, while a priest anoints it with holy oil.

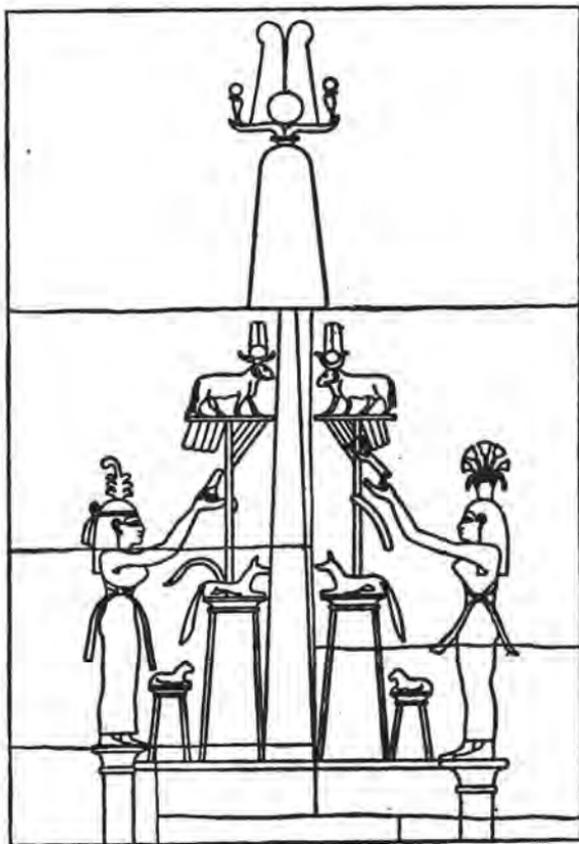
From a bas-relief at Abydos.

Praise be to Osiris !
 Adorations be given to him !
 Smelling of the earth to Un-Nefer !
 Prostrations to the ground to the Lord of Ta-
 tchesert !¹

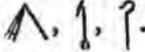


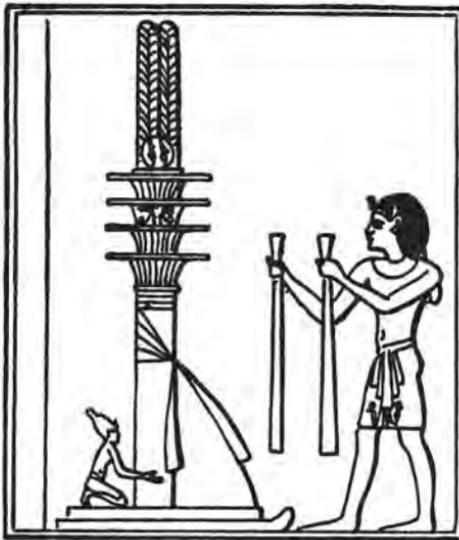
Other forms of Osiris are :

OSIRIS-SEKER , in which he appears as a hawk-headed mummy, sometimes standing upright, and at other times sitting. When seated he holds in his



The goddesses of the North and South setting up the standard with the box containing the head of Osiris upon it.
From a bas-relief at Meroë.

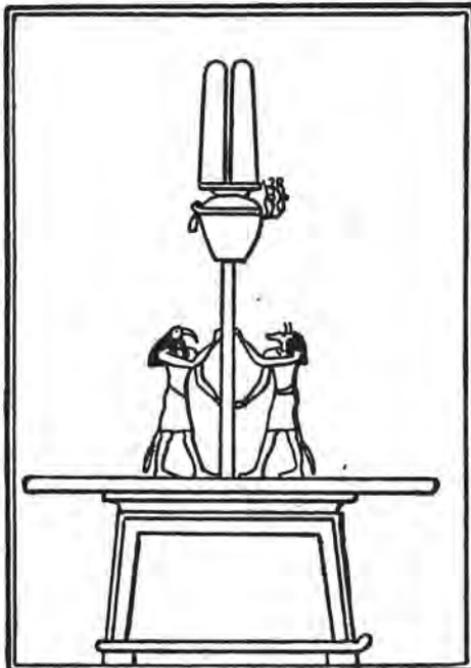
hands the whip, sceptre, and crook . The kingdom of Seker was the \ddot{T} uat, or Other World, of Memphis. It was shrouded in thick darkness, and was formed by bare, sandy deserts, which were full of terrifying monsters, some winged, and some many-headed. The prefixing of the name of Osiris to that



Setting up the Țet.
From a bas-relief at Abydos.



The king handing the Țet to Isis.
From a bas-relief at Abydos.



Thoth and Anubis setting up a standard supporting
the box that held the head of Osiris.
From a bas-relief at Meroë.

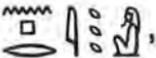


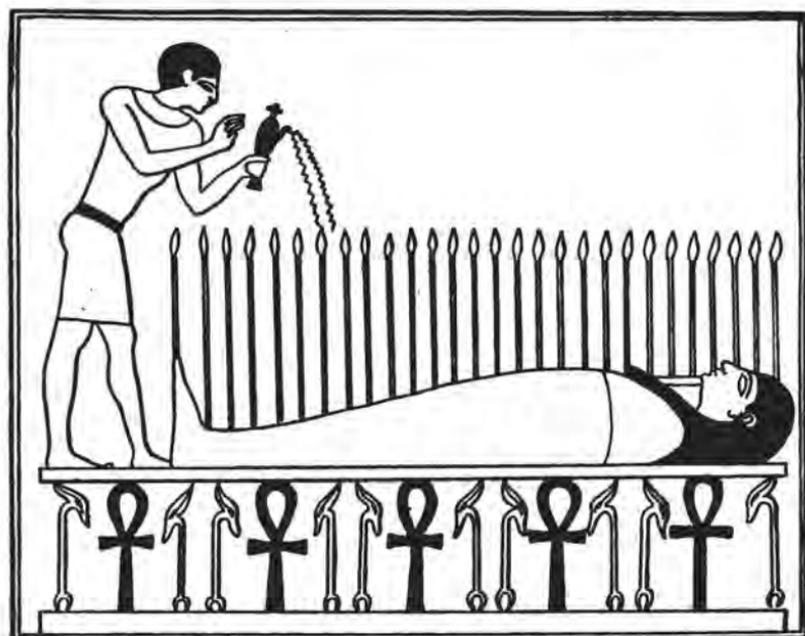
The box containing the head of
Osiris on its standard.
From a bas-relief at Abydos.



Osiris-Seker or Seker-Osiris.
From the Papyrus of Ani.

of Seker indicates that Osiris became the overlord of this very ancient god.

OSIRIS-NEPER. One of the oldest grain-gods¹ of Egypt was Neprá , who appears to have been a personification of wheat, barley, dhura, etc., and to have presided over corn-land generally. His



Osiris-Neprá, with wheat growing from his body.
From a bas-relief at Philae.

attributes were absorbed by Osiris, the god of agriculture generally. The identification of Osiris as a corn-god is proved by the relief at Philae, in which corn is seen growing out of his mummified body, and by the custom of making a figure of the god in grain on a mat which was placed in the tomb. The germination of the grain typified the germination of the spirit-body of the deceased.

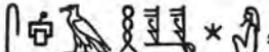
¹ Other grain-gods were Besuā, Pān, Ḥetch-ā, Āb, and Nepen. See the Book "Ām-Ṭuat," Division II.

OSIRIS-AAH , *i.e.*, Osiris, the Moon-god.

He appears in the form of a human-headed mummy, with a crescent moon and full moon on his head. In his hands he holds

, *i.e.*, symbols of stability, life, serenity, power, and dominion.

OSIRIS-SAH 

, *i.e.*, Osiris-Orion; his female counterpart was Isis-Sept, or Isis-Sothis.

OSIRIS - HORUS, a form of the rising sun.¹

OSIRIS - HAR - MACHIS - TEMU, a triad representing the evening sun, the night sun, and the morning sun.

In late times we have Osiris-Rā, a dual god, who represented the day-sun and the night-sun.

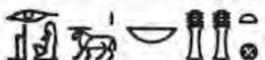


Osiris the Moon-god.

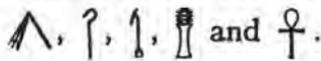
¹ See the list of the forms of Osiris in Chapters CXLI and CXLII of the Book of the Dead according to the Papyrus of Nu (Sheet 15).

OSIRIS-NEB-HEH ,¹ *i.e.*, Osiris, Lord of Eternity, who appears in the form of a mummy with the head of the Bennu-bird, or phoenix. This name proves that the idea of an existence renewed and prolonged indefinitely was associated with the Bennu-bird at a very early period (see p. 50).

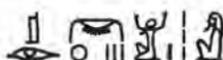
OSIRIS-KĒB , or Osiris fused with the ancient Goose-god, who produced the cosmic egg.

OSIRIS-BA-NEB-ṬET , *i.e.*, Osiris, the Ram, Lord of Ṭeṭu, who appeared in the form of the sacred Ram of Mendes.

OSIRIS-TUA , *i.e.*, Osiris the Begetter.

One of the most important forms of Osiris from about 600 B.C. to the Roman Period was Āsar-Ḥep , or Sarapis. This form was made by the fusion of the attributes of the old Bull-god Ḥep, the Apis of the Greeks, with those of Osiris. The worship of Apis is very ancient, and, long before the fusion of the gods, the bull of Apis was believed to be an incarnation of Osiris, and to contain his soul; the appearance of a new Apis Bull was regarded as a new manifestation of Osiris upon earth. To satisfy the priests of the local cult of Apis at Memphis, Apis was declared to be the son of Ptah. Sarapis appears on stelae and in reliefs as a mummified man with the head of a bull; between the horns he wears a disk which is surmounted by two plumes, and in his hands he holds .

On the stele of Th-I-em-ḥetep in the British Museum² the deceased is seen worshipping "Seker-Osiris,

¹ Probably the same as  of the Papyrus of Nu.

² No. 1027, Bay 29.

Governor of the Ka-House," and Hep-Asar¹ (Sarapis), Isis, Nephthys, Horus and Anubis, and Sarapis is called "Khenti-Amenti, King of the Gods, Lord of Eternity, Prince of Everlastingness."

In this case Sarapis appears as an unmummified man, with a bull's head, whilst Seker - Osiris has the ordinary form of a mummified man. Thus it seems clear that Osiris of Busiris in the North was fused with Seker, the old god of the dead of Memphis, and that Osiris Khenti-Amenti from Abydos in the South was fused with the ancient Bull - god of Memphis. Practically Sarapis was the equivalent of the Pluto of the Greeks. For the

history of the adoption of the double god by the Greeks in Egypt see Plutarch, *De Iside*, Chapters 27, 28.



Hep-Asar, or
Sarapis.

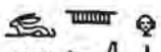
Seker-Osiris

¹ A row of four small Egyptian hieroglyphs: a lotus flower, a bird (possibly a duck or goose), a diamond shape, and a seated figure.

be put to bed, and declared that he would recover, he announced that the "pig was an abomination to Horus," and ever after it was so. The daily restoration of the eye of Horus was effected by means of a ceremony which was performed in the great temple of Amen-Rā at Karnak. The priest approached the closed shrine which contained the figure of the god, and having broken the seal and untied the cord he said: "The cord is broken, the seal is undone, I am come to bring thee the Eye of Horus, thine eye is to thee, O Horus. The mud of the seal is broken, the celestial ocean is penetrated, the intestines of Osiris are drawn out (*i.e.*, fished out of the water). I am not come to destroy the god on his throne, I am come to set the god on his throne." The priest next drew the bolt, which symbolized the removal of the finger of Set from the Eye of Horus, and when he had thrown open the doors of the shrine, and the light fell upon the face of the figure of the god, he declared that the "heavens were opened," and the ceremony was complete.¹

The fishing out of the intestines of Osiris from the celestial ocean is paralleled by the fishing out of certain members of the body of Horus which is mentioned in the CXIIIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead. According to the text, Horus the son of Isis had perished, *i.e.*, he had been mutilated, and some of his members had been cast into the water. Isis invoked the aid of Sebek, the Crocodile-god, an ancient solar deity, who having examined the banks of the swamp with his claws until he found the traces of them, took his net and fished them out with it. The text goes on to say that the arms  and the hands  of Horus were found by Sebek and the fish which were under his rule. The region was called "Ta-remu," *i.e.*, "Land of fish," a name given to it by Rā, who ordained that the recovery of the hands of Horus should be commemorated at the festival of the "opening of the face,"² or "manifestation" of Horus on the first and

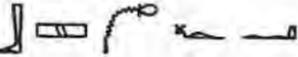
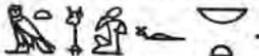
¹ See Moret, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-42.

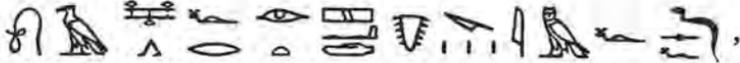
²  1.

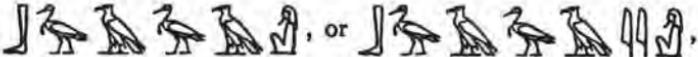
αφωφ (Genesis vi, 4; Psalm xviii, 5). Rā was victorious and thrust his iron lance into him, and Āpep vomited everything which he had eaten.¹ The text does not say what it was that Āpep had swallowed, but in the light of other texts we may assume that it was the left eye of Rā, *i.e.*, the moon.

Turning now to the self-inflicted mutilations of the gods, the well-known instances of Rā and Bata may be quoted. On one occasion "Rā mutilated his own person,"² and out of the drops of blood which fell from his phallus the gods Hū and Sa came into being, and they associated themselves with Temu, a Sun-god of night. In the case of Bata, the younger brother of Ānpu in the Tale of the Two Brothers, the phallus was thrown into the water and devoured by a fish. Though Ānpu and Bata are described as men in this tale, it is quite clear that they were originally gods. Osiris, as we learn from Plutarch, was mutilated by Set, and the same fate seems to have overtaken his first-born son Beba ;³ the phallus of Osiris was never recovered, but that of Beba was "brought" in connection with the magic boat.

The wounds, however, which were inflicted upon the gods by themselves, or by the powers of evil, no matter how many times repeated, were not permanent, for Thoth, the god of knowledge, was always at hand to heal them. Though the right eye of Horus, or Rā, *i.e.*, the sun, was swallowed up one night, it appeared in the eastern sky again on the morrow, and though the moon was devoured one month, it rose in the western sky in

¹ Book of the Dead, Chapter CVIII, 


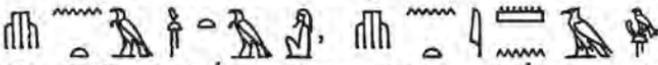
² 
Book of the Dead, Chapter XVII, l. 62.

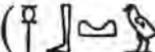
³ Or , or 
Book of the Dead, Chapter XCIX, l. 17.

the next. Besides the healing power of Thoth, the gods possessed, in themselves, the wonderful power of renewing their members, and of lengthening their lives indefinitely; renewed life was their chief characteristic and attribute, and immortality was their inheritance. Because of these qualities, men in all ages in Egypt regarded the gods as being wholly above the nature of man and his spiritual economy, and they felt that it was useless to expect them to concern themselves with human affairs and cares. The experience of primitive man in Egypt told him that when the eyes of men were gouged out, and their shoulders and arms cut off, and their hearts torn out from their breasts, they died, and though he was assured that such men continued their lives in some other place, he never expected them to return to their villages, even for a short visit, with renewed bodies. In fact, he did not believe that a body which had been devoured by a crocodile, or torn to pieces by savage beasts, or dismembered by human foes or masters, could be reconstituted, and in this belief he must have remained for a very considerable time, probably until nearly the end of the Neolithic Period.

With the conquest of Egypt by the early kings of the series which forms the First Dynasty, new views as to the future life appear to have entered the country, and these, having passed through various stages of development, resulted in the belief that a certain man who had lived and died upon earth had, by some means, raised himself up to life again, and that he had succeeded in making himself the god of the dead. The inscriptions of the first three dynasties tell us nothing about this being, and though certain incidents in his life are referred to by the writers of the texts of the IVth dynasty, it is not until we come to the connected religious compositions of the Vth and VIth dynasties that we obtain any definite statements about him. It is, however, quite clear that the cult of this being had been growing and spreading in all Egypt for many centuries, and that even before the close of the Vth dynasty it had profoundly modified the ancient religious views of the people in general. The details of the history of the

remarkable being who had risen from the dead were assumed by the scribes to be so well known that they are not described in the great religious compositions which have come down to us. Only by piecing together the information which is given here and there can we arrive at any connected views of what happened to him, and to this day, in spite of the mass of religious and magical literature which is available, we are wholly ignorant of the origin and general history of the first human being in Egypt who rose from the dead, and who was known for thousands of years as "Khenti-

Amenti,"  (Tetâ, l. 286), "Chief of Amenti," or "Khenti Amentiu," , "Chief of those who are in Amenti," *i.e.*, "Chief of those who are in the West, or, Other World."

Of the home of this being who rose from the dead, and of the position which he occupied in this world nothing can be learned from the texts, but late Greek writers¹ assert that he was a king, and they are probably correct. Only kings and chiefs, or men of high rank, are buried in Africa with the pomp and ceremony which must have accompanied the committal to the grave of the man who afterwards rose from the dead. The exact region in Egypt where his kingdom was situated is unknown, but about his burial-place there is no doubt, for all tradition, both Egyptian and Greek, states that his grave was at Abydos ( *Abtu*), in Upper Egypt. And the name of this man was OSIRIS, in Egyptian *Asâr* . In the "Pyramid Texts" of the Vth and VIth dynasties, the name of Osiris is frequently prefixed to the names of the deceased kings, *e.g.*, Osiris-Unâs,² Osiris-Tetâ,³ etc., and in several passages the deceased is addressed as "Osiris." The identification of the dead king Pepi with Osiris is well illustrated

¹ Plutarch, *De Iside*, § 13; Diodorus I, 15.

² See the text of Unâs, lines 27, 45, 67, 87, etc.

³ See the text of Tetâ, l. 153.

by the following: "Horus cometh, Thoth riseth, and
 " they lift up Osiris (*i.e.*, Pepi) on his place, and they
 " cause him to stand up among the two Companies of
 " the Gods."¹

Since the deceased is identified with Osiris, it is only natural that he should seek the resting-place of this god, and in the text of Pepi I it is said: "Thou sailest up the river to the Thinite Nome, thou sailest about Abydos. Thou openest the door in heaven in the horizon, the gods rejoice at meeting thee. They draw thee into heaven in thy soul, and thou art endowed with soul among them. Thou appearest in the sky as Horus from the womb of the sky, in this thy form which came forth from the mouth of Rā, as Horus, the Chief (or First) of the Spirits."²

Now this passage is one of considerable importance, for it proves that the door which opened into heaven was at Abydos, that the gods welcomed the deceased when he had passed through it, that they gave him soul-power, and that he appeared afterwards newly-born from the womb of heaven, as Horus, Horus the Chief of the Spirits. These being the views which were current about Abydos under the Vth dynasty, there is no need to

¹  Pepi I, l. 186.
 See also l. 67.

²  Pepi I, l. 74 ff.; Mer-en-Rā, l. 104 ff.; Pepi II, l. 15 ff.

wonder why every Egyptian of rank and family wished to be buried there, and they explain the importance of the city in the eyes of all Egyptians.

Returning now to the consideration of the identification of the deceased with Osiris, we shall see by the following extracts from the Pyramid Texts that it is possible to get a tolerably clear idea of much that happened to Osiris. In the text of Unás we have :

“ Thy heart is to thee, Osiris, thy feet are to thee,
 “ Osiris, thy arms are to thee, Osiris. The heart
 “ of Unás is to him himself, his feet are to him
 “ himself, his arm is to him himself.”¹

From this it is clear that, at some time, the heart, feet, and arm of Osiris were removed from him. In the text of Tetá the dead king is addressed thus :

“ Hail, hail, rise up, thou Tetá ! Thou hast received
 “ thy head, thou hast embraced thy bones, thou hast
 “ gathered together thy flesh. . . . Rise up, thou
 “ Tetá, thou art not a dead thing.”²

Again, in the text of Pepi I, we have :—

“ He who cometh cometh to thee, thou movest not.
 “ Thy mother cometh to thee, thou movest not. [The
 “ goddess] Nut cometh to thee, thou movest not. [The
 “ goddess] Khnemet-urt cometh to thee, thou movest
 “ not. She breatheth (?) on thee, she addresseth thee
 “ with words of power, thou movest. She giveth thee
 “ thy head, she presenteth to thee thy bones, she



Unás, l. 476, and compare Pepi II, l. 746.



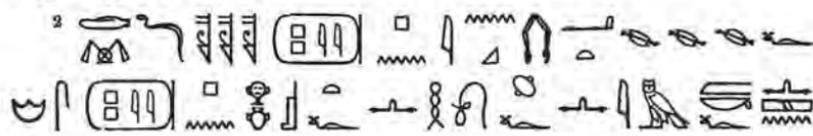
Tetá, l. 287 = Mer-en-Rā, l. 65 = Pepi II, l. 126 ff.

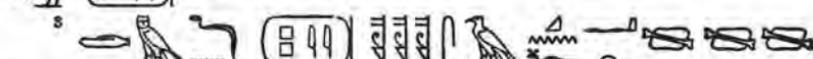
"gathereth together thy flesh, she bringeth to thee thy heart in thy body. Thou art master of thy utterances, and thou givest words of command to those who are before thee."¹

In the same text the gods are called upon "to gather together the bones of this Pepi, and to unite his flesh [so that] this Pepi may sit in his house, [that] he may not suffer corruption, may not be destroyed, may not be in thrall";² and elsewhere it is said: "Pepi hath collected his bones, hath gathered together his flesh."³

Now as the deceased is identified with Osiris, it is clear from the above passages that the head of Osiris was cut off, that his body was broken up and its internal organs separated, and that his bones were scattered. It is equally clear that his head, bones, and organs were reunited, that his body was reconstituted and restored to life, and that he had the power to speak, and to command his followers as he had done when on earth. And by whom was the reconstitution of the body of

¹  . Pepi I, l. 109 = Mer-en-Rā,
l. 75 = Pepi II, l. 77 ff.

²  . Pepi I, l. 694.

³  . Pepi I, l. 195.

Osiris effected? The texts answer this question, and tell us that it was by Horus, the son of Osiris, who was assisted by his four sons. In the texts of Tetà and Mer-en-Rā we have the following important passage:—

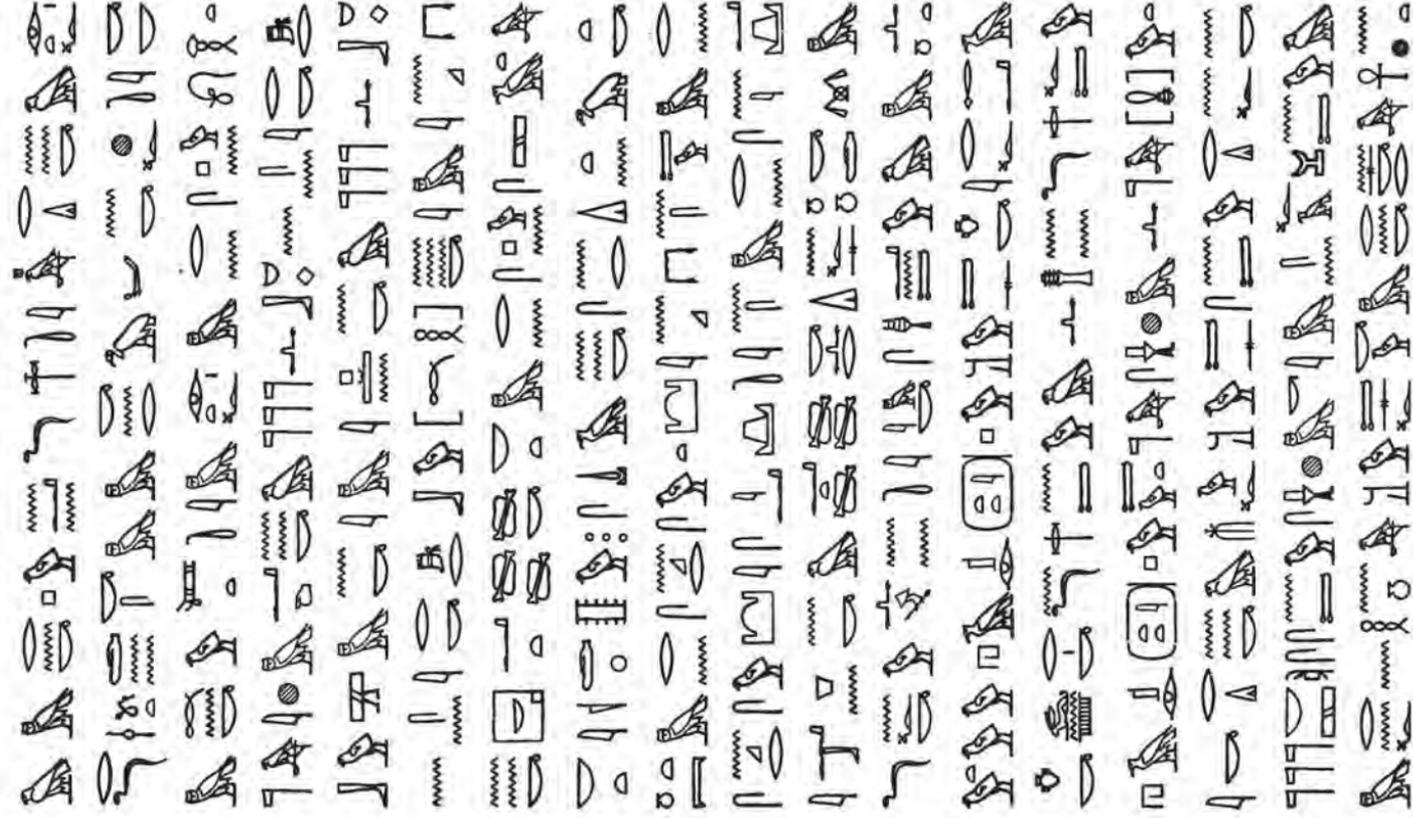
“ Hail, thou Osiris Tetà, stand up! Horus cometh, he hath counted thee with the gods. Horus loveth thee. He hath filled thee with his Eye, he hath joined his Eye to thee. Horus hath opened thine eye that thou mayest see therewith. The gods have lifted up thy face, they love thee. [The goddesses] Isis and Nephthys have made thee strong. Horus departeth not from thee, behold, his KA (*i.e.*, double). He resteth on thee, thou livest. Thou hast received the word of Horus, thou restest upon it. Horus hearkeneth, never faileth (?) he thee. He maketh the gods to be thy followers.

“ Osiris Tetà, rise thou up! Kēb hath brought Horus to thee, he hath reckoned thee up. Horus hath found thee, he hath performed the ceremonies for thee. Horus hath brought the gods to thee, he hath given them unto thee, they illumine thy face. Horus hath placed thee before the gods, he hath made thee to take possession of every diadem. Horus hath bound them on thee, he hath not removed them from thee. Horus hath given thee life in thy name of Āntchtà (*i.e.*, KING). He hath given thee his Eye which flourisheth lastingly. He hath given thee thy weapon, thou hast conquered all thine enemies. Horus hath filled thee wholly with his Eye in its name of ‘Uaḥet.’ Horus hath seized for thee the gods, they shall not depart (?) from thee wheresoever thou goest by land. Horus hath counted up the gods for thee, they shall not depart from thee wheresoever thou goest by water (?). Nephthys hath united for thee all thy members in her name of ‘Seshat, lady of buildings,’ thou shalt be strong thereby. Thy mother Nut is given [to thee] in her name of ‘Qersut,’ she uniteth thee in her name of ‘Qersu,’ she maketh thee to go forward in her name of ‘Āā[r].’ Horus presenteth unto thee thy flesh, he doth not set (or, place) thy ‘mould (?), he maketh thee to be a complete being,

“ there is no disorder (or, confusion) in thee. Horus
 “ maketh thee to stand up without support (?)”

“ Hail, Osiris Tetà! Lift up thy heart to him, let
 “ thy heart be great (*i.e.*, bold), open thy mouth. Horus
 “ avengeth thee, he never ceaseth (?) to avenge thee.
 “ Hail, Osiris Tetà! Behold, thou art a mighty god,
 “ there is no god like unto thee. Horus hath given thee
 “ his sons, they raise thee up, he hath given unto thee
 “ all the gods, they follow thee, thou hast dominion
 “ over them. Horus hath carried thee (or, raised
 “ thee) in his name of ‘Henu,’ he hath lifted thee up
 “ in thy name of ‘Seker,’ living thou passest (or, travellest)
 “ every day. Thou art endowed with a spirit (*khû*) in
 “ thy name of ‘Khut,’ wherein Rā appeareth, thou art
 “ worshipped, endowed with readiness, soul, [and]
 “ strength, for ever and ever.” The hieroglyphic text
 is as follows :—







From the above passage it is clear that Horus did not only collect and reunite the flesh and bones of Osiris, but that he made him once more a complete man, endowed with all his members. Having done this, it was necessary to restore to Osiris the power to breathe, to speak, to see, to walk, and to employ his body in any way he saw fit. To bring about this result Horus performed a number of ceremonies, and made use of several words of power which had the effect of "opening the mouth" of Osiris. There is no detailed and connected description of these ceremonies to be found in the texts of the Vth and VIth dynasties, but several passages indicate their character generally, as may be seen from the following:—

"Horus hath pressed for thee thy mouth, he hath weighed (or, balanced) thy mouth against thy bones (i.e., teeth), Horus hath opened for thee thy mouth. Behold, thy son loveth thee, he hath founded for thee thy two eyes, Horus doth not permit thy face to be obliterated in thy name of 'Horus, chief of his people' " (*rekhit*).²

In another passage the mouth of the deceased is said to be opened by Shesa-khent-Shenāt, by Tuā-ur in Het-nub, by the two Tetuā in Het-Senter, and by Horus, who "did it with his little finger wherewith he

¹ Tetā, ll. 264-271 = Mer-en-Rā, ll. 416-437.



. Tetā, l. 282 = Pepi II, l. 132.

opened the mouth of his father Osiris."¹ During the work of reconstituting the body of Osiris, Horus was assisted by the two *tcherti* of Osiris,² i.e., the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, and by two nurse-goddesses,³ who were probably other forms of Isis and Nephthys.

When the body of Osiris was ready to leave this earth for heaven, some difficulty, it seems, arose in raising him up to the sky, and a ladder was found to be necessary. From the text of Pepi II (l. 975 ff.) we learn the tradition that the wooden sides of the ladder were shaped by an adze wielded by the god Sashsa, that the rungs were made of the strong sinews (?) of K̄asut, the Bull of the Sky, and that they were fastened in their places on the sides of the ladder with knotted thongs made from the hide of the god Utes, the son of H̄esat.⁴ This divine ladder was set up from earth to heaven by Horus and Rā according to one legend, and according to another by Horus and Set. The text of Unās says: "Rā setteth up the ladder before Osiris, Horus setteth up the ladder before his father Osiris in his going to his spirit. One of them [standeth] on this side, and one of

¹ . Pepi I, l. 590.

² . Tetâ, l. 260.

³ . Tetâ, l. 261.

⁴ . Pepi II, ll. 975, 976.

“them on that side. Unās is between them.”¹ In the text of Pepi I we find: “Homage to thee, Ladder of the god! Homage to thee, Ladder of Set! Stand up, Ladder of the god, stand up, Ladder of Set, stand up, Ladder of Horus, whereby Osiris made his way into heaven.”² Elsewhere it is said: “Lo, Khensu, lo, Aaḥes, Chief of the South-Land, lo, Ṭeṭun the Great, Chief of Ta-sti (Nubia), lo, Seṭ under his trees. They carry the ladder for this Pepi, they set up the ladder for this Pepi, they make firm the ladder for this Pepi.”³ With the assistance of Horus and Set, Osiris stood on the ladder, and with their help he ascended and entered heaven. “Every spirit and every god opened his hand to Pepi when he was on the ladder,”⁴



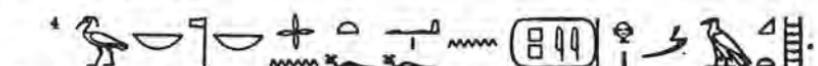
Unās, l. 579 = Pepi II, l. 962.



= Pepi II, l. 912.



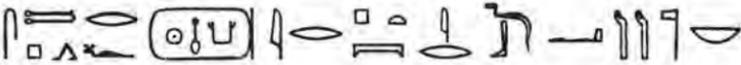
= Pepi II, l. 936.



Pepi I, l. 195 = Pepi II, l. 926.

and the "Lord of the Ladder," helped him with his two fingers to ascend,¹ and according to a passage in the text of Pepi I, when Osiris ascended the ladder, he "was covered with the covering of Horus, he wore the apparel of Thoth, Isis was in front of him, Nephthys was behind him, Ap-uat opened the way for him, Shu bore him up, the Souls of An drew him up the steps of the ladder, and Nut gave him her hands."²

When Osiris stepped from the ladder into heaven, he entered in among the company of the gods as a "living being," not merely as one about to begin a second state of existence with the limited powers and faculties which he possessed upon earth, but as one who felt that he had the right to rule heaven and the denizens thereof. He possessed a complete body, the nature of which had been changed by ceremonies which Horus, and his sons, and the assistant Tcherti goddesses, had performed for him; the number of his bones was complete and every internal organ and limb were in their place and in a perfect state. Besides these he possessed his forms, or attributes,³ and his similitude,⁴ his heart,⁵ his soul,⁶ his KA, or double,⁷

¹  . Pepi II, l. 927.

²  . Pepi I, l. 256.

³  . Pepi I, l. 16.

⁴  . Pepi I, l. 315.

⁵  . Unâs, l. 216.

⁶  . Pepi I, l. 13.

⁷  . Unâs, ll. 1-4, Pepi I, l. 108.

he became the type and symbol and hope of every dead man, and the older gods in heaven seem to have thought it right to set apart for him a place in the Other World where he could live with all those who died believing in him, and rule over them. In the text of Unás the deceased is said to give the word of command to the Domains of Horus, the Domains of Set, and the Domains of Osiris,¹ and from another passage the Domains of Osiris appear to have been also called "Sekhet-Áaru,² *i.e.*, "The Fields of Reeds." Among these "fields of reeds" there must have been many fair fields wherein grain of various kinds was grown, for in the text of Pepi II, l. 1316, it is said that Osiris makes Pepi "to plough corn and to reap barley."³ From this passage we are probably right in assuming that Osiris was, even at this early period, identified with the Grain-god Neprá. This view is, moreover, supported by the statement that the deceased drinks the emissions of Osiris and eats what comes forth from him,⁴ *i.e.*, he lived on the moisture and meal which formed the Grain-god.

From the extracts from early texts quoted in the preceding paragraphs, it is quite clear that the Egyptians

¹ Unás, l. 298 = Tetá, l. 141 = Pepi II, l. 538.

² Pepi I, 182 = Pepi II, l. 895. These Fields of Reeds are mentioned with the Domains of Horus, , and the Domains of Set.

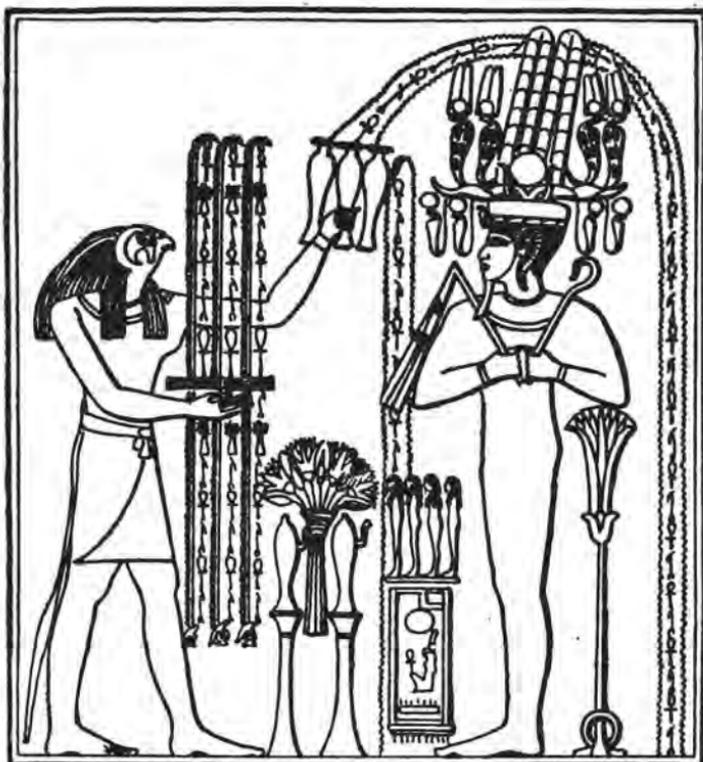
³ .

⁴ . Pepi I, l. 66.

Horus was not exhausted when he had reconstructed the body of Osiris, and that what he did for him subsequently was of far greater importance than the gathering together of his bones and flesh, and the rejoining of his head to his body. These acts would have been useless unless Horus had the power to give life to the reconstructed body, and to cause the gods in heaven to regard Osiris as their equal when he arrived there. The Pyramid Texts contain many passages which state that Horus performed a number of ceremonies of a magical character for his father Osiris, and several texts, written in subsequent periods of Egyptian history, describe fairly fully what the ceremonies were. These ceremonies, however, and the words spoken by Horus as he performed them, were only the means to an end, and that end was the restoration of life to the dead body of Osiris.

Reference has been made above to the religious tradition in Egypt which asserted that the Eye of Horus had been carried away from him by Set, and that Horus only succeeded in wresting it from him after a fierce fight in which Set suffered serious injury. Now the Eye of Horus contained his soul, that is to say, his life, and during the period when his Eye was in the hands of Set he was a dead god. When life left Osiris he also was a dead and inert being, and in this respect the condition of Osiris dead was identical with that of Horus dead. Horus, however, was a god, and of himself and by his own power was able to raise himself up to attack Set, and to snatch the Eye from his grasp. The traditions of the VIth dynasty state that it was Thoth, or Rā, the Sun-god of the city of On, who helped Horus to recover his Eye, but in the earliest times it was believed that Horus delivered his Eye by his own power. Be this as it may, the condition of Osiris was very different from that of Horus, for he became, when life left him, an inert dead body, which possessed no inherent power to restore to itself the life which had departed from it. Horus restored life to himself by bringing back his Eye to his body, and he made Osiris to live again by transferring the Eye to him. According to one statement, the god Thoth acted as an intermediary between Horus.

and Osiris, according to another, Horus himself gave his Eye to Osiris. Thus in the text of Pepi I it is said, "Thoth presenteth to Pepi his life which he hath not, Thoth giveth to him the Eye of Horus. Horus is in Osiris Pepi, the Eye of Horus is offered to thee."¹ The passages in which Horus is made to give his Eye



Horus giving life to Osiris.
From a bas-relief at Abydos.

to Osiris are so very important for the right understanding of the Osiris Legend that they are here given in full:—

¹ . Pepi I,

l. 107 = Mer-en-Rā, l. 73 = Pepi II, l. 75.

1. "Hail, thou Osiris Tetá, Horus cometh, he embraceth thee. He causeth Thoth to drive back for thee the followers of Set, he bringeth them unto thee [as] prisoners. He hath turned backwards the heart of Set, [for] behold, he is stronger than he. Thou comest forth before him (or, in his presence), thy form is before him (or, in his presence).

"Keb looketh upon thy form, he setteth thee on thy throne. Keb bringeth thy two sisters to thy side, that is, Isis and Nephthys.

"Horus hath caused thee to be united to the gods, they treat thee as a brother in thy name of 'Sent,'¹ and they do not turn thee back in thy name of 'Atert.'² He hath caused the gods to avenge thee.

"Keb hath set his sandal on the head of thine enemy [saying], Get thee back. Thy son Horus hath smitten him. He hath delivered (or, snatched away) his eye from him, he hath given it to thee, thou obtainest a soul through it, thou gainest the mastery through it at the head of the Spirits. Horus hath caused thee to seize thine enemy thereby, and by it he hath crushed thine enemy. Horus is mightier than he. He hath counted up his father in thee in thy name of 'Baát-er-pet.' Thy mother Nut hath made thee to be a god to Set in thy name of 'god.' Thy mother Nut hath stretched herself over thee in her name of 'Shet-pet.'³ Horus hath seized Set, he hath set him under thee, he lifteth thee up, he is helpless under thee as 'Nurta.' Thou art more majestic than he in thy name of Tatchesert. Horus hath caused thee to grasp (?) him by the middle of his body, he shall not escape from thy hand; Horus hath caused thee to hold him tightly in the palm of thy hand, he shall not slip out of thy hand. Hail, Osiris Tetá, Horus hath avenged thee. He hath made his KA (*i.e.*, double) [to be] in thee; thou restest in thy name of 'Ka-hetep.'

2. "Thou hast eaten the eye, thy body is fortified through it, thy son Horus seized it for thee, thou livest thereby." The texts read:—

¹ Here is a play on the words *sen* "brother," and *sent*.

² Here is a play on the words *hemt-er-tu* "repulse thee," and *Atert*.

³ Here is a play on the words *peshesh* "stretch out," and *Shet-pet*.

The text shows that Osiris is dead, and that Set has killed him, and that the fiends of Set are pressing on to work evil on the body. Thoth, however, intervenes, and drives them back, and, as he is stronger than Set, "he turns backward the heart of Set," that is to say, he destroys his evil will. Thoth, having driven back the fiends of Set, held their master in restraint, and Osiris



The souls of Osiris and Rā meeting to embrace each other in Busiris.

From the Papyrus of Ani.

came forth before him in the form in which he had been built up by Horus. Kēb, the Earth-god, in whose realm the dead man had been, then looked at Osiris, and, having set him upon his throne, brought to him Isis and Nephthys, his two sisters. It is difficult to know what exactly is meant by the Earth-god "looking at," or "seeing" Osiris, but it is clear that Kēb was pleased at the revivification of Osiris, and that, in consequence, he set him upon his throne as king, and

brought Isis and Nephthys to him. From this passage we learn that Isis and Nephthys were sisters of Osiris, and that K̄eb, the Earth-god, bestowed his sovereignty of the earth upon his son Osiris.

We next see from the extract that Horus made his father Osiris known to the gods, that they welcomed him among their number, that they treated him as a brother, because he represented the two *Sent* divisions of the heavens, and that they did not drive him away because he represented the two divisions of earth. Thus the gods "avenged" Osiris, that is, they acknowledged that Osiris had suffered cruel wrong, and they recognized that Horus had made the revived Dead-man-god to be their equal. We now see Osiris seated as a god in heaven, and the further punishment of Set is described. The Earth-god K̄eb sets his sandal on his head, *i.e.*, he bruises the head of the monster with his foot, and whilst he is doing this Horus smites Set, and slays him. Thus once and for all the Eye of Horus is delivered, and, having regained possession of it, he gave it to Osiris; when Osiris received it he received into himself a soul, that is new life, or revivification, and it endowed him with such power that he became forthwith the Chief of the Spirits. Thereupon Osiris seized the fiends who were his enemies and the followers of Set through the power which Horus had given him, for Horus was mightier than Set. Horus next dragged Set forward and set him at the feet of Osiris, and lifted up Osiris and seated him upon the back of Set. Set was as inert and helpless under him as the dead earth, which he typified, whilst Osiris himself was the "Sublime Earth," *i.e.*, the land wherein his followers, the blessed dead, were placed. Then Horus made Osiris to grasp Set by the middle of his body, in such a way that he could not escape, and then to hold him in the hollow of his hand. Thus did Horus transfer his Eye, which contained his soul, to Osiris; thus did he make Osiris to crush Set, and thus did Osiris become a "*Ka* at peace." The dead man Osiris was made to live a second time, and a kingdom was given him with the gods.

The shorter of the two passages quoted above supplies a most valuable piece of information. We know

“over his enemies, make thou . . .¹ to be victorious over his enemies, as thou didst make Osiris to be victorious over his enemies in the presence of the Tchatcha² who are with Rā and Osiris in An, on the night of ‘things of the night,’ on the night of the battle, on the night of the shackling of the Sebāu fiends, and on the day of the destruction of Neb-er-tcher.”³ The text goes on to say that the words “shackling of the Sebāu fiends” signifies the “destruction of the fiends of Set when he worked evil a second time.”

The night here referred to is undoubtedly the night of the day on which Osiris died. Set, not content with murdering his brother, gathered together the Sebāu fiends, and prepared to destroy his body by their means, and being foiled in his endeavour by Thoth, made against Osiris a series of charges of such a nature that Thoth determined to investigate them before the gods. The story is nowhere told in a connected form, but it is clear, from many passages in texts of all periods, that the gods assembled in the great hall of the Aged God in An, and that Set was allowed to make his accusations against Osiris. To these Osiris replied, and when Thoth had heard the evidence he summed up the case, and then declared that Osiris had spoken the truth, in fact that it was not he who was a liar, but Set. Thoth held the word of Osiris to be true, or “made the word true,” as the Egyptian text has it. The words actually

used are *smaā kheru*, and they may also be translated “made true the voice.” It is possible, too, to understand from these words that Thoth made Osiris to use his voice in such a way that the words which he spoke had exactly the effect which he wished them to have. The words *maā kheru* are written after the name of every dead follower of Osiris, and of all the meanings which have been assigned to them by scholars⁴

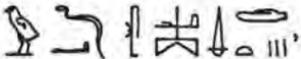
¹ Here comes the name of the deceased for whom the papyrus was written.

² The “chiefs,” or “overseers,” or “taskmasters.”

³ *I.e.*, the lord of the universe, or Osiris.

⁴ See Maspero, *Études de Myth.*, tom. I, pp. 93-103.

none represents their general meaning better than "victorious" or "triumphant."¹ With what words we translate *maā kheru* matters very little, for the general sense of the words is perfectly plain. When a god, or a man, or a woman, is said to be *maā kheru* (fem. *maāt kheru*) we are to understand that when he or she has spoken, or "uttered words," the words are followed immediately by the effect desired, that is to say, he who is *maā kheru* possessed unlimited power, and there is nothing which he cannot do or obtain.

The trial in the hall at An was, in reality, a "weighing of words," , the words being the accusations of Set and the defence of Osiris; it was no trial of strength like the fight between Horus and Set, and Rā and Āpep. The matter which Thoth had to decide was, Which witness is true, Set or Osiris? His verdict was in favour of Osiris, and from that time forward the idea of truth was associated with Osiris, who became the god of truth, and of those who spoke the truth. Moreover, Osiris, having been declared true of word, or true of voice, by Thoth, went up into heaven, and reigned there as king. He also became judge of the dead, for all men knew that he had proved Set to be a liar when he was tried by the gods, and that he had the power and the knowledge necessary for "weighing" their words when they should be tried at the last judgment.

Now, the enmity of Set was not directed against Osiris alone, for he attacked Horus, the son of Osiris, and made accusations of a serious character against him. The texts do not say what they were exactly, but it is quite clear from several statements that the object of Set was to discredit Horus, and to prevent him from ruling on the earth in his father's stead. The Greek writer, Plutarch (§ XIX), says that Typhon, *i.e.*, Set, accused Horus of illegitimacy, and the Egyptian texts seem to support this view. Over and over again, in hymns to Osiris, the god is assured that Horus has succeeded

¹ The Copts seem to have preserved the word under the form Ⲙⲉⲗⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧ = $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, or "blessed."

to his father's throne, and the following extract from Hunefer's hymn:¹ "Thy son Horus is triumphant in the presence of the whole company of the gods, the sovereignty of the whole world hath been given unto him, and his dominion is in the uttermost parts of the earth. The throne of Kēb (the earth-god) hath been adjudged unto him, along with the rank which hath been established by the god Temu, and also by the title-deed (or, will), in the House of Books, which hath been cut upon an iron tablet according to the command of thy father Ptaḥ-Tanen, [when he sat upon] the great throne. He hath set his brother over that which the god Shu beareth up [*i.e.*, heaven], and hath made him to stretch out the waters over the high lands, and to cause to grow that which springeth up on the hills, and the grain which groweth up from the earth, and to give increase by water and by land. Gods celestial and gods terrestrial transfer themselves to the service of thy son Horus, and they follow him into the hall, where a decree is passed which declareth that he is their lord, and the gods accept the same straightway." As in this extract the title-deeds, or will, by which Horus succeeded to his father's property, are mentioned, it is clear that some attempt must have been made by Set to show that Horus was not the lawful heir.

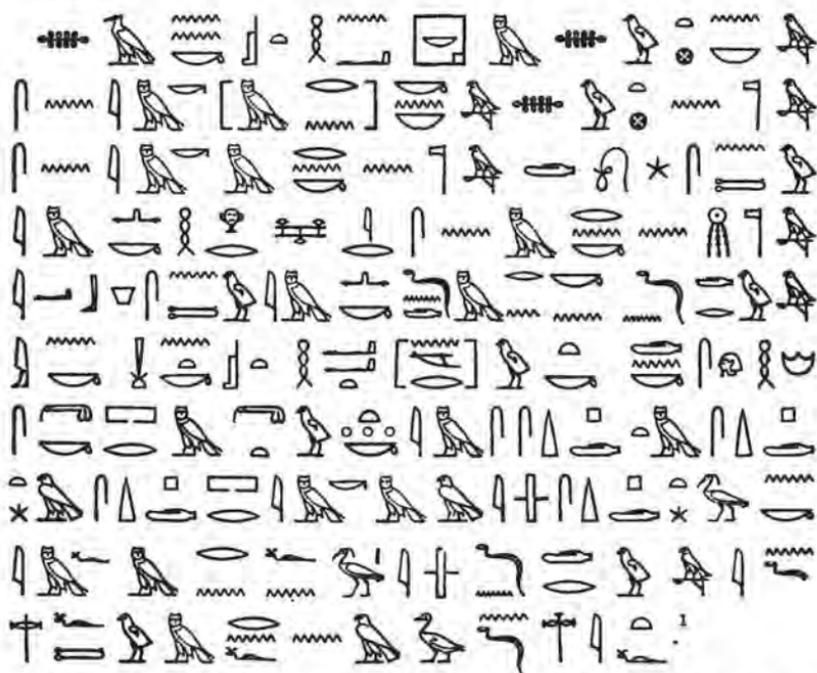
And this brings us to the consideration of the circumstances under which Horus was begotten and brought forth. It has already been seen by the passages quoted from the Pyramid Texts that Isis, the sister, *i.e.*, wife, of Osiris, played a prominent part in the reconstitution of her husband's body, and the texts of the later period are full of allusions to the troubles which she suffered through the enmity of Set, who first murdered her husband, and then caused her son Horus to be stung to death by a scorpion, and finally, after trying to disinherit him, endeavoured to slay him in combat. All the forms of the Osiris Legend agree in representing Isis as being childless when her husband died, and a remarkable passage in the Pyramid Texts explains how

¹ Chapter CLXXXIII of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead.

she succeeded in obtaining a child by her dead husband. In the text of Tetà it is said :—

“ Isis and Nephthys work magic on thee with
 “ knotted cords in the city of Saut, for their lord is in
 “ thee in thy name of ‘ Neb-Saut ’ (*i.e.*, ‘ Lord of Saut ’),
 “ for their god is in thee in thy name of ‘ god ’ (Neter).
 “ They adore thee ; do not depart from them in thy
 “ name of \ddot{T} ua-neter (*i.e.*, ‘ Morning Star ’). They
 “ present [themselves] before thee ; be not wroth in thy
 “ name of ‘ Tchen \ddot{T} eru.’

“ Thy sister Isis cometh unto thee rejoicing in her
 “ love for thee. Thou settest her upon thee, thy issue
 “ entereth into her, and she becometh great with child
 “ like the star Sept \ddot{T} (the Dog-star). Horus-Sept \ddot{T} cometh
 “ forth from thee in the form of ‘ Horus, dweller in
 “ Sept.’ Thou makest him to have a spirit in his
 “ name of ‘ Spirit, dweller in Tchen \ddot{T} eru.’ He avengeth
 “ thee in his name of ‘ Heru-sa-netch-àtef.’” The text
 reads :



¹ See Tetà, l. 275 ff. = Pepi I, l. 28 ff. = Mer-en-Rà, l. 39 ff. = Pepi II, l. 68 ff.

In a hymn to Osiris¹ of a later period the begetting of Horus is described somewhat differently, and we read :—

“ Thy sister Isis acted as a protectress to thee. She
 “ drove thine enemies away, she averted seasons [of
 “ calamity], she recited formulae with the magical power
 “ of her mouth, [being] skilled of tongue and never
 “ halting for a word, being perfect in command and
 “ word. Isis the magician avenged her brother. She
 “ went about seeking him untiringly. She flew round
 “ and round over the earth uttering wailing cries of grief,
 “ and she did not alight on the ground until she had
 “ found him. She made light [to appear] from her
 “ feathers, she made air to come into being by means of
 “ her two wings, and she cried out the death cries for
 “ her brother. She made to rise up the helpless
 “ members of him whose heart was at rest, she drew
 “ from him his essence, and she made therefrom an heir.
 “ She suckled the child in solitariness, and none knew
 “ where his place was, and he grew in strength, and his
 “ arm increased in strength in the House of K̄eb (*i.e.*,
 “ the earth).” The text reads :—



¹ First translated by Chabas, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1857, p. 65 ; for the text see Ledrain, *Monuments*, Plate XXII ff.

From the Metternich Stele,¹ a monument which was made in the reign of Nektanebés, about 350 B.C., much information is forthcoming about the childhood of Osiris,



1.



2.

1. Horus, in the form of a hawk-headed lion, seated on a standard, and wearing the Crowns of the South and North.
2. Set, in the form of a lion with the head of the Set animal, seated on a standard, and wearing the Crowns of the South and North.

The two gods are here represented as equals, each having the power to give to the King life for hundreds of thousands of millions of years, stability, and serenity.

From bas-reliefs found by Prof. Petrie at Memphis.

and the troubles which Isis suffered during her wanderings. Set, it seems, had shut her up in some building, but she effected her escape, and fled to the city of Buto,

¹ See the edition of Golénischeff, Leipzig, 1877.

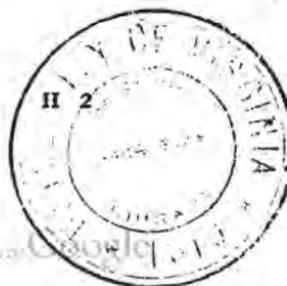
(Pe-Ṭep) in the Delta. There in the papyrus swamps she brought forth Horus, and there she reared him unknown to anyone. During her absence one day a scorpion stung the child, and he died. When Isis returned and found Horus lying dead, she rent the air with her cries of grief, and made bitter lamentation. Her sister Nephthys appeared, and made so fervent an appeal to the god in the Boat of Millions of Years, that the Boat stopped, and Thoth came down and provided Isis with the words of power which restored Horus to life.

With the Egyptian accounts of the begetting of Horus before us, we are right in assuming that Set brought a charge of illegitimacy against Horus, and that his accusations were levelled as much against Isis as against her son. The text of the Metternich Stele suggests that Set had tried to seize his brother's widow for himself, and it states quite clearly that she escaped from the place wherein he had managed to confine her for a time. Defeated in the gratification of his passion for the loving wife of Osiris, and not believing in the possibility of the union of Isis with the dead Osiris, it was only natural, according to African ideas, for Set to accuse Isis of playing the harlot, and her son of illegitimacy. Isis and her sister Nephthys were present at the trial before the gods, the latter presumably as a witness, and Thoth having declared that Osiris had spoken the truth, Isis was by implication also declared "true of word," or "true of voice," and she and her sister were ever after present at the judgment of the dead, and they bore the honourable title of "Ladies (*i.e.*, possessors) of the Truth," and the Hall of Judgment became known as the "Hall of the two Truths."

Several passages in the Pyramid Texts prove that the rule of Osiris in heaven as king and judge of the dead was, even so far back as the period of the VIth dynasty, believed to be a righteous rule, and it seems as if men thought that the god kept a written account of the words and deeds of every man, and a register of the years of his life. In the text of Pepi I two divine scribes are mentioned, and they are said to keep the written roll, and to notch calculations on the

or to speak words which shall be beneficial to those who dwell therein. Now the word *Aat*  means "tomb," and thus it seems that there were tombs of Horus, tombs of Set, and tombs of Osiris in the Other World. Of the Aats of Horus and Set nothing is known, but from the Book of the Dead, Chapter CL, we learn that the Aats were fifteen in number, and the text gives their names and describes them, and the vignette depicts their forms. Late tradition asserts that the body of Osiris was cut up into fourteen or fifteen pieces, and that over the place where each was buried Isis caused a sanctuary to be built. These tomb-chapels, or funerary temples of Osiris, which were built in various parts of Egypt, may represent the Aats of Osiris mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, and if this be so we should be justified in assuming that so far back as the VIth dynasty the Egyptians believed that the body of Osiris was divided into fifteen pieces. The tombs of Osiris on earth had their counterparts in heaven, and as the bodies of the faithful journeyed from one to another of them upon the earth on their religious pilgrimages, so would their souls travel from one to another in the Other World that they might partake of the spiritual enjoyments to be found in each.

The extracts from the Pyramid Texts given above make it certain that the principal details of the history of Osiris which the literature of the later periods make known to us, were current and were generally received under the VIth dynasty. In fact, the history of the murder, dismemberment, reconstitution, and resurrection of Osiris can be reconstructed from them. We may now consider what manner of heaven it was into which Osiris passed in his risen form, and what kind of life the blessed lived there under his rule, and what powers they possessed and enjoyed.



CHAPTER IV.

THE HEAVEN OF OSIRIS UNDER THE VITH DYNASTY.

THE oldest source of information concerning Osiris and his kingdom in heaven at present available is the Pyramid Texts, and from these the essential portions of the present chapter are derived. In estimating the value to be attached to facts set forth here in their relation to the history of Osiris, it must be remembered that these Texts were drafted by the priests of Heliopolis, who lost no opportunity of extolling the power and glory of their Sun-god Rā and his various forms, and they naturally made him out to be the supreme power of this and of the Other World. The Pyramid Texts represent in brief the views of the priesthood of Heliopolis, and enshrine their attempt to absorb into the cult of their god the beliefs and traditions of the old gods of Egypt, whom they made to be ministers of Rā. The conception of the heaven which they depict is far older than the cult of Rā, and the heaven over which the Heliopolitan priests made Rā to preside was the heaven of Osiris, the principal characteristics of which had been familiar to the Egyptians for many centuries before the worship of Rā became general in Egypt. There was little left for the priests to invent, but they could alter and modify expressions of belief, and they could make Rā to usurp the functions of older gods; this they did, and in doing so they showed great skill.

The various sections which form the collection of religious works now commonly known as the "Pyramid Texts," appear to have had no recognised order or sequence. Each is a distinct composition, and many repeat phrases and ideas which are found in others. Each was, we may well believe, composed to produce a certain result, but what that result was it is generally impossible to say. At a later period, say the XVIIIth dynasty, several of such compositions were made into chapters, each with its specific title, but it is in many cases

impossible to see the connection between the title and the contents of the chapter. It is clear that these compositions are not all the product of one period or of one writer, for the statements in some concerning certain matters contradict those found in others. In many there is obviously confusion of ideas, which is, in some cases, the result of difference in belief on the part of their authors, and in other cases has been produced by the carelessness of scribes. The Pyramid Texts are a mixture of religious writings of many periods, and their contents are an agglomeration of beliefs, legends, and speculations concerning the Other World, which defy systematic arrangement and logical classification. The Egyptian appears never to have relinquished any belief which he once held, and the natural outcome of this characteristic was that ancient texts were copied and recopied indefinitely, even if the beliefs which he held at one period contradicted those which he held at another. His speculations as to a future state he treated in the same way; once written down they were copied by the scribes generation after generation. From all this it follows that the description of the heaven of the Egyptian, depicted in the Pyramid Texts, represents the conceptions of countless generations of theologians, and it is specially interesting to watch how, in process of time, many of the coarser material elements are eliminated, and how ethical conceptions develop in it. In the following pages the order of the descriptions will be chronological, and they will begin with those taken from the text of Unas, and continue till the last of the Pyramid Texts, that of Pepi II, is reached.

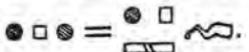
A large section of the text of Unas, about 160 lines at the beginning, is devoted to a Liturgy which deals with the presentation of offerings in connection with the performance of the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth." This ceremony has been described elsewhere¹ in detail, and it is only necessary to state here that during the

¹ See Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali*, Rome, 1881-1890; Maspero, *Pyramides de Saqqarah*, Paris, 1894; Dümichen, *Grabpalast*, Leipzig, 1884-5; Maspero, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, XV, pp. 159-188; and my *Liturgy of Funerary Offerings and Book of Opening the Mouth*, London, 1910.

ceremony the mouth of the deceased was touched, *i.e.*, "opened" by Horus, who employed for the purpose the two instruments which he had used in "opening" the mouth of his father Osiris. He then pressed the lips into their natural position during life, and "balanced" the mouth, and after this the deceased was able to speak, and breathe, and eat, and think, and his members could perform all their natural functions once more. One instrument was made of the iron which came forth from Set,¹ and was in the form of the forearm of Set,² it transferred to the deceased the power of the Eye of Horus . The other instrument was also made of iron, and was associated with Anpu,³ and transferred to the deceased power to overthrow all his enemies and evil.

The words which follow immediately after the Liturgy are described in later texts as the "Chapter of Supplying the Table (or, Altar) with Food,"⁴ and in them the happy labourers who lift up the heart and comfort the body, who have eaten the Eye of Horus, even as did Osiris, and the olive tree in An (Heliopolis), are called upon to prevent the deceased from suffering thirst, and hunger, and sadness of heart. And it is said that the hands of the god Aḥu, , shall destroy his hunger.⁵ Those who preside over the offerings of cakes and beer, and those who guard the celestial abyss, shall give him what they have seized with their hands, that is, wheat and barley, and bread and beer. And Rā shall give him these things also, for the deceased is a great bull, the smiter of Kenset.⁶ Next comes the short but interesting prayer: "O Rā, do good to him this day more

¹ . Pepi II, l. 215.

² . Pepi II, l. 213.

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⁴ Maspero, *Les Pyramides*, p. 19.

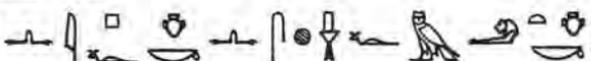
⁵ Unās, ll. 166-173.

⁶ , l. 178.

and presumably Rā or Thoth made the lost members of Set to grow again. The deceased became so greatly identified with the great god of heaven that the text goes on to say: "Thou givest birth to Horus, thou conceivest Set. Thou givest birth to Horus in his name of He ruleth the earth and terrifieth heaven. Thou givest birth to Horus for Osiris, thou givest him life, thou givest him strength; thou conceivest Set for Kēb, thou givest him life, thou givest him strength."¹ Under favour of Rā-Tem his heart is not counted, nor his breast overcome² by Osiris and Horus, that is, he escapes the judgment of these gods; to Osiris the great god says: "thou shalt not have power over him, and thy son shall not have power over him," and to Horus he says: "thou shalt not have power over him, and thy father shall not have power over him." The text continues: "Thy head is like that of Horus of the Țuat, imperishable. Thy body is like that of Khent-merti, imperishable. Thine ears are the two daughters of Tem, imperishable. Thine eyes are the two daughters of Tem, imperishable. Thy nose is like that of Anpu, imperishable. Thy teeth are like those of Horus Sept, imperishable. Thy hands are Hēp and Țuamutef, thou art strong, thou comest forth into the sky, thou appearest. Thy feet are Smet and Qebḥ-senuf, thou art strong, thou enterest Nu, thou advancest. Thy flesh is the daughters of Temt, imperishable. Thou shalt never perish, thy KA shall never perish, a KA established."³

Thus being provided with an imperishable spirit-body the deceased goes to Nephthys, and to the Boat of the Morning Sun (Semktet),⁴ and to Maāt, and to the goddess who commemorates KAU,⁵ or "doubles," and his name is "commemorated," *i.e.*, recorded. From this it seems that a register of the names of doubles was

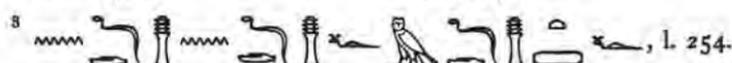
¹ Line 216.

²  , ll. 216, 217.

³ Lines 218-220.

⁴  .

goddesses, for he is Osiris, and he is the son, or relative, of each of them. The gods and goddesses enumerated in the next paragraphs of the texts are Tem, Shu, Tefnut, K̄eb, Nut, Isis, Set, Nephthys, Thoth, and Horus. He is declared to be the son of the first five of these, the brother of the next four, and the father of the last-named, Horus. These form the Great Company of the gods. He is also the son or relative of the Little Company of the gods, whose names are Rāt, Am-Ān, Am-Āntchet, Am-Ĥet-Serq, Am-Seḥ-neter, Am-Ĥetch-pār, Am-Saḥ, Am-Ṭep, Am-Ĥet-ur-Rā, Am-Unu-resu, Am-Unu-meḥt, and Am-Nu-meru(?). Each deity is called upon to give the deceased his support "that he may have life," and we have the following oft-repeated formula:—"He liveth, this Unās liveth; he dieth not, this Unās dieth not; he perisheth not, this Unās perisheth not; he begetteth not, this Unās begetteth not; he begetteth, this Unās begetteth."¹ It is noteworthy that Set is called upon to support his brother,² *i.e.*, the deceased, who is identified with Osiris. The deity in An (Heliopolis) performs some ceremony of importance in connection with his backbone,³ but the details are not clear. The deity in Orion who makes heaven and earth to be fruitful is reminded that Osiris revolves above him, and he is asked to regard Unās as his own offspring by Isis.⁴ The body of the god is the body of Unās, and his flesh and his bones are the flesh and bones of Unās.⁵ Before Unās the doors of the horizon are opened, and their bolts drawn back, and he advances to the goddesses Net, and Nesert, and Urt, and Urt-ḥekau,⁶ and he is

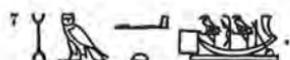
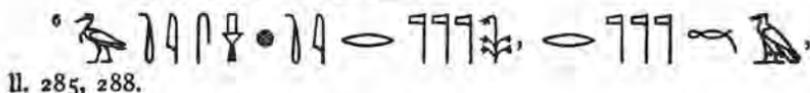
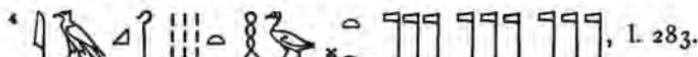
¹ Line 240 ff.² Line 246.³  , l. 254.⁴  , l. 260.⁵ Line 268.⁶  , l. 269.

Horus who revolves in the magical protection of his Eye.¹ These goddesses place his *āb* sceptre at the head of the living ones, and his power at the head of the spirits, and his knife is vigorous against his enemies.² He advances to his fathers Rā, Neṭā, Penṭen, Ṭenṭen, Sma-ur, Sekhen-ur, Septu, Sept-Ābeḥu.³ He rules the Nine Gods, and he completes in his person the Company of the gods.⁴ The North and the South bow their heads before him, and he stands up as chief of the Great Ones in his Lake.⁵ "He hath more soul and more strength⁶ than the gods of the South and North," he opens up his way through the bones of Shu, he goes about in the hand of his mother Nut, he is purified in the horizon, he bathes naked in the pools of Shu, he appears in the sky and goes down with Rā, he travels with Neṭā, he revolves with Sekhen-ur, he travels with Nephthys and with the Boat of the Morning Sun, he appears and journeys with Isis and the Boat of the Setting Sun,⁷ he is strong in his body, and none can resist him.⁸

In this strength he goes about heaven and "utters words" to the Domains of Horus, the Domains of Set, and the Domains of Osiris,⁹ and as he is all powerful it seems that such "words" must be of benefit to the denizens of the Domains. The "uttering of words" by

¹ Line 271.

² Line 274.



⁸ Line 293.

⁹ Unās, l. 297, Pepi II, l. 547.

the windstorm makes his voice to travel through heaven and terrify Set.¹

The blessed one appears in heaven from between the thighs of the gods; Sekhmet conceived him, and Shesti² gave him birth. The star Sept (Sothis), with long strides, leads on the celestial path of Rā each day, and the blessed one rises as a star.³ He is a lily⁴ which shoots up in the earth, "he who makes his seat"⁵ purifies his hands, and he is "to the nose of the Great Power." Thus we see that the spirit-body in heaven could transform itself into the celestial lily which the great god held to his nose. The Egyptians of all classes loved flowers, and often carried them, and, judging by their descendants of to-day, frequently smelt them as they carried them. The blessed one rises like Nefer-Tem,⁶ like a lily, at the nostrils of Rā,⁷ he appears on the horizon every day, and the gods are purified by the sight of him.

He next went to the Island of Sāsā,⁸ *i.e.*, to the Island of Fire, on which one of the abodes of Osiris was placed. In the Book of Gates⁹ this Island appears under the name of "Serser," and the text makes it clear that it was situated in the kingdom of Osiris. Having arrived he "setteth right in the place of wrong,"¹⁰ a statement which proves that under the VIth dynasty

¹ , l. 388.

² , l. 390.

³ Line 391.

⁴ , l. 392.

⁵ , l. 393.

⁶ The young Tem, the rising sun. He was in later times said to be the son of Ptaḥ and the goddess Sekhet.

⁷ , l. 395.

⁸ : l. 393.

⁹ See my *Book of Gates*, pp. 227-231.

¹⁰ , l. 394.

"Ames sceptre,¹ he is purified. He sitteth with the
 "sailors of Rā. He ordereth good, he doeth it, doth this
 "great god."² With words of joy he cries out: "I am
 pure, I am pure in Sekhet-Aar, [with] the purity of Rā
 in Sekhet-Aar." His hand is like the hand of Rā, the
 goddess Nut receives him, and the god Shu gives him
 air.³

"The dew of the great goddess is to you, O Bull of
 "Nekhen, and the flame of fire of the blessed one
 "[cometh] to you, O ye who are about the shrine. O
 "great god, whose name is unknown, let there be
 "provisions [for him] on the seat of the Lord One! O
 "lord of the horizon, make thou a seat for him. For if
 "thou make not a seat for him, he will assuredly make
 "a place in father Kēb. Earth will not speak for him,
 "Kēb will not slay for him; what he findeth on his path
 "he will eat."⁴ The goddess Hēkenutet⁵ makes a
 spacious seat for him in Tcheṭu, in the shrine,⁶ she sets
 up for him two standards at the head of the great ones,
 she digs a lake for him in Sekhet-Aaru, and she
 establishes for him an estate in Sekhet-ḥetep.⁷ He
 weighs words like the goddess Meḥt-urt between the
 Two Fighters,⁸ for behold, he is powerful with the might
 of the Eye of the god Tebā,⁹ and his strength is the
 strength of the god Tebā. He is stronger than those
 who would seize upon his food and would carry it off
 from him, and steal the air from his nostrils, and bring
 his days of life to an end. He rises upon his domain,

¹ 

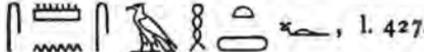
²  l. 410.

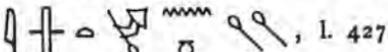
³ Lines 412-415.

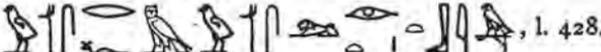
⁴ Lines 416, 417.

⁵  l. 425.

⁶  l. 427.

⁷  l. 427.

⁸  l. 427.

⁹  l. 428.

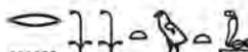
their entrails [are given] to the Guardians of the sky, their blood to the Guardians of the earth, their flesh to the , their abodes to the thieves, and their halls to Hēp-ur. His heart is glad, for he is One, the Bull of heaven, and he has destroyed all his foes, and his father Shu has placed him by the side of Set.¹ His flesh is the gods Kēb and Tem, he sits on the throne of Horus the firstborn.² His Eye is in his strength, his protection is what it doeth for him. A flame of fire is his goddess Khut,³ the goddess Rennut is on his head.⁴ He sets his conquest in their hearts, and when the gods who are in their *hatu* apparel⁵ see him they bow down before him with praise.

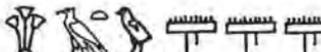
The next paragraph of the text of Unās gives an interesting description of the alarm with which the gods view the arrival of the newcomer in their domain. "There is a commotion in heaven. The old gods⁶ say: "We see something new. The Horus gods are in "splendour, the Lords of Forms oppose him." All in vain, for "he courseth round the Two Companies of the "gods, he taketh his seat on every throne of Tem, he "taketh possession of the sky, he cleaveth its substance,⁷ "he travelleth over the roads of Kheper, and he sitteth "as a living being in Ament. The gods of the Tuat⁸ "follow him; he shineth like a new being in the "East, and the Opener of the trouble cometh to him "with bowings."⁹ He reduces to subjection the first-born gods, and behold, he is the Power in his seat. He

¹ Lines 428-433.

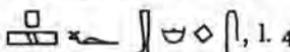
²  , l. 440.

³ 

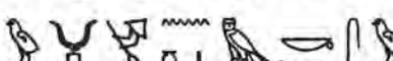
⁴  , l. 441.

⁶ 

⁸  , l. 443.

⁷  , l. 444.

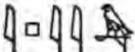
⁸  , l. 445.

⁹  , l. 445.

Great House. Portals are made for him, ropes are plaited for him, the imperishable stars conduct him, he sails to the Fields of Reeds, those who are in the horizon transport him, and those who are in Qebhu make him to sail.¹ He is with you, O gods, ye are with him, O gods; he lives with you, O gods, ye live with him, O gods. He loves you, O gods, love ye him, O gods. Peq comes. Patch comes, appearing from the thigh of Horus. He who appears comes, he who is weak comes. He appears on the thighs of Isis, he is weak on the thighs of Nephthys. His father Tem grasps his hand, he counts him [among] the gods who are mighty, wise, imperishable. His mother Api² gives him her breast, he conveys it to his mouth, he sucks her milk, which is white, splendid, and sweet, he passes through the land, and has neither thirst nor hunger.³

In the next paragraph the deceased is supposed to arrive at the place of the god whose face is turned behind him,⁴ and who sees what is behind him.⁵ This god is provided with a boat in which he transports across the celestial ocean the soul which would make its way to the Elysian Fields. Him the deceased addresses and says: O thou watchest—in peace. O Her-f-ḥa-f—in peace. Maa-ḥa-f—in peace. O Boat of the sky—in peace. O Boat of Nut—in peace. O Boat of the gods—in peace. He (*i.e.*, the deceased) has come to thee. Transport thou him in the boat wherein thou didst transport the gods. He has come to his place as the god came to his place. He has come to his hair (?) as the god came to his place; he has come to his hair (?) as the god came to his hair (?). No living being, no dead being, no bird (?), no quadruped makes him known. If thou wilt not transport him, he will leap up and set himself on the wing of Thoth, and he will transport him to his place in the horizon.⁶ He (*i.e.*, the deceased) swims to the earth appearing from the lake, and pours moisture on the green [land]. He

¹ Lines 481-483.

²  , l. 487.

³ Lines 484-489.

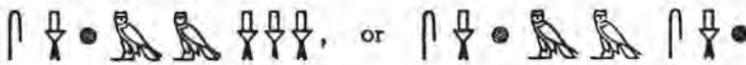
⁴ Her-f-ḥa-f, .

⁵ Maa-ḥa-f, .

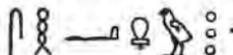
⁶ Lines 489-492.

He (the dead king) eats their words of power, he swallows their spirits. The great ones of them are for his food in the morning, their middle [-sized] ones are for his food in the evening, and the small ones are for his food in the night. The old ones, male and female, are for his caldrons. Behold, the Great One in heaven shoots forth fire into their caldrons which contain the thighs of their firstborn. Those who dwell in heaven belong to him, he shoots with the bow at the caldrons with the legs of their women [in them]. He goes round about the two heavens everywhere, he goes round the Two Lands. He is the Great Power,¹ the Power among Powers.² He is the Āshem, the Āshem of the Great Āshemu.³ What he finds on his path he eats eagerly. His protection is in the breasts of all the Sāḥu⁴ who dwell in the horizon. He is God, the firstborn of the firstborn. He goes round the thousands, he makes offerings to the hundreds. He is given the arm (power?) as the Great Sekhem, the star Saḥ (Orion), the father of the gods. He renews his risings in the sky, the flesh of the Crown, as Lord of the horizon. He computes the bones and the entrails, he takes possession of the breasts (or, hearts), of the gods. He eats the Red Crown, he swallows the Green Crown. He feeds upon their lungs, he is satisfied to live on breasts (or, hearts), (that is, their magical powers), he devours the things which are in the Red Crown, he flourishes, their magical powers are in his body, the Sāḥu do not retreat from his hand. He eats the wisdom of every god, his period of life is eternity, his limit is everlastingness in this form (sāḥ) of his. What he wills he does, what he hates he does not. He is a dweller in

¹  Tetâ, l. 326.

²  or 


³ 

⁴ 

" him, and she hath fashioned Two Divine Souls¹ to be
 " at the head of the Souls of An, under the head of Rā.
 " His throne is before Rā, and they do not give it to any
 " other, and he appeareth in heaven before Rā. His
 " face is like the faces of hawks, his wings are like the
 " wings of geese, his nails are like the claws of the god
 " Ṭuf(?)." ²

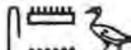
The blessed one, having been provided with a face
 (*i.e.*, beak) like a hawk, and the wings of a goose, and
 the claws of the god Ṭuf, is ready to fly from earth into
 heaven, but it seems that he was not allowed to start unless
 the gods who were about to help him were satisfied as to
 the reality of his moral worth. They demanded that no
 man should have uttered a word against him on earth,
 and that no complaint should have been made against
 him in heaven before the gods. Therefore in the text
 of Unās we read:—" Unās hath not been spoken against
 " on earth before men, he hath not been accused of sin
 " in heaven before the gods." ³ Thus, even in the period
 of the VIth dynasty, we find the idea that heaven was
 reserved for those who had when on earth performed
 their duty to man and to the Divine Powers.⁴ Pres-
 sumably those who had failed in these respects remained
 on earth. Unās having satisfied all requirements, the
 god Ap-uat made him ascend to heaven among the
 brethren the gods, and having obtained possession of his
 arms like the *Smen*⁵ goose, he flapped his wings with the
 strength and vigour of the *Tchert*⁶ bird (eagle or hawk?),
 and flew from earth to heaven.

¹  l. 569.

²  l. 570.

³  l. 570.

⁴ Literally "gods," . It is possible that we ought to render  by "God," just as we translate the Hebrew אֱלֹהִים by "Lord," or "God."

⁵  l. 571.

⁶ 



The Ladder by which the deceased ascended from earth to heaven.
From the Papyrus of Ani.

As he flies to heaven the gods of the West and the East, the South and the North, are invoked to receive him when he appears there.¹ Their reception of him is favourable, for he sails about on Qebhu² freely. Being identified with Osiris, Horus, who regards him as his father, comes to his "two fingers," and salutes him, and causes him to rise like the great god on Qebhu. And the gods say: Assuredly he is Horus, son of Isis, "assuredly he is the firstborn god, the son of Hathor, assuredly he is the seed of Keb." Osiris orders that he is to be crowned as the second of Horus, and the Four Spirits who dwell in An have written the decree making them the two great gods in Qebhu.³

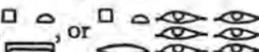
Two sections of the text of Unas deal with the Ladder by which, according to a legend, Osiris ascended from earth to heaven; the first contains a series of addresses to divine powers, and the second refers to the setting up of the ladder. Thus we have: Homage to thee, Set-Amenti,⁴ mistress of Peter⁵ of heaven, gift (?) of Thoth, mistress of the two sides of the LADDER,⁶ open thou the way for

¹ Lines 572, 573.

² The celestial ocean.

³ Lines 572-575.

⁴ 

⁵  or 

⁶ 

the deceased, set him on his way. Homage to thee, Nāu,¹ mistress of the marge of the Lake of Kha, open thou the way for the deceased, set him on his way. Homage to thee, O Neḫ, Bull of Rā with the four horns. Thy horn is in the West, thy horn is in the East, thy horn is in the South, thy horn is in the North. The meadow of thy horn is the Ament of the deceased, set thou him on his way. Certainly Ament is pure, [he] comes forth by thee to Baket. Homage to the Field of the Offering (Sekhet-ḥetep). Homage to the pasture which is in thee. The pasture of the deceased is in thee, pure offerings are in thee. Rā knots the Ladder for Osiris, Horus knots the Ladder for his father Osiris, going to his spirit. The one (Rā) [stands] on this side, and the other (Horus) on that, and the deceased is between them. Behold, he is the god whose seats are pure, he comes forth from a pure place, He stands up Horus, he sits down Set. Rā grasps his hand, a spirit in heaven, a body on earth. The flesh which has not [its] decree is helpless. His decree has the great seal, behold, his decree has not the little seal.²

Happy are those who see [the deceased], content be those who behold him, say the gods. Therefore this god comes forth in heaven, therefore the father comes forth in heaven. His souls are on him, his book is by his side, his words of power are in his mouth. . . . The divine Souls of Pe and the divine Souls of Nekhen, and the gods who belong to heaven, and the gods who belong to earth, come to him, and they lift him up on their hands. Come thou therefore to heaven, enter thou therein in its name of "Ladder." Heaven and earth have been given to him by Tem, Keḫ hath spoken concerning it. The Domains of Horus, the Domains of Set, and the Fields of Reeds praise thee in thy name of Khensu-Sept. The city Anu is as he is, god; thy Anu is as he is, god; Anu is as he is, Rā; thy Anu is as he is, Rā. His mother is Anu, his father is Anu, he himself is Anu, born in Anu.³

¹ , the Ostrich-god?

² Lines 579-583.

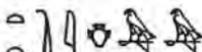
³ Lines 584-592.

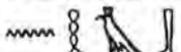
Behold, Rā, Chief of the Two Companies of the gods, Chief of mortals, and Nefer-Tem, who has no second, whose flesh and bone are of the father Kēb, and every god put out to him his hand. His face is to thee, he adores thee, he cries to thee. The face of his body is god, the face (front) of his nose is god. His bread and his cake are not among his brethren the gods. He sends not a message, he chooses not a sceptre among his brethren the gods. He opens not the doors in the Semktet Boat, he opens not the doors in the Mātet Boat, he weighs not his word with the dweller in his city, he opens not the doors which are closed (?).¹

Homage to thee, Horus, in the Domains of Horus! Homage to thee, Set, in the Domains of Set! Homage to thee, Aar, in the Fields of Aarr!² Homage to you, ye two Tettā-āb goddesses,³ ye two daughters of the four gods who are chiefs of the Great House! When his word comes forth unveil. He shall look at you as Horus looks at Isis. He shall look at you as Neḥebu-kau⁴ looks at Serqit. He shall look at you as Sebek looks at Neith. He shall look at you as Set looks at Tettā-āb.⁵ O ye gods who are behind the house of Rā, whom Neḥit⁶ has brought forth. O ye gods who are in front of the Boat of Rā; he sits before him, he opens his chests, he breaks his decrees (?), he seals his decrees, he sends forth his messengers, who never rest.⁷ His foes are the foes of Tem, his dislikes are the dislikes of Tem. His blows are the blows of Tem. What he drives from this path Tem drives away. He is Horus. He comes after his father, he comes after Osiris. His face is before him, his face is behind him.⁸ He sees Rā. He knows Rā. Let those who know thee know him. He is not blind that thou shouldst set him in the darkness, he is not

¹ Lines 592-597.

²  , or,  .

³  .

⁴  , l. 599.

⁶ Lines 597-600.

⁶  , l. 601.

⁷ Line 602.

⁸ Line 603.

deaf so that he cannot hear thy voice.¹ Take thou him with thee, with thee. He has dispersed for thee the rain-storm, he has driven away for thee the water flood, he has broken for thee the tempests. He utters cries of joy to thee, he acclaims thee. He (*i.e.*, the deceased) opens the doors of heaven by the flames which are about the abode of the gods, he advances through the fire which is about the home of the gods, who make a way for him, who make him pass onwards, for he is Horus.²

He comes like the Chief of the Flood of the Celestial Ocean.³ He is Sebek (the Crocodile-god), with the green feather, watchful of face, exalted of breast. He comes to his lakes in the country of Aḳebá in the Great Stream, to the place of offerings, the green place, the fields in the horizon. He makes to flourish the crops on both sides of the horizon. He brings the crystal of the Great Eye in the midst of the Field, he takes his seat in the horizon. He rises like Sebek, the son of Neith.

From the above section it is clear that the deceased is made out to be the lord of the great celestial stream which was supposed to surround the world, but he only becomes so by being identified with Sebek, the Crocodile-god, the son of Neith, who was able to travel about in the stream and land wherever he pleased. The last two lines contain allusions of a most materialistic character, and illustrate the mixed conceptions of the ancient theological writers of Egypt concerning the joys of the departed. The passage reads: He eats with his mouth, he voids water, he unites with women. He is the sower of seed who carries off wives from their husbands to the place which pleases him, according to the inclination of his heart.⁴ Now it seems that in these

¹ Line 608.

² Lines 610-612.

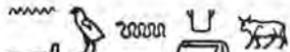
³ , l. 620.

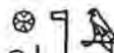
⁴

, ll. 628, 629.

lines we have an allusion to a very ancient belief concerning the crocodile, which is extant in the Egyptian Sûdân at the present day. To the crocodile are attributed great powers of vitality and virility, which are coveted by boatmen and others up and down the river. A few years ago the natives between Ad-Damer and Shendt suffered serious losses of cattle and children through the attacks of a huge old crocodile which lived in the Nile, and had succeeded for many years in escaping safely with his prey. A British officer quartered at Ad-Damer had the creature watched, and, after several days' careful observation of his habits, managed to find out the spot to which he retired with his booty. One day he shot him, and with the help of the natives the creature was killed, and his genitals were bought by an enterprising native, who cut them up into small pieces and sold them to his kinsmen, by whom they were eaten as an aphrodisiac. On making enquiries I learned that the genitals of every fine male crocodile were disposed of in this manner. The paragraph (ll. 620-629) in the text of Unâs suggests that the deceased wished to possess the powers of virility of the Crocodile-god Sebek, and it is clear that its words were intended to make him all-powerful with women.

From the next section we learn that the deceased was identified with Nâu,¹ the Bull of the gods, the master of seven Uraei-goddesses. He is the Bull with the two-fold light in his eye, the power among the gods, he makes lapis-lazuli to flourish, he makes the *tun* plant of the South to grow, he raises up the cords (fibres?) of the *shemshemet* plant, he unites the heavens, he has dominion in the lands of the South and North, he is the god of those who are in the presence, he builds the City of God,² and makes it safe. He rules the night and makes the hours revolve, the Powers rise up and he assigns to them their order, like Babi.³ He is the son of Akhemit, who brought him forth through the embrace of the Lord of

¹  , Tetâ, l. 307.

²  , l. 641.

³ .

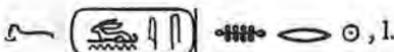
the Darkness.¹ He is Babi, the Lord of the Darkness, the gracious (or, beautiful) Bull who lives in his death (?).

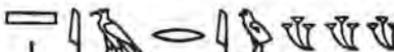
Finally the god Ḥa-f-em-ḥa-f is called upon to bring the wonderful creature called Sefert, who is in charge of portions of the body of Osiris, and mounted on this he appears in heaven; when he is there he works magic upon, or for, Rā.² The Sefert, as we learn from a drawing on a tomb at Beni Hasan, was a creature with the head of a hawk, and the body of a lion, from the back of which grew a pair of wings, but it is possible that in the earliest times the creature was a fabulous bird pure and simple.

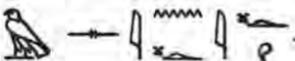
With this paragraph we come to an end of the religious texts which were written for King Unás. These do not, however, by any means exhaust our sources of information as to the life of the blessed in heaven, for there are still to be considered the texts which were drawn up for Tetá and his successors. The texts of Tetá and Pepi I are of very great interest, and from these the following statements are obtained.

When Tetá leaves the earth he finds heaven opened and earth opened, for Horus has thrown open the doors thereof, and Set has withdrawn the bolts. The ceremonial purity which is so often insisted on in the texts is acquired by the deceased, for he purifies himself with Rā in the Lake of the Country of Reeds,³ Horus dries his body,⁴ Thoth dries his feet, Shu raises him up, and the Heaven-goddess Nut gives him her hand. Horus of the gods opens the gate of heaven and unbolts the doors of Qebḥu at dawn, he appears in the Field of Reeds, and purifies himself therein. Horus of the

¹  , l. 645.

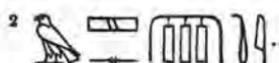
²  , l. 649.

³  , l. 6.

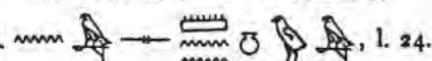
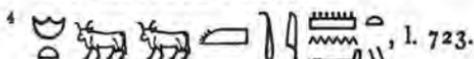
⁴ 

Horizons, Horus of the East,¹ and Horus of Shestá² do likewise, and the deceased does as they have done.³ He receives bones of a marvellous nature, and a complete and imperishable body is bestowed upon him in the womb of his mother Nut. Rā gives him his hand, and Shu draws him up on his shoulder. He sucks milk at the breasts of the two Cow-nurses⁴ of the Souls of Anu, and the three deities Hepath, Henen, and Smennu⁵ perform service for him. Horus, who loves him, brings him his Eye, Set, who loves him, brings him his testicles,⁶ and Thoth, who loves him, brings him his arm and shoulder. The Two Companies of the Gods tremble before him, and bring him offerings.⁷ He is the "nose which breathes,"⁸ and he appears in the sky from the womb of Ámu-ápt."⁹ He passes through the two heavens,¹⁰ he comes to the two earths, he treads upon the green herbs under the feet of Kēb, and he walks over the roads of Nut. He sets up the ladder, being purified, and the Ámu-urt¹¹ grasp his hand.

Homage to thee, O Rā, who dost traverse the sky and sail over Nut, thou dost traverse the Lake of Khaá.¹² He (the deceased) grasps thy tail, for behold, he is the god, the son of the god. He is the Uneb-flower appearing from Ka,¹³ the gold (?) Uneb appearing from Sentru.

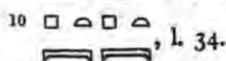
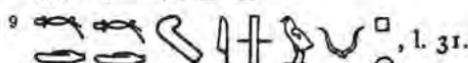
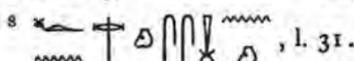


³ Lines 19-21.



⁶ Line 27.

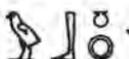
⁷ Line 28.



He passes through Pe, he sails over Kenmut like Shesmu, dweller in his boat, beloved of the god.¹ Happy are those who see him tied to the brow of Rā. His tunic is on him like Hathor, his hair is like the plumage of a hawk. He appears in heaven among his brethren.² Homage to thee, Bull of bulls! When thou appearest he seizes thy tail, he lays hold of thee by thy . . .³ When thou goest forth Urt is behind thee, Urt is by thee.⁴ The sky speaks,⁵ the earth trembles before thy slaughter (?), O Osiris.⁶ Hunger comes not to him (the deceased). He is filled with food. He hungers not, for he eats bread-cakes made of fine flour.⁷ The great goddess makes them for him, and he is sated therewith. He thirsts not like Shu, he hungers not like Tefnut, for Hēp, Tuamutf, Qebhsenuf, and Amset (or Amkeset)⁸ destroy the hunger which is in his belly and the thirst which is on his lips.⁹ His hunger is with Shu, his thirst is with Tefnut, he lives on the daily bread¹⁰ which comes in its season. He lives on that whereon Shu lives, he eats what Tefnut eats.¹¹ He comes to thee, O Nekhekh¹² (Aged One). He drives thee back as the east wind drives back the west wind. Thou comest in his following as the north wind follows the south wind.¹³ The god of the great celestial waters, Aḳeb-ur, the fashioner of the gods and the guide of the Hēnmemet beings, makes gods and men to be at peace with him, and they give him

¹ Line 41.

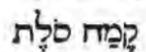
² Lines 44, 45.

³ , l. 46.

⁴ Line 47.

⁵ *I.e.*, there is thunder.

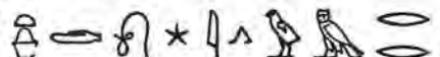
⁶ Line 50.

⁷  *qemhu*. Compare  of Genesis xviii, 6, "fine flour."

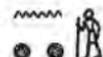
⁸  Tetá, l. 60;  Mer-en-rā, l. 218;

 Pepi II, l. 592.

⁹ Lines 54-61.

¹⁰  l. 63.

¹¹ Lines 62-64.

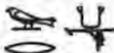
¹²  Pepi II, l. 612.

¹³ Line 81.

offerings.¹ The god Ur-ka-f,² the officer of Horus, the Director of the Hall of Rā, the Firstborn of the workshop of Ptaḥ, also gives him food.

To him one says : Open thou the doors of heaven ! Thou hast lifted up thy head on thy bones, thou hast lifted up thy head on thy bones. Thou hast opened the doors of heaven, thou hast drawn back the great bolts, thou hast removed the seal from the great abode. Thy face is that of a jackal, thy tail is that of a lion with a fierce eye. Thou sittest on thy throne, thou utterest commands to the Spirits. Thou comest before Horus, the Advocate of his father Osiris. Stand up, rise up like Osiris.³ Hail, Horus comes, he embraces thee, he makes Thoth to make to turn back the followers of Set, he brings them to thee prisoners. He drives back the heart of Set, for he is greater than he. Thou goest forth before him, thou turnest about before him. Kēb seeth thy going about, he sets thee on thy seat. Kēb brings thy two sisters, Isis and Nephthys, to thy side. Horus makes the gods to receive thee, they make friends with thee in thy name of "Sent," and they reject thee not in thy name of "Atert," he makes the gods to be thy advocates. Kēb sets his sandal (or, foot) on the head of thine enemy, [as] thou repulset [him]. Thy son Horus smites him, he snatches away his Eye from him, he gives it to thee, thou gettest a soul thereby, thou gettest strength thereby, at the head of the Spirits. Horus makes thee to seize thine enemies, he is unhurt among them before thee. Strong, then, is Horus ; he counts up his father in thee in thy name of Bāt-erpet. Nut gives thee to be a god unto Set in thy name of god. Thy mother Nut spreads herself out over thee in her name of Shet-pet. Horus seizes Set, he places him under thee ; Set bears thee up, he is beneath thee as earth is beneath thee. Rule thou him therefore in thy name of Ta-tcheser. Horus makes thee to grasp (?) him (*i.e.*, Set) by his middle ; he shall not go out of thy hand. Horus makes thee to hold him tightly in thy palm ; he shall not escape from thy hand. Horus has

¹ Line 86.

² , l. 87.

³ Lines 156-169.

avenged thee, he has made his KA [to be] in thee in thy name of Ka-ḥetep.¹

Hail, thou Osiris,² Kēb has given thee thy two eyes, thou restest in the two eyes of this Great One who is in thee. Kēb has made Horus to give them to thee that thou mayest rest on them. Isis and Nephthys look on thee, they see thee. Horus has made thee a gift, Horus has made Isis and Nephthys defend thee; they give thee to Horus that he may rest on thee. Horus has recited words before thee in thy name of "Khut" (*i.e.*, Horizon), wherefrom Rā appears in thy hands in thy name of "Khenāḥ." Thou hast seized with thy hands Ḥaf-ḥaf³ to strengthen(?) his bones—great is his heart. Horus makes thee to advance, he comes, he examines thee. Thou hast vanquished Set, his KA is fettered. Horus has made thee to drive him back, and assuredly he is greater than thine enemy. He swims under thee, in thee he bears up him that is greater than himself. Those who are in his following see that thy strength is greater than his, and they attack thee not. Horus comes, he counts up his father in thee; thou renewest thy youth in thy name "Water of Youth."⁴ Horus opens for thee thy mouth; thou shalt not perish, not decay. Kēb brings Horus to thee, and he counts for thee their hearts. He brings to thee all the gods at once, none of them from his hand. Horus avenges thee, never ceasing (?) to defend thee. He snatches his Eye from the hand of Set and gives it to thee The heart of Horus advances before thee in thy name of Khent-Ament. Horus defends thee against the work of Set.⁵

The next section of the text of Tetā refers to the passage of the deceased across the Lake of Kha on the wing of Thoth, and begins: Horus groans for the loss of his Eye, Set groans for the loss of his testicles. The Eye of Horus passes and falls on the other side of

¹ Lines 169-176.

² The name of Osiris is added to that of the king.

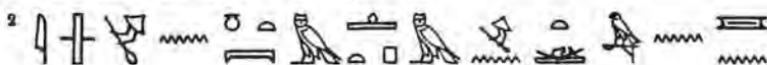
³ , l. 178.

⁴ , l. 180.

⁵ Lines 176-183.

the Lake of Kha, and it defends its body from the hand of Set ; it sees Thoth on the other side of the Lake of Kha. The Eye of Horus passes to the other side of the Lake of Kha, and the wing of Thoth falls on the other side of the Lake of Kha. O ye gods who pass over on the wing of Thoth to the other side of the Lake of Kha, to the eastern side of heaven, if he (the deceased) speaks before Set concerning the Eye of Horus, carry ye him over with you on the wing of Thoth, to the other side of the Lake of Kha, to the eastern side of heaven, if he speaks before Set concerning the Eye of Horus. Watch in peace, O Maa-ḥa-f,¹ in peace. Watch in peace, O Ferryman of heaven, in peace. O Ferryman of the Lake of Kha,² speak the name of the deceased to Rā, make mention of him to Rā, let his body be in that celestial palace of the Lords of [their] KAḲU (*i.e.*, Doubles), who praise Rā in the Domains of Horus, in the Domains of Set.³

The divine Ferryman Maa-ḥa-f,⁴ who seems to have performed for dead Egyptians what Charon did for dead Greeks, was under the direct control of Rā, who decided which souls were to be ferried over the Lake of Kha, and which were to be left on earth. From the text of Tetā we learn that the deceased did not wait for Rā to give the order for him to be ferried over unto him, but he himself "ordered Maa-ḥa-f, the Ferryman of the Lake of Kha, to bring the ferry-boat of the Lake of Kha, wherein he had ferried over the gods to the other side of the Lake of Kha, to the eastern side of heaven, and to ferry him over to the other side of the Lake of Kha, to the eastern side of heaven." And whilst he is in



● α Tetā, l. 191 ; Pepi II, l. 1288.

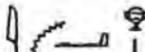
³ Lines 185-192.

⁴ This name means "he who sees what is behind him," and in a vignette of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead we see him seated in a boat with his head turned behind him. See *Papyrus of Ani*, Plate 17 (Chapter XCIII).

the embraces of the Eye of Horus, and his body is between his fingers, the gods, goddesses, and Amset (Amkset), Hep, Tuamut-f, and Qebhsenuf "wash his face."¹ His right side is Horus, his left side is Set.²

In the following short sections of the text of Tetá the portal of Nut is informed that the deceased is the Air-god Shu, and that he appears from Tem. The god Nu is called upon to "make open" the bolt thereof to the deceased, who indeed comes as a "divine soul."³ Nu commits him to Tem, and Peḳa⁴ commits him to Shu; he makes to be opened the gate to him before men who have no name. To one of these gods it is said: "Thou graspest his hand, thou drawest him to heaven. He is not a dead thing on earth among men."⁵

O thou his father, O thou his father in the darkness, O thou his father Tem in the darkness, bring thou him to thy side. He has lighted for thee the lamp, he has performed the ceremony of transferring the fluid of life⁶ upon thee, even as these four goddesses, Isis, Nephthys, Net, and Serqet-ḥetu,⁷ performed the ceremony for father Nu on the day when they performed the ceremony on the throne. O road of Horus, cover thou him (the deceased), make thy hands to be [stretched out] to him. Come, Rā, pass thou him over to the other side, even as thy bodyguard Unḳ,⁸ who loves thee, passed thee over [to the other side]. Give thou thy hands to the west, give thou thy hands to him; give thou thy hands to the east, give thou thy hands to him, as thou hast done for the . . . of thy firstborn son.⁹

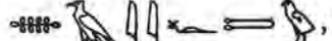
¹ , l. 197.

² Lines 193-198.

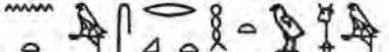
³ , l. 202.

⁴ , l. 202.

⁵ Line 204.

⁶ , l. 206.

⁷ 

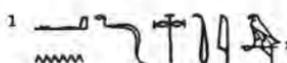
, ll. 206, 207.

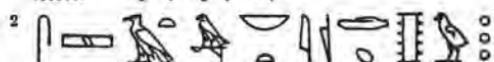
⁸ 

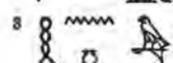
⁹ Lines 204-210.

Hail, Osiris (the deceased), stand up! Horus comes. He counts thee among the gods, Horus loves thee. He fills thee with his Eye, he makes it to complete thee. Horus opens for thee thine eye, thou seest with it. The gods have lifted up thy face, they love thee. Isis and Nephthys make thee to be in a state of well-being. Horus doth not depart from thee—lo, his Ka rests upon thee. Thou receivest the word of Horus, thou retest upon it. Horus hears when [as yet] thou hast not entreated him. He makes the gods follow thee. Wake up, Osiris (*i.e.*, the deceased)! Kēb brings Horus to thee, he counts thee up. Horus finds thee, he sets a soul in thee. Horus brings the gods to thee, he gives them to thee, they illumine thee. He sets thee in the breast of the gods, he makes thee to take possession of every crown . . . he makes thee to live in thy name of *Āntchtá*.¹ He has given to thee his Eye which flourishes, he has set it in thee, thou terrifiest all thine enemies. He has filled thee wholly with his Eye, in its name of *Uaḥet*. He has seized for thee the gods. Nephthys embraces all thy members in her name of "Seshat, lady of buildings,"² and she makes them to be healthy. Hail, Osiris, lift up thy heart, let thy heart be great, open thy mouth. Horus defends thee, he never ceases to defend thee. Hail, Osiris, thou art a god of strength, there is no god like unto thee. Horus gives thee his children, they lift thee up. He gives to thee all the gods, thou hast dominion over them. Horus bears thee up in his name of *Henu*,³ he lifts thee up in thy name of *Seker*. Thou livest, thou walkest every day, thou hast a soul in thy name of "Khut" (Horizon) wherein *Rā* appears, thou art adored and art ready, thou hast a soul, thou hast strength for ever and ever.

Rise up, stride with thy legs, O mighty one of strength! Thou sittest at the head of the gods, and thou doest what Osiris did in the House of the Prince

¹ , l. 266.

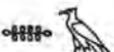
² , l. 268.

³ , l. 270.

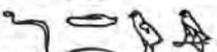
great circler in the circle which is a mighty stream. Isis and Nephthys bestow upon thee the fluid of life¹ in the city of Saut; behold, their lord is in thee in thy name of "Lord of Saut." Behold, their god is in thee in thy name of "god." They adore thee; depart not thou from them in thy name of "Ṭua-neter" (Morning Star).² They present offerings to thee; be not wroth(?) in thy name of Tchenṭeru.³ Isis thy sister comes to thee rejoicing because of her love for thee, etc.⁴

Hail, Osiris (the deceased). Kēb hath brought Horus to thee; he defends thee. He brings to thee the hearts of the gods; thou failest not, thou lackest nothing(?). Horus has given to thee his Eye, thou takest possession through it of the Ureret Crown, at the head of the gods. Horus presents to thee thy flesh and bones, he makes thee to be complete, and there is no disorder in thee. Thoṭh seizes thine enemy for thee, and he slays him and those who are in his following, and he escapes not from him.⁵ Ḥa-f-ḥa-f grasps thy hands, Horus sets thine enemy under thy feet. Thou livest. He gives to thee his sons, they place themselves under thee, none of them turning back, and they carry thee. Thy mother Nut makes thee to be like the God, thine enemy existing not, in thy name of "God." She withdraws thee from every evil thing in her name of "Khnetmet-urt."⁶ Thou art the great one (Chief) among her sons.⁷ Thou hast pacified Kēb, he loves thee, he protects(?) thee, he gives thee thy head, he makes Thoṭh to present unto thee what thou lackest.

Hail, Osiris (the deceased), stand up! Horus gives thy rising up, Kēb makes Horus to see his father [Osiris] in thee in thy name of "Ḥet-Ātu." Horus gives thee the gods, he makes them come to thee, they illumine thy face. He gives thee his Eye, thou seest

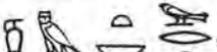
¹ , l. 275.

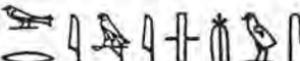
² , l. 276.

³ , l. 276.

⁴ See above, p. 93.

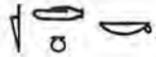
⁶ Line 278.

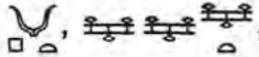
⁶ , l. 280.

⁷ , l. 280.

with it. He sets thine enemy under thee, he (the enemy) lifts thee up, thou art not dropped by him. Thou comest to thy form,¹ the gods knit together for thee thy face. Horus opens for thee thy eye, thou seest with it in thy name of "Apt-uat."² The sons of Horus smite thine enemy, they make his smiting red,³ they drive him away, dissipating the evilness of his smell. Horus presses for thee thy mouth, and he makes thy mouth to be in its true position in respect of thy teeth. Horus opens for thee thy mouth. Behold, thy son who loves thee finds for thee thy two eyes, Horus permits not thy face to be awry, in thy name of "Horus, Chief of his Rekhit."⁴

Hail, Osiris (the deceased), Horus makes thee to be joined to the gods, they make friends with thee in thy name of "Sent." Horus makes thee approach. Depart not from him in thy name of "Hert." Receive thou his word, rest upon it. He hears thee [though] thou hast not entreated him. He brings to thee the gods in a body. None among them escapes (?) from his hand. Horus loves thee more than his own offspring, he unites thee to those of his own body, they love thee. Horus makes his KA to be in thee, thou art content in thy name of "Ka-Hetep." Horus finds thee, he makes a spirit to be in thee. Thou comest forth against thine enemy, thou art mightier than he in thy name of "Per-ur."⁵ Horus makes him to raise thee up in thy name of "Utes-ur."⁶ He delivers thee from the hand of thine enemy. He avenges thee as the Avenger in his season. Keb sees thy form, he sets thee on thy throne. Horus makes thine enemy to bow beneath thee. When

¹ , literally, thy building, or construction, *i.e.*, thy fabric.

² *I.e.*, "Opener of the ways," , l. 281.

³ *I.e.*, they smite him with such severe blows that his body becomes covered with blood, ll. 281, 282.

⁴ Lines 280-282.

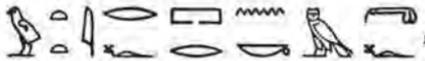
⁵ , l. 285. This name means "Great House."

⁶ *I.e.*, "Great Lifter."

he would have union with thee,¹ thou escapest his member. Thou art the father of Horus, thou didst beget him in thy name of "Utet-khu."² The heart of Horus comes forward before thee in thy name of "Khent-Āmenti."³

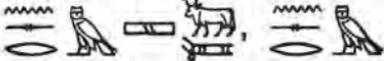
Hail, Osiris (the deceased), wake up! Horus has made Thoth to bring thine enemy to thee. He places thee on his back, he cannot throw thee off. Thou makest thy seat upon him. Come forth, sit upon him, he escapes not from thy hand. Hail, be thou master of him, Horus chooses the thighs of thine enemies, he brings them to thee when cut off, he drives away their KAU (*i.e.*, doubles) from them, thy heart feeds on them according to its desire in thy name of "Neser-meresh."⁴

Ho, ho, thou art raised up! Thou hast received thy head, thou hast embraced thy bones, thou hast collected thy flesh, thou hast searched the earth for thy body. Thou receivest thy bread which decays not, and thy beer which perishes not. Thou standest at the doors, repulsing the Rekhit. Khent-ment-f⁵ comes forth to thee; he grasps thy hand, and leads thee to heaven before thy father Kēb, who rejoices to meet thee and gives thee his two hands. He kisses thee, he fondles thee, he pushes thee forward at the head of the indestructible spirits. Those whose seats are hidden adore thee. Thou givest offerings to the Great Ones, thou standest up [before] the Watchers.⁶ Thou smitest (threshest) grain, thou reapest barley, thou keepest the festivals of the first day of the month, and the festivals of the fifteenth day of the month, according to the decree

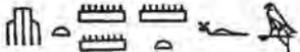
¹  , l. 285.

² *I.e.*, "Begetter of a spirit"?

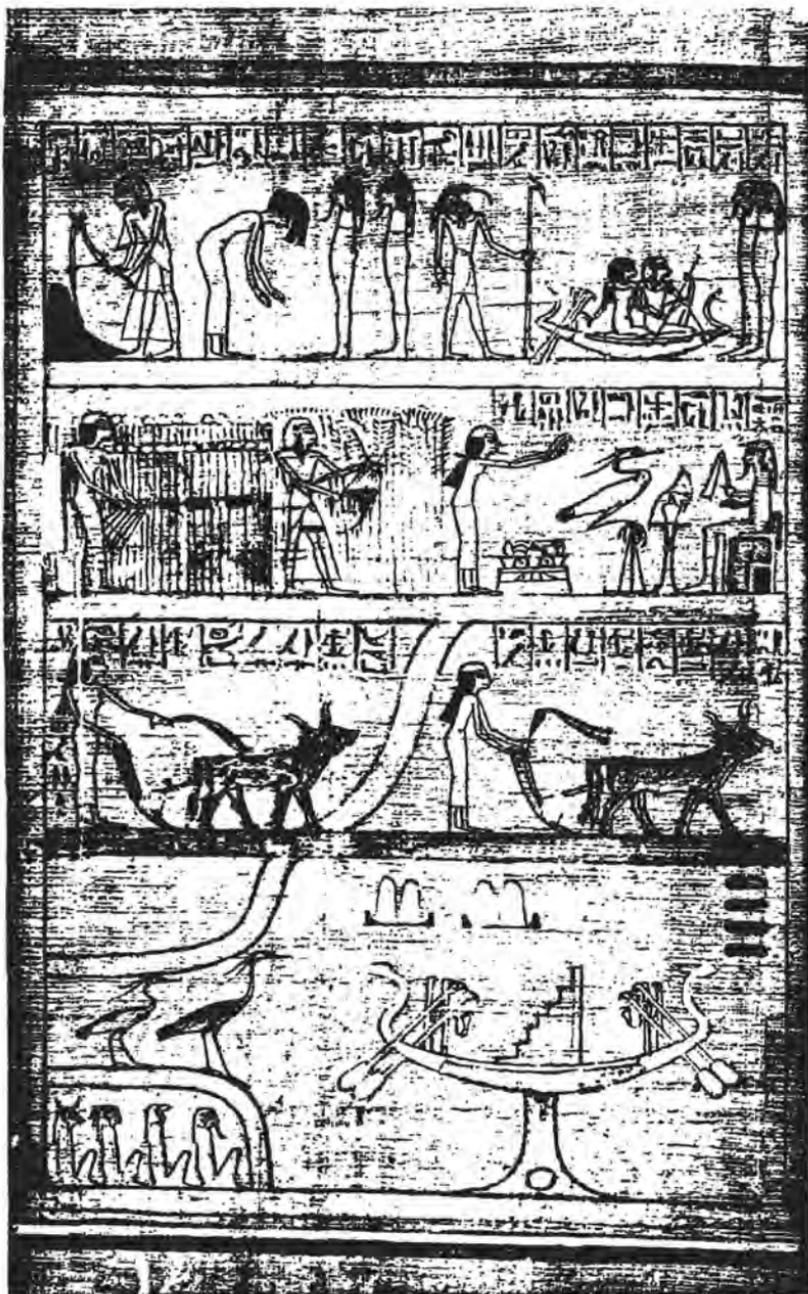
³ *I.e.*, "First one of Āmenti," l. 286.

⁴ The forms of this name are  ,

 , l. 287.

⁵  , l. 288.

⁶  , l. 289.



(1). THE LADY ANHAI PAYING HOMAGE TO HER FATHER AND MOTHER IN THE OTHER WORLD.

(2). ANHAI BINDING WHEAT IN BUNDLES. (3). ANHAI PLOUGHING.

(4). THE ABODE OF THE GODS, CELESTIAL BOAT, ETC.

From the Papyrus of Anhai, in the British Museum. (No. 10,472)

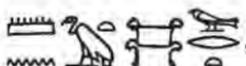
which thy father K̄eb made for thee. Thou art raised up, thou art not dead.¹

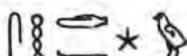
O thou great one, O thou who sailest, Osiris raises up thy name. Thy leg is great, thy leg is mighty, it strides to the great throne.² The Aker god seizes thee not, the *sehtu* stars³ oppose thee not, the gates of heaven are open to thee, thou appearest in them. . . . Thy father brings thee not forth among men, thy mother brings thee not forth among men.⁴

The next two paragraphs of the text of Tetà, though short, are difficult. The first appears to refer to some revenue and offerings which are brought by Teshi,⁵ and to contain a petition to the "son of the Great One" not to come against the deceased.⁶ In the second paragraph the "rising one" and Untà⁷ are mentioned, and the sails of the Māntchet Boat are said to be filled with wind. The text continues: Thou art stable in thy name of "Menu,"⁸ thou art capsized in thy name of 'Ākaà."⁹ Thou art the serpent Hepáu¹⁰ on his belly, thou livest on the hearts of the gods who dwell in Anu.

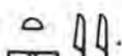
The body to heaven, the empty case of Horus to the earth. The sandal (*i.e.*, foot) of Horus treads on the serpent Nekhâ.¹¹ The Nekhâ serpent of Horus the Child,¹² the babe [with] his finger in his mouth. He (*i.e.*, the deceased) is Horus the Child, the babe [with] his finger in his mouth. Though thou hast no feet [O Osiris, *i.e.*, the deceased], though thou hast no arms,

¹ Line 290.

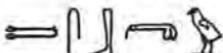
² , l. 290.

³ , l. 291.

⁴ Lines 290, 291.

⁵ .

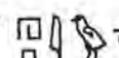
⁶ The epithets  (or ) and

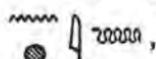
 are unintelligible.

⁷ , l. 292.

⁸ Stable One.

⁹ , l. 293.

¹⁰ , l. 293.

¹¹ , l. 301.

¹² Heru-p-khert, the later Harpokrates.

retreat, be overturned! Horus tramples on thee, thou livest not; Set hacks at thee, thou standest not up.¹

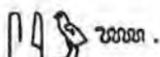
Several of the paragraphs which follow in the text are spells which were used against serpents. In l. 311 Tcheser-tep, the dweller in the bushes,² is adjured to fall down and retreat, and in l. 312 Horus is said to kick another serpent in the mouth with his foot. In l. 313 Serâu is adjured to retreat, and his overthrow is decreed. In the following paragraph we read: "He is pure, his KA is pure. He is sound, he is sound, Horus has made sound his body. He is sound, he is sound, Set has made sound his body. His body is sound among you. He is bound up like Horus, he is drawn with a cord like Osiris. Horus drags along the serpent which falls head-long; Set drags him along and the monster falls on his face. The foot of the deceased and the foot of Maftet trample upon him, and the hand of the deceased and the hand of Maftet are laid upon him. He (the deceased) seizes him by the face. Sâu³ serpent, lie down! Nâu⁴ serpent, retreat!

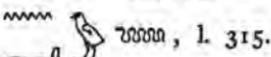
In the paragraph which begins with l. 331 it is said, "The Eye of Horus sheds moisture on the leaves of the Tchenu tree;"⁵ and the two Horus-gods who are at the head of the houses [and] the lord of food, the great god in Anu, are entreated to give bread, and beer, and abundance to the deceased, to supply his altars with offerings, and to fill his slaughter house with victims for sacrifice. If he hungers the two Lion-gods⁶ hunger; if he thirsts Nekhebit thirsts.⁷ The *hefenth*⁸ incense is brought to him in bags by the god Heftenut.⁹

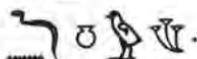
He sees the Great Crown (?), he receives the Great

¹ Lines 308-311.

² 

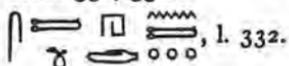
³ 

⁴  , l. 315.

⁵ 

⁶ *I.e.*, Shu and Tefnut, 

⁷ Lines 331, 332.

⁸  , l. 332.

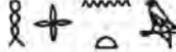
⁹  , l. 332.

stands up among the gods, like Horus, the dweller in Aru.¹ Thy book (?) comes to the heart of the gods, like the Net Crown  upon the Bât Crown , like the Mâsut Crown² on the king, like the beard on the Mentu folk. Thou seizest the hand of the imperishable stars, thy bones are not destroyed, thy flesh wastes not, thy members rot not away from thee, for behold, thou art one of the gods. Thou sailest to the city Pe, thou sailest to the city Nekhen, Smentet . . . thee, thou art arrayed like the men of the south (?). Thy father comes to thee in peace, Râ comes to thee in peace. The doors of heaven are opened to thee, the doors of the firmament are unbolted for thee. He (*i.e.*, the deceased) comes like a jackal of the south, the jackal which is on his belly, the Messenger-god,³ who is at the head of Anu. The great goddess Hunt⁴ who dwells in Anu gives her hands to thee. Thou hadst no mother among men to give thee birth, thou hadst no father among men to give thee birth. Thy mother was Samt-urt, who dwells in Nekheb, with the White Crown, and the wig, and the two full feathers, and the two full, hanging breasts. She suckled thee, and she did not let thee lack [milk]. Thou didst lean on thy left side, thou didst sit on thy right side. The seats are hidden among the gods. Râ lifts up thy face on his shoulder. The odour of thee is as their odour, thy sweat is the sweat of the Two Companies of the Gods. Rise with thy wig on thee, make the palm of thy hand grasp the Mas⁵ sceptre and whip, make thy fist to hold firmly the club. Stand up at the head of the Ateri,⁶ judge (or, weigh the words of) the gods, the aged ones who revolve round Râ, the ancestors of the Morning Star (Venus). Give birth to thyself month by month like the moon, lift up thy face in the horizon. The imperishable stars

¹ , l. 351.

² .

³ , l. 357.

⁴ .

⁵ , l. 363.

⁶ The two halves of the sky, or, the North and the South.

follow and minister unto thee. Thou presentest(?) thyself to Rā at his coming. Thou art pure. Thou appearest for Rā, heaven shall never be empty of thee.¹

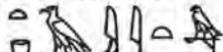
Rise up, father! Thy water is to thee, thy flood is to thee, thy milk is to thee in the breasts of thy mother Isis. Rise up, O Son of Horus, who art born of the dweller in the city of Tchebā-kherut. Behold, Set is the dweller in Hent(?). This great one lies down, he sleeps. Wake up, rise up, thou hast received thy head, thou hast collected thy bones for thyself, thou hast searched out thy effluxes. Sit thou, then, on thy throne of iron(?). Thou eatest the thigh, thou hast gone through flesh and bone, thou feedest upon thy food in heaven with the gods.² Hail, thou hast received thy robe of honour, thou hast arrayed thyself in the Hātā garment. Thou art clothed with the Eye of Horus, the dweller in the city of Taāt, which gives thee thy apparel before the gods. Through it thou takest possession of the Uwert Crown before Horus, the Lord of men. Hail to thee, Tait,³ mistress of the lips(?) of the great nestling. The divine one kisses his brother. Touch the head of the deceased, which is not fastened [to his body], gather thou together his bones which are not tied together. Let love for him be in the body of every god who shall see him.⁴ This is the swathing which Horus made for his father Osiris.

O great one, who liest on thy mother Nut, thy mother Taāt clothes thee, she lifts thee up to heaven in her name of "Tchert."⁵ She finds her Horus. This is thy Horus, O Isis. Make thou his hand to pass to Rā in the horizon. Homage to thee, O Hātet Oil! Homage to thee, dweller on the breast of Horus, which Horus placed on the brow (or, skull) of his father Osiris. He (*i.e.*, the deceased) sets you on his brow as Horus set you on the brow of his father Osiris.

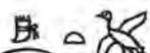
Homage to thee on this thy day! Thou standest before Rā [when] he appears from the East. Thou art

¹ Lines 346-367.

² Lines 368-372.

³  , l. 376.

⁴ Lines 373-378.

⁵  , l. 381.

provided with thy form,¹ O dweller among the spirits. Thou swingest thine arms, thou stridest with thy legs, thou wavest joyfully thy hands. Isis grasps thee by the hand, she brings thee in among the *menâu*,² the earth is rewarded, those who watch for thee rejoice. Anpu Khenti-Amenti gives an offering! Thy thousands of loaves of bread, thy thousands of pots of beer, thy thousands of vessels of oil, thy thousands of linen garments, thy thousands of suits of apparel, and thy thousands of bulls. The *Smen*-goose is slain for thee, the *Terp*-goose is killed for thee. Horus destroys the evil appertaining to thee by means of his Four [sons], Set forgets what he would do to thee by means of his Eight [fiends]. The doors are opened for those whose seats are hidden. Stand up! Turn to thy earth, seek out thy effluxes, rise up. Thou sailest among the Spirits. Thy wings are like those of a hawk, thy movement (?) is like that of a star. No ruin falls on thee. Thy heart is not vanquished, thy breast is not taken possession of, thou art a great one, safe with the Urt Crown. Thou art complete in thy members of crystal (?). Thou walkest across heaven to Sekhet-Aaru, thou makest thy stay permanent in Sekhet-hetepet, among the imperishable stars who follow Osiris. Hail, thou pure one, Râ censures thee. Beautiful is thy purity, and made abiding. Established, thou art established among the gods, established. Established, thou art established among the beings of the Hall of the God, established. Thou movest, thou travellest, a shining being, thou art a god of light above the thigh³ (or passage) of heaven.⁴

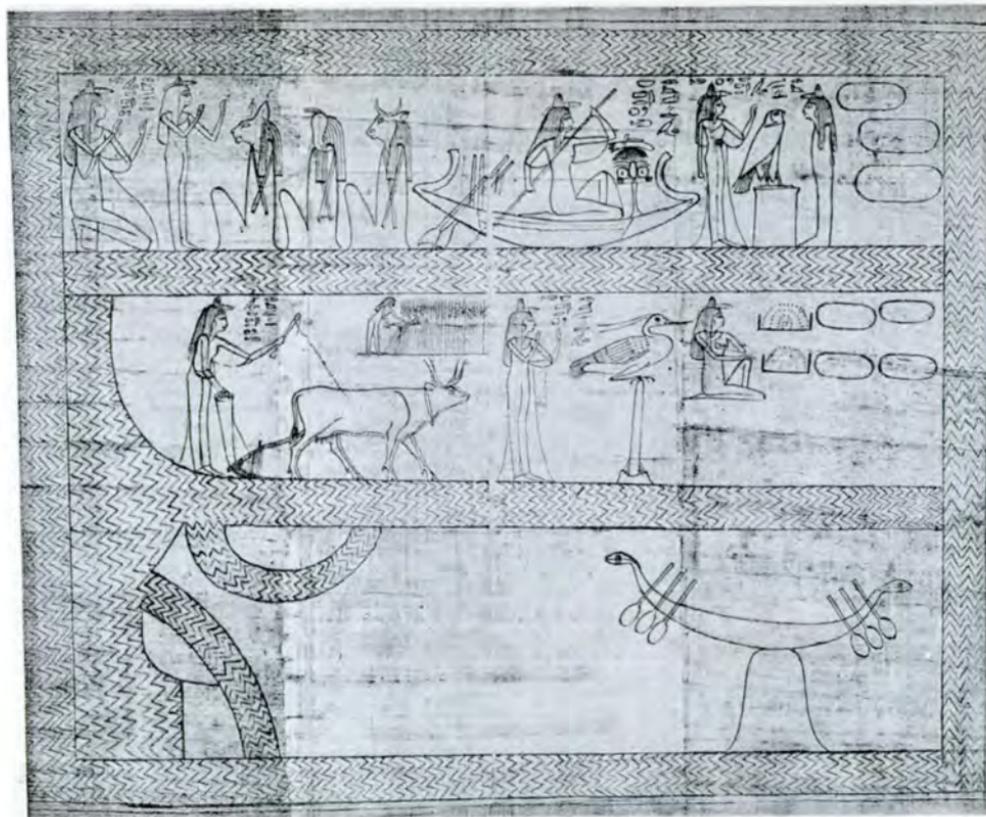
From the text of Pepi I a very considerable number of facts may be gleaned as to the state in which the blessed were believed to dwell in the Other World. The paragraphs are longer and fuller than those of the texts of Unâs and Tetâ, the language is clearer, and the sentences are less disjointed and abrupt. The following translations illustrate their contents:—

¹  , l. 385.

²  , l. 387.

³ Perhaps the passage which led from earth to heaven.

⁴ Lines 382-399.



THE PRINCESS NESI-TA-NEB-ASHER IN THE ELYSIAN FIELDS.

From the Greenfield Papyrus, in the British Museum (No. 10,554).

Hail, thou Pepi! Thou journeyest, thou shinest, thou art strong like the god, and hast thy seat like Osiris. Thy soul is to thee within thee, thy power (*sekhem*) is to thee about thee. Thy Ureret Crown is on thy head, thy Mâsut Crown is to thee, above thy shoulders. Thy face is before thee, those who praise thee are on both sides of thee, the Followers of the God are behind thee, the Forms of the God are on both sides of thee. They shout :—The god comes, the god comes, Pepi comes on the throne of Osiris. This spirit comes, the dweller in Neṭat, the Chief dwelling in Abtu (Abydos). Isis speaks to thee, Nephthys addresses thee. The Spirits come to thee with bowings, they smell (*i.e.*, kiss) the ground at thy feet. Thy slaughter is in the towns of the god Sâa. Then thou comest forth before thy mother Nut. She grasps thy hand, she makes for thee a way into the horizon, to that place where Râ is. The doors of heaven are open to thee, the doors of the sky are unbolted for thee. Thou findest Râ, standing up he guards thee. He grasps thee by the hand, he conducts thee through the Aterti of heaven, he sets thee on the throne of Osiris.

Hail, Pepi! The Eye of Horus comes to thee, it speaks to thee. Thy soul, the dweller among the gods, comes to thee; thy power, the dweller among the spirits, comes to thee. As a son defends his father, as Horus defends Osiris, so Horus defends Pepi from his enemies. Thou standest up, being protected, thou art wholly like the god, thou art provided with the form¹ of Osiris on the throne of Khent-Amenti. Thou doest what he does among the imperishable Spirits. Thy son stands on thy throne endowed with thy form, he does what thou doest at the head of the living, according to the command of Râ, the great god. He ploughs [the land for] grain and for barley, he makes an offering to thee thereof.

Hail, Pepi, Râ hath given unto thee all life and serenity (or, well-being) for ever; thy word, thy body, thou hast received the form of the God. Thou art great there before the gods who are at the head of the Lake.

Hail, Pepi, thy soul stands up among the gods, among the spirits. Thy fear is in their breasts.

¹ , l. 16.

Hail, Pepi! Thou standest up on thy throne at the head of the living ones. Thy slaughter is in their breasts, Thy name lives upon the earth, thy name grows old upon the earth, thou perishest not, thou comest not to an end.¹

Hail, Osiris Pepi! This libation is presented to thee, thou art refreshed before Horus in thy name of "Comer forth from Qebhu." Incense is presented unto thee, thou becomest God. Thy mother Nut makes thee to be as God to thine enemy in thy name of "God." The effluxes which came forth from thee are presented unto thee. Horus has made the gods to hold thee up to the uttermost limit of every place where thou journeyest. The effluxes which came forth from thee are presented unto thee. Horus has made his sons to count thee up to the uttermost limit of the place of which thou takest possession. Horus counts for thee two years,² thou renewest thy youth in thy name of "Mu-Renpu."³ A soul is to Horus, he discerns his father in thee in his name of "Heru-Bât."⁴

Hail, Pepi! Thy journeying and the journeying of these thy Mothers are [like] the journeying of Horus when he journeyed with these [same] Mothers. Those who form his bodyguard follow his steps, and they convey him as Director into the East. Hail, thou Pepi, thy shoulders are like the divine messengers⁵ (Upâu), thy face is like Up-uat. Hail, thou Pepi. SUTEN HETEP TĀ!⁶ Thou sittest in thy Domains of Horus, thou walkest about in thy Domains of Set. Thou sittest on thy throne of iron. Thou weighest their words at the head of the Great Company of the Gods who dwell in Anu. Hail, Pepi! The god

¹ Lines 1-21. ² , or, perhaps, a second season of youth.

³ , i.e., "water of youth."

⁴ , ll. 31-34. ⁵ , l. 42.

⁶ These words mean "King, give an offering," and in very early times the king, no doubt, did send a gift of funerary food to each of his favoured servants when he was about to be buried. The use of them here shows that so far back as the VIth dynasty these words had become a mere formula, for Pepi was himself king.

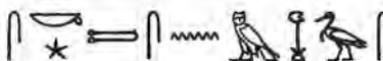
over the earth, thou art the head of thy father Shu, thou hast dominion over him. He loves thee, placing himself and all things under thee.¹ Thou hast taken possession of every god [bringing him] before thee with his boat,² thou hast appointed them to be stars in the form of the Dekans,³ and assuredly they shall not cease from thee as stars. Do not thou cause Pepi to depart from thee in thy name of "Hert."

Curiously enough, the next paragraph (ll. 64, 65) supplies us with the royal names of Osiris Pepi on earth. He, the child of Nut, is called as Horus, "Meri-tau"; as king of the South and North, "Pepi"; his Nebti⁴ name is "Meri khat Pepi," and as the triple hawk of gold he is also called Pepi. As the heir of K̄eb, who loved him, and as the beloved of all the gods, he is called "Pepi," "to whom are given life, stability, well-being, and joy of heart, like Rā, living for ever." The text continues:—

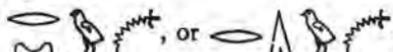
Thy water is to thee, thy flood is to thee, the effluxes⁵ coming forth from the god, the matter which cometh forth from Osiris. Thy two hands are washed, thine ears have a passage through them, this Power makes glorious his soul (?). Thy two hands are washed, thy KA is washed, thy KA sits and eats bread with thee for ever and ever. This thy journeying makes thee to be on thy throne. Thy face is before thee, those who praise thee are close to thee. Thy nostrils are gratified with the odour of the goddess Akhet-utet.⁶ Behold, thy legs walk round at thy festival, thy teeth and thy

¹ The allusion is to the old legend in which Shu is made to place himself between the Earth-god K̄eb and the Sky-goddess Nut, whom he raised up to her place above the earth on his two hands.

²  , l. 64.

³  , l. 64.

⁴ See Moret, *Royauté Pharaonique*, p. 30; my *Book of Kings*, Vol. I, p. xv f.

⁵  , l. 66.

⁶  , l. 68.

Thou eatest them at the dictates of thy heart. The palm tree follows thee, the mulberry tree bows its head to thee, through what Anpu does for thee.¹

Ihá, Ihá, thou hast made him, this Ihá, my father. Thy fathers were not men, thy mothers were not women. Thy father is Sma-ur, thy mother[s] are the Four young women. Live the life; behold thou shalt not die death, even as lives Horus Khent-Sekhem. He has opened the Great Chamber in Ánu, the great director of the tomb, the very great one of the funerary chest, Khent-Menti. She gives thee water on every first and every fifteenth days of the month. Thou givest to the Great Ones, thou guidest the little ones, thy meat is to thee in the slaughter-house of Khent-Menti, the lords of loyal service give thee thy reward.² Pepi is the country (or, the god) Setet, the conqueror of the Two Lands, whose flame receives its two portions. Pepi comes forth to heaven. He finds Rā, standing up he meets him. He sits upon his shoulders, Rā permits him not to rest upon the ground, [for] he knows that Pepi is greater than he. Pepi is more a Spirit than the Spirits, more perfect than the Perfect Ones,³ more stable than the Stable Ones.⁴ The festival of Pepi is abundant in offerings. Pepi stands up at the north of heaven with him, he takes possession of the Two Lands like a king of his gods.⁵

Thou lovest thy life, Horus, chief of his veritable amulet of "life."⁶ Thou sealest (or, closest) the two doors of heaven, thou pushest away those who close the doors thereof, as thou drawest the KA of Pepi into this heaven to know the nobles of the god,⁷ the lovers of the god, who are raised up on their sceptres, who watch the country of the South, who are arrayed in garments like those of , who live upon figs, who drink wine, who are anointed with ointment of the

¹ Lines 79-84.

² Lines 84-87.



⁴ or .

⁵ Lines 90-92.

⁶ , l. 93.

⁷ , l. 94.

finest quality, the Chief speaks [for] Pepi before the Great God, he introduces him to the Great God.¹

Thou plougest the earth, thou hast gotten the offering on thy two hands. Thou journeyest on the road whereon the gods journeyed. Thou goest round about, thou seest these offerings about thee, which the king makes to thee, which Khent-Amenti makes to thee, and thou journeyest towards these imperishable gods of the North.²

This Great One falls on his side, the dweller in Neṭat holds him up. Rā takes thy hand, the Two Companies of the Gods lift up thy head. Behold, he comes as the star Seḥ (Orion); behold, Osiris comes as the star Seḥ (Orion), the lord of wine in the Uaḳ festival. Assuredly his mother says: "Heir,"³ [and] his father says: "Heaven conceives, the Tuat brings forth." Hail, Pepi, heaven has conceived thee with the star Seḥ, the Tuat has brought thee forth with the star Seḥ. Life, life, by the command of the gods, thou livest! Thou comest forth (risest) with the star Seḥ in the eastern part of heaven; thou settest with the star Seḥ in the western part of the heaven. Thy third is the star Seṭtet (Sothis, the Dog-Star), whose seats are pure, she guides thee over the beautiful roads in heaven into the Field of Reeds.⁴

O goddess Nut, in whose head appear two eyes, who hast taken possession of Horus and art his great one of words of power, who hast taken possession of Set and art his great one of words of power, Nut, who hast decreed thy birth in thy name of "Repit-Anu,"⁵ decree thou this Pepi for life, and that he shall not perish. O Nut, who hast risen as the Queen of the North, who hast dominion over the gods, and over their KAU (Doubles), and their flesh and bones, and their food, and all their possessions. O Nut, grant that this Pepi shall subsist and live. O Nut, thou livest, Pepi shall live.⁶

¹ Lines 93-95.

³ , or

⁵ , l. 101.

² Lines 95, 96.

⁴ Lines 97-100.

⁶ Lines 100-192.

Osiris Pepi, thy mother Nut spreads herself over thee, and she protects thee from every evil thing. Nut draws thee away from every evil thing, thou art the Great One among her children. Whosoever passes passes with his KA. Osiris passes with his KA. Set passes with his KA. Khent-Merti (?) passes with his KA. Thy word passes with thy KA. Hail, thou Pepi, the comer comes, thou movest (?) not. Thy mother comes, thou movest not. Nut, thou movest not; Khnemt-urt, thou movest not; the terrible Khnemt, thou movest not. She fashions thee, she gives thee a spirit, she gives thee thy head, she presents to thee thy bones, she joins together thy flesh, she brings to thee thy heart into thy body. Thou art master of thy speech, thou issuest commands to those who are in thy following, thou makest to flourish thy house after thee, thou protectest thy children from grief, thou art pure with the purity of the gods, who journey unceasingly (?).¹

Thoth presents to Pepi his life which was not to him, Thoth has given to him the Eye of Horus. Horus is in Osiris Pepi, the Eye of Horus has been presented before thee.²

Hail, thou Pepi! Thou goest, thou livest, for behold, if thou didst not go, thou wouldst die. Thou goest, thou art made glorious at the head of the Spirits, thou art strong at the head of the living. A soul hath been made in thee, thou livest as a soul; thou willest, thou usest thy will. The comer comes, thou movest not. Thy mother comes, thou movest not. Nut comes to thee, thou movest not. Khenemet-Urt comes to thee, thou movest not. She fashions thee, she gives thee a spirit, she gives thee thy head, she presents to thee thy bones, she makes complete for thee thy flesh, she brings to thee thy heart in thy body. Thou art master of thy speech, thou issuest commands to those who are before thee. Thou protectest thy children from grief. Thou art pure with the purity of the gods, the lords of things, who journey with their KA.³

Hail, thou Pepi! Wake up! Rise up! Stand up. Thou art pure. Thy KA is pure. Thy soul is pure. Thy power is pure. Thy mother comes to thee. Nut,

¹ Lines 103-106.

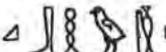
² Line 107.

³ Lines 107-111.

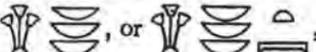
Shenmet-Urt, comes to thee. She purifies thee, O Pepi. She fashions thee, O Pepi. She protects thee. Hail, thou Pepi! Thou art pure. Thy KA is pure. Thy power is pure among the spirits, thy soul is pure among the gods. Hail, thou Pepi! Thy bones are presented to thee. Thou hast received thy head before Kēb; he destroys the evil which appertains to thee, O Pepi, before Tem. Hail, thou Pepi! Stand up. Thou art pure. Thy KA is pure. Horus purifies thee in the celestial ocean.¹ Thou art pure with the purity of Shu, thou art pure with the purity of Tefnet. Thou art pure with the purity of the four Spirit Houses,² who acclaim (?) [thee] in Pe. Therefore art thou pure. Thy mother Nut, Khenemet-urt, purifies thee, she fashions thee. Thou hast received thy head. Thy bones are presented to thee before Kēb. The evil which appertains to this Pepi is destroyed, the evil which appertains to him before Tem is destroyed.³ Hail, thou Pepi! Stand up! Thou art arrayed in the Eye of Horus, thou hast taken it upon thee; join it to thee, join it to thy flesh. Thou comest forth in it, the gods see thee dressed therein. Thou hast taken possession of the Great Ureret Crown before the Great Company of the Gods in Anu. Hail, thou Pepi! Life to thee. The Eye of Horus is brought to thee, it shall never, never depart from thee.⁴

Osiris Pepi, thou hast encircled every god with thine arms, and their lands and also all their possessions. Osiris Pepi, great one, thou goest round the whole circuit of the H̄a-nebut.⁵

O Filler of the Lakes, who makest to blossom the watercourses of the pure lake which comes forth from Osiris, the Erpā⁶ of the Ten Great Ones of Memphis, and of the Ten Great Ones of Anu, and of the Great Company of the Gods, seat thyself and look at this pure one, at this Osiris Pepi. He is censured with the *smen* incense and with *beḥ* incense, [which are] the saliva that

¹ , l. 115.

² Lines 114-116.

³ , l. 122

⁴ .

⁵ Lines 117, 118.

⁶ *I.e.*, Chief.

comes forth from the mouth of Horus, and the spittle that comes forth from the mouth of Set, wherewith Horus was purified, whereby the evil which appertained to him was cast to the earth when Set performed [the censuring] for him; wherewith Set was purified, whereby the evil which appertained to him was cast to the earth when Horus performed [the censuring] for him. This Pepi is purified thereby, [and] the evil which appertains to him is cast to the earth¹

The doors of heaven are opened for thee, the doors of the sky are unbolted for thee, which are shut against the Rekhit. Menat² addresses thee, the Henmemet³ beings hold converse with thee, the imperishable stars stand up [before] thee, thy winds are incense, thy north wind⁴ is warm. Thou art the Great One in Abydos, thou art the Morning Star which appears in the eastern part of heaven, to which Horus of the Tuat has given his body. O great and exalted one among the imperishable stars, thou shalt never perish.⁵

O ye gods of the horizon, who dwell in heaven to its uttermost limit, if ye love the life of Tem anoint ye yourselves with unguents, array ye yourselves in your apparel, take ye your bread (?), and take ye by the hand this Pepi, place ye him in Sekhet-hetep, place ye his spirit among the Spirits, place ye his Power among the gods. He makes to you a large offering, a great oblation. He sails over heaven, those who dwell in the regions⁶ thereof conduct him. There Pepi takes possession of the Uvert Crown like Horus, the son of Tem.⁷ Hail, thou Pepi! Thou art the Great Star. Orion beareth thee on his shoulder. Thou traversest heaven with Orion, thou sailest through the Tuat with Osiris. This Pepi appears in the eastern part of the sky. Thou art renewed in thy season, thou becomest young again at thine appointed time. Nut brings forth this Pepi with the constellation of Orion. The year

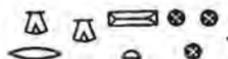
¹ Lines 123-128.

²  , l. 155.

³ 

⁴ Usually a cool, pleasant wind.

⁵ Lines 153-159.

⁶ 

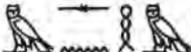
⁷ Lines 161, 162.

binds thee with Osiris. Are given to thee thy two arms. Thou descendest under protection (?), are given to thee bread, wine, and cake which are set before thee. Menanet-urt calls to thee, behold Osiris his two hands. Hail, thou Pepi, thou sailest, thou arrivest protected by the Great Lake¹ Thou art endowed with a soul, with power, and with will. [Thy] two hands are brought [to thee], the stride of this Pepi is long. This Pepi shines in the east like Rā, he travels in the west like Kheperer.² This Pepi lives on what Horus, the Lord of heaven, lives on, by the command of Horus, the Lord of heaven. Rā purifies this Pepi. He descends on his throne. He takes his paddle, he ferries Rā about in the wide space of heaven, a star of gold, the tiara of the Bull that gives light, a brother (?) of gold in the vault of heaven. He flies, flies, flies from you, O men. He belongs not to the earth, he belongs to heaven. O god of the double city, his KA is in thy two fingers. He pounces upon heaven like the āḥāu bird, he kisses heaven like the hawk. He goes round about heaven like Ḥeru-Khuti³ He is not turned back (?), a king. He suffers not, Bastet. He makes not like Ur-ā.⁴ If he be the son of Rā he will make his seat; Pepi has made a seat. If he be the son of Rā he will be safe; Pepi is safe. If [Rā] hungers Pepi hungers.⁵

This great one watches before his KA, this great one opens his mouth before his KA, and this Pepi watches before his KA, he opens his mouth before his KA. This great one keeps watch, this Pepi keeps watch, the gods keep watch, the Powers wake up. Hail, thou Pepi, rise up, stand up. The Great Company of the gods who are in Anu have adjudged thee to thy great seat. Thou sittest at the head of the gods and art Chief of Kēb, the hereditary Chief of the gods, and Osiris, the Chief of the Powers, and Horus, Lord of men⁶ and of the gods.

¹ Line 163.

²  l. 163.

³ Var., "like a grasshopper,"  Pepi II, l. 860.

⁴  l. 165. ⁵ Lines 162-165. ⁶ Pat,  l. 166.

Hail, thou Pepi, who hidest thy form in that of Anpu, thou hast received thy face, which is like that of a jackal. Thou standest up to guard the shrine, Chief of the Aterti, and also Anpu, Chief of the Hall of the god. Thou propitiatest the Followers of Horus.¹ Horus defends thee. Horus propitiates thee. [As] Osiris lives, as the Spirit lives in Neṭat, [so] Pepi lives. Hail, Pepi! Thy name lives at the head of the living. Thou art a spirit at the head of the Spirits, thou art a power at the head of the Powers. Hail, Pepi, thy book (?)² is the Eye of Horus, which is whole, the White Crown,³ the Uraeus-goddess dwelling in Nekheb. It (the Eye of Horus) places thy book (?), O Pepi, before the eyes of all the gods, before the eyes of the imperishable spirits, whose seats are hidden, and before the eyes of all the beings who see thee, and also those who hear thy name. Hail, Pepi! Thou art filled with the Eye of Horus, the great one⁴ of souls, of manifold existences. It protects thee, Pepi, as it protected Horus. It places thy souls at the head of the Two Companies of the Gods, in the form of the Two Uraei-goddesses who are on thy forehead. They raise thee up, they lead thee before thy mother Nut, she grasps thy hand, thou movest not, thou slippest not, thou stumblest not. Horus makes thee to be a spirit at the head of the Spirits, and sets thy Power at the head of the Powers. Horus does good things for this Pepi, for this spirit, the son of a god, the son of two gods. Hail, Pepi, thy soul is the Souls of Anu, thy soul is the Souls of Nekhen, thy soul is the Souls of Pe. Thy soul is a living star at the head of his brethren. Hail, thou Pepi! I am Thoth. SUTEN ṬĀ HETEP.⁵ Thy bread shall be given to thee, thy beer shall

¹ *Shemsu Heru* or

² , l. 166. Var.

³

⁴ *I.e.*, possessing many souls.

⁵ This is another proof that the words *Suten ṭā hetep* had become a mere pious formula. In ordinary cases the friends of the deceased spoke them, and they were cut on stelae and tombs, painted on coffins, etc., that they might be pronounced for the benefit of the dead by those who saw them. Here it is Thoth who speaks them, and the bread,

be given to thee, and thy cakes which appear before Horus in the Hall. He shall satisfy with offerings thy heart there, O Pepi, for ever and ever!¹

This Pepi is pure. He takes his paddle, he provides himself with his seat, he sits in the bows of the boat of the Two Companies of the Gods. Rā ferries him to Ament. He establishes the seat of this Pepi at the head of the seats of the Lords of Doubles, he writes down [his name] at the head of the living ones. The two doors Peḥ-ka (?) in the sky are open to him, the two doors of crystal (?) in the firmament are unbolted for him, and he passes through them. His tunic is on him, his *ames* sceptre is in the hollow of his hand, he is sound with his flesh, he is happy with his name, Pepi lives with his KΛ. Driven away is the evil which is before him, scattered abroad is the evil which is behind him, as by the clubs (?) of him that is Chief of Sekhem. Scattered abroad is the evil which is before him, driven away is the evil which is behind him. He sees the work of the Nekkhku,² the great one of goodness at their side. Pepi is good (or, happy) with them; they are good (or, happy). I am Nekhekh, the beard of Nekhekh. This Pepi shall become aged, this Pepi shall never come to an end.³

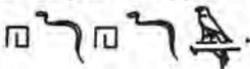
This Pepi has knowledge of his mother, he is not ignorant of his mother, the White Crown which conceives, the begetter, the dweller in the city of Nekheb, the lady of Per-ur, the lady of the Semá-land, the lady of the Hidden Land, the lady of the Field of the Fishers (?), the lady of the Lake (or, Valley) of the Heteptiu beings, who registers (?) the Red Crown, lady of the lands of the city of Tēpu. The mother of this Pepi calls, she gives her breast to him, and he sucks thereat. Son Pepi of the father, the breast is presented to thee which the father sucked. Thou livest, O father, thou wast little, father. Thou comest forth to heaven like hawks, thy feathers are like those of geese, father. The god Hetchhetch⁴ brings this to this Pepi. O Sma-ur,

and beer, and cakes, which appear as a result of using the formula in the great hall of the tomb, shall never be lacking for Pepi.

¹ Lines 166-169.

² The aged ones (?), l. 170.

³ Lines 169, 170.

⁴ 

bull of offerings, turn aside thy horn, make this Pepi to pass on his way, let him come. Let him journey as a being of distinction, let him journey to the heaven of life and all well-being. This Pepi sees his father, this Pepi sees Rā. Thou comest to the exalted Domains, to the Domains of Set. Are given to him the exalted Domains of the Domains of Set. The high sycamore [in] the east of heaven bows down, the gods sit on it. Pepi is the life of Horus, making a way into the sky (Qebḥ). Pepi is the great paddler who ferries [himself to] the two *khata* of heaven. Pepi is the great sandal long in [his] stride. Pure is this Pepi in Sekhet-Aaru, he dresses [himself] in the Field of the Beetle-god.¹ He finds Rā there, Rā comes forth from the East, he finds Pepi in the horizon; Rā comes forth to the West, he finds Pepi there, living and stable. Assuredly in every place whereto Rā goeth he finds Pepi there.²

Pepi is the god Un of the god [the son of the god], the envoy of the god. He comes, he is pure in Sekhet-Aaru. He descends (or, enters) into the Field of Kenset. The Followers of Horus³ purify him. They purify him, they cleanse him. They recite for him the Chapter of those who are true, they recite for him the Chapter of those who come forth to life and well-being. He comes forth to heaven in life and well-being. This Pepi of life and well-being embarks in the Boat of Rā, he directs for him the rowing of the gods who row him. Every god shouts with joy when he meets this Pepi, even as he shouts for joy when [he meets Rā]. He comes forth in the east side of heaven being content, being content.⁴

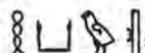
Heaven cries out and earth quakes before this Pepi; he is the words⁵ of power, he has the word of power. He comes, he makes the star Saḥ (Orion) to shine, he makes Osiris to advance, he sets the gods on their thrones, O Ma-ḥa-f, Bull of the gods, bring these things to him,

¹  , l. 174.

² Lines 172-174.

³  , Pepi II, l. 947.

⁴ Lines 175, 176.

⁵  , l. 176.

and place thou this Pepi in his place of life and well-being.

Make the two regions of heaven to embrace for the Māntchet Boat of Rā so that Rā may sail over them with Ḥeru-khuti to the horizon. Make the two regions of heaven to embrace for the Semktet Boat of Ḥeru-khuti, so that Ḥeru-khuti may sail over them with Rā to the horizon.

Pepi makes the two regions of heaven to come and embrace for the Māntchet Boat, and he comes forth on them with Rā to the horizon. Pepi makes the two regions of heaven to come and embrace for the Semktet Boat, and he comes forth on them with Ḥeru-khuti [to the horizon]. This Pepi comes forth on the east side of heaven where the gods are born, and he is born [there] with Horus and Khuti. This Pepi is triumphant, the KA of Pepi is triumphant.¹ His sister is Sept (Sothis), he is born as the Morning Star (Venus). He finds the Spirits with their mouths provided seated on the two sides (or lips) of the Lake of Seḥseḥ,² the place where drinks every spirit whose mouth is provided. He is a spirit whose mouth is provided, he comes to the seat which is the most majestic of all.³ He comes⁴ with you, he makes his way onward with you in Sekhet-Āaru, he stops as ye stop in Sekhet-Mafkat.⁵ He eats what ye eat there, he lives upon what ye live upon there, he clothes himself as ye clothe yourselves there, he anoints himself with what ye anoint yourselves there. He receives water with you from the Lake Menā at the drinking place of every spirit whose mouth is provided. He sits in front of the Great Temple (Atert), he issues commands to every spirit whose mouth is provided. He sits on the sides of the Lake of Seḥseḥ, and issues commands to every spirit whose mouth is provided.⁶

Happy are those who see the father, says Isis; content are those who see the father, says Nephthys, the father, this Osiris Pepi. He cometh forth into heaven among the

¹  l. 178.

² .

³ Line 178.

⁴ Line 180.

⁵ , "Field of turquoise."

⁶ Line 181.

stars, among the imperishable stars. His headdress is on him, his knife is at his sides,¹ his words of power are at his feet. He journeys there with his mother Nut, he enters in on her in her name of "Maqet."² They bring to thee the gods of heaven, they gather together to thee the gods of earth. Thou art with them, thou journeyest on their hands. One brings to thee the Spirits of Pe, thou art joined to the Spirits of Nekhen. Thou art Tem. Kēb spake the word concerning it to Tem, who performed it. The Field of Reeds, the Domains which are above, and the Domains of Set, are to this Pepi-Tem. Kēb spake the word concerning it to Tem, who performed it: One comes to him, he says, "Slay him"; thou art not slain, nay, Pepi slays his enemy, and makes him to be the offering of the day. Pepi is established in life and well-being.³

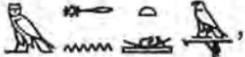
Hail, thou Ferry-god!⁴ Carry thou this to Horus—carry his Eye. Carry thou this to Set—carry his testicles. The Eye of Horus goes and alights in the eastern part of heaven; Pepi goes with it and travels in the eastern part of heaven. He journeys, he works magic upon Rā in the place of the gods whose KAU pass, who live in the Domains of Horus, who live in the Domains of Set. Verily this Pepi comes, verily he comes forth to life and well-being. He traverses the zenith⁵ of heaven, the Great Ones of the White House do not drive him away to the Mesqet of the firmament.⁶ The Māntchet Boat calls to him, he makes a libation (?) thereto, and Rā makes him a lord of life and well-being.

Pure is the heaven of Rā, pure is the earth of Horus, and every god who is in them purifies this Pepi, who worships the God. Hail, thou road of this Pepi to the great hall, bear witness concerning this Pepi before

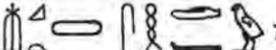
¹  , l. 182.

²  , l. 182.

³ This sentence is to be said four times, ll. 181-183.

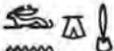
⁴  , Pepi II, l. 896.

⁵  , l. 184.

⁶  , l. 184.

these two very great gods, that he is Unk,¹ the son of Rā, who bears heaven upon his shoulders, who is the guide of the land of the gods. Pepi takes his seat among you, O ye star-gods of the Tuat. Bear ye up on your shoulders this Pepi like Rā. Follow ye him like Horus. Exalt ye him like Ap-uat. Love ye him like Menu. O ye two Scribe-gods, reckon up your registers, make calculations on your number-sticks, search (?) your rolls. O Rā, who placest thyself on thy throne, set this Pepi on his throne and let him live for ever . . . with his *ābut* staff, this Pepi is for life.²

Heaven is strong, the earth . . . Horus comes, Thoth rises (or, makes an appearance), they lift up Osiris on his place, they make him to stand at the head of the Two Companies of the Gods. Remember, O Set, and place in thy heart the word which Kēb spake, and the condemnation (?) which the gods passed on thee in the House of the Prince in Ānu (Heliopolis) at thy casting down Osiris to the earth. At thy saying, Set, "I have not done this to him," thou wast mastered there, carried away, and Horus gained the mastery over thee. When thou didst say, Set, ". . . those who acclaim," his name became that of Āku-ta. When thou didst say, Set, ". . . those who journey," his name became that of "Sah" (Orion) of the long stride and extended step, Chief of the Land of the South.³

¹ , l. 185.

² Lines 185, 186.

³ Translations of many other important passages from the texts of Pepi I and Pepi II, all bearing on the lives of the beatified in the heaven of Osiris, will be found in the APPENDIX.

CHAPTER V.

OSIRIS AND CANNIBALISM.

DIODORUS, who was a keen student of the religions and mythologies of the peoples with whom he came in contact, tells us (I, 14) that Osiris forbade men to eat each other. Isis had found out how to make bread from wheat and barley, which had hitherto grown wild with the other herbs of the field, and men, having learned the arts of agriculture, adopted the use of the new food willingly, and were thereby enabled to cease from the habit they had of killing and eating one another. Every student of African customs, ancient and modern, knows that the tradition recorded by Diodorus rests on fact, and that, under certain circumstances, most of the peoples of Africa, especially those of the Sûdân, have dropped into the habit of cannibalism with readiness and satisfaction. We have now to consider the part which Osiris is alleged to have played in connection with the suppression of cannibalism in Egypt, and how the doctrine of this great god of the dead influenced the custom of his subjects in this respect. Speaking generally, the Africans have always had three ways of disposing of the bodies of the dead: (1) Kings and great chiefs were always buried with ceremonies more or less elaborate, because the living wished to enjoy the protection of their spirits, and to feel that they had friends and helpers in Spirit-land, or Dead-land. (2) Common people, *i.e.*, all those who did not belong to ruling families, were not buried, but their bodies, after death, were thrown out into the "bush" to rot, or to be devoured by hyenas and other wild beasts. (3) Among several peoples it has been the custom to eat the bodies of the dead, as well as to kill systematically the old and infirm, and slaves, and prisoners of war, and strangers, and to eat them.¹

¹ "Im Anfang werden sicherlich Menschen gespferet worden sein, und zwar noch spät, denn das Opfer gehörte ja auch zum Kult des Pharaon von Bigge."—Junker, *A.Z.*, 1910, Vol. 48, p. 69.

Now tradition, as reported by Plutarch, Diodorus, and others, asserts that Osiris once lived upon the earth and reigned as a king, and the Egyptian inscriptions not only support this tradition, but prove, by the descriptions which they give of the elaborate ceremonies performed in connection with his burial, that he was a very great king, and that he was buried with true African pomp, but not according to the African custom of the period in which he lived. The earliest texts state repeatedly that his head, and flesh, and bones, and heart, and other organs of his body were collected and rejoined, and that his reconstituted body was swathed in linen smeared with sweet-smelling unguents, and sprinkled with preservative spices. It is clear from the frequency of the repetition of these statements that, before his time it was not customary to treat the bodies of the dead in this fashion, and that the rejoining of the limbs of the dead before burial was unusual. The graves of the predynastic inhabitants of Egypt contain bodies which have been buried whole, a fact proved by the remains of the muscles and tendons which M. de Morgan found still attached to the bones.¹ On the other hand, many graves contain bones from which the flesh has been removed by some means, and frequently the bones themselves are strewn about the graves in the greatest disorder. Often the head is entirely separated from the body, but sometimes it remains attached to the vertebrae of the neck, though it is not in its normal position in respect of them. In other graves the disposition of the human remains suggests that the bodies were roughly hacked in pieces, so that they might be huddled together in a small space. The older graves are probably those in which the bodies were buried whole, and, if this be so, we are right in assuming that the primitive, indigenous Egyptians neither dismembered the dead, nor stripped the flesh off their bones, and that those who treated the dead in either manner were foreigners, or, at all events, not Egyptians. The cult of Osiris demanded that the dead body should be neither mutilated nor dismembered permanently, and every

¹ *Recherches sur les Origines de L'Égypte*, Paris, 1897, p. 134

worshipper of Osiris wished and hoped to enter into eternal life with his tale of members complete. Every Egyptian knew that Osiris was himself dismembered, and that Set had scattered the pieces of his body all over Egypt; but, in breaking up the body of Osiris, Set only seems to have conformed to the custom common in the country at the time.

The head of the dead man was treated quite differently from the other portions of his body, even in the earliest times, and it was often placed upon a brick, or upon a small heap of stones by itself. Special care seems to have been taken also with the hands and feet, which are often found together, and this custom survived till the Graeco-Roman Period. At many places in Upper Egypt models of the head and hands and feet in painted plaster were laid upon the plain rectangular wooden coffins in the early centuries of the Christian Era, and several examples of them may be seen in the Second Egyptian Room in the British Museum. It seems, as has already been pointed out,¹ as if the cutting off of the head was not fatal to the attainment of eternal life, and that, in the earliest times, the Egyptians practised decapitation on the dead in order to extract the brain and to fill the skull with preservative spices and unguents.² At a later period they discovered how to extract the brain through the nose, and by the same opening they inserted the myrrh and unguents. It was foreseen that in the process of embalming, the head might be mislaid, and that the head of one man might be joined to the body of another. To avoid this terrible possibility, the priests at the time when decapitation of the dead was general drew up the following formula: "I am the Great One, son of the Great One, I am Fire, the son of Fire, to whom was given his head after it had been cut off. The head of Osiris was not taken away, let not the head of so-and-so be taken away from him. I have knit (or, arranged) myself together; I have made myself whole and complete; I have renewed my youth; I am Osiris, Lord of Eternity." This formula forms the XLIIIrd

¹ Wiedemann, in de Morgan, *Recherches*, p. 207.

² Fouquet, *Sur les Squelettes d'El-Amrah*, in de Morgan, *Origines* p. 267.

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Chapter of the Book of the Dead, and is found in papyri of the XVIIIth dynasty, *e.g.*, in the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 5, which was written about 1500 B.C. At



1.



2.



3.

EGYPTIAN HUNTERS AND WARRIORS OF THE ARCHAIC PERIOD.

1. Egyptian wearing a feather and a loincloth with a tail, and armed with a bow and arrow.
2. Egyptian wearing two feathers and a loincloth, and armed with a bow and mace.
3. Egyptian holding the symbol of his Hawk-god in his right hand, and a double-headed axe in his left.

From a green stone object in the
British Museum.

this time the custom of decapitating the dead had ceased to exist in Egypt, but the scribes included the formula against it in the Theban Recension because they never willingly omitted any ancient text from this great collection of religious compositions which was believed

to be of the least value to the dead.¹ There was always the chance that owing to some untoward event the head of a man might be lost so far as he was concerned, and in such vital matters the priests thought it best to provide against every contingency.²

Now, since it is certain from the evidence of one class of tombs of the Predynastic Period that the flesh was stripped from the bones of dead men before their burial, the question naturally arises: "What became of the flesh?" When these tombs were discovered it was stated that among the bones were several which were broken, and that portions of them bore the marks of teeth. From this statement it was deduced that the marks on the bones were those of human teeth, and that the men who had buried the bones had eaten the flesh, in fact it was concluded that the Egyptians of the period were cannibals. This view, however, was not generally accepted, for many reasons. In the first place it was found, when attempts were made to reconstruct the skeletons from several of these graves, that in each case many of the bones were missing. Thus, of the graves at Gebel Silsilah, some contained skulls and no other bones, and some contained bones and no skulls.³ Assuming that the Egyptians ate the flesh of their dead there is, as Wiedemann has pointed out,⁴ no reason why they should not have thrown all the bones into the grave, for it cannot be seriously suggested that they ate any of them. Besides this, another more rational explanation is possible:—The bodies were buried for a time, in fact long enough for the flesh to rot off the bones, and then the bones were dug up, and carried to their final resting place. If the bones of several men were dug up and taken together to the cemetery, it would be easy for them to become mixed, and a little carelessness would account

¹ In West Africa the heads of the dead, who when alive were supposed to possess witch power, or to be able to rise in an altered form from their graves, were cut off and thrown into the sea or burnt.—Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 220.

² Professor Naville has shown that the Egyptians sometimes placed a head made of stone in the grave, which was intended to take the place of that of the deceased if necessary.

³ Fouquet, *Recherches sur les Crânes*, in de Morgan, *Recherches*, p. 271.

⁴ In de Morgan, *Recherches*, p. 211.

for one grave containing too few, and another too many. This explanation is illustrated by facts recorded by modern travellers.

Mr. J. F. Cunningham tells us that among the Kavirondo a chief is buried in his hut in a sitting position, with his head above the ground. His wives keep watch in the hut till the flesh on the head is rotten, and then they take it away and bury it in its final resting place.¹ Captain Barlow relates² that among the Latuka, in 1903, the dead man was buried in front of the door of his house. After twelve months the remains were exhumed and placed in an earthenware jar, which was put under a tree if there happened to be one near. Sir Harry Johnston found that all the Bantu Kavirondo buried a chief in a sitting position in the floor of his own hut with his head above ground. The head was covered with an earthenware pot, which was removed from time to time by the elder relations, to see how the cleaning of the skull by the ants was proceeding. When cleaned the skull was removed from the body and buried close to the hut. Later all the bones were dug up and buried with great ceremony in one of the sacred places, which were usually situated on the tops of hills where there were trees.³ Among the Masai, the eldest son or successor of a buried chief one year after the burial removes the skull of the deceased, making at the same time a sacrifice and a libation with the blood of a goat, some milk and some honey. The skull is then carefully secreted by the son, whose possession of it is understood to confirm him in power, and to impart to him some of the wisdom of his predecessor.⁴ In Usoga, a state tributary to Uganda, when a dead chief has been buried for some time his bones are dug up again. Anyone who happens to pass by the place when this work is going on must die. The skull and the larger bones are put aside, while the smaller ones are taken away to be used as drumsticks. When the chief's bones have been disinterred they are laid in a hut built specially for the purpose, upon a bed, and

¹ *Uganda and its Peoples*, London, 1905, p. 275.

² In Cunningham's *Uganda*, p. 369.

³ *Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 749.

⁴ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 828.

covered with fine bark-cloth ; then the drums are beaten with the small bones, and all the people chant that their chief has come back again.¹

Miss Kingsley notes that the Bubis bury their dead in the forest with their heads just above the ground, but does not say if they dig the bones up after a time.² The Calabar people cut off the head of a dead chief and bury it somewhere with great secrecy, and the Adûmas and other Upper Ogowé tribes beat the flesh of the body into unrecognisable pulp. The destruction of the body by beating, or by cutting it up into pieces, is a widely diffused custom in West Africa.³ In Taveta a dead chief is buried in a sitting position, with the left arm resting on the knee, and the head supported by the hand ; the wife is buried in a similar position, but with the right arm resting on her knee, and her head supported by the hand. When they have been buried long enough for the flesh to have disappeared, the skulls of the man and wife are dug up and placed in oval-shaped pots. These are laid on their sides at the bases of dracoena trees in the centre of the plantation, where as good spirits they guard the crops. "A more queer and "ghastly thing cannot be imagined than the sight of these "skulls grinning inside the dark pots."⁴

The quotations given above make it quite clear that many African peoples have been accustomed to burying their dead twice, the first time to allow the ants to eat the flesh, or the earth to make it rot off the bones, and the second time to dispose of their bones finally. This custom is too widespread to be considered a peculiarity of a tribe or people here and there, and it must be regarded as one of the recognized ways in Africa of disposing of the flesh of the dead. For those who were anxious to preserve all the bones of a dead person it had many disadvantages ; for in digging up the bones for the second burial it was easy to overlook some of the smaller ones, and in carrying them to their final resting place it was equally easy to drop

¹ Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, London, 1898, p. 461.

² *Travels in West Africa*, p. 70.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 479, 480.

⁴ Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, p. 110.

some of them and lose them. The cult of Osiris which prescribed the burial of the body in an intact state was a protest against the system of two burials, and we can readily understand how promptly the new system of burial, which was associated with the worship of Osiris, would be adopted by all who disliked the decapitation or dismemberment of their dead in any form. Religion was called in by the primitive Egyptians to carry out a reform which, though generally desired, could not be effected by public opinion without the aid of the priests. Underneath the new system there lay, as under nearly all the religious ceremonies of the Africans, strong common sense, and the reform established a custom which the experience of the people generally made them feel was a necessity.

Now, although there is no evidence to be obtained from the remains in the graves of the early Egyptians which would prove them to have been eaters of the dead, or cannibals, it is futile to pretend that the Egyptians or their indigenous ancestors, whoever they may have been, were not eaters of human flesh at some time or other in their history, or that they did not offer up human sacrifices. Everything that we know of them proves that they possessed all the characteristics of the African race, and especially of that portion of it which lived in that great tract of country which extends from ocean to ocean, right across Africa, and is commonly known as the Sûdân, *i.e.*, the country *par excellence* of the Blacks. One of these characteristics is the love of uncooked meat, and another is cannibalism. According to Professor Westermarck,¹ the practice of cannibalism may be traced to many different sources:—1. Scarcity or lack of animal food. 2. Revenge or hatred. 3. The wish to absorb the qualities of the person eaten. 4. The belief in the supernatural effect of human flesh and blood when eaten. Mr. Crawley asserts that the origin and chief meaning of cannibalism is the “belief that properties such as strength, courage, swiftness, and the like, can be transmitted by contact with those possessing them, or by assimilating separable parts of such persons. The flesh and blood of a man are, by a natural fallacy,

¹ *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, Vol. II, p. 555.

“regarded as the best means for transmission of his “properties.”¹ It has been argued that a nation which possessed such a comparatively high civilization as the Egyptians would not have retained the practice of cannibalism, but Professor Westermarck states, as a result of his general study of cannibalism, that it is much less prevalent among the lowest savages than among races somewhat more advanced in culture.² In America it was practised to a greater extent and with more horrible rites among the most civilized, and, says Mr. Dorman: “Its religious inception was the cause of this.”³ The same is exactly the case in the Sūdān at the present time, for, as we shall see presently, notorious cannibals like the A-Zande, or Niam-Niam, are superior both mentally and physically to all the other peoples who live round about them.

One of the strongest proofs that the Egyptians in the Dynastic Period had no horror of cannibalism is proved by a chapter in the text cut on a wall inside the pyramid of King Unās, a king of the Vth or VIth dynasty, at Şakḳārah.⁴ In this the dead king is supposed to feed upon his fathers and his mothers, and, not content with this, he hunts the gods in the meadows of the sky, and his helpers snare them, stab them, disembowel them, cut them up, and cook them for him. He then eats three full meals a day, at morning, noon, and night, and devours their hearts and entrails till he can eat no longer. By gorging himself in this manner, he absorbs all the magical powers and mental characteristics of the gods, as well as their spirits, his object being to live for ever. This text was so popular that another copy of it was cut on a wall inside the pyramid of Tetā, a king of the VIth dynasty, who wished, apparently, to emulate the exploits of Unās.

That the Egyptian ate raw meat is proved by the

¹ *The Mystic Rose*, p. 101.

² *Op. cit.*, II, p. 578.

³ *The Origin of Primitive Superstitions*, p. 152.

⁴ See the text in the editions of Maspero and Sethe, l. 496 ff.; the text and an English rendering will be found in my *Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. I, p. 33 ff.

ceremonies which were performed at the "Opening of the Mouth" of the dead. The bull to be sacrificed was brought close to the tomb and thrown down, and his feet tied together. The "butcher" then stabbed him in the chest and put in his hand and dragged out the heart, which was presented in the earliest times to the deceased, and at a later period to a statue of him. A leg of the beast was then cut off and presented to the deceased, and then the kinsfolk of the dead man ate both the heart and the leg. The Egyptian was in all periods, under certain circumstances, an eater of raw meat, and the taste and smell of blood were dear to him. He shared this characteristic with the African in general, and it remained with him to the end, in fact, as long as he was able to celebrate the mysteries of his religion. His brother Africans continue to eat human flesh, and to drink human blood, and to eat raw and freshly killed meat, to the present day. The proofs of this statement are given below. These I have collected from a series of authoritative narratives written by serious travellers whose statements are trustworthy. Their evidence, it seems to me, proves beyond a doubt that the liking for raw meat and human flesh is, and always has been, a natural instinct of all Sûdânî peoples, and that Diodorus was correct in describing the primitive Egyptians as cannibals. The cult of Osiris no doubt made human flesh tabû, but there is no evidence that it prohibited the eating of raw meat or the drinking of blood.

One of the chief reasons for cannibalism in Egypt in all periods has been the lack of food caused by a series of low Niles, such as are described in the inscription on the Island of Sâhal in the First Cataract.¹ Of a few of the famines which have devastated Egypt during the Christian Era records are extant, and the atrocities which they describe are truly terrible. In 1069, owing to the low Niles of several years preceding, food was so scarce that the people began to eat each other. Passengers were caught in the streets by hooks let down from the windows, drawn up, killed, and cooked.

¹ Published by Brugsch, *Die Biblischen Sieben Jahre des Hungersnoth*, Leipzig, 1891.

Human flesh was sold in public.¹ Again, in the terrible famine which happened in 1201-2, the people in Cairo were driven to eat dead bodies, carcasses of dogs and other animals, filth, etc., and at length they began to eat children roasted or boiled. 'Abd al-Laṭīf, who was an eye-witness of the terrible scenes that were enacted,² saw the roasted body of a child in a basket one day, and two days later that of a youth who had been roasted and partly eaten. The Government burnt those who did these things, when they could be caught, but even the bodies of those who were burnt were devoured by the mob! The greater number of the lower classes were killed and eaten. Men of wealth and position waylaid unwary passengers, and, having taken them home, killed them, cut them up, and kept them in pots in brine! In one house 400 skulls of human beings who had been killed and eaten were counted. The authorities, in trying to search out and punish the offenders, found cooking pots containing two or three children cut up, ten hands, etc. A woman was found eating her husband's body, and parents ate their own children; this was the case throughout Egypt, from Syene to the Mediterranean. In this case the Egyptians were made cannibals by want, but they sometimes ate men through hatred or revenge. Thus in 1148, when Ruḍwān had escaped from prison, he was struck down in front of the Khalfah's palace, and his head was thrown into his wife's lap. His body was cut into little pieces and devoured by the young soldiers, in the belief that they would thus assimilate his pith and courage.³

Ibn Baṭūtah, a Muslim who flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century of our era, tells a story of the Sultān Mensa Sulēmān, who was once visited by a company of man-eating negroes in the Sūdān. The Sultān paid them honour, and sent them a servant to wait upon them. The negroes promptly cut his throat and ate him, and, having smeared their faces and hands with his blood, they waited upon the king to offer him

¹ Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 146.

² De Sacy, *Relation de L'Égypte*, p. 360 ff.

³ Lane-Poole, *Middle Ages*, p. 169.

their thanks. These negroes stated that the daintiest portions of the human body are the hands and breasts of a woman. Ibn Baṭūtah also relates that Mensa Mūsa banished a certain judge to the country of the cannibals, presumably expecting that he would be eaten there. At the end of four years he was sent back, the natives refusing to eat him because he was white.¹

Coming now to the testimony of European travellers in Africa, we find that Andrew Battell, who journeyed thither in the latter half of the sixteenth century, states that the Gagas were in the habit of bringing the bodies of their enemies from the battle-field to be eaten. And he goes on to say that although their country is filled with cattle, they "feed chiefly upon man's flesh." Further, the great Gaga Calandola was anointed each day with human fat.² Battell found that the Angicas³ and the elephant-hunting pygmies also lived upon human flesh; the latter killed with bows and arrows the men they ate. The local name of the pygmies was "Matimbas," and he describes them as being "no bigger than boys twelve years old."⁴ Among travellers in Africa in the last century may be quoted Dr. Schweinfurth, who says that near the dwellings of the Niam-Niam⁵ were many posts on which rested the skulls of animals and men. Close to the huts were human bones, which bore marks of the hatchet or knife, and all around hanging on the branches of the trees were human hands and feet.⁶ This people are undoubtedly cannibalistic, and they make no secret of their craving for meat of all kinds, and especially for

¹ *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, tom. IV, pp. 428, 429.

² *Strange Adventures*, London, 1901 (Hakluyt Society), p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101 (Knivet's narrative).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁶ The plural of this Dinka name is Niamah-Niam; the name means "Great Eater," or cannibal. The Bongos call them "Mundo," or "Manzanza"; the Dyvor, "O Madyaka"; the Mittu, "Makkarakka," or "Kakkarakka"; the Golos, "Kunda"; the Mañbattu, "Babungera." The men are of a chocolate colour, and the women copper colour; they tattoo their bodies, wear skins, and file the incisor teeth to a point for the purpose of getting a firm grip on the arm of an enemy.

⁷ *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 517.

human meat,¹ and they "ostentatiously string the teeth of their victims round their necks. They even eat newly born babes. Human fat is universally sold, and when eaten in a considerable quantity is said to have an intoxicating effect." On the other hand, many of the Niam-Niam turn with loathing from the eating of human flesh, and would refuse to eat out of the same dish with a cannibal. They breed a peculiar dog which they eat and regard as a great delicacy. Akin to the Niam-Niam are the Fân who barter their dead among themselves, and dig up to eat the dead who have been already buried.² Among the Mañbattu the bodies of all who fall in battle are distributed on the field, and are prepared by drying for transport to the homes of the conquerors, where also are driven their prisoners like sheep to the shambles, to be killed as needed. Whilst Dr. Schweinfurth was at Munza's Court a child was slain daily for his meal. On two occasions Dr. Schweinfurth saw human flesh being prepared for food. He found some young women scalding the hair off the lower half of a human body, and saw in a hut an arm being smoke-dried over a fire.³ The cannibalism of the Mañbattu is unsurpassed by any nation in the world. Yet they are a noble race of men, and they display a certain national pride, and have intellect and judgment such as few Africans possess. The Nubians praise their faithfulness, and the order and stability of their national life.⁴ In the Southern Sûdân soldiers are addicted to the eating of human livers, which they tear out of the bodies of their neighbours.⁵

Near Mundo, Petherick found that the heart, lungs, and intestines were taken out of the dead body, and given to the women to eat. And the Abarambo sold the dead body to the highest bidder, who paid for his purchase in lances. Having cut off what he wanted

¹ On one occasion they captured a number of female slaves, whom they disposed of thus: the youngest went to their houses, the middle-aged were sent to till the fields, and the oldest to the cooking-pots.—*Heart of Africa*, Vol. II, p. 222.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 18, 19, 224.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 93.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 94.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 322.

himself he sold the remainder. The family of the deceased showed their respect for him by not partaking of his body.¹ In 1904, Mr. Cunningham found among the Sese Islanders of Lake Victoria a secret society called the Bachichi, the sole object of which was to continue the custom of eating the dead.² In Busoga the medicine-men make a most deadly poison from dead bodies, and spears and arrows which have been dipped in a decoction of it are greatly feared.³ The Manzema always eat their dead, sometimes roasted and sometimes boiled with bananas. The dead are never eaten by their fellow villagers, but by the people of the next village whither they are carried on a wooden frame borne by four men.⁴ Dr. Junker reports that the A-Kahle are worse cannibals than the southern peoples, and tells the story of a wretched negress who had been lynched because the local oracle had pronounced her guilty of witchcraft. Her body had been ripped up and her murderers had dragged out the gall bladder, which was then burnt, as it was supposed to contain the magic charm. They cooked the body, and a cooked foot, wrapped up in banana leaves was brought to Dr. Junker by his servant Dsumbe, and he saw that the flesh was discoloured, and that the nails had fallen off in cooking. He adds: "human flesh is always cooked with the skin after the hair is singed off."⁵ The Niaanos eat their enemies who are killed in battle, and also all those who die a natural death.⁶

Dr. Nassau states that the practice of digging up dead bodies to feast on their flesh existed largely among the natives in the region of Lake Nyassa, and he is of opinion that cannibalism has some connection with the religion of the negro. He thinks this form of cannibalism different from that of the Congo tribes, who merely kill and eat people as we eat game. Though cannibalism is practised, it is not universal with the tribes among which

¹ Petherick, *Travels in Central Africa*, pp. 274, 275.

² *Uganda and its Peoples*, p. 73.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁵ *Travels in Africa*, Vol. III, pp. 101, 283.

⁶ Gleichen, *Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān*, p. 161.

it is found, and is condemned by the public opinion of those who do not practise it. "The real public opinion is witchcraft, and real public opinion tends to shield the perpetrators, because they are reported to be sorcerers of high quality."¹ Dr. Trumbull also regards cannibalism as possessing a religious significance. This will explain why the African cannibal, after conquering his enemy, eats him; why the heart is especially desired at such feasts; and why the body of anyone of distinguished characteristics is prized for the cannibal feast. His strength or skill or bravery or power is to be absorbed with his flesh. Uncivilized peoples, and even some civilized, regard the heart as the epitome of the individual, his soul in some sense, so that to appropriate his heart is to appropriate his whole being. The Ashanti fetichmen of West Africa make a mixture of the hearts of their enemies soaked with blood and consecrated (*i.e.*, magic) herbs, for the vivifying of the conquerors.²

Stanley, whose experience of the tribes in Central Africa is probably unique, says, on the authority of Emin Pasha, that the Dinkas rarely kill their cattle for meat, and that they keep them solely for their milk and blood. The latter they mix with sesamune oil, and then eat as a delicacy.³ The Bangala, Wyyanzi, Batomba, Basoka, Baburu, Bakumu, and Balessé all eat the flesh of their enemies.⁴ Among the Baima a man would shoot an arrow into a cow's neck and, when he had pulled the arrow out, the owner of the animal would put his mouth to the wound and suck the blood; which gave him strength and boldness.⁵ The Aliab tribe bleed their cattle and boil the blood.⁶

Stanley further relates that, when the great magic doctor Vinyata presented him with a fine fat ox, he made the request that the heart of the animal should be returned to him.⁷

¹ *Fetichism in West Africa*, London, 1904, p. 246 ff.

² Trumbull, *Blood Covenant*, pp. 107, 115, 129.

³ *In Darkest Africa*, Vol. I, p. 424.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 90.

⁵ Broadwood Johnson, *Tramps round the Mountains of the Moon*, London, 1909, p. 187.

⁶ Baker, *Albert N'yanza*, p. 53.

⁷ *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. I, p. 123.

Baker describes, on the authority of Ibrahimawa, a native of Bornu, the habits of the slave traders in his day. In their razzias they frequently took with them a number of the Makkarikas, but complained that they were poor partners, as they insisted upon killing and eating the children whom the party wished to secure as slaves. Their custom was to catch a child by its ankles and to dash its head against the ground; thus killed, they opened the abdomen, extracted the stomach and intestines, and, tying the two ankles to the neck, they carried the body by slinging it over the shoulder, and thus returned to camp, where they divided it by quartering, and boiled it in a large pot. On one occasion, after the arrival of a number of slaves, one of the girls among them tried to escape; her master fired at her, and the ball struck her in the side, and she fell wounded. The girl was remarkably fat, and from the wound a large lump of yellow fat protruded. No sooner had she fallen than the Makkarikas rushed upon her in a crowd and, seizing the fat, they tore it from the wound in handfuls, the girl being still alive while the crowd were quarrelling for the disgusting prize. Others killed her with a lance, and at once divided her by cutting off her head and splitting the body with their lances, used as knives, cutting longitudinally from between the legs along the spine to the neck. Many slave women and their children fled and took refuge in the trees, but the children were dragged from the branches and many were killed, and in a short time a great feast was prepared for the whole party.¹ Whenever Sir Samuel Baker shot an animal, the Shoa natives would invariably cut its throat and drink the blood as it gushed from the artery.² On one occasion, Baker's "Forty Thieves" shot an Unyoro, whereupon they cut out his liver and divided it among them and ate it raw.³

Speke mentions the Wilyanwantu, who disdained all food but human flesh, and Rūmanika confirmed the statement of the man from Rūanda from whom he obtained the information, though he was a little

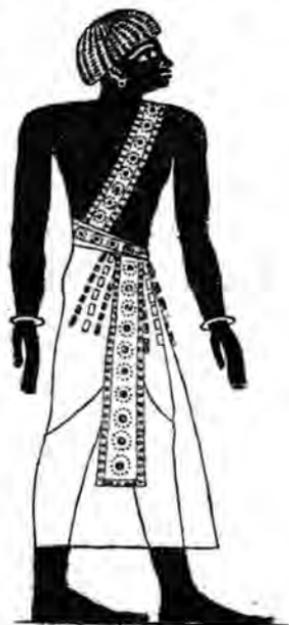
¹ *Albert N'yanza*, p. 187.

² *Ibid.*, p. 420.

³ *Ismailia*, p. 393.

sceptical about it. He states as a fact that the Wahûma mixed blood with milk for their dinners.¹

The Fân ate the gorilla, but carefully preserved the brain of the animal, from which they made two charms; the one gave the wearer success in hunting and the other gave him success with women. Du Chaillu saw a woman in one of their villages carrying a piece of a human thigh just as we carry a joint from the market. He found some of the Fân quarrelling over the division of a human body because there was not enough for all; the head was saved for the king as his royalty. Ribs, leg-bones, arm-bones and skulls were piled up by each house, and there were signs of cannibalism everywhere.² The Fân buy the dead of the Osheba tribe, who, in return, buy theirs. They also buy the dead of other families in their own tribes, and besides this, get the bodies of a good many slaves from the Mbichos and Mbon-demos, for which they readily give ivory, at the rate of a small tusk for a body. A party of Fân who came down to the seashore actually stole a freshly-buried body



Egyptian portrait of a Sûdân man.

From a wall-painting at Thebes.

from the cemetery, and cooked it and ate it; and on another occasion a party took a body into the woods, cut it up, and smoked the flesh, which they carried away with them. These stories are vouched for by the Rev. Mr. Walker of the Gaboon Mission. The Fân practise cannibalism unblushingly, and in open day, and are unashamed. Du Chaillu saw knives with handles covered with human skin, which their owners valued highly; he

¹ *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (Dent's reprint), pp. 191, 199.

² *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, pp. 71, 74-76.

describes them as the "bravest-looking set of negroes" he had ever seen in the interior.¹

In West Africa human eyeballs are much prized as charms or amulets, and Dr. Nassau has known graves to be rifled for them. This is, of course, to secure the "man that lives in your eyes" for the service of the village.² It is interesting to note in connection with this fact that so far back as the VIth dynasty in Egypt an offering which symbolized the "child which is in the Eye of Horus" , was presented to the dead king Unás.³

At Gabun Mr. Alldridge was told by a Beri chief that there was no one in his country over three years of age who had not eaten human flesh.⁴ Mr. Hutchinson says that cannibalism exists in the Omun country up to the Cross River. The Boola tribe comes to the Mooney River to get sea-shore folk for "chop" as they have a saltish flavour, and in 1859 human flesh was exposed for sale at Duketown in Old Calabar. The Pangwes exhume and eat the dead, and when a man was executed boys and girls walked away with pieces of bleeding flesh in their hands. A Juju-man refused to eat a human head because his cook had "spoiled" it by not putting enough pepper in it, and cannibalism is almost as rampant on the West Coast of Africa as it has ever been.⁵ The tribes of the Lower Niger eat all their prisoners of war. During the period of these feasts the orgies which take place are positively disgusting and repulsive, men and women rushing, dancing, or reeling through the town, carrying in their hands pieces of cooked or smoked human flesh, which they eat and revel in with absolute pleasure and enjoyment from a sheer sense of satisfaction in the solid and substantial. Brutal and loathsome as it all is, there is in this hideous carnival of the carnal lusts and passions a spiritual significance, a satisfying sacrifice to the ancestral spirits who have given them the victory

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 89.

² Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 449.

³ See Budge, *Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, pp. 136, 188.

⁴ *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*, p. 238.

⁵ *Ten Years' Wanderings among the Ethiopians*, pp. 58, 60, 61, 62, 73, 76.

and delivered the enemy into their hands.¹ When charms were needed by the chief of Matiamvo a man was slaughtered for some part of his body.² In the "Kasendi" ceremony which is performed to make blood-brotherhood, the hands of the parties are joined together. Small incisions are made on the clasped hands, on the pit of the stomach of each, and on the right cheeks and foreheads. A small quantity of blood is taken off from these points in both parties by means of a stalk of grass. The blood from one person is put in one pot of beer, and that of the second into another; each then drinks the other's blood.³

In and about Bamarré there are no graves; all the dead are eaten. A quarrel with a wife often ends in the husband killing her and eating her heart, mixed up in a huge mess of goat's flesh. The body of Moenékuss was eaten, and the flesh removed from his head and eaten too; his head is preserved in a pot in his house, and all public matters are gravely communicated to it.⁴ Commenting on the reason for cannibalism in the country Dr. Livingstone says: "It is not want that has led to the custom, for the country is full of food; nobody is starved of farinaceous food; they have maize, dura, pennisetum, cassava, and sweet potatoes, and for fatty ingredients of diet, the palm-oil, ground nuts, sessamum, and a tree whose fruit yields fine fresh oil; the saccharine materials needed are found in the sugar-cane, bananas, and plantains. Goats, sheep, fowls, dogs, pigs, abound in the villages, whilst the forest affords elephants, zebras, buffaloes, antelopes, and in the streams there are many varieties of fish. The nitrogenous ingredients are abundant, and they have dainties in palm-toddy, and tobacco or Bangé; so that the reason for cannibalism does not lie in starvation or in want of animal matter. The only feasible reason I can discover is a depraved appetite, giving an extraordinary craving for meat which we call 'high.' They are said to bury a dead body for a couple of days in the soil in a forest,

¹ A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, p. 179

² Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 317.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 488.

⁴ Livingstone, *Last Journals*, Vol. II, p. 49.

and in that time, owing to the climate, it soon becomes putrid enough for the strongest stomach."¹

Decle states that a great deal of "unsuspected cannibalism" still exists in Africa, *e.g.*, in Nyassa-land, where the dead are secretly dug up and eaten. This practice is, however, strongly condemned by local public opinion, and those found guilty of it are condemned to be burned alive. Decle himself ate a curry made of human ribs without knowing it, but thought the flesh had a fine flavour of venison with a salty taste, one of the reasons why cannibals greatly relish human flesh.² Winwood Reade describes cannibalism of two kinds: the first is sacrificial, or priestly, and the other is simply an action of *gourmandise*. On questioning a veteran cannibal this man told him that they all ate men, and that he ate men himself. Being asked if man was good, he replied with a rapturous gesture, that it was "like monkey, all fat." Reade investigated the story told by Du Chaillu, which was generally disbelieved, in which he stated as a fact that on one occasion a clan of the Fân on their road to the sea came by night to the burying-ground, opened all the graves, robbed them of their treasures, and filled two canoes ready to carry away, when they found a freshly buried corpse in one of the graves. This they also took possession of, and having come to a convenient place, under the shelter of some mangrove trees, they lighted fires, boiled the body in the pots which they had just disinterred, and ate it on the very spot where Winwood Reade was first told this story.³

According to Skertchley the cannibalism of Dahomey is of a ceremonial character. In describing the Attoh Custom he says: Then four men, the Menduton, or Cannibals, stationed themselves before the platform, each being furnished with a sharpened stick, by way of a fork, and a knife. In their left hand they carried a small calabash filled with salt and pepper, and they at once commenced to cry out to the king to give them meat to eat, for they were hungry. These were the "blood drinkers" mentioned by Duncan, who are

¹ *Last Journals*, Vol. II, pp. 148, 149.

² *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 311.

³ *Savage Africa*, pp. 156-161.

supposed to devour the flesh of the victims of the Customs. When the captives are beheaded they take one of the bodies and cut off pieces of flesh, which they rub with palm oil, and roast over a fire kindled in the square before the platform. The human flesh is then skewered on the pointed sticks, and carried round the market-place, after which the Menduton parade before the State prisoners, and go through the action of eating the flesh. They chew the human meat before the terrified captives, but do not swallow it, and when they have worked upon the fears of the poor wretches for a sufficient time, they retire, and spitting out the chewed flesh, take strong medicines which act as an emetic. This is the nearest approach to anthropophagy in Dahomey.¹

The works of Bentley, George Grenfell of Congo fame, and Sir Harry Johnston prove beyond all doubt that cannibalism was common over a very large region in Africa as recently as 1907. The last states that the Bantu negroes have been peculiarly prone to eating human flesh, and that the Nile negroes are almost free from this failing, though the immunity may not go back many centuries. Cannibalism lingers in Uganda, parts of German East Africa, Nyassaland, Portuguese South-East Africa, in the hinterland of the Gaboon and Cameroons, it rages in the Niger delta, and elsewhere westwards, and crops up in the French Ivory Coast, in Eastern and Central Liberia, and perhaps in Portuguese Guinea and along Kwango. In 1907 as a raging vice cannibalism was almost limited to the innermost Congo basin. Bentley says that the whole wide country from the Mubangi to Stanley Falls, for 600 miles on both sides of the main river, and up the Mubangi as well, is given up to cannibalism. The natives of the upper river begged Grenfell to sell them some of his Luango or Kruboyos from off the steamer, because they must be very "sweet," very appetising. When the son of Mata Bwiki was asked if he had ever eaten human flesh, he replied, "Ah! I wish I could eat everybody on earth!"² There was a much greater demand for human

¹ *Dahomey as It is*, London, 1874, p. 367.

² Sir Harry Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 401.

flesh than the local markets could supply. The people did not, as a rule, eat their own townsmen and relatives, but they kept and fattened slaves for the butcher, just as we keep cattle and poultry. There used to be a constant traffic in slaves for that purpose between the Lulongo River and the Mubangi. The people on the Lulongo organized raids on the upper reaches of their river, or landed at some branch to raid the inland towns. They fought the unsuspecting and unprepared people, killed many in the process, and brought the rest home with them. They divided up their human booty and kept them in their towns, tied up and starving, until they were fortunate enough to catch or buy some more, and so make up a cargo worth taking to the Mubangi. When times were bad these poor starving wretches might often be seen tied up in the towns, just kept alive with a minimum of food. A party would be made up, and would fill two or three canoes with these human cattle; they would paddle down the Lulongo, cross the main river when the wind was not blowing, make up the Mubangi, and barter their freight in some of the towns for ivory. The purchasers would then feed up their starvelings until fat enough for the market, then butcher them, and sell the meat in small joints. What was left over, if there was much on the market, would be dried on a rack over a fire, or spitted, and the end of the spit stuck in the ground by a slow fire, until it could be kept for weeks and sold at leisure.

Sometimes a section of the town would club together to buy a large piece of the body wholesale, to be retailed; or a family would buy a whole leg to divide up amongst wives, children, and slaves. Dear little bright-eyed boys and girls grew up accustomed to these scenes from day to day. They ate their own morsels from time to time in the haphazard way they have, and carried the rest of their portion in their hand, on a skewer, or in a leaf, lest anyone should steal and eat it. That is how cannibals are made.¹

One of the Bangala chiefs visited by Bentley in 1887 had already killed and eaten seven of his wives—

¹ Bentley's Report to the Baptist Mission in *Pioneering on the Congo*, and in Sir Harry Johnston's *George Grenfell*, Vol. I, pp. 399-401.

not selfishly, because he had bidden the relations to each feast in turn, so that there should be no family unpleasantness. In Bangala, Ibuti's country, when a woman bears a child her husband buys a slave, kills him, and has the meat dried as food for his wife, who during the early period of lactation may not go outside the house. The Bopoto people do not refuse to supply with meat their cannibal neighbours in the interior. In February, 1890, they killed a woman at Bopoto, and cut off her head and kept it, but they exchanged the body with the Ngombe people at the back for the price of a couple of boys. The Mubangi women were not admitted to cannibal feasts, but they were greatly valued as the material of the banquet, the Buaka and Banziri men preferring the flesh of women and infants, without, however, despising that of prisoners of war and male slaves. Along the Ruki-Juapa River a favourite dish was a paste made of human blood and manioc flour.

The Ngombe tribes of Bwela, Buja, and other districts behind Bopoto cut up and retail the bodies of their victims with the skill of a perfect butcher. It often happens that the poor creature destined for the knife is exposed for sale in the market. He walks to and fro and epicures come to examine him. They describe the parts they prefer, one the arm, one the leg, breast, or head. The portions which are purchased are marked off with lines of coloured ochre. When the entire body is sold the wretch, who stoically submits to his fate, is slain.¹

The Basoko eat the dead as well as those who are specially killed for the feast. Only the chiefs are allowed to rest in their graves; all other persons who are free from skin diseases are cooked and eaten, not buried. They prefer the flesh of the thighs and breast. They cut this off in strips and eat small pieces raw, threading the longer strips on skewers and drying and smoking the jerked meat before a fire. They also pickle human meat in jars with salt, or blend it and cover it with a grease resembling lard and used for the same purpose. They usually confine themselves to young girls or elderly matrons who have ceased child-bearing.

¹ Torday, in *George Grenfell*, Vol. I, p. 403.

The Manyema practise a still more repulsive form of cannibalism, for they eat diseased bodies, and only like them "high." They soak them in running water till the flesh is macerated and almost putrid, and then eat this disgusting carrion without further preparation, not even cooking it.¹ After describing a fight at Mampoko the Rev. W. Holman Bentley says: Whilst this was proceeding, as a kind of introduction to what would follow, two men passed, one carrying a human neck poised aloft upon a spear, the other an arm; both had been lopped off an unfortunate man who had been killed and left on the field. Later on we were horrified by a more ghastly sight. A party of warriors returned, who had joined somewhat late in the chase. They marched in single file past our house. In the middle of the line three men bore the remaining parts of the mutilated body. One carried the still bleeding trunk; he had slung the other arm through a large wound in the abdomen, and suspended on this the ghastly burden swung at his side; two others shouldered the legs. In the evening a few of the young men from the town went down to the feast for a share, but were too late, the flesh had all been eaten. However, they were generously invited to partake of the vegetables still remaining in the water in which it had been boiled. Two days after, a lad walked into the station carrying in a plantain leaf some of the flesh that had been roasted, and one of our workmen eagerly joined him in disposing of the dainty morsels. This cooked flesh we saw.²

Mr. Torday's account of the Bakanzanzi sect, compiled from the writings of Roman Catholic missionaries, is as follows:—When the Bakanzanzi have succeeded in getting possession of a human corpse, they gather together at the confines of the village, or, by preference, on the banks of the neighbouring river, and there, without avoiding the gaze of the onlookers, they divest the body of its skin, which they throw on the fire with the clots of blood. They next cut the body down the middle to the loins and take off the head. The legs and thighs are given to the old men, the breast and arms to the

¹ Torday, in *George Grenfell*, Vol. I, p. 404.

² *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. II, p. 256.

young recruits, and the head and feet to the chief of the band. Each group makes an equal division among its members, who string their portions on sticks and put them to smoke over slow fires, preserving a part for the feast of the day. This last is cooked in a large earthen pot. When all is ready, each comes in turn to take his portion quickly and swallow it, running and imitating the cry of the hyena, before returning to his place. The chief of the band is seated apart. While, with the utmost unconcern, he is boiling in a pot the victim's head, he divests of their skin the two feet which have been given him, cooks and eats them with deliberation. All this time the drums beat furiously, and the brotherhood, now satiated, give themselves up to a frenzied dance. After this they burn part of the bones, and catch the cinders in a small pot, on which they set a larger pot upside down. A pin attached to the inside of the under one is fastened by a cord to a branch fixed in the ground and bent in a bow; in this way the victim's soul is supposed to be imprisoned. Meantime the chief has removed the flesh from the head, has carefully rubbed oil into it, burnt the brain, and slaughtered a white hen to appease the dead man's soul. The hollow of the skull is carried away to be used for magic remedies. There are various ways in which the Bakanzani obtain human flesh. Enemies slain in battle or useless prisoners, such as old men and village chiefs, victims of the trial by poison, are generally made over to them, either gratis or for some service. When there is a deficiency of these, they proceed to violate graves, to rob them of their dead. This is frequently done, and particularly in the case of slaves and persons of small standing. When a cannibal has succeeded in following the track of a funeral procession, or if he has discovered by chance a new grave, he hastens to inform some of the brotherhood. They all go by stealth to disinter the corpse, fill up the ditch with earth, branches, and grass, and arrange everything in such a way that no trace is visible. They at once hasten to wash the body at the river, and assemble for the feast.¹

Elsewhere, speaking of the fight for the Congo

¹ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. I, p. 406.

between the Belgian and the Arab, Sir Harry Johnston says that it was marked by horrors scarcely recorded of the worst days of the Spaniards in Central America, or the Englishman or Dutchman in Southern Asia. Men were shot, speared, knifed, drowned, and invariably eaten. Prisoners seem to have been issued as rations by the native commanders of both armies; indeed, Grenfell, writing from hearsay of this warfare from the west, and Hinde, from closer knowledge, allude to instances of men and women being handed over to these wild soldiers for their food allowance that were cut to pieces as they stood, and devoured as soon as their flesh could be cooked. Nothing but a few bones were left of the killed on the morning after every fight.¹

Hitherto the extracts from the works of travellers which have been quoted to show the universality of cannibalism in the Sûdân have dwelt only with the peoples of Central and West Africa. That the peoples of East Africa also are sometimes cannibals, and that they revel in drinking blood and eating raw meat, is proved by the following extracts from the works of trustworthy travellers. First comes the extract from Bruce's "Travels," in which he states that he saw three Abyssinian soldiers driving a cow before them. Soon after he arrived at the "hithermost" bank of the river, the drivers threw the cow on the ground. One sat on her neck, another twisted a halter about her fore-feet, and the third got astride upon her belly before her hind-legs, and gave her a very deep wound in the upper part of her rump. He then cut out of the top of the rump two pieces of meat, which were thicker and longer than our ordinary beef steaks. The men then drew the skin which had covered the flesh that had been taken away, over the wound, and fastened it to the other part of the hide with small skewers or pins, and then they covered it with a layer of clay from the river bank. They next forced the animal to rise, and then drove it on before them.² This story, which was generally discredited when it was first published in England, is no doubt perfectly

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

² *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, Vol. IV, p. 332 f.

true, for Mr. Pearce saw a cow treated in exactly the same way. According to Henry Salt,¹ the natives threw the beast on the ground and proceeded to cut out two pieces of flesh from the rump, near the tail, which together might weigh a pound. As soon as they had taken these away, they sewed up the wounds, plastered them over with cow-dung, and drove the animal forwards, while they divided among the party the still reeking steaks. The animal, after this barbarous operation, walked somewhat lame, but nevertheless managed to reach the camp without any apparent injury, and immediately after their arrival it was killed by the Worari and consumed for their supper. Mr. Salt says that the pieces cut from the animal were called *shulada*, and that they were parts of the two "glutei maximi," or larger muscles of the thigh."²

Bruce, in describing a native dinner, says that a cow, or bull, is brought close to the door, and his feet strongly tied. The skin that hangs down under his chin and throat is cut only so deep as to arrive at the fat of which it totally consists, and, by the separation of a few small blood vessels, six or seven drops of blood only fall to the ground. Having satisfied the Mosaical law, according to native views, by pouring these six or seven drops upon the ground, two or more of them fall to work; on the back of the beast, and on each side of the spine, they cut skin deep: then, putting their fingers between the flesh and the skin, they begin to strip the hide of the animal halfway down his ribs, and so on to the buttock, cutting the skin wherever it hinders them commodiously to strip the poor animal bare. All the flesh on the buttocks is cut off then, and in solid, square pieces, without bones, or much effusion of blood; and the prodigious noise the animal makes is a signal for the company to sit down. Whilst the guests eat the flesh wrapped in bread cakes, the victim stands bleeding at

¹ *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, London, 1814, p. 295.

² In Amharic ስሊዳ: which D'Abbadie explains by "moëlle de la cuisse." The savage customs of the Gallas are well illustrated by the remarks of Salt on pp. 292, 293, and by his confirmatory extract from De Bry: "Victores, victis, caesis et captis pudenda excidunt, quae exsiccata regi in reliquorum procerum presentio offerunt."

the door. At length they attack the thighs where the great arteries are, and soon after the animal bleeds to death.¹

The eminent missionary, Dr. Krapf, describes how a husband was asked to kill his wife, and to take a piece of her flesh to the king of Senjero²; and he says that the Wadoe cook and eat the dead, and drink out of their skulls.³ He himself had a supper of raw meat, with pepper-soup, etc., and confirms Bruce and Salt in their statements about the love of the Abyssinians for the *shulada* muscle of the cow. He speaks of the habit of the people of eating *brundo*,⁴ or raw meat, and mentions how the soldiers of Shoa would cut off the feet of live sheep and eat them.⁵ According to Salt,⁶ the Woldutchi and Assubo draw off the warm blood from animals and drink it, and the *Bondas* claim to have the power of changing themselves into hyenas, cows, cats, stones, etc., and of drinking the blood of friends at a distance, and of so causing their deaths.⁷ The daughter of Râs Gûgsa was said to be a cannibal lady and to eat children, and Gobat was inclined to believe the story.⁸ The Shoans used to kill people and cut off strips of flesh from their bodies, and eat them, sometimes doing this as a religious ceremony.⁹ The Kormoso Gallas and the Kankano Gallas eat the livers of the dead, and one of their proverbs says that they bury the dead in bellies and not in tombs.¹⁰

The extracts given above prove, beyond all doubt, that the eating of raw meat, the drinking of blood,

¹ Bruce, *Travels*, IV, p. 486 ff. Mr. Salt seems to have doubted the truth of this story, and an Abyssinian of some position to whom he narrated it, declared that he had never witnessed any such cruel practice, and expressed great abhorrence at the thought.

² *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours*, 1869, p. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

⁴ In Amharic ብረንዳ : *bründö*.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 463.

⁶ *Voyage*, p. 301.

⁷ Gobat, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, London, 1847, p. 178.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁹ Bottego, *Il Giuba esplorata*, p. 172; the *Athenaeum*, 1845, p. 243.

¹⁰ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie*, 1896, tom. II, p. 49.

and cannibalism, are characteristics of a large number of African tribes, and that they have been so from the earliest times of which we have any record. The priests of Osiris made a strong protest against cannibalism, but the fact remains that the Africans like, and have always liked, raw meat, and that, even when highly civilized, they readily slip back into cannibalistic habits. Thus 'Abd al-Laṭīf says: "When the poor began to eat human flesh, the horror and astonishment caused by such extraordinary food were so great that these crimes became the subject of every conversation, and people never tired of talking about them. At length they became so much accustomed to them, and conceived such a taste for this detestable dish, that one saw men making it their ordinary food, and feasting gladly on it, and even laying in a stock of it. Moreover, various different ways of preparing it were thought out, and once the habit of eating human flesh was introduced it spread in the provinces to such an extent, that examples of cannibalism were to be seen all over Egypt. This caused no surprise, for the horror of human flesh as food had completely disappeared, and one spoke, and heard others speak of it, as quite a commonplace matter."¹ This took place in the thirteenth century of our era, and we may assume that the Copts, or Christians, of Cairo, as well as the Muslims, are included in 'Abd al-Laṭīf's description. Cannibalism was not confined to the negro tribes of the Sūdān and North-East Africa, and it is quite certain that the indigenous Egyptians, like the Baganda and A-Zande, or Niam-Niams, and other superior African peoples, never wholly relinquished the habit of eating human flesh. The modern tribes of Africa cannot have learned cannibalism from the Egyptians, any more than they adopted the custom of human sacrifice from them, or any other custom which they observe in common with them. This being so, it is clear that, whereas in Egypt cannibalism has to all intents and purposes disappeared, it still survives and flourishes in many districts, and even in some which are not remote from the eye of the British Administrator. The Egyptians were Africans, and their

¹ De Sacy, *Relation*, p. 361.

manners and customs can therefore be illustrated and explained by those of other African peoples.¹

¹ Among the works of quite recent travellers the reader is referred to E. Foà, *Résultats Scientifiques des Voyages en Afrique*, Paris, 1908. Here on pp. 262-268 the author discusses the cannibals of the Congo, and he shows that even during the last ten years cannibalism has been rampant among them. He claims to have understated facts, and says that after all he is not completely informed as to all the atrocities which were undoubtedly committed. He thinks it will need much time and patience before the tribes of whom he speaks will be brought to consider their cannibalistic customs reprehensible.

CHAPTER VI.

OSIRIS AND HUMAN SACRIFICE, AND FUNERAL MURDERS.

THE facts set out in the preceding chapter prove that the dynastic Egyptians and their descendants, even in Christian times, had a strong inclination towards cannibalism which they indulged whenever the opportunity offered itself, and that many modern peoples throughout the Sûdân were, and still are, professed cannibals, often naked and always unashamed. The cult of Osiris set a curb on the cannibalistic tendencies of the Egyptians, but it did not eradicate them, any more than it put a stop to human sacrifice and funeral murders. As far as the evidence goes it seems to show that, although the Egyptians ceased to eat each other generally, they ate their enemies on occasions, and that they certainly slew their enemies, especially those whom they regarded as belonging to inferior races, and offered them up as sacrifices to their gods. Such sacrifices were commonest after successful raids and wars, and it can be proved that they were the almost necessary concomitants of every battle and raid. The cut on p. 207 depicts such a sacrifice. It is taken from an ivory plaque found at Abydos, and now in the possession of the Rev. M. MacGregor.¹



Here Ten, a king of the 1st dynasty, better known as Hesepti, or Senti, in whose reign certain Chapters of the Book of the Dead were "found," is seen in the act of sacrificing a conquered enemy. He grasps the hair of the enemy's head with his left hand, in which he also holds a bow, and is about to smash the skull with the mace which he holds uplifted in his right hand. Immediately behind the captive is a standard surmounted by a figure of a jackal, which represents a god, either Anubis or Apuat, and thus it is clear that the sacrifice is being made to a god by the king. This scene occurs over and over again in

¹ See Amélineau, *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, 1895-6, Paris, 1899, Plate XXXIII.

reliefs of all periods of Egyptian history, and as we find it in the temples and on reliefs of the tomb chapels of the Meroitic kingdom of the Egyptian Sûdân, it is certain that the sacrificing of prisoners to the gods went on in Egypt from the 1st dynasty to the early centuries of our era. The terrible massacres of prisoners which have gone on among the modern inhabitants of the Sûdân are too well known to need detailed descriptions, and they prove that from time immemorial the Africans have systematically offered up their prisoners in one form or other as sacrifices to the gods.

Seneferu, a king of the IIIrd or IVth dynasty, according to the statement on the Palermo Stele,¹ brought back from the Sûdân 7,000 men, *i.e.*, slaves, and 200,000 animals, *i.e.*, oxen, cows, goats, and we can imagine the awful destruction of human life which attended his footsteps through the Sûdân. One of his reliefs at Wâdi Maghârah in Sinai shows that he slaughtered his prisoners in that region in exactly the same way as Semti did in Egypt. Passing to the times of the XVIIIth dynasty, when the civilization of Egypt became very highly developed, we read on a stele of Amen-hetep II at Amâda that the king "slew seven chiefs with his own club when they were living in the country of Thekhsi, and that he hung their bodies, head downwards, at the bows of his boat." When he returned to Thebes he hung six of these opposite the pylon of the temple of Amen, and the seventh he sent to Napata, in Nubia, to be hung on the wall of the city to terrify rebels. The records of the wars of the Thothmes kings, Seti I, Rameses II, Mer-en-Ptah, and many other kings make it quite clear that they sacrificed prisoners in large numbers to the gods. The annals of the Nubian kings Heru-sa-âtef and Nâstasen record a number of expeditions against tribes in various parts of the Egyptian Sûdân, and these kings boast that wherever they conquered they made a massacre, and depopulated the country. Both Nubians and Egyptians made raids for the sake of loot, *i.e.*, for living slaves and

¹ Pellegrini, *Archivio Storico*, N.S., anno XX, Palermo, 1896; Naville, *Les plus Anciens Monuments (Recueil, tom. XXI)*; Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, Berlin, 1902.

cattle, and when they had collected these, they filled in the wells, reaped the crops, burnt the houses, with



King Nārmer smashing the head of a prisoner of war. 1st dynasty.
From the cast in the British Museum.

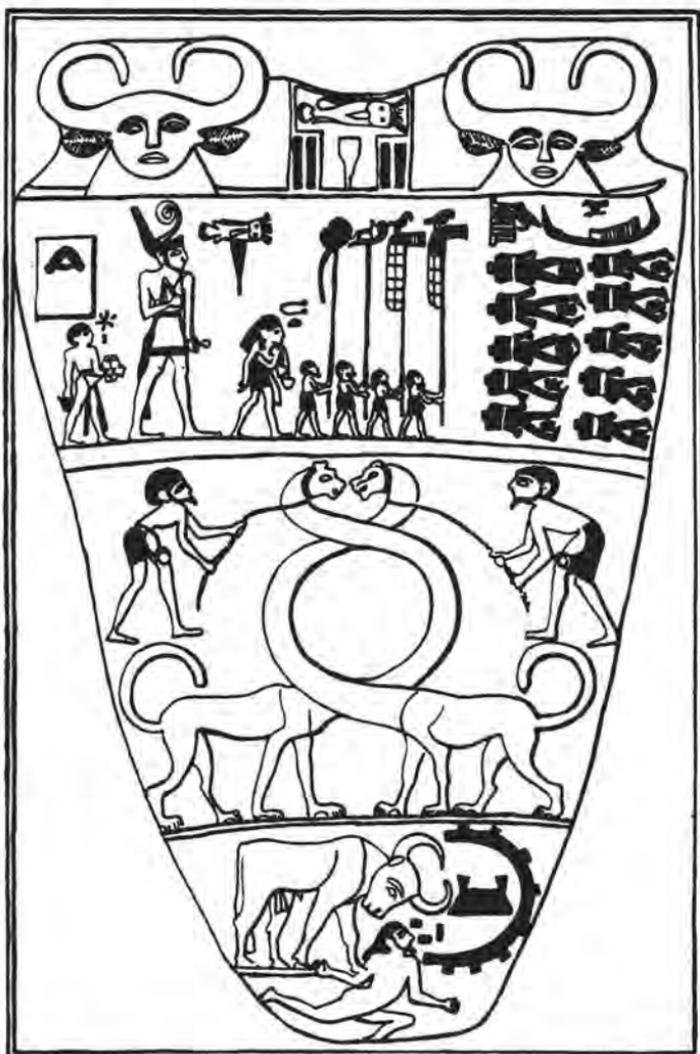
everything in them, and then marched back to their homes, leaving the wild animals in possession of districts which until their arrival had been populous, and often well cultivated.

The Egyptians, however, did not always confine themselves to the sacrifice of prisoners on the battle-field, and proof exists that they were in the habit of putting Nubians and Blacks to death systematically. This only can be the meaning of the festival which is mentioned on the Palermo Stele under the name of "smashing of the Antiu."¹ The Antiu were the dwellers in the Eastern Desert and Sinai, with whom the early kings of Egypt waged war continually. It seems that one of them must have won some decisive battle, which was held to be of such importance that an annual festival was established to commemorate it. It goes without saying that at such festivals many human lives would be sacrificed. All these facts show that the Egyptians had no horror of human sacrifice as such, and that the cult of Osiris did not effect the abolition of the custom, but only caused the choice of victims to be made from among foreigners and from among vanquished peoples, especially those whose homes were in the Egyptian Sûdân.

The Egyptian texts contain many proofs that the overthrow of the original enemies of Osiris by Horus was accompanied by great slaughter, that their bodies were presented to him as sacrifices, and that, at the burial of the god-man Osiris, human beings were slain, and their bodies placed in his tomb. Thus, in Chapter XVIII of the Book of the Dead, we read of the great battle which took place at night, when all the Sebâu fiends were taken prisoners, and then butchered by order of Osiris. The Sebâu fiends were the associates of Set, and in primitive times they were living men, and not the animals and birds which were substituted for them in official ceremonies and customs of ritual. On another terrible night, another paragraph (E) informs us, Osiris sat in judgment on the dead, and the wicked were separated from the good, and the sentences of doom were forthwith carried out by the ministrants of the Great Judge. Another paragraph (G) refers to the ceremony called "Digging up the

¹ | | \ — || | | | | .

earth in ʿṬṣu."¹ In late times this ceremony was a very harmless matter, for all that was done was to break up



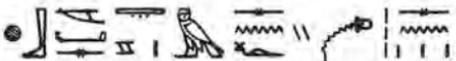
Scene from the stone "shield" of Nārmer, a king of the 1st dynasty, on which is represented the offering of ten decapitated captives to the emblems of the gods.

From the cast in the British Museum.

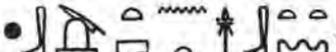
the ground with great ceremony, by means of the implement , and then sow the corn, which was the



earnest of next year's harvest. Originally, that is to say, when Osiris was buried, the earth was broken up with the implement, but it was then turned over and over and mixed with the blood¹ of the victims who had been sacrificed to Osiris, as the text definitely states. A later version of the Chapter² goes into fuller details about the slaughter of these enemies, and says: "their heads were cut off, their necks were broken, their thighs were chopped off by the 'Great Destroyer' in the Valley at the Block of the East."³ In Chapter XVII⁴ we read of another great fight, which took place in Anu (Heliopolis), near the Persea Tree, and this was followed by the "burning of the defeated, and the dragging to the block of the fettered rebels"⁵ by night. This block is described as the "slayer of souls," and he who presided over it was Shesmu, , the executioner of Osiris. The functions of Shesmu are well known from the text in the pyramid of King Unas (l. 496 f.), where it is said that he slaughtered the gods and boiled their flesh in his fiery caldrons. Associated with Osiris, too, even in a text written under the XVIIIth dynasty, were the "Watchers, who brought the god along, and the butchers,⁶ who were equipped with "deadly claws, ever ready to slay" (l. 30). The idea of their pits of slaughter terrified the minds of the Egyptians in all periods. In another section of the same Chapter mention is made of a god with the face of a dog, and the brow of a man who "feeds on the slain, who keeps guard at the corner of the Lake of Fire,

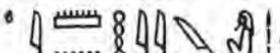
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² Or, Chapter XIX.

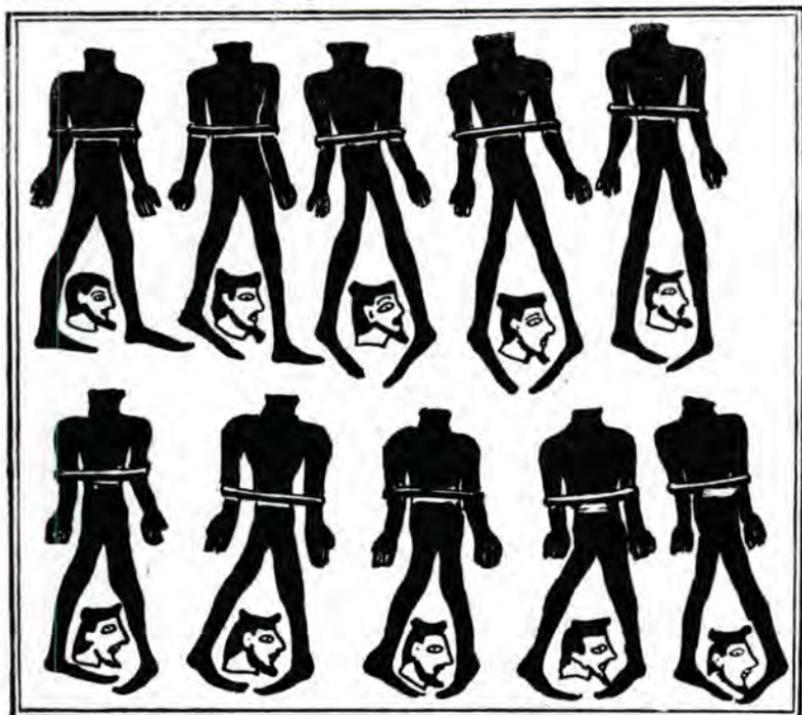
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⁴ Papyrus of Nebseni, Sheet 14, l. 16 ff.

⁵ 

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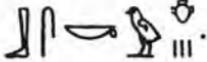
“ who devours the bodies of the dead, who tears out “ hearts, and who is at the same time invisible.” The commentary on the passage asks who this being is, and then goes on to suggest various names, among them being that of Baba, the first-born son of Osiris. The text next speaks of a certain “ victorious lord, prince of

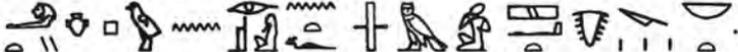


Enlarged view of ten decapitated captives with their arms bound to their sides and their heads placed between their feet.

From the “ shield ” of Narmar.

Egypt,” who supplies the blocks of slaughter, and lives on intestines,¹ and keeps watch over the circuit of Amenti. In answer to the question: “ Who is this ? ” we are told that it is the “ heart of Osiris which devours every slaughtered being ”² (l. 46). The terror reflected

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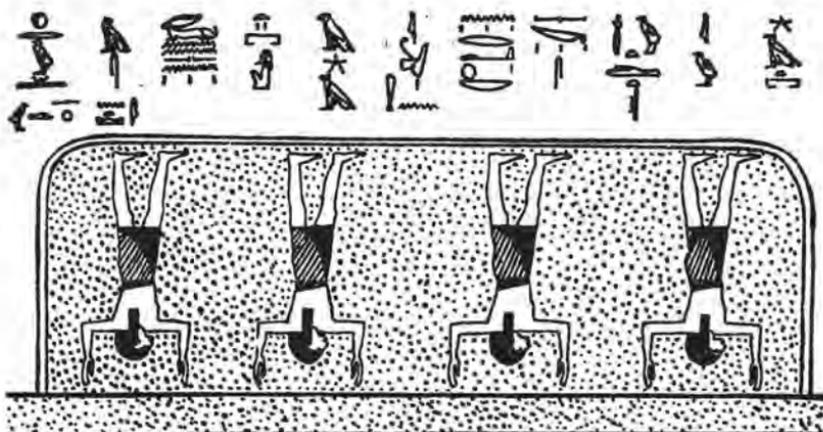
² 

in the prayer (l. 117 ff.) to be delivered from the judges appointed by Osiris, who superintended the fettering of those doomed to slaughter, and stabbed their bodies with their daggers, and smashed in their skulls in their slaughter-houses, proves beyond all doubt that the sacrifices to Osiris were, in primitive times, human beings, and little else. In the Papyrus of Ani (Sheet 12) there is a picture of the block of slaughter over which Shesmu presided; the head was placed between two uprights set in a solid pedestal, and then lopped off, probably with a flint knife. The text refers to the rejoining of the bones of the neck and back.

The Book *Âm-Tuat* (Division XI) shows that, after the enemies of Osiris were beheaded and mutilated, the remains of many of them were disposed of by burning. The bodies were cut into pieces, their spirits and souls were severed from them, their shadows were driven away, their skulls were battered in, and the pieces were cast down into a pit, or pits, of fire. The pictures which accompany the texts leave no doubt on this point, for in them the pits are shown clearly, and we see the bodies, souls, shadows, and heads being consumed. Each pit is under the charge of a goddess, who vomits fire into it, in order to keep the flames renewed, and the knife which each goddess holds in her hand indicates what her functions were.

The scenes in the Book of Gates also afford indications concerning the tortures which were inflicted upon the original enemies of Osiris. It was impossible for Osiris to slay all his enemies at once, even though they were in his power, and, whilst various batches of them were awaiting their turn at the block, they were kept tightly fettered and bound. One terrible instrument of torture was the Υ , the modern equivalent of which is known as the "goree stick."¹ It is a branch of a tree, forked at one end, by which, with the help of a strip of leather, it is fastened round the neck of a man, and it hangs down in front of the wretched creature who is

¹ Livingstone, *Expedition to the Zambesi*, p. 125; Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes*, p. 130.



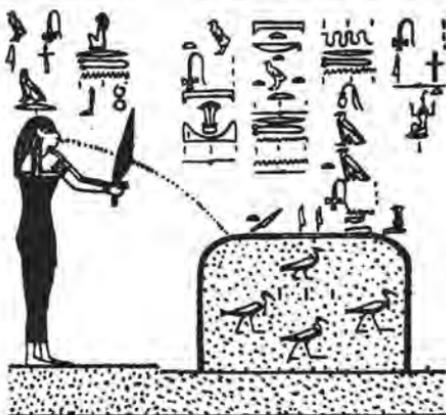
1.



2.



3.



4.



5.

1. The wicked cast head downwards into a pit of fire.
2. Enemies being burnt in a pit of fire.
3. The heads of the damned being burnt in a pit of fire.
4. The souls of the damned being burnt in a pit of fire.
5. The shadows of the damned being burnt in a pit of fire.

From the Book Am-Tuat.

doomed to carry it. If the branch be thick the weight is considerable, and if to the end near the ground a block of stone weighing about 20 lb. be fastened, its efficiency as an instrument of torture can well be imagined. The captives of Osiris had to march with such "sticks" suspended from their necks, and their hands probably fastened to them, like modern captives, or slaves in the Sûdân. Lepsius, who saw them used, writes: "Each captive carried before him the stem of a tree as thick as a man's arm, about five or six feet long, which terminated in a fork, into which the neck was fixed. The prongs of the fork were bound together by a cross-piece of wood, fastened with a strap. Some of their hands, also, were tied fast to the handle of the fork, and in this condition they remained day and night."¹ For a captive to make his escape with such a "stick" attached to his neck is impossible. There is yet another use to which the "stick" can be put, *i.e.*, it can be driven into the ground firmly, and then prisoners can be tied to it;² with the arms tied in this position to the "stick" the pain is said to be almost unendurable. The hieroglyphs also cast light on the use of the "stick."

In  we see a captive with his arms tied behind him to the "stick." In  we see a captive tied to the stick by the neck, and his arms tied behind his back; in this attitude his head was cut off, as we see from the hieroglyph . Another form of torture which was applied to the enemies of Osiris is also given in the Book of Gates (Division VIII). Here we see a group of captives who are called "Kheftiu Asâr butchîu,"³ *i.e.*, the "enemies of Osiris who are to be burnt." Their arms are tied across their bodies and behind their backs in positions which cause intense pain, and they are doomed to stand and receive in their faces the fire which the serpent Kheti

¹ Lepsius, *Letters*, p. 200.

² The sculptor has made the top of the stick in the form of the head of Anubis.

³ 



King Ten smashing the head of a prisoner of war.

1st dynasty.



Seneferu smashing the head of a prisoner of war. IIIrd or IVth dynasty.

is about to spit at them, and then to be hacked to pieces and burnt. Horus commands the serpent, saying: "Open thy mouth, distend thy jaws, and belch forth thy flames against my father's enemies; burn up their bodies, consume their souls by the fire which issueth from thy mouth, and by the flames which are in thy body."

From the Book *Am-Ṭuat* yet other scenes of torture of the enemies of Osiris may be taken. In the first of these we see three kneeling foes, with their arms tied behind their backs, and it is clear that they have been decapitated by the animal-headed executioner who stands flourishing his knife behind them. In the extracts given



Decapitated enemies of Osiris.

further on from the works of Burton and others, it will be seen that this method of decapitation was employed in Dahomey until a very few years ago. In the next scene three male figures are lying bound in positions of excruciating agony. The arms of each are tied together at the elbows, behind his back, and the whole weight of his body is resting upon them. Their necks have been twisted round until their faces are turned towards the ground. A fiend holds ropes which are attached to the arms of each, and the least movement of these must have produced terrible agony in the wretched captives.

We have already seen that Osiris had a chief executioner called Shesmu, and we learn from the Book *Am-Ṭuat* that Rā was accompanied by a bodyguard of nine attendants, whose duty it was to chop off the heads of his enemies. Six of these are represented in the "Book of Gates." Here we see the hieroglyph



Amen-eru-hât III smashing the heads of prisoners of war. XIIth dynasty.



Thothmes IV smashing the head of a prisoner of war. XVIIIth dynasty.

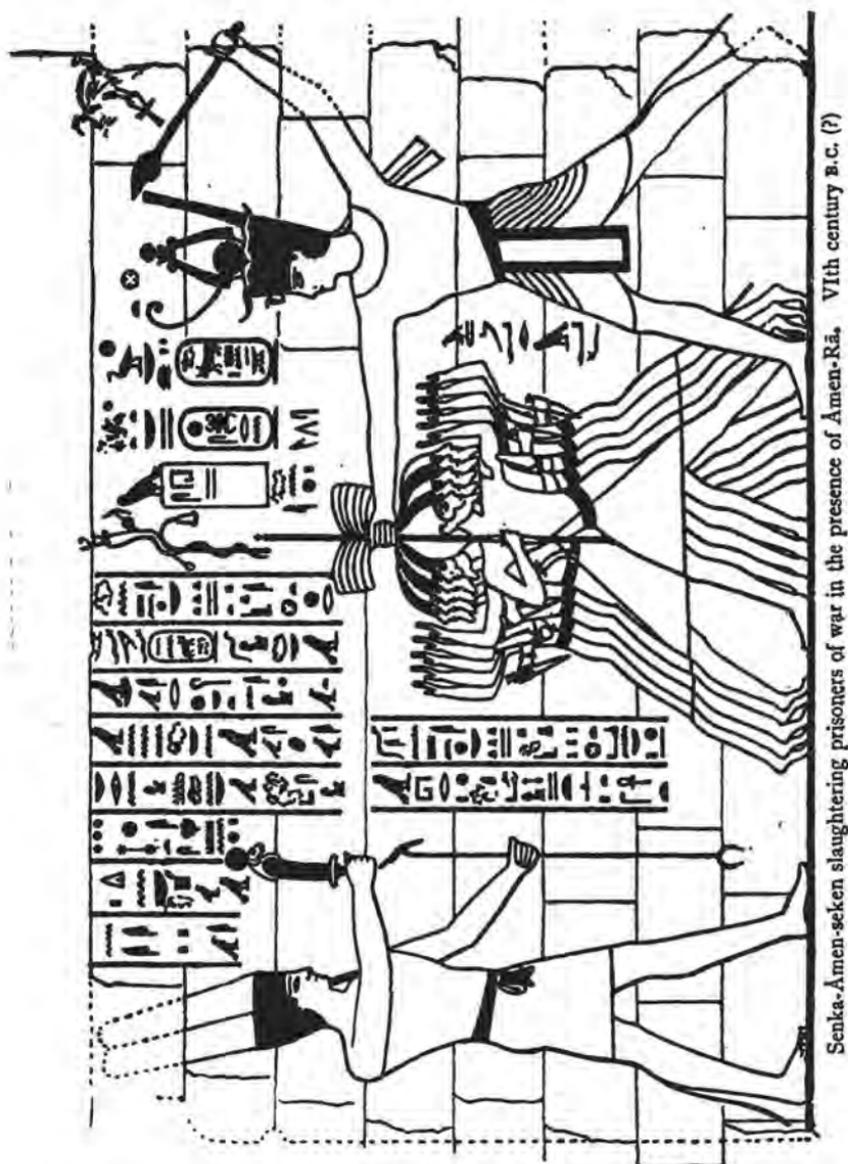
in a modified form, but it is quite clear that it means *shems*, "servant, minister," etc. Hanging to the curved part of each hieroglyph is a human head, and in front is, I believe, the block of slaughter over which each presides. The accompanying text leaves no doubt as to the duties of these servants, for it reads: "Their work is [to seize] the enemies of Rā everywhere in this district (the Eighth Division of the Tuat), and to make their heads to pass under their swords after this god hath passed them by."

From what has been said above, it will be seen that there is abundant proof for the statement that the Egyptians offered up sacrifices of human beings, and that, in common with many African tribes at the present day, their customs in dealing with vanquished enemies were bloodthirsty and savage. Now the men sacrificed to the gods after a battle were strangers, or foreigners, and it was only natural for the conquerors to kill to the uttermost, if merely to terrify the vanquished foe as much as possible. We have also to consider whether the Egyptians were in the habit of sacrificing human beings to the gods in times of peace, and if so, to what degree. There is, unfortunately, little evidence in the texts which will help us to decide this point, but the writings of some classical authorities afford us very useful information. Thus, Diodorus says that in former times the kings of Egypt were in the habit of sacrificing on the tomb of Osiris men who were of the colour of Typhon.¹ Now the tomb of Osiris, *par excellence*, was at Busiris, and red was the colour typical of Typhon, or Set; therefore Diodorus says, in effect, that the kings of Egypt used to sacrifice red, or fair, men to Osiris in Busiris. Apollodorus also knew of this tradition, and he states that a stranger was offered up each year, not at Busiris, but by a king called Busiris, until the arrival of Hercules, who put Busiris to death on the very altar on which he had been in the habit of sacrificing strangers.² The custom of sacrificing strangers

¹ Book I, Chaps. 45 and 88.

² This point has been well discussed by Lefébure in *Sphinx*, tom. III, p. 133. See *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.*, ed. Didot, Frag. 33, pp. 78 and 79.

arose during a famine, owing to low Niles for nine successive years. Phraosius came to Busiris, and told



Senka-Amen-seken slaughtering prisoners of war in the presence of Amen-Râ. Vith century B. C. (?)

him that if he sacrificed a stranger each year, the country would enjoy water in abundance.¹ There is, of course, a

¹ See also Ovid, *Ars Amator.*, I, 647.

misunderstanding on the part of the Greek writers, for there never was a king of Egypt called Busiris; and they have made the name of the city, or temple-city, Per-Asâr, or Pa-Asâr,¹ into the name of a king.

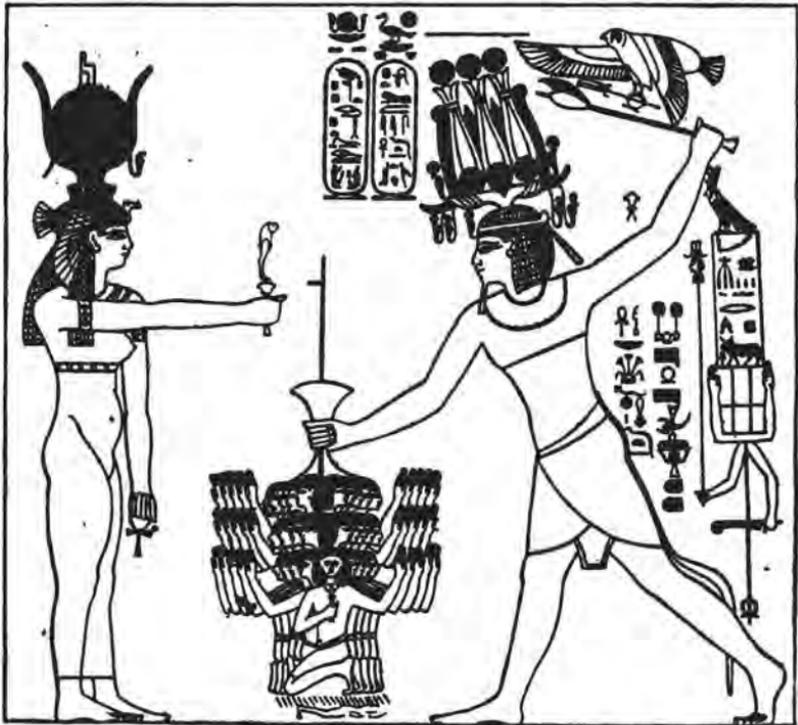
The passages from Egyptian works quoted earlier in this Chapter prove that human sacrifices were offered up at Heliopolis as well as at Têt, or Busiris, and the rumour of such sacrifices has found expression in the works of Greek writers. Thus, Porphyry says: "Amosis abolished the law of sacrificing men in the Egyptian city Heliopolis; the truth of which is testified by Manetho in his treatise on Antiquity and Piety. But the sacrifice was made to Juno, and an investigation took place, as if they were endeavouring to find pure calves, and such as were marked by the impression of a seal. Three men also were appointed for this purpose, in the place of whom Amosis ordered them to substitute three waxen images."² If human sacrifices were common at Busiris and Heliopolis in the North of Egypt, it is perfectly certain that men would be sacrificed to the gods in the large cities of the South, *e.g.*, in Abydos and Thebes. The ceremonies connected with the cult of Osiris which were performed at Busiris were duplicated at Abydos, and the "setting up of the Têt" was carried out with the greatest possible attention to ceremonial and ritualistic detail on the part of the priests. At Busiris the Têt, or backbone of Osiris, which had been discovered at Mendes and brought to Busiris, was the permanent symbol of the Great Sacrifice, *i.e.*, of Osiris, who was slain and hacked to pieces by Set. Every human sacrifice offered up there was regarded as a successful effort to avenge the death of Osiris, and every one who took part in the ceremony was believed to receive benefit. At Abydos precisely similar views were held and the sanctuary of the god in that city was believed to be holier, if possible, than that of Busiris, because the head of Osiris was buried there. Now the head is the most treasured relic among all African peoples. The religious symbol of the city of Abydos was the coffer containing the head of Osiris, surmounted by two

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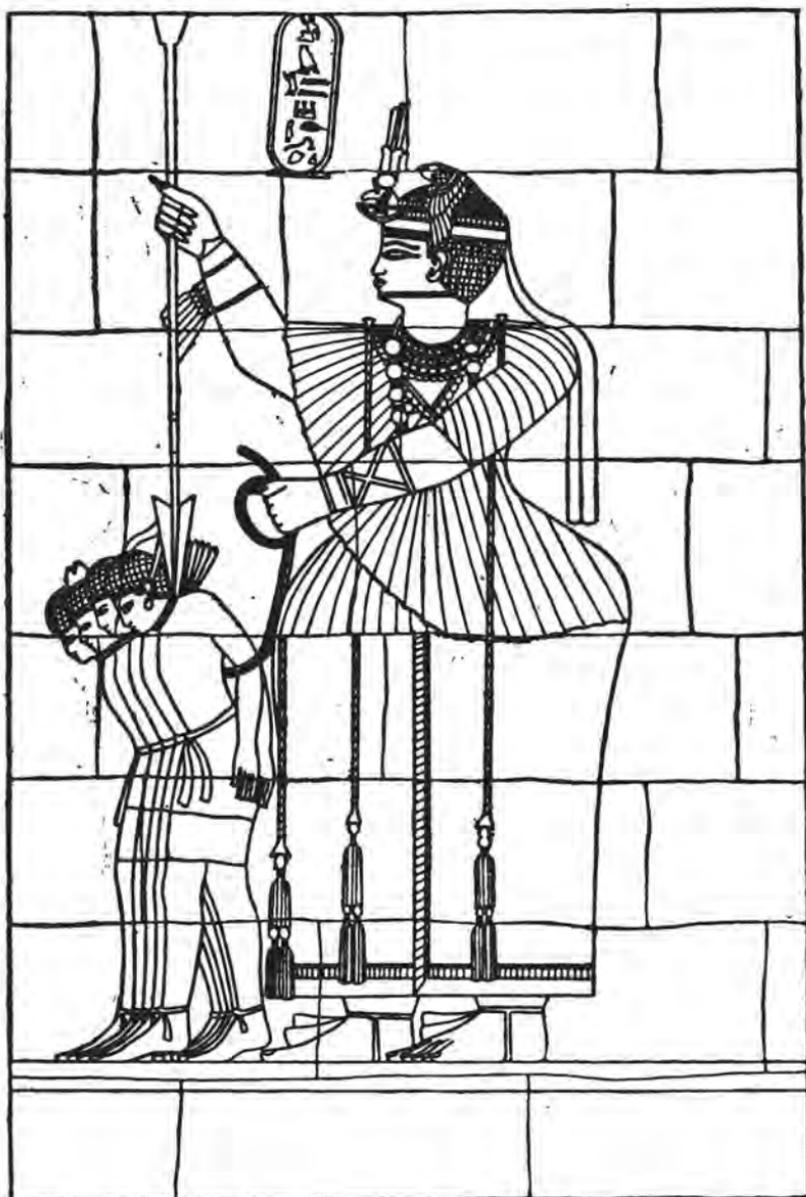
² *De Abstinencia*, Lib. II, Chap. 55.



Horus and Ptolemy VIII slaughtering a prisoner of war.



Ptolemy XII slaughtering prisoners of war in the presence of Isis.

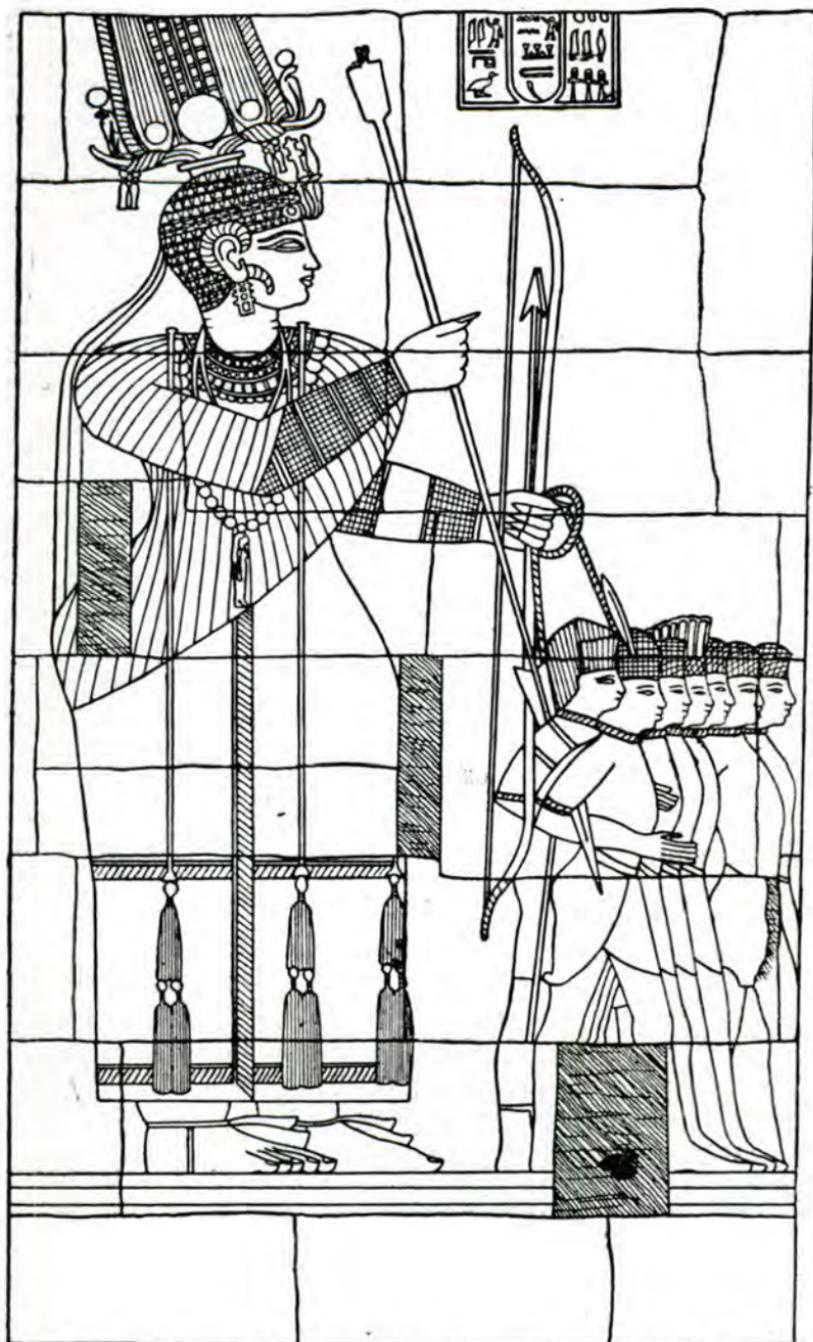


A Meroitic queen spearing captives.
From a pyramid chapel at Meroë.

last of all a basket is thrown over the shoulder.¹ The text, which is cut or written on figures from the XIIth dynasty onwards, explains quite clearly the purpose which the figures were intended to serve, for in it the figure is called upon, in the name of the deceased person written upon it, to perform whatsoever labours he might be adjudged to do in the Other World. These labours consisted in tilling and planting and watering the fields, and in bringing sand from the East to the West, and in doing whatsoever had to be done in connection with agriculture in the Other World.

Now, the earliest figures of this class are uninscribed, and the custom of burying mummy-figures of this kind with the dead seems to be senseless unless we accept the view which we owe first of all to Professor Maspero, viz., that they represent the slaves who were buried, alive or dead, with their masters, in order that their spirits might serve the spirits of their masters in the Other World, just as their bodies had ministered to their masters' bodies in this world. This view is undoubtedly correct, and agrees with all that we know about African funeral murders. When, however, we come to apply this view to the *ushabtiu* figures which have names and a formula cut upon them, certain difficulties appear in the way, for it seems as if they were made for an entirely different purpose. The early uninscribed figures were intended to do work of every kind for their master, in fact, to make themselves generally useful in the Other World. The inscribed figures were intended, as we learn from the formula, to do agricultural work chiefly, and it is clear that they were destined to perform celestial *corvée* work in the kingdom of Osiris. The purposes of all of these figures was to do work for the dead, but why particular kinds of work are specified on those which have names cut upon them it is hard to say. Some think that the early and late figures represent two distinct beliefs, *i.e.*, in the first case, that whatsoever a man needed to have done in the Other World would be done as a matter of course by servants, or slaves, and in the second case, that whatsoever he needed to have done

¹ See the figures of the XXVIth dynasty.



A Meroltic queen spearing captives.
From a pyramid at Meroë.

would have to be done by himself.¹ To avoid this unpleasant possibility, *ushabtiu* figures were invented. This view does not, it seems to me, explain the difficulty, for it was obvious to the Egyptian of all periods that if he had no one to do work for him in the Other World he would have to do it himself; and, believing this, he took steps to provide *ushabtiu* figures, which in the early times were without inscriptions, and in the later times had names and a formula cut or written on them. The explanation of the appearance of the name and the formula is, I believe, to be sought for in connection with the development of the cult of Osiris during and after the XIIth dynasty. It is possible that men began to think that the spirit of an unprincipled chief or king in the Other World might lay claim to, or annex, the services of the spirit-slaves belonging to other people, and do this to such a degree that certain spirits would have no spirit-slaves left to minister to their wants. Whether *ushabtiu* bore names or not makes no difference to the fact that they represented slaves, but if an Egyptian gave a figure his own name, a spirit-slave so represented would bear that name, and no spirit-chief could then annex the services of that spirit-slave and plead ignorance of his identity and of his master's name if called upon to explain. It appears to be certain that the naming of the figure in some way assured the services of a spirit-slave to the man whose name it bore.

The application of the formula, or VIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead, to the shabti figure represents, I believe, the adoption of the old African custom of funeral murder into the cult of Osiris. This cult, as we have already seen, abolished cannibalism, or at least the eating of Egyptian human flesh by the Egyptians, and as Osiris introduced the eating of grain and cereals in its stead, it was meet that his followers should be proficient in the arts of agriculture. But no Egyptian ever loved digging or top-dressing the ground, or the toil of the *shâdûf*, for its own sake, and if the shabti figure could be made to serve in the capacity of a farm-labourer, by cutting upon it the magical formula, the

¹ *A.Z.*, Band XXXII, p. 116. On the so-called "servant figures," see *A.Z.*, Band XXXV, p. 119.



A Meroitic queen slaughtering prisoners of war.
From a bas-relief at Nagaa.

demands of the cult of Osiris would be fulfilled, and the high-class Egyptian might reasonably hope to enjoy absolute idleness in the Other World, as his fathers had done before him. A pious follower of Osiris like Seti I took great care to provide himself with a large *corvée* party, for seven hundred ushabtiu, at least, inscribed with the VIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead, were found in his tomb. In later times, when the ushabtiu were placed in boxes, it seems that some people had buried with them one shabti figure for each day in the year. This was probably the case with the officials Amen-ḥetep and Ānkh-f-en-Khensu, for of the former 149 ushabtiu, and of the latter 171 ushabtiu are preserved in the British Museum.¹ When the boxes were first found each was full, and each contained very many more figures.

Another proof that human beings were sacrificed at funerals of the followers of Osiris is furnished by Chapter LII of the Book of the Dead. In this Chapter, which was written with the view of providing the deceased with food, he is made to say: "Let me direct my fields in Ṭeṭu (Busiris), and my crops in Anu (Heliopolis), let me live on bread made of white grain, and beer made of red grain (barley), may there be given to me the victims of my father and mother as guardians of my door." The word I have here rendered "victims" is *abtu* . Formerly I translated it by "ancestors," and compared it with the Hebrew word for "fathers,"² but it seems that it is rather to be connected with the idea of "smiting," "slaughtering," etc., an idea which is suggested by the determinative . The word, no doubt, means sacrifices,³ and the other determinatives, , indicate clearly that they were men and women, and the deceased

¹ See Third Egyptian Room (Wall-case 115), Nos. 35,289, 35,290.

² אבות.

³ Compare , "slaughters" (Papyrus of Nu, Chapter CXLVI, § XVI).



A Meroitic queen slaughtering prisoners of war.
From a bas-relief at Naga.

seems to wish that victims may be sacrificed to him, even as they were for his father and mother.

A tradition extant in the XIXth dynasty, and illustrated in the Book Am-Ṭuat (Division VII), also proves that the Egyptians believed human sacrifices to have been made when Osiris himself was buried. The illustrations on the tomb of Seti I represent the tombs of Tem, Kheperá, Rā, and Osiris. At each end we see a human head, and these, as Professor Maspero suggested many years ago, represent those of the victims who were buried in the foundations of the grave. The custom of resting the coffin, where a coffin is used at all, on human heads, is common in many parts of the Súdán.¹

In Ashanti several persons are invariably put to death after an earthquake, as a sacrifice to Sasabonsum, and houses which are rebuilt or repaired after an earthquake are sprinkled or moistened with human blood. In 1881 an earthquake shock threw down a portion of the wall of the king's residence in Coomassie, and the priests declared it to be the act of Sasabonsum. Fifty girls were slain, and the wall was rebuilt of mud moistened with the blood of these virgins. Slaves often are sacrificed when a building is begun, to make it stable, and the foundations are sprinkled with their blood. The idea that human blood is necessary to make a foundation secure is very widespread.²

A direct proof that human sacrifices were offered to Osiris under the New Empire is afforded by the tomb of Mentu-her-khepesch-f,³ from which the following illustrations are taken. Here, in the first cut, we see three men drawing a sledge, on which, kneeling with his face downwards, is a man, who is described as the "Tekenu,"

 . In the second cut we see a "kher-ḥeb" priest,

¹ Compare, "The heads of the victims slain are usually placed at the bottom of the grave, and on them the coffin rests."—Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 164.

² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³  . See Maspero, *Mémoires Miss. Archéologique*, tom. V, Paris, 1894, p. 435 ff.



2.



1.



3.

a "smer" priest, a "sem" priest, a "royal kinsman," and an Ut official, presenting a table of offerings to the Țet, symbol of Osiris, and the Ram of Mendes, where the backbone (Țet) of Osiris was found. In the third cut we see, beginning on the right, two men bringing a sledge. Next we see the sledge cast into a grave-pit, or pit of slaughter, *kheb* ● , and then two men, who are arrayed as mummies, lying flat supported on their hands, which are free from the bandages, and on their toes. The inscription shows that they are "Ānti, from the land of Sti," i.e., Nubians, or Sūdānt folk. We next see each of these seated on the ground, with his grave garment stripped from him, and two men, one on each side of him, engaged in strangling him. It is, of course, possible to argue that the strangling of two of the Ānu, or Ānti, folk here represented is only a symbolic act, and that these men did not lose their lives at all. When, however, we remember that the festival of sacrificing the Ānu began under the Ancient Empire, and that sacrifices of the Ānu, or Ānti, were offered up by Usertsen III in the XIIth dynasty, and by Thothmes III in the XVIIIth dynasty, and that other kings religiously followed their example, we can only conclude that the sacrifice of the two Ānti represented in these cuts actually took place. Apart from the political importance of the ceremony of sacrificing the Ānti, which has been well described elsewhere,¹ the Egyptians were accustomed to strangle human victims at funerals, and of this fact there is abundant evidence. Thus in the XIth dynasty tombs of the priestesses at Dêr al-Bahārī Mr. H. R. Hall, in 1905, found the body of a woman who had been strangled, and the priestess Amenit, whose body may now be seen in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, was also strangled.² And the women who are now lying on the floor of the sarcophagus chamber of Amen-ḥetep II either committed suicide on the death

¹ Naville, *Les Anu* (in *Recueil*, tom. XXXII); and Capart, *La Fête de Frapper les Anou* (in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, tom. XLIII, 1901).

² King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 329.

of their lord, or were strangled, so that their spirits might be united with his in the Other World.

The putting to death of human beings at funerals does not appear to be the result of bloodthirstiness and cruelty on the part of those who sacrifice them; on the contrary, it arises from feelings of fear or respect, or feelings of love and affection for the dead, and the wish to pay them honour. It would be a disgrace to the whole community for a king to arrive in the Other World without a proper retinue of wives, slaves, and attendants, for, as it is certain that the king will live again, or rather continue his existence which death interrupted temporarily, he will need everything which he needed in this world. Moreover, sacrifices must be offered up at intervals at his grave, so that additions may be made to his retinue, and his state maintained. Among the Africans of all periods the belief in immortality has always been implicit and absolute, and there can be no question that human sacrifices and "funeral murders" are the logical outcome of this belief in immortality, and of the fear and honour in which they have always held the gods and the dead.

We may now illustrate the custom of "funeral murders" during the Middle Ages and in modern times from the writings of travellers. Ibn Baṭūṭah, writing in the first half of the fourteenth century of our era, learned from credible witnesses that in the Sūdān they buried the king in a large grave, in which they placed thirty men and thirty women, who were selected from among the chief families of the State, after their hands and feet had been broken. In this subterranean tomb they also placed vases full of drink.¹ On the Island of Bissao nine kings ruled in 1697, and, when one of these died, thirty persons were strangled and buried with him.² Writing about 1820, John M'Leod says that the royal graves of Dahomey are deluged with human blood yearly.³ And whenever a king wants to inform his

¹ *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Paris, 1879, p. 302.

² Claude Jannequin, *Voyage to Lybia* (in *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 118) (Brit. Mus. Press-mark No. 2058d). See also the funeral of a chief described in Moore, *Travels*, pp. 129-134.

³ *A Voyage to Africa*, p. 57.

forefathers of any remarkable event, he sends a courier to the Shades by having his head chopped off. Sometimes a second follows with the postscript!¹ Along the Gold Coast at that time it was customary to bury a woman alive with the body of a great man.² Among the Mundu, Abukâya, and Abâka peoples it is customary to bury from five to fifteen female slaves alive with a departed chief, and these go to their fate voluntarily, in the firm belief that he will continue to provide for them in the grave.³ Among the Kalikâ people a chief is buried with his cattle, and all his effects, and all his nearest relatives.⁴ Vangele, with his own eyes, saw beheaded fourteen slaves, whose spirits were required to go to the Other World to attend a chief of the By-yanzi and Bakuti tribes, who had departed thither. The skulls, having been boiled clean, were placed on poles over the grave, the bodies were thrown into the Congo, and the blood-saturated earth was gathered up and buried with the dead chief.⁵ In Benin the greatest favourites of the king were buried with him,⁶ and the Bonny men were in the habit of sacrificing men annually to their Ju-Jus.⁷ Among the Barotse a man will kill himself on the tomb of his chief, thinking that he hears him calling upon him to bring water.⁸ When King Pass-all died, one hundred slaves were killed, and their bodies laid round about his coffin, and chests of goods also surrounded it on the ground. The Oronugou kings, it seems, were not laid in the earth at all.⁹ In the inland Gold Coast the widows mourn for several months, and then a selection of them, and a number of slaves, and one or two free men, are killed to escort the dead man to Srahmandazi (the Other World). And, besides these, to provide him with means, quantities of gold dust, rolls of rich velvets, silks, satins, etc., are

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³ Junker, *Travels in Africa*, Vol. I, p. 296.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

⁵ Stanley, *The Congo*, Vol. II, p. 181.

⁶ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 452.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 513.

⁸ Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 74.

⁹ Du Chaillu, *Adventures*, p. 183.

thrown into the grave.¹ In 1808 the king of Dahomey sacrificed three thousand slaves on his mother's grave, and Badahung, king of Dahomey, sacrificed two thousand. At festivals in Abomey it was usual to sacrifice one thousand slaves, and this was done when De Souza visited the king, and also when General Verheer visited him. Badahung, it is said, filled a lake large enough to float a canoe with the blood of his victims. In Ashanti, the young slave who was supposed to contain the ruler's soul was slain at his death.²

On the Niger human sacrifice was an "indispensable feature" of the second burial, and everywhere the number of persons sacrificed varied from one to one hundred, or more, twelve being considered the ordinary number for a chief of some standing, or a king. These persons were slaves who were purchased from neighbouring localities, and were generally killed, but they were buried promiscuously whether alive or dead. Formerly, less than fifty years ago, hundreds were sacrificed in this way, among them being free-born men. At the present day the Aro sacrifice one hundred slaves and a horse or two on the death of an elder.³ At the final "Okuku," or ceremony in memory of the departed, the most important feature is the sacrifice and eating of a male or female slave. The victim is bought after the chief's death, and is fattened and well treated, and is slain on the first day of the Ibo week, usually on market day. He or she is taken to the market place and made to eat and drink, and is beheaded at dawn on the following day in the burial room by the eldest son, and the body is shared by all present and eaten. In Nkwerrri a woman is usually killed and buried with the chief in the belief that in this act the eyes of the departed soul, which were shut when he died, will be opened in spirit land.⁴ In many cases three or four men are killed and buried with the deceased, with the object of raising him, *i.e.*, his soul, up by the head and feet when in the

¹ Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 517.

² Hutchinson, *Ten Years' Wanderings among the Ethiopians*, 1861, pp. 123-129.

³ A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, p. 160.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

grave. A number of slaves are also hung in the various rooms of the chief's house, and others in the roadway, besides those whom the chief has mentioned as being his hand, his foot, his face, or his skin. When the bodies are cut down they are decapitated. The Efik, Ibibio, and Ibo used to sacrifice virgins at the funeral of a chief, as well as the bearers of his snuff-box, sword, staff, and umbrella.¹

Human sacrifices have been practised by all Yoruba peoples and other West African tribes, especially at periodic festivals and on other great occasions. The king of Dahomey, in 1664, is reported to have built a royal dead-house, the mortar of which had been mixed with human blood.² The headman of a Walungu chief is always killed on the death of his master and buried with him. All his wives also are killed and buried with him, except one, who is placed in a hole, just large enough to hold her, dug in the ground. She is then covered over, a small aperture being left for her to breathe through; through this hole a spear passes which she holds in her right hand. If at the end of two days she is found to be alive, she is taken out, and permitted to live.³

MM. Bonnat and Kühne state that when Mensa Kuma died, the Odumfo, or executioners, rushed about everywhere seeking for victims. They ran upon man after man, pierced his cheeks with a knife, and then tied his hands behind him and drove him to the slaughter. Girls and pages were strangled on the spot, and a prince and several nobles were beheaded. In a war which took place between the tribes in 1873 about 136 chiefs were killed, and for each chief thirty slaves were sacrificed. At the funeral of an uncle of Kwoffi Kari-Kari, who died at the Ashanti town of Kokofu in November, 1871, 200 human beings were put to death. The ceremonies for King Kwamina, who died in 1797, were repeated weekly for three months, 200 slaves being sacrificed on each occasion. When the mother of Tutu

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 444, 445.

² Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 262.

³ Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes*, Vol. I, pp. 319, 320.

Kwamina died in 1816, 3,000 slaves and Fanti prisoners were put to death.¹

In Ashanti, the king, as in ancient Egypt, slew prisoners with his own hand. In answer to a question put to a native, the German missionaries were told: "We slay five to ten a day, and on every day of the week except Friday."² A king of Oyo died in 1859, and only four men were sacrificed, but forty-two of his wives committed suicide. When the king of Ondo died twenty persons were sacrificed, and on the day of burial eight or ten more, with a cat, were either killed or buried alive with the body, and further victims fell during the three following months. When attempts were made to persuade the Oni of Ife to abolish human sacrifice, he objected, saying that the sacrifices were for the benefit of the whole human race, the white man not excepted; and that if the sacrifices made on his behalf were to be discontinued, his superior knowledge, and the arts derived therefrom, would depart from him.³

In Dahomey when a human sacrifice is made the head is placed upon the grave, and the body is buried with the master.⁴ The Annual Customs cost 500 lives, and the Great Customs 1,000;⁵ but according to Skertchley the numbers are only about 200 and 600 respectively.⁶ The stories of the Customs which have been printed in England contain gross exaggerations, and they are only mentioned here to show that funeral murders are numerous and frequent in that country.

It may be thought by some who read the above statements that they refer to customs which were passing away even whilst they were being described; but a reference to George Grenfell's Diary proves that funeral murders were common in Congoland as recently as 1889 and 1894. Thus:—

July 5, 1889. A man and a woman have been killed to-day at Mungulu's to accompany his dead wife,

¹ Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 162 ff.; see also Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 219.

² Ramseyer and Kühne, *Four Years in Ashanti*, pp. 144, 297.

³ Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 106.

⁴ Burton, *A Mission to Gelele*, Vol. II, p. 164.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶ *Dahomey as It is*, p. 239.

Mbonjeka. In the entry for July 7 Grenfell describes how a man and a woman were buried alive.

April 13, 1890. Three people were killed to go with Manga yesterday, and four more are tied up ready for to-day.

June 17, 1890. Nine slaves were killed to go with the dead wife of one of Boyambula's men.

August 25, 1894. Mungulu died and was buried with several slaves, and possibly one or two wives.¹

The above extracts prove beyond all doubt that all Nilotic people, and all the dwellers to the east and west of them, have in all times offered up from religious motives human sacrifices to their gods, kings, and chiefs, and there is good reason for believing that they will continue to do so for many years to come in all places where the British Administrator has no influence. The primitive Egyptians, so far as the indigenous African population is concerned, did the same in this respect as their countrymen in the Sûdân. At an early period, however, they substituted animals for men in their sacrificial ceremonies, but there is no doubt that they reverted promptly to the customs of their forefathers in times of public disaster, that for many centuries of the Dynastic Period they celebrated their victories, old and new, with human sacrifices, and that vanquished foes and strangers were not only slain, but eaten sacramentally.

¹ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. I, p. 386 ff.

CHAPTER VII.

OSIRIS AND DANCING.

FROM Diodorus¹ we learn that when "Osiris passed through Ethiopia, a company of satyrs were presented to him, who, as it is said, were all hairy down to their loins. For Osiris was a man given to mirth and jollity, and took great pleasure in music and dancing. He therefore carried along with him a train of musicians, of whom nine were virgins, most excellent singers, and expert in many other things (whom the Greeks call Muses), of whom Apollo (*i.e.*, Horus) was the captain, and was therefore called the Leader of the Muses. Therefore the satyrs, who are naturally inclined to skipping, dancing, singing, and all sorts of mirth, were taken in as part of the army."

The information contained in the preceding paragraph is both interesting and valuable, for it not only describes the love of Osiris for music, and singing, and dancing, and the pleasure which he took in watching buffoons, whom Diodorus calls "satyrs," but it throws light on the cult of Osiris, and on one of the most important features of the African religion and the character of the African. All Nilotic peoples are greatly addicted to dancing, and they never seem able to perform any ceremony without dancing; they dance at weddings and they dance at funerals, and dancing among many tribes constitutes an act of worship of the highest and most solemn importance. We have, unfortunately, no description of the dances which were performed by the ancient Egyptians, but there is abundant evidence that they considered certain dances to be acts of worship. The earliest representation of dancing as an act of worship appears to be that given on the wooden plaque of Semti (Hesepti), a king of the Ist dynasty.² Here the king is seen

¹ Book I, Chap. 18.

² See above, p. 11.

wearing the crowns of the South and North, and in his right hand he holds his whip, and in his left a paddle ↓.

He is performing some dance which was connected with a festival, and the paddle probably symbolized the part which the ritual ordained him to take in it. The position of the king suggests that he is treading a measure to the accompaniment of some simple instrument of music, or perhaps to the clapping of the hands of his slaves. The



King Senti dancing before a god.
From an ebony plaque in the British Museum.

king wears a pair of short drawers, and apparently nothing else except his double crown. In the early dynasties both men and women wore only loin cloths or very short drawers, but the latter were fond of putting on ornaments, bracelets, bangles, etc. In later times the dancing women wore garments which reached to their ankles.

Passing to the period of the IVth dynasty, we learn that in the reign of King Assà, a high official called Ba-ur-ṭeṭ brought from Punt a *tenk* (pygmy), who knew how to dance "the dance of the god,"¹ and was said to

¹ 

the naturally conservative spirit of the people preserved faithfully all the essential characteristics of the dance which tradition had handed down to them. The following descriptions of the meaning and symbolism of dancing among the modern peoples of the Sûdân and West Africa, and the accounts of dances given by travellers, illustrate ancient Egyptian dancing, and throw much light on the subject, both as a religious exercise and a means of amusement.

In a description of his visit to Katchiba, chief of Obbo, Sir Samuel Baker says: "He came to meet us with several of his head men. He was an extraordinary looking man, about 58 or 60 years of age; but, far from possessing the dignity usually belonging to a grey head, he acted the buffoon for our amusement, and might have been a clown in a pantomine. The chief determined upon a grand dance, and soon the *noğâras* (drums) were beaten, pipes and flutes were soon heard gathering from all quarters, horns brayed, and men and women began to collect in crowds. About a hundred men formed a circle. Each man held in his left hand a small cup-shaped drum, formed of hollowed wood, one end only being perforated, and this was covered with the skin of the elephant's ear, tightly stretched. In the centre of the circle was the chief dancer, who wore, suspended from his shoulders, an immense drum, also covered with the elephant's ear. The dance commenced by all singing remarkably well a wild but agreeable tune in chorus, the big drum directing the time, and all the little drums striking at certain periods, with such admirable precision, that the effect was that of a single instrument. The dancing was most vigorous, and far superior to anything that I had seen among either Arabs or savages, the figures varying continuously, and ending with a 'grand galop' in double circles at a tremendous pace, the inner ring revolving in a contrary direction to the outer; the effect of this was excellent. Although the men wear a skin slung across their shoulders and loins, the women are almost naked, and instead of wearing the leather apron and tail of the *Latûkas*, they are contented with a slight fringe of leather shreds, about four inches long by two broad, suspended from a

belt. The unmarried girls are entirely naked, or wear three or four strings of small white beads, about three inches in length, as a covering. The old ladies wear a string round the waist, in which is stuck a bunch of green leaves, the stalk uppermost."¹ Here we have a complete parallel with King Pepi, whose earnest desire was to dance before the god. Katchiba wished to please Baker, and so he acted the buffoon before him with such success that "he might have been a clown in a pantomime."

When Baker was talking with Kabba Rêga, and it "became necessary to change the conversation, a number of buffoons that were kept about the court for the amusement of the young king now came forward. The crowd was driven back, and an open space having been thus cleared, they performed a curious theatrical scene, followed by a general fight with clubs, until one man, having knocked down all the party, remained the victor. The scene terminated with an act of disgusting indecency, which

created roars of laughter from the immense crowd, who evidently considered this was the great joke of the piece."²

After one of the many disputes which Speke had with Kamrasi, king of Unyoro, the latter sent a dwarf called Kimenya to visit him. Kimenya was a little old man, less than a yard high, and he came with a walking stick larger than himself. He made his salaam, sat down composedly, and then rose up and danced, singing



The god Bes playing a harp.

¹ Baker, *Albert N'yanza*, p. 197 f.

² Baker, *Ismailia*, p. 313.

without invitation, and following it up with queer antics. Lastly, he performed the *tambūra*, or charging march, in imitation of Wakungû, repeating the same words they use, and ending by a demand for simbi, or kauri shells. He was born in Chopi, and was sent for to come to court by Kamrasi,¹ much as King Pepi sent to Aswân to tell Her-khuf to send the pygmy in safe keeping to Memphis.

Another instance of the desire of African kings to attach pygmies to their court is recorded by Dr. Schweinfurth, who describes the pygmy Adimokoo, a member of the Akka nation, numbers of whom had settled down under the protection of the Mañbattû king. He was about 4 feet 10 inches high, and he was dressed like a Mañbattû, in a rokko-coat and plumed hat, and was armed with a miniature lance as well as with a bow and arrow. Although Dr. Schweinfurth had several times been astonished at witnessing the war-dances of the Niam-Niam, his amazement was greater than ever when he looked upon the exhibition which the pygmy afforded. In spite of his large bloated body and short bandy legs, in spite of his age, which by the way was considerable, Adimokoo's agility was perfectly marvellous, and one could not help wondering whether cranes would ever be likely to contend with such creatures. The little man's leaps and attitudes were accompanied by such lively and grotesque varieties of expression that the spectators shook again and held their sides with laughter.²

In October, 1902, Grenfell camped near the Nepoko River, and received a visit from a company of dwarfs. They are, he says, queer little folk, who live by their wits, and by their nimbleness as hunters. They are feared because of their cunning, and because they never fail to avenge any injury which they may receive. One of the groups was a sort of minstrel band, which, having played their music and danced before us, went later and performed in two other villages on the other side of the river. The music was only one degree less remarkable than the dancing. One refrain was like beautifully-toned

¹ Speke, *Journal*, p. 433 (Dent's reprint).

² *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II, p. 129.

bells in the distance. The second consisted of two chords only, and must have been copied from a bird's song in the woods. The third was a medley of hand-clacking and vocal tones that resembled nothing else so much as a troop of tropical frogs. The dancing was done by the headman, and is even more difficult to describe than the music. Azimbambuli, the dancer, was 4 feet 6½ inches in height.¹

A witch-doctor's dance is thus described by Declé : The Mfumu first danced a *pas seul*, accompanied by five tom-toms, beaten with little sticks. He wore on his head a diadem made out of a zebra's mane ; two bands of goatskin were arranged crosswise over his chest, and his arms were covered with the same. A piece of cloth hung down to his knees in front and to his ankles behind. He was also covered with anklets. He began by walking in a circle in front of the drums, then gradually increased his pace till he broke into a run. Then he stopped suddenly and began a jig, in the middle of which, heaving his chest vigorously, with his arms stretched out before him, he dropped to the ground. While dancing he sang a little solo of his own, accompanied by the spectators. Then he rose, and striking one of the drums two or three times, began another song, the whole company joining in the chorus, after which he went through the whole of the previous performance. This lasted all day and went on till late in the night. The large crowd was at times quite enthusiastic, and taking off ornaments, necklaces, bracelets and anklets, men and women threw them at his feet. These he picked up without speaking and deposited them in front of the orchestra of drums as he passed.

The Wakamba have three different dances. In the first men and women place themselves in two lines opposite to each other. Each man has a long drum, *i.e.*, a piece of wood hollowed out, about 5 feet long and 4 inches in diameter, with a handle at the top, and a skin stretched across the bottom ; on the outside of the drum are rows of small bells. The men rush forward from time to time and each rubs his cheek against that of the girl opposite, singing and beating

¹ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. I, p. 331.

his drum on the ground. The men are naked for this dance. In the second dance the men and women in lines face each other. Big drums, which are placed behind the lines, are beaten. The men first walk up to the women, who stand with their hands on their breasts; then they retreat, then they rush forward and rub cheeks. This goes on for some time, and the men become more and more excited, and rush at the women in the maddest way, rubbing cheeks furiously, and singing all the while. The old women have a dance to themselves; drums are beaten, and they fling their arms about and sing slowly.¹

The chief village of each Fân family has a huge idol, to the worship of which the whole family gathers at certain periods. This worship consists of rude dances and singing.² Another dance, which was performed at a ball given by King Bango, may be thus described: When the king gave the signal, all rose up, and beat a kind of tune or refrain to accompany the drums. Then six women stepped out and began to dance in the middle of the floor. Anyone who has seen a Spanish fandango, and can imagine its lascivious movements tenfold exaggerated, will have some faint conception of the postures of these black women. To attain the greatest possible indecency of attitude seemed to be the ambition of all six. These were relieved by another set of six in course of time, and so the ball went on for two hours, when the proceedings became extremely uproarious. Next, women came out, one at a time, and danced their best, before a closely critical audience, who, watching every motion with jealous eyes, were sure to applaud by audible murmurs of pleasure at every more than usually lewd *pas*.³ One of the songs sung before the dance contained these words:—

“ When we are alive and well,
 “ Let us be merry, sing, dance, and laugh ;
 “ For after life comes death ;
 “ Then the body rots, the worms eat it,
 “ And all is done for ever.”⁴

¹ Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, pp. 356, 492.

² Du Chaillu, *Adventures*, p. 141.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁴ Identical sentiments are expressed in the famous “Song of the Harper,” which is written on the wall of a tomb at Thebes.

At a dance given in the open air, King Olenga-Yombi himself danced. "The excitement became "greatest when the king danced. His majesty was "pretty drunk, and his jumps were very highly "applauded. His wives bowed down to his feet while "he capered about, and showed him the deepest marks "of veneration, while the drums and kettles were "belaboured more furiously than ever."¹

The traveller, Thomson, saw a dance performed in Masai-land without the help of musical instruments. The men had their hair rolled into strings, which hung like a mop over their heads. Small kidskin garments were flung over their shoulders or hung by their sides, and their bodies were plastered with grease and clay. The girls wore an under-girdle round the loins, and were loaded with beads, clay, and grease. A young man advances, holding a wand in his hand. His arms hang straight down. At first he hops forward like a bird, till, reaching the centre, he commences a series of leaps straight into the air, without bending his legs or moving his arms. From time to time he thrusts his head forward, bringing his long black hair over his face. After springing in this manner about a dozen times, he steps aside, and another takes his place, till all have gone through their paces. Then, with wilder movements, they trot round in a variety of evolutions, and so the dance ends, to be resumed in precisely the same manner.²

At the war dance at Miriali's, described by L. von Höhnel, some three hundred men assembled, most of them wearing feather collars on their shoulders, and Masai moran masks or monkeys' skins on their heads. Half of them carried guns, and the other half were armed with spears, shields, and swords. Their war-mantles were made of red or other coloured stuff. The performers arranged themselves in a circle, and set up a really melodious chant, keeping time by striking their guns or spears with their clubs. The chant was sung softly in deep, vibrating chest tones. Slowly the circle of dancers moved round, whilst single performers,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

² *Through Masai Land*, p. 122.

generally six at a time, hopped into the centre, and, swinging their weapons to the time of the measure, sprang at regular intervals into the air. When Miriali had dressed himself in a gold-tinsel-covered cap, a general's red coat, a collar of vultures' feathers, a straw hat trimmed with bright red bendera, two long white ostrich feathers, knee ornaments made of colobus skin, and eleven yards of bendera, which he wound round his body, he came up, and the dance was gone through again. The guns were loaded almost to bursting with powder, and the dancers stepped out of the circle to fire, pointing their weapons to the ground, and reaching out as far as possible in front of them; as they pulled the triggers they sprang into the air. Then they started out as if on the warpath, going in skirmishing order, one or other of them rushing out of the line and uttering a terrible cry, and, having fired at an imaginary foe, he rushed back again.¹

In Dahomey the king sings and dances in connection with the So-Sin Custom. According to Burton, he beat the drums with hooked sticks, and sang, and danced to the men's band and then to the women's. He then danced to six modes, and in one of them imitated the action of binding captives. Then he leaned upon his bard's staff, and sang whilst a "single cymbal made melancholy music." Then rising with uplifted staff, and turning towards the larger shed-tent, he adored, in silence, his father's ghost.² The Logun-sinsi, or "Tail-dancers," appear to be peculiar to Dahomey. They were about twenty in number, and wore pink skirts reaching down to the knee, and open-throated tunics of white calico embroidered with scarlet. Round their waists they wore broad scarlet sashes, to the back of which enormous bustles were attached. From the back of these proceeded a short stick, from which depended a long tail of alternate black and white horsehair, as thick as a man's arm, and just clearing the ground. They came in, and saluting the king, commenced their peculiar dance. Standing in a row, with their backs to

¹ L. von Höhnel, *Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie*, Vol. I, pp. 179-181.

² Burton, *A Mission to Gelele*, Vol. I, p. 365.

the king, and their arms in the orthodox swimming position, they began a see-saw movement of the gluteus until their tails acquired sufficient momentum to swing completely round like a sling. They then commenced to walk in a circle, still keeping up the rotary movement of their tails, thereby eliciting thunders of applause from Amazons and warriors. A heavy *bakshish* (gift) followed their performance, and, wagging their curious appendages, they filed out of the presence.¹

In the gorilla dance the principal incidents of a gorilla hunt are acted, as well as the death of the beast, and its performance is believed to ensure success to the hunters. Winwood Reade says the part of the animal was played by one Etia, whose left hand had been crippled by the teeth of a gorilla. Etia danced into the hut where three old men sat, with chalked faces, and playing a drum, a sounding log, and the one-stringed harp; as he danced he imitated the uncouth movements of the gorilla. Then an iron bell was rung, and Ombuiri was summoned to attend, and a hoarse rattle mingled with other sounds. A number of dancers then rushed in yelling and sprang into the air. There was a pause, broken only by the faint slow tinkling of the harp; then the measure grew quicker and quicker, and the drum was beaten, and the sticks thundered on the log. Etia then imitated the attitudes of the gorilla. He sat on the ground with a vacant expression on his face like that of the brute. Then he folded his arms on his forehead, and then, suddenly, he would raise his head, with prone ears and flaming eyes, while a loud shout of applause would prove how natural it was. In the chorus all the dancers assumed such postures as these, while Etia, climbing ape-like up the pole which supported the roof, towered above them all. In the third dance he acted the gorilla being attacked and killed. The man who played the hunter inimitably, acted terror and irresolution before he pulled the trigger of his imaginary gun. Etia, as gorilla, charged upon all-fours, and fell dead at the man's feet in the act of attempting to seize him with one hand.²

¹ Skertchley, *Dahomey as It is*, p. 263.

² Winwood Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 194.

Mr. Dennett gives an interesting description of some West African dances which it is important to note. Lying on his camp bed he saw Ogugu standing before one of the altars in his house, dressed in what appeared to be a red hat and gown. Then a goat was held up so that he might sever its head from its body and sprinkle its blood on the altar. Six goats were killed, and all the altars within and without the house sprinkled with their blood, and all this was done in comparative quiet. Then Ogugu, a Nabori holding up one of his arms, and followed by his courtiers, danced before his people. Then followed the three great dances called Ukele, Ohogo, and Ugulu or Sakwadi. With these dances and further ceremonial, which does not concern us, did Ogugu celebrate the anniversary of the death of his father.¹

The Ugulu was danced by one man only, who turned circles, keeping perfect time to the band of beaded calabashes and drums. The Ukele was danced by two men; the one held a fan, and the other had his hands clasped in front of him. The Ohogo was danced by fifteen men, three holding native bells, and the rest beaded calabashes. They were scantily dressed, and had bells and rattling seeds round their arms and ankles. Two men, one with a bell and the other with a beaded calabash, were surrounded by the other thirteen in a perfect circle. At a signal from their conductor the thirteen, singing in parts, ran round in a circle, while all beat their calabashes and bells; suddenly they stopped, turned towards each other in couples, and saluted each other. At a signal they then started off again, changing their step as it pleased their conductor, who seemed to have perfect control over their movements. Then at a signal all danced inwards towards the centre of the circle, and crowded themselves over their now crouching conductor and his companion. At a beat of his bell all withdrew and continued dancing in a circle.²

Among the Tshi-speaking peoples dancing is a special branch in the education of a priest or priestess. Priests must be very proficient in the art, and they are

¹ Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 207.

² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

taught privately by adepts for many months before they are allowed to perform in public. The dance is always performed to the sound of drums. When a priest enquires of a god on behalf of some one, he covers himself with white clay, puts on a white cloth, and carries a reed brush. Then he suddenly pretends to be convulsed, and the bystanders think that a god has taken possession of him. The drums strike up, and the priest commences his dance, leaping, bounding, and turning and twisting round and round, until he works himself into a real or simulated condition of frenzy, with foam dropping from the mouth and eyes wildly rolling. While thus dancing he lets fall from time to time certain remarks, which are regarded as the utterances of the god; and from them the person who sought his services forms his own conclusions.¹

According to Sir Harry Johnston the Bantu Negroes have five dances: 1. The dance to celebrate the birth of twins; it is danced by men and women, and the gestures are obscene. 2. The death dance, which is danced by both sexes. 3. The dance of the sexual initiation ceremony, which is danced by both men and women. 4. The wedding dance, in which only women join. 5. The dance which takes place in seasons of drought to propitiate the good spirit and bring down rain. Among the Masai, Turkana, Sùk, Nandi, etc., the medicine man orders the people to go and dance under certain big trees on the hill tops. These dances are acts of worship to the deity, and are supposed to ensure good crops.²

Bentley quotes an instructive instance of dancing as an act of homage from a vassal chief to his overlord. The vassal was an old man, tall and thin, and stiff in his joints; he wore an old cocked hat and a soldier's red coat. When he came in sight of the king he stopped and began to sing, and he drew a long cavalry sword from its sheath, which he held in his left hand. He began to caper and dance about, and flourished the sword and its sheath alternately over his head. As he became excited he danced round and over his sword, twisting it in and out between his legs in a

¹ Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, pp. 121, 125.

² *Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, pp. 753, 883.

marvellous manner. As he became exhausted, the gyrations of the long sword lessened, and two trusty servants came and supported him by the elbows, whilst the aged body still jiggled and wriggled about. Then he came to the king, and sank to the ground before him. Sitting cross-legged, he placed the sword and sheath on the ground, and made the usual obeisance, clapping, touching the ground with his third finger three times, and making marks with the dust on his temples; then, as he was of Zombo origin, he leaned forward, touched the ground with his shoulders, and then clapped.¹

The subject of dancing among the peoples of Congo-land has been treated in a general manner in the *Annales du Musée du Congo*, tom. I, fasc. I, and as the interesting remarks there made apply equally well to Nilotic peoples they may usefully be summarized here. The writer says: Dancing, singing, and the use of instruments of music are intimately related on the Congo; music is only considered as an accompaniment of dancing. Music and singing form an integral part of daily life. Dances begin with a slow rhythm. The step quickens under the influence of the singers' voices, and the sound of the tam-tam (tom-tom), pipe, and clapping of hands. The dancers put every muscle of the body in motion, from the neck to the feet. As the men and women dance, ever faster and faster, they utter shrill cries, seeking to drown the sounds of the drums, pipes, etc. They glide from their places in turn, twist themselves round, jump and leap, observing at the same time to keep their appointed places in the general scheme of the dance. After performing with incredible rapidity their whirlings and contortions and leapings, all accompanied by loud outcries, they fall exhausted on the ground, and their places are taken by others. Dances are usually performed at night, preferably at the new moon, to bring good luck to the new wine, or beer, or to any field enterprise, or to celebrate any event, or "pour passer le temps." Dances are performed at funerals, and frequently end in drunken orgies. Of the war-dances, which are becoming rarer, some are decidedly impressive. In dancing, the Ituri dwarfs merely leap into the air; this is the simple,

¹ Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 201.

primitive dance. The women of the Bongo dance very gracefully. Both men and women decorate themselves with great care for dances at new moon festivals, harvest festivals, and funerals.

Sir Harry Johnston notes that in Negro Africa dancing without singing is an impossibility; there must be songs, chants in chorus, rhythmic shrieks, shouts, yells, grunts, clapping of hands, stamping of feet, or a regular noise of some sort. The war-dances of the Western Tanganyika become sham fights. Dances for women only are connected with the birth of children, puberty, or the desire for good crops. Nothing like the European waltz or round dance is known. In Congo-land the natives (so Bentley) are addicted to the *danse du ventre*, as also are the Babangi. The shoulders, buttocks, stomach, and breasts, are all separately or simultaneously rotated, wagged, or otherwise set in motion¹; there is, however, no indecency in this, or in any other dance of purely negro origin.² On the other hand, many dances are notoriously obscene.

Among the modern Egyptians, the most famous professional dancing women are the Ghawâzi, who used to perform unveiled in the streets. The chief characteristic is a very rapid vibrating motion of the hips from side to side. They begin decorously enough, but after a short time their gestures become characterized by lewdness, especially if their performance is not taking place in a private house. They are accompanied by women or men who play instruments of music, *i.e.*, tambourines or drums. The true Ghawâzi differ physically from the ordinary Egyptians, and it is possible that they may be descended from the professional singers and dancers who were attached to the courts of the ancient Egyptians. The better class of them dress well and

¹ This was one of the most popular dances in Egypt a few years ago. One of its principal homes was the town of Kenâ in Upper Egypt, from which troupes of dancers visited all parts of the country.

² "Africa, between the Zambesi and the northernmost limits of the 'negro's domain, is freer from any public spectacle or behaviour (on the 'part of the indigenes) which is likely to shock a normal sense of 'decency than most parts of Europe and Asia."—*George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 717. But see also Torday and Joyce, *Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Huana*, *Jnl. Anth. Inst.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 287.

even handsomely, and they will perform for a group of peasants as readily as for a Páshá, but they always expect to be paid, little or much, for their services. The modern Egyptian loves dancing, and a few taps on the well-known dancing drum in town or village will draw crowds instantly. One morning in 1899, the fast train from Cairo to the South, with an English railway official on board, was "held up" at Farshût for nearly forty minutes without any good reason. After a time the official stepped on to the platform and sought for the *Kumsarî*, or guard, to explain the delay, but he could not be found; the driver and stoker had also disappeared. At length the delinquents were found *outside* the station happily engaged in watching a party of dancing girls who were on tour, quite regardless of the facts that the engine was "blowing off," and that the working of the line was interrupted. The subsequent behaviour of the railway official was considered by the crowd to be extremely unsympathetic!

CHAPTER VIII.

OSIRIS AND SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS, THE PROPITIATION OF GOOD AND EVIL SPIRITS BY OFFERINGS, AMULETS, ETC.

THE ancient Egyptians worshipped their ancestral spirits and the gods, who, it seems, were developed from them, with sacrifices and offerings, with prayer, and, perhaps, by the wearing of amulets. For the sake of convenience we may consider the worship of the gods first. In every village of importance, and in every town, the local god had a house set apart for

him called the "god-house" , which

was tended and kept clean by a "slave of the god" , who in later days

acquired the dignity and importance which we attach to the term "priest."

If the god was considered to be a "great god," many "slaves of the god" would be attached to his house and its service; some would perform duties of a sacred character, and others would discharge the functions of mere cleaners and attendants. On the monument of a

"slave of the god" called Seker-khā-baiu preserved in the museum in Cairo¹ we have a picture of an early temple of the god Set (Fig. 1), and another of the god Anpu or Ap-uat (Fig. 2). The first of these is clearly an African hut, the sides of which are made of plaited reeds; the roof is made of some vegetable material which has been tied together, and consisted probably of a thick mat made of *salatik* similar to that which covered my *tukul* (hut) at Marawi (Abû Dôm) and other places in the Sûdân. The projections in front were, no doubt, the poles which formed the framework of the roof. The three curved lines in front represent



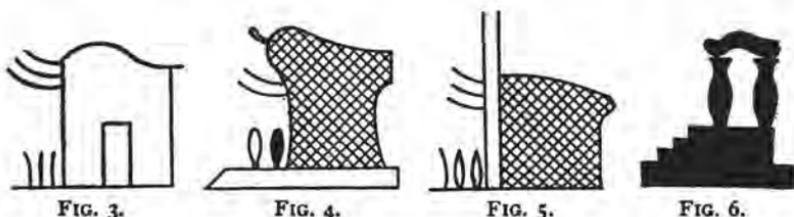
FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

¹ See Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, p. 74.

the palings which are fixed before the tombs of great men all over the Sûdân. The second god-house is also made of plaited reeds or mats fastened to a rectangular framework, and its cornice is formed by a row of palm leaves set above the frame. Its front was provided with a door, whilst that of No. 1 was open. Another form of god-house is shown in Fig. 3. Here we see that the roof is curved, and that there is a door in the side.¹ The projections under the cornice may be the ends of the poles of the roof, or some ornament, or sticks placed for birds to alight on. The palings in front are as before. Other forms of this god-house are given in Figs. 4 and 5. Fig. 4 shows a projection at the back, and the whole building rests upon a platform \equiv similar to that on



which the house of Osiris rests in later pictures.² In Fig. 5 we see the same building with two long poles placed in front;³ these were no doubt flag posts, or supports for spirit emblems. Figure 6 is a god-house which rests upon a pedestal with four steps. The two pillars are in the form of lotus columns.⁴ Now, all these god-houses were in use under the Ancient Empire, and in their essential features they resemble the houses in which modern Sûdânî peoples place the figures and statues of their ancestors.

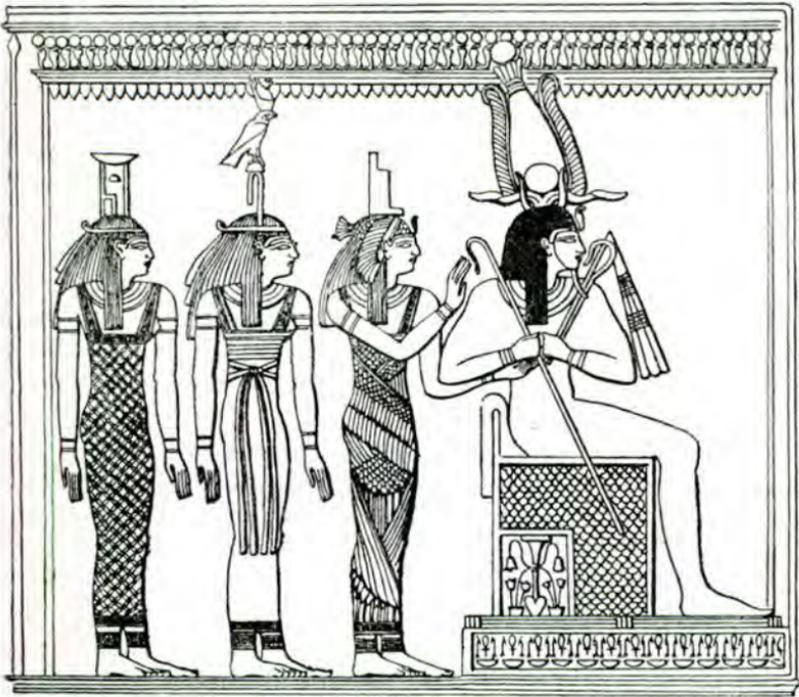
Under the VIth dynasty certainly, and perhaps earlier, the Egyptians began to build massive stone temples for their gods, and, though it cannot be stated as a positive fact, there is good reason for thinking that internally the arrangement of courts, etc., was identical with that of

¹ Pyramid of Nefer-ka-Râ, line 107.

² Pyramid of Mer-en-Râ, l. 30.

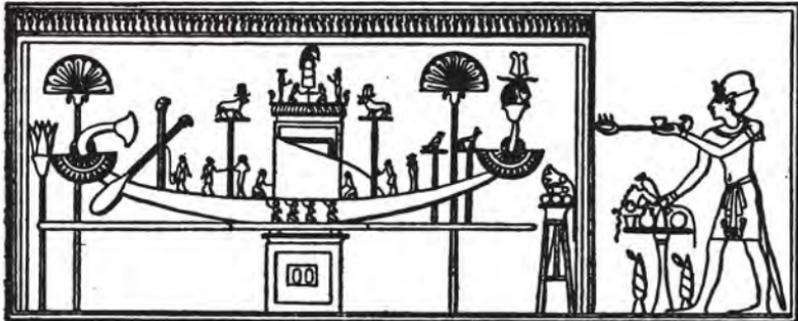
³ Pyramid of Tetâ, l. 284.

⁴ Pyramid of Unâs, l. 604.



Osiris seated in his shrine at Abydos. Behind him stand the goddesses Isis, Amentet, and Hathor.

Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, Plate 17.



Seti I offering incense to the Boat of Osiris at Abydos.

Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 63.

the temples of the New Empire. The temple having been built, the first matter of importance was the selection of the place where the statue or spirit emblem of the god was to be established. It was not considered respectful

to the god to set his figure or emblem where it could be seen by everyone as soon as he entered the temple, therefore the "slaves of the god" decided to set it, together with its house, at one end of the temple, where, by means of doors, it was concealed from the gaze of the vulgar. Meanwhile the god-house made of mat work was abolished, and a case made of wood was substituted, and later still the god-house, or shrine as we should call it, was made of fine, hard stone. The ancient shape was carefully preserved, for the Egyptians, in religious matters, were intensely conservative, and in one form or another they remembered every tradition, relinquishing nothing and forgetting nothing. The texts unfortunately reflect this characteristic, for they are full of views and traditions of all periods, many of which contradict each other absolutely. Under the XVIIIth dynasty the worship of the gods had assumed a complicated character, and its ritual was most elaborate. Of the ritual which belonged to the worship of many gods we know nothing, but most fortunately a copy of the service of the Divine Cult which was performed daily at Thebes in honour of Amen-Rā has come down to us, and the following brief description of its contents will explain the principal facts about it.¹

The priest begins by kindling a light in the sanctuary of the god, then taking the censer in his hand, and attaching to it the cup containing hot ashes, he throws incense into it; at each act he says the prescribed formulae. He then advances to the shrine, and breaks the cord which fastens the two doors, and also the seal, which he removes. He draws open the doors, and looks upon the god, and then prostrates himself flat on his stomach with his forehead resting on the ground. After the recital of a hymn of praise an offering of incense and honey is made. Then the priest advances to the shrine of the god, and stands at the foot of the steps, and then goes near the figure of the god and removes the decorations which he had placed on it the

¹ For the text see the publication of the Berlin Museum, *Rituale für den Kultus des Amon*, Fol. Leipzig, 1896-1901; also O. von Lemm, *Das Ritualbuch*, Leipzig, 1882; and the excellent work of Moret, *Le Rituel du Culte Divin*, Paris, 1902.



Horus presenting life and stability to Osiris-Seker.
 Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, Plate 27.



Thoth and Horus binding together the thrones of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys.
 Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, Plate 31.

day before. Further ceremonies of purification with water and incense are performed, and the priest begins to dress the god for the day. He puts on him garments of various colours, red, white, and green, he anoints him with the seven holy oils, sprinkles perfume on him, smears his eyelids with eye-paint, puts anklets on his ankles and bracelets on his wrists, places the sceptre, crook, and whip in his hands, arranges the crown with feathers on his head, places a pectoral on his breast, and fastens a collar about his neck. The myrrh which had been burning during the performance of these ceremonies has filled the chapel with its pungent odour, and the space in which the shrine stands is ceremonially pure. The priest draws the doors of the shrine together, ties the bolts with a cord, affixes a seal, and utters a magical formula which shall keep all evil spirits from the shrine. He then descends the steps and leaves the chapel. Meanwhile other "slaves of the god" have been occupied in presenting the offerings of meat and drink, etc., which were brought to the chamber specially made to receive them, and the spirit of the god dwelling in the figure in the shrine partook of the spiritual portion of each offering, leaving the material parts for the "slaves of the god" and the other temple servants.

The above facts show that the "daily divine cult," from a merely material point of view, consisted of a series of acts of service such as the servants of a king or man of high rank would perform for their master each day; in fact, the god was treated like an Egyptian gentleman of wealth and position. His dwelling was cleansed and perfumed, a fire was kindled, his soiled garments were taken from him and removed, and when he had been washed, anointed, scented, and re-dressed in suitable apparel, and his jewellery and other ornaments placed on him, and the symbols of his authority put into his hands, he was supposed to partake of his meal, and then to pass the rest of the day as he pleased. Now if we compare some of the sections of this Daily Service which was in use in the XVIIIth dynasty with certain sections of the Book of Opening the Mouth and the Liturgy of Funerary Offerings, which were in use under the Vth and VIth dynasties, we shall find that

they are identical. The two last-named works were, we know, recited, probably daily, for the benefit of dead kings



Seti I pouring out a libation to Osiris.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 37.



A priest pouring out a libation over
Osiris.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 72.



Seti I offering incense and a libation to Osiris.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 58.

and men of high rank under the Ancient Empire, and the texts and ceremonies were intended to supply the spirits of the dead with everything which was necessary for their well-being in the Other World. The meat and

drink offerings were scores in number, and each thing was presented with appropriate words, which had the effect of transmuting the food and of giving it such a nature that the deceased might feed upon it. Such food was offered to a figure, or statue, of the deceased king or noble, which was purified, anointed, scented, and dressed in garments which transferred to it magical powers, and made it to be a suitable dwelling place for his KA or "double."

Thus it is quite clear that a great portion of the Daily Service of the gods under the XVIIIth dynasty was a mere repetition of parts of the Daily Service which was performed daily for dead kings under the IVth, Vth, and VIth dynasties. And if we had copies of the Liturgy of Funerary Offerings and the Book of Opening the Mouth of the first three dynasties, we should undoubtedly find that they contained all the essential parts of those of the later periods which we now have. The only possible deduction which we can make from these facts is, it seems to me, that the god of the XVIIIth dynasty was to Egypt, to all intents and purposes, what the king was under the IVth, Vth, and VIth dynasties, in fact, that the god was only a somewhat glorified form of the ancestor whose descendants and subjects had exalted his spirit to the position of protector of his people. Amen of Thebes, Horus of Edfu, Menthu of Hermonthis, Osiris of Abydos, Heru-shefit of Herakleopolis, Ptaḥ of Memphis, Temu of Heliopolis, the goddess Bast of Bubastis, the goddess Neith of Saïs, etc., were all worshipped as the spirits of ancestors were worshipped, and all were, I believe, originally deified ancestors.

We have seen that, during the Daily Divine Service which was performed in the temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes, offerings were presented in abundance. How these were procured, or by whom they were provided, need not concern us here, but it may be mentioned in passing that all temple endowments were supposed to be pious gifts made by the king. We may gain some idea of the vastness of the temple endowments from the information furnished by the famous Papyrus of Rameses III. According to this wonderful document the offerings to the

temple of Amen-Rā during the reign of this king included in one year 34 jars of incense, honey, and oil, 819 jars of



Seti I offering incense to Osiris.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 68.



Seti I offering incense to Osiris.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 60.

wine, 10,000 measures of grain, 795 bundles of vegetables, 2,064 bales of flax, 9,340 water-fowl, 28 cattle, and 24 geese.¹ And if we assume that the cultivable

¹ See the complete figures in Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Vol. IV, p. 102 ff.

area of Egypt is 5,000,000 acres (it was in 1902), the figures given by this papyrus show that the temples possessed about 14 per cent., or nearly one-seventh, of the whole.

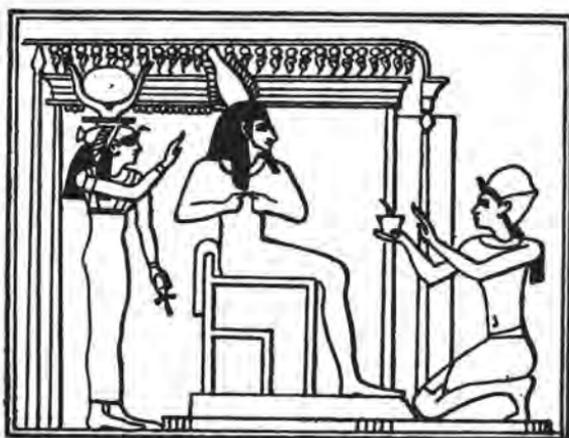
Every formula which the priest said, and every hymn which he sang to Amen-Rā during the Daily Divine Service contains allusions to the glory, splendour, and power of the god, and frequent acknowledgments of his creative power and he is acclaimed as the maker and preserver of heaven and the gods, and the earth and all things on it, and of everything that exists. From first to last, however, there is no confession of sin, no expression of desire for pardon for sins committed, and no petitions for grace and strength to lead a life of integrity and righteousness. Nowhere in the religious literature of Egypt do we find such things, and the fact that we do not proves that the Egyptian regarded sin from a standpoint which in its persistent intensity appears to be purely African. Every offence and sin which he committed he paid for by the gifts of sacrifice and offerings, and when he had made adequate gifts, he assumed that he had no further liability. The king discharged his obligations by making huge gifts to his god, and to the company of lesser gods who were associated with him. Strictly speaking, he was supposed to present them himself to the god, and to recite the Divine Daily Service each day, but as a matter of fact he only did these things on the most solemn festivals. On such occasions the touching and handling of the sacred apparel and ornaments of the god, and contact with the figure of the god, procured for him the spiritual essence and strength which resided in the figure and renewed his communion with his god, and gave him a new supply of that life which was believed to be the peculiar attribute of gods and the ancestral spirits from whom they had been developed. The king, or his vicar, felt no compunction about his sins, for the offerings which were made at the service to-day blotted out the sins of yesterday, and he had no doubt but that the ceremonial cleanliness of his body made him pure in every way, and fit to hold converse with his god.

Besides this, the offerings to the god served another

purpose. They fed the god, and so maintained his strength, and every man assumed that, when his offering had been accepted, the god was in honour bound to



Seti I offering incense to Osiris, behind whom stands Anubis.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 17.



Seti I offering incense to Osiris in his shrine.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 38.

bestow his friendship and protection on him. The praises which were heaped upon the god by his worshippers were supposed to please him and to cause benevolence towards them to arise in him, and the incense, sweet-smelling unguents, and fine apparel were believed to gratify feelings, the character of which they

did not enquire into too closely. The wrath of the god was a thing to avoid at all costs, but in all periods the Egyptians believed that his fiercest anger could be turned away provided their sacrifices and offerings were sufficiently abundant, and that there was no sin which they could commit that could not be paid for, except personal insult to the god. The African god was always a "jealous god," and would tolerate no remissness in personal service to himself, no disrespect to the animal or object in which it pleased him to become incarnate, and no injury to his property. The god, like the ancestral spirit, had to be kept in a good temper, and the surest way of doing this was to praise and flatter him, to give him gifts, to keep his house clean and pure, to love his friends and to hate his enemies, to obey his least command, to anticipate his wishes, and to make him personally pleased and comfortable. If a man wished to enjoy the favour of his god he took good care to serve him faithfully, and true and loyal worship of the god of his town or tribe was of the first importance for his welfare in this world. Respect and toleration were shown to all gods, but these were not allowed to interfere with the worship of his own god, which was whole-hearted. Disrespect to a man's own god, or disloyalty, was not only an offence to the god, but to the man's own clan or tribe, and he who went after strange gods courted social and material disaster of every kind. This was true equally of king and peasant, for the whole of the social fabric of Egypt rested upon religious principles of the most absolute character; and the foundation of them all was the cult of the ancestral spirit, or ancestral god. The private citizen worshipped his god with the same scrupulous care as the king, and made gifts to his figure, which had an honourable place in his house, and adored him according to the custom of his people, and kept his festivals, and made the prescribed offerings at all the duly appointed seasons. We may now consider briefly the reports of travellers on the question of sacrifice and offerings among the modern peoples of Africa.

According to Count Gleichen, the Dinkas are "without any plan of prayer," and sacrifices constitute their only attempts at intercourse with God, Whom they

regard as a destructive power, to be propitiated if possible. The Golas appease their god Umvili by sacrifices of chickens.¹ The Shilluks offer sacrifices



Seti I offering incense to Osiris.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 39.



Seti I pouring out a libation and offering incense to Osiris-Seker.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 36.

to the great deity Jo-uk once a year, at the beginning of the rainy season; the intermediary between Jo-uk and man is the demi-god Nyakang, whose mother was part woman, part crocodile. An animal is slain in each

¹ *The Anglo-Egyptian Súdán*, p. 162.

village by the priest of the village, and the people cook and eat the flesh, assembling for the purpose at the house of Nyakang. The meal is followed by a dance and the drinking of merissa. The sacrifice and the dance are, "apparently, the sum of their worship." There is a house of Nyakang in each village, outside which all serious business is performed by the elders. In cases of illness, sacrifices are made to Nyakang.¹ The Matabele believe in a vast number of evil spirits, who are always ready to do harm, and chief among these are the ancestral spirits. They do not pray to them, or ask for their help, and they only offer sacrifices to them to appease them, when some evil has befallen the family.² The Batoka used to offer up prayer and sacrifices to the spirits (Barimo) at three places in the Cataract where they could hear the roar of the waters, and see the bows in the cloud.³

In most parts of Liberia the belief is current that the spirits of the dead can be attracted to the living by throwing down some sacrifice, a handful of beads, a strip of cloth, possibly a libation. Among the Kru peoples, fowls and oxen are sacrificed.⁴ Mr. Isaac states that the Kamâsia people make the following offering to the Deity in time of trouble. Three holes are dug in the ground, and a portion of cooked food is buried in one hole by the oldest man, another portion is buried in another hole by the oldest woman, and a third portion is buried in the third hole by a child. The rest of the food is eaten by old men, whilst all the other people pray fervently. The buried food is believed to be eaten by the Deity and the ancestral spirits.⁵ Among the tribes of the Lower Niger collective or general worship, with ritual and formulae, is not practised, except in the daily and weekly ancestral services and regular annual festivals, but individual prayer is offered in the form of a petition, always accompanied by an offering or sacrifice of fruit and meat, according to the nature of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

² Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 153.

³ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 523.

⁴ Johnston, *Liberia*, Vol. II, p. 1063.

⁵ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 884.

boon requested and the means of the worshipper ; and, as a general rule, the adoration is one of propitiation, combined with a request.¹ After giving a list of Yoruba



Seti I offering two vases of unguents to Osiris, behind whom stands Isis.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 21.



Seti I anointing the face of Osiris.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 41.

sacrifices, Mr. Dennett says that they are chiefly atonement sacrifices, a fact which suggests that the Pagan Yorubas believed that sin and the anger of an offended god were the cause of the various ills incidental to human

¹ Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, p. 281.

life, and that to obtain blessings it was necessary to propitiate him with sacrifice and offering.¹

In most villages will be found a low hut, sometimes not larger than a dog-kennel, in which, among all tribes, are hung charms, or by which is a growing plant. In some tribes a rudely carved human figure stands in that hut as an idol. That idol, charm, or plant, as the case may be, is believed for the time to be the residence of a spirit, which is to be placated by offerings of food of some kind—a dish of boiled plantains or a plate of fish. This food is not generally removed till it spoils. Sometimes, where the gift is a large one, a feast is made; people and spirit are supposed to join in the festival, and nothing is left to spoil. That it is of use to the spirit is fully believed, and some say that the "life" or essence of the food has been eaten by the spirit, only the material form remaining to be removed.²

The giving of offerings, regularly and unintermittently, to the spirits of the dead was carried out with scrupulous care by the worshippers of Osiris. The Africans have been in the habit of offering gifts of meat and drink to the souls of their ancestors from time immemorial, but the cult of Osiris developed the habit and made it obligatory on all who followed it. In the Dynastic Period a festival was celebrated in honour of the dead about every fifth day, on an average, and in the funerary chapels attached to the tombs of great kings service for the dead was said, and offerings were made to their spirits daily. The spirits of the dead were supposed to absorb the spirits of the meat and drink, and the priests and others ate the material parts. Early in the Dynastic Period the priests drew up an authoritative List of Offerings, which remained the standard authority down to and including the Roman Period. The ancient Egyptian, like the modern African, made offerings to the spirits of his ancestors with the view of keeping their help and protection by maintaining their existence, and he also did so in order to prevent them from being obliged to eat filth and drink polluted water.³ Moreover,

¹ Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 260.

² Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 92.

³ See Book of the Dead, Chapters CLXXVIII, LII and LIII.

by making offerings to the dead in this world, a man caused provision to be made for himself in the Other World when his time should come to depart thither. In



Seti I offering raiment to Osiris.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 50.



Seti I offering sceptres, etc., to Osiris.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 48.

other words, his offerings went before him to the Other World and awaited him there;¹ the offerings which he made to the gods also were as treasure laid up in heaven, and there became his own again, according to

¹ See the Book *Am-Tuat*, Second Division.

some texts. As the offerings made to the gods brought the spirits of the gods to their statues to hold converse with the king and his high priest, so the offerings to the ancestral spirits brought them back to earth to hold communion with the living, and to take an active interest in their affairs. Eating and drinking with the spirits raised man's nature and "made divine his spirit," and destroyed the feeling of separation which came with the appearance of death. The character of the Egyptian offering is shown by the common word for offering

"*ḥetep*," , which means a gift of peace, or "propitiation." The stone or wooden tablet on which the offerings were laid is also called "*ḥetep*," , .

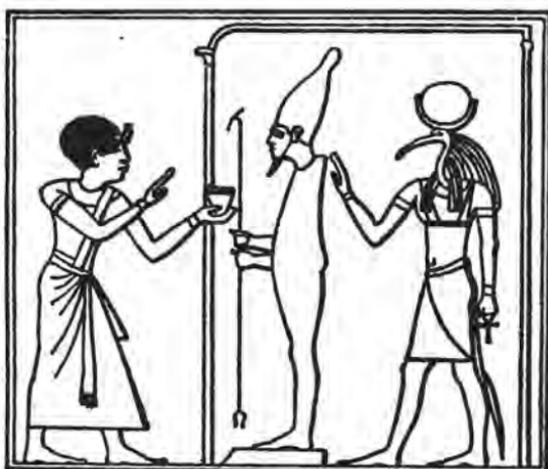
And it must always be remembered that the altar was believed to possess the power of transmuting the offerings which were laid upon it, and of turning them into spiritual entities of such a nature that they became suitable food for the god Osiris and his spirits. Funerary inscriptions of all periods are often introduced by the words "*Suten t̄a ḥetep*," , which must mean something like "the king hath given an offering," or "the king giveth an offering," or "may the king give an offering." These words take us back to a time when all Egypt and every man belonged to the king, and when the king made a gift, probably of food, for the funeral feast of such of his officers as he allowed to be buried with pomp and ceremony. In a comparatively short time this formula must have lost all significance, but the Egyptians nevertheless preserved it on their sepulchral stelae until the latest times.

Now the Egyptians were an eminently practical people in all matters which related to their personal welfare, both material and spiritual, present and future, and those who could not afford to pay for a constant supply of offerings to their ancestral spirits must have been sorely troubled. Though they had the words *suten t̄a ḥetep* cut in stone or wood, they knew that the king could not send gifts for the dead to every tomb in Egypt, and that the practical result of them was nothing.

They therefore deputed the duty of supplying meat, drink, and apparel to the gods Anpu, K̄eb (the Earth-god), and Osiris, believing that prayers addressed to



Seti I offering a breastplate and pectoral to Osiris.
 Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 51.



Seti I offering fruit to Osiris, behind whom stands Thoth.
 Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 74.

them would provide the dead with everything they required. These gods were in the Other World, and the dead were there with them and under their rule and care.

In some cases the Egyptians adopted another plan.

They prayed to the gods that offerings might be given to the dead, and they also entreated every visitor to a tomb to do likewise; as a reward for making this prayer visitors were assured that they should hand on their exalted positions and dignities to their children. The prayers they made were that "the king might give an offering," and that there might be for the deceased "*pert-er-kheru*,"¹ according to the saying of the ancestors, "like unto the *perrt*," i.e., the things which came forth "from the mouth of the god." It will be remembered that, according to Egyptian views, the world and the things in it came into being as the result of the utterance of a word. The latter prayer alludes to this fact, and the writer wishes visitors to his tomb to pray for *pert-er-kheru*, i.e., offerings, because he firmly believes that the mere mention of these words will result in the appearance of offerings, just as when the god who made the world uttered the word, the utterance of it was followed by the appearance of created things. It is only another example of the power of the word, or voice, which under certain circumstances was believed to be irresistible. The use of the words *suten tā hetep* and *pert-er-kheru* made it unnecessary to place offerings in the tomb, faith being greater than works.

Another point in connection with offerings must be mentioned. In the royal tombs, and those of men of wealth, tables for offerings, or altars, are commonly found. These are usually rectangular slabs of stone, with rectangular hollows in them which were intended to be used as receptacles for libations, etc.; on the upper edge a prayer for offerings is usually cut. Often the face of the slab is sculptured with the figures of offerings, geese, bull's heads, loaves of bread, vegetables, etc. Now similar tables for offerings are found in the tombs of men who were not rich, and whose relatives were not in a position to endow them with offerings in perpetuity. The explanation of their existence is this: the Egyptians believed that the prayer cut on the stone slab would cause the offerings to appear regularly, and that the figures of the offerings sculptured on the face of the slab

¹ . See Tylor, *Tomb of Paheri*, text, l. 42.

would suggest to the invisible beings who provided the funerary meals what offerings should be supplied. The slab, in fact, was regarded as a magical source for the



Seti I offering two bandlets to Osiris and receiving life from the god.
 Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 53.



Seti I offering two bandlets to Osiris.
 Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 52.

supply of offerings. That this was so is proved by the little models of altars which are found in tombs, and which are too small to have served the purpose of tables for offerings in the ordinary sense of the word. The custom of making offerings to ancestral spirits is so

common among modern African peoples that only a few examples need be quoted.

In Anguru-land and on the Tanganyika plateau small shelters are erected for the spirits of the dead, and a daily allowance of food and drink is placed in each. The names of the dead are never mentioned under any circumstances whatsoever.¹ The Bavuma also make spirit houses, but they put neither meat nor drink in them. In times of distress an ancestor's spirit is called upon for help, and a goat is presented to it; the animal is dragged up to the house, but is then allowed to escape. The ancestor is also called upon to drive away the "bazimu" (devils), if their attacks become too frequent.² The Bakonjo also build houses for the spirits of their ancestors, each *kitwangani* (spirit house) being about 10 inches high, and open at each end. Small supplies of meat and drink are placed in them every two or three days.³ The Basukuma sacrifice an animal to the spirit of a king in times of trouble.⁴ The Lendu believe that the spirits of the dead remain on the earth for two months, and they build spirit shelters of grass for them, which they supply with meat and vegetables. At the end of two months the spirit goes to Waza, a place in the bowels of the earth, where the good and the wicked live together.⁵ Whilst the body of a chief of the Makarakas is being smoke-dried, which operation takes about a year, food and a pot of beer are always provided for the spirit.⁶ Over and near the graves of the rich in West Africa are built little huts where are laid the common articles used by them when alive. On one occasion Dr. Nassau observed tied to a tree a wooden trade-chest, five pitchers, and several fathoms of calico prints. The grave of a chief was near, and these articles were placed there as offerings to spirits to induce them to draw to the villages of his people the trade of passing merchant vessels.⁷ The Bahima build a spirit house in

¹ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

⁶ Junker, *Travels in Africa*, Vol. I, p. 297.

⁷ *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 232.

every village, and a bundle of medicine is hung inside it. This house has often a hard clay floor, or roof with open sides, and on the floor are placed offerings of food and libations of beer. The worship of ancestral spirits



Seti I opening the door of the shrine of Osiris.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 59.



Seti I addressing Osiris-Seker in his shrine.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 44.

among the Bahima resembles that in use among the people of Unyoro. Many of the names of evilly-disposed ancestral spirits are identical with the names for diseases, and it seems as if certain diseases are believed to be sent by spirits whom the living have offended.¹

¹ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 631.

On the amulets worn in Abyssinia the persons for whom they were made pray to be delivered from a large number of fiends who are regarded as diseases personified, and who, probably, were ancestral spirits. The Christians of Abyssinia naturally condemn the belief in spirits of all kinds, and class them as things of evil. The people of Buvuma build tall, peaked fetish huts in which they place stones whereon offerings are to be laid. Such stones are the equivalents of the rectangular stone slabs, or tables for offerings, of the ancient Egyptians, which have already been described. A picture of such a hut and also of a "suspended grass extinguisher," with a libation slab below it, is given by Sir Harry Johnston.¹ The Wakamba in East Africa also offer sacrifices to spirits.²

The Bukalai believe that the evil spirits [of ancestors] walk among them at sunset. Du Chaillu says: At sunset every one of them retired within doors. The children ceased to play, and all became quiet in the camp. Then suddenly arose on the air one of those mournful, heart-piercing chants which you hear among all the tribes in this land. Tears rolled down the cheeks of the women, fright marked their faces and cowed their spirits. They sang:

Oh, you will never speak to us any more,
We cannot see your face any more;
You will never walk with us again,
You will never settle our palavers for us.³

According to the same authority, all the peoples of Equatorial Africa fear the spirits of the dead, and besides placing furniture, dress, and food at their newly-made graves, return from time to time with other supplies of food. During the season appointed for mourning, the deceased is remembered and feared; but when once his memory grows dim, the negro ceases to believe in the prolonged existence of the departed spirit. The fear of spirits of the departed seems an instinctive feeling for which they do not attempt to account to themselves, and about which they have formed no theory. They

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 717.

² Krapf, *Travels*, p. 356.

³ Du Chaillu, *Adventures*, p. 72.



Seti I praying to Osiris. Before the god are the symbol of the bull's skin, and the ram containing his soul.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 61.



Seti I adoring Osiris-Seker in his shrine.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 75.

believe the spirit is near and about them ; that it requires food and property ; that it can and sometimes does harm them. They think of it as a vindictive thing, to be feared and to be conciliated. But as the memory of the

departed grows dim, so does this fear of his spirit vanish. Ask a negro about the spirit of his brother who died yesterday, and he is full of terror; ask him about the spirit of one who died long ago, and he will tell you carelessly, "It is done"; that is to say, it has no existence.¹

The native of Western Africa, in his kindness of heart, builds shelters for the spirits who have not yet been buried, and places in them beds which are so arranged that when the spirits are lying on them they face the villages. On the poles of one of these shelters, which was made for the ghost of a little girl, Miss Kingsley saw hanging the dolls and the little pin-cushions, etc., which a kind missionary had given her. Food is set out at these places and spirit poured over them from time to time, and sometimes, though not often, pieces of new cloth are laid on them. Many unburied spirits were believed to get away and haunt the villages, and the people of Creek Town, Calabar, used to clear them out every November. They did so by the following means. They set up large grotesque images called Nbakim in the houses, and placed food and spirits before them; strips of cloth and gewgaws were hung about them. The people gathered together and made a procession to every house, screaming, yelling, dancing, and beating tam-tams as they went. The wandering spirits were driven by the noise to the figures and took refuge in the strips of cloth, and the noise prevented them from venturing out again. When the noise had been prolonged for a certain time, and the strips of cloth were filled with spirits, the figures were taken and thrown into the river, and so the spirits were either drowned or driven away elsewhere.²

Livingstone found that the people of Chicova were accustomed to pray to departed chiefs and relatives, but the idea of praying to God (which, presumably, he suggested) was new.³ They visit the graves of relations, making offerings of food and beer.⁴ The people of Tette believe that many evil spirits live in the air, the

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 336.

² Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 493 ff.

³ Livingstone, *Travels*, p. 605.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 641.

earth, the water. These invisible malicious beings are thought to inflict much suffering on the human race; but, as they have a weakness for beer and a craving for food, they may be propitiated from time to time by offerings of meat and drink. The spirits of their departed ancestors are all good, according to their ideas, and on special occasions aid them in their enterprise.¹ Livingstone heard some slaves who were fastened in the slave-sticks singing, and when he asked the cause of their mirth they replied that they were merry at the idea "of coming back after death, and haunting and killing those who had sold them."²

We have now to consider the use of amulets as a form of worship. The worship in which amulets play a large and important part is not that of God, but that of the "gods" and spirits of all kinds, nature spirits, ancestral spirits, and spirits which are supposed to live in common things. The Egyptian had a deeply rooted belief in the existence of God, Whom he regarded as the Creator of all things and the ultimate arbiter of the lives and destinies of all men; but, like the modern African, he also believed in spirits of all kinds. Benevolent spirits he did not fear, but of evil spirits he went in mortal terror all the days of his life, and he attempted to propitiate them and gain their good will by every means in his power. There were at all times in Egypt, it seems, men who served God and who put their whole trust in Him, and to whom the practices of magic of all kinds must have been an abomination. Still, the great mass of the people were firm believers in spirits and in the efficacy of magical figures, charms, spells, incantations, words and names of power, and these frequently appear in the most solemn texts and ceremonies from the earliest to the latest period. It would be idle to deny that among large masses of the population of Egypt the cult of spirits, or witchcraft, or fetishism, often took the place of the worship of the true God, and that even under the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties the true and the false worship flourished side by side. The Egyptian appreciated at

¹ Livingstone, *The Zambesi*, p. 47.

² *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 306.

its true worth the beauty of the religion of Osiris and the high morality which it inculcated, and fixed his hope of immortality on the god who had been slain and had risen from the dead, but he was always haunted by the fear that he might suffer in the Other World if he neglected the rites and ceremonies and customs of his ancestors, and he could never deliver himself wholly from the idea that "there might be something after all" in these things.

We are justified in assuming that the gods and the sacred animals in which they became incarnate were at a very early period represented by statues in the temples, and also that figures or statues of great ancestors were made by their descendants in the earliest times. Thus gods and ancestral spirits possessed places in which to dwell, and they were believed to enter and leave their statues at will. The Egyptian next had to provide dwelling-places for spirits of all kinds, and with the production of such dwelling-places amulets came into being. Some may say that the use of amulets by the Egyptians was fetishism pure and simple, but such is not the case, and those who call it so will make the same mistake as the Portuguese made when they described as "fetishism" the cult of ancestral spirits which they saw being performed in West Africa. It would be equally wrong to call an Egyptian amulet either "fetish" or "juju." The first of these words is certainly not of African origin, for it comes from the Portuguese, and the latter is derived by some from the French. Fetish = "feitiço," the word used for "image," "saint," etc., and juju = jujou, a "toy" or "doll."¹ When the Portuguese explorers saw the Africans take a wooden image from the wall, blow on it, bespatter it, mutter to it, or give it food, they said: "This is witchcraft" (*feititito*). They looked on everything at home with the eyes of people believing in witchcraft and sorcery, for they believed in witches and sorcerers. "This feature of the Middle Ages brands them with the stamp of spiritual decadence."² The Portuguese did not

¹ According to Major Glyn Leonard "Juju" is derived from the native word "egugu," meaning "idol."—*Lower Niger*, p. 115.

² Frobenius, *Childhood of Man*, p. 182.

understand the cult of ancestors, and they confounded it with their own debased Christian idolatry. As a result of this, they wholly misrepresented the religion of the West African peoples, and caused them to be regarded by civilized nations with a contempt which they never deserved in the slightest degree.

Neither the Egyptian nor the modern African ever believed in the divinity of their amulets or fetishes, and they never considered them to represent deities. On this point the authority of Dr. Nassau is final. He says: "Fetich objects are simply local residences. A spirit can live anywhere, and in anything. This is bald fetichism. The thing itself, the material itself, is not worshipped. The fetich worshipper makes a clear distinction between the reverence with which he regards a certain material object, and the worship he renders to the spirit for the time inhabiting it. For this reason nothing is too mean, or too small, or too ridiculous, to be considered fit for a spirit's *locum tenens*. For when for any reason the spirit is supposed to have gone out of that thing and definitely abandoned it, the thing itself is no longer revered, and is thrown away as useless."¹ It is not true, as is asserted by some, in regard to these African tribes and their degraded form of religion, that they worship the actual material objects in which the spirits are supposed to be confined. Low as is fetishism, it nevertheless has its philosophy, a philosophy that is the same in kind as that of the higher forms of religion. A similar sense of need that sends the Christian to his knees before God to ask aid in time of trouble, and salvation temporal and spiritual, sends the fetish worshipper to offer his sacrifice and to ejaculate his prayer for help as he lays hold of his consecrated antelope horn, or as he looks on with abiding trust while it is safely tied to his body. His human necessity drives him to seek assistance. The difference between his act and the act of the Christian lies in the kind of salvation he seeks, the being to whom he appeals, and the reason for his appealing. The reason for his appeal is simply fear; there is no confession, no love, rarely thanks-

¹ *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 76.

giving. It is not spiritual but physical, salvation that is sought.¹

Everything that Dr. Nassau says about the modern African amulets applies exactly to those of the ancient Egyptians. Every Egyptian amulet that we know was made for the purpose of giving physical comfort, or relief, or pleasure in this world or the next; neither the maker nor the wearer expect an amulet to assist confession of sin, or love to God as Christian peoples understand it, or thanksgiving. Thus the *Tet* , or backbone of Osiris, made of gold and set in a plinth of sycamore wood, which had been steeped in *ankham* flower water, gave the deceased the power to become a "perfect spirit," and enabled him to take his place among the followers of Osiris at the new-year festivals, when he would receive offerings of meat and drink in abundance.² The amulet  conveyed to the wearer the virtue of the blood of Isis, and her strength and her words of power, and, if it were placed on the neck of a dead man, it was believed to cause Horus to view him with favour, and to give him access to every part of heaven.³ What the object was, which the Egyptians represented by , is not known, but it seems perfectly clear that it was not the "buckle," as it is usually said to have been. As the Book of the Dead connects it with the blood and strength of Isis, it must, I think, have represented some important organ of the body of Isis. The form of the  as it appears in the Papyrus of Ani suggests that it represents the vagina and uterus, as seen when cut out of the body and laid on some flat surface, the flaps at the sides being the thick ligatures by which the uterus is attached to the pelvis, which have dropped from their normal position after death. I submitted this view to a medical authority, Dr. W. L. Nash, and he agrees with me in thinking that the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

² Book of the Dead, Chapter CLV (Rubric).

³ *Ibid.*, Chapter CLVI.

amulet  does represent the genital organs of Isis. And he thinks that the blood referred to in the Chapter of the Book of the Dead of which it forms the vignette may be the catamenial flow. We have seen that the  represented the *sacrum* of Osiris, *i.e.*, the part of the back which is close to the sperm duct, and it is very easy to understand the importance which was attached to the amulet, for it symbolized the seed of the god Osiris. This being so it is only natural that the primitive Egyptians should make the picture of the genital organs of Isis a companion amulet, for by the two amulets the procreative powers of man and woman would be symbolized. The antiquity of these amulets is obviously very great. To the African, as to the ancient Hebrew, the blood represented the life, and therefore the spirit of the person to whom it belonged. And as blood carries with it protection, people, and even spirit-houses, and the gateways of villages are sprinkled with it by the modern Africans.¹ Livingstone mentions the fact of a woman cupping her child's temples for sore eyes, and then throwing the blood over the roof of her hut as a charm.²

The scarabaeus, or beetle, , which is one of the commonest of amulets, was buried with the dead in order to assist the restoration of their hearts. A Rubric to the LXIVth Chapter of the Book of the Dead directs that a green stone scarab, set in a gold frame, shall be anointed with myrrh, and then placed in the breast of the deceased where the heart would normally be. Before it was placed in the breast, and during the anointing with myrrh, a formula, which is now known as Chapter XXXB of the Book of the Dead, was said over it, and the effect of this on the deceased was to "open his mouth,"³ *i.e.*, to reconstitute his jaws and mouth, and to enable him to eat, and drink, and breathe, and to perform the ordinary functions of a living man. Thus we see that the beetle was associated with the idea of

¹ Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 447, 454.

² *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 223.

³ See the Rubric to Chapter LXIV of the Book of the Dead.

a renewal of vital power, and with new life generally. This idea is still extant in Africa as we may see from the following extracts. The beetle referred to in the Rubric is the large beetle which is generally known as *Goliathus Atlas*, and many models of it in green stone are to be seen in the British Museum. A specimen caught by Dr. Junker, who figured it two-thirds natural size in his book,¹ was 10 cm. long and $4\frac{1}{2}$ cm. wide. The wing-cases were brown, and on the black thorax there were broad white bands converging towards the head, while the sides of the abdomen and the legs were of a dark olive green colour. Sir Harry Johnston says that the natives give much attention to the various species of the *Ceratorrhina goliath*, and speaks of it being much used in native medicine and sorcery.² Mr. Torday also describes a magical ceremony in which the body of a goliath beetle plays a prominent part.³ Baker, in an entry dated August 11, speaks of "immense beetles" which appear at this season and make balls of dung as large as small apples, which they roll away with their hind legs, while they walk backwards by means of their fore legs. They appear about the beginning of the wet season, and when the rains cease they disappear.⁴ As in one of his forms Osiris was a River-god it is extremely probable, as Baker suggests, that the Egyptians associated the appearance of these beetles with the rise in the river level, and therefore with new life and fertility. The beetles deposit their eggs in the usual manner, and while the larvae are growing they feed upon the ball of dung until they are ready to begin the world for themselves.⁵ That some tribes connect the beetle with ancestor-worship is proved by the fact that Livingstone saw a large beetle hung up before a figure in a spirit-house of a burnt and deserted village.⁶ The modern Sûdâni women eat beetles and say that they make them prolific, and we may note in

¹ *Travels in Africa*, Vol. II, p. 450.

² *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 944.

³ Quoted by Johnston, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 405.

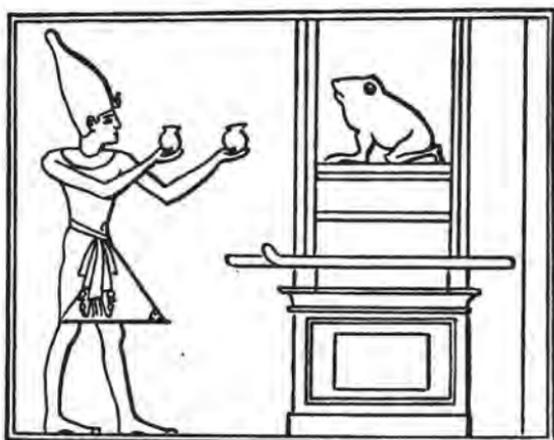
⁴ *Albert N'yanza*, p. 240.

⁵ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 44.

⁶ *Last Journals*, Vol. II, p. 27.

connection with the idea of new life which is associated with the beetle that the Egyptians used the shell of a beetle mixed with oil, etc., as a medicine to assist a woman in labour to give birth to her child.¹

Another amulet of importance in connection with new life and new birth is the frog, small models of which have been found in tombs of all periods in Egypt. This amulet was supposed to hold the spirit of the Frog-goddess Heqet, who is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts,² and whose cult dates from the earliest dynasties.



Seti I making an offering to the Frog-goddess Heqet at Abydos.

She was present when Ruṭ-ṭeṭeṭ gave birth to three boys, who afterwards became Kings Userkaf, Saḥu-Rā, and Kakaa.³ The cult of Heqet was practised at Abydos under the XIXth dynasty, and on a bas-relief in the temple there we see a representation of Seti I offering two vessels of wine or unguents to her. She was present when Isis had union with Osiris after the death of the god, and she appears on a relief at Denderah⁴ in the form of a frog seated on a pedestal at the foot of the bier of Osiris. In late times she was identified with Isis and Hathor and the

¹ *Ebers Papyrus*, Plate XCIV.

² *Pepi I*, l. 570.

³ *Westcar Papyrus*, ed. Erman, Plate 9.

⁴ Mariette, *Dendérah*, tom. IV, Plates 78-80.

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great Mother-goddesses of fertility, generation, and birth. Tradition also gave to the four great primeval gods Hēh, Kek, Nāu, and Amen the form of a frog. The Egyptian Christians also associated the frog with



Anubis, under the direction of Thoth, reconstituting the body of Osiris with the help of the Frog-goddess Heqet. Nephthys sits at the head of the bier and Isis at the foot.



Osiris begetting Horus by Isis, who is in the form of a hawk; the second hawk is Nephthys. At the head of the bier sits Hathor and at the foot the Frog-goddess Heqet.

new birth, and on a Christian lamp, described by Lanzone,¹ is a figure of a frog surrounded by the legend 'Εγώ εἰμι Ἀναστάσις, "I am the resurrection." It is not easy at first sight to understand why the frog should have been a symbol of new life to the Egyptians any more than the beetle, but when we read Livingstone's

¹ *Dizionario*, p. 853.

description of the frog called "matlamétlo"¹ the reason becomes apparent. This frog is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, its head is 3 inches wide, its body $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its forelegs and hindlegs are 3 inches and 6 inches long respectively. In the driest part of the desert after a thunderstorm the pools of water become filled immediately with loud-croaking frogs. The natives think they fall from the clouds, but this is not so. The matlamétlo hides itself in a hole at the root of a bush during the season of drought, and rushes out as soon as the rain begins to fall.² Thus the frog appears with the coming of the rain, just as the beetle appears with the rise of the Nile, and so the ideas of new life and fertility become associated with them. The inherent vitality³ of the small tree-frog must have impressed the Egyptians, and it is probably this species that is represented by the little green-glazed steatite frogs which they wore suspended from necklaces, pectorals, etc.⁴ The women of some tribes in Africa eat frogs, just as they eat the beetle, to make them prolific, but other tribes reject the frog because they think that if used as food it makes the eyes to bulge, like the frog's.⁵

In placing the amulet on the body, living or dead, the Egyptians usually recited a formula, the words of which sometimes had meaning, and sometimes had not. The recital of such a formula was supposed to give the wearer of the amulet the power of the spirit which dwelt in it. In the earliest times the formula and the amulet were probably distinct things, but in process of time they became associated, and later still the formula was cut on the amulet. Thus the wearer became doubly protected. The so-called "buckle" of Isis is often inscribed with the formula which in later times became a Chapter of the Book of the Dead, and such is the case

¹ The *Pyxicephalus adpersus* of Dr. Smith.

² Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, pp. 42, 43.

³ Note on p. 487 of the same work.

⁴ "As I sat in the rain a little tree-frog, about half-an-inch long, leaped on to a grassy leaf, and began a tune as loud as that of many birds, and very sweet; it was surprising to hear so much music out of so small a musician."—Livingstone, *Last Journals*, Vol. II, p. 42.

⁵ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, pp. 613, 615.

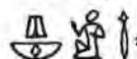
also with the amulet of the head-rest or pillow, the scarab, and many other amulets. For those who could not afford a properly made stone or metal amulet it was held to be sufficient if a man were protected by a drawing of the amulet and a written copy of the words which were associated with it. Thus in the Book of the Dead¹ we have pictures of several amulets, each accompanied by its formula, and in one exemplar in the possession of Mr. MacGregor a list of seventy-five amulets is given, together with drawings of them.² Originally the vignettes which adorn the fine copies of the Book of the Dead were simply magical pictures, or representations of what the deceased wished to happen, and the formulae attached were expected to enable him to realize his wishes. The little figures of the gods made in gold, silver, stone, etc., were nothing but amulets, or abodes for the spirits, or portions of the spirits of the gods, and the recital of "strong names," words of power, magical sentences, etc., was a prominent feature in the cult of them.

When we come to examine the use of amulets by modern African peoples, whether Christian, Muhammadan, or pagan, we find that the ideas which underlie it are identical with those of the Egyptians. The priest of the Christian, or the mullah of the Muslim, or the "medicine-man," or "rain-maker," or "witch-doctor" of the pagan is the equivalent of the *kher-ḥeb* priest of the Egyptians.³ All these are supposed to be able to hold converse with spirits, and to be acquainted with means which will secure their favour for the petitioner. They use magic names, words of power; and some are supposed to have knowledge of spells and incantations which are of great antiquity, and which were revealed by the spirit-powers to certain medicine-men as a sign of signal favour. The Christian

¹ See Chapter CLVI ff.

² Described by Capart, *A.Z.*, Band XLV, 1908, p. 14 ff.

³ The Egyptians distinguished between the "great *Kher-ḥeb*,"



who was a great magician and performed the most important religious ceremonies, and the ordinary *Kher-ḥeb* who was not expected to possess any special magical power.

in Abyssinia wears parchment amulets inscribed with magical prayers which are intended to protect him against evil of all kinds, and against the spirits which cause diseases; women wear them to obtain children and to prevent miscarriage. The spirits invoked are the old spirits of the country, but the magical figures painted on them are effigies of St. George and other saints, and in all such amulets the picture of the Cross of Christ is regarded and used as a great fetish. The Cross typifies the Blood of Christ, and His Blood was His Life, and carries with it in the native mind the old African idea of the magical power of the Blood of God, and its invincible might. It is, in fact, to the native a blood fetish. The Muslim uses amulets likewise. These are pieces of paper or leather, on which are written extracts from the Kur'ân, *e.g.*, the first Surah, the Throne Verses, and the Declaration of the Unity of God, but side by side with these are placed magical numbers and letters arranged in squares, diamonds, triangles, etc., in which old pagan ideas survive in a remarkable degree. The Abyssinian Christian uses the Book of Psalms, the Adorations of the Virgin, or the complete New Testament as an amulet, and the Muslim uses the whole Kur'ân with the same object, and a copy of the Book of the Dead written on his tomb or coffin, or on a roll of papyrus, served the same purpose to the Egyptian. Among pagan tribes who cannot write, the magic doctor is called upon to supply the words which bring magical protection, and it is he who brings the spirit into the amulet or fetish, and utters the blessings which are so eagerly sought after. The amulet must pass through his hands before it can receive its spirit, just as the amulets of the Egyptians which were used in all sepulchral ceremonies must have passed through the hands of their priests before they were worn by the living or placed on the bodies of the dead.

African amulets consist of figures made of clay, wood, etc., sticks, stones of curious shapes, feathers of birds, strings, knotted cords, beads, shells of snails, horns of animals, bags of powder, seeds, etc.; nothing is too trivial to become the home of a spirit. Specially prepared "medicine" to be put in a fetish horn contains

ashes of certain medicinal plants, pieces of burnt bone, gums, spices, resins, filth, portions of human and animal bodies, *i.e.*, the brain, heart, gall-bladder, especially when belonging to ancestors, and eyeballs, those of a white man being much prized.¹ These ingredients are mixed in secret, whilst drums are beaten and dances are danced, and then the mixture is placed in a shell, or horn, or bone. If we look at the copies of the prescriptions given in the Ebers Medical Papyrus we shall find that the medicine-men of the Egyptians used similar ingredients in their medicines, and the ideas which were associated with them were the same, namely, that the spirits of the substances used as ingredients protected those who kept them by them, and healed them when they were sick. Thus we find used antelope excrement, the blood, fat, excrement, liver, milk, seed, ear, and teeth of the donkey, the blood of a bat, the intestines of the goose, the fat of the Nubian ibex, the case of the beetle, the hair, fat, excrement and uterus of the cat, the oil of a mouse, the fat, hide, hoofs, and oil of the hippopotamus, the shell of the tortoise, the gall of the ox, the eyes, blood, fat, gall, teeth, and excrement of the pig, the blood and excrement of wasps, etc. The reason why certain things are chosen as amulets is easy to see. Thus a part of a leopard or an elephant gives strength, a part of a gazelle gives cunning and agility, part of a heart gives courage, part of a human brain gives wisdom, and the claws, teeth, lips, and whiskers of lions and leopards protect their wearers in a country in which these animals abound. The bones of the legs of a tortoise are worn in the shape of anklets to give endurance, and the spine bones of serpents drive away backache.² But why the lower jaw of the tortoise is worn as a preventive of toothache, or why the blood and gall of a black ox bring rain, or why the possession of the liver and entrails of a crocodile enables a man to kill an enemy when he pleases is not clear.³

The modern African, like the ancient Egyptian, makes use of many amulets, and the following notes,

¹ Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 82.

² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³ Declé, *Three Years*, pp. 153, 154.

which are derived from Mr. R. G. Anderson's article¹ on the Superstitions of Kordofân, prove that the religious views of the people of this portion of Africa are the same now as ever. They believe in the Evil Eye, and ward it off by wearing a silver disk inscribed with a charm, by charms written on paper, etc. Diseases are caused by evil spirits of all kinds, whose names are well known. The most terrible spirit is a female called Umm al-Sebian, who destroys children, causes miscarriages, abortions, and still-birth, makes men impotent and women barren, lays waste the crops, and destroys people and things by her mere presence. Seven charms are known which are believed to counteract her evil acts, and these are claimed to be known by the Fiki, or magic doctor. These charms are written on paper and carried in small red leather cases, and consist of extracts from the Kur'ân, and magical arrangements of letters and figures, which vary in meaning according to the system of magic employed by the magic doctor. The water in which such texts have been soaked is considered to be the very best "medicine."² Besides these, the prayers and utterances of the late Mahdî are still copied on paper rolls and worn as charms. Roots of certain trees and plants are also used as amulets, and are worn to give protection from the "evil eye," and against spirits, scorpions, snake bites, etc. The root of the Abû Tamara prevents impotence, and gives success in love-making; small quantities of it are eaten as an aphrodisiac, and are believed to enable the eater to endure hardship and danger.

Certain stones also are worn as amulets. The opalescent stone *al-barad* guards a man's horse from sickness. The turquoise (*al-farûs*) prevents urinary retention. The stone is stirred in water, which is drunk as a medicine. The blood-stone (*al hagar ad-dam*) is worn on the neck, and prevents sunstroke, headache, and bleeding of the nose; a hard green stone, with the same properties, is also worn as an

¹ *Medical Practices and Superstitions amongst the People of Kordofan*, in *Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories*, Khartûm, 1908, p. 282 ff.

² Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II, p. 325.

amulet. The white cat's eye stone (*al hagar al-kurra*) is soaked in sour milk, which is given to a wife of doubtful fidelity by the husband before he leaves her to go on a journey. If she commits adultery there will be no offspring as the result. A stone from the grave of a holy person, if worn as an amulet, is believed to heal wounds, or give health, or give the barren woman a child, or confer personal holiness. Holy graves are greatly revered, and small offerings are made to them; they are also used as places of safe deposit. Petherick says that an "old hag" who brought him some dust from the grave of Abû-Beshr, declared that it would enable him to pass through the Cataract of Wâdî al-Homâr in safety.¹ On another occasion a written prayer was nailed to the yard's end of his boat by Wâd Yûsuf, who was sure that all the previous accidents had happened because of the absence from the boat of such a charm.² In 1905, when Mr. Crowfoot and I were travelling in the Third Cataract, our captain nailed a little bag containing dust from the grave of Shêkh Idrîs at Kubbah Idrîs to the bow of our boat, and we made the journey in safety.

Women wear many amulets, which are suspended from the neck, and hang on a level with the breasts or hips; these, of course, have a bearing on love. Men wear them above the bend of the elbow, or on the wrist, or attached to the rosary. The better class Arab wears them in a line over his left flank, suspended by a silk or leather cord which passes over his right shoulder. The written amulet is often fastened to a limb which is wounded, or round the waist for abdominal troubles, or round the temples for headache and toothache. To increase sexual vigour two are worn at the breasts and two at the hips. Three amulets prevent conception, and three render a person sterile, and in the latter case two are placed under the subject's bed, and another is deposited at night in a neighbouring grave. In child-birth many written amulets are worn by the sufferer. Strips of leather knotted are also worn as amulets, for knots play a prominent part in Kordofan magic as in that

¹ *Travels in Central Africa*, p. 53.

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

of ancient Egypt. When the prayers of the written amulet are not considered to be effective, recourse is had to the magic doctor, who, for a consideration, recites special prayers, and utters formulae of a potent character. Such prayers usually contain a number of names, and words of power, and words which are formed of series of initials of magical names. The latter words are, of course, meaningless, but they are supposed to bring to the sufferer the help of all the spiritual beings from whose names the initial letters have been taken. A similar method was employed by the Gnostics in the second and third centuries of our era, for they made words of the initial letters of the names of the Angels and Powers and other emanations of God, and certain of these words were believed to be all-powerful. When such words and names are written upon paper and burnt, the sick man is thought to derive much benefit from the smoke of the burning paper, which thus takes the place of incense. Sometimes the written paper is steeped in water, which is either drunk by the sick man or poured over him, with salutary effect. The ceremonies which are performed whilst the prayers are being recited are often very old, and it is probable that many of them have been in constant use for centuries. The prayers likewise and the traditional amulets are often very old.

CHAPTER IX.

OSIRIS, THE ANCESTRAL SPIRIT AND GOD.

IF we examine a stele from a tomb of the Ancient Empire, or a "false door" from almost any maṣṭabah tomb, we shall find cut or painted upon it a figure of the person for whom the tomb was made. He is seated on a four-legged African stool, with a table before him, and about this are laid offerings of bread, beer, oil, wine, geese, legs of beef, etc.; sometimes his wife is seated by or opposite to him. When the tomb is a large one a series of supplementary reliefs represent the various members of his family and his slaves bringing offerings to his tomb for the funerary commemorative service which was held daily or at intervals of a few days. The deceased sits in state, and we see him venerated as an ancestor who has attained to the life of the gods; he is, in fact, a divine patron of his family to whom petitions for help can be addressed in time of need. Under the Middle Empire the figure of the deceased was still usually cut upon his sepulchral stele, but under the XIIth dynasty the custom arose of placing other figures in the place of honour on the stele. Thus on Stele No. 181, in the British Museum,¹ which was made for Ānkef, son of Tenāuit, who flourished in the reign of Amen-em-ḥāt III, there appear on the upper part the prenomen of the king, in a cartouche, and figures of the gods Khenti-Amenti, and Ap-uat, one on each side of it. On the upper part of Stele No. 299 is a scene in which Isis and Horus are represented in the act of setting up a pole on which rests the box containing the head of Osiris; behind Horus stands the Cow-goddess Hathor, animal-headed. Behind Isis and behind Hathor are kneeling figures of the deceased, with his hands raised in adoration.² This scene represents the most

¹ Published in the *Guide to the Egyptian Collections*, p. 220.

² *Ibid.*, Plate VI.

important of all the ceremonies which were performed annually in November and December at Abydos, viz., the setting up of the *Ṭeṭ*, or backbone of the god, and the placing of his head upon it. Thus we find a scene connected with the cult of Osiris taking the place of the usual figure of the deceased.

Under the XVIIIth dynasty a further development took place, and a figure of the god Osiris is usually sculptured on the upper portion of the surface of the stele. Lower down a figure of the deceased sometimes appears, but in a subordinate position. The stele in this period has become as much a tablet of honour to Osiris as a monument to the deceased. Sometimes figures of Osiris and the jackal-headed god *Ap-uat* appear on the upper half of the stele, and then two figures of the deceased appear, one adoring Osiris and one adoring *Ap-uat*.¹ On the stele of *Heru* and *Sutui* the gods are Osiris and *Anpu*.² On a great many stelae of this period Osiris occupies the place of honour, and the figure of the deceased is relegated to a corner.³ Under the XIXth dynasty a further development took place. Thus, on Stele No. 498 we see the deceased kneeling with his hands raised in adoration before *Amen-Rā Ka-mut-f*, who has the form of the ithyphallic *Menu*; in the field are two large human ears.⁴ On Stele No. 646 the figure of the deceased adoring the foreign goddess *Āntāt* is at the bottom, and all the upper half is occupied with figures of the goddess *Kent* standing on a lion, and *Menu* and *Reshpu*.⁵ On other stelae we have figures of *Amen-Rā*, *Mut*, and *Khensu*, and groups of gods, and on stelae of a later period are figures of the solar boats.

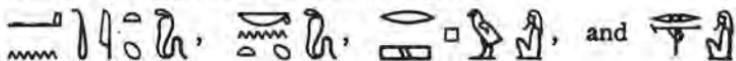
From the above facts it is clear that the figure of Osiris, or Osiris *Khenti-Amenti*, usurped the place

¹ See *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries*, No. 377, p. 110.

² *Ibid.*, No. 475, p. 134.

³ E.g., the Stele of *Thothmes*, No. 460, p. 130.

⁴ *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries*, p. 141.

⁵ 

Ibid., p. 179.

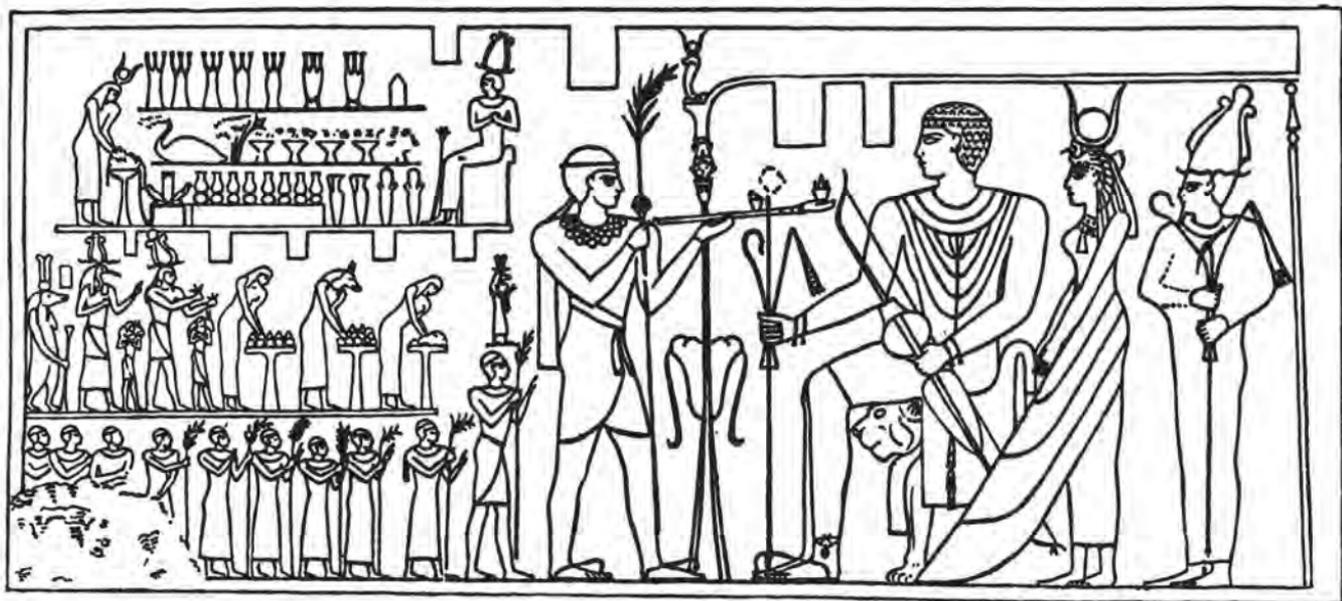
occupied in stelae of the Ancient Empire by the deceased, and it seems to me that this was due to some modification which took place in the cult of Osiris under the Middle Empire, or to some change in the doctrine of his priests. Up to the time when the cult of Osiris spread throughout Egypt, the Egyptians, I believe, worshipped their ancestors, according to the custom of the African in most parts of the Sûdân, then and now. Everything about the figure of Osiris suggests that in one aspect at least he was an ancestor-god, probably at first of a comparatively small community. As the cult of the god spread, town and village communities all over Egypt adopted him as their ancestor-god, *par excellence*, and little by little he became the ancestor-god of the whole country. This, it seems, will account for the appearance of the figure of Osiris on stelae, especially on those which were found at Abydos, the central city of his cult in Upper Egypt. Devotees of other gods caused figures of them to be cut on stelae also, as we have seen above, but Khenti-Amenti, Osiris, and Osiris Khenti-Amenti are certainly the first to appear. The following examples will show how widespread is the cult of ancestors in the Sûdân, and will illustrate the similarity between the figures of ancestral gods and the figure of Osiris.

The Barotse worship chiefly the souls of their ancestors. When any misfortune happens, the witch-doctor divines with knuckle-bones whether the ancestor is displeased, and they go to the grave and offer up sacrifice of grain and honey.¹ "The essence of true Negro religion is ancestor-worship, a belief in the "ghosts of the departed."² The Shilluks were in the habit of selecting a particular hero from among the dead, and they constituted him the ancestor of their tribe; when they needed rain or a good harvest they called upon him by name to provide it. They believe that the dead exist invisibly among the living, and they fear their anger and hatred. In many cases such ancestors attain to the position of gods, and in olden days the custom of sacrificing human beings to them was widespread.³

¹ Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 74.

² Johnston, *Liberia*, Vol. II, p. 1062.

³ Frobenius, *Heiden-Neger*, p. 327.



ANCESTOR WORSHIP IN THE SÔDÂN.

A prince offering incense to his father, who is seated within a shrine, holding his bow and spear in the right hand, and sceptre, mace and whip in the left. Osiris and Isis stand behind the seated king.

From a bas-relief in a pyramid chapel at Gebel Barkal.

In the middle of what seemed to be the principal street of Usimbi was a rude wooden figure of a bearded man, under a small conical-shaped roof, which was supported by nine ivory tusks, raised upon a platform of tamped clay, and carefully swept, showing that great care was bestowed upon it. Near the Aruwimi river was a large circular roof supported by thirty-three tusks of ivory, erected over a figure four feet high, painted with camwood dye a bright vermilion, with black eyes and beard and hair. The figure was very rude, still it was an unmistakable likeness of a man.¹

The Lendu have no very clearly marked religion, though they have a distinct ancestor-worship, and are accustomed to remember the dead by placing roughly carved wooden dolls, which are supposed to represent the deceased person, in the abandoned hut where the dead lie buried.² A vague ancestor-worship exists among all the Bantu tribes, and they appear to have no actual religion, or belief in gods, as apart from ghosts and ancestral influences.³ The Rev. A. B. Fisher says that among the Bantus the husband of the woman who has borne him a child brings his friends to help him to inspect the child three or four days after its birth. He then makes a present of bark-cloth to his wife, and that same night the child is presented with great solemnity to the Bachwezi, or ancestral spirits. The priest who understands the cult of these comes and prays aloud and intones songs or hymns to them, asking that the child may have long life, riches, no illness, and, above all, that it may be a faithful believer in the tribal and ancestral spirits. He accompanies each special request by spitting on the child's body and pinching it all over. The priest receives 108 kauri shells for his trouble, nine for each of the child's arms, and ninety for his whole body.⁴ The greatest of the gods of Uganda was Mukasa, who seems to have been originally an ancestral spirit, and whose place of origin and principal temple were on the biggest of the Sese Islands. Later he became the Neptune of

¹ Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. II, pp. 260, 272.

² Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 555.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 578.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 587.

Uganda, and the god of Lake Victoria.¹ The northern Kavirondo propitiate ancestral spirits, but worship two gods also, Awafwa, the chief of good spirits, and Ishishemi, a fiend. The Bantu Kavirondo set stones in the ground near their houses, and at intervals kill a goat, and pour out libations of goat's blood over these stones to the memory of the spirits of their ancestors. Some people also cut a small door at the back of their own dwelling with the idea that in some way it assists the passage in and out of the good ancestral spirits.²

In the country of Mambwe the people believe in a Supreme Being of a vague character, called Lesa, who has good and evil passions; but here, as everywhere else, the "Musimo," or spirits of the ancestors, are a leading feature in the beliefs. They are propitiated here as elsewhere by placing little heaps of stones about their favourite haunts.³ Dr. Nassau states on the authority of Wilson that the people of Loango are more addicted to idol worship than any other people on the whole coast. They have a great many carved images which they set up in their fetish houses and in their private dwellings, and which they worship; but whether these images represent their forefathers, as is the case amongst the Mpongwe (at Gabun), is not known.⁴ The religion of the Wanyamwezi is founded mainly on the worship and cult of spirits called "Musimo." Their ceremonies have but one object, the conciliation or propitiation of these spirits. They have no idea of one supreme power or God, personal or impersonal, governing the world and directing its destinies or those of individuals. They believe in the earthly visitation of spirits, especially to announce some great event, and more generally some big disaster . . . The dead in their turn become spirits, under the all-embracing name of Musimo. The Wanyamwezi hold these Musimo in great dread and veneration, as well as the houses, huts, or places where their bodies died. Every chief has near his hut a Musimo hut, in which the dead are supposed to dwell, and where

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 677.

² *Ibid.*, p. 752.

³ Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 293.

⁴ Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 49.

sacrifices and offerings must be made. Meat and flour are deposited in the Musimo huts, and are not, as with many other peoples, consumed afterwards. The common people have also their Musimo huts.¹ The Mfumu, or witch-doctor, obtains oracles from the spirits in this wise. He comes with his gourds full of "medicine," an instrument which opens and shuts like a concertina, and some tails of animals mounted on a stick. He kneels and prays to the spirits, bowing and bending to the ground from time to time. Next he rises and sings a hymn to the ancestors, and all the people about him join in the chorus. Then seizing his little gourds of medicine, he executes a *pas seul*, after which he begins to sing like one inspired. Suddenly he stops and recovers himself; except when chanting the spectators maintain a profound silence. After a brief interval of silence he proclaims the message from the spirits in mournful tones and with a dreary manner. The party then breaks up, and the proceedings end with a noisy dance. The hunter who succeeds in killing big game places the head of the beast he has killed before the hut, and inside it a little of the flesh. Mr. Declé adds: "This is a most remarkable fact, as I have never found in any other part of [savage] Africa the idea of a superior being whose help might be invoked."²

The Wanika of Rabbai Mpia ascribe a higher nature and power to the Koma, the spirit, or spirits, or shades, of the dead, but they have no image of them. The Koma, they say, is at one time in the grave, then above the earth, or in thunder or in lightning. It cannot, however, be seen, although it receives the gifts which are offered to it, and is appeased by them and rendered friendly to the living. The chief resting-place of the Koma is in or about the Kaya, the central point or chief town of the tribe, where a hut is erected for its habitation. As the Koma dwells by preference at the Kaya, the people often bring their dead from a great distance thither; and even disinter them in distant localities, and transport them to the graveyard at the Kaya, for reinterment, thinking that they find there greater repose.³ The

¹ Declé, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

² *Three Years in Savage Africa*, pp. 343-346.

³ Krapf, *Travels and Missionary Labours*, p. 176.

Jagga, too, pray to the souls of the dead, which they call Warumu ; but instead of rice and palm-wine, like the Wanika, they place milk on the graves.¹

Du Chaillu saw the five most powerful "idols" on all the coast from Bansko to Mayombai ; they were placed in three little houses near the house of the king, who honoured them, and whom they protected. These "idols" were, of course, figures in which ancestral spirits had been induced to take up their abode. Pangeo (male) and Aleka (female) were in one house ; Makambi (male) and Abiala (female) were in the second house ; and Numba was in the third house.² Du Chaillu found that each head-man or chief of each family possessed a figure in which dwelt the ancestor spirit that was worshipped by that family. King Glass had one which was several generations old. Damagondai's figure was a female, with copper eyes, and a tongue made of a sharp piece of iron. She was dressed in Shekiani cloth. She cut to pieces those who offended her, she was said to speak, walk, and foretell events, and to come to people by night and tell them about the future. The family worshipped her by dancing round her, and singing her praises, and when they made petitions to her they offered her sugarcane.³ The ancestral-spirit figure of Npopo was a piece of ebony two feet high, with a man's face, with the nose and eyes of copper, and the body was covered with grass.⁴ The ancestral-spirit figure of the clan to which Mbango belonged was a female, made of wood, nearly life-size, and with cloven feet. Her eyes were of copper, and one cheek was painted red and the other yellow. About her neck was a necklace of tigers' teeth. She was said to talk and to nod her head, and was very highly venerated by the people.⁵ The large ancestral-spirit figure of a tribe or clan is kept in a house specially built, and to it come all its worshippers when they are about to hunt or make any important expedition. They present food to it, and then invoke its protection by dancing and singing

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

² Du Chaillu, *Adventures*, p. 148.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

before it. Such figures are handed down from generation to generation and are much feared. They are believed to speak, walk about, and to eat and drink, in short to perform all, or nearly all, the functions of a man. It is remarkable that in many places such figures have no priests.¹

The New Calabar people make images, called "Duen-fubara," of chiefs and men of importance, and perform very remarkable ceremonies in connection with them. The Duen-fubara image represents the head and shoulders of the deceased, and is carved in wood and painted. It is placed with images of two kinsfolk, sons or near relations of the deceased, on a wooden pedestal, which is placed in a recess. In front of the pedestal are made three mud altars, with a hole in each, wherein are thrown the offerings which the spirits eat and drink. On the eighth day after the installation of the figure, a great festival is made, and the son or successor of the deceased personally kills the goats and fowls, and throws or sprinkles the blood of each on the figure as he cuts each creature's throat. The sons of the deceased then go to the house in which the image has been deposited temporarily, and engage in a mimic fight with the men thereof, who attempt to keep possession of the figure. At length the blood-stained and consecrated image is permitted to be removed by the sons of the deceased, and a procession having been formed it is carried to the house which has been prepared for it, and placed in the hall or outer room. A watchman is appointed to take charge of it, and sweep and clean the house. The object of this ceremony is to secure the passage of the soul from the land of death to the land of the spirits, and to consecrate the released and sanctified spirit in his new position as spirit-father and mediator of the household, a position which entitles him to a daily adoration and a still more important weekly worship, accompanied by sacrifice.²

Major A. G. Leonard in his "Preliminary Survey" says that the entire basis of the whole natural conception of life, *i.e.*, of religion and philosophy, of the natives

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

² Leonard, *The Lower Niger*, p. 164.

of Southern Nigeria is one of personal precedents and associations that are connected together in one long chain or existence of human generations, the links in which are purely and entirely ancestral.¹ Ancestral worship, or veneration of their fathers, was, he thinks, as natural to them as eating, drinking, etc., and it is quite evident that this primeval adoration of the father in the flesh, combining, as was subsequently the case, with a belief in the existence of the soul or spirit, developed first into the worship of the father in the spirit, and later on into that of certain deified ancestors. The patriarch became first the spirit-father, and then the ancestral deity, and thus in time a worship grew up around these shadow spirits, who exercised authority over their families, for good or for evil.² In the Warua villages a prominent feature are the numerous carved spirit figures which are set in small penthouses.³ At Cabango a spirit figure, "consisting chiefly of feathers and beads," is paraded at a funeral.⁴ The spirits of departed ancestors are all good, according to the ideas of the men of Tette, and on special occasions aid them in their enterprises.⁵

Among the Tshi-speaking peoples ancestor-worship prevails to a certain extent, and the assistance of deceased rulers is occasionally invoked. These *asrahmanfo*, or souls, still retain a certain amount of interest in the welfare of the tribe to which they belonged in life; and, when appealed to, they exercise such power as they possess for its protection. These souls are the "guardians of the tribe," and an eight-day festival is celebrated in August in their honour.⁶

According to Livingstone a "sort of idol" (*i.e.*, an ancestral-spirit figure) is found in every village in this part (Ujiji), and is made of wood with the features, markings, and fashion of the hair of the inhabitants; some have little huts built for them, others are in common houses. The Babemba call them "Nkisi"

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 99, 106.

³ Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes*, Vol. II, p. 153.

⁴ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 456.

⁵ Livingstone, *The Zambesi*, p. 46.

⁶ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 167.

("Saucan" of the Arabs), and they present pombe, flour, bhang, tobacco, and light a fire for them to smoke by. They represent the departed father or mother, and it is supposed that they are pleased with the offerings made to their representatives, but all deny that they pray to them. Casembe has very many of these Nkisi; one with long hair, named Motombo, is carried in front when he takes the field; names of dead chiefs are sometimes given to them.¹

The natives of Equatorial Africa worship also the spirits of their ancestors, a worship for which their minds are prepared by the veneration which they pay to old age. Young men never enter the presence of an aged person without curtsying, and passing in a stooping attitude, as if they were going under a low door. When seated in his presence, it is always at a humble distance. If they hand him a lighted pipe or a mug of water, they fall on one knee. The worship of their spirits follows the veneration of their relatives naturally enough. They believe that the shades of their ancestors exercise a beneficent influence over their lives and fortunes. They will send messages to their relatives by those who are dying. In times of peril or distress one may witness a very touching sight among these people. They will assemble in clans on the brink of some mountain brow or on the skirt of a dense forest, and, extending their arms to the sky, while the women are wailing and the very children weep, they will cry [for help] to the spirits of those who have passed away.²

The following is stated by Winwood Reade on the authority of one Mongilomba: When a dead person is tired of staying in the bush, his *obambo*, or ghost, will go to one of his former friends and say: I am tired of staying in the bush, please to build a little house for me in the town close to your house, and let there be singing and dancing. The next day the living man and his friends go to the grave of the ghost, and make a rude figure. They set it on the wooden frame on which the body was taken to the grave, and taking some of the grave dust they carry both figure and dust to a little

¹ *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 353.

² Winwood Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 247 (Edit. 1864, p. 209).

hut which they build near the house of the friend of the ghost, and having placed them inside it they cover the door with a white cloth. They sing and dance whilst this ceremony is going on, and in the address which they make to the figure, or rather to the spirit in it, they say: "You are well dressed, but you have no canoe to go over to the other side." The reference to the canoe is very interesting, for under the Ancient Empire the Egyptians believed that the souls of the dead were ferried over a large stream or river by a ferryman called

Her-f-ḥa-f , i.e., "he whose face is behind him." We have a picture of this divine ferryman

in the Papyrus of Ani,² and his face is literally turned behind him, the idea being, no doubt, that no unauthorized soul should be able to jump on to the end of the boat without the ferryman's knowledge whilst he was pushing off.

Finally, we may compare the "spirit-houses" of the kings of Dahomey with the building in which the god Osiris sits and which is usually called his shrine. The spirit-house of Tegbwesun was an oblong shed, the roof being supported on three sides by swish (mud) walls coloured red, white, and green. On the red stripe to the right there was a white globe, the sun, and on the left a crescent, the moon. The eaves were supported by tree logs, not very straight, and a little raised earthen step ran before the entrance. Within were the cloths which covered the fetish iron of Tegbwesun's spirit, with its custodians who beat off the devil with their besoms. In front of the house was a circular patch of chalked earth, in the centre of which an umbrella was stuck. On the left a circle of twenty-two skulls enclosed a similar whitened circle, with a single skull in the middle.

Three mud pillars supported the roof of the spirit-house of Mpengula, the end ones being whitewashed and decorated with blue horizontal lines upon their front. The centre ones, which were rudely fashioned into columns with capital and plinth, were also whitewashed

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

² Plate XVII.

and ornamented with squares, diamonds, triangles, and other figures in blue, scarlet, and black distemper. The front of the raised floor was covered with white sand, and within the usual spirit-guardians surrounded the cloth-covered Asen (calapash).¹

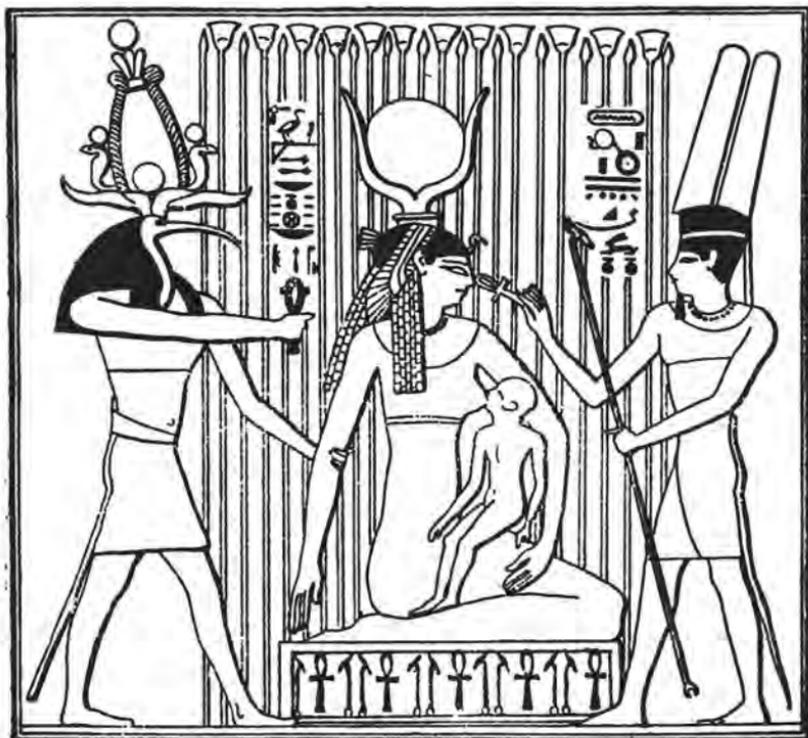
The facts quoted above seem to me to prove beyond all doubt that the Egyptians, like so many modern African peoples, worshipped the spirits of their ancestors, and that early in the Dynastic Period Osiris became the great ancestor of all Egypt, and was worshipped as such. The cult of the ancestor-spirit is common all over Africa, and its existence seems not to be incompatible with a belief in God, the Creator of the World and all in it. The Egyptians in very early times believed in the "Great God," , and at the same time worshipped

Osiris, whom they felt to be more sympathetic and more approachable by man than the Creator, Whom they regarded as remote from them and unknowable. The humanity of Osiris and the incidents of his life when upon earth, to say nothing of his murder, caused men to attach themselves to his cult and to worship him, and he became a father to them as well as a god. The thousands of figures of Osiris which have been found in Egypt are nothing more or less than figures of the great ancestor of the Egyptians, to whom men and women turned in times of difficulty and distress. Figures of the god were kept in houses, where honours were paid to them, they were placed in the tombs to keep away evil spirits, and they were laid among the wrappings of mummies to protect the body from all disaster and evil. The figure of Osiris brought with it the help, protection, and support of the Father-god, and it was to the Egyptian exactly what the ancestral-spirit figure is to the African to-day. There are in the British Museum no less than 300 figures of Osiris, little and big, made of bronze, wood, porcelain, and other materials; of no other god do there exist so many figures. The Egyptians were, even in theological matters, a very practical people, and unless these figures were believed to be of special importance for their physical and spiritual

¹ Skertchley, *Dahomey as It is*, pp. 404, 407.

well-being they would not have made them. Figures of Isis suckling Horus also exist in very large numbers, but this is not to be wondered at, seeing that she was the wife of Osiris, and if Osiris was the great father ancestor, she was, of necessity, the great mother ancestress.

The legends which exist in Egyptian texts tell us how the goddess, after she had conceived Horus, retired to the



The birth of Horus in the papyrus swamps.

swamps of the Delta, and how, being quite alone there, she brought him forth. In this, as in many other respects, tradition regarded Isis as an African woman, and preferably a woman from the Sûdân, for she brought forth her son as Sûdânt women bring forth their children. Piaggia says that the woman who is about to bring forth retires to the bush and is delivered there; sometimes she has an attendant, and sometimes she is quite alone. The husband and the witch-doctor stand in the hut waiting to learn if parturition has been successful. If

successful the husband takes the wife back to the hut, and if she dies he leaves her there.¹ Mr. Hattersley also says that in Uganda children are born in the open air.² Sir H. Johnston says that among the Lendu women parturition takes place in a hut, to which, however, the husband may go, and the witch-doctor also if it be necessary. If there be difficulty in parturition, the witch-doctor makes a sacrifice of fowls and anoints the



Nekhebit and Hu presenting life and sovereignty to the son of Isis.

woman's forehead with the blood.³ The pygmy women generally bring forth their children in the forest, severing the navel string with their teeth, and burying the placenta in the ground.⁴

In the scene on p. 301, which is taken from a bas-relief at Philae, we have an attempt made to represent the parturition of Isis. The goddess is seated suckling her child Horus; round her are the lotus plants, which represent the "bush" into which the modern African woman retires when labour approaches. On one side

of her stands Amen-Rā, who assumes the paternity of the child and presents "life" to the face of Isis; on the other stands Thoth, who takes the place of the modern witch-doctor, grasping her right arm, and presenting to her "the protection of magic." The goddesses, standing one on each side, are Nekhebit and

¹ Mentre infatti la donna si reca colla sua compagne sul più vicino bosco onde deporre in mezzo alla erbe il proprio feto, il marito se ne sta nella capanna in consulta col profeta per sapere se o no il parto sarà felice.—Piaggia, *Viaggi nell'Africa Centrale*, p. 130.

² *The Baganda at Home*, p. 112.

³ *Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 553.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 539.

Uatchit, and they present to the child the symbols of life, stability, serenity, long life, and the sovereignty of the Two Lands, *i.e.*, all Egypt. From the fact that Amen-Rā and Thoth are present, these gods representing the husband and witch-doctor of modern days, we may assume that Isis suffered greatly, and that her



Uatchit and Sa presenting life and sovereignty to the son of Isis.

labour was "difficult." This assumption is supported by the description of the birth of Horus, given by Isis in her narrative on the Metternich Stele, in which her agony is insisted upon, as well as her loneliness. What objects the signs ☉ and ♀ , which are in the hands of the gods, really represent is unknown, but I believe that the former was a "fetish," in which a spirit dwelt, and that the latter represented blood, which all over

Africa is thought to be "life." It is difficult not to think that these signs represent some internal organs of the body of Isis. The object on which Isis is seated suggests that during labour she sat on a stool,¹ as women do in West Africa, and did not kneel as do pygmy and Lendu women.²

¹ Winwood Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 45.

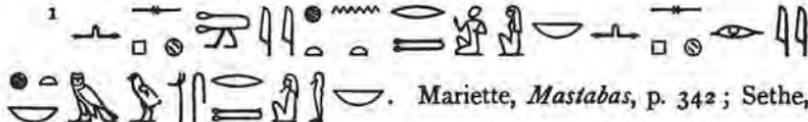
² Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 553.

CHAPTER X.

OSIRIS AS JUDGE OF THE DEAD.

WE have already seen that, under the Ancient Empire, the god Osiris, the god who died, and who subsequently, because he rose from the dead, became the god of the dead, held his exalted position in the minds of the Egyptians because he was the great prototype and symbol of all dead men. Every man hoped to rise from the dead and to enjoy immortal life, because Osiris rose from the dead and enjoyed immortal life, which he had the power to bestow upon his followers. When these ideas were first developed, men believed greatly in magic, and they thought that it was only necessary to do for the dead man what Horus had done for Osiris in order to obtain his resurrection. The ceremonies which Horus performed on the body of Osiris, Anubis, the prototype of embalmers, helping him, and the formulæ which Thoth recited during their performance, would, it was thought, if repeated, be followed by the same result as in the case of Osiris. Now, it was manifest to all that not every man was fit to be raised from the dead to life immortal, and at a very early period men felt that good and evil deeds of men ought to be taken into account somewhere by someone who had power to punish the wicked and to reward the just.

The views which the Egyptians held as to the qualifications which a man should possess before he ought to entertain the hope of immortality are well illustrated by the following: The judge, Hetep-her-khut, who lived under the Vth dynasty, says: "I never took away any-thing by force from any man, I never did an act of oppression to any man,¹ [because] God loveth the thing

¹ . Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 342; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, p. 50.

“ what was good. No man feared the man who was stronger than he, making a remonstrance because of it to God. I speak no lie concerning this. Moreover, I was beloved by my father, praised by my mother, well-disposed towards my brother, sweet-tempered with my sister. I possessed a perfect spirit.” Here we have a man who was chief of his nome, who fed the hungry, who clothed the naked, who wronged no maid, who fed the animals and birds sacred to the gods, who filched no man’s goods, who protected the poor and weak, who lived on affectionate terms with the members of his family, and who was gracious to the aged. He strove to rule his nome in such a way as to incur no displeasure either from the “god of the city” or from God, and because he feared the god of the city and God he ruled justly. The inscription says also that he was overseer of the “grain of the South” in his nome, and it seems from the remarks which follow this statement that in his administration of this food supply he took care of the woman and the child. Such a man deserved “burial,” and few in his nome would begrudge him his tomb.

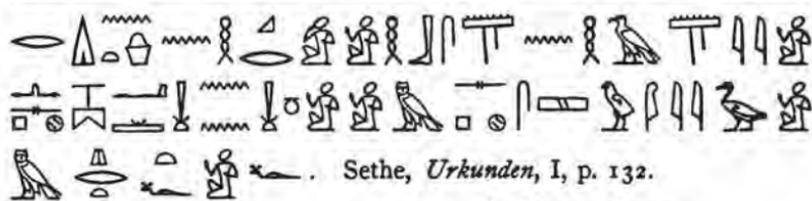
In the two texts quoted above, the idea that Hetep-her-Khut and Henqu ruled justly because they feared God is implied rather than definitely stated. In the following case the writer of the text makes very clear the motive of his benevolence and charitable works. He says : “ I was one who spake good things, and reported things which were fair. I never spake evil of any kind to a man of power causing him to act against any man, because I wished that I might obtain favour before the Great God. I gave bread to the hungry man [and] clothes to the naked man. I never gave a verdict in a case between two brothers, with the result that a son was dispossessed of his paternal inheritance. I was loved by my father, praised by my mother, and beloved by my brothers and sisters.”² The official Aba says : “ I

¹ Sethe, *Urkunden*, pp. 76-79.



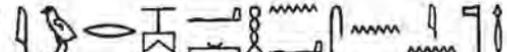
“ was beloved by my father, praised by my mother, loyal before the king, loyal before the god of the city.”¹ The priest Aṯu records in his tomb that he settled a field upon his “beloved wife Tāsnek,” and says that if anyone steals it from her he shall be [cursed] by the “Great God, the Lord of Heaven.”² A little lower down he says: “If any man shall steal this field from me the Great God shall judge them.”³

The above extracts from texts, all of which were written before the close of the VIth dynasty, prove beyond all doubt that the Egyptians believed that men who did what was right would find favour both with the “god of the city,” and “God” or “the Great God,” or “the Great God Lord of heaven,” and that those who did evil would be cursed by the Great God, who would enter into judgment with them, and condemn them. Now in the pyramid text of Pepi I we read: “Pepi comes to thee, Osiris, thou givest him life and serenity; Pepi comes to thee, O lord of heaven.”⁴ Thus we see that in the VIth dynasty Osiris was called the “lord of heaven.” In the inscription of Kaā Osiris is called “great god, lord of weighing of words” (*i.e.*, judge),⁵ and in the text of Sabu Osiris is called “great god, lord of *Maāt*.”⁶ Putting these statements together we see that Osiris was the “great god, the lord of heaven, the judge, and the lord of *Maāt*.”⁷ By “lord of *Maāt*” is meant



¹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

² 

³ . *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 117.

⁴ Line 188.

⁵ . Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 230.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 375.

⁷ 



Osiris in his closed shrine, accompanied by Isis and his four grandsons.

From the Papyrus of Ani.

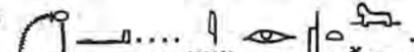
They also ordered that Osiris was to take his seat on the chief throne in heaven, and, all the gods of the west, east, south, and north assisting him,¹ Osiris ascended into heaven, and was ever after the god and judge of the dead.

If we consider the facts stated above it becomes clear that the original conception of Osiris by the Egyptians developed considerably before the close of the VIth dynasty, and that from being the great ancestor god of a particular town or region, he had become the god and judge of all the dead of Egypt. As an ancestor god his power was very great, but as the judge of human conduct and morals it was practically illimitable. He rose from the dead by the help of Horus and Thoth, but he obtained the right to rule over the kingdom of heaven by virtue of his innocence and freedom from the defects of sinful human nature. The gods carefully scrutinized the charges which Set brought against him in his endeavour to prove that Osiris deserved the death of his body which was due to Set, and they decided that Osiris was innocent. They held, in fact, that an innocent being had been slain by the malefactor Set, who had made infamous accusations against him in order to hide his own guilt, and that he who had reigned blamelessly, and had lived a good and pure life on earth, had fallen a victim to evil and wickedness. Osiris suffered death because he was righteous, and because he had done good to all men. Osiris, being the son of a god, knew well the wickedness which was in Set, and the hatred which the personification of evil and his fiends bore to him, yet he did not seek to evade his murderous attack, but willingly met his death. There is nothing in the texts which justifies the assumption that Osiris knew that he would rise from the dead, and that he would become the king and judge of the dead, or that the Egyptians believed that Osiris died on their behalf and rose again in order that they also might rise from the dead. But from first to last the resurrection of Osiris is the great and distinguishing feature of the Egyptian religion, for Osiris was the firstfruits of the dead, and every worshipper of

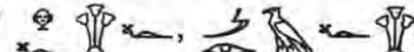
¹ *Ibid.*, l. 572.

Osiris based his own hope of resurrection and immortality upon the fundamental fact of the resurrection of Osiris. It may be urged that, as the reconstitution of the body of Osiris was in primitive times effected by means of the magical ceremonies performed by Horus and the recital of the words of power by Thoth, who had himself composed them, it was only necessary to repeat these to arrive at the reconstitution of any person, and that the intervention of Osiris was, therefore, unnecessary, and that his assistance was not required. That the Egyptians themselves held this view at one time is very probable, but that time must have been exceedingly remote, certainly long before the VIth dynasty. It was one thing to reconstitute the body, but it was quite another thing to obtain for the spiritual body of the dead man admission into the kingdom of Osiris and life among the gods. Osiris only obtained the sovereignty of heaven and life among the gods because of his innocence of evil and his surpassing merit, and he who wished to enter that heaven must be innocent, just, and righteous. He must have done as Osiris did, "set right in the place of wrong,"¹ so far as the power in him lay, and his hand must have been purified by the "Maker of his seat" (*ari-ast-f*), *i.e.*, by Osiris.² A man must have lived in such a way that it could be said of him as was said of Osiris, "he hath done no evil,"³ before he can enter the heaven of Osiris. In very early times the Egyptians believed that the dead were ferried over a stream or river to the Island of Osiris, by a ferryman called *Her-f-ḥa-f* and *Maa-f-ḥa-f*.⁴ This ferryman, however, would only ferry over the man who was innocent, or just, before heaven, and before earth, and before the

¹  . Unás, l. 394.

²  . Unás, l. 393.

³  . Pepi I, l. 455.

⁴  . Unás, l. 489.

them with strict justice they must be condemned in the judgment, and that they could not be pronounced guiltless by the god unless he used his prerogative of mercy, and accepted such righteous intentions as they possessed, and their good works in respect of the obligations of the Law in full settlement of his claims upon them. They might fulfil the commandments of the Law, but it was only the mercy of Osiris which permitted them to enter his kingdom and to enjoy everlasting life. Osiris was not only a just judge, but he was also a merciful judge. His loyal followers placed their highest hopes in his mercy, for he had lived among men upon earth, had possessed a human nature like theirs, and understood all their weakness and strength, and could therefore make allowances for their sins and defects; finally he had suffered and died as men suffer and die. Though he had lived in the body of a man he lived sinlessly, and when he was judged by the whole company of the "gods" he was pronounced sinless. Those who wished to live with him in heaven were obliged to be sinless, and a measure of righteousness which had been accepted by the mercy of Osiris as complete was the only passport to his kingdom.

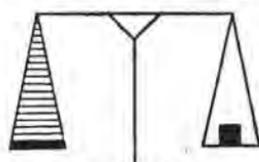
The conception of the judgment of Osiris is very, very old, but no representation of it older than the XVIIIth dynasty is extant. The Hall in which the judgment took place was, according to the Papyrus of Nebseni (Sheet 30), a long chamber which was called the "Hall of the Two Maāt Goddesses,"¹ *i.e.*, of the Two Goddesses of Truth, one goddess presiding over Upper, and the other over Lower, Egypt. They are also called the "Two Daughters Merti of the Lord of the city of Maāti,"² or the "Two daughters Merti, Eyes of Maāt (Truth)."³ The door of the Hall was called "Khersek-Shu," and the

¹ or .
or .

² . Papyrus of Nu.

³ . Papyrus of Nebseni.

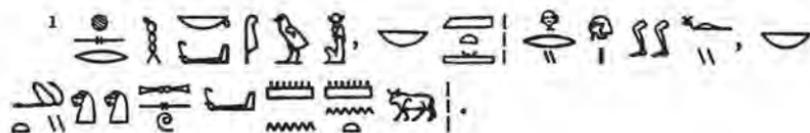
upper leaf of the door "Neb-Maât-heri-reui-f," and the lower leaf "Neb-pehti-thes-menmenet."¹ The Hall is, in fact, in the form of an elongated funerary coffer. Above the palm-leaf cornice is a frieze, and in the centre of this is the figure of a seated god with his hands extended over two pools (?), each of which contains an eye of Horus. These pools may have some connection with the two pools called "Millions of Years" and "Great Green Lake," which are mentioned in the XVIIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead (ll. 45, 46). On each side of this figure are :—1. An ape seated before a pair of scales. 2. Thirteen feathers of Maât β , and thirteen uraei U , arranged alternately. 3. An ape seated before a pair of scales. The form of the scales is unusual. A forked upright supports a beam. At one end are attached two cords which hold the pan of the scales wherein is a square weight, and from the other hang two cords, which seem to be connected by cross cords or bars. What these signify or



The Scales of Maât
(Truth).

how these were used is not known. The ape represents Thoth, the inventor of numbers, and computer of time, and secretary of Osiris. By the side of one of the folding doors are seated the two Maât Goddesses, each holding the sceptre of "serenity" in her right hand, and "life" in her left. On the head and sceptre of each is the feather β , symbolic of "truth."

Across the Hall is a row of mummied human forms, each wearing the feather of "truth" on his head. These represent a series of two-and-forty gods or spirits, whom the man to be judged is supposed to address individually by name, and to declare that he has not committed such and such a sin. It is possible that in the period anterior to the XVIIIth dynasty



these gods were not addressed by the deceased, who, it seems, made his statement to Osiris, or Thoth, direct; for what they have to do with the judgment of Osiris or how they came to be associated with him as judge is not clear. On the other hand, they may, of course, represent a series of deified ancestral spirits who were addressed individually by the dead in very primitive times, and, if so, the statement made by the deceased, which includes their names, is older than that in which their names do not appear. We have already seen that the cult of Osiris took the place, little by little, of the cult of ancestors, and it is very probable that, when Osiris became the final god and judge of the dead, the deceased made his statement to him and also to the two-and-forty gods. Be this as it may, the two oldest XVIIIth dynasty copies of the Book of the Dead, viz., the Papyrus of Nebseni and the Papyrus of Nu, give the statement in two forms, one with the names of the two-and-forty gods and the other without. According to the information given to us by the latter form, the two-and-forty gods were beings "who made prisoners" of the wicked and devoured their blood on the day "when the characters of men were investigated¹ in the "presence of Unen-nefer" (*i.e.*, Osiris). The wicked were, of course, those who were condemned in the judgment of Osiris, and who were, in consequence, the enemies of these gods of punishment. The devouring of their blood is in agreement with the common and almost universal African custom of eating the bodies of dead enemies, and suggests that the conception of the existence of gods with cannibal tastes dates from primitive and pre-Osirian times. In this as in many other things, the inherent conservatism of the Egyptians caused them to retain the names of the two-and-forty gods in their religious works, long after all belief in their existence had disappeared from their minds.

Now, the vignette in the Papyrus of Nebseni, which represents the Judgment Hall of Osiris, gives us no idea

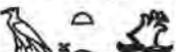


of what was supposed to take place in it when the deceased was judged there beyond the fact that he made forty-two negative statements before forty-two gods, in the presence of the Maāti Goddesses and, presumably, of Osiris also. According to African custom we expect that the trial of the deceased followed his declarations that he had not committed such and such sins, just as at the present time when a man is about to undergo the ordeal of the "red-water" in West Africa, he makes a series of declarations of his innocence of certain crimes and offences, and then drinks the "red-water" which the magic-doctor gives him. The ordeal which the Egyptian went through was the weighing of his heart before Osiris. This is proved by the vignettes of the Judgment Scene in the papyri of the latter half of the XVIIIth and those of the XIXth dynasty. In the Papyrus of Nebseni in connection with Chapter XXXIX_B we have this scene represented. Here we see the scribe seated in one pan of the scales, and the weight, which is in the form of a heart, resting in the other. The weighing is carried out by Thoth, "the lord of the Scales," in the presence of Osiris. In the *Papyrus of Juân* (Plate XXII) the heart of the deceased is being weighed against a weight in the presence of Thoth, in the form of a dog-headed ape, of Maāt, the daughter of Rā, and of Osiris. In the Papyrus of Ani the vignettes which appear inside the Hall of Maāti show us what was supposed to take place there when the deceased entered it to be judged. In the first are the Maāti Goddesses, as in the Papyrus of Nebseni. In the second the deceased is seen making offerings to and adoring Osiris. In the third Anubis is weighing the heart against the feather of "truth," and the composite monster Ām-mit stands by the scales ready to devour it if it be found light. In the fourth the god Thoth is seated and is painting a feather of Maāt (or "truth").

In the Papyrus of Ani, and in other finely painted papyri of a later date, we find that the small vignette has developed into a large Judgment Scene, the chief characteristics of which may be now described. Along the upper side of the scene, which is intended to represent the side of the Hall, is a row of gods who, in

the Papyrus of Ani, are Rā-Harmakhis and Temu, Shu and Tefnut, Ḳeb and Nut, Isis and Nephthys, Horus, Hathor, Ḥu, and Sa. All the members of the Company of Gods who are usually associated with Osiris are enumerated except Anubis, who stands in another part of the Hall and takes an active part in weighing the heart of the deceased. To this Company are added Rā-Harmakhis, Horus, Hathor, Ḥu, and Sa. In the Papyrus of Hunefer we have Rā, Temu, Shu, Tefnut, Ḳeb, Nut, Horus, Isis, Nephthys, Ḥu, Sa, Uat-resu, Uat-meḥt, and Uat-Āmenti; Uat-Ābti has been inadvertently omitted. The names Uat-resu, Uat-meḥt, and Uat-Āmenti mean "Road of the South," "Road of the North," and "Road of the West" respectively, and it is interesting to note that personifications of the roads to the Hall are included among the gods who sit in judgment on the deceased, who was obliged to prove himself innocent before the roads, just as at an earlier period he was obliged to prove himself innocent before the Island of the Blessed itself. In the Papyrus of Anhai two Companies of Gods are represented: (1) the Great Company of the Gods, the Lords of Khert-neter; and (2) the Little Company of the Gods, the Lords of Āmenti. In each case the gods represent, presumably, the group of gods who sat in judgment when Osiris was being tried in the Great Hall of Heliopolis. Among them are the grandparents, parents, sisters, and son of Osiris, and Set, his brother and murderer, is represented by his son Anubis, the nephew of Osiris.

At one end of the Hall, seated within a shrine, is the god Osiris, whose body is held up, or embraced, by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys. Thus these goddesses are shown twice in the Judgment, once among the gods who sit in judgment, and once here. The shrine is in the form of a funeral chest, the front side of which is removed so that the god, who is drawn in profile, may be seen. The roof or cover of the shrine is rounded, and upon it rests a hawk, with outspread wings; the head of the bird is clearly drawn, and on each side of it are six uraei. The cornice of the roof is ornamented with a row of uraei, each of which wears a disk; it is supported in front by two lotus pillars, with highly decorated

capitals. The whole shrine rests upon a low pylon-shaped building with a palm-leaf cornice, and is reached by means of a short staircase, with a rectangular pillar on each side at the foot. The top of the low building was probably covered with a layer of sand before the shrine was placed upon it, or perhaps with a new grass mat. Osiris is seated upon a throne or chair, the side of which has doors with bolts, similar to those of a sepulchral shrine or coffer. This throne, as we shall see later, probably contained portions of the god's body, and was therefore made in the form of a funerary chest. Osiris wears the White Crown, to which are attached two feathers , one on each side. The White Crown was originally the crown of the god Khenti Amenti, and when it was adopted as the head-covering of Osiris the two feathers were added to it to indicate Truth, which was his chief characteristic. It is possible that two feathers were placed on the ancestral figures with which Osiris was identified at a later period, and that they were merely transferred to the crown of Khenti Amenti when Osiris was identified with him. What the original crown was made of cannot be said, but it was probably woven basketwork or white skin. The Bayanzi chiefs used to wear tall hats made of basketwork, and the Imbangala of the Middle Kwango used to wear striking head-dresses made of black and white Colobus monkey skin, as did also the Lomami, Lulongo-Maringo, Bangala, and Northern Ngombe.¹ Another crown often worn by Osiris in the Judgment scene is the "Atef," , which is the ordinary crown of the god with the addition of a pair of horns. This calls to mind the head-gear of the Alunda men, with their excrescent tufts and horns.² The picture of King Munza given opposite, after Schweinfurth, supplies a good typical example of the crowns which great African kings wore.

The feathers on the crown of Osiris are from

¹ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 598.

² *Ibid.*, p. 599.

the ostrich,¹ presumably those of a male bird, but of which of the three great types, East African, South African, or North African, is not clear. Formerly the last-named type was found right across the Sahara from the Sûdân and Nigeria to Tunis and Algeria,



King Munza.

and from Senegal eastwards to Syria and Arabia.² One or more feathers were worn by many African peoples of the South with whom the Egyptians came in contact, and among the Egyptians "bearer of the feather" was a title of honour. Head-dresses made

¹ The Masai warriors wear ostrich feathers fastened to a frame of bamboo when they go to war. See Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 320, 340.

² Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 405.

of feathers are frequently worn by the peoples of the forest region between the west coast of Tanganyika and the Lualaba Congo at the present day.¹ A fine example of them, presented by Sir Harry Johnston, may be seen in the British Museum.²

On the face of the god are short side-whiskers, and from his chin hangs a long, plaited beard. The plaited beard is characteristic of several Central African peoples, among others of the Makarakas, many of whom have a well-developed beard, which is large enough to be arranged in plaits either artificially lengthened by introducing a little wooden rod, or else massed together by a copper band.³ Kitété, chief of Mpungu, was remarkable for his plaited beard, which was twenty inches long, and was decorated at the tips with a number of blue glass beads. His brother's beard was six inches long, and "there were half a dozen others with beards of three or four inches long."⁴ The beard of Ndiayai, the king of the Fâng, was plaited in several plaits, which also contained white beads and stuck out stiffly from the face.⁵ The men of the Lower Lulongo are frequently seen with beards, and the Batwa, or red dwarfs, who live between the main Congo and the Juapa, though they are not more than four feet six inches high, have big heads and beards. According to Lord Mountmorres these beards are black, and make their wearers remarkable in a region where almost all the people are clean shaved.⁶ Among the Bayanzi on the Congo chiefs alone wear a beard, which is usually plaited.⁷ The Mañbattu men grow an ample moustache, and a thick square beard.⁸ The Bayaka grow a beard, and the Lunda and Luba chiefs endeavour to produce the beard in a long plaited plastered rod, growing from the middle of the chin, and artificially lengthened by

¹ *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 597.

² See in the Ethnographical Gallery, Wall-case No. 109. Collection No. 1899—204.)

³ Junker, *Travels in Africa*, Vol. I, p. 335.

⁴ Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. II, p. 91.

⁵ Du Chaillu, *Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, p. 74.

⁶ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. I, pp. 138, 145, 504.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 532.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 534.

weaving black fibre into it.¹ Among the Bambala the beard grows on the point of the chin only, and it attains to a considerable length; it is bound up under the chin, and pieces of clay are often hidden in the knot to give it a more important appearance. The Babwende chiefs allow their beards to grow to a great length, and roll them up under the chin like a ball. Father Geens saw some beards that were one metre and a half long.²

Round his neck Osiris wears a deep collar or necklace composed of many rows of beads and other ornaments, and from that portion of it which lies on the nape of the neck hangs the *menät* , an amulet which signifies material happiness, physical well-being, bodily pleasure, and sexual delights. The tombs of Egypt have yielded untold thousands of beads of all kinds, which prove that the love of the Egyptians for beads, shells, teeth of animals and men, pendants, etc., which could be worn as necklaces, was as great as is that of modern nations of Africa.³ The bead necklace or collar of Osiris was a most elaborate ornament, and the tradition of its form and shape was preserved down to the Roman Period. Perhaps the best copies of it are found on the brightly painted coffins and "mummy-boards" of the priests and priestesses of Amen of the XVIIth and XIXth dynasties. The objects strung with the beads were amulets which were intended to protect the god from injury of every kind, and they have their counterpart in the kauris, teeth, etc., which are found on the necklaces worn by men and women at the present day. The three objects,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 579.

² *Ibid.*, p. 585.

³ Necklaces formed of half-inch sections of the leg-bones of fowls were most affected in the old days. They were treasures indeed, and no slave-girl might wear them; death was the punishment of a slave-girl or slave-wife who wore them. The white china pipe-clay beads which Bentley brought were jewels. Anyone possessing them could load up his steamer with food. The women seemed to be insatiable in their greed for beads, and after a while long rows of free-born women would appear on great occasions to dance in caps of white beads, with anklets, bracelets and necklaces, 8 inches deep, their skins abundantly encrusted with powdered cam-wood and oil. The wealth and magnificence of Bopota had reached a climax undreamt of—inconceivable.—*Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. II, p. 270.

the whip  or flail, and the two sceptres (?) , , were as much amulets as symbols of authority.

We next notice that the whole body of Osiris, from the neck to the soles of his feet, is covered with something which is commonly called "scale-work." It can hardly represent apparel, for we know of no Egyptian garment which covers the whole body, fitting it and the feet tightly, and I believe that this "scale-work" is intended to represent the design with which the whole body of Osiris was thought to be tattûed. Sir Samuel Baker notes that the Bari are tattûed upon the stomach, sides and back so closely that the design has the appearance of a broad belt of fish-scales, especially when they are rubbed with red ochre, which is the prevailing fashion.¹ That the body of Osiris is often painted white in the vignettes does not affect the identification of the scale-work with tattûing, for many tribes smear themselves with white earth or clay. The white colour may be symbolic of death, for among the Nilotic Negroes the women wear a black tail fringed with white strings for a month as a sign of mourning, and others smear themselves with white earth.² Another explanation of the scale-work is forthcoming. The Bantu Kavirondo smear portions of their bodies with white clay, on which a pattern is worked with a piece of stick; this removes the clay in places, and leaves the skin showing through.³ It is possible that the whole body of Osiris may have been treated in this manner, but in view of the widespread custom of tattûing in the Sûdân, the scale-work is far more likely to represent tattû marks. If we examine the painted hollow wooden figure of Osiris which contained the Papyrus of Anhai⁴ in the British Museum, we see that the breast, arms, and shoulders are painted red, and that they are decorated with circular ornaments formed of dots, which resemble flowers in bloom. From the waist downwards the body is covered with painted scale-work, resembling that on Osiris in the Papyrus of Ani.

¹ Baker, *Albert N'yanza*, p. 59. The red ochre is mixed with grease.

² Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 793.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 730.

⁴ Second Egyptian Room, No. 20,868.

So far back as 1866 Dr. Livingstone noted that the tattû, or tembo, of the Matambwé and Upper Makonde "very much resembles the drawing of the old Egyptians," and reproduced some of its marks in his *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 49. Among the Mittû the men tattû on a large scale, the lines usually radiating from the belly to the shoulders; the women have merely a couple of parallel rows of dotted lines upon the forehead.¹ Some Nandi girls tattû themselves by cutting three horizontal lines in their cheeks below the eyes, or, like the Kavirondo, by drawing one line down the forehead and nose, or, like the Masai, by making a pattern round the eyebrows and eyes.² Tattûing is well nigh universal on the Upper Congo.³ All the Bantu-speaking forest folk between the slopes of Ruwenzori, the Shuliki River, and the Upper Congo, practice "cicatrization" to a remarkable extent; this takes the place of tattûing among other African peoples. Scores and weals of skin are raised either by burning or by cutting with a knife, and introducing the irritating juice of a plant into the wound. Sometimes these raised weals are so small that they produce almost the effect of tattûing. The Babira people of the forest near the Semliki River cicatrize their chests and stomachs.⁴

A third explanation of the markings on the body of Osiris is possible, for the scale-work may represent paint or colour only. George Grenfell, Father Geens, Mr. T. A. Joyce, and Sir Harry Johnston supply abundant proofs that many naked tribes of Africa paint their bodies, especially those who live between Stanley Pool and Stanley Falls, and between the Bantu border beyond the Northern Congo and the Lunda plateaux and the Zambesi watershed. Between Stanley Pool and the Albertine Rift Valley the naked tribes cover their bodies with a crimson paste made of camwood and palm oil. In the countries to the south the red pigment is made from iron rust, or

¹ Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 410.

² Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 30; *The Masai*, p. 341.

³ Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. II, p. 270.

⁴ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 556, and see specially p. 564.

from the intensely red clay of decomposed granite, and is mixed with mutton fat and applied to the body; by the side of the camwood paste this colour is "hideous." White pigment is made from kaolin or ashes, yellow from clay or certain saps or seeds, blue-grey and mauve from wood ashes or clay, indigo, or certain saps or seeds. Some warriors seen by Grenfell were painted red, black and white. The Ikasa and Yalundi paint the face with some indigo dye in dots and geometrical figures, and the body is covered with a network of indigo lines. The Basoko use white as a war colour. Some of the northern Babati clans (Wele River) paint the body all over with grey clay, and then paint on top of this indigo spots and stripes with *Randia* sap. This is very effective. Some of the southern Ngombe paint the body red and the face black (with soot). The Azande paint blue stripes on their brown skins, paint themselves red for war, and blacken their foreheads with charcoal and oil. The Bangala paint themselves red and black as a protection against evil spirits. The Babwende use a great quantity of red and white in colouring their bodies.¹ The Ngombe men paint their bodies with four colours. Their ornamentation usually consists of parallel lines of blue-grey, yellow, red, and white, running along the two arms, and meeting over the shoulders in curved scrolls. The chest, abdomen, and lower limbs are also painted with parallel lines in these colours. According to Mr. Torday the Bambala ornaments his face with stripes of red, brown, orange, and violet. The Alunda either paint the whole body with white kaolin, or decorate their brown skins with white squares, dots, and crosses. The Ababua-Babati of the Wele district ornament their bodies with camwood paste, white clay, and charcoal paste. The Mañbattu women paint their bodies with black stripes, like those of a zebra, or with irregular spots. The above facts suggest that the scale-work on the body of Osiris represents a design made by tattooing, cicatrization, or painting.

In the shrine with Osiris we see close to one of the pillars a skin of an animal, which in this case appears to be certainly that of a pied bull, with the head cut off.

¹ Johnston, *George Grenfell on the Congo*, Vol. II, pp. 560-562.

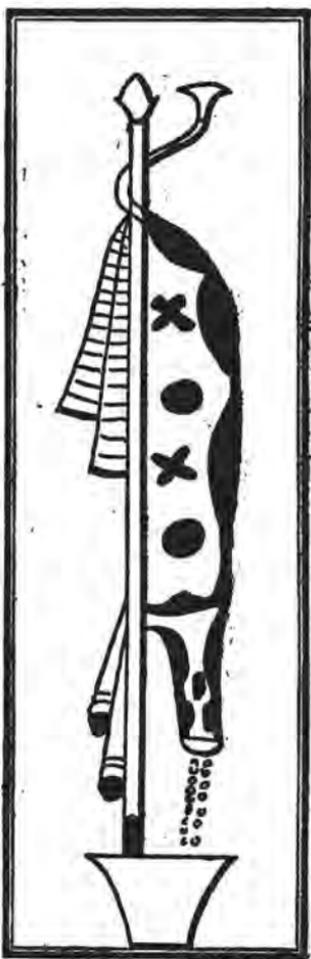
Sometimes, as we see from the illustration on p. 328, the skin is that of some other animal. By the side of his feet there springs up the long stem of a lotus or lily, in full bloom, and upon it stand figures of the Four Sons of Horus, Kestā, Hāpi, Tuamutef, and Qebhsenuf. The presence of the lily suggests water, and in the Papyrus of Hunefer the lily is seen to be growing out of a lake or stream, and figures of the Four Sons of Horus stand on the flower. This agrees with the old legend, which sets the throne of Osiris close to or above the fountain of water which flows from heaven, and is the source of the Nile upon earth.

At the other end of the Hall of Judgment is the Balance in which the heart of the deceased is to be weighed. It consists of a stout upright pillar, set in a stand, from one side of which, near the top, projects a peg, made in the form of the ostrich feather typifying "truth." From this peg, suspended by a cord, hangs the beam of the Balance, with the two pans, each of which is suspended by two or more cords.

The right pan usually holds the feather of Maāt β , or the goddess

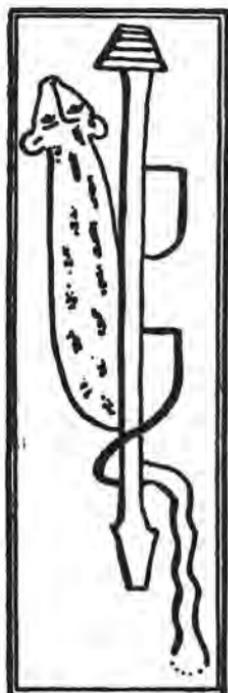
Maāt β , and the left the heart which is to be weighed. On the

top of the pillar of the Balance is sometimes placed the head of the goddess Maāt, or the head of Anubis, or the head of the ibis, which was sacred to Thoth, or a figure of the dog-headed ape, which also was sacred to Thoth and was even called by this god's name. The actual weighing of the heart was usually

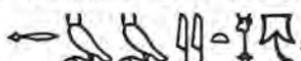
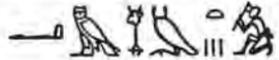


Skin of the pied bull of Osiris.
From the Papyrus of Anhai.

performed by the jackal-headed god Anubis, the son of Set and Nephthys, who in dynastic times held in respect of the judgment of the dead the place which his father Set held in the great trial of Osiris before the gods who were assembled in the Hall of the Great Prince in Heliopolis. Set on that occasion was the accuser and calumniator of Osiris, and he brought charge after charge against the god with malicious pertinacity, until at length Thoth silenced him and made clear the innocence of Osiris. There is no proof that Anubis followed his father's example when he was present at the weighing of the heart of a deceased person, but the care which he displayed in scrutinizing the position of the pointer of the Balance, and his obvious anxiety lest the heart should gain any advantage to which it was not legally entitled, make it quite clear that the deceased could expect no favour from him.



Skin of an animal sacred to Osiris.
From the Greenfeld Papyrus.

Close by the Balance, however, stood the ibis-headed god Thoth, holding his reed and palette, and he watched the weighing of the heart of the servant of Osiris as carefully as he watched the trial of Osiris himself. Near the Balance also sat or crouched the monster *Ām-mit*, , or  the awful "Eater of the Dead," a beast which had the head of a crocodile, the body of a lion, and the hind-quarters of a hippopotamus. This creature was believed to eat the hearts which were light in the Balance and were condemned in the judgment, or damned. In the Papyrus of Thena it is Horus, and not Anubis, who conducts the weighing of the heart, and Anubis presents the heart of the deceased to the two apes of Thoth which sit before

Osiris. In the Papyrus of Sutimes Anubis does not appear at the weighing of the heart, which takes place in the presence of the Maāti goddesses, whilst Thoth, in



the form of an ape, sits by the pillar of the balance. In the Papyrus of Neb-qet the Balance stands immediately in front of Osiris, and neither Thoth nor Anubis appears. The monster *Am-mit* is seen crouching by the side of a lake of boiling water or fire, at each corner of which is perched an ape. These are the four apes which are seen sitting, each with his Balance before him, on the cornice of the Great Hall of Osiris. To the prayer which the deceased made to them reference will be made later.

In the Papyrus of Mäh¹ the weighing takes place in the presence of Rā, and Thoth appears in the form of an ape, and Anubis in the form of a being with an animal's head, who drags the deceased to the Balance and holds a knife in his hand. This being was, I believe, connected in some way in the artist's mind with the monster who appears in the vignette to Chapter XXVIII of the Book of the Dead in the Papyrus of Nefer-uben-f. He has an animal's head with a low forehead, a sort of short mane, a shaggy body, and a long tail which he grasps at the root with his left hand. In his right hand he holds a knife, with which he threatens



¹ See the vignettes printed by Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Band I, Bl. 136.

to cut out the heart of the deceased who kneels before him. The general appearance of this monster suggests that the artist who painted the figure must have heard a description of the great gorilla¹ of the African forest region, which had been brought down to Egypt from the Sûdân. It is true that the gorilla has no tail, and that he carries no knife, but in all other respects the monster painted on the papyrus closely resembles the drawing of the gorilla given by Du Chaillu on the plate facing p. 71 of his *Adventures in Equatorial Africa*. Some modern African tribes believe that gorillas of a certain kind, which are known to the initiated by peculiar signs, are the dwellings of spirits of departed negroes. Such gorillas, it is thought, can never be caught or killed, and they are said to possess more shrewdness than the common animal. Such "possessed beasts" unite the intelligence of man with the strength and ferocity of the beast. Du Chaillu repeats a native story to the effect that a party of gorillas were once found in a cane field tying up sugar-cane in regular bundles preparatory to carrying it away. "The natives attacked them, but were routed, and several of them were killed, while others were carried off prisoners by the gorillas; but in a few days they returned home uninjured, with this horrid exception: the nails of their fingers and toes had been torn off by their captors." Several of Du Chaillu's men mentioned the names of dead friends whose spirits were known to be dwelling in gorillas. No wonder the poor African dreads so terrible a being as his imagination thus conjures up.² The ancient Egyptian may have had similar ideas about the monster who ate hearts, and whom the artist painted on the papyrus, and if he had,

¹ On the Pongo (Mpungu) or gorilla, and the Engeco (Nsiku) or chimpanzi, see Pechuel-Loesche, *Loango Expedition*, Vol. III, p. 248. For Andrew Battell's description of the Pongo see his *Strange Adventures* (Hakluyt Society, 1901), p. 54. Battell lived in the second half of the sixteenth century. His reports were disbelieved by Burton and Du Chaillu.

² *Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, pp. 60, 61. Portions of the brain of the gorilla are used as fetishes, which are thought to give a man success in hunting and with women. On the other hand, pregnant women carefully avoid the sight of a gorilla, for they think that if when pregnant they see a gorilla they will have gorilla children.—*Ibid.*, pp. 260, 262.



THE WEIGHING OF THE HEART OF THE PRIESTESS ANHAI IN THE PRESENCE OF THE GREAT AND
LITTLE COMPANIES OF THE GODS.

From the Papyrus of Anhai, in the British Museum (No. 10,472).

the creature's appearance in the Book of the Dead would be accounted for.¹

Returning now to the Judgment Scene in the Papyrus of Ani, we see that the heart of the deceased is set in one pan of the Balance, and that Ani himself, accompanied by his wife, is looking on. His soul also, in the form of a man-headed bird, , stands upon a

funerary building, and close by is a black rectangular object, with a human head, resting upon another funerary building.

What this object is cannot be said exactly, but it may represent the box in which the umbilical cord of the deceased was placed when it was cut from him. It will be



remembered that in the story of the birth of the kings as told in the Westcar Papyrus, the umbilical cord of each was cut off and placed in a stone box for preservation. (In the Papyrus of Anhai two objects of this kind are represented, the one being called Shai and the other Renen; neither rests on a funerary building.) Close by the pillar of the Balance stands a male deity, wearing a tunic and a tail, who is called Shai .

¹ For a scientific discussion of the gorilla see the Hon. Walter Rothschild's "Notes on Anthropoid Apes" in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society* for 1904. For the extent of the gorilla country see Johnston, *George Grenfell on the Congo*, Vol. I, pp. 343-345. The Soko or chimpanzi is carefully described by Livingstone, who says that he is a "bandy-legged, pot-bellied villain, without a particle of the gentleman in him . . . the soko, if large, would do well to stand for a picture of the Devil. He takes away my appetite by his disgusting bestiality of appearance. His light-yellow face shows off his ugly whiskers and faint apology for a beard; the forehead, villainously low, with high ears, is well in the background of the great dog-mouth; the teeth are slightly human, but the canines show the beast by their large development. The hands, or rather the fingers, are like those of the natives. The flesh of the feet is yellow. . . . The soko is so cunning, and has such sharp eyes, that no one can stalk him in front without being seen, hence when shot it is always in the back; when surrounded by men and nets, he is generally speared in the back too, otherwise he is not a very formidable beast. . . . Some Manyema think that their buried dead rise as sokos, and one was killed with holes in his ears, as if he had been a man. He is very strong, and fears guns, but not spears: he never catches women." —*Last Journals*, Vol. II, p. 52 ff.

and represents, perhaps, Ani's Luck or Destiny. A little behind him stand the two goddesses Renenit and Meskhenit; one of these presided over the chamber wherein Ani was born, and the other over his nursing and rearing. The Papyrus of Ani is the only Codex of the Book of the Dead which gives these three deities in the Judgment Scene, but what their exact functions were cannot be said. As they are ranged near Ani and his soul we may assume that they were believed to be friendly towards him, and that they appear at the weighing of his heart in order to speak in his favour, or to do something on his behalf. It is usual to regard Shai as Destiny, or Fate, or Luck, but it is difficult to see what part this abstract conception could play during the weighing of the heart. It seems to me that Shai, who is represented in the form of a god, is far more likely to be Ani's guardian spirit, perhaps even the spirit of his father, whose mere presence testifies to the gods that Ani is supported by the counsellor and protector of his family in spirit-land.¹ The fact that he is there shows that Ani has done nothing during his life to forfeit the good will and protection of his guardian spirit, and that he has done everything which it directed him to do, and that whilst living on earth he led a life which gained the approval of his father's spirit and of good spirits in general. Moreover, in a similar manner, the goddesses Meskhenit and Renenit testify by their presence that Ani has done nothing on earth to forfeit their good will and protection. Meskhenit was present at his birth, and allowed his soul to enter his body, and she now appears to give her help to deliver his soul from condemnation by Anubis, for it is pure in her sight. Renenit as the Nurse-goddess may or may not represent Ani's mother who suckled him, but she stands as his friend in spirit-land.

The speech which is put into the mouth of the deceased when in the Hall of Osiris during the weighing of his heart is the same in all the large illustrated copies of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, and forms the section of that work which is commonly known

¹ See Major A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and Its Tribes*, p. 190.

as Chapter XXXB. It is an address by the deceased to his heart, which he calls his "mother" and the seat of his being. He prays that nothing or no one may oppose him in judgment, and that there may be no opposition to him when he is in the presence of the Tchatcha, and that his heart may not be parted from him. The Tchatcha were the divine beings who assisted Thoth in keeping the registers of Osiris; they were, according to the Book of Gates, eight in number, and they kept a record of all men's lives, and worked in connection with the celestial timekeepers in the kingdom of Osiris. The deceased next addresses his heart, calling it his KA, *i.e.*, his double; he likens it to Khnemu, the Potter-god who fashioned man on his wheel. Thus the heart was regarded as the mother and the father of a man. The deceased then prays for his heart's happiness, that the Shenit, *i.e.*, the officials of the Court of Osiris, may not make his name to stink, that the weighing of his heart may result in a verdict of not guilty, and that no falsehood may be uttered against him. This prayer is very old, and is said in the Rubric to Chapter XXXB to date from the reign of Men-kau-Rā (Mycerinus). In the earliest times it was recited over a green stone scarab set in a silver-gold frame with a silver band over the back, but under the New Empire it was cut on the scarab itself. The scarab was placed inside the breast of the deceased, and it was believed to "open his mouth" for him, *i.e.*, give him back the power to eat, speak, think, remember, feel, and walk, which he had enjoyed upon earth. The prayer was used under the Middle Empire,¹ it was written on papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, and it was said by every follower of Osiris when in the Hall of Judgment for at least two thousand five hundred years. Few prayers in the world's history have had so long a life.

This prayer having been said by Ani, the god Anubis examined the pointer of the Balance, and finding that the beam was horizontal, and that the heart

¹ One of the oldest copies of the text is found in the transcript of the texts on the sarcophagus of Khnem-nefer, a wife of one of the Menthu-hotep kings (XIth dynasty); this transcript was made by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and is now in the British Museum (No. 10,553).

of Ani exactly counterbalanced the feather of Maāt, he was unable to show reason why Ani should not be proclaimed innocent. Thereupon the god Thoth, the just judge, declared to the gods in the Hall of Osiris that the heart of Ani had been well and truly weighed, that his soul also had borne testimony concerning it, and that the Balance had proved that it was *Maāt*, or right and true. The weighing had discovered no wickedness in Ani. Thoth went on to say that Ani had not abused his position as treasurer of the sacred property of the gods, either by careless administration or robbery, and that he had neither done evil nor uttered evil while he lived upon earth. Thus Thoth was satisfied that in all his dealings with men, both as an official and as a private citizen, Ani was blameless. The gods then replied to Thoth, saying that they accepted his report concerning Ani and ratified it, and they declared that, so far as they were concerned, he had neither sinned against them, nor treated them lightly. Therefore they decree that the monster *Ām-mit* shall not have the mastery over him, that offerings of meat and drink shall be provided for him before Osiris, that he shall have an estate allotted to him in the Field of Peace (or, the Field of Offerings) for ever, and that he shall rank there with the gods of olden days who were called the "Followers of Horus." Thus Thoth and the Company of the Gods are satisfied as to the innocence of Ani, and it now remains for him to be presented to Osiris, so that the great god may receive him and admit him into his kingdom. The presentation is performed by Horus the son of Isis, who takes Ani by the hand, and leads him into the presence, saying, at the same time: "I come to thee, "Un-Nefer, I bring to thee the Osiris Ani. His heart is righteous, it hath come forth from the Balance. It hath not sinned against any god or any goddess. Thoth weighed it in accordance with the decree spoken to him by the Company of the Gods. Great Truth hath testified [for him]. Let cakes and beer be given to him [of] what appears before Osiris. Let him be like the Followers of Horus for ever." In this speech Horus calls Ani Osiris, meaning that

Ani is as innocent as Osiris was; therefore he calls him Osiris. He then goes on to say that Ani has been through the ordeal which the gods decreed for every person who wished to enter into the kingdom of Osiris, and that he has come forth from it triumphant. Finally, he asks Osiris to let Ani live on the offerings which are made to him, and to let him take his place among the Followers of Horus. Thus Ani is innocent before the gods and goddesses; without this qualification of innocence he could not dwell with Osiris.

Ani then passed before Horus to the shrine of Osiris, and, kneeling by his table of offerings, which is the spirit-form of the offerings made by him to Osiris upon earth, he said: "Behold me, O Lord of Amentet, I am in thy presence. There is no sin in my body. I have not uttered a lie wittingly. I have not done aught with a false heart, *i.e.*, I have never practised fraud or deceit. Grant thou that I may be like those unto whom thou hast shown favour who are in thy following. Let me be an Osiris who is greatly favoured by the Beautiful God, for I am beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands (*i.e.*, the king), the real royal scribe who loveth him, Ani, innocent before Osiris." What answer Osiris made to his faithful servant is unknown, but it is assumed throughout the papyrus that he ratified the judgment of Thoth and the gods, and admitted Ani to his kingdom.

It may be noted that when Ani is seen coming forwards towards the Balance he is wearing a heavy black wig, and that when we see him kneeling before Osiris there is a small semi-circular object resting upon it. In the coloured facsimile of the Judgment Scene published by the British Museum we observe that his hair is whitened as if with powder. Various explanations of the object above the wig have been given, some regarding it as an ornament which was placed on the wig on state or ceremonial occasions, and others as an emblem of some rank or honour which had been conferred on the wearer of the object. It was worn by women as well as men, and the careful way in which it is drawn proves that it was some object of importance. The true explanation is probably supplied by the modern

Africans, many of whom place lumps of fat, or butter, on the tops of their heads, so that they may melt gradually and the grease run down on their bodies. Thus the people of Usikuma let their hair grow very long, and then they arrange it carefully in rolls. They next fasten a cloth round the head so closely that it flattens the hair, and on the following day they place on the top of the head a great lump of butter. This melts in the sun and runs down over their foreheads, necks, and arms, scenting them with the most delicious rancid odour.¹ The so-called "cone" on Ani's wig is, no doubt, some animal or vegetable substance either saturated with oil, or filled with grease, which melted through the heat of his head and ran down over his hair, or wig, and penetrated to his shoulders and body. The white colour on the wig represents the shining grease which is slowly running over it. The melting of the fat on the body fills both men and women with content and enjoyment.²

The short texts which are found in the Judgment Scene prove beyond all doubt that under the XVIIIth or XIXth dynasty the Egyptians considered that the whole duty of man consisted in worshipping the gods faithfully, in speaking the truth, and in acting the truth. The spiritual and moral conception underlying them is lofty, and illustrates the high standard of worship and morals which Osiris demanded of his followers before they could be considered fit to dwell with him. The pictorial form of the Judgment Scene cannot fail to strike us as belonging to a primitive period, when the Egyptians believed that hearts were actually weighed in a Balance before Osiris, while the words of the texts translated above suggest a development of ethics which we are accustomed to associate with the most civilized nations in the world. Some writers tell us that the Judgment Scene is just a magical picture which was painted on papyri with the view of compelling the Company of the

¹ Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 376.

² In the early days of the modern Egyptian Army I have often seen the soldiers on Friday mornings covered from head to foot with soft soap and sitting in the shallows of the Nile at Wâdi Halfah, under a blazing sun, with the greatest content. As the soap ran off them friends on shore would fetch them tins of soap and anoint them afresh.

Gods and Osiris to make the result of the actual weighing of the heart to coincide with the result suggested by the picture, but this is a mere theory, for which there is no adequate support. The Rubric which follows the Third Section of Chapter CXXV orders a representation of the Hall of Maāti and what is done therein to be made upon a tile, made of earth on which no pig or other animal has trodden, but it makes no promise that the fulfilment of this order will be followed by the acquittal of the deceased in the Hall of Osiris. The true cause of the preservation of this Scene is the innate conservatism of the Egyptian, who forgot nothing connected with his religion, and abandoned nothing. The machinery of his religion, *i.e.*, the rites and ceremonies thereof, and several of the beliefs inculcated by it, were many centuries in arrear of his spiritual development, but still he clung to them, for, having served his fathers, they might, he thought, possibly still serve him. That he was content to regard as a satisfactory representation of the Last Judgment a picture in which a jackal-headed god and an ibis-headed god weighed his heart before a god who wore ostrich feathers in his crown, who held amulets in his hands, and who had his body painted in staring colours, or tattūed, or cicatrized, while a monster, part crocodile, part lion, and part hippopotamus, waited to eat up the heart, shows the lengths to which he allowed his conservatism to lead him.

The weighing of the heart, though a most important matter for the deceased, was not the only examination of his claim to be allowed to enter the kingdom of Osiris, which was made in the Hall of Maāti, and the declaration of his innocence of sin before Osiris was not the only one which he had to make. On this point the CXXVth Chapter of the Book of the Dead supplies much information, and the CXXVIth Chapter contains the prayer which the deceased made to the Four Apes who sat by the Lake of Fire near the throne of Osiris. When the deceased entered the Hall of Maāti he said:—
 “Homage to thee, O great god, thou Lord of Truth. I
 “have come to thee, my Lord, and I have brought myself
 “hither that I may see thy beauties,” *i.e.*, experience

thy gracious clemency. "I know thee, I know thy name. I know the names of the Two-and-Forty gods who live with thee in this Hall of Maāti, who keep ward over those who have done evil, who feed upon their blood on the day when the lives of men are reckoned up in the presence of Un-Nefer (*i.e.*, Osiris). In truth I have come to thee. I have brought Truth to thee. I have destroyed wickedness for thee." These words are followed by a statement of the offences which he had not committed, the so-called "Negative Confession," and he says:—

1. I have not sinned against men.
2. I have not oppressed (or wronged) [my] kinsfolk.
3. I have not committed evil in the place of truth.
4. I have not known worthless men.
5. I have not committed acts of abomination.
6. I have not done daily works of supererogation (?).
7. I have not caused my name to appear for honours.
8. I have not domineered over slaves.
9. I have not thought scorn of the god (or, God).
10. I have not defrauded the poor man of his goods.
11. I have not done the things which the gods abominate.
12. I have not caused harm to be done to the slave by his master.
13. I have caused no man to suffer.
14. I have allowed no man to go hungry.
15. I have made no man weep.
16. I have slain no man.
17. I have not given the order for any man to be slain.
18. I have not caused pain to the multitude.
19. I have not filched the offerings in the temples.
20. I have not purloined the cakes of the gods.
21. I have not stolen the offerings of the spirits.
22. I have had no dealing with the paederast.
23. I have not defiled myself in the pure places of the god of my city.
24. I have not cheated in measuring of grain.
25. I have not filched land¹ or added thereto.
26. I have not encroached upon the fields of others.
27. I have not added to the weight of the balance.

¹ Literally, the land measure *stat*.

28. I have not cheated with the pointer of the scales.
 29. I have not taken away the milk from the mouths of the babes.
 30. I have not driven away the beasts from their pastures.
 31. I have not netted the geese of the preserves of the gods.
 32. I have not caught fish with bait of their bodies.
 33. I have not obstructed water when it should run.
 34. I have not cut a cutting in a canal of running water.
 35. I have not extinguished a flame when it ought to burn.
 36. I have not abrogated the days of offering the chosen offerings.
 37. I have not turned off cattle from the property of the gods.
 38. I have not repulsed the god in his manifestations.
 I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure.

The above series of statements was made by the deceased when he entered the Hall of Osiris, *i.e.*, before his heart had braved the ordeal of being weighed in the Balance, and it is interesting to note that among the Calabar tribes before a man undergoes the ordeal of drinking the great juju drink Mbiam, which is made of filth and blood,¹ he says :—

- “ If I have been guilty of this crime,
 “ If I have gone and sought the sick one’s hurt,
 “ If I have sent another to seek the sick one’s hurt,
 “ If I have employed any one to make charms, or to cook bush,
 “ Or to put anything in the road,
 “ Or to touch his cloth,
 “ Or to touch his yams,
 “ Or to touch his goats,
 “ Or to touch his fowl,
 “ Or to touch his children,
 “ If I have prayed for his hurt,
 “ If I have thought to hurt him in my heart,

¹ The Masai also drink blood at a trial by ordeal.—Hollis, *Masai*, p. 343.

- “ If I have any intention to hurt him,
 “ If I ever, at any time, do any of these things
 (recite in full),
 “ Or employ others to do these things (recite in full),
 “ Then, Mbiam! *thou* deal with me.”¹

The Egyptian acted exactly as does the modern African. The former made his declaration of innocence of a series of offences, and his heart was weighed by the gods to test the truth of his words; the latter makes his declaration of innocence, and the action of the juju drink tests the truth of his words.

We pass now to the second form of the “ Negative Confession,” in which the deceased addressed a series of Two and Forty gods by their names, one after the other, and asserted before each, that he had not committed a certain sin. These gods were the gods of the forty-two nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt. He had already told Osiris that he knew their names, and proceeded to prove it by saying the following:—

1. Hail, Usekh - nemmet, coming forth from Anu (Heliopolis), I have not done iniquity.
2. Hail, Hept-shet, coming forth from Kher-āḥa,² I have not committed robbery.
3. Hail, Fenti, coming forth from Khemenu (Hermopolis), I have not stolen with violence.
4. Hail, Ām-khaibitu, coming forth from Qerrt,³ I have not committed theft.
5. Hail, Neḥa-ḥāu, coming forth from Re-stau,⁴ I have not killed men.
6. Hail, Lion and Lioness god, coming forth from heaven, I have not made light the bushel of corn.
7. Hail, Merti-f-em-ṭes, coming forth from Sekhem (Letopolis), I have not acted deceitfully. ḥt-ḥt
8. Hail, Nebā, coming forth from Khetkhet (?), I have not robbed the property of the god.

¹ Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 465; compare also, J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 225.

² A large city which lay between Fustāt and Maṭariyah.

³ “The Circle,” perhaps a place in the Other World.

⁴ A region in the Other World of Memphis.

9. Hail, Seṭ-quesu, coming forth from Suten-ḥenen (Herakleopolis), I have not uttered falsehood.

10. Hail, Uatch-Nesert, coming forth from Ḥet-ka-Ptaḥ (Memphis), I have not stolen food.

11. Hail, Qerti, coming forth from Ament, I have not cursed.

12. Hail, Ḥetch-ābeḥu, coming forth from Ta-she (Fayyûm), I have not attacked any man.

13. Hail, Am-senf, coming forth from the slaughter-house, I have not slain the cattle of the god.

14. Hail, Am-besek, coming forth from Mābit, I have not used deceit (?).

15. Hail, Neb-Maāt, coming forth from Maāti, I have not stolen grain (?).

16. Hail, Thenemi, coming forth from Bast (Bubastis), I have not acted the part of the spy (or eavesdropper).

17. Hail, Āaṭi (or Ānṭi), coming forth from Ānu, I have not slandered.

18. Hail, Tuṭu-f, coming forth from Ati (?), I have not been angry without cause.

19. Hail, Uamemti, coming forth from the House of the Block, I have not lain with another man's wife.

20. Hail, Maa-ānuf, coming forth from Per-Menu, I have not abused myself.

21. Hail, Ḥeri-seru, coming forth from Nehatu, I have made no man to be afraid.

22. Hail, Khemi, coming forth from Aḥai, I have attacked no man.

23. Hail, Sheṭ-kheru, coming forth from Urit, I have not been a man of wrath.

24. Hail, Nekhen, coming forth from Ḥeq-āt, I have not been deaf to the words of truth.

25. Hail, Ser-Kheru, coming forth from Unes, I have not stirred up strife.

26. Hail, Basti, coming forth from Shetai, I have made no one to weep.

27. Hail, Ḥer-f-ḥa-f,¹ coming forth from the place of sailing, I have neither acted impurely, nor lain with men.

¹ He was the ferryman of the Other World, but would only ferry over the souls that were righteous. He loved truth and hated sin, and because of his integrity became a leader of the gods.

28. Hail, Ta-reṭ, coming out of the night, I have not eaten my heart.

29. Hail, Kenemti, coming forth from Kenmet, I have not cursed any man.

30. Hail, An-ḥetep-f, coming forth from Sau, I have not done deeds of violence.

31. Hail, Neb-ḥeru, coming forth from Tchefet, I have not acted hastily.

32. Hail, Serekhi, coming forth from Unth, I have not . . . my skin, I have not . . . the god.

33. Hail, Neb-ābui, coming forth from Sauti, I have not made loud my voice in speaking.

34. Hail, Nefer-Tem, coming forth from Ḥet-ka-Ptaḥ (Memphis), I have not acted deceitfully, I have not acted wickedly.

35. Hail, Tem-sep, coming forth from Ṭeṭu, I have not cursed the king.

36. Hail, Ari-em-āb-f, coming forth from Tebti, I have not fouled water.

37. Hail, Aḥi . . . , coming forth from Nu, I have not made my voice loud.

38. Hail, Utu-rekhit, coming forth from thy house (?), I have not cursed the god.

39. Hail, Neḥeb-nefert, coming forth from . . . , I have not acted insolently.

40. Hail, Neḥeb-kau, coming forth from [thy] city, I have not worked for honours (?).

41. Hail, Tcheser-tep, coming forth from the cavern, I have not increased my possessions except through my own goods.

42. Hail, An-ā-f, coming forth from Auḳer, I have not treated with contempt the god of my city.

The above form of the Negative Confession is very interesting, for it supplies us with the names of several spirits or gods who were worshipped in very early times, probably long before the cult of Osiris became general in Egypt. Among these were Ḥer-f-ḥa-f, the Egyptian Charon (see p. 341), and Tcheser-tep, both of whom are mentioned in early religious texts. Taken together these Forty-two gods represented at one period the spiritual masters of all Egypt, and he who succeeded

in satisfying them of his innocence in the Hall of Judgment might well be proclaimed "just" or "true" before the whole country. It is not always clear why a certain sin is connected with a certain member of this company of Forty-two gods, but the traditional association of each god with a particular sin is very ancient, and if we knew all the facts we should probably realize that there was good reason for the association. We may wonder why the Egyptians continued to perpetuate these names after Osiris became the king and god of the dead, but here again we have a further instance of the religious conservatism of the Egyptians, who felt that any disregard of such an old and important text might be fraught with danger to their salvation. For us the second form of the Negative Confession, which is probably the older, is of special interest, for it shows that the idea of the Judgment is very old, and that the importance of a life of truth-doing and truth-speaking was recognized by the Egyptians, even while they believed in such a plurality of spirits or gods. The adoption of these into the Judgment system of Osiris was clearly the work of the priests of that god, who established his cult upon beliefs and traditions which were already old when they began their work.

The deceased then addressed the Forty-two gods in the following words: Homage to you, O gods who dwell in your Hall of Maāti. I indeed know you, I know your names. Let me not fall under your knives of slaughter, and bring ye not my wickedness before the god whom ye serve. Ye have no charge against me. Speak ye truth on my behalf before Neb-er-tcher, for I have worked righteousness in Ta-merà (Egypt), I have not cursed the god, and the king who reigned in his day had no charge [to bring] against me.

Homage to you, O gods, who dwell in your Hall of Maāti, who have no falseness in your bodies, who live on truth, who feed on truth, before Horus, who dwelleth in his Disk. Deliver ye me from the god Baba, who liveth upon the entrails of the mighty ones on the day of the Great Reckoning. Behold ye me! I have come before you. Without sin am I, without evil am I, without wickedness am I, without a witness (?)

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am I. I have not done things against him. I live upon truth. I feed upon truth. I have performed the behests of men, and the things whereby the gods are gratified. I have propitiated the god with the things which he loveth. I have given bread to the hungry man, and water to the thirsty man, and apparel to the naked man, and a boat to him that was without one. I



Osiris in the Merottic Period, A.D. 100-300.
From a bas-relief in a pyramid chapel at Meroë.

have made holy offerings to the gods, and sepulchral offerings to the Spirits. Be ye then my deliverers and protectors, and make ye no accusation against me before the Great God. I am clean of mouth and clean of hands. Therefore, let it be said unto me by those who shall behold me, "Come in peace! Come in peace!"

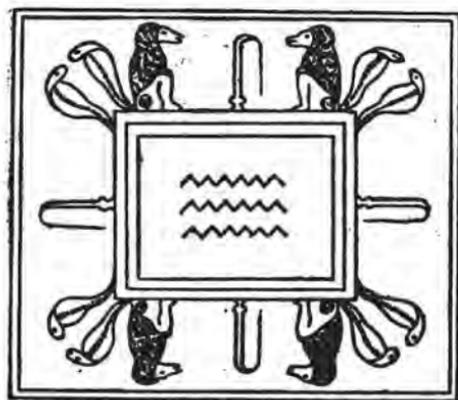
The deceased went on to enumerate before the Forty-two gods the various religious ceremonies at which he had assisted, and the festivals which he had attended.

He had heard the "great word" which the Ass spoke to the Cat in the Temple of Hap̄t-re. He had given evidence before Her-f-ḥa-f, the divine Ferryman who would allow no sinner to enter his boat. As this important god had regarded him as innocent of offence, and had spoken words of approval to him, the Forty-two gods, and even Osiris himself, must believe his declarations and receive the verdict of this just and stern god. The deceased had seen the Erica Tree of Re-stau, which covered the remains of Osiris; and he had borne true witness, and had helped to set up the Balance on its stand in Aukert. The deceased next addressed Osiris by his name of "Lord of Air," and proclaimed his righteous dealing to the god. "I am pure," he says, "back and front outside am I pure, and I am pure inside also. There is no member of mine which lacketh truth." He purified himself in the South, and he bathed in the North, and then he passed on to the olive tree where he saw the mystic leg and thigh. He received a flame of fire and a crystal sceptre; the former he extinguished, and the latter he broke and created a pool of water. These allusions are inexplicable at present, but the deceased clearly means that, before he came to the Hall of Maāti, he performed most solemn ceremonies in connection with the worship of Osiris. The bolts of the door, the door posts, the door step, the fastening of the door and its socket, the lintels, right and left, and the Porter, all asked the deceased to declare their mystic names, and when he had done so, they permitted him to pass through the doorway. Then the floor of the Hall of Maāti refused to be trodden by the feet of the deceased until he had declared to it the mystic names of his two feet; when he had done this he was permitted to stand on the floor. He was not, however, allowed to advance until he had repeated the mystic name of the Guardian of the Hall, who at once asked him the name of the "God in his hour." The deceased repeated his name, *i.e.*, "Māau-tai," and in answer to a further question said that this god was Thoth. Therefore the Guardian introduced him to Thoth, who asked him why he had come thither. He replied: "I have come and I press forward so that [my name] may be

"mentioned, for I am pure." Then Thoth promised to make mention of his name to the god Osiris, but before he did so he asked the deceased the question: "Who is he whose heaven is of fire, whose walls are living uraei, and the floor of whose house is a stream of water?" The deceased replied: "Osiris." We may presume that his introduction to the god then took place, for Thoth said: "Advance, thou shalt be mentioned to him." The text ends with a promise that the bread and beer of the deceased shall be supplied from the Eye of

Rā, and thus the continuance of his life and felicity was assured for ever.

Closely connected with the Judgment Scene is the CXXVith Chapter of the Book of the Dead, which contains the prayer of the deceased to the Four Apes who sit by the Lake of Fire near the throne of Osiris, and



their answer. He says: "Hail, ye Four Apes, who sit in the bows of the Boat of Rā, who convey truth to Neb-er-tcher, who sit in judgment on my weakness and my strength, who propitiate the gods by the flame of your mouths, who make offerings to the gods, and sepulchral meals to the Spirits, who feed upon truth, who are without deceit and fraud, to whom wickedness is an abomination, do away my evil deeds, put away my sin, which merited stripes upon earth, destroy whatsoever evil is in me, and let there be nothing in me which shall separate me from you. Let me pass through the Ammehet, let me enter Re-stau, let me pass through the pylons of Amentet, give me of the bread, and beer, and dainty food which are given to the living Spirits, and let me enter in and come forth from Re-stau." The Four Apes say: "Advance, for we have done away thy wickedness, and we have put away thy sin, and thy sin committed upon earth,

“ which merited stripes, and we have destroyed all the
“ evil which appertained to thee upon earth. Enter,
“ therefore, into Re-stau, and pass through the secret
“ gates of Amentet, and bread, and beer, and dainty
“ food shall be given unto thee, and thou shalt go in and
“ come forth at thy desire, even as do the Spirits who
“ are favoured of the god, and thou shalt be proclaimed
“ each day in the horizon.” Thus the deceased, having
satisfied the Forty-two gods and the Four Apes, and the
Company of gods and goddesses who sat in the Hall of
Maât, and Thoth, the Recorder of the Two Lands,
i.e., all Egypt, is received by Osiris and is permitted to
live in his kingdom henceforward.

The facts set forth above prove clearly that the ethical
conceptions of the Egyptians under the XVIIIth dynasty
were not those of a half-savage, barbarous African people,
even though the phrases which they used to express
them, and the pictures which they employed to represent
them, are primitive. Enough has been said to show that
these conceptions existed under the XIIth dynasty, and
that the character of Osiris as the god of truth, and as a
righteous and just judge, was well established at the
period when the Pyramid Texts were written, under the
Vth and VIth dynasties. The oldest remains of Egypt
yield evidence of the great antiquity of the cult of Osiris,
but there is no evidence to show when it began. It is,
however, certain that the belief that Osiris was the
impartial judge of men's deeds and words, who rewarded
the righteous, and punished the wicked, and ruled over a
heaven which contained only sinless beings, and that he
possessed the power to do these things because he had
lived on earth, and suffered death, and risen from the
dead, is as old as dynastic civilization in Egypt, and that
it grew and developed, and spread with ever-increasing
power until it became the dominating religious influence
throughout the country. Osiris was the symbol of the
African conception of resurrection and immortality, and
from first to last his worship was characterized by
customs, and rites, and ceremonies which were purely
African. How persistent and lasting these are is obvious
to all who take the pains to study them in connection
with the works of modern African travellers.

CHAPTER XI.

THE AFRICAN BELIEF IN GOD AND THE DOCTRINE OF LAST THINGS.

NOTWITHSTANDING the comparatively large amount of religious Egyptian literature which has come down to us, our knowledge of what the Egyptians really thought about God is extremely small. So far as we know they wrote no treatises about Him, or if they did none has reached our hands, and what they imagined Him to be, or where they thought He dwelt, we can only deduce from the rare allusions to Him which we find in their moral and funerary works. Some years ago I stated¹ that the religious texts of Egypt, if studied, would convince the reader that the Egyptians believed in One God, who was self-existent, immortal, invisible, eternal, omniscient, almighty, and inscrutable; the maker of heaven, earth, and the Other World; the creator of men and women, animals, birds, and creeping things, trees and plants, and the incorporeal beings who were the messengers that fulfilled his wish and word. This statement was held up to ridicule by a reviewer, who regarded it as a serious misrepresentation of the Egyptian belief about God, and as a proof of the writer's incapacity to deal with the subject of the religion of Egypt. Since the time when that statement was written (1898) many valuable religious texts have been discovered and published with translations, in various languages, and the result of a study of these has further convinced me that the statement quoted above is true, and may be repeated here.

In spite of the numerous "gods" of Egypt with whom the texts make us acquainted, and the mixture of magic, black and white, in the Egyptian Religion, and the savage, crude ideas, which are the relics of a barbarous and half-savage period in Egyptian history, two fundamental, indigenous beliefs stand out in it clearly, namely, the

¹ *Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life*, p. 1.

belief in God, the Creator of the world and all in it, and the belief in a resurrection and in immortality. The student who views the Egyptian Religion from the lofty standpoint of spiritual Christianity only may say that it was gross polytheism or pantheism, that Egyptian rites were cruel, bloodthirsty, and savage, that the legends of the gods are childish, and are the outcome of debased minds and imaginations, that the story of the resurrection of Osiris is a farrago of nonsense in which absurd magical ceremonies play an impossible part, and that the heaven of the Egyptian was only an imagination of a people who always remained half savage. Nothing, however, can alter the fact that beneath such rites, and legends, and beliefs there lay the wonderful religious and moral conceptions which have been described in the preceding chapter, and the unchanging, persistent belief in the resurrection of the righteous and in immortality. It seems to be a mistake to estimate the Egyptian Religion from the standpoint of the highly civilized Asiatic, eastern or western, or European, for it is an African product, and can only be rightly appreciated and understood when considered in connection with what we know of modern African religion. There exists, fortunately, a great mass of information about the religion of the Súdânt peoples, and the facts collected in the works of the serious travellers, who will be quoted later, are peculiarly valuable, because the writers set down what they saw and heard without bias and without prejudice. Travellers like Livingstone, Speke, Baker, and Junker recorded facts as they saw them, and having no special theories to support or problems to illustrate, their evidence is disinterested and their conclusions are honest. The facts collected by George Grenfell, Mr. Torday, Mr. Joyce of the British Museum, Sir Harry Johnston, Dr. Andrew Balfour of Khartûm and his colleagues, and the writers of the works issued by the Musée du Congo are specially valuable for the light which they throw on the ancient as well as on the modern religion of Africa, and the explanations which they supply of many of the beliefs and rites and ceremonies of the Egyptians.

The remains of the Archaïc Period of Egypt prove

that already under the first three dynasties the Egyptians believed in many gods, Osiris, Isis, Anubis, Nephthys, Horus, Set, Hathor, Shu, Tefnut, Apis, etc. Under the IVth dynasty, at least, they were in the habit of speaking of the "Great god," Osiris, probably, being referred to. The word for God and "god" is, from first to last, *neter*, ], the original meaning of which is unknown. In the *Precepts of Kagemna* (IVth dynasty) and the *Precepts of Ptah-hetep*¹ (Vth dynasty) we find the following passages:—

1. "The things which God doeth are unknown (Plate II, l. 2).

2. "Thou shalt not terrify men; it is contrary to God[s wish] (IV, line 8).

3. "Bread is eaten according to the providence of God (VII, l. 2).

4. "Art thou a farmer? Cultivate the field which God hath given thee (VII, l. 5).

5. "If thou wouldst be perfect, make thy son pleasing to God (VII, l. 11).

6. "Satisfy thy dependants; it is the duty of those favoured by God (XI, l. 1).

7. "Obedience God loveth; disobedience God hateth (XVI, l. 7).

8. "Behold, a well-doing son is the gift of God (XIX, l. 6)."

All the above extracts were written before 3000 B.C. The Being whose ways are inscrutable, who rules the world on a definite plan (*sekher* ), who confers possessions on man, who demands obedience from man, and expects him to bring up his children in the fear of him, and to deal kindly with his neighbours and dependants, can surely be no other than God. If the writers of the Precepts referred in their minds to any

¹ For the text see Prisse d'Avennes, *Fac-similé d'un Papyrus Égyptien*, Paris, 1847; Virey, *Études sur le Papyrus Prisse*, Paris, 1887; and for another version of the hieratic text see Maspero, *Recueil*, tom. XXXI, pp. 146; and Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, London, 1910, p. 17 ff.

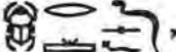
of the "gods" of Egypt they would have added their names. The Being referred to cannot be Osiris, for in no text are such attributes ascribed to him. We must, it seems to me, conclude that only God, the Creator of All, could be spoken of in this manner.

From the so-called *Maxims of Ani*,¹ we quote the following :—

1. God magnifieth His name.
2. The sanctuary of God abominateth noisy speech. Make thy supplications with a loving heart, all the words of which are hidden. He will arrange thy affairs, He will hear thy words, and will accept thine offerings.
3. God is a righteous judge.
4. When thou makest thine offering to God, beware of offering what He abominateth. Consider His plans, adore His name. He giveth souls to millions of beings, He magnifieth him that magnifieth Him.
5. Thy mother carried thee for months, she suckled thee for three years, when thou wast at school she brought thee bread and beer each day. . . . cause not her to raise her hands to God in complaint of thee, for He will hear her prayers [and punish thee].
6. Commit thou thyself to God, take heed to thyself this day for the sake of God, [and] to-morrow shall be like unto to-day [to thee].

In these passages also the Being who loves silent prayer, and is a righteous judge, and the creator of souls, who brings to honour him that honoureth Him, and is tender to the cry of the mother who is afflicted by her son's harsh treatment, and demands daily devotion from His worshippers, can be no other than God. No attempt was made in any text to describe the form and likeness of this Being, who was regarded as invisible, and no artist or sculptor ever made any representation of Him. His inscrutability, omnipresence, and omniscience are assumed in the passages quoted, and when any "god," e.g., Temu or Kheperá, is considered as his immediate representative, such "god" is always

¹ First published with a translation by Chabas in *L'Égyptologie*, Série I, tt. 1 and 2. See also Amélineau, *La Morale Égyptienne*, Paris, 1892.

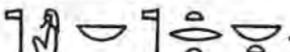
described as self-produced *kheper tchesef*, , and is spoken of as if he had always existed, and always would exist, in fact, as the self-created and eternal God.

Side by side with this Being we have mentioned in all periods of Egyptian history a class of beings who were called *neteru*, , , , , , , or ^{*}_{III}, i.e., "gods," some of whom are male and some female. These had many forms and shapes, and could appear on earth as men, women, animals, birds, reptiles, trees, plants, etc. They were stronger and more intelligent than men, but they had passions like men; they were credited with possessing some divine powers or characteristics, and yet they could suffer sickness and die. There is in no text any suggestion that God was passible, or that He could die; on the other hand, it was always taken for granted that the gods did sicken, grow old, and die. Thus the great god Rā, when bitten by the adder which Isis made, suffered violent pains in his body, and the sweat of agony rolled down his face, and he would have died if Isis had not treated him after he revealed to her his hidden name.¹ When he had become old anger seized him because of the slighting and contemptuous way in which men spoke of him; therefore he destroyed mankind.² The Pyramid Texts describe a hunting expedition of the deified King Unās in heaven, and tell us how he lassoed the "gods," and killed, and roasted and ate them.³ King Thothmes III prays that he may not suffer corruption, and refers to the decay which the god Temu brings upon "every god and every goddess,"⁴ and to the fact that they, as well as the animals and reptiles, perish when their souls have left them.⁵ Most of the great "gods" had wives and offspring, and so triads came into being. Thus Mut was

¹ Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, Plates 31, 77, 131-138.

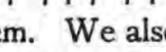
² Lefébure, *Tombeau de Seti I*, Part IV, Plates 15-18.

³ Line 496 ff.

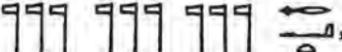
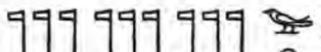
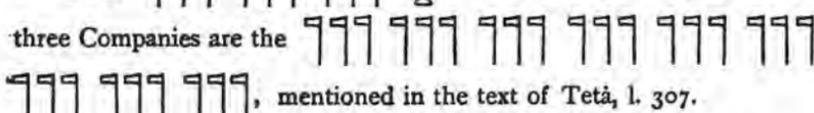
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⁵ Book of the Dead, Chapter CLIV.

the wife of Amen-Rā, and her child by him was Khen su. Sekhmet (Sekhet) was the wife of Ptaḥ, and her child by him was Nefer-Temu. The same anthropomorphic conception made Isis the wife of Osiris, and Nephtys the wife of Set, their children being Horus and Anubis.

The oldest triad was Temu, Shu, and Tefnut, the two latter gods springing directly from the body of Temu; these three "gods" were represented by the signs , and by , when their descendants were added to them. We also find , which represents *paut*, the primeval substance from which the gods were made, and *neteru* "gods"; the  are perhaps only added as a determinative. The primeval god is called "Pauti,"¹ and it seems that this word represents a conception of deity which is older than that of *neter*; the meanings of *paut* and *neter* must be quite distinct. In the Pyramid Texts we find three "companies" or groups of gods, each of which contains at least three triads.² The above facts make it certain that the Egyptians distinguished clearly in their minds the difference which existed between God and the "gods," who were subservient to Him, and who were made by Him to assist in the work of administering heaven, earth, and the Other World. The Egyptian "gods" formed a sort of court or council of the God of the Egyptians, and they are the equivalents of the Archangels and the Orders of Angels which we find in other systems of religion. In some Oriental Christian systems

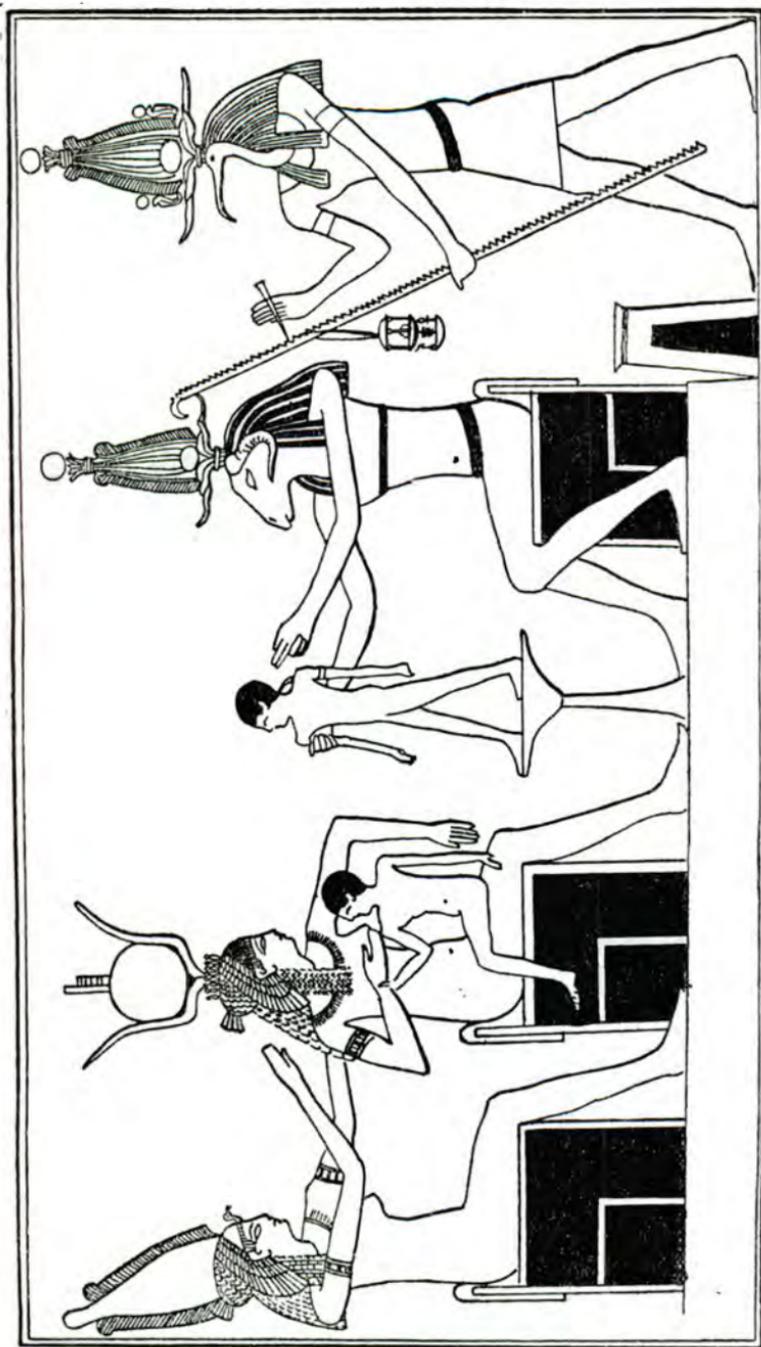
¹ 

² The Great Company , the Little Company, , and a third Company. The three Companies are the , mentioned in the text of Tetā, l. 307.

the Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and many great Saints occupy in the celestial hierarchy positions identical with those of the "gods" in the Egyptian Religion.

Now, although the Egyptians wrote no treatise on God, or formally attempted to define His attributes, we must not assume, as some have done, that they were ignorant of conceptions of deity such as we find among other ancient civilized nations. In considering this matter, we must remember that in Egypt, as in the Sûdân to-day, each tribe, if nomad, and each community, if living in a town of any considerable size, had its own god or group of gods. The worshippers of each god or goddess regarded their town god as their all-powerful protector and friend, and little by little they ascribed to him, or to her, the attributes which modern peoples ascribe to God. This process went on all over Egypt, one proof of the fact being that the deceased had to make confession to Two-and-Forty gods, one from each of the nomes of Egypt, in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, before he made his supplication to Osiris. Substantially each town was worshipping the same god, only under different names, and for all practical purposes the town god took the place of God. The form under which the town god was worshipped mattered not, for the object, whether animate or inanimate, was only regarded as the habitation in which it pleased the god to dwell, for a long or short time, as the case might be. Certain ancient gods, *e.g.*, Neith of Saïs, Bast of Bubastis, Temu, and the Mnevis Bull of Heliopolis, Apis and Ptaḥ of Memphis, Heru-Shefit of Herakleopolis, Khenti-Âmenti and An-Her of Abydos, Amen of Thebes, Menu of Coptos, Menthu of Hermonthis, Khnemu of Elephantine, became for various reasons famous outside the towns in which their worship grew up, and they usurped the attributes of many gods of a totally different class and character, and very frequently the attributes of God Almighty were assigned to them.

Thus the theologians of Heliopolis, under the VIth dynasty, declared that the god "Father Tem" gave birth to King Pepi before heaven and earth existed, before men were made, before the gods were



The god Khnemu fashioning the body of one of the Ptolemies on his potter's wheel.

2 A 2

"Giver of life and many years to his favoured ones, protector of his chosen ones, maker of eternity and everlastingness."

From a series of passages collected by Dr. H. Brugsch¹ may be quoted the following: "One and Alone, without a second. One, the maker of all things, the Spirit, the hidden spirit, the maker of spirits. He existed in the beginning, when nothing else was. What is he created after he came into being. Father of beginnings, eternal, infinite, everlasting. Hidden one, no man knoweth his form, or can search out his likeness; he is hidden to gods and men, and is a mystery to his creatures. No man knoweth how to know him; his name is a mystery and is hidden. His names are innumerable. He is truth, he liveth on truth, he is the king of truth. He is life, through him man liveth; he gave life to man, he breathed life into his nostrils. He is father and mother, the father of fathers, the mother of mothers. He begetteth, but was not begotten; he bringeth forth, but was not brought forth; he begat himself and gave birth to himself. He created, but was not created, he made his own form and body. He himself is existence; he neither increaseth nor diminisheth. He made the universe, the world, what was, what is, and what shall be. What his heart conceived came to pass forthwith; when he speaketh what resulteth therefrom endureth for ever. He is the father of the gods. He is merciful to his worshipper, he heareth him who calleth on him, he rewardeth his servants, those who acknowledge him he knoweth, he protecteth his follower."

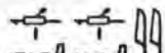
Among the epithets applied to Amen-Rā is "Only One," or "One Alone" . This is not peculiar to hymns, etc., of the New Empire, but we find "One god" mentioned in the Pyramid Texts,² and "Only One" on a coffin which was made at the

¹ *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 96-99.

² . Tetā, l. 247.

beginning of the Middle Empire.¹ It seems to me that the writer who called Amen-Rā, or Rā, or any other god, "One," or "Only One," was applying the epithet which he knew to belong to God to his town god, who represented to him God Almighty.² The texts are full of allusions to the numerous names of God, whether He be called Temu, or Amen, or Rā, and it is distinctly said that Temu, under the form of Rā, "created the names of his members, which took form as gods in his train."³ Therefore the attributes which are ascribed to any god are ascribed to the "One," or "One God," or "One Alone," mentioned in the texts. The "oneness" ascribed to the self-created eternal creator of heaven and earth, and all therein, cannot, it seems to me, be explained by henotheism, for the texts show that their writers were, from many points of view, monotheists from very early times. On the other hand, the multiplicity of "gods" who are mentioned in the texts justifies the assertion made by many that the Egyptians were polytheists. Champollion le Jeune believed "the Egyptian religion to be a pure monotheism, which manifested itself externally by a symbolic polytheism."⁴

Professor Tiele, a very careful student of ancient religions, thought that the religion of Egypt was in the beginning polytheistic, but that it developed in two opposite directions; in the one direction gods were multiplied by the addition of local gods, and in the other the Egyptians drew nearer and nearer to monotheism.⁵ Professor Naville considers the Egyptian religion to be a religion of nature, inclining to pantheism, in which nothing is fixed, nothing determined, without system, and without any closely reasoned logic to serve as a base for its philosophy, and full of contradictions and confusion.⁶ Now, although he thinks that the Egyptian

¹  . *Recueil*, tom. XXX, p. 187.

² See some fine hymns to Amen-Rā in Moret, *Culte Divin*, p. 133 ff, and note the epithets applied to him.

³ Book of the Dead, Chapter XVII, 9, 10.

⁴ Champollion-Figeac, *L'Égypte*, Paris, 1839, p. 245, col. 1.

⁵ *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid*, Amsterdam, 1893, p. 25.

⁶ *La Religion*, p. 92.

religion began with pantheism, he hesitates to call it pantheism, and reserves that epithet for the "doctrine of Heliopolis, of the origin of which we know nothing."¹ Professor Maspero admits that the Egyptians called several gods "one god" and "only god," even when the god was associated with a goddess and a son, but he adds: "ce dieu un n'était jamais *dieu* tout court."² He continues: "The only god is the only god Amon, the "only god Phtah, the only god Osiris, that is to say, a "being determinate, possessing a personality, name, "attributes, apparel, members, a family, a man infinitely "more perfect than men. He is a likeness of the kings "of this earth, and his power, like that of all kings, is "limited by the power of neighbouring kings. The "conception of his unity is geographical and political, at "least as much as it is religious; Rā, only god of "Heliopolis, is not the same as Amon only god of "Thebes. The Egyptian of Thebes proclaimed the "unity of Amon to the exclusion of Rā, the Egyptian "of Heliopolis proclaimed the unity of Rā to the "exclusion of Amon. . . . Each one god, conceived of "in this manner, is only the one god of the nome or of "the town, and not the one god of the nation recognized "as such throughout the country."

All this may be true under some circumstances, and so long as we are dealing with primitive Egyptians, when the figures of the town-gods or nome-gods were representatives of ancestors, and when the family, or tribe, to which each ancestor belonged naturally claimed the greatest possible power for him to the exclusion of all other ancestor gods. The equality of the gods may be explained by religious toleration, which was natural to the Egyptian, and by his conservatism, which was innate; anthropomorphism accounts for the rest. Assuming that Professor Maspero's view is correct, it does not make it impossible for the Egyptians to have possessed, even in the earliest period, a knowledge of the unity of God, and to have attributed this unity to "gods" which they well knew to be wholly different in nature from Him. They esteemed highly their local

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

² *Histoire Ancienne*, Paris, 1904, p. 33.

gods, and the gods of great and ancient cities, *e.g.*, Temu of Heliopolis and Amen-Rā of Thebes, so highly, in fact, that they lavished upon them the attributes of God the Creator. In the Negative Confession (l. 38) the deceased says: "I have not cursed the god," and in l. 42 he says: "I have not thought scorn of the god who dwells in my city." It is unlikely that "the god" and the "god of the city" are one and the same god, and it seems to me that "the god" refers either to God, or to Osiris, round whom the most exalted ethical conceptions of the Egyptians centred. Osiris was, as we have already seen, in the earliest times an ancestor god, and he certainly became the national god and judge of the dead. In the case of Amen we have a god unlike any of the other gods of Egypt, for he symbolized the "hidden" power which is the source of the world and of all life in it. Had his priests been able to establish him as sovereign in the Other World in the place of Osiris, we might well regard him as the highest conception of deity which the Egyptians ever imagined. Taking all the facts into consideration, and making due allowance for the anthropomorphism of the Egyptians, and the contradictions and confusion which are found in their texts, it is impossible not to agree with the opinion expressed by de Rougé in 1860: "The unity of a "supreme and self-existent being, his eternity, his "almightiness, and eternal reproduction as God; the "attribution of the creation of the world and of all living "beings to this supreme God; the immortality of the "soul, completed by the dogma of punishments and "rewards; such is the sublime and persistent base "which, notwithstanding all deviations and all mytho- "logical embellishments, must secure for the beliefs of "the ancient Egyptians a most honourable place among "the religions of antiquity."¹

The foregoing remarks and the diversity of the opinions on the Egyptian Religion held by great Egyptologists illustrate the difficulty of the subject, and show that several views of it are possible according to the standpoints taken by their writers. The same is the

¹ *Études sur le Rituel Funéraire* (in *Revue Arch.*, Paris, 1860, p. 12).

case with the religion of the modern peoples of the Sûdân. If, however, we examine the facts reported by serious travellers and students of it, we shall find that the fundamentals of the religion of the Sûdânt tribes are the same as those of the Egyptians before their conversions to Christianity and Islâm, and that the explanations of the whole group of modern beliefs given by men like Livingstone, Nassau, Dennett, Sir Harry Johnston, and others are most helpful in understanding the ancient beliefs of Egypt. It seems to me impossible that the religious beliefs of the Sûdânt folk of to-day can be derived from the Egyptians, or that they are survivals mysteriously preserved for nearly two thousand years after Egypt passed out of the hands of native kings.¹ All the evidence available suggests that Sûdânt beliefs are identical with those of the Egyptians, because the people who held them in Egypt were Africans, and those who now hold them in the Sûdân are Africans; what this evidence is we may now see.

I. Evidence against the African belief in God, immortality, etc. :—

Mr. Thomson says that the African appears to him to be practically a materialist. He has indeed a certain dim idea that there is a Supreme Being, but he cannot grasp the conception and lays it aside. His notion of immortality is a purely material one. The idea of a soul or a spirit, as we conceive it, is utterly beyond his mental calibre. The "phepo" or ghost is there, he says, but it is like the wind, we cannot see it. It feels pain, hunger, disease, cold, etc., as do living people.² According to Schweinfurth the Bongos have not the slightest conception of immortality, and they have no belief in the transmigration of souls. All religion as we know it is unknown to them. Their word for the Supreme Being is "Loma," which denotes equally luck and ill-luck.³ They are in abject fear of spirits, devils, witches (bitaboh), and wood goblins (ronga). They know no Creator or ruling power above. They work magic by

¹ Egypt became a Roman province on the death of Cleopatra, 23 B.C.

² *To the Central African Lakes*, Vol. II, p. 87.

³ See Piaggia, *Viaggi nell'Africa Centrale*, p. 129.

means of roots.¹ The Niam-Niam word for Divinity is "Gumbah," *i.e.*, "lightning." None of the natives of the Baħr al-Ghazāl have "the faintest conception of true religion," but the Niam-Niam word "borru" means both prayer and augury, and this people have a sort of praying machine.² According to Johnson, the Pygmies have practically no religious belief, and no idea of immortality; when a man is dead he is done with, and "worn out."³ The Latūka also have no religious conceptions.⁴ Sir Samuel Baker says that the Obbo people have no idea of a Supreme Being, and that all bow down to sorcery; practical and useful magic is all that is esteemed by the savage. One Katchiba went so far as to place a spell on the door of Lady Baker's hut. The Kisoona have no Supreme Being and no object of worship, but they believe in magic like the Madi and Obbo.⁵ In another work Baker says that the Bari reverence a large granite stone, but later on he adds: "the natives believed in nothing."⁶ "The Wakamba have no religion, but recognize a well-intentioned Supreme Being, called Ngae, to whom they attribute good and evil. They neither worship their ancestors nor believe in witchcraft.⁷ However widely spread and deeply engrained may be the belief in spirits, it remains perfectly true that all the African tribes I met with from the Zambesi to the Victoria N'yanza are wholly lacking in any idea of a God. The 'musimo' (spirits) may be productive of evil: sacrifices are offered to them to keep them in a good humour, or to appease them when they are angry. But there is no idea of a Creator or of a Supreme Cause productive of good as well as evil."⁸ Some of the natives of Southern Abyssinia have no god, no worship, and no rites, but they pay a sort of reverence to heaven, *Wakə* ጥቅ:.⁹ He has no counterpart, is the Creator, and is lord

¹ *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 304.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 31.

³ *Tramps round the Mountains of the Moon*, p. 237.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

⁵ *Albert N'yanza*, pp. 201-203, and p. 382.

⁶ *Ismailia*, London, 1879, pp. 224, 446.

⁷ DeCle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 489.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

⁹ Ludolf, *Historia*, I, 16.

of forty-four *ajana*, or spirits, good and bad, and of twenty secondary divinities. He has a black face, and his palace is set on a mountain.¹

II. Evidence for the African belief in God, immortality, etc. :—

The Dokos, who live to the south of Shoa in East Africa, believe in a being called Yer. They pray to him with their head on the ground and their feet upright against a tree or stone; they are only four feet high, and they eat snakes.² The Supreme Being of the Gallas is Waku, or Malunga, who is associated with Oglie and Atetie, a female.³ These three beings are a triad, and so the Gallas, like the Egyptians, had a god containing three persons. Their evil spirits are eighty-eight in number, one of great power being called Sar.⁴ The god of Jagga country is Eruwa, *i.e.*, heaven.⁵ The god of Wakuafi is called Engai.⁶ The Makooa worship Ineb, *i.e.*, the sky.⁷ Gugsu's tribe, the Edjou Gallas, believed in a Supreme Being and sacrificed men to him.⁸ The bodies of these sacrifices were eaten, for cannibalism was customary with them, and when Mr. Gobat gave a dinner, he provided both roast meat and raw meat for his guests. Senhor Candido of Tete states that all the natives of this region have a clear idea of a Supreme Being, the maker and governor of all things. They call him "Morimo," "Molungo," "Reza," "Mpâmbe," according to the dialect; the Barotse name him "Nyâmpi," and the Balonda "Zambi." They also believe in immortality, they make offerings to the spirits of the dead, they hold up their hands to the Ruler of Heaven, as if appealing to him to assert their innocence; and they believe in the transmigration of souls.⁹ The primitive African faith seems to be that there is one

¹ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie N. O. Afrika*, Vol. II, p. 21.

² Krapf, *Travels*, 1869, p. 52 f.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

⁷ Salt, *Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 41.

⁸ Gobat, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, London, 1847, p. 63 f.

⁹ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 641.

Almighty Maker of heaven and earth. And we have found none in whom the belief in the Supreme Being was not found. He is so invariably referred to as the author of everything supernatural that, unless one is ignorant of their language, he cannot fail to notice this prominent feature of their faith. Everything not to be accounted for by common causes, whether of good or evil, is ascribed to the Deity.¹ The Matambwê believe in God and show great reverence for Him; when they pray they offer a little meal to Him. They admit that they know very little about Him, and Makochera told Livingstone that "He was not good, because He killed so many people."² The Manyema call God "Gulu"; He is a person, and men when they die go to Him.³ The origin of the primitive faith in Africans and others seems to have been a divine influence persistent in all ages. One portion of this primitive belief, the continued existence of departed spirits, seems to have no connection whatever with dreams.⁴

Mr. Wilson says that there is no well-defined system of false religion in Western Africa which is generally received by the people. The belief in one great Supreme Being, who made and upholds all things, is universal. The impression is so deeply engraved upon their moral and mental nature that any system of atheism strikes them as too absurd and preposterous to require a denial. All the tribes met with by him have a name for God, but they have no correct idea of the character or attributes of the Deity; they think of Him as a being like themselves. On great occasions they invoke the name of God solemnly three times. The belief in a future state is equally prevalent, and the doctrine of transmigration is common. Fetishism and Demonolatry are undoubtedly the leading and prominent forms of religion among the pagan tribes of Africa. Many of the tribes speak of the son of God, who is called "Greh" by the Grebos, and "Sankombum" by the Amina.⁵

¹ Livingstone, *The Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, p. 521 f.

² *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 45.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 149.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 184.

⁵ *Western Africa*, p. 209.

Among the Mpongwe the word for God is "Anyambia," which is said to mean "good spirits." They think of Him as a being like themselves, possessing their own characteristics, good and bad, only in a higher degree. They have a clearer and higher idea of his power and wisdom than of his other attributes . . . they have an idea of his goodness also, but this is never un-mixed with notions of capriciousness and severity of character, especially in his dealings with men. Next to God come two spirits, Ombwiri and Onyambe, the former good and gentle, the latter hateful and wicked. Ombwiri represents a class or family of spirits, but he is regarded as a tutelary or guardian spirit. Almost every man has his own Ombwiri, for which he provides a small house near his own. Next to Ombwiri and Onyambe come two classes of spirits, the Abambo and the Inlâgâ; both represent the spirits of dead men. The Abambo are ancestral spirits, the Inlâgâ are the spirits of strangers who have come from a distance. The spirits are supposed to possess men and to cause illnesses, and they can only be driven out, and their evil actions stopped by series of magical ceremonies which take ten or fifteen days to perform. The Shekani and Bakële people have a great spirit whom they call "Mwetyi." He lives in the earth, but on occasions can be induced to dwell in a large, flat, wholly dark house in a village. Ancestor worship is a distinguishing characteristic of the religion of Southern Guinea. Images are used in ancestor worship, but they are seldom displayed to public view. They are kept in a corner and food and drink and a small share of any profit made by trade are offered to them. The bones of ancestors are carefully preserved, and thus a sort of "relic worship" exists.¹

It is supposed by some that the black tribes and peoples of Western Africa worship animals and idols, and that they are acquainted with no higher Deity than the fetish which they carry on their breasts, or the serpent in their clay temple. This is a great mistake, for they possess the remnants of a noble and sublime religion, the precepts of which they have forgotten, and

¹ Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 386 ff.

the ceremonies of which they have debased. They still retain their belief in God—the One, the Supreme, the Creator, who made the world and men, who thunders in the air, who destroys the wicked with his bolts, who rewards the good with long life, who gives the rain, the fruits of the earth, and all things that are good. Some speak of him with timidity, rarely utter his awful name, and pray to him only in their last extremity. Others think he loves to be supplicated, and pray to him like children. In some parts of Guinea the daily prayer is: "O God, I know thee not, but thou knowest me; thy aid is necessary to me." In some parts of Africa they believe in the existence of an Evil Power, and, courtiers even in religion, they pray to him. They also have a material religion of fetish; images, plants, trees, animals, etc., are to them symbols only, and are not regarded as gods.

Some stupid or ignorant people believe that such charms contain the spirit of the Deity, but this is a doctrine of transubstantiation which is not confined to Africa. The natives of the Gold Coast believe in a future life; the good will be wafted over a river to a land of happiness; the wicked will be drowned. The Ibo believe in transmigration and some in re-incarnation.¹ The Cabindas have two kinds of household gods: those of one kind have features of the Egyptian type, those of the other have Hottentot characteristics, and are steatopygous.²

The Masai believe in a god, or heaven, called Engai,³ who placed a sort of demi-god called Neiterkop,⁴ or Naiteru-kop, on Mount Kenya.⁵ Masai women often pray twice daily, and when one of their number gives birth to a child they sing a prayer to Engai, of which the following is a translation by Mr. A. C. Hollis:—

¹ Winwood Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 417 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 421.

³ Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, p. 444.

⁴ Krapf, *Travels*, p. 360.

⁵ See Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 270, 280.

My God, to thee alone I pray
 That offspring may to me be given.
 Thee only I invoke each day,
 O morning star in highest heaven.
 God of the thunder and the rain
 Give ear unto my suppliant strain.
 Lord of the powers of the air
 To thee I raise my daily prayer.

My God, to thee alone I pray,
 Whose savour is as passing sweet
 As only choicest herbs display,
 Thy blessing daily I entreat.
 Thou hearest when I pray to thee,
 And listenest in thy clemency.
 Lord of the powers of the air
 To thee I raise my daily prayer.¹

According to Burton, the name for God in the Dahomey religion is "Mau."² Being incomprehensible the Supreme Being is thought to be too exalted to care for the low estate of man, and consequently is neither feared nor loved. He is regarded as the Cause of Causes, and the Source of Law, rather than as a local and personal fact. The Negro's Deity, if disassociated from physical objects, would almost represent the idea of the philosopher. The African holds that this dark, silent, eternal Deity can be influenced by intercessions animate and inanimate, human and bestial, and that the leopard and the crocodile control the inscrutable course of mundane law.

In the year 1700 the little kingdom of Whydah had three gods; Danh-gbwe, a serpent, Atin, a tree, and Hu, the ocean. To these some add Khevioso, the thunder-god.³

¹ The *Masai*, p. 346.

² The Male-Cat in the XVIIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead is called Mâu, and the text contains a pun on his name.

³ Lesser deities enumerated by Burton are: Afa, Bo (a priapus of clay), Legba (a priapus and Janus), Gôn (an iron fetish), Hoho (the twin fetish), Sapatan (small-pox), Takpwonun (the hippopotamus), Kpo (the leopard), Gbwe-ji (the great bush fetish), Kpate (a man-fetish), Kpase (a helper of Kpate), Nate (the storekeeper of the sea), Avreketete, Aizan (a street-god), Agasun (the old Makhi fetish), Li, Lisa (its messenger is the chameleon), Dohen, Nesu, Ajaruma (the white man's fetish), Tokpodun (the crocodile), Zo (the fire fetish), Aydowhedo, or

Mr. Skertchley considers that the religion of Dahomey consists of two parts, totally distinct from each other, viz., the belief in a Supreme Being, and the belief in a "whole host of minor deities." Mau, the Supreme Being, is of so exalted a nature that he cares very little for the circumstances of men, and his attention is only directed to them by some special invocation. He lives above the sky, and commits the affairs of earth to leopards, snakes, locusts, crocodiles, stones, rags, cowries, leaves of trees, etc. Mau must have mediators in dealing with him, hence the origin of fetishism. Mau has an assistant who keeps a record¹ of the good and evil deeds of every person by means of a stick, the good works being notched at one end, and the bad ones at the other. When a man dies, his body is judged by the balance struck between the two ends of the stick. If the good preponderates, it is permitted to join the spirit in Kutomen, or "Deadland"; but if the evil outweighs the good, it is utterly destroyed, and a new body created for the use of the spirit.² The corporeal existence of the Deity is denied, but human passions are ascribed to him. The religion of Dahomey is not polytheism, for the people worship one God, Mau, who is propitiated through the fetishes,³ who play the part played by Archangels and Angels in Christendom.

On the Congo the people are given up to fetishism, but everywhere the Bantu race has a name for God. Among the western Bantu we have "Nzambi," "Nyambi," "Anyambie," and the eastern Bantu speak of "Mulungu," or "Molongo," *i.e.*, the "Ancient One." In the central Congo basin the current names for God are "Ibanza," "Iyanza," or "Nzakomba." In the Bantu mind God is far removed from man, whose voice can never reach him; except his name, the natives in Bentley's time knew nothing about him.⁴ Under the

Danh (the rainbow).—*A Mission to the King of Dahome*, Vol. II, p. 133 ff. See the list also given by Skertchley, *Dahomey as It is*, p. 466 ff.

¹ He seems to be the equivalent of Thoth in the Egyptian Religion.

² *Dahomey as It is*, p. 461.

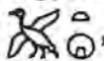
³ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

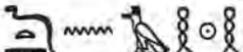
⁴ Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 247 ff.

forms of Anyambe, Anyambie, Njambi, Nzambi, Anzam, Nyam, Ukuku, Suku, etc., the Western Africans know of a Being superior to themselves, whom they often declare to be the Maker and Father. Their knowledge of this Being is almost simply a theory, and though it is an accepted belief it rarely influences their lives. They say: "Yes, he made us; but, having made us, he "abandoned us, does not care for us; he is far from us. "Why should we care for him? He does not help nor "harm us. It is the spirits who can harm us whom we "fear and worship, and for whom we care."¹ According to the testimony of a native minister of Corisco who was born in "heathenism," his forefathers believed in a Supreme Being and many inferior agencies which were under his power; in times of need they appealed to the Supreme Being and prayed for his help. He made the world and all in it. There was in the earliest times a great man who merely spake words and things were made. Two eggs fell from heaven and broke on the ground, from one came a man, from the other a woman. A great chief warned men not to eat of the fruit of a certain tree, but he himself ate of it and died. A woman brought the fruit of a forbidden tree to her village, and to hide it she ate it; she became possessed of an evil spirit, which was the beginning of witchcraft. They had a tradition of a Flood; they knew they were sinners, but had no remedy for sin. Sacrifices were made to appease the spirits and to avert their anger. Most of the tribes were cannibals. They had a legend that a "Son" of God, Ilongo ja Anyambe, was to come and deliver mankind from trouble and make them happy, but as he had not come they had ceased to expect him. They believed in the immortality of the soul, but had no tradition of the resurrection of the body; those who kept God's law would go to a good place, and those who did not, to a bad place. They believed that some spirits were good, and others bad.² Mr. Nassau does not think that, when primitive man bowed down before a snake or a tree, he worshipped the objects themselves, and he believes that the assumption of a visible tangible

¹ Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, pp. 36, 37.

² See the full statement in Nassau, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 41.

object to represent or personify the Being or Beings is an after-thought added by human ingenuity.¹ The natives believe that away back in unknown time Paia-Njambi existed, and they say: "He was, He is," without having any definite idea about him.² The modern African has conceived the idea of "eternity," which he expresses in the words *pékè-na-jome*, "ever and beyond." The Egyptian word for illimitable time in the past is *pat*, , and the words *tcheta-neheh*,

, mean illimitable time in the future.

The God of the Bantu tribes has many names—Nzambi, Nzam, Ukuku, Suku, etc., but Miss Kingsley found that the Nzam of the Fâns is practically identical with Suku, south of the Congo in the Bihe country, and so on. Though the Creator of all things, He is regarded as a "non-interfering, and therefore a negligible quantity." Not so, however, is it with the crowd of spirits with which the universe is peopled, for they interfere everywhere [usually with harmful effects], therefore the Bantu has developed a cult of spirits which we call witchcraft.³

Mr. Dennett, after a long study of the religion of many tribes in Western Africa, says that the Bavili conception of God is so spiritual, or abstract, that he fears the reader will think him mad to suppose that so evidently degenerate a race can have formed so logical an idea of God. He derives the name for God, "Nzambi," from *imbi* "personal essence," and *zia* or *za* "fours." The "fours" are the groups each of four powers called "Bakici Baci," which he describes. The group Nzambi consists of four parts: 1. Nzambi, the abstract idea, the cause. 2. Nzambi Mpungu, God Almighty, the father God. 3. Nzambici, God the essence, the God on earth. 4. Kici, the mysterious inherent quality in things that causes the Bavili to fear and respect.⁴ The Tshi-speaking peoples divide their

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

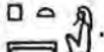
³ *Travels in West Africa*, p. 442.

⁴ *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 167.

"gods" into four groups: 1. Those worshipped by one or more tribes; these are few in number. 2. Local deities (*Bohsüm*). 3. Family deities. 4. The tutelary deities of individuals (*Suhman*). The first group is too distant or too indifferent to interfere ordinarily in human affairs. Those of the second group were originally all malignant. They represent, according to Colonel Ellis, the original conceptions of the Negro in respect of God, and from them was developed the first group. The third and fourth groups are the product of priestcraft. With the Tshi-speaking peoples a "god" is a part of Nature, superhuman, but not supernatural. In speaking of these superhuman agents the following words are used generically:—1. Sunsum, *i.e.*, "spirit," or "shadow." 2. Srahman, "ghost," "goblin," or "lightning." 3. Abonsüm, "evil spirit," "witchcraft," "magic." 4. Bohsüm, *i.e.*, "occult," "mystic," "sacred." The people of each district worship their own local gods, and do not trouble about those at a distance.

The two great deities of the Gold Coast were Bobowissi and Tando. The name of the former means, perhaps, "rain-maker." He was worshipped with human sacrifices, and his statue and stool were worshipped with human blood. When the inhabitants became accustomed to Europeans they adopted the God of the Christians, whom they called Nana-Nyankupon, or "Lord of the Sky," and, later, many of the attributes of Bobowissi were ascribed to him. The natives believe that he has the body, senses, passions, and faculties of a man. Tando, the second of the old gods of the Gold Coast, has also a human form, and his disposition is malignant; the meaning of his name appears to be the "hater," and human sacrifices were offered to him, seven men and seven women at a time. Two most important deities are Srahmantin, *i.e.*, "tall spirit," and Sasabonsum, *i.e.*, "evil spirit" (or "evil spirits"). Sasabonsum is a monster of human shape and red colour, and lives either in or upon red earth; he is cruel and malevolent, and lives as far as possible upon human beings. His attributes are those of the Egyptian god Set and his "red fiends," and both he and Set were regarded as the makers of earthquakes,

hurricanes, tempests, storms, and destruction and disorder of every kind.¹ Colonel Ellis quotes an interesting fact in connection with the worship of Brahfo, the "deputy" of Bobowissi, who was brought from Ashanti to Mankassim, which became his place of abode.² An interesting parallel to this among the ancient Egyptian gods is afforded by the legend of the Possessed Princess of Bekhten. To drive out the devil from this lady the priests of Thebes, at the request of the king of Bekhten, decided to send the statue of one of the forms of Khensu; but before they despatched the statue they took it into the temple of the great god Khensu, who transferred his power to it, and then the deputy god proceeded on his way.

Among the Yoruba tribes the word for a superhuman being or god is "orisha," which is used equally to express images and sacred objects, and also the idea of "holy": it corresponds exactly to the Tshi term *bohsum*. Their principal gods are: 1. OLORUN, the sky-god, who is the personification of the firmament; he is the equivalent of the Nyan-kupon of the Tshis, Nyonmo of the Gás, and Mawu of the Ewes. The Egyptian equivalent was Pet, . The Yorubas, like the Egyptians, believed

the sky to be a solid body, which curved over the earth so as to cover it like a vaulted roof. Compare the figure on stelae  Olorun is too distant, or too indifferent, to interfere in the affairs of this world. He has no images, symbols, priests or temples, and is only invoked in times of calamity when the lesser gods will not answer their worshippers. 2. OBATALA, who was made by Olorun, and manages the heavens and the earth for him. He is a sky-god with human attributes. He made the first man and woman out of clay, and his equivalent among the gods of Egypt is Ptah, whom we see at Philae fashioning a king on a potter's wheel. As a judge he possesses some of the attributes of the Egyptian god Osiris. 3. ODUDUA, the wife of Obatala, is always represented as a seated woman nursing a child;

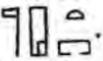
¹ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, pp. 1-36.

² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

in this respect she resembles the Egyptian goddess Isis, but as the patroness of love her Egyptian equivalent is Hathor. 4 and 5. Odudua bore her husband a boy and girl called AGANJU and YEMAJA, who represent Land and Water respectively. The brother and sister married, and their son was called ORUNGAN, *i.e.*, the Air. The following gods were the fruit of the unlawful intercourse of Orungan with his mother Yemaja: DADA, a vegetable god; SHANGO, lightning god; OGUN, god of iron and war; OLOKUN, sea-god; OLOSA, lagoon-god; OYA, Niger-god; OSHUN, river-god; OBA, river-god; ORISHA OKO, god of agriculture; OSHOSI, god of hunters; OKE, god of mountains; AJE SHALUGA, god of wealth; SHANKPANNA, smallpox-god; ORUN, the sun; and OSHU, the moon. OSHUMARE, the rainbow, is a servant of Shango, and his messenger ARA is the thunderclap; his slave is BIRI, the darkness. Shango hanged himself, but did not die, for he went into the earth and there became a god (*orisha*). 6. IFA, god of divination, who causes pregnancy, and presides over births. 7. ELEGBA, a phallic divinity; his symbol is a short knobbed club, which was originally intended to be a representation of the phallus. Circumcision and excision are connected with his worship. 8. OGUN, the war-god. The priests of Ogun take out the hearts of human victims, dry and powder them, mix them with rum, and sell them to people who wish to acquire great courage.¹

Besides these "gods" the Yorubas worship several minor deities whose origin they cannot readily account for; these, of course, are not in any way related to the group headed by Olorun. It is important to note that this company of gods resembles in many respects the Egyptian company of gods of which Osiris was an important member. Olorun is the equivalent of Temu, Aganju of Keb, Yemaja of Nut and Tefnut, Orungan of Shu, Obatala of Osiris, and Ododua of Isis, and the group of gods which were the offspring of Yemaja and Orungan may be compared to Nephthys, Set, Anubis, and the other gods of the cycle of Osiris. The Yoruba gods, other than those of Olorun's cycle, are represented by the chief local deities of Egypt, whose existence was

¹ Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, pp. 1-69.

taken for granted. The priests of the Yoruba gods are divided into grades, as were the priests of Egypt, and as intermediaries between gods and men they prepare and sell charms, amulets, etc.; this also did the priests of Egypt. In Yoruba and Egypt the office of priest was hereditary. The temple is called "Ile Orisha," *i.e.*, "house of the god"; in Egypt also the temple was called "house of the god," . The temple is a clay hut with a thatched roof, with the interior painted the colour sacred to the god, and the door, shutters, posts, etc., carved. The primitive temples of Egypt were probably of the same class. The spirits who enter the images of the Yoruba gods to receive the sacrifices and prayers of the faithful are worshipped, not the images themselves. Sacrifice is the most important part of ceremonial worship, and no god can be consulted without it. The Oni of Ife said that the sacrifice made at Ife was for the benefit of the whole human race, the white man not excepted.¹

Sir Harry Johnston says that the negroes of all Congoland, and of nearly all pagan Africa, have imagined a Supreme Spirit of the Sky, a Jove, whose voice is the thunder, who gives or withholds the rain, and whose hand hurls the lightning. This is Nzambi, or Nzambi-ampungu, Nyambe, Nzakomba, Liyanza, Chambi, Kabezya-mpungu, Mfidi, Leza, Loula, Firie, Ruhanga, Namwanga, Òri, Mböri, Eñketa, Ala, or Zaba, according to people and district. Even the Bambute Pygmies possess an original name for the Sky-god—Alidtda. The conception of the Sky-god is more or less anthropomorphic. "In the east and south-east of Africa the conception of the Deity *may* be gradually attained through steps of ancestor-worship; the mighty chief, great-grandfather and founder of the tribe, may, from haunting a cavern or tree, or living again in the lion or elephant, gradually mount (in the imagination of his descendants) to the cloud-world above, and in the interests of his children's children take charge of the thunder, lightning, and rain. But in the Congo basin

¹ Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

“ God is rather imagined as the pre-existing Creator, who “ has probably called man into existence, however “ indifferent He may afterwards show Himself as to the “ fate of each human being.” Many of the Congo peoples believe that the Supreme God of the sky is too far off to care about humanity. The control of the world and all in it has, they think, passed into the hands of a host of spirits, or of a Devil, like the Moloki of the Bayaka, the Ngumba of the Nsakara, the Nkadi of the Eshi-Kongo, the Elemba of the Ababua, the Banda of the Bason-gomeno, and the Ngula of the Batabwa.¹ The spirits, or “ gods,” may dwell anywhere, and they are supposed to be able to locate their influence or power in trees and rock, and in substances of all kinds, in figures of wood, clay, or metal, in objects made of wood, stones, feathers, in parts of dead human beings, *e.g.*, fingers, skulls, etc., and of dead animals, and in living creatures. The object in which a spirit locates itself, or part of itself, or its influence, becomes what is commonly, but absurdly, called a “fetish.” The intelligent African is far too shrewd a person to worship the objects in which the spirits abide, but large numbers of natives confuse the abode of the spirit with the spirit, just as many people do outside Africa, and give to the material thing the worship which should be given to the spirit.

The Dinkas, according to Count Gleichen, have a long list of gods and demi-gods. The head of these is Deng-dit, the Rain-giver, whose wife is Abôk, the daughter of the Devil (L'wâl Burrajôk). He has many forms and shapes. Deng-dit has three children, two sons and one daughter, whose names are Kûr Konga, Gurung-dit, and Ai-Yak respectively. Deng-dit is regarded as a malevolent being who must be propitiated by sacrifices, which represent the only intercourse which the people attempt to hold with him. The Golos worship Umvili and Barachi, who are said to have created man. They believe that the righteous will be rewarded with bliss, and the wicked punished by a spirit called Ma-ah, who is the servant rather than the enemy of Umvili. Like the Dinkas, they do not pray, and their worship is one of sacrifice. They associate good with the sky and

¹ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 631.

evil with the bowels of the earth. "The natural human instinct for religion is probably as deeply rooted in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl as elsewhere, and manifests itself perhaps in the readiness with which its tribes embrace Islām."¹ The priests of the Dinkas are called Tieit, and claim to possess the power of conversing with the dead.² The great god of the Shilluk country is called Jo-uk, the source of all life and of good and evil; he is everywhere, and when men die they go to him. He is feared and propitiated with animal sacrifices, *i.e.*, the priest of each village slays an animal with a holy spear on behalf of the people who assemble at the house of the Nyakang. The sacrifice is followed by a dance and drinking of much merissa; these acts appear to constitute Shilluk worship. The Shilluks believe in the existence of a series of semi-divine beings, male and female, who are descended from the great white Cow Deung Adok, which was created by Jo-uk and came up out of the Nile. This white Cow gave birth to a man-child called Kola (Kollo), and he begat Umak-Rā, or Omaro, who begat Makwa, or Wād Maul, who begat Ukwa, who married Nikkiewa and Ung-wād, daughters of Ud Diljil, who was part man and part crocodile. These wives were part women and part crocodile. Ukwa subsequently married a third wife. His children were:—By Nikkiewa two sons and three daughters, *viz.*, Nyakang, Umoi, Ad Dui, Ari Umker, and Bun Yung; by Ung-wād, one son, called Ju, or Bworo; by the third wife, a son, called Duwat. On the death of Ukwa, Nyakang and Duwat fought for the succession, and at length the former got wings and flew to the Sawbāt country with his sisters, brother, and half-brother. Nyakang then created men and women out of the animals he found in the country, and from these the modern Shullas believe themselves to be descended.³

Before the conversion of Uganda to Christianity the common word for "god" was "Katonda," and "Kazoba" was the god of the firmament, or God. The religion of the people was derived from ancestor worship, but in its

¹ *The Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān*, Vol. I, p. 163.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³ Gleichen, *The Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān*, Vol. I, p. 197.

later form it became the worship of a long series of powers which were usually of a malevolent disposition. The chief god of the Banabuddu was Kitabumbuire, and other well-known spirits were Nkulo, who gave children, Kagole, Jero, the author of good fortune, Nuabulezi, who cursed people by request.¹ The Bators worship Ndahoro, Wamala, and Kyomya.² The great deity of Lake Victoria was Mukasa, a goddess of extraordinary power, who was said to control the Lake in all its moods. No one could cross it without her permission, and on one occasion it was "tied up" for three months, because King Mtesa had incurred her wrath. At length, Mtesa sent 100 slaves, 100 women, 100 cows, and 100 goats, and then Mukasa untied the Lake. The goddess Wanema had a temple at Bukasa, and was the mother of Mukasa. Kitinda was the god of Damba Island, Musisi of Fumvwe Island, and Nalwoga of Nsadzi Island.³ Both Mr. Cunningham⁴ and Sir Harry Johnston⁵ record that the Bamandwa, or priests, made use of the sign of the cross in certain of their ceremonies long before the introduction of Christianity into Uganda.

From the above-stated facts it is quite clear that the majority of African travellers have come to the conclusion that the native believes in God as well as in the existence of a number of "gods" or "spirits," who practically rule the world for Him, and direct the affairs of men. And when we compare these facts with what is known about the God and "gods" of the Egyptians

¹ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 67.

² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 79 ff. The other great "gods" of Uganda were: Kibuka (the war-god), Musisi (the earthquake-god), Kaumpuli (the plague-god), Kawaga (the executioner of Kaumpuli), Mayanja (leopard-god), Musoki (the rainbow), Mwanga (god of divination), Wanema, a goddess, Kayindu (jumping-god), Kitinda (demon of man-eaters), Magobwi (snake-god), Nagodya (daughter of Mukasa), Lule (rain-god), Nagawonye (god of plenty), Nakayaga (storm-god), Kiwanka (thunder-bolt-god), Kizito (god of divination), Nalwoga, Waziba, Walusi (god of falling stars and red sky), Luisi (hyena-god), Lubanga (dancing-god), Mbajwe, Nabamba, Kagolo (god of thunder and lightning), Kigala (god of the deaf), Wamala, etc. *Ibid.*, p. 215. Besides the ancestral spirits and demi-gods the Baganda believed in the existence of elves or spirits whom they call "Ngogwe."—Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 677.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 678.

we find a resemblance which is too consistent and definite to be the result of accident or coincidence. The African of Egypt and the Sūdān has always believed in a God, almighty, omniscient, invisible, unknowable. Among the series of "gods" or "spirits" who are subordinate to Him there is one who unites the nature of man with a divine, or superhuman, nature, and special regard is always paid to him, for he is supposed to understand men's troubles and their needs. Originally he was, no doubt, an ancestral spirit, but as his cult developed the attributes of the great "gods," and even of God, were ascribed to him. Most of the African gods are credited with malevolent or evil dispositions, and among them is always one who is regarded as the personification of evil, and who is, in fact, the Devil. Like God he is immortal and indestructible. He is sometimes the servant of God, but at other times is His opponent; and he is assumed to pass his existence in subverting His plans, and in working destruction, and in overthrowing the powers of Nature. The ill-will of the "gods" may be set aside, and by means of gifts and sacrifices their influences and powers may be converted to the use of men; the Devil alone is implacable. The Egyptian god Set was in all respects the counterpart of the Devil of modern Africa. He was the personification of physical darkness and of moral wickedness, and he was the foe of physical and moral order of every kind. He waged war against the Sun-god Heru-ur, and was defeated, but not slain, by the god of light. He was attacked by Horus, the son of Isis, who fought with him for three days, and though wounded he escaped with his life. He suffered sorely at the hands of Rā the Sun-god, but he was not slain. Though he daily attempted to prevent Rā from entering the sky, the Sun-god was content to cast a spell upon him, which made him powerless for evil, and to permit him to renew his evil actions on the following day. As Set was the everlasting foe of the gods, so was he the foe of every righteous man, and none could escape from him except by the help of Osiris and the gods who helped this god.

The groups into which the modern African has divided his gods closely resemble the "companies" of

the gods of Egypt, and the ideas which underlie the worship of ancient and modern African gods are substantially the same. From first to last the view as to the importance and value of sacrifice has remained unchanged, and no substitute has yet been found for offerings which are as jealously regarded by the priest-hoods of the Sûdân to-day as they were by the priesthood of Osiris at Abydos under the XVIIIth dynasty.

The modern African "witch-doctor," or "medicine man," plays a part in every important incident in the life of the modern Sûdânt, just as the *kher heb* did in the life of the ancient Egyptian, and in each case the object in view is generally the same. In one particular the Egyptian enjoyed a great advantage over the modern peoples of Central Africa, *i.e.*, the blessing of a settled government for long periods at a time. Under the Ancient Empire Memphis and Heliopolis flourished, and the Pyramids of Mêdûm, Şakḳârah, Gîzah, etc., were built, to say nothing of the temples and maṣtabah tombs. The cultured and the leisured classes had time to think about their religion and to observe its precepts, and to bury their dead with elaborate pomp and ceremony, and to celebrate their commemorative festivals. Under the Middle Empire Thebes became the capital, and what had been done at Şakḳârah was imitated, though on a less magnificent scale, at Kûrnah and Draḥ abû'l-Nekḳah on the west bank of the Nile, by kings who were not only mighty warriors, but devoutly religious men. Under the XVIIIth dynasty, the kings of which extended the frontiers of Egypt from the Upper Euphrates on the north to Equatorial Africa on the south, the Egyptian religion reached its highest state of development, and the ethics of the greatest thinkers of the day were on a level with those preached by Solomon and Jesus the son of Sirach. The cult of the gods and the cult of the dead, as they were understood in Egypt, could only flourish there when the country was wealthy, and safe from the invasions of enemies. At no period were men more religious than under the XVIIIth dynasty, and at no period were the kings of Egypt greater or more successful conquerors. Towards the close of the New Empire a religious decline set in, and

spiritual conceptions became obscured under a mass of confused legends, traditions, and contradictory opinions, which reflected themselves in the texts and inscriptions. In all this confusion, however, the great fundamental truths of the Egyptian religion are not lost, and the existence of God, and the doctrines of the resurrection and immortality, are proclaimed in the texts boldly and with conviction.

The reader will have observed that in the preceding pages which deal with the resemblances between Egyptian and modern African gods and god-groups, there is no mention of sun-worship. This may seem at first sight surprising, especially when we take into consideration the very important part which the Sun-god played in the religion of the dynastic Egyptians. The rise of the cult of Rā the great Sun-god as a dominant force in the religion of Egypt seems to date from the period when the king began to call himself "son of Rā," *i.e.*, about the end of the Vth dynasty. It is possible that the king adopted a "Son of Rā" name before this time, but it is unlikely, and as a matter of fact the earliest "son of Rā" name known to us is that of Assā, a king of the Vth dynasty. The great home of the cult of the Sun-god was at that time Anu (Heliopolis), and as the power of the priests of Rā increased they caused the worship of their god to spread rapidly, and under the VIth dynasty he was the greatest of the gods of Lower Egypt. As the religious writings of his priests were adopted by the priesthoods of great towns in Upper Egypt, and their doctrines became the foundation of the religious system which flourished at Thebes under the Middle and New Empires, and in Nubia from the XVIIIth dynasty onwards, the cult of the Sun is, of course, very ancient, and there is reason to believe that Heliopolis was one of its most ancient centres in Egypt, but there is no evidence to show that the Sun was the greatest god, or even one of the greatest of the gods, of the indigenous Egyptians. They certainly believed in the god of the firmament, whatever might be the name by which they called him, but the cult of the Sun as the greatest of the gods appears to be the product, in my opinion, of peoples who did not belong to their stock.

The Sun-worshippers may have numbered among their adherents the tribes of the Eastern Desert and Syria, and even seafaring folk and dwellers on the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, who found it possible to merge their own phallic gods and war-gods in the person of the Sun-god. Heliopolis was always a very important station on the great trade route to the East, and of all the gods adored there the greatest would certainly be the deity who was revered by the greatest number of worshippers. The cult of the Sun seems to represent a higher order of civilization than that possessed by the primitive Egyptians, and its votaries were, if we accept the Legend of Horus of Beḥuṭet, *i.e.*, the great Sun-god of Edfū, their conquerors.

Among modern peoples of Africa the conception of God is little associated with the worship of the sun or moon, and little interest or superstition appears to be attached to these luminaries. This is certainly true of the peoples of the Congo basin.¹ Among the peoples visited by Miss Kingsley she found no trace of Sun-worship,² and Major A. G. Leonard says that among the tribes of the Lower Niger "there is no direct or pronounced adoration of the "celestial bodies, which, as subservient to the Creator, "are unconsciously included in their annual obeisance "to, their one great effort of recognition of, him."³ Elsewhere⁴ he speaks of the "entire absence of any "existing worship of those higher natural objects, such "as the sun, the moon, and the stars, or any ceremonial "connected with them," but he saw in many of the Juju houses in the Ibo interior rude clay images, purporting to be emblems of the sun, moon, rainbow, and stars.⁵ This kind of adoration of natural objects he considers to be more specific than general. The purely negro races do not worship the sun.⁶ Here and there, however, instances of a kind of Sun-worship appear. Thus the Ja-luo believe in a Supreme God whom they call "Chieng," which is also the name of the sun. When a

¹ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 635.

² *Travels in West Africa*, p. 508.

³ *The Lower Niger and Its Tribes*, p. 377.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

⁶ Johnston, *Liberia*, p. 1062.

man comes out of his house in the morning he spits towards the east, and in the evening he spits towards the west.¹ The Supreme Being of the Nandi is Asista, the sun, who dwells in the sky; he created man and beast, and the world belongs to him; men pray to him and make offerings to him.² The name of the Uganda god Kazoba has, according to Sir Harry Johnston, for its root—*zoba*, a variant of an old Bantu word for "sun," which is, however, sometimes applied to the sky in general.³ Among some peoples the moon is regarded as the mother of the sun, but the sun and moon are also spoken of as brothers, or as brother and sister.⁴ Mr. Torday says that the Bangala believe that the sun is in love with the moon. He pursues his beloved across the heavens, and when she receives his embraces, and the two lovers forget themselves in their passion, the sky becomes overcast, and darkness conceals their amours. This is the cause of an eclipse.⁵ The stars are merely the slaves of the moon. When a solar halo appears the Congo peoples think it is a gathering of the heavenly notables, who have assembled to pass condemnation on some great but bad man.⁶ Livingstone reports the explanation of a solar halo given to him by his chief boatman, who said: "It is the Barimo (gods, or departed "spirits) who have called a picho (council); don't you "see they have the Lord (sun) in the centre?"⁷ The natives always look upon the halo with awe, and near the Victoria Falls it was called *motse oa barimo*, or "pestle of the gods."⁸ The daily setting of the sun, and the phases of the moon, and the setting of the stars, must always give peoples who are at a low level in the scale of civilization, false ideas about the stability and permanence of these luminaries, and cause them to belittle their majesty and power. Their true functions were not understood by the primitive Egyptians any more than

¹ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 791.

² Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 40.

³ *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 677.

⁴ Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 103.

⁵ Quoted by Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 815.

⁶ Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 169.

⁷ *Missionary Travels*, p. 220.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 524.

they are by many tribes of modern Africa, and as the great lights of heaven were, like the sky, remote and indifferent to the personal wants of men and their calamities, the African concerned himself principally with the natural objects, animate and inanimate, which were round about him.

CHAPTER XII.

OSIRIS AS A MOON-GOD.

THE facts quoted in the previous chapters prove that in the earliest times Osiris was believed to have been an African king of divine origin, who lived and reigned upon earth, and who after his death and mutilation assumed among the gods in the Other World the position of god and judge of the dead. It is certain, however, that just as at one time the star Orion was regarded as his abode in the sky, and Sothis that of Isis, so at one period Osiris was identified with the moon. This fact was well known to Plutarch, who says that on the new moon of the month of Phamenoth, which falls in the beginning of the spring, the Egyptians celebrate a festival which is expressly called by them "the Entrance of Osiris into the Moon."¹ He goes on to say that by Osiris are meant the power and influence of the moon, just as by Isis they understand the generative faculty which resides in it. This statement is supported by a passage in the Book of Making the Spirit of Osiris,² which reads :—

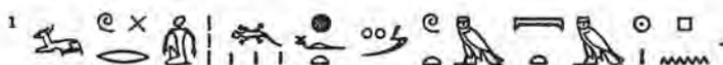
- " Thou risest into the sky,
- " Thou art united [thereto] like Rā.
- " The sailors in [thy] boat give thee acclamations.
- " The mouths of the gods of the horizon rejoice,
- " Their throats (*i.e.*, cries) follow thee.
- " The love of thee is in hearts, awe of thee is in breasts.
- " As soon as thou enterest the Utchau,³
- " And unitest thyself thereto,
- " The beings on earth flourish (or, become fertile)."

¹ *De Iside*, Chapter 43.

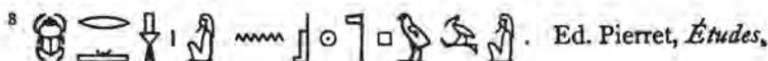
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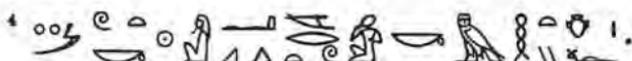
The next few lines of the text are, unfortunately, mutilated, but enough remains to show that the moon is addressed as "bull, that groweth young in the heaven each day," and it is said: "at thy rising up into the sky wretchedness departs," and "when thou art seen in the sky on this day many conceptions take place."¹ There are also allusions to the female power of the moon,² and to the "Power of Osiris, which is Thoth."³ What exactly Thoth was supposed to do is not clear. The lines which follow add: "The Nile appeareth at thy utterance, making men to live through the effluxes which come forth from thy members, making all cultivated lands to be green by thy coming, great source (?) of things which bloom, sap of crops and herbs, Lord of millions of years, sustainer of wild animals, lord of cattle; the support of whatsoever is in thee, what is in earth is thine, what is in the heavens is thine, what is in the waters is thine." Thus it is quite clear that Osiris was regarded as the Power of the moon, which produced the Nile-flood and therefore all the fertility in Egypt. There is also no possibility of identifying Osiris with Rā, for it is distinctly said Osiris in the moon unites himself to heaven like Rā. Also it is said in another passage "Rā seeth thee enter, love of thee is in his breast."⁴ The identification of the moon with the power which produces vegetation on the earth is common among many peoples, as Mr. J. G. Frazer has shown,⁵ and we should naturally expect Osiris at some time or other in the period of his cult to be considered a moon-god.

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³  Ed. Pierret, *Études*,

1873, p. 29.

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⁵ *Golden Bough*, Vol. II, p. 154 ff.

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It is nowhere so stated in the Egyptian texts, but Plutarch says that Osiris lived or reigned twenty-eight years, and thinks that the number twenty-eight manifestly alludes to the number of days in which the moon runs her course round the earth.¹ He also refers to the ceremony which is performed at the funeral of Osiris, when a tree trunk is made into the shape of a crescent, and assumes that this symbolizes the waning moon. And he records the views of certain investigators who stated that the death of Osiris took place at full moon, and that the number of pieces into which his body was torn—fourteen—marks the number of days of the waning moon.

Plutarch can hardly have invented these views, and it is probable that he is repeating the opinions of the learned which were current in Egypt in his day. In the matter of the number of pieces in which the body of Osiris was cut the Egyptian texts do not agree, and it seems as if the identification of the fourteen days of the waning moon with the fourteen members of the mutilated body of Osiris were an afterthought, though it must be admitted, a very ancient one. The Egyptian theologians received the tradition of the dismemberment of the dead from their primitive ancestors, and, in the period when the cult of Osiris under the form of a Moon-god was general, must have assumed that the number of pieces into which Set hacked his body was fourteen. A text at Denderah says that the figure of Seker-Osiris was made up of fourteen pieces,² but other texts mention sixteen.³

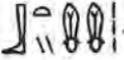
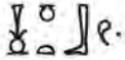
The sixteen members are: his head, feet, bones, arms, heart, interior, tongue, eye, fist, fingers, back, ears, loins, body, his head with a ram's face, and his hair. On the other hand, the Book of making the Spirit of Osiris⁴ enumerates eighteen, thus:—

¹ *De Iside*, Chapter 42.

² See *A.Z.*, 1881, p. 90 ff.

³ *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. III, p. 56; tom. IV, p. 23.

⁴ Ed. Pierret, p. 27.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Head  | 11. Neck  |
| 2. Eyes  | 12. Hands  |
| 3. Ears  | 13. Nails and ankles  |
| 4. Nose  | 14. Belly  |
| 5. Mouth  | 15. Shoulders (?)  |
| 6. Jawbones  | 16. Genital organs  |
| 7. Beard  | 17. Backbone  |
| 8. Lips  | 18. Feet  |
| 9. Tongue  | |
| 10. Body (breast)  | |

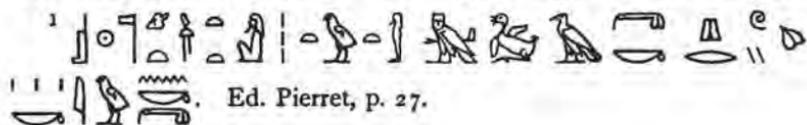
This list is of great importance, for it mentions two portions of the body of Osiris which are ignored in the other lists, viz., the jaw-bones and the genital organs. Reference has already been made to the early text which speaks of the jawbones of a dead king of Egypt being restored to their proper place in his reconstituted body, and to the custom among the Baganda of cutting out the lower jawbones of their dead kings, and the above list proves beyond all doubt that the lower jawbone of Osiris was believed to have been removed from his body by Set when he dismembered him. Of the fate of the genital organs of the god no mention is made in the early rituals, or the Book of the Dead, and this fact no doubt gave rise to the tradition reported by Diodorus¹ and Plutarch² that Isis failed to find them, because they had been thrown into the river by Set, or Typhon, and had been eaten by the lepidotus, phagrus, and oxyrhynchus fishes. These writers add that the goddess was obliged to make models of the phallus of Osiris,

¹ Book I, Chapter 22.

² Chapter 18.

which she caused to be set up in the temples and to be "religiously adored." The above list, however, includes the organs, showing that, at the time it was written, the priestly authorities believed a tradition to the effect that they had been found; that they were in an effective state is clear from the words of the text.¹ As all the Egyptian books which contain addresses to Osiris by Isis and Nephthys, *e.g.*, "The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys," and the "Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys," assume that the body of the god was complete, we must believe that Plutarch and Diodorus repeated incorrect information, or confounded two traditions.

At what period exactly the Egyptians began to identify Osiris with the moon it is impossible to say, but, as there are evidences of the association of the cult of the god with the cult of the moon in the great religious texts of the Vth and VIth dynasties, we may assume that the identification was made in primitive times. In fact, it seems as if the identification of Osiris with the moon represents the fusion of the cult of the god with the very ancient African cult of the moon. Osiris the divine king was slain by Set, and it was Set who waged war against both Eyes of Horus, *i.e.*, the sun and the moon. The storms and eclipses which were caused by this god of evil blinded temporarily the Eyes of Horus, *i.e.*, the sun and the moon, and each month he destroyed piecemeal the moon, which was regarded from very early times as the abode of Osiris. It is possible that the moon was regarded as the home for the souls of the blessed, just as were the stars, but there is no evidence that the Egyptians ever believed that the souls of the dead found their heaven in the Sun. In the Hymn to Osiris in the Papyrus of Ani (Sheet 1, l. 17) the deceased prays that his KA "may behold the disk of the Sun, and see the Moon-god without ceasing." In the Book of the Dead (Chapter II) the deceased beseeches the "god who shines in (or,

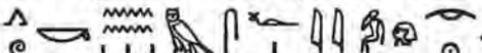


from) the Moon" to give him the power to wander about among the denizens of heaven, and to open his way for him through the Tuat. In Chapter VIII the deceased says that he shall live as Osiris lives, and then adds: "I am the Moon-god, the Dweller among the gods, I shall not perish." Chapter LXXX is a formula which was believed to give the deceased the power to transform himself into the "god who giveth light in the darkness," *i.e.*, the Moon. Chapter CXXXV was ordered to be recited at the new moon on the first day of the month, and the Rubric states that it caused the deceased to be a perfect spirit, and prevented him from dying a second time, and enabled him to "eat his food side by side with Osiris."

In the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys¹ Isis addresses Osiris by the name of An , and says: "Thou risest for us in heaven every day, we cease not to see thy rays. Thoth acteth as a protector for thee, he maketh thy soul to stand up in the Māātet Boat in thy name of Aāḥ (*i.e.*, Moon). I come to see thy beauties in the Utcha² in thy name of 'Lord of the Festival of the sixth day.' Thy nobles are about thee, they depart not from thee. Thou conquerest heaven by thine august majesty in thy name of Prince of the Festival of the Fifteenth day. Thou risest on us like Rā every day, thou shinest on us like Atem. . . . Thou comest to us as a child each month.³ Thy emanation glorifieth Saḥu (Orion) in heaven in rising and setting every day. I am like Septet (Sothis) behind thee. I depart not from thee." In this passage we have a description of the glory of the moon at its first quarter, and at its full, and a direct identification of Osiris with the Moon-god Aāḥ. The star Orion is also said to derive its glory from Osiris, and Isis is made to identify herself with Sothis (the Dog-star) as in the older texts. The text goes on to say that the holy emanation which proceeds from Osiris

¹ Ed. De Horrack, Col. IV.

² One "Eye" of Horus, *i.e.*, the moon.

³ 

moon was welcomed with elaborate dances and joyful songs.¹

Among the Barotse the new moon is the occasion of grand festivities. It is a general holiday; men of all ranks sing and dance, while the women assemble apart and give vent to strident howls of their own. They kill oxen, which they cook in the public places, and begin to eat with the appearance of the moon. Their most fashionable instrument of music is a kind of piano. On this they can really play airs, and that in four-time, not five-time like the Arabs; it consists of a square piece of wood hollowed out, on which are fixed a number of pieces of iron, and is played with both hands. To it are sung songs, pitched very high, through the nose.² For the new moon of the second month of the year, all the Matabele regiments assembled at Bulawayo, and King Lo Bengula was supposed to fast from food and drink. On the day of the new moon he abstained from all business, and held communication with the spirits of his ancestors. At the dance some 15,000 warriors formed in a semicircle, singing and dancing in time; numbers of women sang and danced too. When the king danced everyone had to dance too, and the witch-doctors went about with sticks beating all those who did not dance with sufficient vigour. After the dance a large number of cattle given by the king were slaughtered. The meat was not eaten that night, but was left for the spirits of the ancestors to come and partake of it; the following day the people ate it, and had a great feast. After the big dance the ceremony of firstfruits was performed. The people went and washed in the river, and then went home and prepared a dish of vegetables mixed with "medicine," prescribed by the witch-doctor, who took the food by handfuls and scattered it among the people. After this the men were allowed to eat any vegetable growing; the women took no part in the ceremony.³ Among all the people from Nyasaland to

¹ *Viaggi di O. Antinori E. C. Piaggia nell' Africa Centrale. Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, Anno I, Firenze, 1868, p. 134.

² Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 86.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

Ujiji the first night of the new moon is a public festival. About Tanganyika it is celebrated by a dance in which the men alone take part.¹

Du Chaillu noticed among the tribes which he visited an interesting custom. On the first night when the new moon was visible all the people in the village kept silent, and nobody spoke except in an undertone. In the course of the evening King Alapay came out of his house, and danced along the street, his face and body painted black, red, and white, and spotted all over with spots the size of a peach. In the dim twilight he had a frightful appearance, and when he was asked why he painted thus, he only answered by pointing to the moon, without speaking a word. There are other and varying ceremonies in use among different tribes for welcoming the new moon, but in all of them the men mark their bodies with charmed chalk or ochre.² In another section of his work³ he says that a great effort was made by the people to ascertain the cause of their king's sufferings. Quengueza had sent a message to his people to consult Ilogo, a spirit who was said to live in the moon. To consult Ilogo the time must be near full moon. Early in the evening the women of the town assembled in front of Quengueza's house, and sang songs to and in praise of Ilogo, the spirit of Ogouayli (the moon), the latter name being often repeated. Meanwhile, a woman seated in the centre of the circle of the singers, who sang with them, looked steadfastly towards the moon. She was to be inspired by the spirit and to utter prophecies. Two women undertook this duty, but without success, then came a third, little, wiry, and nervous. As she seated herself the singing was redoubled in fury, drums were beaten, and the outsiders shouted madly. Then the woman began to tremble, her nerves twitched, her face was contorted, her muscles swelled, and at last her limbs straightened out, and she lay insensible. Meanwhile, the people besought Ilogo in the moon to tell them who had bewitched the king. When the woman recovered her senses she said she had seen Ilogo,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

² Du Chaillu, *Adventures*, p. 109.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

who had told her that the king was not bewitched and that a certain plant medicine would cure him.

In the country of Sesheke the only stated day of rest is that which follows the appearance of the new moon. They watch eagerly for the first glimpse of it, and when they perceive the faint outline they utter a loud shout of "Kuā," and recite prayers to it in a loud voice. Livingstone's men called out: "Let our journey with the white man be prosperous! Let our enemies perish and the Children of Nake become rich! May he have plenty of meat on this journey!"¹ On another occasion his men waited until they had seen the new moon to start on a journey.²

Rūmanika, king of Karagüé, held a New Moon Levée each month. He wore a tiara of beads, with a plume of red feathers over the forehead, and a large white beard set in a band of beads. Thirty-five drums were beaten, and then music was performed on smaller drums and pipes. Rūmanika's officers then came up to him one by one, and swore an oath of fidelity and sincere devotion to him. A dance by the girls brought the levée to a close.³ On the first appearance of the new moon each month, the king of the Wahūma used to shut himself up, and arrange his magic horns for two or three days.⁴ Of the king of Uganda Speke says: "The new moon seen last night kept the king engaged at home, paying his devotions with his magic horns or fetishes in the manner already described. The spirit of this religion, if such it can be called, is not so much adoration of a Being supreme and beneficent, as a tax to certain malignant furies, a propitiation, in fact, to prevent them bringing evil on the land, and to insure a fruitful harvest. It was rather ominous that hail fell with violence and lightning burnt down one of the palace huts, while the king was in the midst of his propitiatory devotions."⁵ On the day after the appearance of the new moon, according to ancient

¹ *Missionary Travels*, p. 235.

² *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 298.

³ Speke, *Journal*, p. 184.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

custom, all the people about court, including the king, shaved their heads, the king, however, retaining his cockscorn, the pages their double cockades, and the other officers their single cockades on the back of the head, on either side, according to the official rank of each.¹

The Mendis of the Hinterland of Sierra Leone, who reckon time by lunar months, but have not divided the month into weeks, hold a new moon festival, and abstain from all work on the day of the new moon, alleging that if they infringed this rule corn and rice would grow red, the new moon being a "day of blood." From this we may perhaps infer that it was at one time customary to offer human sacrifices to the new moon.²

The Tshi equivalent for "moon," *Bohsüm*, is the name by which deities of the second and third classes are generally known, and from the etymology of that word it may be inferred that there was a time when the moon was revered, or regarded as a god. No such trace, however, of sun-worship can be discovered. The Tshi word for "sun" is *ehwia*, from *wia* (to creep, crawl, or move slowly), and its literal meaning is "the creeper," perhaps so named from its apparently slow progress across the heavens. From this it would seem that moon-worship takes precedence of sun-worship, and it certainly appears more probable that primitive man would be impressed by the, to him, erratic and varying phases of the moon, than by the constant and regular recurrence of the sun. But although he might thus at first regard the moon with awe, he would soon learn to know when its appearance might be expected; and then, finding himself neither obstructed nor thwarted by it, would cease to pay as much regard to it as to those sublunary powers which affected him more nearly.³

In the Bavili philosophy the moon is regarded as the mother of the sun and of the evening star (*Nxienji*); the full moon rises from her couch accompanied by this same star, her offspring, now her husband, and this star is then called "Ndongo," *i.e.*, the spirit of witchcraft. The sun

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

² Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 146.

³ Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 117.

and moon are spoken of either as two Brothers, or two Sisters. The sun and moon are further spoken of as judges to whom certain palavers must be referred.¹ In Karague one night, during a partial eclipse of the moon, all the Wangüana marched up and down from Rūmanika's to Nnanaji's huts, singing and beating the tin cooking-pots to frighten off the spirit of the sun from consuming entirely the chief object of reverence, the moon.² The old chief at Eloby prayed to the spirit of the new moon, which he regarded as a representative of the higher elemental power, to prevent the evil lower-spirits from entering his town.³

The testimonies of travellers quoted above prove that veneration for the moon is universal among Nilotic and other peoples in the Sūdān, and show, moreover, that the spirit of the moon is regarded as the supreme power which presides over vegetation, crops, the harvest, etc. The rest-day which is observed in connection with the appearance of the new moon is fundamentally a religious festival and, as we have seen, kings and others have employed its hours in remembering their sins, and in offering up prayers to be defended from evil and from the attacks of evil spirits. The Egyptians held precisely the same views about the moon as the modern Africans, and they must have expressed their emotions on the days of the new moon and full moon much as they do. The new moons were constant and regular reminders that death was followed by renewed life, and when the full moon filled the sky with its flood of marvellous light, which was wholly free from the fierce, scorching heat of the sun, it produced in their minds the desire for existence after death in a region where reigned Osiris, the god of the moon, and for the refreshing of spirit which they associated with the life that they hoped to live with him.

Describing an entertainment at the court of King Munza Dr. Schweinfurth says: First of all a couple of hornblowers stepped forward and proceeded to execute solos on their instruments. These men were advanced proficient in their art, and brought forth sounds of such

¹ Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 103.

² Speke, *Journal*, p. 199.

³ Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 110, 452.

power, compass, and flexibility that they could be modulated from sounds like the roar of a hungry lion, or the trumpeting of an infuriated elephant, down to tones which might be compared to the sighing of the breeze, or to a lover's whisper. One of them executed on an ivory horn, which was so large that he could scarcely hold it, rapid passages and shakes with as much neatness and decision as though he were performing on a flute. Next appeared a number of professional singers and jesters, and amongst them a little plump fellow, who acted the part of a pantomime clown, and jumped about and turned somersaults till his limbs looked like the arms of a wind-mill; he was covered from head to foot with bushy tufts and pigtails, and altogether his appearance was so excessively ludicrous that, to the inward delight of the king, I burst into a hearty fit of laughter . . . His jokes and pranks seemed never-ending, and he was permitted to take liberties with every one, not excepting even Munza himself; and amongst other tricks he would approach the king with his right hand extended, and just as Munza had got hold of it, would start backwards and make off with a bound.¹

¹ *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II, p. 50.

CHAPTER XIII.

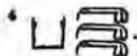
OSIRIS AS A BULL-GOD.

IN a country like Egypt, the inhabitants of which have always been agriculturists, the bull, by reason of his great strength and virility, must always have been held in reverence, and regarded as the incarnation of a god. The kings of Egypt delighted to call themselves "Bulls," and one of the highest compliments the Court scribe could pay the king was to liken him to a "young bull," or a "mighty bull." Thothmes III describes himself as the "Mighty Bull, rising like the sun in Thebes," and the composer of the Hymn of Praise of him which is put into the mouth of the god Amen-Rā, says: "I have made the people of Syria and Cyprus to see thee as a young bull, of determined courage, with horns ready to gore, indomitable." Again, Rameses II is described as a "Bull, fighting on his own field," the "Bull of Governors," the "Mighty Bull among the people, thrusting his way through the hosts, destroying the rebels on the mountains"; and on the Stele of Kubbān he is said to be the "Bull whose hoofs trample down the Sūdān folk, whose horns gore them, whose renown is great in the Southern Sūdān, and the fame of whose terror has reached Karei."¹ Among primitive folk, however, it was not the fighting qualities of the bull which won their regard and reverence, but his strength and usefulness in agricultural work.² Greek tradition asserts that the Bull-god Apis was held in the greatest honour in the time of Menes, the first historical king of Egypt,³ but Manetho says that it was in the reign of Ka-kau,⁴ a king of the 11th dynasty, that

¹ Compare a similar custom among modern African kings. The Barotse call their king *Namane Etauna*, i.e., "Great Calf," and Lo Bengula was called "Great Black Calf." See Declé, *Three Years*, pp. 72, 145.

² See Diodorus, I, Chapter 21.

³ Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, XI, 10.



Apis was appointed to be a god. The Stele of Palermo¹ mentions the first celebration of the festival of the "running round of Apis,"² but what this ceremony means is not known. Apis was a black bull, with a white blaze on his forehead; on his back was the figure of an eagle, in his tail were double hairs, and on his tongue a beetle.³ The bronze figures of the animal show that the blaze is triangular, not square, that vultures, with extended wings, are cut over the fore and hind legs, and that a diamond pattern is cut on the back.⁴ The seat of the cult of Apis was Memphis. At Heliopolis the Bull-god Mnevis was worshipped, and the Bull-god Bacchis at Hermonthis, and Strabo says that there were many places both in the Delta and beyond it in which a sacred bull or cow was kept.⁵ This statement is of interest, for it proves that in Strabo's time the cult of the bull was widespread.

The Egyptians connected Apis, both living and dead, with Osiris. He was the son of Osiris, as well as of Ptaḥ, and was the "living image of Osiris"; he was said to have been begotten by a ray of light falling from the moon upon his dam.⁶ After the death of his body, his soul was thought to go to heaven, where it joined itself to Osiris, and formed with him the dual-god Asår-Ḥepi, or Osiris-Apis. Early in the Ptolemaic Period the Greeks ascribed to this dual god the attributes of Pluto or Hades, and Graecized the Egyptian names under the form "Serapis," who henceforth became the principal object of worship of both Egyptians and Greeks.

The cult of the bull and the cult of Osiris were originally quite distinct, but at a very early period they became united, and worship was paid to the bull as the incarnation of Osiris. The primitive Egyptians imagined a heaven in which were fields of wheat and barley, and it followed, as a matter of course, that there were bulls,

¹ Ed. Schäfer, Berlin, 1902, p. 21.

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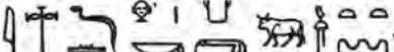
³ Herodotus, III, 28.

⁴ See the figures in the Third Egyptian Room, British Museum.

⁵ Strabo, XVII, i, 22.

⁶ Plutarch, *De Iside*, Chapter 43.

cows, and oxen there to plough up the ground, to tread in the seed when sown, and to tread out the grain on the threshing floor. The early texts mention the "four bulls of the god Temu," but there was one bull to whom the title "Bull of heaven" was given, and he was the master of all the fields of heaven and of all the cattle therein. With this bull Osiris was identified, and in the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead we find such passages as these: "Homage to thee, Bull of Amentet,"¹ "Hail, Bull of Amentet,"² "Osiris, Bull of Amentet,"³ "Thou art raised up, O Bull of Amentet."⁴ As, according to one view, the Egyptians hoped to eat bull's flesh and to drink milk in the Other World, they assumed the existence in Sekhet-ĥetepet of a bull and seven cows, but to obtain the gifts of these creatures it was necessary for the deceased to know their names, which were supplied by the CXLVIIIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead. In the Papyrus of Nu it is said: "Homage to thee, O thou who shinest in thy disk, thou "living soul who comest forth from the horizon, Nu "knoweth thee, he knoweth thy name, he knoweth the "names of thy Seven Cows which are with their Bull." The bull, it is clear, was the "living soul" of a god, and of all animals he was held in the greatest honour. At a very early period the bull took the place of human beings in sacrifices to the dead, just as wine became a substitute for blood. And of the sacrifices which were offered up during the performance of the ceremonies for the "Opening of the Mouth" of the deceased, the most important were two bulls. The heart of the bull was cut out and whilst still warm was presented to the mouth of the deceased, or to that of a statue of the deceased, and, as the heart was the seat of the soul, the soul of the bull was transferred to the dead man by touching his lips with it. Now the bull was an incarnation of Osiris, whose son he was, so that the soul which was transferred to the deceased by this ceremony

¹  Chapter I, l. 4.

² Chapter LXIII A.

³ Chapter CLXXXII, l. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 17.

was that of the son of Osiris, that is to say, Horus. Further, Osiris died and rose again by his own divine power because Horus transferred his soul to his dead father, and as by means of the bull's heart the soul of Horus, the son of Osiris, was transferred to the dead man, it followed that he too would rise again, like Osiris. In one of the ceremonies of the "Opening of the Mouth" the deceased was temporarily placed in a bull's skin, which was probably that of one of the bulls which were offered up during the celebration of the service. From this skin the deceased obtained further power, and his emergence from it was the visible symbol of his resurrection and of his entrance into everlasting life, endowed with all the strength of Osiris and Horus. The ideas which are associated with the skin and the heart of the bull are not peculiar to the Egyptians, and the following passages show that the cult of the bull is widespread among modern African peoples, many of whom sacrifice the animal in funeral ceremonies, and wrap the dead in its skin.

According to Schweinfurth, every thought and idea of the Dinka people is how to acquire and maintain cattle; a kind of reverence seems to be paid to them. Their dung, which is burnt to ashes for sleeping in and for smearing their persons, and the urine, which is used for washing and as a substitute for salt, are their daily requisites. These customs, which exist among most of the pastoral tribes of Africa, may perhaps be the remnant of an exploded cattle worship. The great amusement of the children is to mould goats and bullocks out of clay.¹ Though the Baḳḳarah (*i.e.*, cattlemen) derive their name from cattle, they are more often robbers than neat-herds.² The Niam-Niam brought a fine white bullock to Petherick as a peace-offering, and it was slaughtered with great ceremony, and its blood sprinkled over the tents.³ The Jûr tribes place bull's horns over their graves,⁴ and at the burial of a Moro chief a bull is slain and eaten.⁵

¹ *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, pp. 163, 166.

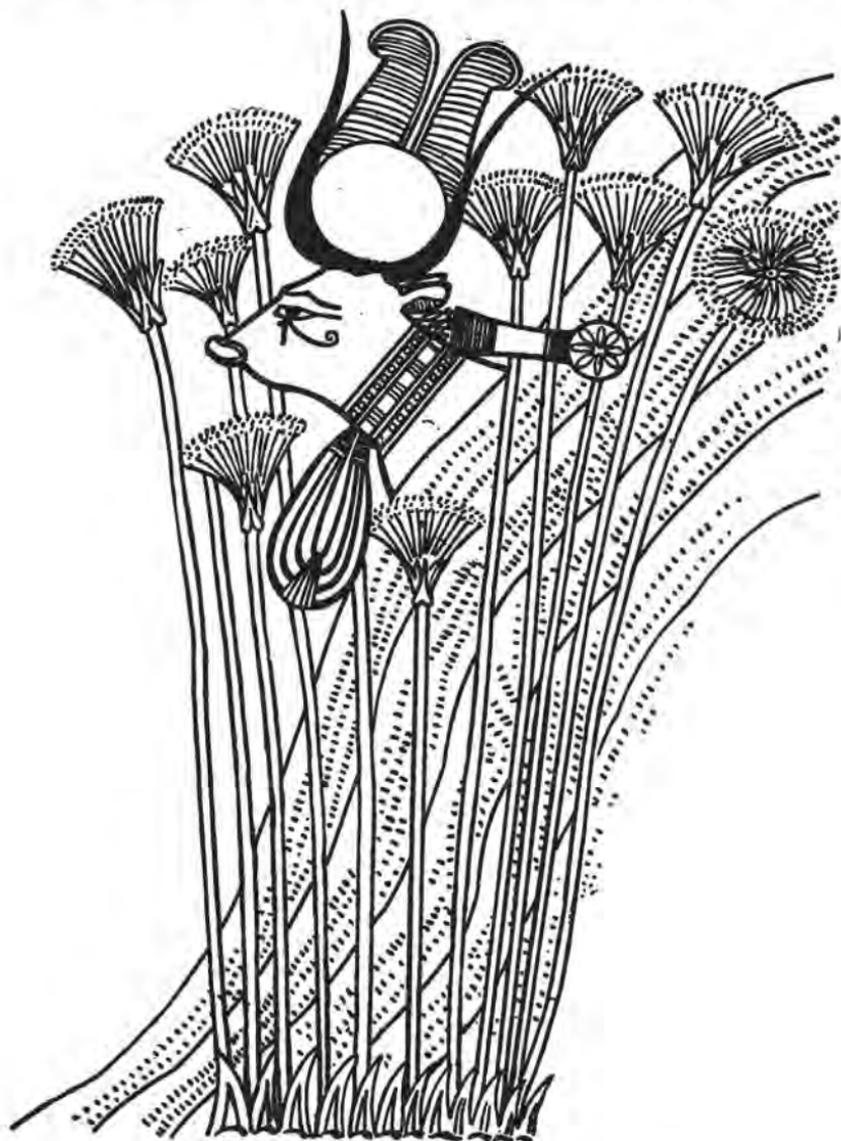
² *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³ *Travels in Central Africa*, Vol. I, p. 196.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

The Nuba who are not Muslims venerate a bull. The animal chosen as the object of their worship is a piebald



The Cow-goddess Hathor.
From the Papyrus of Ani.

beast, and he is much petted, and becomes the head of the herd. Iron and copper rings are placed on his legs

and ankles, and tails of cows and giraffes are suspended from the tips of his long horns. Songs are composed and sung in his praise, he is invested with supernatural powers in the minds of the natives, and in times of danger his help is invoked. This kind of worship extends over a vast portion of Central Africa. When dead, the bull is buried with great ceremony, and when his master dies he is slaughtered and his horns are placed over his dead owner's grave.¹ When a Bari chief is buried a bull is slain.² The Busoga reverence bulls with white spots.³ They are regarded as sacred cattle, and are allowed to wander at will about the plantations. The Nilotic negroes lay a new ox-hide at the bottom of a chief's grave.⁴ The Amara, who lived near the N'yanza, when killing a cow, used to kneel down in an attitude of prayer, with both hands together, held palms upwards, and utter the word "Zü."⁵ On one occasion when Speke visited Mtesa, king of Uganda, he found him sitting in state, with the head of a black bull placed before him.⁶

Du Chaillu mentions that his friend Quengueza believed that many generations before, one of the women of his family gave birth to a calf instead of a child, and that therefore he would not eat bull's flesh,⁷ which was "roondah" or "tabú" to him. The Masai bleed their bulls and drink the blood warm, believing that thereby they obtain the strength of the animal and his undaunted courage in battle.⁸ The Andorobo not only eat the meat of the ox raw, and whilst it is still warm, but, like the Masai, they bleed their cattle regularly and either drink the hot blood or mix it with their porridge.⁹ The Shilluks kill a bullock at the burial of a man of importance, and its horns are set up over the grave. According to Shilluk mythology the Great Creator Jo-uk created a great white cow which came up out of the Nile, and

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 10 ff.

² Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 360.

³ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 720.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 794.

⁵ Speke, *Journal*, p. 191.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁷ *Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, p. 308.

⁸ Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, p. 430.

⁹ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 871.

was called Deung Adok, and this cow gave birth to a man-child, who was the great ancestor of all the Shilluk kings.¹ Mr. Türostig describes an interesting ceremony connected with making enquiries of the dead concerning a sick man. The priest, *Tieit*, sat on his cow-hide seat near a tree from which the branches had been lopped, and to which a number of cows' horns had been fastened. Near the tree a bull was tied. The priest sat with his legs crossed, supporting his head with one hand, whilst with the other he rattled a bottle-shaped gourd half full of lubia beans. After much shaking and rattling of the beans he asked questions on behalf of the sick man, and gave the answer to the relatives in a deep guttural tone, his eyes being meanwhile rigidly fixed on the ground, his voice sounding as though it were not his own. The ceremony lasted from 5 P.M. to 10 P.M., and a good deal of dancing was performed by women, who were decked in fantastic fashion with ostrich feathers, etc. A woman anointed with liquid butter the necks of those who were present and the whole of the body of the bull, after which it was sacrificed. The priest received the ribs of the animal as his share, but in this case no one partook of any of the flesh until 5 A.M. the following morning. During the night it was supposed that the ancestral spirit or god ate the spirit of the bull. Mr. Türostig does not regard the Dinkas who perform ceremonies of this kind as a particularly superstitious race.²

Among the Kytch tribes every herd of cattle has a sacred bull, which is supposed to exert an influence over the prosperity of the flocks; his horns are ornamented with tufts of feathers, and frequently with small bells, and he invariably leads the great herd to pasture. On starting in the morning from the cattle krall, the natives address the bull, telling him "to watch over the herd; to keep the cows from straying; and to lead them to the sweetest pastures, so that they shall give abundance of milk."³ The Egyptians credited bulls and oxen with powers of speech, for in the Tale of

¹ Gleichen, *Anglo-Egyptian Súdán*, p. 197.

² Gleichen, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

³ Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, p. 49.

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the Two Brothers the ox warns the younger brother that his elder brother is lying in wait behind the door with a knife ready to kill him. And the bull in which Bata the younger brother had become incarnate reproached the unfaithful wife of his elder brother, and was slain in consequence of his words to her.¹

¹ See my *Egyptian Reading Book*, p. xxv.

END OF VOLUME I.

OSIRIS AND
THE EGYPTIAN
RESURRECTION
BY E. A. WALLIS BUDGE
M.A. LITT. D. D. LITT. D. LIT. F.S.A. KEEPER
OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN AN-
TIQUITIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.
ILLUSTRATED AFTER DRAWINGS FROM
EGYPTIAN PAPYRI AND MONUMENTS



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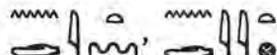
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OSIRIS AND THE EGYPTIAN RESURRECTION

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SHRINES, MIRACLE PLAY, AND "MYSTERIES" OF OSIRIS.

It is impossible to state when and where the first shrines in honour of Osiris were built in Egypt, but it is tolerably certain that his most ancient shrine in the South was at Abydos, and his most ancient shrine in the North at Busiris, and that the cult of the god was firmly established in these places at the beginning of, if not before, the Dynastic Period. Of these the older is probably *Abtu* (Abydos), for every tradition about the worship of Osiris asserts his head to have been buried there, and the importance of Abydos, even in the earliest times, appears to have been due to the fact that the town contained his head, the most important part of the god's body. Abydos was, moreover, quite near to *Neṭāt*, or *Neṭit*,¹ the town on the Nile, or great canal of the district, near which Osiris was murdered by Set, and it was more natural for Isis when she found her husband's dead body there to take it to Abydos than to some more remote town. And as the symbol of the city and its name was the coffer, or basket, which contained the head of Osiris, with plumes above the coffer and a serpent passing through it, , we may assume that the connection of the city with the cult of Osiris was exceedingly ancient. *Taṭtu* (Busiris), in the Delta, which contained the backbone of Osiris , was undoubtedly the most important of all the shrines of Osiris in the North, but it never enjoyed the reputation and fame of Abydos.

¹ 

2 Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection

It is idle to speculate on the form of the shrine of Osiris under the first three dynasties, but it was probably a small building made of mud strengthened with reeds, and covered over with a wooden roof. Inside it was probably a figure of the god seated on a throne with steps, and near it was his characteristic symbol, either laid upon the ground, or supported on a stand. The cleaning and preservation of his shrine were, no doubt, committed to the care of a special body of men, who thus became his priests, and received the offerings made to him, and made arrangements for his festivals and for the performance of the annual play, in which his sufferings, death, and resurrection were acted. No details of these matters are found in the earliest texts, but we know from the evidence of the inscriptions that such a play was performed at Abydos once a year under the Middle and New Empires, and it is only reasonable to assume that it reproduced all the essential features of the great annual festival of the god which was celebrated under the Ancient Empire. In religious matters at least the conservatism of the ancient Egyptians was absolute.

When the worship of Osiris was first established at Abydos the inhabitants of the district worshipped Seker, the god of Death, the two Ap-ua-ti gods, Anubis, An-her, Khenti Amenti, etc., but by the close of the VIth dynasty Osiris had become the chief god of the district, and all the local forms of the above-mentioned gods had become subordinate to him. The fame of the god who rose from the dead himself, and could make his followers to rise from death to life immortal, had spread to all parts of Egypt, and the bodies of the wealthy who died in other parts of Egypt were taken there and buried. It was believed that the dead who were buried at Abydos would be joined by the god to his company of followers in the Other World, that they would enjoy his protection, and that they would share in his offerings on festival days, and become partakers with him in immortality and everlasting happiness. The aim of every good man was to become an Osiris, and even in the Pyramid Texts we find it tacitly assumed that the kings for whom they were written had each become an

Osiris, and the name of Osiris is actually prefixed to the names of some of them. Osiris had become the god of the dead, *par excellence*, and Abydos was the earthly centre of his kingdom. Very few Egyptians who were not natives of the neighbourhood could afford to buy tombs there and be buried in them, and the transport of mummified bodies from a great distance was both difficult and costly. Nevertheless, many men were so eager that their dead bodies should rest on the sacred soil of Abydos, and be near Osiris, if only for a short time, that it became the custom among the well-to-do classes to transport the mummies of their kinsfolk to Abydos so that they might absorb the beneficent emanations from the shrine of the god, and be blessed by the influence of the place and its holy associations. These mummies were then taken back by river to the places whence they came, and buried in the tombs which had been provided for them. The popularity of Osiris could not fail to be of material benefit, not only to his priesthood, but also to the town of Abydos in general. The old mud shrine of the god would disappear, and a building made of wood or stone take its place, and his festivals would be celebrated with greater pomp and more lavish display. His priesthood would become wealthy, and every servant of his would benefit in every way by the great fame of his god. During the great festival of Osiris at the end of the year the plain round about Abydos would be thronged with pilgrims from all parts of the country, and at this time the inhabitants would gain enough to last them for the remainder of the year.

The great festival of Shêkh Sayyid al-Badawi at Ṭanta offers many parallels to the great festival of Osiris at Abydos. At Ṭanta I have seen dead bodies brought in and laid for a few moments by the tomb of the saint, or simply carried round his tomb-chamber, in order to obtain his blessing, and men and women stand motionless and silent by the iron gates of the tomb, merely to be blessed by its presence, and to gain a share in the spiritual benefits which are believed to emanate from it. A large iron box for offerings stands near the tomb gates, and though nine-tenths of the people are very poor, their humble contributions are said to amount to

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£E.40,000 a year. Similarly the revenue of Osiris, though all the offerings were in kind, there being no money in Egypt before the reign of Darius, must have been very great, and his landed property large.

Of the history of Abydos and its god Osiris from the end of the VIth to the beginning of the XIIth dynasty we know nothing, but under the kings of the XIIth dynasty the worship of Osiris developed to an extraordinary degree, and his sanctuary attained to a position of importance hitherto unknown. Thus in an inscription published by Daressy,¹ we read that a king, probably Usertsen I, gave to Khenti-Amenti [Osiris] three metal vases and an ebony censer-holder. From the stele of Khent-em-semti,² an official of Amen-em-hät at Abydos, we learn that Osiris was at that time called the "lord of life," "governor of eternity," and "Ruler of Amenti," *i.e.*, the Other World, and that Abydos was the place to which all souls flocked to obtain blessing, to eat bread with the god, and to "come forth by day." This official had lived a righteous life, he says, so that Osiris might be gracious to him in judgment, and permit him to enter his holy boat. On the stele of I-kher-nefert we are told that Usertsen III ordered this official to go to Abydos and build a sanctuary for Osiris, and to adorn his shrine with some of the gold which the god had enabled him to bring from Nubia after his victorious campaign in that country. I-kher-nefert carried out his lord's commands, and built a shrine for Osiris made from sweet-smelling woods, and inlaid with gold, silver, and lapis-lazuli, and he made new shrines for the other gods of Abydos. He drew up regulations for the service of the priests, and defined the duties of each of them, and made careful arrangements for the celebration of festivals throughout the year. He provided a new Neshmet Boat for Osiris, *i.e.*, a new copy of the famous boat in which Osiris set sail on the expedition against Set in which he lost his life, and added to it a suitable shrine wherein the figure or statue of the god was to be placed. He made a new statue of the god and decorated it with lapis-lazuli, turquoise, silver-gold, and precious stones of all kinds,

¹ *Annales du Service*, tom. IV.

² British Museum, No. 146 (574).

and it was as beautiful as the body of the god should be, and he provided apparel and ornaments for the festal attire of Osiris.¹ In addition to the ordinary priests, I-kher-nefert appointed a priest to the sanctuary at Abydos whose title was "Sa-mer-f,"² i.e., "his (the god's) beloved son." This priest ministered in the "golden house," and directed all ceremonies which were performed in connection with the "mystery of the Lord of Abydos."³ He had charge of all the sacred dresses and ornaments of the god, and of all the furniture of the shrine, which no hands but his might touch, and he dressed the statue of Osiris for the festivals of the new moon and full moon each month, and directed the moving of it when it was necessary to do so. No one might assist him in his sacred office except the Sem priest, who also had to be a man of "clean fingers."⁴

The second portion of the inscription on the stele of I-kher-nefert is of very great importance, for it describes briefly the principal scenes in the Osiris play which was performed at Abydos annually. I-kher-nefert himself played a prominent part in this "Mystery play," and he describes his own acts as follows:—

"I performed the coming forth of Ap-uat when he set out to defend his father."

From this it is clear that in the XIIth dynasty Ap-uat was regarded as the son of Osiris, and that he acted the part of leader of Osiris's expedition, which was represented by a procession formed of priests and the ordinary people. Ap-uat walked in front, next came the boat containing the figure of the god and a company of priests or "followers" of the god, and the rear was brought up by a crowd of people.

"I drove back the enemy from the Neshmet Boat,⁵ I overthrew the foes of Osiris."

The boat of the god was then attacked by a crowd

¹ For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Band II, Plate 135, and Schäfer's monograph in Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, Band IV, No. 2, Leipzig, 1904. The stele is preserved in Berlin (No. 1024).

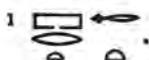


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of men who represented the foes of Osiris, and, as the god was defenceless, Ap-uat engaged them in combat, and beat them off, and the procession then continued on its way in the temple.

“ I performed the ‘Great Coming-forth,’¹ I followed the god in his footsteps.”

This act was the greatest in the Osiris play, for it represented the “coming forth” of Osiris from the temple after his death, and the departure of his body to his tomb. A solemn service was performed in the temple before the body was carried from it, and offerings were eaten sacramentally, and then the procession set out for the tomb. When it reached the door of the temple it was received by a mighty crowd of men and women who raised the death-wail, and uttered piercing shrieks and lamentations, and the women beat their breasts.² Many of the men in the crowd were armed with sticks and staves, and some of them pressed forward towards the procession with the view of helping the god, whilst others strove to prevent them. Thus a sham fight took place, which, owing to the excitement of the combatants, often degenerated into a serious one. And, if Herodotus was correctly informed,³ this combat with clubs was waged with great obstinacy, and heads were broken, and he says, though this the Egyptians denied, many men died of the wounds which they received on this occasion. This fight was, of course, intended to represent the great battle which took place in prehistoric times between Set and Osiris, when Osiris was killed. This battle, as has been already said, took place near Neṭit. Whether Osiris was killed outright whilst fighting, or whether he was wounded and taken prisoner by Set and slain afterwards, is not stated, but it is quite clear that for a time no one knew what had become of the body of Osiris, and that his followers went about on the battlefield searching for it. This search is referred to in the words, “I followed the god in his footsteps,” *i.e.*, I traced the god by his footsteps. I-kher-nefert played the

¹ 

² Herodotus, II, 61.

³ II, 63.

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From this passage it is certain that Osiris did not go to his grave in the Neshmet Boat, but in another boat called Khā-em-Maāt. Nothing is said here about the mummification of the body of Osiris which took place after it was brought from Neṭit, or of the elaborate ceremonies which were performed in connection with it by Horus and his Four Sons. These are mentioned in several places in this book, and are, therefore, not described here.

From an inscription quoted by Schäfer¹ we know that the two feathers of Maāti were fastened on the coffin, or coffer, of Osiris, , and that a bandlet was tied about the god's head, and that a model of his enemy Set was placed at his feet. These things having been done, I-kher-nefert continues:—

“I directed the ways of the god to his tomb in Peqer.”

Here we have a definite statement that the body of Osiris was buried, and that his tomb was situated in Peqer. But where was Peqer? This question has been satisfactorily answered by the extensive excavations of M. Amélineau at Abydos,² who proved that Peqer is a portion of the great plain of Abydos which lies about a mile and a half from the temple of Osiris, and which is known to-day by the Arabic name of Umm al-Ka'āb, *i.e.*, “mother of pots,” because of the large quantity of pottery which has been found there. In this portion of the plain are found the tombs of the kings of the First dynasty, and among them is one, that of King Khent, which the Egyptians identified as the tomb of Osiris. There is not the least doubt about the fact of the identification, for numerous proofs have been obtained from the excavations that the place was called Peqer, and that under the New Empire the Egyptians were firmly convinced that the tomb of Khent was the tomb of Osiris. Moreover, the famous cenotaph of Osiris, which was made probably

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

² Amélineau, *Le Tombeau d'Osiris*, Paris, 1899, and the other publications of the Mission Amélineau, *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, Angers, 1893, etc.

under the XXIInd dynasty and which is described elsewhere, was found here by M. Amélineau. It has been argued by some¹ that the identification of the tomb of Khent as the tomb of Osiris is not older than the XVIIIth dynasty, because the oldest objects found round about it are of the time of Amen-ḥetep III, about 1500 B.C. But the stele of I-kher-nefert of the XIIth dynasty says that the tomb of Osiris was in Peqer, and as the cult of Osiris developed greatly from the XIIth dynasty onwards, it seems to me wholly impossible for the Egyptians to have forgotten between the XIIth and the XVIIIth dynasties the whereabouts of the tomb of the god on whom their hopes of resurrection and immortality centred. When the Egyptians of the XVIIIth dynasty asserted that the tomb which we now know to be that of King Khent was the tomb of Osiris, they were undoubtedly asserting their belief in a tradition



Seti I addressing Osiris in his shrine.
Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. I, p. 43.

which was even at that time many centuries old. Similarly the Egyptians of the XXIInd dynasty asserted their acceptance of the traditional belief of the XVIIIth dynasty by making the famous cenotaph of Osiris, and placing it at Peqer, or Umm al-Ka'âb. Whether the identification of the tomb of Khent as that of Osiris is correct is a wholly different matter, which it is useless to argue, for the evidence which is necessary for deciding the question is not available, even if it exists. It is unlikely that there were two tombs in Peqer, each claiming to be the tomb of Osiris, but even if there were it is only reasonable to assume that the priestly authorities of the day would weigh the evidence in such an important

¹ Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, Vol. I.

matter carefully, and would decide in accordance with ancient tradition. If we assume that the identification of the tomb of Khent as the tomb of Osiris is not older than the reign of Amen-hetep III we ignore the vital importance of the grave of the god to every Egyptian, and the great antiquity of the cult of Osiris at Abydos. It is unlikely that Abydos was the original home of the worship of Osiris, indeed there is good reason for thinking that it was not; but abundant evidence exists to show that the town was one of the principal centres of his cult from the beginning to the end of the Dynastic Period.

The official I-kher-*nefert*, having directed the ceremonies connected with the burial of Osiris, then proceeded to carry out those which were performed in connection with the avenging of the death of Osiris, and says :—

“ I avenged Un-*Nefer* on the day of the Great Battle, I overthrew all his enemies on the dyke (?) of *Netit*.”

The scene in the Osiris play here referred to represented the great battle which was waged by Horus, the “ avenger of his father,” against Set and his confederates, and is often mentioned in the religious texts. In it I-kher-*nefert* played the part of Horus, and led the victorious army in the sham fight, which probably took place at dawn, for it is the African custom to attack the enemy at that time. The foes of the god were supposed to be routed with great slaughter. The Book of the Dead (Chapter XVIII) makes it quite clear that in the original battle between Horus and Set large numbers of the followers of Set were slain on the field, and large numbers were taken prisoners. The prisoners were brought to the tomb of Osiris, where they were beheaded and, perhaps, hacked to pieces, and their blood was used in watering the sanctuary of Osiris in his tomb, and the ground round about it. This is, clearly, what is meant by the words, “ On the night of the carrying out of the sentence upon these who are to die,” and “ the night of breaking and turning up the earth in their blood,” and the “ *Tchatcha* (chiefs), on the festival of the “ breaking and turning up of the earth in *Ṭaṭṭu* (*Busiris*),

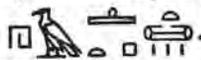
"slay the fiends of Set in the presence of the gods who are therein, and their blood runneth about among them as they are smitten." Whether I-kher-nefert offered up human sacrifices or not is not known, but it is tolerably certain that so careful a traditionalist as he shows himself to have been would not have omitted to see that the grave of Osiris was properly "watered" with human blood. The victims would be prisoners of war and criminals, who by the laws of Egyptian society were bound to die. They would be sacrificed so that their blood might gratify the great ancestral spirit Osiris, just as the criminals and prisoners of war are sacrificed in Dahomey at the Annual Customs to gratify and renew the life of the spirits of the king's ancestors. The text of I-kher-nefert continues:—

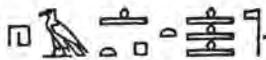
"I caused him (*i.e.*, Osiris) to set out in the Boat, which bore his Beauty. I made the hearts of the dwellers in the East to expand with joy, and I caused gladness to be in the dwellers in Amentet (the West), when they saw the Beauty as it landed at Abydos, bringing Osiris Khenti-Amenti, the Lord of Abydos, to his palace."

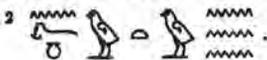
This was the most glorious scene in the Osiris play, for the god appears once more in the Neshmet Boat, and he returns to his palace once more a living god. Thanks to his own divine power, and to the ceremonies which Horus and his Four Sons had performed between the transport of the body of Osiris to his tomb and his re-appearance in the Neshmet Boat, and, thanks to the eating of the Eye, which Horus had plucked from his own face and given to him, and to the vengeance which had been wreaked on Set and his fiends, and to the "watering" of the tomb of Osiris with their blood, Osiris became once more a living being. The crowds who had flocked to Abydos from the East and the West rejoiced greatly, for their god had come once more to live among them, and in him they saw the symbol of their own resurrection and immortality. In describing the Osiris play at Abydos, I-kher-nefert dwells chiefly upon the ceremonies in which he played the prominent part, for he assumed

that those who read his inscription were thoroughly conversant with all the details of the Mysteries. It is quite clear from his narrative that the performance of the Mystery play of Osiris occupied many days, probably from first to last three or four weeks. The play was acted at ȚaȚtu (Busiris) with elaborate ceremonies, and a considerable number of human sacrifices must have been offered up at that place. Other towns in which special regard was paid to the festival of Osiris and its Mysteries were Anu (Heliopolis), Sekhem (Letopolis), Pe-Țep (Buto), Tawi-rekhti (?), An-ruȚ-f, and Re-stau.

In connection with the offerings to Osiris mention must be made of the belief, which was common among the Egyptians, that there existed at Abydos a means by which they might be despatched direct to the Other World for the use of the god. This means took the form of a well, or cistern, which was fed in some way by the Abydos canal, and was called "Ha Țetepet,"

.¹ Its waters² were mighty and most terrible, and the well was full of "great roarings"; the god who guarded it was Qa-ha-Țetep,³ and he allowed none to approach it. The ground about it was called the "region of offerings, the holy land, the mountain of Amentet."⁴ The roarings or noises which were heard in the well were caused by the fall of the offerings into it. The well is mentioned in the Stele of Menthu-Țetep⁵ (XIth dynasty), who says that he built it⁶ by the order of Horus, *i.e.*, the king, but it is far more likely that he only cleared it out, and lined it

¹ . Pepi I, l. 708, and *see* Aat VIII, Chapter CXLVIII of the Book of the Dead.

² .

³ .

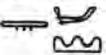
⁴ Lefébure, *Sphinx*, Vol. III, p. 92.

⁵ Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. II, Plate 23; Daressy, *Recueil*, Vol. X, pp. 144-149.

⁶ .

with stone. Close to this well was the chamber which contained the relic of Osiris, and this is, as M. Lefébure pointed out, probably the tomb chamber of King Khent, which the Egyptians identified as the tomb of Osiris. It is about 28 feet square, and was surrounded by cells, which increased its size to 43 feet by 38 feet. At the north-west corner of this chamber M. Amélineau found a staircase of fourteen steps, and the cenotaph of Osiris, to which reference has already been made. The well, or cistern, was either built or repaired under the XIth dynasty, and it was certainly in existence in the time of Strabo, who seems to connect it with the "palace of Memnon." He says that there was a descent to the water, which was situated at a great depth, through an arched passage built of single stones, of remarkable size and workmanship. A canal led to the place from the Nile, and near it was a grove of Egyptian acanthus trees dedicated to Apollo.¹

The building which Strabo calls the "palace of Memnon" cannot have been the temple of Seti I, as Mariette thought, but must have been the temple of Osiris; every large temple had its well, and the general plan of the temple well, or cisterns, is known. Mariette devoted much time and attention during his excavations at Abydos in searching for the well described by Strabo, but he failed to find it, and his successors have been equally unsuccessful in this respect. Professor Naville in the course of his excavations at Abydos (1909-11) discovered a large well, but it can hardly have been the well described by Strabo. M. Lefébure thought² that it might have been situated in the tomb of Osiris, and that its mouth was under the cenotaph of the god, but none of the excavators of the tomb mentions any trace of it. Still, it must be somewhere in the plain of Peqer, or Umm al-Ḳa'âb, though it is probably filled with sand.

The Uârt , or passage to the well, the Ta tchesert , or "holy ground," Peqer, or Peḳa,

¹ Strabo, XVII, i, 41.

² *Sphinx*, Vol. III, p. 96.

the tomb region, and the "staircase" of the god¹ must all be near together, and it is to be hoped that in the near future the well may be brought to light.

Notwithstanding all the great works which the kings of the XIIth dynasty caused to be done for Osiris at Abydos, we find that under the XIIIth dynasty his sanctuary needed many repairs. King Nefer-hetep was a loyal worshipper of Osiris, and hearing that his temple was in ruins, and that a new statue of the god was required, he went to the temple of Temu at Heliopolis, and consulted the books in the library there, so that he might learn how to make a statue of Osiris which should be like that which had existed in the beginning of the world. Having obtained the information required, he set out for Abydos, and sent word to the priests there that the statue of Osiris should be brought out to meet him at the place where he was going to land on the river bank. When he arrived he found Osiris and his priests waiting for him, and the king journeyed from the Nile to the temple of Osiris at Abydos, under the escort of the god and his priests. As the king was going to the temple a number of the principal scenes in the Mystery play of Osiris were performed, no doubt to the great satisfaction of the actors and spectators. When Abydos was reached the king caused all the necessary works to be taken in hand at once, and he superintended personally their execution, in order that he might be certain that the directions which he had obtained from the books in the Library at Heliopolis were correctly carried out. In the making of the new statue of Osiris the king assisted with his own hands.²

Whether the sanctuary of Osiris at Abydos prospered or not under the XIVth, XVth, XVIth, and XVIIth dynasties, is not known, but with the rise to power of the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty it certainly began a new period of glory. Thothmes I made a new statue of the god, or repaired the old one, and a shrine-

¹ See the Stele of Sebek-khu, who built his tomb by the staircase of the god, at the Uärt, so that he might smell the incense burnt there.—Garstang, *El Arabah*, Plate 4, l. 8.

² See Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. II, Plates 28–30, and Breasted, *Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 333 ff.

boat of silver, gold, lapis-lazuli, copper, and precious stones, tables for offerings, sistra of various kinds, censers and bowls, a new barge in which the god might journey from the temple to Peqer during the Miracle play, and statues of all the gods of Abydos, each with his silver-gold standard.¹ Thothmes III caused a great many restorations to be carried out in the temple of Osiris,² and the results of the excavations made during recent years at Abydos prove that, in the reigns of Amen-hetep III and the other kings of the XVIIIth dynasty, the income derived by Osiris from his worshippers must have been considerable.

Hitherto reference has been made only to the two chief shrines of Osiris, viz., Abydos in the South, and Busiris in the North, but since the legend of the scattering of the parts of the body of Osiris all over Egypt was generally accepted, even in early times, it follows that many shrines of the god existed in the country at an early period, although of such shrines there is no list older than the XVIIIth dynasty. Of this period, however, we have several copies of a List of the Forms and Shrines of Osiris, and from this it seems that there must have been a shrine of Osiris in every nome in Egypt. The List forms part of the CXLIIInd Chapter of the Book of the Dead,³ and the oldest form of it is probably that given in the Papyrus of Nu. It follows a list⁴ of all the gods whose names are to be commemorated by a man for his



The Soul of Osiris, incarnate in a Ram, as worshipped at Busiris, Philae, etc.

¹ See Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. II, Plate 31.

² *Ibid.*, Plate 33.

³ See the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 15, and the Papyrus of Iuâu, Plate IX.

⁴ This list begins with the name of Asâr-Khenti-Amenti.

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father or for his son during the Festival of Amentet, and contains the following :—

1. *Āsār Un-nefer*. Un-nefer was an ancient god of Abydos.
2. *Āsār Ānkhti*.
3. *Āsār neb-ānkh*, *i.e.*, Osiris, Lord of life.
4. *Āsār neb-er-tcher*, *i.e.*, Osiris, lord to the limit, or the universal Lord.
5. *Āsār Khenti-Peḡu (?)*.
6. *Āsār-Saḡ*, *i.e.*, Osiris Orion. The constellation of Orion was one of the abodes of Osiris.
7. *Āsār-Saa*, *i.e.*, Osiris the Protector, or Shepherd.
8. *Āsār Khenti peru*, *i.e.*, Osiris, Chief of the Temples.¹
9. *Āsār in Resenet*, *i.e.*, Osiris in the House of the South.
10. *Āsār in Meḡenet*, *i.e.*, Osiris in the House of the North.
11. *Āsār nub-ḡeḡ*, *i.e.*, Osiris, golden one of millions of years.
12. *Āsār bati-Erpit*, *i.e.*, Osiris, double soul of Isis and Nephthys.
13. *Āsār Ptaḡ-neb-ānkh*, *i.e.*, Osiris plus Ptaḡ, Lord of life.
14. *Āsār Khenti Re-stau*, *i.e.*, Osiris, Chief of the Door of the Funeral Passages, or, Osiris, Chief of the domain of Seker (*Ṣaḡḡārah*), an ancient god of Death.
15. *Āsār ḡer-āb-set*, *i.e.*, Osiris, Dweller in the funeral mountain.²
16. *Āsār in Ati (?)*.³
17. *Āsār in Seḡtet*.⁴
18. *Āsār in Netchefet*.⁵

¹ The Papyrus of Iuâu gives *Āsār Khenti Un*.

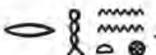
² Iuâu gives *Āsār in Seḡnen*, ."/>

³ Iuâu gives *Āsār in Busiris*, ."/>

⁴ Iuâu gives *Āsār in Sekri*, ."/>

⁵ Iuâu gives *Āsār in Sau* (*Sais*).

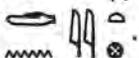
19. *Asár* in Resu (Southlands?).
20. *Asár* in Pe (Buto).
21. *Asár* in Netru, *i.e.*, Osiris in the Divine Lake.¹
22. *Asár* in Lower Sau (Saïs).
23. *Asár* in Bâket, *i.e.*, Osiris in the City of the hawk.
24. *Asár* in Sunnu.
25. *Asár* in Reḥnent.
26. *Asár* in Āper.
27. *Asár* in Qeḥtenu.
28. *Asár*-Sekri in Pet-she.²
29. *Asár* Khenti-nut-f, *i.e.*, Osiris, Chief in his city.
30. *Asár* in Pesḳ-re.³
31. *Asár* in his shrines (or, seats) in the Land of the North.
32. *Asár* in heaven.⁴
33. *Asár* in his shrines in Re-stau.
34. *Asár* Netchesti.
35. *Asár* Atef-ur.
36. *Asár*-Sekri.⁵
37. *Asár*, Governor of eternity.
38. *Asár* Tua, *i.e.*, the Begetter.
39. *Asár* in Āter.⁶
40. *Asár* in his tiara and plumes (?).
41. *Asár*, Lord of everlastingness.
42. *Asár* Āti, *i.e.*, the Prince.
43. *Asár* Taiti.
44. *Asár* in Re-stau.
45. *Asár* on his sand.⁷
46. *Asár*, Chief of the Chamber of the Cow (*i.e.*, Lord of Isis).
47. *Asár* in Tanent.
48. *Asár* in Neḥbit.⁸

¹ Iuáu gives *Asár* in Reḥnent, 

² Iuáu, in Peḥ of his city.

⁴ Iuáu adds, *Asár* in the earth.

⁶ Iuáu, *Asár* Lord of Ān (?).

⁸ Iuáu, Tenit, 

³ Iuáu, Pesu-re.

⁵ Iuáu omits.

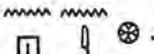
⁷ Iuáu, within his sand.

49. Asár in Sati.
50. Asár in Beshu.¹
51. Asár in T̄epu.
52. Asár in Upper Saïs.
53. Asár in Nepert.
54. Asár in Shennu.
55. Asár in H̄enket.
56. Asár in the Land of Sekri.
57. Asár in Shau.
58. Asár in Fat-H̄eru.
59. Asár in Maāti.
60. Asár in Henà.²

In the Saïte Period the Forms and Shrines of Osiris were 112 in number; they will be found tabulated in the *Todtenbuch* of Lepsius, Bl. 59.

Under the XIXth dynasty the temple of Osiris was restored, or rebuilt, and a large number of repairs were carried out at Abydos in connection with the property of the god. Seti I regarded Osiris with great awe, and spoke of him as the god who would destroy those who declined to obey his commands.³ The reverence which Seti I personally showed to Osiris is well illustrated by the sections of the Book of Gates which specially deal with the kingdom of Osiris, appearing on his alabaster coffin. On this we have the remarkable vignette of Osiris seated in judgment on the top of his staircase, with the Scales set before him, and the boat containing the black pig of Set, which an ape is beating. The further scenes which illustrate the kingdom of Osiris prove that Seti was a believer in the doctrine of rewards for the blessed and punishments for the wicked, and in the existence of a place where the beatified lived with Osiris. The famous well of Osiris at Abydos appears in funerary literature copied during his reign, for we see Osiris seated by the side of it, or over it, in the Papyrus

¹ Iuáu, in Beṣhet.

² Iuáu, Nehná, .

³ See the text edited by Golenischeff, in *Recueil*, tom. XIII, Plate II.

of Hu-nefer, and pictures of it appear in some of the Books of the Other World.

Rameses II was a loyal servant of Osiris, and repaired his shrines and erected fine buildings in his honour. Rameses says in the great inscription at Abydos¹ that he did for Osiris what Horus did for his father, that he set up monuments to him, and doubled the offerings to his KA, and his piety caused him to restore some of the royal tombs at Abydos which were in ruins. He finished the temple begun by his father, and built close to it a temple to Osiris. Rameses III restored Abydos and endowed the temples with great possessions, and made a great barge for the god.² Under the rule of the later kings of the XXth dynasty the cult of Osiris does not seem to have been specially considered, and the priest-kings of the XXIst dynasty devoted most of their attention and their possessions to the glorification of Amen-Rā, the "king of the gods," at Thebes. Exact data are wanting, but it seems clear that with the end of the XXIst dynasty the importance of Abydos began to decline, and with it the cult of Osiris in this place. The first great revival of the glory of Osiris at Abydos after about 900 B.C., happened in the reign of Amasis (XXVIth dynasty), and it was entirely due to his chief physician Pef-ā-nef-Net, or Pef-ṭā-nef-Net. He interested the king in Abydos, and ultimately obtained from him the funds necessary for the restoration of the temple and the divine service. Much of the work of restoration he superintended personally. He built the god's temple, provided a silver-gold shrine, and implements for service made of gold, silver, etc. He built U-Peḫ and set up its altars, and cleaned out the famous well or cistern, and planted trees about it. He established a regular supply of food for the temple, he settled there slaves, male and female, he endowed the temple with 1000 *stat* of land with its flocks and herds and peasant dwellers. He re-established the offerings, planted date groves and vineyards, restored the library, and built a sacred barge. He revived the Miracle play of Osiris, and took the leading part in the great scene

¹ Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. I, Plates 5-9.

² Birch, *Papyrus of Rameses III*, Plate 58, l. 11.

in which the representative of Horus beats back the foes of his father Osiris. He made provision for burying the people of Abydos by confiscating certain dues, which the lord of the district had been in the habit of exacting from the desert tribes, and the earnings of a certain ferry¹ which the owner had assumed to be his private possession. Whatever may have happened to the shrine of Osiris at Abydos we may be quite certain that it did not in any way affect the general progress of the cult of Osiris in Egypt. It is probable that there was a small temple of Osiris attached to every great temple in Egypt, and there is good reason to think that such temples of Osiris were better and more regularly served by the priests than the larger temples. Little by little the Egyptians seem to have dropped the active cult of the other gods, Osiris and Isis, or Hathor, being in the eyes of the purely indigenous section of the population of more importance than all the other gods put together, for they gave resurrection and immortality to those who were dead, and protected the lives, property, and fortunes of those who were living.

¹ Breasted, *Egypt*, IV, p. 517.

CHAPTER XV.

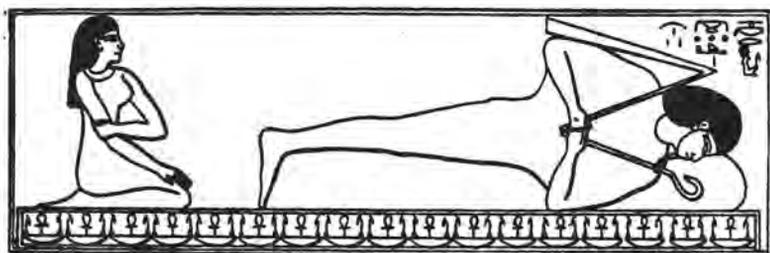
THE MYSTERIES OF OSIRIS AT DENDERAH.

THE walls of one of the two courts which form part of the temple of Osiris at Denderah contain a long inscription¹ describing the bas-reliefs which illustrate the



The model of Osiris which was used in the ceremonies performed during the celebration of his festival at Denderah.

Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 38.



The model of Seker which was used in the ceremonies performed during the celebration of his festival at Denderah.

Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 39.

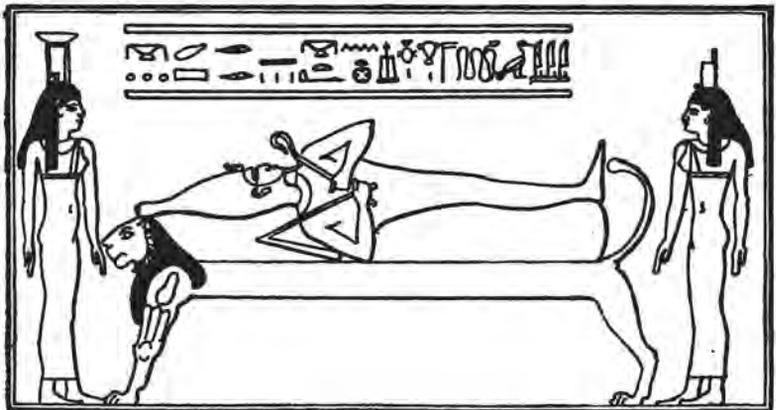
mysteries and ceremonies that were performed annually in honour of Osiris in that city. The First Section of this text deals with the making of sixteen models of the sixteen pieces into which the body of Osiris was hacked by Set. Each model was made of wheat mixed with some specially prepared paste, and was sent to the town

¹ See Brugsch and Dümichen, *Recueil*, I, 15, 16, and IV, 1-27; Dümichen, *Résultats*; Mariette, *Dendérah*, tom. IV, Plates 35-39; Lauth, *A.Z.*, 1866, p. 64 ff.; Loret, *Recueil*, tom. III, p. 43 ff.; tom. IV, p. 21 ff.; tom. V, p. 85 ff.

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in which that member of the body of Osiris was believed to have been found, and it was there put in a specially prepared vessel in the "house of Osiris," and placed under the protection of the gods.

The Second Section of the inscription deals with the making of the figure of Khenti-Amenti, and is of peculiar interest. At Mendes, a town closely connected with Busiris and the cult of Osiris, one *hin* of wheat and three *hin* of paste were placed in a large stone trough resting on four legs, and each day, from the 12th to the 21st day of Khoiak, three parts of a *hin* of water were poured



Osiris of Ant (Denderah) on his bier, with Nephthys standing at the head, and Isis at the foot.

Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 68.

from a gold goblet into the trough. On the 21st day the contents of the trough were taken out, and a measure of incense having been added to it, the whole was kneaded into the two halves of a gold mould for making the figure of Khenti-Amenti wearing the White Crown. The contents of the moulds were then taken out and tied together with four papyrus bands, and dried in the sun. At the eighth hour of the 22nd day of the month, the figure, and figures of gods and many lamps, were placed in boats, and taken by water to the tomb of the god, and there the figure of Khenti-Amenti was covered with a cloth, and afterwards buried.

At Abydos, one *hin* of wheat and four *hin* of paste were placed in the two halves of a mould of Khenti-

Amenti on the 12th day of Khoiak, and the moulds were set in a large stone trough, with reeds laid above and below them; each mould was covered with a cloth. Water was poured on each half of the figure of the god, morning and evening, and other ceremonies were performed in connection with them until the 21st of Khoiak. On that day the halves of the figure were removed from the moulds, dry incense was sprinkled over them, and they were then tied together with four bands of



Osiris of Coptos. Isis stands at the head, and Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris at the foot. A crown and the tunic of the god are under the bier.

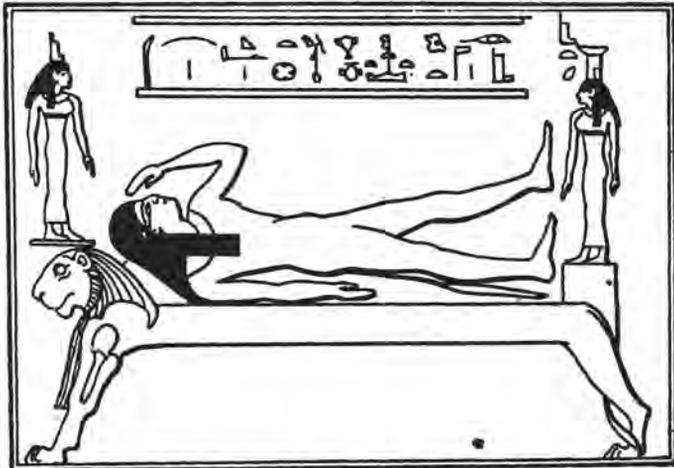
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 68.

papyrus, and set in the sun to dry until the 25th day of the month. On that day the figure was taken to the temple of Seker and laid there, and the ceremonies of embalmment continued from the 25th to the last day of the month, when the figure was buried. The ceremonial of Abydos was repeated at all the other sanctuaries of Osiris in Egypt.

The Third Section gives directions for making a figure of Seker in a mould, with his crook, whip, beard, and uraeus. The mould was of gold, and a cast made from it was one cubit in height. The paste of which the figure was made was composed of earth from the town of Neter, dates, incense, fresh myrrh, spices,

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precious stones, and water. The paste was made in the form of an egg, and set in a silver vase with sycamore leaves round it, and then pressed into the mould, and anointed with oil, and finally laid on the bed in the interior of the chamber. At Mendes this paste was made on the 14th day of Khoiak, and put in the mould on the 16th; on the 19th the figure was removed from the mould, embalmed on the 24th, and buried on the last day of the month. Memphis, Sma-Behetet, Kes, and Ka-kam observed the same rites.



Osiris Khenti-Amenti of Thebes lying naked on his bier.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 68.

The Fourth Section gives the names of the gods who were enshrined in the temple of the goddess Shent.

The Fifth Section supplies the legends which were cut on the fronts of the moulds of Seker, Khenti-Amenti, and on the two vessels of Sep. The coffin of Osiris was made of sycamore wood and bore a long inscription; it was one cubit and two palms long, and three palms and three fingers broad. The coffin of Khenti-Amenti and the coffer of the vessels of Sep were also made of sycamore. The moulds for the "divine bread" were made of the wood of a red tree, and cakes were made from them in the forms of the sixteen members of Osiris, viz., his head, feet, bones, arms, heart, intestines, tongue,

eye, fist, fingers, body, back, ears, backbone, ram's head, and hair. These cakes were put in a box, which was placed in a silver chest, and then set under the head of the god for protection. The other paragraphs of this Section deal minutely with the spices, precious stones, bandlets, knot, the fourteen amulets of Un-Nefer,¹ and the fourteen *tebeh* of the mould of Seker, which were in the forms of the fourteen divine members. The Field of Osiris in which the sacred grain was to be sown was



Osiris Khenti-Amenti of Per-urt (Eileithyas). At the foot is the goddess Neith, and at the head the goddess Uatchit.
Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, 69.

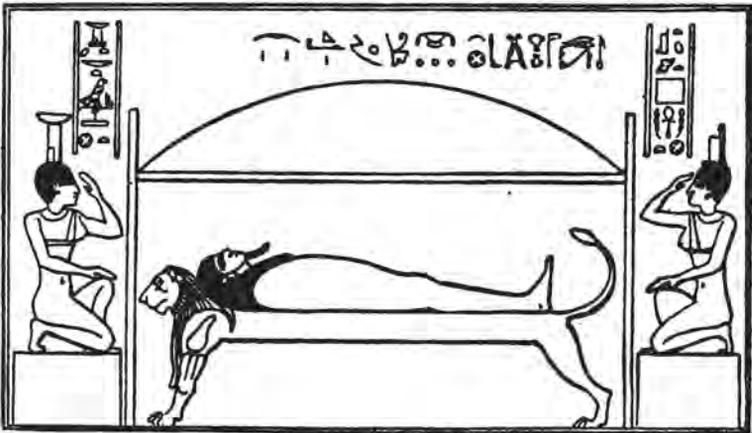
from 210 to 223 feet long ; one end of it was sown with barley, its centre with dhura, and the other end with flax. The plough frame was made of two kinds of wood, and the ploughshare of black bronze ; the cows which pulled it were black. The barley which grew in the Field was cut on the 20th day of Tobe, and was made into sacred cakes, the dhura was also made into cakes, and the linen made from the flax was used at the festival. Descriptions then follow of the sacred casket made of reeds, the cow

¹ The Four Sons of Horus, 4 ⲉⲧⲉⲥ ⲛ , 2 lions, 1 Horus, 1 Thoth, 2 utchats.

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Rement, the chamber which holds the mummy of Seker, the sacred linen chest, and the holy oil and its components.

The thirty-four boats with their 365 lamps and deities are next mentioned, and the names of the gods of the twenty-nine other boats are also given. The objects next spoken of are the sacred bier with silver wheels; the peace chamber, in which a man who represents the "lord of silence" is seated, with one hand on his mouth, and the other on his legs; the shrine of stone, 16 cubits

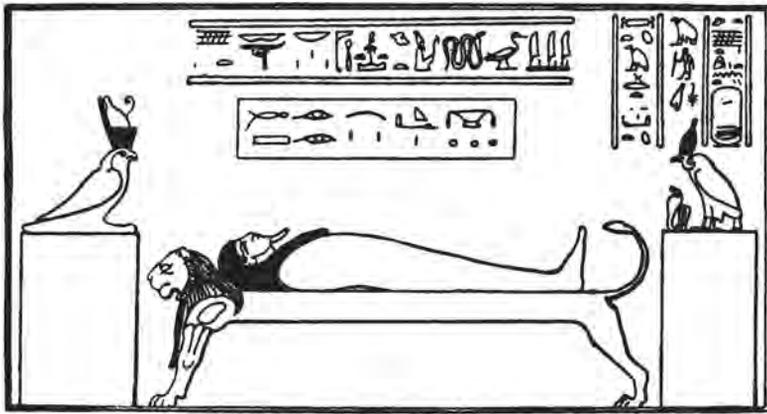


Osiris of the city of Tebt (Edfu).
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 69.

long and 12 cubits broad, with seven doors, and containing a raised mound on which the god in his sarcophagus rests; and the gilded wooden coffer, with its jackal on its cover, and its sledge beneath it. The festival Un-per was celebrated on the 16th and 24th of the month of Khoiak, and on these days the god with his jackal appeared in the courtyard. The yoking of the two pairs of heifers to draw the funerary furniture took place on the 23rd day. The furniture consisted of two obelisks, four coffers, one for each of the Four Sons of Horus, with their four veils, one blue, one red, one green, one white, sixteen vulture plumes, four affixed to each coffer, and behind came a figure of the serpent Apep, holding a knife with which to sever the cordage.

On the 12th day of Khoiak the festival of Tenâ was

celebrated, and on the 14th the most solemn festival of Pert was observed. On the 16th the festival of Osiris Khenti-Āmenti was celebrated, and on that day the transformation of the god took place. On the 19th the figure of Seker was taken from its mould, and on that day Horus saw his father. On the 21st the figure of Osiris was taken from its mould; on the 24th Osiris was embalmed, and on the last day of the month the Ḥ , was raised up, and Osiris was buried. For seven days, from the 24th to the last day of the month, Osiris remained unburied, and during these days he rested in



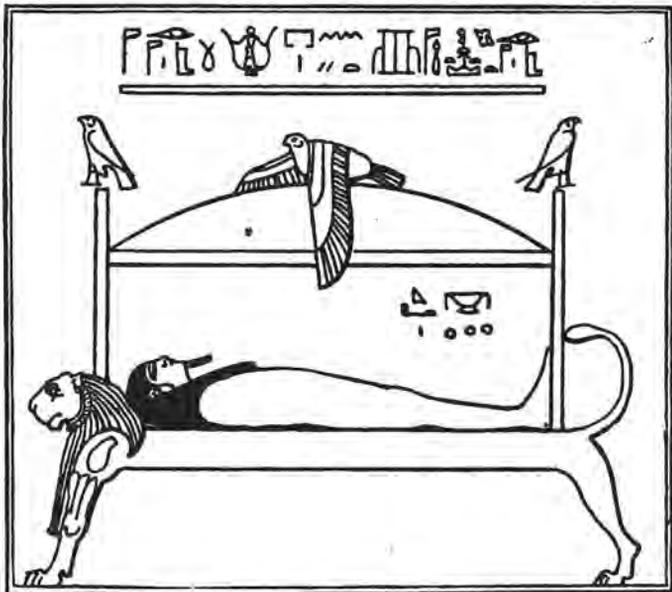
Osiris Khenti-Āmenti of Nubia. Horus sits at the head and Neith at the foot.
Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 69.

the branches of the sycamores of Mendes. The seven days symbolize the seven months which he passed in the womb of his mother Nut, and the branches symbolize the goddess.

The Sixth Section states that the object used at the Tená festival was made at each of the sixteen shrines of Osiris in Egypt. On the 12th of Khoiak the Festival of Ploughing the Earth was celebrated in the temple of the goddess Shentit in Mendes. The goddess appeared in the temple, and she was stripped naked. Some grain was strewn on a bed in the chamber of the goddess's dwelling, and then some of it was placed on a cloth and moistened with water, and at the sixth hour of the day this wet grain was placed in four gold vases in four equal

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parts. Two parts were intended for the mould of Khent-Amenti, and two parts for the trough of Sep. A number of cakes (?) were then brought and treated in the same way. Next a piece of linen was laid in each half of the mould of Khent-Amenti, and it was filled with the wet wheat and the cake-paste; both parts were then laid in the large trough and covered with reeds. The trough of Sep was then filled with the rest of the wheat and cake-

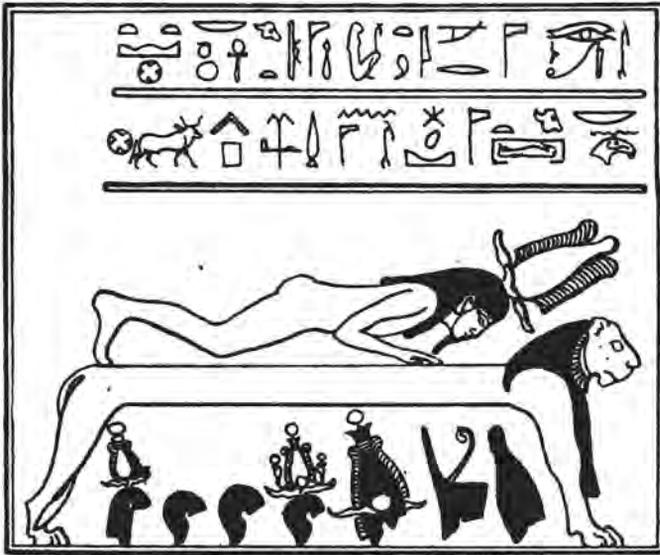


Osiris of Per-Kes (Cusae).
Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 69.

paste, and laid in the larger trough, and water was poured on them. On the 21st day of Khoiak the reeds which were about the halves of the mould were removed, and on the following day the superfluous water was drained off. The figures were then removed from the moulds, and tied together with four papyrus bands, and the two figures from the trough of Sep were joined in a similar manner, and then they were escorted along the water to the tomb by 34 boats decorated with 365 lamps. The figure of Khent-Amenti and the figure from the trough of Sep, which had been made the previous year, were then brought from the place where they had been kept, and

oiled, and embalmed on the 24th day of the month of Khoiak, and put each in a sycamore-wood coffin, and buried in Re-stau on the last day of the month.

The remaining paragraphs describe the details of the final ceremonies which were performed for "Osiris, Lord of Tattu, Un-nefer, triumphant, Khent-Amenti, Great God, Lord of Abydos." The twelve magic spices and the twenty-four precious stones are enumerated; the weaving and the dyeing of the sacred linen are described,



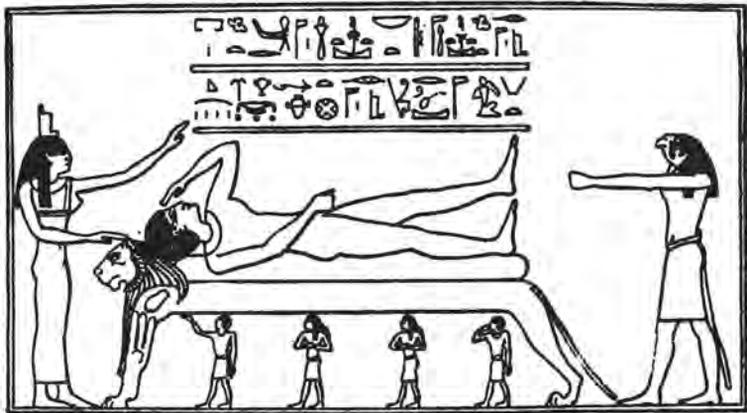
Osiris Mer-át-f of the town of Hep (Apis). Under the bier are the seven crowns of the god.
Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, 70.

and the painting and decoration of the figure of the god, and the fixing of the fourteen amulets on it, and when this and much else had been carefully performed, the priests went, on the 25th day of Khoiak, and "expelled from the tomb of the god all the words which had been spoken there during the ceremonies the year before."

The reader will have noted that none of the ceremonies described in the text at Denderah are mentioned by the loyal official I-kher-Nefert in his account of the ceremonies at which he assisted. This is not to be wondered at, for he only took the lead in the great scenes of the Mystery play of Osiris which were always

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performed before the people. The ceremonies described above were all performed in secret by the priests, partly in the most sacred parts of the temple, and partly in the tomb, and the object of them all was to make three figures of the different forms of Osiris. From the first mould was made a figure of Khent-Amenti, and from the trough of Sep, a figure of Sep, which was formed of sixteen distinct limbs of Osiris, and from the mould of Seker, a figure of the finished, reconstituted god. Every act was symbolic in character, and represented some ancient belief or tradition. The paste, the mixture of



Osiris of Libya (?) lying naked on his bier which is supported by the Four Sons of Horus. At the head stands Isis, and at the foot Horus.

Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 70.

wheat and water, the egg, the naked goddess Shentit, *i.e.*, Isis in her chamber, the placing of the paste on her bed, the kneading of the paste into the moulds, etc., represented the great processes of Nature which are set in motion when human beings are begotten and conceived, as well as the inscrutable powers which preside over growth and development. The Egyptians believed that the original Osiris was re-made in the earth, and that the pieces of his body were woven together a second time through the words and ceremonies of the gods whose effigies were carried in the thirty-four boats during the procession on the water. And there was not the smallest action on the part of any member of the band who acted the

Miracle play of Osiris, and not a sentence in the Liturgy, which did not possess importance or vital significance to the followers of Osiris. The ceremonies performed at Denderah were not new, on the contrary, they were very old, and there is good reason to think the priests of the Ptolemaic Period accepted with absolute faith the observances which the Osirian traditions imposed upon them, and carried them out with the most scrupulous care, even in the smallest detail.



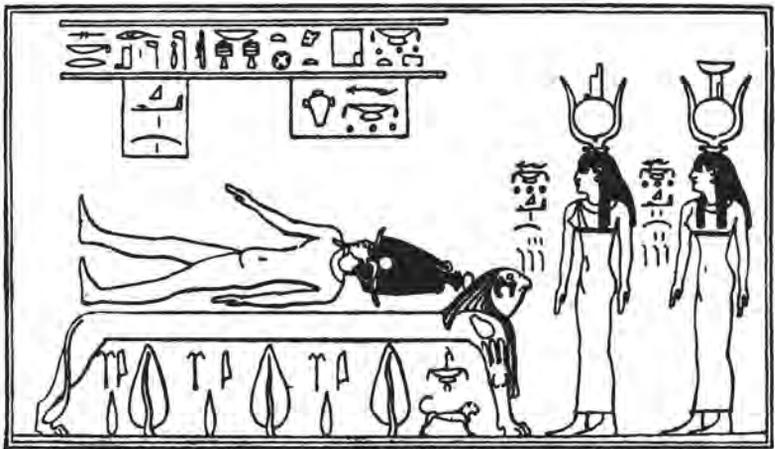
Osiris of Denderah lying on his bier which is supported by Thoth, two goddesses, and an Ape-god. The three hawks are Isis, Nephthys, and Hathor. At the head stands Isis, and at the foot Heket.

Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 70.

We may now consider the bas-reliefs at Denderah which illustrate the Festival and Mysteries of Osiris.¹ In the First Chamber North we see the figures of the priests of the shrines of Osiris from Lower Egypt marching with the king at their head; each holds in his hands the symbol of his nome, and above his head is his official title or designation (Plates 31, 32). In the First Chamber South we also see the figures of the priests of the shrines of Osiris in the South, or Upper Egypt (Plates 33, 34). In the same chamber is the long inscription which has already been summarized. It is illustrated by a figure of Osiris Khent-Amenti (Plate 35),

¹ See Mariette, *Dendérah*, tom. IV, Plate XXXI ff.

and a representation of the mould of Khent-Amenti (Plate 38), and the mould of Seker (Plate 39). On the walls of the Second Chamber (Plates 40-43) is sculptured a series of birds, each with its characteristic head, which represent the deities of the various nomes wherein shrines of Osiris were situated. These are followed by figures of the Eight Goddesses, Isis, Nephthys, etc. (Plate 44), and of the deities who accompany Osiris during the twenty-four hours of the day and night to protect him against the attacks of Set, or Typhon (Plates 45-56).

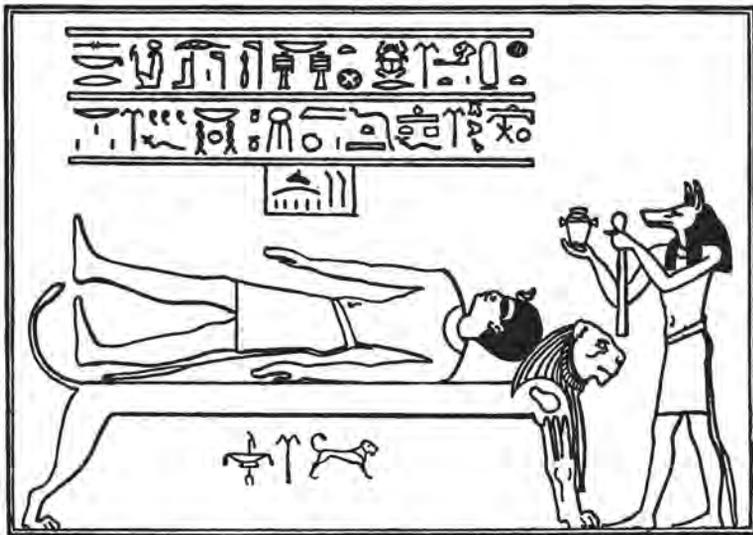


Seker-Osiris, Lord of Tattu (Busiris).
Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 71.

Then come a representation of the passage of the sun through the twelve hours of the day (Plate 57), and two scenes which illustrate ceremonies performed in connection with the renewal of the life of Osiris under the fostering influences of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys. The resurrection of Osiris is closely connected with the germination of wheat; the grain which is put into the ground is the dead Osiris, and the grain which has germinated is the Osiris who has once again renewed his life (Plate 58). The remaining reliefs in this chamber represent the gods who are charged with the protection of the tomb of Osiris (Plates 59-63).

In the Third Chamber we have representations of the Seven Boats of Osiris, the Henu, Sektet, Mâat,

etc., which took part in the procession of Osiris (Plates 64, 65), of Osiris as Harmakhis in a boat, and of a form of Osiris as the Lord of Life. The god lies on a bier under which are placed his diadems (Plate 65). The next relief (Third Chamber North), represents the adoration or protection of Osiris of the South and Osiris of the North by Isis and Nephthys (the two Shenti-goddesses), and the two Merti, *i.e.*, the goddesses of the Inundation of the South and North. In a



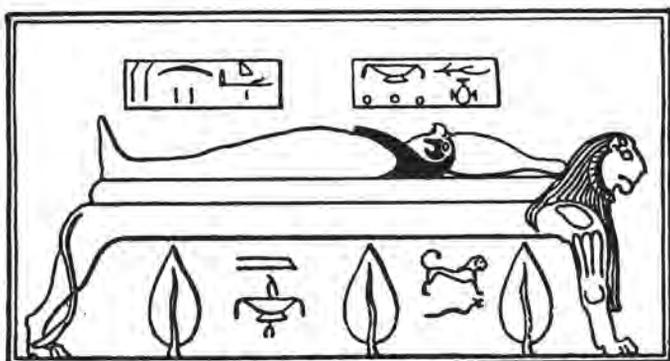
Seker-Osiris of Busiris. Anubis is bringing unguent and linen to embalm him.
Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, 71.

lower scene we have a figure of Osiris of the North lying on his bier in his tomb which is placed close to a tamarisk tree (Plate 66). Then come the Seven Boats of Osiris (Plates 67, 68), and these are followed by representations of the funeral chests of Osiris in different localities. Thus we have the biers of Osiris of Denderah, Osiris of Coptos, Osiris Khent-Amenti of Abydos (Plate 68), Osiris of Eileithyias, Osiris of Edfu, Osiris of Ta-sti (Nubia), Osiris of Cusae (Plate 69), Osiris of the town of Apis, Osiris revived, Osiris of Libya (?), Osiris of Abydos, Osiris under a form worshipped at Denderah (Plate 70), Osiris of Busiris, in three forms, Osiris of Memphis, Osiris of Heliopolis

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(Plate 71), Osiris of the East, Osiris of Behbêt, Osiris of Abydos, venerated in the town of Peḥu of the North, Osiris of Hermopolis in Lower Egypt, and Osiris of Bubastis (Plate 72).

Southern Group. First Chamber. Here the first text contains invocations to Osiris, in all his forms of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the bas-relief represents Osiris Un-Nefer of Denderah lying on his bier, with Isis at the head and Nephthys at the foot (Plate 74). The second text is that of the "Book of the Magical Protection of Horus," which was composed for him by Thoth; its recital brought about the destruction of all



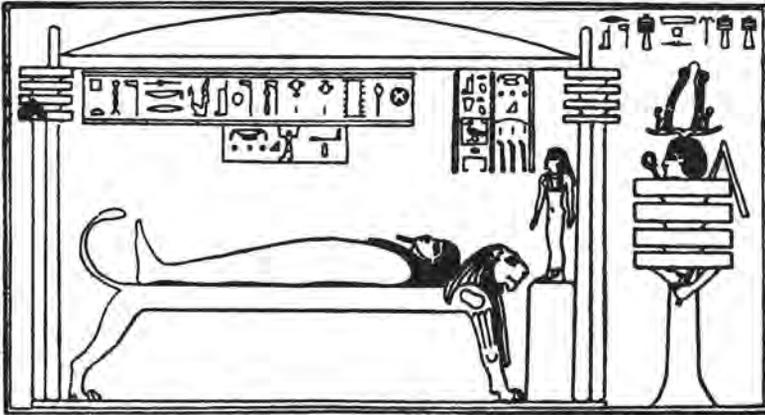
Seker-Osiris of Busiris mummified and wearing the White Crown.
Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, 71.

the enemies of Osiris, and gave to the soul of the god the strength of a bull in the Other World. The bas-reliefs show us Osiris, followed by the four Meskhenit goddesses, and a figure of Thoth (Plate 74). The third text contains invocations to Osiris, and the bas-relief represents Osiris Un-Nefer, Lord of Busiris, lying on his bier (Plate 75).

Second Chamber. The fourth text contains directions for the covering of the biers of Osiris, and the placing of the proper amulets on them on the 25th day of Khoiak (Plate 77). The next group of bas-reliefs contains a series of figures of the gods of the Dekans, and Planets, and days of the week, which stand ready to guard the Sepulchre of Osiris (Plates 78-83). Following these we have the Twelve Hour-gods of the day, and their

names (Plate 84), the Henu Boat, and a scene of sacrifice (Plate 85), and a list of the nomes of Egypt, which the king presents to Hathor.

Third Chamber. Here on a tablet is given a list of the One Hundred and Four Amulets $\begin{matrix} \text{X} & \text{I} & \text{II} \\ \text{II} & \text{e} & \text{II} \\ & \text{II} & \text{II} \end{matrix}$ made of gold and precious stones of all kinds which were taken to the House of Gold, *i.e.*, the sarcophagus chamber, to protect this holy god and the burial



Seker-Osiris of Memphis ; the goddess at the head is Isis. Osiris-Teṭ in Busiris. Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 71.

furniture, or wrappings of his mummy (Plate 87). These amulets were :—

1. A breast plate, with figures of Osiris wearing the Atef Crown, Isis, and Nephthys.
2. A pectoral, with straps for fastening over the shoulders.
3. A figure of Thoth, in the form of a man with the head of an ibis.
4. The ibis, sacred to Thoth, resting on his stand .
5. The goddess Maāt, wearing the feather of Truth and holding the symbol of "life."
6. An Utchat, or Eye of Horus or Rā.
7. [Broken.]
8. A beetle, emblem of Kheperá.

All the above were made of *uher* stone.

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- 9. A beetle, emblem of Kheperá.
- 10. A beetle, emblem of Kheperá.
- 11. An Utchat, or Eye of Horus or Rā.

These three were made of *Teb* stone (read $\text{𓆎} = \text{𓆏}$).



The 104 amulets of Osiris.
Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 87.

- 12. A beetle, emblem of Kheperá.
This was made of turquoise or green feldspar.
 - 13. Uraeus wearing the Crown of the North.
 - 14. Uraeus wearing the Crown of the South.
- These were made of Amen turquoise (?) stone.

15. A White Crown.

This was made of Syrian turquoise (?).



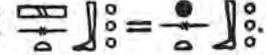
The 104 amulets of Osiris.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 87.

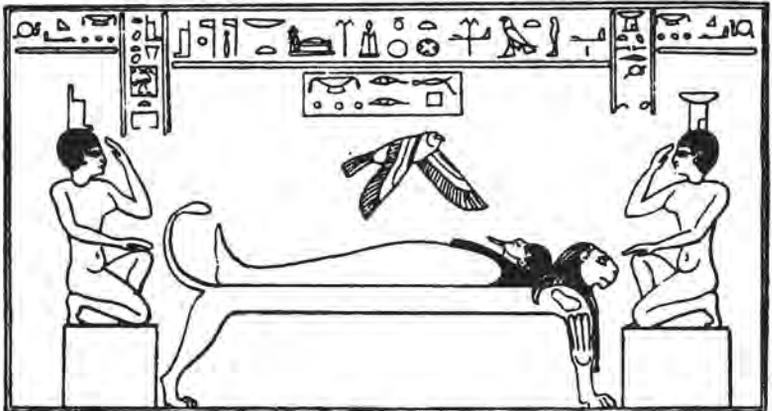
- 16, 17. Two beetles.
- 18. A seated figure of Isis.
- 19. A seated figure of Amen.
- 20, 21. Two hawks, symbols of Horus.
- 22. An Utchat, or Eye of Horus or Rā.
- 23. A papyrus sceptre.

These were made of *Fert* stone of Rutenu.

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- 24. An Utchat, or Eye of Horus or Rā.
- 25. A tear drop of the Utchat .
- These were made of or crystal.
- 26. A beetle, emblem of Kheperā.
- 27. A figure of Thoth.
- 28. A \ddot{T} et, *i.e.*, the sacrum of Osiris set on a stand.
- 29. A papyrus sceptre.
- 30. An Utchat, or Eye of Horus or Rā.

These were made of real lapis-lazuli .

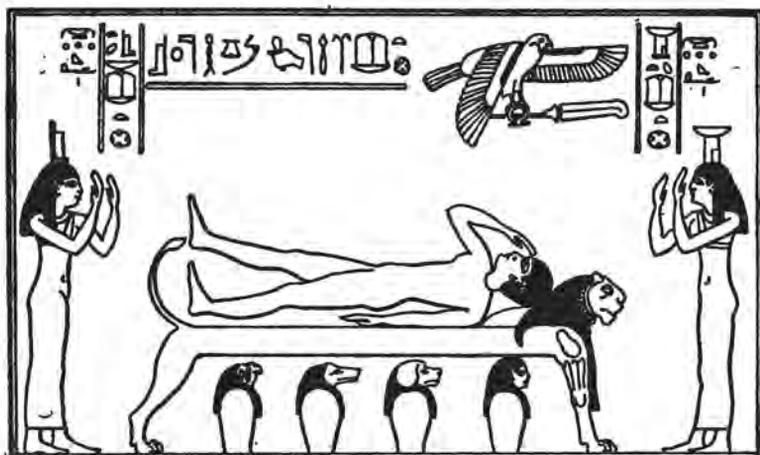


Osiris of the town of Heliopolis.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 71.

- 31, 32. Two figures of Thoth, holding a sceptre.
- 33. A figure of Isis holding a sceptre.
- 34. A figure of Nephthys without a sceptre.
- 35. A seated figure of the goddess Neith.
- 36. A seated figure of the goddess Serqet.
- 37, 38. Two \ddot{T} ets.
- 39, 40. Two beetles.
- 41. A breastplate, with ring.
- 42. A vessel, with cover.
- 43. A seated figure of Osiris wearing the White and Red Crowns.
- 44. A seated figure of the goddess Maāt.
- 45. A cartouche.
- 46. An article of apparel.

47. An Utchat, or Eye of Horus, or Rā.
48. A seated figure of the goddess Maāt.
49. Three plaques (?).
50. A pomegranate.
51. A vessel (?).
52. A heart.
- 53, 54. Two hawks, symbols of Horus.

These were made in fine white "living" alabaster.



Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys of the town of Hēbit (Behbt). Above is a hawk bringing air.

Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 72.

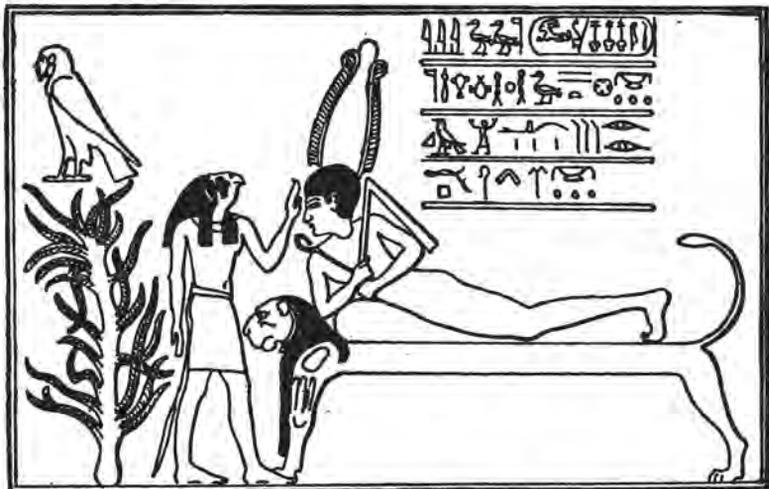
55. A pair of plumbing instruments.
56. A pair of angles.
57. A pair of stands (?).
58. A pair of beetles.
59. A fruit (?).
60. A seated figure of a goddess, with a disk on her head.
61. An Utchat, or Eye of Horus or Rā.
62. A pair of Utchats, the Eyes of the Sun and Moon.
- 63, 64. Two uraei.
65. A hawk, symbol of Horus.

These were made of *qā* stone.

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- 66. A sistrum.
- 67. A pair of plumes.
- 68. Right Utchat.
- 69. Left Utchat.
- 70, 71. Two instruments with plumes and uraei.
- 72. A beetle, symbol of Kheperá.
- 73. A pomegranate.
- 74. A vessel, with cover (?).
- 75.

These were made of carnelian.



The soul of Osiris on the Erica tree.

Osiris of Hermopolis of Lower Egypt rising from his bier at the command of Horus.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 72.

- 76-87 (?) { Vases for milk, or unguents (?).
Perfume vases.

- 88. A pair of plumes.
These were made of turquoise.

- 89. A milk vessel (?).
- 90. A beetle, emblem of Kheperá.
These were made of *behet* stone.

- 91-93. Three plaques (?).
- 94-96. Three knives made of black stone.
- 97. A pair of plumes.
- 98. An object.

These were made of *khenem* stone.

5. Osiris in the embalmment chamber being operated upon by Anubis and Heqet, according to instructions given by Thoth. Isis and Nephthys sit on the ground weeping.

6. Ptaḥ-Seker-Āsar lying on his bier.

7. Seker-Āsar lying on his bier, by which stand Isis and Nephthys. Facing its head are three of the forms of Osiris.



The resurrection of Osiris Khenti-Āmenti.
Mariette, *Dendtrah*, IV, 90.

8. Osiris Ḥemaka, , in the form of an unummied man lying on a bier, by the foot of which stands Anubis. Nephthys kneels at the head, and Isis at the foot. Above the member of the god hovers Isis in the form of a hawk.

9. Āsar-Seker of Abydos kneeling in a kind of boat which is resting on a sledge.

10. Osiris rising revived out of a kind of bowl which stands on a plinth between the outspread wings of Isis.

11. Osiris Khenti-Āmenti, rising revived from his bier, beneath which is placed a series of his crowns.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BOOK OF MAKING THE SPIRIT OF OSIRIS,¹ OR THE SPIRIT BURIAL.

THE FORMULA FOR MAKING THE SPIRIT OF OSIRIS² IN AĀERTET, WHICH SHALL BE MADE (*i.e.*, RECITED) FOR THIS GOD, THE LORD OF ABYDOS, AT EVERY FESTIVAL OF OSIRIS, AND AT EVERY APPEARANCE [OF THE GOD] IN THE TEMPLES IT SHALL MAKE GLORIOUS HIS SOUL, IT SHALL STABLISH HIS BODY, IT SHALL MAKE HIS SOUL TO SHINE IN THE SKY, AND SHALL MAKE HIM TO RENEW HIS YOUTH EACH MONTH, IT SHALL STABLISH HIS SON HORUS UPON HIS COFFER. THIS FORMULA WAS RECITED BY THE SISTER [OF THE GOD]. IT WILL BENEFIT A MAN IF HE RECITETH IT, FOR HE SHALL BECOME A FAVOURED ONE OF OSIRIS UPON EARTH AMONG THE LIVING; HIS SON (?) SHALL BE ESTABLISHED IN HIS HOUSE EVERY DAY, AND HIS CHILDREN UPON THE [EARTH]. THIS FORMULA WAS RECITED BY ISIS AND HER SISTER NEPTHYS, AND ALSO BY HER SON HORUS. AND IF IT BE RECITED FOR OSIRIS, IT WILL CAUSE THE SOUL OF THE DECEASED TO LIVE IN AĀERTET EVERY DAY, IT WILL GLADDEN HIS HEART, AND WILL OVERTHROW ALL HIS ENEMIES; AND IT SHALL BE RECITED DURING THE IVTH MONTH OF THE SEASON AKHET,³ FROM THE XXIIIND DAY TO THE XXVIITH DAY THEREOF. [Here follow the commemorative sentences.]

Come to thy house, come to thy house, O An.
Come to thy house, O Beautiful Bull, the Lord of men
and women, the beloved one, the lord of women. O
Beautiful Face, Chief of AĀertet, Prince, First of those
who are in the Other World, are not [all] hearts drunk
through love of thee (O Un-nefer) triumphant?

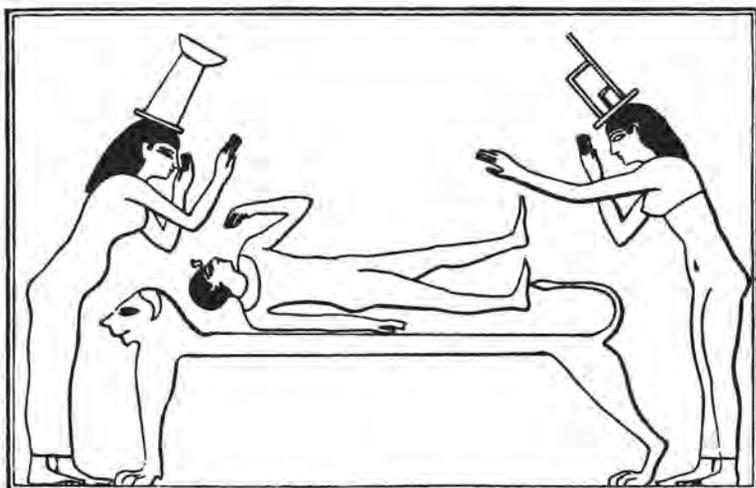
¹ From a papyrus at Paris, a portion of which has been edited by Pierret (*Ét. Égyptologiques*, 1873), and see Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 626 ff.

² Or, commemorating Osiris.

³ Choiak.

The hands of men and gods are lifted on high seeking for thee, even as those of a child [are stretched out] after his mother. Come thou to them, for their hearts are sad, and make them to appear as beings who rejoice. The lands of Horus¹ exult, the domains of Set are overthrown through fear of thee.

Hail, Osiris, First of those who are in the Other World! I am thy sister Isis. No god hath done [for thee] what I have done, and no goddess. I made a man child, though I was a woman, because of my desire



Isis and Nephthys bewailing the death of Osiris.
From a bas-relief at Philae.

to make thy name to live upon the earth. Thy divine essence was in my body; I placed him on the back of the earth (*i.e.*, brought him forth). He pleaded thy case, he healed thy suffering, he decreed the destruction of him that had caused it. Set hath fallen before his sword (or, knife), and the Smamiu fiends of Set have followed him. The throne of Kheb is to thee, O thou who art his beloved son!

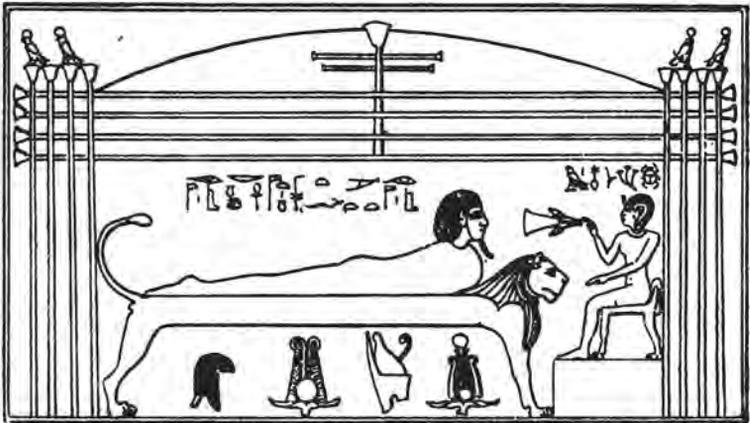
Hail, Seker-Osiris! This calamity happened to thee in the primeval time. There have been made for thee mighty chambers in Tetchtu (Busiris). The god Utekh² embalmed thee and made sweet the smell of thee. The

¹ *I.e.*, the temple estates.

²  E

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god Anpu (Anubis) toiled for thee in the place of purification, and performed all the things which he had to perform. I and my sister Nephthys kindled a lamp at the door of the *urit* chamber, so that [we] might snare in a net Set like a goose. Anubis came forth from the place of purification and overthrew all thine enemies. The mourners, male and female, made for thee their lamentations. Horus hath overthrown the Sebäu fiends, and hath cast fetters about Set. The gods stand up and utter groans by reason of the great



Osiris, king of the gods, Lord of life, Osiris smelling a flower presented by Horus.
Under the bier are the four crowns of the god.

Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 65.

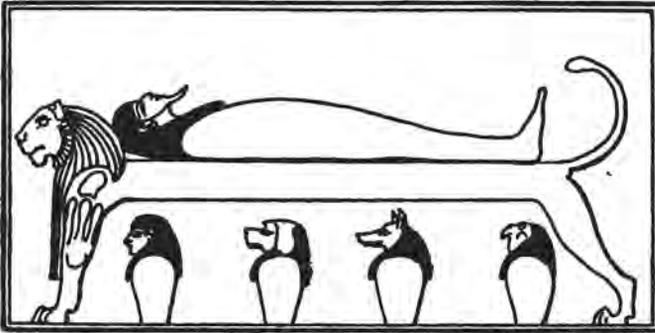
calamity which hath happened to thee, and they send forth their loud cries unto heaven. Those who dwell in the horizon hear the goddess making lamentation over the motionless one, they see what that accursed one hath done unto thee.

Thoth standeth at the door of the pure chamber in order to recite his formulæ which shall give life to the soul each day. The Ploughing of the Earth¹ hath been performed for thee on the XXVIth day of the fourth month of the season Akhet. Thou comest forth in the Tuat. The Sons of Horus are with thee. Horus is before thee [with] the rope in his hands. The divine-

¹ *I.e.*, the sacrifice of human beings whose blood was used to moisten the earth.

father priests and the servants of the god prepare thy two ways (?) in the pure [chamber]. Thy mouth is opened by the "Book of Opening the Mouth." The Kher-heb priest and the chief of the libationer priests, with their books of making [the soul] to live in their hands, recite the formulae over thee. The Setem priest hath opened thy mouth, Seker in the Henu-Boat hath triumphed, thine enemies are overthrown.

Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu, come to thy sister,
 O Un-nefer triumphant, come to thy wife!



Osiris on his bier under which are the vases containing his intestines.
 Mariette, *Denâtrah*, IV, 70.

Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu, the gods and the goddesses, with their heads on their knees, await thy coming to them; men with outcry and shouting call out: "O thou who art invisible, come to us." O Soul, perfect to all eternity, thy members are in a state of well-being, thy sufferings are relieved, every evil thing [in thee] is done away. Thy limbs are rejoined, thou art protected, thou hast no defect; thy limbs are rejoined, and not a member of thine is wanting.

1. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thou hast thy head, O god of the lifted hand, [thy] crown and thy hair are [made of] genuine lapis-lazuli.
2. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thou hast thy two eyes, thou seest with them; the Maâti goddesses love to protect thee.
3. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thou

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hast thine ears, wherewith thou shalt hear prayers for millions of years.

4. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thou hast thy nose, thy nostrils snuff the breezes.

5. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thou hast thy mouth; thou speakest therewith; Horus has pressed for thee thy mouth.

6. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thy jaw-bones are on thee, firmly fixed.



Anubis anointing the mummy of Osiris with Isis giving directions.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 70.

7. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thy beard [is made of] crystal which emitteth rays of light.

8. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thy lips are of flint and thy teeth are turquoises.

9. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thy tongue is the pilot of the Two Lands, it licketh up thine enemies.

10. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thy body is of natron, it perisheth not.

11. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thy neck beareth ornaments and amulets which reach to thy throat.

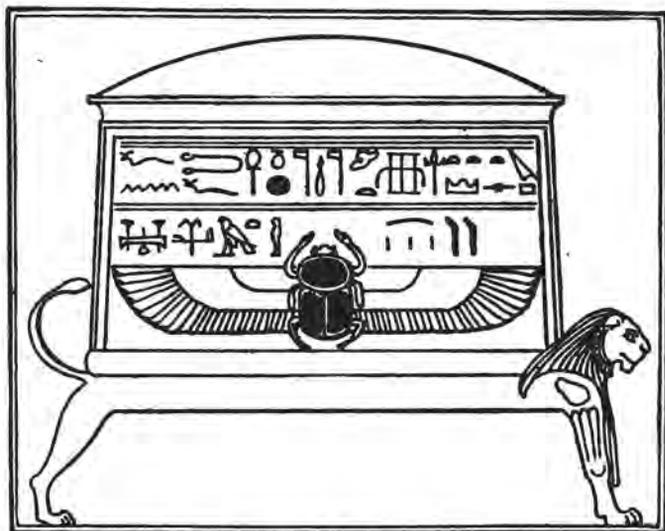
12. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thy hands are firm on the staff, which is stable in thy abodes (?).

13. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thy sinews (?) and thy vertebrae (or, joints) are established firmly.

14. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thy belly, thy secret place, hideth that which is in it.

15. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thy two shoulders are established firmly on thy back.

16. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thou hast thy member and thy genitals that thou mayest copulate.



The bier and coffer of Fenth-f-ankh Khenti Abti.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 72.

17. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, thou hast thy backbone and thy buttocks, thou sittest upon the throne every day.

18. Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! O Form, the soles of thy feet are on the earth, the water flood appeareth with them, O Osiris Khenti-Amentiu!

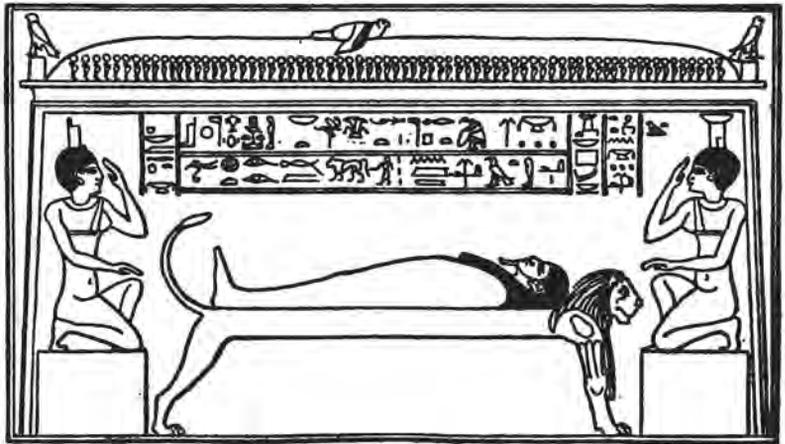
Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! Isis and Nephthys say :—

“ Thou hast received thy head, thou hast united in
“ thy embrace thy flesh, thy limbs thou hast brought
“ unto thyself, thou hast gathered together thy members,
“ and they have come into thy mummified form. Thou

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“ hast become like the god Sebeq, the Lord of the dead
“ body.

“ Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! There is health in
“ thy members, thy wounds are done away, thy suffering
“ is relieved, thy groaning shall never return. Come to
“ us the sisters, come to us; [our] hearts will live when
“ thou comest. Men shall cry out to thee, women weep
“ for thee with gladness at thy coming to them. [The
“ Two Lands] shall not lack thy name, and thou shalt be
“ stablished in the nomes of the gods for ever.

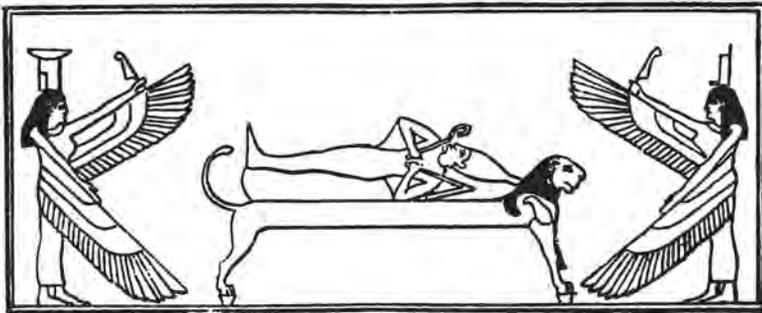


A local form of Osiris of Abydos, worshipped in Pehu.
Mariette, *Denkmal*, IV, 72.

“ Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! Rise up, rise up!
“ Be thou not motionless. Thy son Horus over-
“ throweth thine enemies. Rise thou up into heaven,
“ unite thyself to Rā. The mariners of the divine boat
“ ascribe praises unto thee. The mouths of the gods of
“ the horizon utter glad words. Throats follow thee.
“ Thy love is in their hearts, thy terror is in their
“ breasts, when thou enterest into the Utchau, and
“ unitest thyself thereto. Those who are on the earth
“ and [those who are] in the ʿTuat flourish . . . Moon.
“ O Bull, who renewest youth in the sky each day,
“ creator of . . . and the Great Company of the Gods.
“ The Utchat goddess . . . filling of the mouth. . . .
“ At [thy] entrance into the Utchat the Sekhem (*i.e.*,

“ Power) of Osiris, that is to say, Thoth, cometh into
 “ being. When thou risest in the sky calamity
 “ departeth, and when thou art seen in the sky on this
 “ day bulls fecundate the cows and very many concep-
 “ tions take place.

“ Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! Thou becomest a
 “ child in the horizon of heaven each day, and thou
 “ becomest old at every one of thy periods. Hāp (the
 “ Nile) appeareth by the command of thy mouth, making
 “ men and women to live on the effluxes which come
 “ from thy members, making every field to flourish. At
 “ thy coming that which is motionless groweth, and the
 “ green plants of the marsh put forth blossoms.

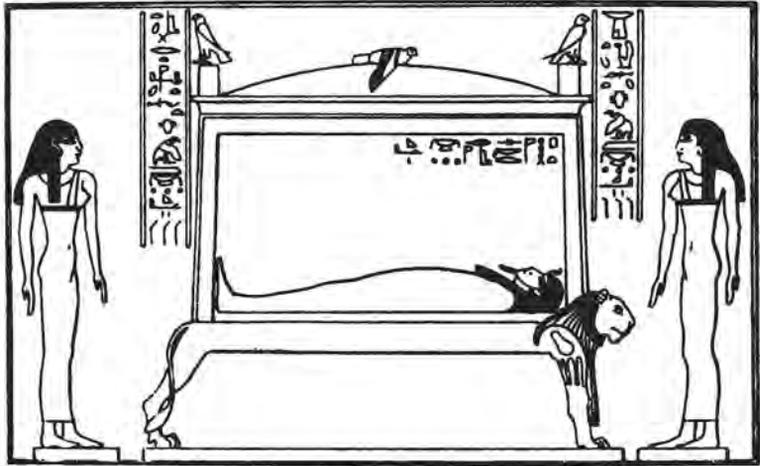


Isis and Nephthys providing Osiris with air.
 Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 75.

“ Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! Thou art the Lord
 “ of millions of years, the lifter up of the wild animals,
 “ the Lord of cattle; every created thing hath its
 “ existence from thee. To thee belongeth what is in
 “ the earth, to thee belongeth what is in the heavens,
 “ to thee belongeth what is in the waters, to thee
 “ belongeth whatsoever is in them in thy name of ‘Hāp.’
 “ Hail to thee, in thy name of ‘Inert one, chief of
 “ Hēt-urit.’ Thou art the Lord of Truth, the hater of
 “ sinners, who makest them to be overthrown in [their]
 “ sins. The two Maāti goddesses are with thee, on no
 “ day do they depart from thee. Sins (or, sinners)
 “ cannot draw nigh unto thee in any place wherein thou
 “ art. To thee belongeth whatsoever appertaineth to
 “ life [and to] death. To thee belongeth whatsoever
 “ appertaineth to men [and to] women.

“ Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! The mourners
 “ weep, both men and women, and they lament. The
 “ magical fluid of thy bier protecteth thee at [all]
 “ seasons, thy members are guarded. All thine enemies
 “ are overthrown. Thy throne is established firmly each
 “ day like the throne of Rā, with mighty sovereignty,
 “ by his ruling to his son’s son. Shu and Tefnut were
 “ with him in primeval time.”

“ Shu saith: ‘ O son of a son, I am thy son. Thou
 “ renewest thy youth at the word (or, voice), it is I who



Sekher-Osiris in his funerary coffer.

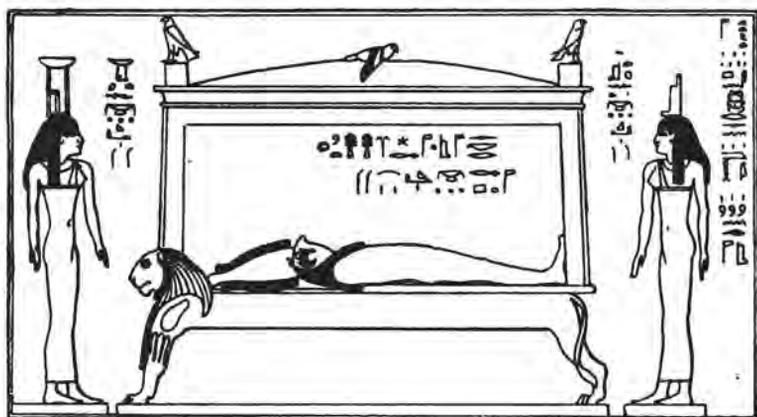
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 89.

“ give air to the throat which is closed, and from it
 “ proceedeth life to the throat. Thou art Sovereign
 “ among the gods, the Prince at the head of the Com-
 “ pany of the Gods.’

“ Tefnut saith: ‘ There is not to thee thy mother
 “ who conceived by her father, on the day . . . giving
 “ birth [to thee] with gladness. I made the form of the
 “ *āmit* fire to overthrow all thine enemies. Likewise
 “ all the . . . which I made for my father Rā in
 “ primeval time I have made for Osiris Khenti-Amentiu,
 “ in order to create his form anew. I am the mother of
 “ thy mother, I am (?) thy eldest daughter; thou art
 “ [my] Sekhem.’ ” (?)

Men and women sing hymns of praise [when] thou risest on us at the season of thy departure. The beings of the South and the beings of the North must not be without a sight of thee. The beings of the West and the beings of the East are settled in the fear of thee, and they [bear tribute] on their heads each day. They shall never separate from thy Majesty by reason of their desire to see thee.

Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! Come to me; I am thy sister Isis. Rise up, rise up, come at my call.



Seker-Osiris of Busiris.
Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 89.

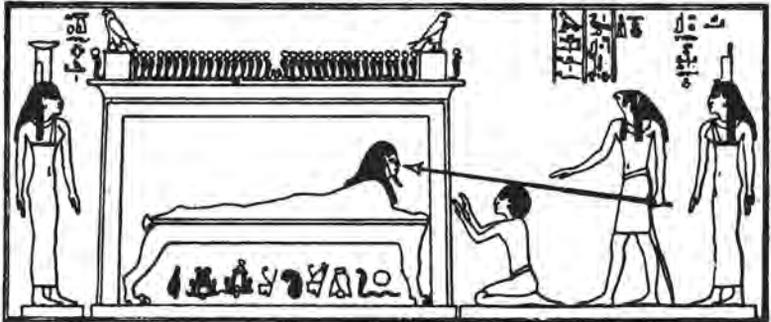
Hearken thou to the recital of the things which I have done for thee, which I have done for thee [and] thy name in all the nomes, and in every domain, and how they hold thee in fear. They cry out unto thee at the time of thy departure. [Their] hearts are not wearied because of [their] love for thee. Be not afar off, come thou to us.

Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amentiu! Thy mother Nut gave birth to thee in Thebes, and thou didst become a young man. As soon as thou didst rise on the earth as a child there was a shout of joy, and Rā heard it in his abode (?) in the Land of the North; hearts rejoice at thy birth. Thou arrivest at Het-sutenit¹ on the night of the twentieth day of the month, and the fifteenth day of

¹ Xoïs.

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the moon (*i.e.*, at full moon). Rā saw thee, thy love entered into his heart in this royal seat. He gave to thee the throne of thy father Kēb. Thou art his son whom he loveth. Thou enterest into the temple, into thy hidden abode, in Hēt-Benben.¹ The gods in Aat-tcha-Mut² rejoice at the sight of thee. The city of Memphis³ is with thee every day, and thou livest there in the form of Atem-Kheperā, the Prince in Anu (Heliopolis). Abydos is thy city in the Land of the South; thou art there in it every day in the form of Osiris Khenti-Āmentiu, the Great God, the Lord of Abydos. Isis stops the paths before that Evil One at



Horus opening the mouth and two eyes of Osiris with a spear.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 88.

Abydos, thy son Horus overthroweth thine enemies every day. Thou renewest thy youth in Ṭeṭṭu (Busiris). The goddess Nebt-ḥetep protecteth thee, the goddess Shenāt keepeth off the fiend Set. The Temple Ānti [is full of] loud acclamations, and Re-stau [is full of] splendour.

The god Khnemu protecteth thee in Metchet (Elephantine). He poureth out for thee water in the Hētep Chamber in the Metchet temple, appearing in it anew, appearing from thee. The city of Behuṭet (Apollinopolis) is stablished under thy name, Horus overthroweth Set. The city of Horus of the West (Asphynis) rejoiceth at the sight of thee. The temple of

¹ The House of the Obelisk, *i.e.*, Heliopolis.

² Pasemis.

³ Res-āneb-f.

Āptet (Ombos) hath joy of heart. The Spirits who dwell in Nekhent cry out with joy. The goddess Nekhebit protecteth thee in Nekhebet (Eileithyiaspolis). Splendid is thy rising up as the Lord of the South and North.¹ She is like a vulture in effecting thy protection, and she is like an uraeus serpent established on thy head; she maketh thee to rise like Rā every day. Offerings [to thee], with joy, with joy!

The god An purifieth thee in H̄et-sekhemu (Diospolis Parva). Isis protecteth thee in Denderah (?), Nifu-urt²



Osiris Tet of Busiris.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 88.

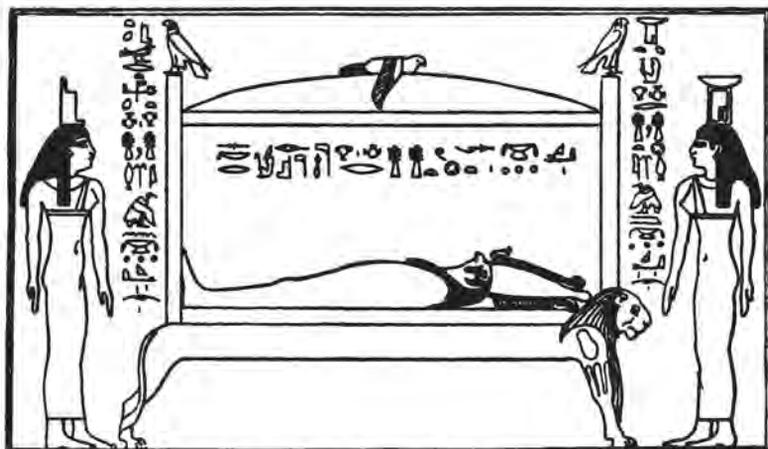
rejoiceth because of thee, thou art on the roads which are in it. The Two Companies of the Gods exalt thee high on thy standard. The gods look upon the two Merti (?) goddesses who are before thee, thy two Uatchti goddesses are in thy following, thou art never deprived of them. The city of Shenā-ḥennu rejoiceth at the sight of thee. Those who are in the East rejoice at thy KA (*i.e.*, double), and the cities of Apu (?) and Khent-Menu utter many loud cries of joy. Hathor protecteth thee in Hierakonpolis, thou livest in Shaās-ḥetep (Hypsels).

Thou buildest up men and women, thou art the guide of the gods in thy name of Khnemu. Thy members are gathered together in H̄et-Erṭuu, and the gods who dwell

¹

² A district of Abydos.

therein overthrow thine enemies. The god Thoth reciteth the Book of making the Spirit for thee in Khemenu (Hermopolis), and the Eight Gods of Hermopolis ascribe to thee praises as they did for thy father Rā. The gods of the city of H̄esert rejoice in thee from the time thou enterest till thou departest. H̄ensu (Herakleopolis) adareth thy Souls, and An-aārrut-f is under thee every day. Mer-ur (Moeris) rejoiceth, Smen-H̄eru (Ptolemaïs) rejoiceth at thy coming. Thou hidest thy body in Pa-H̄ennu¹ until Hathor of Aphroditopolis cometh.



Seker-Osiris of Busiris, hawk-headed.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 90.

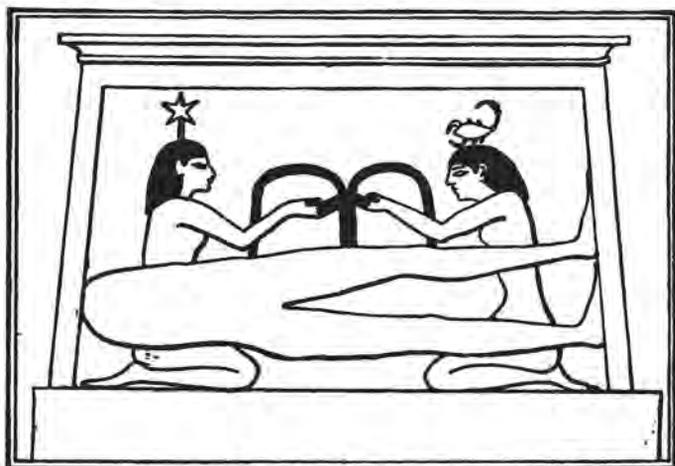
Memphis is established possessing thee. Kindled for thee is a fire in the hands of the goddess Rerāt,² she performeth acts of protection for thee every day. Ptaḥ giveth air to thy nostrils. The Meriti-gods, chiefs of the Temple of Ptaḥ, protect thee. The sanctuary Shetat rejoiceth, the sanctuary H̄ennu is glad. The heart of Ptaḥ-resu-āneb-f is glad, he rejoiceth in thy love. The Temple of Sekhet resoundeth with music in thine honour. The Temple of Aqert rejoiceth possessing thee, and Horus overthroweth all thine enemies. The gods of Latopolis are full of the sight of thee. Thou art protected by Nut in the city of Apis, Momemphis

¹ The Temple of the Canal.

² The Hippopotamus goddess of the Nile.

rejoiceth in thine image. Thou suckest in pure life with the milk of the Cow-goddess Sekha-Ĥeru, and the Town of the Cow is full of happiness. The goddess Sekhmet protecteth thee in the lands of the Theḥennu, she defendeth thee; the queen of Mer-ur is glad.

The goddess of the Companies of the Gods tarrieth with thy name in the Temple of Neith, the city of Saïs is filled with glory at the sight of thee. Thou becomest hidden on the south side and on the north side, [thy] apparel is the work of the two Crocodile-gods. Thou



The goddesses Serqet and Tjua (?) performing a magical ceremony for Osiris.
From a bas-relief at Philae.

comest to Saïs, thou passest into the Temple of Ĥet-Khebit. The goddess Neith shooteth arrows from her bow to overthrow thine enemies utterly. Thou reachest Athribis, and thou appearest in the form of a bull upon his stand in thy name of Osiris-Uu, whilst Isis standeth before thee. She never leaveth thee. Thy name is in the mouth of her inhabitants, they praise thee where thou art all the day long, even as they praise Rā, the father of thy parents (*i.e.*, thy grandfather); the throne which thou lovest is in her (*i.e.*, Saïs). The Uraei-goddesses rejoice in thy image, and their sceptres bring thee healing season by season. The city of Pe rejoiceth at the sight of thee, and Tjep bringeth hymns and praises before thy face. The goddess Uatchit, the Uraeus-goddess of the North,

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taketh up her place on thy head. Clusters of papyrus plants are presented unto thee in the city of Khebit;¹ all thine enemies are overthrown. The cities of Qebh-her and Nai bow themselves down before thy face.

The children and young men come to thee from Heliopolis. The awe of thee filleth the temple of the god Sep, and thy name is spread abroad in The city of Kher-āḥa² is full of joy at the sight of thee, and



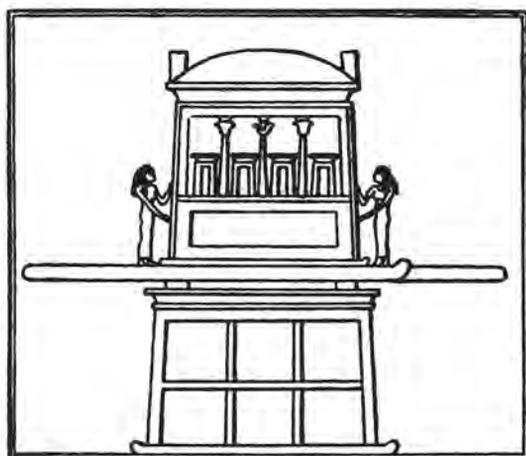
The Resurrection of Osiris.
From a bas-relief at Philae.

the Temple of Āmaḥet hath gladness of soul. Shenu-qebḥ is filled with joy of heart, and the holy city is glad; and under the form of Hetepit the goddess Hathor guardeth thee. Bast, the Lady of Bubastis, sendeth awe of thee among all men; thy strength against thine enemies is great. The town of Phacusa is glad. The god Sepṭ, the Horus of the East, the Bull, the slayer of the Anti, rejoiceth at the sight of thee. Heru-Merti

¹ The Island of Khemmis of the classical writers.

² Babylon of Egypt.

protecteth thee, and overthroweth all thine enemies in the town of Sheṭen (Pharbaetus). The town of Tḥān is glad, and the Land of Ḥāā is full of joy. The town of Remen keepeth a feast, the town of Horus in the North and Sma-Behuṭet rejoice in their hearts. The town of Theb-neter (Sebennytus) boweth low before thee, Ḥeru-Tema, with the lofty plumes, the lord of the crown, is the vanquisher of all thy foes. The town of Ḥet-Baiu (Thmuis) possesseth thy Ram, and thou appearest as



The Shrine Tenter on its sledge.
Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 65.

Ba-neb-Ṭet^ḥ (Mendes), the virile Ram, the master of virgins. The town of Hermopolis lieth under thy rule, and Thoth, the judge of the Two Combatants, stablisheth the writings which commemorate [the combat] Thou art in the place of Rā for ever.

THE LAMENTATIONS OF ISIS AND NEPHTHYS.¹

THE BOOK OF THE COMMEMORATIVE SENTENCES WHICH ARE TO BE SAID BY THE TWO SISTERS [ISIS AND NEPHTHYS] IN THE HOUSE OF OSIRIS, KHENTI-AMENTIU, THE GREAT GOD, THE LORD OF ABYDOS, IN THE IVTH

¹ For the hieratic text and a French translation see J. de Horrack, *Les Lamentations*, Paris, 1866; for a hieroglyphic transcript see my *Egyptian Reading Book*, p. 78.

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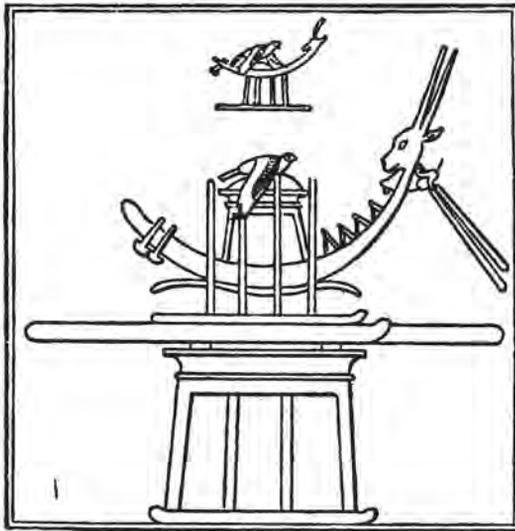
MONTH OF THE SEASON OF AKHET, ON THE XXVTH DAY OF THE SAME. THIS BOOK SHALL LIKEWISE BE RECITED IN EVERY SEAT OF OSIRIS DURING HIS FESTIVAL, FOR IT SHALL MAKE HIS SOUL TO BE A SPIRIT, SHALL STABLISH HIS BODY, SHALL MAKE HIS *KA* TO REJOICE, SHALL GIVE BREATH TO THE NOSTRILS AND AIR TO THE THROAT WHICH IS STOPPED, SHALL MAKE THE HEARTS OF ISIS AND NEPHTHYS HAPPY, SHALL PLACE HORUS ON THE THRONE OF HIS FATHER. IT IS BENEFICIAL TO RECITE THIS BOOK FROM THE HIEROGLYPHIC TEXT.



The Serekh Shrine containing remains of Osiris.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 67.

ISIS SAITH : "Come to thy house, come to thy
"house. An, come to thy house. Thine enemy is
"not. O beautiful *Åhi*, come to thy house. Look
"thou upon me, I am the sister who loveth thee, go not
"far from me. O beautiful Boy, come to thy house,
"immediately, immediately. I do not see thee, my
"heart weepeth for thee, my two eyes follow thee about.
"I am following thee about so that I may see thee.
"Lo, I wait to see thee, I wait to see thee, Beautiful
"Prince, lo, I wait to see thee. It is good to see thee.
"it is good to see thee ; O *Ån*, it is good to see thee,
"Come to thy beloved one, come to thy beloved

“ one, Beautiful Being triumphant! Come to thy
 “ sister. Come to thy wife. Come to thy wife,
 “ O thou whose heart is still. Come to the lady of thy
 “ house, I am thy sister by (?) thy mother. Go not
 “ thou far from me. The faces of gods and men are
 “ towards thee, they weep for thee all together. As
 “ soon as I perceived [thee] I cried out unto thee,
 “ weeping with a loud voice which penetrated heaven,



The Boat of Seker-Osiris on its sledge. It was drawn round the sanctuary at dawn.
 Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 64.

“ and thou hearest not my voice. I am thy sister
 “ who loved thee upon earth ; none other loved more
 “ than [thy] sister, thy sister.”

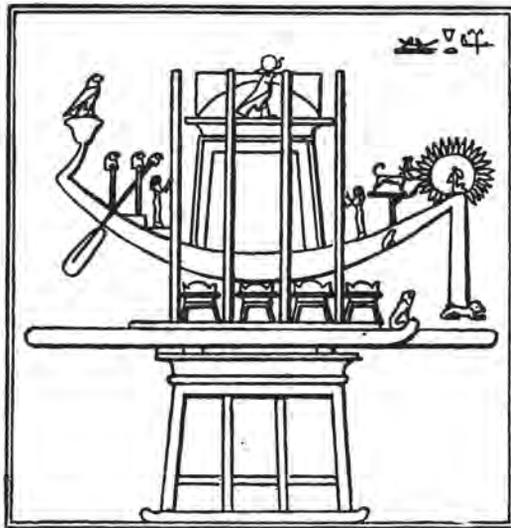
NEPHTHYS SAITH : “ O Beautiful Prince, come to thy
 “ house. Let thy heart rejoice and be glad, for all
 “ thine enemies have ceased to be. Thy two Sisters
 “ are nigh unto thee, they protect thy bier, they address
 “ thee with words [full of] tears as thou liest overthrown
 “ on thy bier. Look thou at the young women, speak
 “ to us, O Sovereign our Lord. Destroy thou all the
 “ misery which is in our hearts. Thy *Shenit* nobles
 “ among gods and men look upon thee [and say]:

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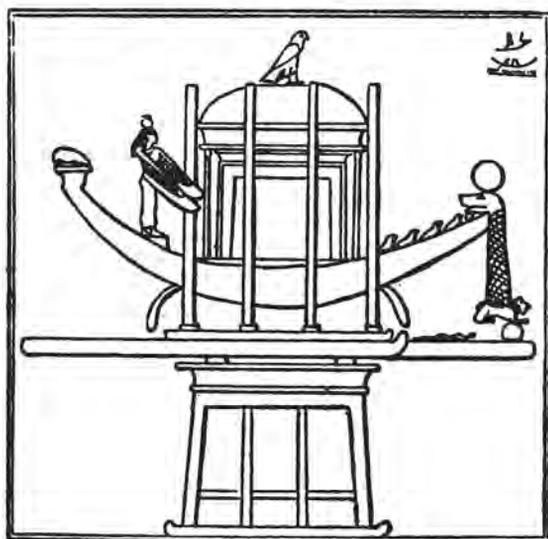
" Turn thou to us thy face, O Sovereign our Lord!
 " Life is [on] our face[s] in the seeing of thy face, turn
 " not thou away thy face from us. The joy of our
 " heart is in the sight of thee, O Beautiful Sovereign,
 " our heart would see thee. I am thy sister Nephthys
 " who loveth thee. Thy Sebâu fiend hath fallen, he
 " hath no being. I am with thee, and I act as a
 " protectress of thy members for ever and ever."



The Maât Boat on its sledge. Harpokrates is seated on the prow.
 Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 64.

ISIS SAITH: " Hail, thou god An, thou rollest up
 " into the sky for us every day ; we cease not to see thy
 " beams. Tho' acteth as a protector for thee, he maketh
 " to stand up thy soul in the Māātet Boat in thy name
 " of Aāh. I have come to see thee and thy beauties
 " within the Utcha in thy name of Heb-enti-sās (?)
 " (*i.e.*, the Sixth-day Festival). Thy *Shenit* nobles
 " are round about thee, they depart not from thee.
 " Thou hast conquered heaven by the greatness of thy
 " majesty in thy name of ' Prince of the festival of the
 " fifteenth day.' Thou risest upon us like Rā every
 " day ; thou shinest on us like Atem. Gods and men
 " live at the sight of thee. Thou risest on us, thou

"illuminest the Two Lands. The horizon is covered
 "with the tracks of thy passings. The faces of gods
 "and men are turned to thee; there is no evil thing
 "with them when thou risest. Thou sailest over the
 "sky, thine enemies exist not. I act as thy pro-
 "tector every day. Thou comest unto us as a babe
 "each month, we cease not to see thee. Thy divine
 "emanation glorifieth Saḥu (*i.e.*, the Orion god) in the

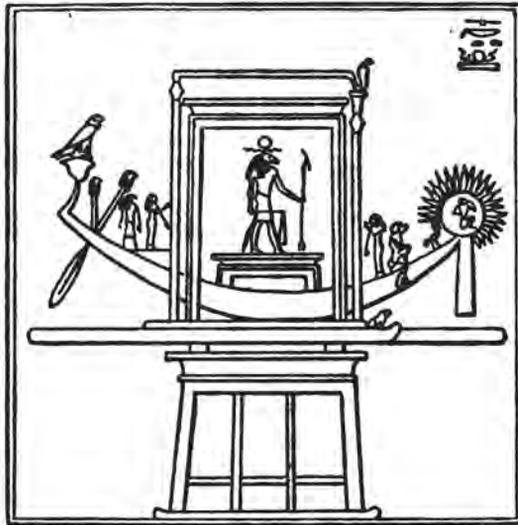


A Boat of Horus on its sledge.
 Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 64.

"heavens, rising and setting each day, and I am like
 "Seḫt (*i.e.*, Sirius) behind thee, and I go not away
 "from thee. The holy and divine emanation which
 "cometh forth from thee vivifieth gods, men, quadrupeds,
 "and reptiles, and they live thereby. Thou sailest forth
 "to us from thy cavern at thy season to pour out the
 "seed of thy soul, to make abundant offerings for thy
 "KA, and to give life unto gods and men likewise.
 "Hail, thou Lord, there existeth no god who is like
 "unto thee. Heaven possesseth thy soul, earth pos-
 "sesseth thy similitudes, and the Ṭuat possesseth thy
 "secret things. Thy wife acteth as thy protectress,
 "thy son Horus is the Ḥeq (Governor) of the World."

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NEPHTHYS SAITH: " Hail, Beautiful Sovereign!
 " Come to thy house, O (Beneficent Being) trium-
 " phant, come to ẖeṭu (Busiris). Hail, Bull, thou
 " fertile one, come to Ānep (Mendes). O beloved one
 " of the sanctuary, come to the nome of Ḥāt-meḥit
 " (Mendes). Come to ẖeṭtet (Mendes town), the
 " place beloved of thy Soul. The Souls of thy fathers
 " . . . are to thee, thy son, the child Horus, brought



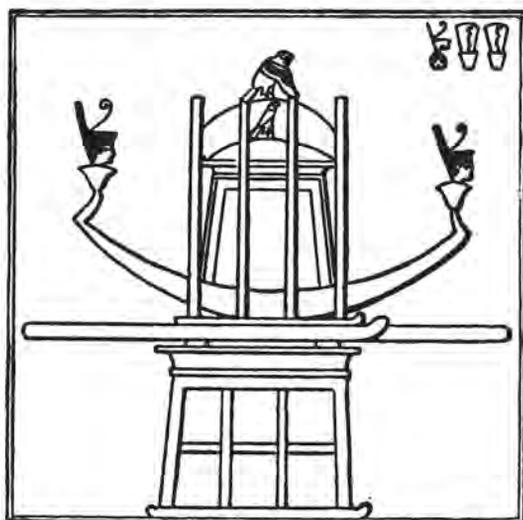
The Sektet Boat on its sledge with the shrine containing Osiris-Rā in the form of a ram-headed man. Harpokrates is seated on the prow.

Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 64.

" forth by the Two Sisters, is before thee. I act as thy
 " protectress at dawn daily, and I never depart from
 " thee. Hail, god Ān! Come to Saïs; Sau is thy
 " name. Come to the nome of Sāpi (?) (Saïtes), thou
 " shalt see thy mother Net (Neith); Beautiful Boy,
 " cease not to be with her, come thou to her breasts,
 " and drink deeply there, to thy fill. O Beautiful
 " Brother, depart not thou from her, O divine Son,
 " come to the city of Saïs. Come to Sāpi, thy city.
 " Thy seat is the Temple of ẖeb. Thou shalt repose
 " near thy mother for ever. She protecteth thy
 " members, she driveth away thy Sebāu fiends, she

“acteth as the protectress of thy members for ever.
 “Hail, Beautiful Sovereign, come to thy house! O
 “Lord of Saïs, come thou to Saïs.”

ISIS SAITH: “Come to thy house, come to thy
 “house! O Beautiful Sovereign, come to thy house!
 “Come, look thou upon thy son Horus, the king of
 “gods and men. He hath conquered cities and nomes
 “by reason of his august majesty. The heavens and
 “the earth are in fear of him, and the Land of Sti



The Boat of the Aterti of the North.
 Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 65.

“(Nubia) holdeth him to be conqueror. Thy nobles
 “among gods and men are to him in the Two Aterti,¹
 “that they may perform what is to be performed for
 “thee. Thy Two Sisters are about thee to pour out
 “libations to thy KA. Thy son Horus maketh unto
 “thee the offerings which appear at the word—bread,
 “beer, oxen, geese. The god Thoth readeth the
 “service for thee, and he reciteth for thee his magical
 “spells. The [four] Sons of Horus act as guardians of
 “thy members, and make to be spirit thy soul every
 “day. Thy son Horus pronounceth thy name in thy
 “hidden chest, and placeth things (*i.e.*, offerings) to thy

¹ *I.e.*, the South and the North.

“ KA. The gods hold in their hands the *nemmet* vases
 “ to pour out libations to thy KA. Come thou to thy
 “ nobles, O our Sovereign Lord, and depart thou not
 “ from them.”

RUBRIC: NOW AFTER THE ABOVE WORDS HAVE BEEN READ, THE PLACE BECOMETH MOST HOLY. LET NO HUMAN EYE (*I.E.*, NO MAN) LOOK ON OR LISTEN [AT THE READING] EXCEPT THE CHIEF KHER-HEB AND THE SETEM PRIEST. THEN TWO YOUNG AND FAIR WOMEN SHALL BE BROUGHT, AND MADE TO SEAT THEMSELVES ON THE GROUND BY THE CHIEF DOOR OF THE USEKHT CHAMBER. ON THE SHOULDER OF ONE THE NAME OF ISIS SHALL BE WRITTEN, AND ON THE SHOULDER OF THE OTHER THE NAME OF NEPHTHYS. AND CRYSTAL VASES FULL OF WATER SHALL BE PLACED IN THEIR RIGHT HANDS, AND CAKES MADE IN MEMPHIS IN THEIR LEFT HANDS, AND THEY SHALL PRESENT THEM AT THE THIRD AND AT THE EIGHTH HOURS OF THE DAY. THOU SHALT NOT CEASE AT ALL FROM THE READING OF THIS BOOK ON THE DAY OF THE FESTIVAL.

HYMNS TO OSIRIS.

I. THE HYMNS OF ANI THE SCRIBE.

1. Praise be unto Osiris Un-Nefer, the great god who dwelleth in Abtu, king of eternity, lord of everlastingness, who passeth through millions of years in his existence. [He is] the firstborn son |

2. of the womb of Nut [and] was begotten by Kēb¹ the Erpāt. He is the lord of the Ureret Crown [and] the possessor of the lofty White Crown—the Sovereign of gods and men. |

3. He hath received the crook ? [and] the whip, [and] the rank of his divine fathers. Let thy heart be glad, O thou who art in the funerary mountain, [for] thy son Horus is established on thy throne. |

4. Thou hast been crowned “ Lord of Tattu ” (Busiris), and “ Ruler in Abtu (Abydos). Thou makest the Two Lands (Egypt), to flourish triumphantly before

¹ Strictly speaking, Kēb was the grandfather of Osiris.

5. Neb-er-tcher.¹ | He guideth that which hath not yet come into being in

6. his name "Ta-her- | sta-nef." He draweth along the Two Lands (*i.e.*, Egypt)

7. with regularity in his name of "Seker." He is mighty in | and most terrible in his name of "Asar" (Osiris).² The duration of his existence is an eternal *henti* period³ in his name of "Un-Nefer." |

8. Homage to thee, King of kings, Lord of lords, Governor of governors, Overlord of the Two Lands (Egypt), from the womb of Nut. He hath

9. governed | the countries [and] Akert. [With] limbs of silver-gold, and a head of lapis-lazuli, and turquoise all about him—thou god An of millions of years |

10. Extended of body, beautiful of face in Ta-Tchesert.⁴ Grant thou glory in heaven, and power upon earth, and triumph in the Other World, and a sailing

11, 12. down the river | to Busiris in the form of a living | soul, and a sailing up the

13, 14. river | to Abydos like a Bennu bird, and a going in and a coming out |

15. without being repulsed at any of the gates | of the Tuat, and give thou

16, 17. | bread-cakes in the House of coolness, | and sepulchral offerings in Anu

18. (Heliopolis), and a permanent | estate (or, possession) in Sekhet-Arui,

19. with wheat, barley, and | millet (*dhura*) therein —to the KA (*i.e.*, Double) of Osiris, the Scribe Ani.

II.

1. Praise be unto Osiris, the lord of everlastingness, Un-Nefer, Heru-Khuti, [whose] forms (or, transformations) are manifold, [whose] works are mighty.

¹ *I.e.*, the Creator and Sustainer of the universe, the Universal Lord.

² Here there is a play on the words *usr*, "strength," and *Asar*, "Osiris."

³ The *henti* period consisted of two periods, each containing sixty years.

⁴ Originally a part of Abydos, but subsequently the Other World in general.

2. He is Ptaḥ-Sekri-Tem in Heliopolis, and the Lord of the Sanctuary Shethit. He is the creator of Ḥet-ka-Ptaḥ (*i.e.*, Memphis) and the gods who are therein. [He is] the guide of the Ṭuat.

3. Thou art praised by them (*i.e.*, the Spirits of the Ṭuat) when thou joinest thyself to the night sky. Isis embraceth thee with content, she chaseth away the Tchai fiend

4. from the entrance of thy paths. Thou turnest thy face to Amentet, thou illuminest the Two Lands (Egypt) with silver-gold light. The [souls who] are lying on their biers rise up to look upon thee, they snuff

5. the breezes [and] they behold thy face as the Disk rolleth on its horizon; their hearts are content at the sight of thee, O thou who art ETERNITY and EVERLASTINGNESS!

LITANY.

1. Homage to thee, O Lamp in Heliopolis, and Ḥenmemet-spirit in Kher-āḥa, Unti, who art more glorious than the gods of the Sheta Shrine in Heliopolis!

O grant thou unto me a path whereon I may journey in peace. I am righteous. I have not uttered lies wilfully. I have not acted a double part (or, dealt doubly).

2. Homage to thee, O An in Antes (?). Great God, Ḥeru-Khuti, thou traversest the heights of heaven with spacious strides—thou who art Ḥeru-Khuti!

O grant thou unto me a path whereon I may journey in peace. I am righteous. I have not uttered lies wilfully. I have not dealt doubly.

3. Homage to thee, O Everlasting Soul, Ram-god, dweller in Ṭaṭṭu (Mendes), Un-Nefer, Son of Nut, who art the Lord of Aḳert.

O grant thou unto me a path whereon I may journey in peace. I am righteous. I have not uttered lies wilfully. I have not dealt doubly.

4. Homage to thee in thy dominion over Ṭeṭu (Busiris), the Ureret Crown is firmly fixed upon thy

head. Thou art One, thou effectest thine own protection. Thou restest in peace in ẖeṭu (Busiris).

O grant thou unto me a path whereon I may journey in peace. I am righteous. I have not uttered lies wilfully. I have not dealt doubly.

5. Homage to thee, O Lord of the Nārt tree. The Seker Boat hath been placed upon its sledge. Turn back the Sebāu Fiend, the Worker of evil, and make the Utchat to rest upon its throne.

O grant thou unto me a path whereon I may journey in peace. I am righteous. I have not uttered lies wilfully. I have not dealt doubly.

6. Homage to thee, O Mighty One in thine hour, Chief, Prince, President of An-ruṭ-f, Lord of Eternity, Creator of Everlastingness. Thou art the Lord of Suten-ḥenen (*i.e.*, Ḥensu, or Hânês).

O grant thou unto me a path whereon I may journey in peace. I am righteous. I have not uttered lies wilfully. I have not dealt doubly.

7. Homage to thee, O thou who art founded upon Truth. Thou art the Lord of Abydos, the members of thy body are joined to Ta-Tchesert. Thou art he to whom lies are abominations.

O grant thou unto me a path whereon I may journey in peace. I am righteous. I have not uttered lies wilfully. I have not dealt doubly.

8. Homage to thee, O thou who dwellest in thy Boat. Thou bringest the Nile forth from his cavern, and the Light-god rolleth above thy body. Thou art the dweller in Nekhen.

O grant thou unto me a path whereon I may journey in peace. I am righteous. I have not uttered lies wilfully. I have not dealt doubly.

9. Homage to thee, O Maker of the gods, king of the South and North, (Osiris), triumphant, Overlord of

the Two Lands (*i.e.*, Egypt), in thy seasons of beneficence. Thou art the Lord of the two Halves of Egypt.

O grant thou unto me a path whereon I may journey in peace. I am righteous. I have not uttered lies wilfully. I have not dealt doubly.

III. HYMN OF HUNEFER THE SCRIBE.

1, 2. Praise be unto Osiris, and let adorations be made unto him! The Osiris Hunefer, the steward of the Palace of the Lord of the Two Lands, [Men-Maāt-Rā], *i.e.*, Seti I] smelleth the ground before Un-Nefer, and toucheth the earth with his forehead before the Lord of Ta-Tchesert, and exalteth Him that is on his sand (*i.e.*, Osiris), saying :

3. I have come unto thee, O son of Nut, Osiris, Prince of Everlastingness.

4. I am among the followers (or body-guard) of Thoth, I applaud everything which he hath done [for thee]. He brought unto thee sweet breezes (*i.e.*, fresh air) for thy nostrils, and life and serenity to thy beautiful face, and he brought the north wind which proceedeth from the god Temu to thy nostrils, O Lord of Ta-Tchesert. He made the light of Shu to fall upon thy body. He illumined for thee [thy] path with splendour.

10. He destroyed for thee the defects which appertained to thy members by the magical power of the words of his mouth. He made the Two Horus Brethren¹ to be at peace with thee. He destroyed for thee the rain storm and the thunder and the lightning. He made the Two Rehti Goddesses, the Two Sisters of the Two Lands, to be at peace before thee, he did away the hostility which was in their hearts, and each became reconciled to the other.

Thy son Horus is triumphant before the whole Company of the Gods; the sovereignty of the earth hath been given to him, and his dominion reacheth to the uttermost limit thereof. The throne of Keb hath been awarded to him, and the full rank of the god

¹ Horus and Set.

Temu, and these are confirmed [to him] by the writings which are in the record chamber, and are engraved upon a block of alabaster(?), according to the decree of 15. thy Father Tanen on the Great Throne.

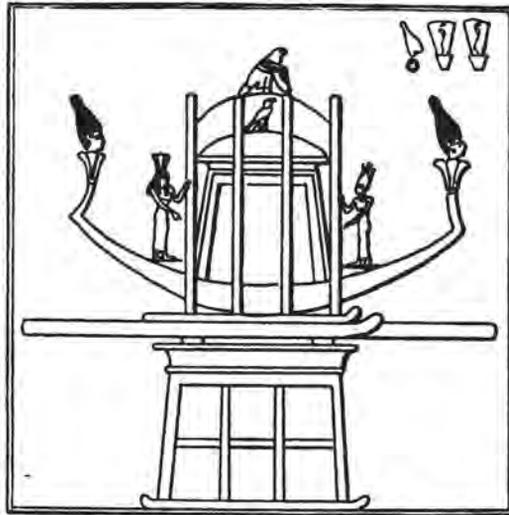
He (*i.e.*, Thoth) hath set his brother on that which Shu supporteth, to spread out the waters of the firmament, to [stablish] the mountains and hills, to make to germinate (or, flourish) the green things which grow on the untilled wastes, and the grain which shooteth up in the fields. He maketh offerings [to come] by water and by land. Gods celestial and gods terrestrial follow him [*i.e.*, Horus] into his hall, and every decree which he maketh in respect of them they accept and carry out forthwith.

Let thy heart be happy, O Lord of the gods, let thy heart rejoice exceedingly. Kamt (Egypt) and the Red Land give service to thy diadem. The temples and their properties are stablished in their places. Cities [and] nomes are founded (?) in their names. We pay unto thee the offerings which are obligatory, and oblations are made in thy name for ever.

20. Titles of praise are invoked upon thy name. Libations of cool water are poured out to thy KA. Sepulchral meals are brought to the Spirits who are in thy train. Water is poured out on the bread (?) on both sides of the souls of the dead in this land. Every plan of thine which from the beginning was according to his (*i.e.*, Rā's) commands hath been carried out. 25. Therefore thou wast crowned, O son of Nut, like Neb-er-tcher at his coronation. Thou art a living being. Thou art established. Thou renewest thy youth. Thou art whole and perfect. Thy father Rā maketh strong (or, protecteth) thy members. Thy Company of gods make adorations to thee. Isis is with thee, she never separateth herself from thee. Thou art not overthrown by thine enemies.

The Lords of all lands (*i.e.*, the world) thank thee for thy beauteous bounty as they thank Rā when he riseth up in the sky at sunrise. Thou art crowned like him that is exalted on his standard, and thy beauteous bounty exalteth the face and maketh long the stride. 30. It is thy father K̄eb who hath given unto thee sovereignty,

and it is he who hath created thy beauteous bounty Nut, the genetrix of the gods, was she who caused thy members to come into being, and fashioned thee as the "greatest of five gods."¹ Thou art established king. The White Crown is upon thy head. Thou graspest the sceptre and the whip. Whilst thou wast in the womb, and before thou didst appear on the earth, thou wast crowned Lord of the Two Lands, and the Atef Crown of Rā was upon thy brow. The gods approach



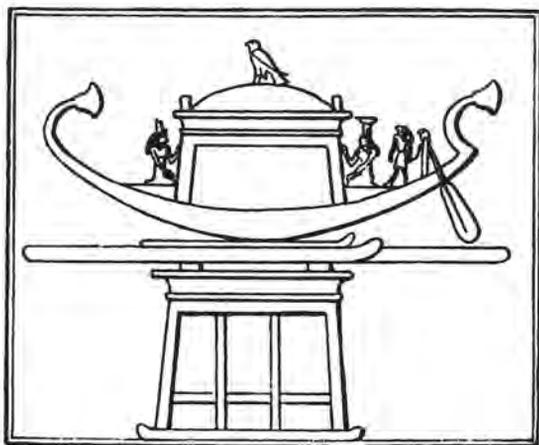
The Boat of the Aterti of the South.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 65.

thee bowing their backs because of the fear in which they hold thee, and their bodies swaying about withdraw themselves when they see thee arrayed in the awful majesty of Rā, and the victory of thy Majesty is in their hearts. Life is with thee, offerings follow in thy train, and the statutory offerings are offered up before thee.

Grant thou that I may have my being as a follower of thy Majesty, even as I lived with thee upon earth. Let my soul be called, and let it be 35. found near the Lords of Truth. I have come into the City of God, the territory of primeval time, Ba-soul, Double, and

¹ *I.e.*, Osiris, Isis, Set, Nephthys, and Horus or Anubis.

Spirit-soul in this land. The god thereof is the Lord of Maât, the Lord of offerings, the Most Holy One. This land draweth unto itself every land. The South cometh sailing down the river, and the North steered by winds cometh each day to celebrate a feast, according to the decree of its God, who is the Lord of offerings (?) therein. And doth he not say :—Assuredly there shall be joy to him that performeth Maât (or, maketh the offerings which are due) to the god who is in it? He giveth old age to him that doeth this for him, and after



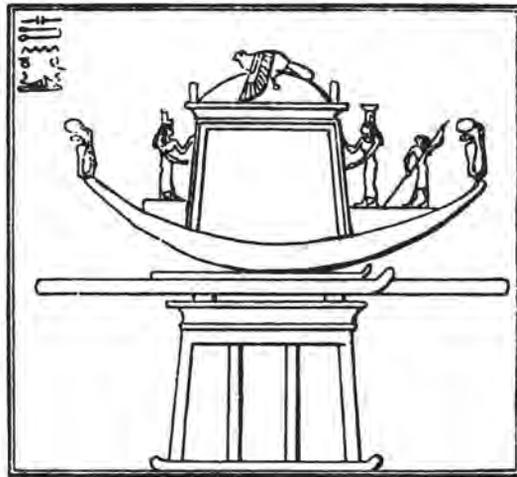
Boat with a shrine containing the body of Osiris; Nephthys kneels at the head and Isis at the foot.
Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 66.

him that followeth him loyally there shall follow offerings, and finally he shall attain to a beautiful funeral and shall be buried in the earth in Ta-Tchesert.

I have come unto thee, and my two hands hold Truth, and there is no falsehood in my breast. 40. I have set Truth before thee, for I know that it is that whereon thou livest. I have committed no sin in this land, and I have defrauded no man of that which is his.

I am Thoth, the perfect scribe, whose hands are pure, the lord of purity, the destroyer of evil, the righteous scribe whose abomination is sin. Behold, I am the writing reed of Neb-er-tcher, the lord of laws, who giveth forth the word of wisdom and understanding, whose speech founded the Two Lands (Egypt). I am

Thoth, the Lord of Truth, I make the feeble one to triumph, and I avenge the oppressed one by punishing him that wronged him. I have scattered the darkness, I have rolled away the thunder storm, I have brought air to Un-Nefer, the beautiful breeze of the north wind, which came forth from the womb 45. of his mother, and I have made Horus to enter into the Hidden Shrine to vivify the heart of the god of the Still-Heart Un-Nefer, the Son of Nut, triumphant.



The Sethenu Boat of Osiris on its sledge.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 67.

IV. HYMN OF SUTIMES.

The Osiris Sutimes, the libationer and president of the altar chamber in the Apts, the president of the scribes of the temple of Amen, triumphant, saith :—

Homage to thee, O thou God, holy one, great in beneficent deeds, thou Prince of Eternity, who presideth over his place in the Sektet Boat, thou Mighty One of risings in the Ațet Boat! Praises are ascribed unto thee both in heaven and upon earth. The Pāt beings and the Rekhit beings exalt thee, and the greatness of thy awe is in the hearts of men, the Spirits, and the Dead. Thou placest thy Souls in ȚetȚet (Busiris or Mendes) and thine awe is in Suten-ħenen. Thou

placest the visible emblems of thyself in Heliopolis, and the greatness of thy forms in the Place of Purification. I come to thee, my heart bearing truth, and my breast containing no falsehood. Grant thou that I may have my existence among the living, and that I may float down and sail up the river among thy followers.

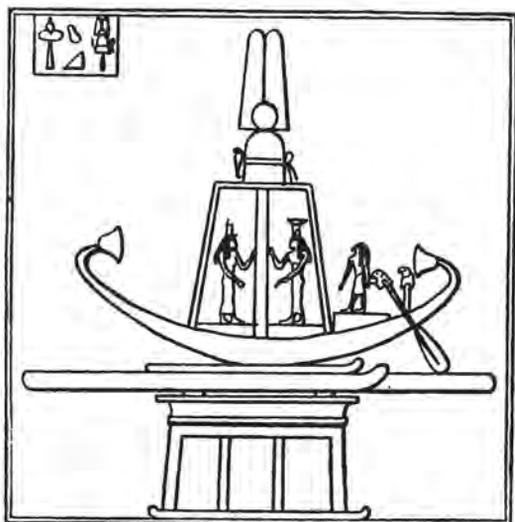
V. HYMN TO OSIRIS.¹

Homage to thee, Osiris, Lord of eternity, King of the Gods, whose names are manifold, whose forms are holy, thou being of hidden form in the temples, whose KA is holy. Thou art the Governor of Ṭaṭtu (Busiris), and also the mighty one in Sekhem (Letopolis). Thou art the lord to whom praises are ascribed in the nome of Ati, thou art the Prince of divine food in Anu. Thou art the Lord who is commemorated in Maāti, the Hidden Soul, the Lord of Qerrt (Elephantine), the Ruler supreme in White Wall (Memphis). Thou art the Soul of Rā, his own body, and hast thy place of rest in Hēnensu (Herakleopolis). Thou art the beneficent one, and art praised in Nārt. Thou makest thy soul to be raised up. Thou art the Lord of the Great House in Khemenu (Hermopolis). Thou art the mighty one of victories in Shas-ḥetep, the Lord of eternity, the Governor of Abydos. The path of his throne is in Ta-tcheser (*i.e.*, a part of Abydos). Thy name is established in the mouths of men. Thou art the substance of the Two Lands (Egypt). Thou art Tem, the feeder of the KAU (Doubles), the Governor of the Companies of the gods. Thou art the beneficent Spirit among the spirits. The god of the Celestial Ocean (Nu) draweth from thee his waters. Thou sendest forth the north wind at eventide, and breath from thy nostrils to the satisfaction of thy heart. Thy heart reneweth its youth, thou producest the The stars in the celestial heights are obedient unto thee, and the great doors of the sky open themselves before thee. Thou art he to whom praises are ascribed in the southern heaven, and thanks are given for thee in the

¹ See Chabas, *Rev. Arch.*, 1857, p. 65; Ledrain, *Monuments*, Plate XXII ff.; Budge, *First Steps*, pp. 179-188.

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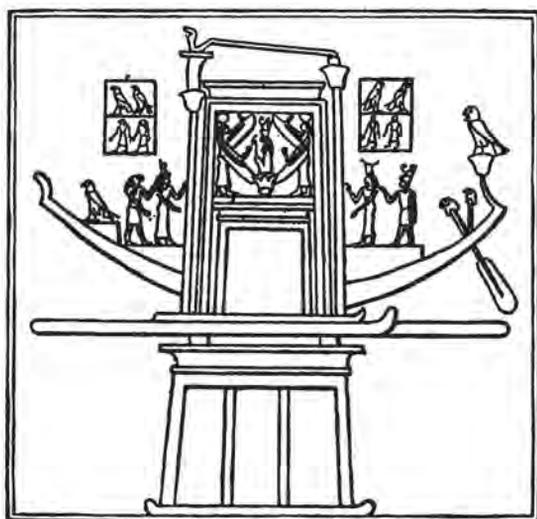
northern heaven. The imperishable stars are under thy supervision, and the stars which never set are thy thrones. Offerings appear before thee at the decree of K̄eb. The Companies of the Gods praise thee, and the gods of the Tuat (Other World) smell the earth in paying homage to thee. The uttermost parts of the earth bow before thee, and the limits of the skies entreat thee with supplication when they see thee. The holy ones are overcome before thee, and all Egypt offereth



The Boat containing the head box and standard of Osiris.
Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 68.

thanksgiving unto thee when it meeteth Thy Majesty. Thou art a shining Spirit-body, the Governor of Spirit-bodies; permanent is thy rank, established is thy rule. Thou art the well-doing Sekhem (Power) of the Company of the Gods, gracious is thy face, and beloved by him that seeth it. Thy fear is set in all the lands by reason of thy perfect love, and they cry out to thy name making it the first of names, and all people make offerings to thee. Thou art the lord who art commemorated in heaven and upon earth. Many are the cries which are made to thee at the Uak festival, and with one heart and voice Egypt raiseth cries of joy to thee.

Thou art the Great Chief, the first among thy brethren, the Prince of the Company of the Gods, the stablisher of Right and Truth throughout the World, the Son who was set on the great throne of his father K̄eb. Thou art the beloved of thy mother Nut, the mighty one of valour, who overthrew the Seb̄au fiend. Thou didst stand up and smite thine enemy, and set thy fear in thine adversary. Thou dost bring the boundaries of the mountains (?). Thy heart is fixed (or, determined),



The Makhhet Boat on its sledge.
Mariette, *Dendrah*, IV, 68.

thy legs are set firm. Thou art the heir of K̄eb and of the sovereignty of the Two Lords (Egypt). He (K̄eb) hath seen his splendours, he hath decreed for him the guidance of the world by thy hand as long as times endure. Thou hast made this earth with thy hand, and the waters, and the winds, and the vegetation, and all the cattle, and all the feathered fowl, and all the fish, and all the creeping things, and all the wild animals thereof. The desert is the lawful possession of the son of Nut. The Two Lands (Egypt) are content to crown thee upon the throne of thy father, like Rā.

Thou rollest up into the horizon, thou hast set light over the darkness, thou sendest forth air (or, light) from

thy plumes, and thou floodest the Two Lands like the Disk at daybreak. Thy crown penetrateth the height of heaven, thou art the companion of the stars, and the guide of every god. Thou art beneficent in decree and speech, the favoured one of the Great Company of the Gods, and the beloved of the Little Company of the Gods.

His sister [Isis] hath protected him, and hath repulsed the fiends, and turned aside calamities (or, times [of evil]). She uttered the spell with the magical power of her mouth. Her tongue was perfect (or, well-trained), and it never halted at a word. Beneficent in command and word was Isis, the woman of magical spells, the advocate of her brother. She sought him untiringly, she wandered round and round about this earth in sorrow, and she alighted not without finding him. She made light (or, air) with her feathers, she created air with her wings, and she uttered the death wail for her brother. She raised up the inactive members of him whose heart was still, she drew from him his essence, she made an heir, she reared the child in loneliness, and the place where he was was not known, and he grew in strength and stature, and his hand was mighty in the House of K̄eb. The Company of the God rejoiced, rejoiced, at the coming of Horus, the son of Osiris, whose heart was firm, the triumphant, the son of Isis, the heir of Osiris. The sovereign chiefs of Maât, and the Company of the Gods, and Neb-er-tcher himself, and the Lords of Maât, gathered together to him, and they assembled in the [Great House of Anu]. And verily, those who repulse sin rejoice in the House of K̄eb to bestow its dignity upon the Lord thereof and the sovereignty of Truth.

CHAPTER XVII.

OSIRIS AND THE AFRICAN GRAVE.

As the priests of Osiris and the regulations made by them for his cult forbade the decapitation and mutilation, or dismemberment, of the bodies of worshippers of this god, it was obviously necessary to provide tombs for such bodies, and to place them in graves, where they would be protected from the attacks of human, animal, and other eaters of the dead. The making of a good tomb, however simple, demanded the expenditure of money, or its equivalent, and thus it follows, as a matter of course, that only kings, chiefs, nobles, or men of high position, who could command the services of slaves, would be buried in a tomb, and that all the poor, or common people, would go without burial. As a result of the excavations which have been made in Egypt during the last thirty years, thousands of graves have been brought to light, but these, after all, must represent a very small proportion of the graves which would be necessary for the burial of even the upper classes of the Egyptians during the long period of the history of the country, which covers some thousands of years. The Egyptians had to solve the same difficulty as their kinsmen in other parts of Africa, namely, what to do with the dead, and it is probable that they solved it, in the earliest times at least, in the same way that the peoples in the Sûdân solve it at the present day. Rightly has Schweinfurth said: "Not a custom, not a superstition
" is found in one part which is not more or less accu-
" rately repeated in another; not one contrivance of
" design, not one weapon of war exists of which it can
" be declared that it is the exclusive property of any one
" race. From north to south, and from sea to sea, in
" some form or other, every invention is sure to be
" repeated; it is the thing that hath been."¹

¹ *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 313.

Before the time of Osiris some of the Egyptians probably ate their dead, and used some of them up in making "medicines" of a magic character. Even after the cult of Osiris was established we read that the *ertu* of his body, *i.e.*, the fluids which came forth from it after death, gave life,¹ and it is well known that in Africa at the present day the brains and fat of the dead are used in making charms. Thus the Borfimor "medicine" was a harmless substance enough until human fat was added to it, when it became an all-powerful fetish. This fat was procured from the intestines of men who were killed by the Human Leopard Society.² The infamous Tembandumba³ pounded her child which she was feeding at her breast in a mortar, with roots, leaves, oils, etc., and made an ointment, with which she is said to have rendered herself invulnerable. Her subjects killed their male children also, and turned them into ointment, some of which was preserved till Winwood Reade's time, and was called "Magija Samba."⁴ The Mpongwe sever the head from the body of a partially decomposed man, and suspend it above a mass of chalk which is placed to receive the moisture that drops from it. By rubbing the chalk on the foreheads of the living it is thought that they will acquire the brain power of the man whose brains have dropped on the chalk.⁵ The eater of the brain becomes endowed with bravery.⁶ Miss Kingsley found in a fetish bag a human hand (fresh), three big toes, four eyes, and two ears.⁷

The dead among the Egyptians who were not eaten by men were disposed of by the crocodiles in the rivers, by the hyaenas and jackals in the desert, and probably some of them by burning; at all events, judging by the graves which remain, the number that were buried were comparatively few. It seems from allusions in the Egyptian

¹ Budge, *Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, p. 53.

² Allridge, *The Sherbro and Its Hinterland*, p. 153.

³ Or, Temba-Ndumba.—Burton, *A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome*, 1864, Vol. I, p. 71.

⁴ *Savage Africa*, p. 367.

⁵ Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, pp. 158, 162; Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 393, 394; Winwood Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 248.

⁶ Du Chaillu, *Adventures*, pp. 168, 169.

⁷ *Travels in West Africa*, London, 1897, p. 273.

texts as if the custom of burning the dead was commoner in early times than has been generally supposed. In the Book of Overthrowing Āpep, this archfiend and his associates are burnt by the flames of the Sun-god and consumed.¹ In the Book Am-Ṭuat, the bodies, souls, shadows and heads of the enemies of Rā are burnt and consumed daily in pits of fire.² In the Book of the Dead several allusions to burning occur. Thus the Rubrics of Chapters XVIII and XX say that the recital of these Chapters will enable a man to "come forth (*i.e.*, escape) from the fire." In Chapter XVII we read of the monster who feeds on the dead, and watches at the Bight of the Lake of Fire, and in Chapter LXXI are mentioned the Seven Beings who work slaughter in the Lake of Fire, who cut off hands and hack necks to pieces, and seize hearts and tear them out of the breasts. In Chapter LXIII A the deceased prays in one version that "he may neither be burnt up nor destroyed by fire," and in the other he states that Osiris escaped from the fire and was not burnt. In Chapter CXXVI the deceased addresses the four apes who sit one at each corner of a rectangular lake of fire, "by the fire from whose mouths the gods are propitiated," and beseeches them to allow him to enter Amentet. The Lake of Fire was no doubt a lake of boiling water, the drinking from which the deceased wished to avoid at all costs. A legend referred to in Chapter CXXV mentions that the abode of Osiris has a covering of fire, that its walls are living serpents, and that it rests on water; whether the water is boiling or not the text does not say. These passages make it quite clear that the cult of Osiris forbade the burning of the body, and that at one time certain Egyptian peoples must have burnt their dead. The custom had not entirely died out in the Sūdān in the first or second century of our era, for in 1902 I found at the Pyramids of Meroë several pots containing ashes of the dead and calcined bones.³ According to Frobenius, the Madgo tribes who live near the Mañbattu burn the bodies of the dead, and scatter their ashes.⁴ As regards the other ways of disposing of the

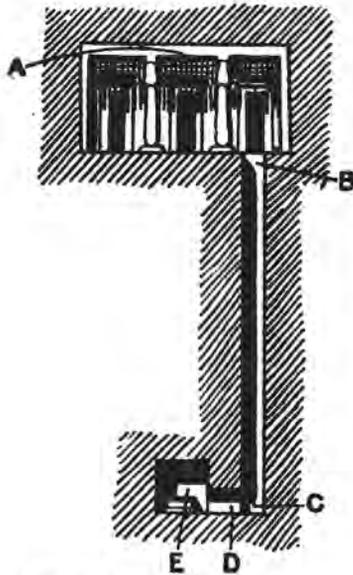
¹ Budge, Papyrus of Nesi Āmsu (in *Archæologia*, Vol. LII).

² Division XI. ³ Budge, *Egyptian Sudan*, Vol. I, p. 343.

⁴ *Die Heiden-Neger des ägyptischen Sudan*, Berlin, 1893, p. 437.

dead followed by modern peoples in Africa, almost everywhere the common, or very poor, or very old, folk are thrown "into the bush" for the kites and hyaenas to devour. The Masai wholly decline to bury the dead, for they believe they would poison the soil;¹ this may be due to the fact that they believe in annihilation.

The oldest form of the African tomb is a pit dug in the ground, on the bottom of which the dead person was



A, Tomb above ground.
B, C, Pit or shaft.
D, Corridor leading to mummy chamber.
E, Mummy chamber.

placed. Attempts were made at a very early period to protect the body from contact with the earth, for it was sometimes wrapped up in a reed mat, and sometimes in the skin of some animal. Another method of protecting the body was to place it in a hollow made in one side of the pit at the bottom, and this hollow subsequently developed into the sarcophagus chamber of the Egyptian tomb. In the Sûdân no stone buildings or tombs of any kind could be built because of the want of lime,² and therefore from the earliest period to the present time the essential characteristics of the African tomb have remained unchanged in

that region. In Egypt several general modifications and developments took place in tombs at a very early period, but from first to last the essentials for all tombs were: 1. A funerary chamber, usually at the top of the pit, where offerings were placed. 2. A pit. 3. A chamber for the body or mummy, usually called the sarcophagus chamber, or mummy chamber.

Sometime between the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties, when a great development in the cult of Osiris took

¹ Joseph Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, London, 1885, p. 444.

² Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 208.

place throughout Egypt, the view became general that Osiris was buried at Abydos. How or why this happened is not known, but it may have been due to the revival of an ancient tradition to this effect. Be this as it may, quite early in the XVIIIth dynasty, the Egyptians felt sure that the body of Osiris rested at Abydos, and they identified a tomb of one of the kings of the 1st dynasty as the tomb of Osiris. This tomb was made for a king whose Horus name is written with a sign which I believe to have been read "Khent,"¹ and it is possible that those who made the identification connected in their minds this name with "Khenti-Amenti," an old god of the dead of Abydos, whose position and attributes were absorbed by Osiris. From the XVIIIth dynasty onwards this tomb enjoyed great repute as the shrine of Osiris, and offerings poured into it in abundance. Between the XXIst and XXVIth dynasties a massive granite bier, on which was cut in high relief a figure of Osiris, was placed in the tomb, which for a considerable time afterwards continued to be regarded as the veritable tomb of Osiris. Whether this view was correct or not does not concern us here, for it is as a tomb merely that we are considering it. This tomb was discovered and excavated by M. E. Amélineau in the winter of 1897-8, and he has published a long detailed account of his labours in connection with it.² It was a rectangular building, the east and south walls of which were about 8 feet thick, and the west and north walls a little thicker. The walls were of brick. It resembled a house built on the north, south, and east sides of a court, and in the north-west corner was a flight of steps which enabled visitors to descend into the tomb, and to reach the tops of the fourteen chambers which were built on its three sides. The north and south walls were about 42 feet 6 inches long, and the

¹ Prof. Naville thinks the sign should be read SHEST or SHESTĀ, probably identifying it with    (Pepi I, ll. 196, 682) or    (Tetâ, l. 225).

² *Le Tombeau d'Osiris*, Paris, 1899; see also Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, Part II, 1901, p. 8.

the history of Osiris, for it satisfied the requirements of the tradition which identified it with the tomb of Osiris. Also we see in it the three essentials of the African tomb, the place for offerings, the pit, and the chamber for the dead. In this case the place for the offerings consisted of several chambers which were in the pit itself, but the inconvenience of this arrangement was readily recognized, and very soon after the 1st dynasty the place for the offerings was formed by a chamber made at the top of the pit.

The most perfect Egyptian form of the African tomb is the *maṣṭabah*, in which the chamber for offerings stands immediately over the pit and the mummy chamber, which was made on one side at the bottom of the pit, from which it was separated by a very short passage. When the mummy had been placed in its chamber this passage was blocked carefully, or built up, and thus the mixture of stones, sand, and mud, with which the pit was filled afterwards, did not force its way into the mummy chamber. In the great pyramid tombs the pit takes the form of a diagonal or horizontal corridor; at the entrance is the hall for offerings, called the *Tuat* chamber, and at the end in the ground is the mummy chamber. When the tomb is hewn in the mountain the pit may also take the form of a horizontal or diagonal corridor, or series of corridors, and the mummy chamber is hewn at a considerable depth in the bowels of the mountain. In such cases the chamber for offerings is some distance from the outside of the mountain, and may be approached by going down a corridor or flight of steps. In all cases, however, the chamber for offerings, the pit, and the mummy chamber are the chief features of the tomb. We may now compare the facts about ancient Egyptian tombs given above with the details of tombs which are found scattered through the writings and reports of African travel made by competent travellers during the last hundred years.

The Dyoor graves are made close to the huts of the living. The ground is levelled by means of a piece of bark about 3 feet long, and a circular mound, some 3 or 4 feet high, indicates the last resting-place of a Dyoor, so long as the violence of the rain allows it to

retain its shape. After a few years all traces of them disappear.¹ The Bongo grave is a pit 4 feet deep, with a niche hollowed in one side of it, so that the sack containing the corpse may not have to sustain any vertical pressure from the earth which is thrown in to fill up the grave. After the grave is filled in, a heap of stones is piled over the spot in a short cylindrical form, and this is supported by strong stakes, which are driven into the soil all round; on the middle of the pile is placed a pitcher, probably that from which the deceased drank. The graves are close to the huts, and their sites are marked by a number of long forked branches, carved with numerous notches and incisions, and having their points sharpened like horns. The Mittû and Madi and Musgû graves are somewhat similar. Among the Musgû arrows are shot into the stakes and are left sticking in the wood.² Schweinfurth could not learn from the natives what these notched stakes signified, but it is probable that originally each notch represented a year,³ and that they collectively represented a great number of years, and signified the wish of relatives of the deceased that he might live for ever in the Other World. The A-Zande, or Niam-Niam, also bury the body in a niche in the pit, and when this is filled in with clay and stamped down a hut is built over it.⁴ The Muslims have copied the old African custom, and carefully bury their dead in niches in the pit. The grave of the Moro chief, in Neambara, which Petherick saw, was a slightly oval hole, which varied from 2 feet 2 inches to 2 feet 6 inches in diameter, and was 5 feet deep. On the south side a cavity 4 feet 6 inches long, 4 feet wide and 1 foot 6 inches high was excavated, and in this the body was placed; a piece of basket work was placed along the side of it to keep the earth from the body when the pit was filled in. A tree trunk was dropped into the grave, and set upright, and round the top of it, which projected 3 feet above the level

¹ Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 212.

² *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 304.

³ Like the Egyptian ; compare , "eternity."

⁴ *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II, p. 35; Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 651.

of the ground, a conical mound was built; when this was covered with dry thorny branches, the grave was complete. Two large fires were kept burning at the grave day and night, and eight or ten persons kept guard over it for a week.¹

Among the Bahima peasant folk are buried in holes dug at the doors of their huts.² Among the Banyoro a king's grave is dug 12 feet deep, and 5 feet in diameter;³ the Basoga grave is 15 feet deep.⁴ Thirty-six kings of Uganda were buried each on a wooden bier which was set on the ground in a large house, with a huge conical thatched roof resembling a pyramid in shape.⁵ The Baziba grave is a deep narrow pit, just large enough for the body to stand or sit in;⁶ the Manyema grave is a pit 10 feet deep and 10 feet square.⁷ The Karamojo bury rich men in their own houses.⁸ The Shula bury the dead in pits near the houses, and lay on them stones on which offerings are placed.⁹ The Madi grave, according to Emin Pasha, is circular, and is 5 feet deep, and 3½ feet in diameter.¹⁰

Of the cemetery of a village of Mbinda, Stanley says: The grave mounds were neat, and by their appearance I should judge them to be not only the repositories of the dead, but also the depositories of all the articles that had belonged to the dead. Each grave was dressed out with the various mugs, pitchers, wash-basins, teapots, kettles, glasses, bottles, etc., and above the mound thus curiously decorated were suspended by the branch of a tree the various nets of palm fibre in which the deceased had carried his ground-nuts, cassava bread, and eatables. All articles had been rendered useless, *i.e.*, broken.¹¹ The grave of a Lendu chief is dug in his hut, and one end of it is prolonged into a tunnel under the floor, in which the

¹ Petherick, *Travels in Central Africa*, pp. 271-273.

² Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁵ For a picture of this see Cunningham's work, p. 251.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

⁹ Frobenius, *Die Heiden-Neger*, p. 334.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

¹¹ *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. II, p. 453.

deceased is placed.¹ In Western Africa the graves of chiefs and kings are "nice roomy apartments generally about 12 feet by 8 feet by 14 feet, but in Benin, I am told, the graves have a floor about 16 feet by 12 feet, with sides tapering to an aperture that can be closed by a single flag-stone."² When a Bari dies he is buried in the yard. A few ox-horns and skulls are suspended on a pole above the spot, while the top of the pole is ornamented with a bunch of cock's feathers.³ In Dahomey the body is placed in a niche offsetting from a circular pit.⁴ Battell, who wrote at the close of the sixteenth century, says that the African grave is made like a vault. A little way down the pit is undermined and made spacious within.⁵ The Juiga graves are merely pits covered with mounds of stones, on which are placed cooking and drinking vessels; they are made by the sides of frequented paths, and the points where cross roads touch are favourite burial places.⁶ Around the grave of Sekote, a Batoka chief, seventy large elephants' tusks were planted, with their points turned inwards, and there were thirty more set over the resting-places of his relatives.⁷

The Bangala rarely buried anyone. When they did commit a person to the earth the grave was only a foot deep, and its exterior was covered with provisions for the dead man's future existence. The Mañbattû buried warriors where they fell, and erected huts over their graves, to which friends and relatives⁸ brought baskets of provisions and jars filled with water. The Abarambo chief, Mburo, thought it degrading for a chief like himself to be brought into close contact with the earth, and, therefore, ordered that his body should be placed in the upper part of a great tree near his house, with his face turned towards heaven. This is related

¹ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 554.

² Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 452.

³ Baker, *Albert N'yanza*, p. 58.

⁴ Burton, *A Mission to Gelele*, Vol. II, p. 164.

⁵ *Strange Adventures*, p. 74.

⁶ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 424.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 518.

⁸ The following notes are from Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 649.

on the authority of Casati. An Ababua killed in war is cremated to prevent his body being eaten, and his ashes are carried to his village and buried there. The Bahuana grave is about four or five feet deep, and a small hut is erected over it. Grenfell notes that the Bakete mark a grave by means of an uprooted tree stuck into the earth with the trunk top downwards.

CHAPTER XVIII.

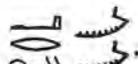
AFRICAN FUNERAL CEREMONIES AND BURIALS.

THE tombs of Egypt and their inscriptions supply an extraordinary amount of information about the funeral ceremonies and customs of the Egyptians from the beginning to the end of the Dynastic Period. And if we compare the details derived from these sources with the facts about funerals recorded by travellers in Africa, we shall find that whenever material means permit, and when allowance has been made for differences in the physical products of the country, there is a very close resemblance between the funeral of a really great modern chief in Central or Western Africa and that of an ancient king of Egypt. The Egyptians removed the intestines and brain, and embalmed the body with great skill, and then swathed it in linen, and laid it in a coffin or sarcophagus. The modern African removes the more perishable parts of the body by ways which will be described further on, and dries or smokes the corpse very effectively. He also anoints it with unguents, and wraps it up in much cloth, and then places it in a coffin or on a bier. The modern African grave contains all the essentials of that of the Egyptian, but as the modern African is not a skilled mason, and as mountains of stone are not always available, he is obliged to make almost all his graves in the earth. The sacrifice of human beings, or animals, the funeral feast, the pomp and ceremony, the wailings and the noise and the dancing which accompanied the burial of a king of Egypt are all paralleled in the great modern African funeral. The Egyptian king built his funerary chapel and endowed it, and made arrangements for the regular supply of sepulchral offerings, and for a perpetual service of priests to recite the appointed formulæ daily, and to make all the necessary preparations for the commemorative festivals. A glance at the history of Dahomey, and of Congo-land, and of Uganda, is sufficient to show that

the kings of these countries made exactly similar arrangements, and it is becoming clearer, the more the subject is investigated, that the beliefs which underlie the funeral ceremonies of Ancient Egypt and the Sûdân are identical. In some cases the customs of the ancient Egyptian are explained by those of the modern Sûdân, and in their light certain passages in early Egyptian literature receive a new significance. Of this the following is an example:—

In the Liturgy of Funerary Offerings¹ which is found in the pyramid of Unás, a king of the VIth dynasty, we find the phrase: "O Unás, thy two jawbones which were separated have been established." In Chapter CXXXVI_B (l. 10) of the Book of the Dead the deceased says: "I have come, I have brought to him the jawbones in Re-stau, I have brought to him the backbones in Anu." In Chapter XCIX (l. 27) the deceased says that the god is equipped and that he is equipped; that the god is provided with jawbones, and that he is provided with jawbones. In Chapter CLXXVIII (l. 28) it is said to the deceased: "Horus hath avenged thee, he hath destroyed the jawbones² of thine enemies." From the extract from the Liturgy we gather that some unpleasant thing had been done with the jawbones of Unás, and that owing to what the priest had said and done this unpleasantness had been done away. And from the passages from the Book of the Dead we learn that jawbones were taken to Re-stau, that the deceased rejoiced in his jawbones, and that Horus had smitten the jawbones of his enemies. So far as I know there is no Egyptian text which explains the allusion to the jawbones in any one of these passages, and it is not until we examine the funeral customs of the modern Sûdân tribes that we gain any inkling as to their meaning. When a king of Uganda died the body was handed over to the official executioner and to the keeper of the royal tombs, and it was taken to the country of Emerera, where it was placed in a house. The under jaw of the dead king was then cut off and

¹ Ed. Budge, p. 65.

² *Arti*, 

placed in a wooden dish, and the executioner having caused a *kibuga*, or enclosure containing a few houses, to be built, deposited the jaw in one of the houses, and appointed the chief who built the *kibuga* to be its guardian. Before the jaw was finally installed, it was decorated with *kauri* shells. No king of Uganda before Mtesa had been buried with his under jaw in its natural place,¹ and before he died he ordered all the jawbones of the kings to be collected and buried. The Wahūma dried their kings for months, till they were like sun-dried meat, before they buried them, and they cut out the lower jaws, and covered them with beads and preserved them.² Among other objects brought at the celebration of the "So-sin Custom" of the king of Dahomey was the Agranhohwe, or "jaw umbrella," the white top and lappets of which were thickly studded with human jawbones.³ Skertchley says that the jawbones are 84 in number, and that they are arranged chevronwise.⁴ In Ashantee, before the return of the army, the general in command sends to the capital the jawbones of the enemies who have been slain.⁵

Thus we see that the Baganda and other modern African peoples cut out the jawbones of their dead kings and preserved them with honour, and the passage in the text of King Unās suggests that the Egyptians must have treated the jawbones of their dead kings in primitive times in a somewhat similar manner. Now the cult of Osiris prohibited the mutilation of the human body, and therefore the custom of cutting out the jawbones became obsolete. And the statement that Horus destroyed the jawbones of the enemies of the deceased is illustrated by the custom in Ashantee and Dahomey of wrenching the jawbones from the heads of dead foes and sending them to the kings. It may be noted in passing that Frobenius figures a trumpet ornamented with human jawbones, and that he refers to a curious use made of the lower jawbone by the New

¹ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 226.

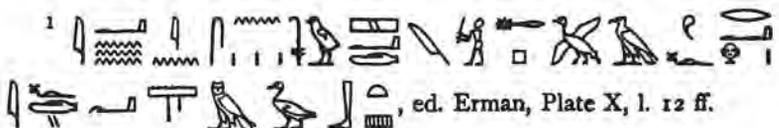
² Speke, *Journal*, p. 394.

³ Burton, *A Mission to Gelele*, Vol. II, p. 53.

⁴ *Dahomey as It is*, p. 259.

⁵ Ramseyer and Kühne, *Four Years in Ashanti*, p. 115.

cut off, and that this cutting symbolized an act of purification whereby the god was freed at his birth from impurity. In the Westcar Papyrus we are told that when the three sons of Ruḥ-ḥetet were born, the four Meskhenit goddesses who were present at their birth washed in turn each child, cut off his umbilical cord, and placed it in a four-sided cloth which was laid in a stone box.¹ From the fact that the goddesses preserved the cord and wrapped it up in cloth and laid it in a box we are justified in assuming that they attached great importance to it, and that they intended to preserve it. Now Osiris was a king from his birth, and the three sons of Ruḥ-ḥetet were destined to become kings, and it is therefore clear that under the Ancient Empire, and long before, the Egyptians were in the habit of preserving the umbilical cords of kings and great personages. What they did with them the texts do not say, but the customs of Uganda and Unyoro throw some light on the matter, for the Baganda and Banyoro have been in the habit of preserving the umbilical cords of kings for untold generations. Thus Speke tells us: "The umbilical cords are preserved from birth, and, at death, those of men are placed within the door-frame, while those of women are buried without, this last act corresponding with the custom of the Wahiyow."² Mr. Cunningham describes an interview between King Mtesa and the Namasole, or Queen Mother, who sat side by side on a sofa. An attendant brought to her the king's umbilical cord, and having taken it and held it for a moment in her hand, she placed it on the couch by her side.³ The reason for preserving the cord is given by Mr. C. W. Hattersley, who says that the umbilical cords of kings are kept in receptacles called Balongo. Each umbilical cord is attached to a wooden frame beautifully covered with beads, and when its owner dies his spirit enters the

¹  , ed. Erman, Plate X, l. 12 ff.

² Speke, *Journal of the Discovery*, p. 394.

³ *Uganda*, p. 190.

wooden frame, and lives there with the cord for ever.¹ If the frame be destroyed the spirit departs.

The investigations made in Uganda by the Rev. J. Roscoe supply a number of most important facts about the preservation of the lower jawbone, umbilical cord and phallus of kings in Uganda.² He says: "The cord seems to be to the afterbirth what the lower jawbone is to the person to whom it belonged; that is, the ghost of the person attaches itself to the jawbone after death, and the ghost of the afterbirth attaches itself to the bit of cord. Every person is born with a double, viz., the afterbirth, which has its ghost, and the umbilical cord in some way connects the ghost of the afterbirth with the living child At the ceremony of naming the child the bit of umbilical cord is brought out and dropped into a bowl containing a mixture of beer, milk, and water. If the cord floats the child is legitimate and the clan accepts it as a member; should the cord sink the child is disowned by the clan and the woman is punished for adultery. The cord is either preserved by the clan or buried at the roots of the plantain tree with the afterbirth. In the case of princes the cord is carefully preserved, and the fortunate prince who becomes king has the cord decorated and made into a "twin" (mulongo). This is kept by the Kimbugwe, who each month, after the new moon appears, brings in the "twin" wrapped up in bark-cloth to the king, who holds it for a moment or two and then returns it to him. It is carried in state to the Kimbugwe's enclosure, drums are beaten in the procession, and the "twin" is honoured as a king. When it is returned to its house it is not put inside, but is placed by the door and guarded all night; next morning the Kimbugwe comes and rubs butter on it, and restores it to its usual place inside the temple or hut. The jawbone and the umbilical cord must always be kept together to fulfil the requirements of the ghosts after the death of the king.

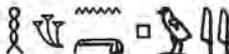
The stool on which the god Kibuka sits is also of

¹ Hattersley, *The Baganda at Home*, 1908, pp. 14, 15.

² See *Journal Inst. Anthropological Society*, Vol. XXXI, p. 117 ff.; Vol. XXXII, p. 25 ff.; and *Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda*, in *Man*, No. 95, 1907, p. 161 ff.

interest in connection with Osiris. Instead of the usual seat there is a basin 8 inches in diameter, and 4 inches deep, fitted into this. In this basin were kept the lower jawbone of the god, stitched into a leather case, and with this were two smaller leather cases containing the genital organs; each case is decorated with shells and beads. These were put in a bag tied with string made from the fibre of aloes, which was placed in the basin on the stool. The whole stool with its contents stands 22 inches high.¹ Now if we look at the vignettes in papyri of the Book of the Dead we shall find that in most cases the side of the seat, or stool, of the god is made to resemble the front of a tomb, and that the doors, with their bolts, resemble those which are painted on sepulchral coffers and chests which contain *ushabtiu* figures and the viscera of the dead. In other words, Osiris sits upon what is intended to represent a sepulchral coffer. And if the stool of Osiris were a sepulchral coffer it must have contained some portions of the body of the god, and such portions might well have been his genital organs and his lower jawbone, as was the case with Kibuka, the War-god of the Baganda. At all events, the custom followed by the Baganda in respect of the stool of Kibuka certainly throws some light on the stool or throne of Osiris and its sepulchral character. The texts are silent as to the fate of the phallus of Osiris, and Greek writers, being ignorant of the customs of the Súdán, state that it was never found, and that Isis made a model of it which was worshipped in the temples. Allusions to the phallus of Osiris and the phallus of Rā occur in the Book of the Dead,² and we may be certain that the phallus of Osiris must have played a very prominent part in the beliefs of the Egyptians concerning the resurrection, otherwise the phallus of the deceased would not have been identified with Osiris in the Chapter of the Deification of Members of the body (Chapter XLII).

¹ See the illustration to Mr. Roscoe's paper in *Man*.

² XVII, 61, 143; XCIII, 2, 3, that of Beba,  is mentioned in XCIX, Introduction, l. 17.

The chief authorities for the methods of procedure followed in funerals by the Egyptians are the bas-reliefs and paintings which decorate the tombs of their nobles, especially those which belong to the period of the New Empire, say from B.C. 1600 to B.C. 600. Of special importance are the tombs of Western Thebes, for whole series of funerary scenes still remain in them in a wonderful state of preservation. Most valuable evidence is also supplied by such works as the Liturgy of Funerary Offerings and the Book of Opening the Mouth, which are well illustrated by the scenes depicted on the walls of the tombs of Rekh-má-Rā (XVIIIth dynasty), Seti I (XIXth dynasty), and Amen-em-Āp (XXVIth dynasty). Also the vignettes of the great illustrated copies of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, *e.g.*, the Papyri of Nebseni, Nu, Iuáu, Ani, Hunefer, Anhai, Nesi-ta-neb-Asher, etc., and the Rubrics, describe and explain many interesting customs and ceremonies. When these authorities are examined, and the information given by them generally is compared with the descriptions of comparatively modern African funerals and methods of sepulture given below, the similarity in both customs and ceremonies will be found to be so marked that it is impossible not to conclude that they are the result of beliefs which are common to the ancient Egyptians and to modern Súdání tribes. This similarity is due not to any borrowing by the Súdání tribes from the Egyptians, but to indigenous, fundamental African beliefs which have remained unchanged in all essentials from the end of the Neolithic Period in Egypt until the present day.

THE BURIAL OF KAMRASI, KING OF UNYORO.—Immediately after the death of Kamrasi, his body was laid upon a framework of green wood, like a gigantic gridiron, over a slow fire, until it was quite dry and resembled “an over-roasted hare.” It was then wrapped in new bark-cloths, and made to lie in state in a large house which had been specially built for the purpose. As long as the succession to the throne is undecided, the body remains unburied, but as soon as the victor in the civil war, which breaks out on the king’s death, is hailed as king, he goes into the house where his father’s body lies, and, standing near it, drives his spear into the ground,

and leaves it near the right hand of the king. The victor next buries his father. A huge pit, capable of holding several hundred people, is dug, and neatly lined with new bark-cloths. Several wives of the late king are made to seat themselves together at the bottom, to bear upon their knees the body of their departed lord. On the night previous to the funeral, the king's own regiment, or bodyguard, surrounds many dwellings and villages, and seizes indiscriminately the people as they go out in the early morning. They are taken to the mouth of the pit, and, when their arms and legs have been broken with clubs, they are thrown into it, on the top of the king's body and his wives.

A mighty din of drums, horns, flageolets, whistles, mingled with the yells of a frantic crowd, drowns the shrieks of the sufferers, upon whom the earth is shovelled and stamped down by thousands of cruel fanatics, who dance and jump upon the loose mould so as to form it into a compact mass, through which the victims of this horrid sacrifice cannot grope their way, the precaution having been taken to break the bones of their arms and legs. At length the mass is buried and trodden down beneath a tumulus of earth, and all is still. The funeral is over.¹

According to Mr. Cunningham, the grave of an Unyoro king was five feet in diameter and twelve feet deep. The king's bodyguard seized the first nine Unyoro men they met, and threw them alive into the pit. The body of the king was then wrapped in bark-cloth, and sewn up in the skin of a cow newly killed, and let down into the pit. Another cow-skin was stretched tightly across the opening, and pegged down all round; a covering of grass was laid over the skin, and a temple was built over the grave. A headman was appointed watcher, and some of the dead king's servants were ordered to live there, they and their descendants after them, and food was supplied as a matter of course by the people. The position of the dead body was the same for king and peasant. The body lay on its left side, with the hands, the palms facing, under the head, and the legs drawn up to the body. The poor people

¹ Baker, *Ismailia*, p. 316.

were wrapped in grass, and spirit-houses were built over their graves.¹

DAGARA'S BURIAL.—When Dagara, king of Karagüé, was dead, the people sewed his body up, as was the custom in the case of kings, in a cow-skin, and placed it in a boat floating on the lake, where it remained for three days, until decomposition set in, and maggots were engendered. Then it was taken up and deposited on the hill Moga-Namirinzi, where, instead of putting him underground, the people erected a hut over him, and, thrusting in five maidens and fifty cows, enclosed the doorway in such a manner that the whole of them subsequently died of starvation. Rohinda the Sixth, father of Dagara, was buried in the same way. Out of his heart a young lion emerged, which guarded the hill and was the ancestor of all the lions in Karagüé! These lions became subject to Dagara, and whenever he went to war he took an army formed of them instead of men, and was always victorious.² Rūmanika, son of Dagara, sacrificed a cow yearly at his father's grave, and placed pombé and grain on it, because he thought they would secure for him good crops in the coming year.³

THE BONGO BURIAL.—The dead body is placed in a crouching position, with the knees forced up to the chin, and is firmly bound round the head and legs. It is then sewn up in a skin sack and placed in a deep grave. The faces of men are turned towards the north and those of women towards the south.⁴

THE NIAM-NIAM BURIAL.—The dead body is adorned, as if for a festival, with skins and feathers. It is usually dyed with red wood. Men of rank have their aprons fastened to them, and they are buried either sitting on their beds or enclosed in a kind of coffin which is made from a hollow tree. The earth is not allowed to touch the body, which is placed in a specially prepared niche in the grave. The men have their faces turned towards the east, and the women's are

¹ *Uganda*, pp. 30, 31.

² Speke, *Journal*, p. 181. Of the maggots of Dagara three were taken to the palace, where they turned into a lion, a leopard, and a stick.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁴ Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 303.



towards the west.¹ The relatives shave their heads and destroy their headdresses.

THE MORO BURIAL.—The uncovered body was carried to the grave on a strong wicker frame; a number of mourning women went in front, and the wives went behind, and women chanted to the tom-toms. On the way many of the wives turned somersaults, and tried to throw themselves into the grave. The body was laid on its right side, in a bent position, as if asleep. A ligament of bark was tied to the little finger of the left hand, and the other extremity was drawn to the surface, and there attached to a peg driven in the ground. This was to enable the dead man to communicate with his children. The grave was filled up and a mound raised over it, with a pole in the centre, to the top of which was fastened the falcon's feather which was worn by the deceased when alive. The women threw their ornaments on the grave, and the relatives and friends of the deceased proceeded to hack in pieces with a spear the carcasses of two bulls and to eat them.²

THE BAHIMA BURIAL.—The dead body is washed, and the arms and legs are doubled up against it by breaking the joints; the neck is broken, and the head is bent over the chest. The body is then tied up in a mat, forming a sort of bundle, and buried in the great village manure heap, within eight or ten hours after death. An ordinary man is buried in a hole dug at the door of his hut.³

THE BANABUDDU BURIAL.—The male relatives stand on the right-hand side of the body, and the females on the left, and then, beginning with the head, smear it with butter; it is then wrapped round with bark cloth, and carried to the grave in the neighbouring garden. The clay all round the grave must be pushed in with the elbows, and not with the hands and feet.⁴

¹ Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 34; Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 650.

² Petherick, *Travels*, p. 270 ff. Dr. Brownell was buried in a grave in an ant hill, fully four feet deep, with a niche for the body, which was protected from contact with the earth by means of several sticks which covered the opening of the niche. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

³ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

THE BASOGA BURIAL.—The body is first rubbed with pulp made from the banana tree, and whilst this is being done no one must be present as witness of the operation. It is then rolled up in bark cloth and laid in a grave 15 feet deep, dug in the deceased's house. All the bark cloth which the relatives can get is stuffed into the grave, which is sometimes filled to the mouth with this material; earth is then thrown on top and stamped down flat. As soon as the grave is filled up the women leave the house, and having shut it up it remains unoccupied, and eventually tumbles down.¹

The Basoga perform a curious ceremony in connection with a man who dies away from home. The relatives go into the bush and bring out a branch or long reed. This is thrown on the ground, and they say to it, having called out the dead man's name, "We have come to bring you home for burial." The branch or reed is then wrapped in bark cloth and carried home, and, when news is brought into the village that it is approaching, the women scream and wail until the branch is laid in the grave. The usual funeral ceremonies are then observed. In some places in Basoga the head of the dead person is washed, and his lips are smeared with oil,² which calls to mind one of the ceremonies in the Book of Opening the Mouth, in which the mouth of the deceased was anointed with oil by the Egyptians.

Formerly, before European influence modified any of the customs of the country, the successor of a dead king of Bukole, a district of Basoga, sent a large number of soldiers to range the country for miles round the chief's village, and slay any person they met. During the raid every attempt was made to capture a young man and a girl. On the second day after the chief's death they were killed, their pudenda were removed, and together with those of a bull, were put into the interior of a large fetish drum called "Kideye." The hole in the drum through which this tribute had been inserted was sown up, and the drum was beaten to

¹ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 715; Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 117.

² Johnston, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 718.

announce the chief's death.¹ Similar mutilations of a young man and a girl were made in order to make a sacrifice to the sacred stream on the death of a chief. Sometimes the man and maid after mutilation were thrown into the Nagua River as a sacrifice to the water spirit.

BURIAL OF KINGS IN UGANDA.—Formerly the dead king was carried to Emerera and dried, and when the lower jaw had been cut out,² it was wrapped up in many layers of bark cloth, and placed on a bedstead which stood on the floor of a large new house, with a conical thatched roof. The door was then shut and was never opened again. The king's cook, the headman of the beer-pots, and chief herdsman of the king's cows, and three women of rank equivalent to these, were seized, and dragged before the door of the closed tomb and slaughtered. The bodies were not buried, but left for the vultures to eat.³

THE BASUKUMA BURIAL.—A king or chief is wrapped up in an ox-skin and buried in a sitting position. Ordinary folk are wrapped up in the leaves of the nghali tree, and buried in the centre of the kraal. At the funeral of a chief the people mourn for two days, and then eat the ox, in the skin of which the chief is buried.⁴

THE MANYEMA BURIAL.—A chief is buried in a square pit 10 feet deep, wrapped in bark cloth. At the bottom of the grave ten living women with their arms and legs broken are laid, and on them the chief is placed; ten men, with their arms and legs broken, are next brought and laid on top of the chief.⁵ The grave is then filled up with earth, and the burial is complete.

THE LENDU BURIAL.—The body of a chief is, by means of many strips of bark cloth, made to take a sitting position, and is then placed on a bed of skins inside a tunnel-like excavation in the grave, which is dug

¹ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 716.

² The body was placed on a board which rested on the mouth of an earthen pot heated by fire from below. The drying process lasted three months.—Speke, *Journal*, p. 207.

³ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 226.

⁴ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 307.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

inside the hut of the deceased. This hut, with sometimes the whole village in which it is situated, is then abandoned.¹ Ordinary folk are buried immediately after death near the side wall of the hut. The body is put into the earth naked, and no coffin of any sort is used. The Alulu tribe wrap the body in the skin of a freshly killed bull or cow. Over the grave of a chief a tree is sometimes planted.²

THE SENGA BURIAL.—When a man dies everyone utters mournful cries. The body is washed, clothed, decorated with beads, and wrapped up in a piece of calico soaked in saffron. Then it is left two days, when it begins to decompose. It is then placed in a bag of rushes of three layers, and buried in a hole in the ground of the hut about five feet deep, and covered over with thorns and earth. On the grave they put a large earthenware urn containing a little flour, while a roast chicken is placed by the side of it. The natives clap their hands by way of adieu, and abandon the hut, and everyone who has touched the body goes and washes in the river. The members of the family cut their hair, and deposit the cuttings in a place where two roads meet; they put on black beads, and if possible black clothes. Three months after the death the friends assemble for a great feast. Having prepared a large quantity of beer, they take it to the hut in which is the grave, and digging a large hole outside, they set down in it a pot of beer, covering it with a plate, on which they sprinkle a little flour. Then they go into the hut, taking with them a sheep. They remove the urn which was placed over the head of the grave, dig a little hole and pour in beer; they also kill the sheep, and let the blood run down into the hole. They take the sheep outside, shut the door, and eat the carcase, and then they wash their hands in the pot of beer which they have left outside. One of the dead man's wives, who is called the "spirit" (*musimo*) is carried away on a man's shoulders, and they give her beer which she drinks under her veil. They next go to the hut of the chief widow, where a large hole has been dug and cemented; in this they pour the beer, and lie down on

¹ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 555.

² Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 337.

their bellies and drink it. A great feast follows, with dancing and music.¹

THE LOWER NIGER BURIAL.—In the case of a king or chief, the body is smeared with a decoction of certain plants, and then rubbed over with camwood oil and spirit, and wrapped in mats. The favourite method is to smoke-dry the body. Bodies are usually buried in the earth, but the Andoni use mud altars and platforms in trees; in graves the bodies are just laid flat upon the ground. The possessions of the deceased are buried with him, as well as the sacrificial victims, both human and animal.²

THE WANYAMWESI BURIAL.—When the last Sultán, Mkasiwah, died, they dug a large pit, in which they placed the chief in a large bark box, in a sitting posture, with one hand at his face and one of the fingers of the other pointing upward; beside him were placed two living men and two living women, and then the whole was covered over. They look upon the graves of their chiefs as sacred, and carry food and pray there.³

THE FJORT BURIAL.—The dead body is dried over a smoky fire, and is then wrapped up in endless lengths of cloth according to the wealth of the deceased; and after some months it is buried. When a king dies the body is smoked and watched, and the process may take years. First it is shaved and washed with water or palm wine. It is then placed upon rush mats for a day, then swathed in long pieces of cloth, and laid upon a framework bed, underneath which a hole is dug to receive the water, etc., which runs out of the body. A fire is lighted at the head and foot of the bed, so that the smoke may keep off the flies. The body is next covered with acaju leaves, then wrapped up in more cloth, then placed in a coffin, which is put in a shimbec or hut. There the body may lie for years. Formerly slaves and wives were buried with a chief or king.⁴

THE GAGA BURIAL.—The dead man was buried in a pit, sitting on a seat. Two wives, with broken arms and

¹ Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 234.

² Leonard, *Lower Niger and Its Tribes*, p. 175.

³ Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes*, Vol. II, p. 258.

⁴ Dennett, *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort*, London, 1898, pp. 23, 111.

legs, were thrown in with him, and the grave was then covered over, and palm oil and goats' blood poured on the grave.¹

THE PYGMY BURIAL.—The body is washed, painted, dressed in new clothes, and then seated on a seat of earth, with his beads and "the most part of his goods" with him. The blood of goats and wine are poured over the grave.² Memorial feasts for the dead are celebrated four or five times each year.

THE CONGO BURIAL.—The body is washed with a strong decoction of manioc, which whitens the skin. It is then placed in the fetish attitude: the face towards the setting sun, the knees bent, the left foot raised behind, the right arm hanging by the side, the fingers of the left hand separated, crooked, and pointing eastward. A small fire is kept burning under the body till the intestines are dried up like parchment. The body is then plastered over with red clay, and rolled up in cloths till it becomes a shapeless mass. The richer the person the more the cloth. Finally the body is buried in a large grave, over which is erected a hut without a roof. In Loango, the body is smoked on a scaffold over a green fire, like elephant meat. It is exposed in a sacred house for from six to twelve months, the relatives coming at stated intervals to mourn there. The body is then placed in a coffin shaped like a barrel, and is drawn to the grave in a kind of car.³

It is the earnest desire of a Congo man to be buried in a great quantity of cotton cloth, and to have a grand funeral. For this he trades, and works, and sins, and spares no pains. He shivers with cold in the dry season, but will not put on his back the coat or blanket which is reserved for his shroud. He suffers all this for the sake of display at the funeral. When a friend dies it is the proper thing to take a present of cloth for his shroud. A man's rich enemies may ruin his family at his death by their lavish donations for his shroud, which his family will never be able to repay. A great man is often buried in hundreds of yards of cloth, and it all goes underground

¹ Battell, *Strange Adventures*, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 78: Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 539.

³ Winwood Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 542.

to rot, and be eaten by the white ants. The expense of a funeral is so great in the case of an important man that his own accumulations are never sufficient. The corpse has therefore to be kept for a considerable time. To this end a grave-like hole, two or three feet deep, is dug in the house in which a man dies. The body is placed in the hole, and over the hole a mat is spread; the mat is then covered with an inch and a half of earth. Fires are lighted by the sides of the hole, and are tended night and day by the wives of the deceased, who ought not to leave the house until the funeral. For the first few days the house is crammed with wailing women. The heat of the fires, the closeness of the crowded hut, combine with the smell of the decomposing body to create an atmosphere almost indescribable; but fifty or or sixty women will crowd in, and sit with tearful eyes, wailing and chanting their mournful dirges night and day.

After a day or two the wailing moderates, but at ten o'clock at night, and at five o'clock in the morning, a special wailing is set up, to the beat of the native gong and a small drum. In the early night the young people take the great town drum to the house, and dance for some hours; so that with laughter at the antics of a dancer outside, and tears as the wail surges and falls, the hours pass. The wives put on an old cloth, and sit and sleep on the ground. They never wash, nor comb or cut their hair for months; pot black and oil are rubbed into their skin and hair. A few yards of cloth are wrapped round the corpse before it is put into the drying pit. The heat of the fires goes down into the ground, and so a slow dry heat is set up; in time most of the moisture of the body evaporates or runs into the soil. It is then removed from the pit, wrapped in more cloth, and placed on a shelf in the house. In the dry season the body may be buried by the side of the house six or eight inches below the surface, and the place covered with the thorny bases of palm fronds to keep the jackals away.

Meanwhile the relatives of the deceased have been doing their utmost to raise money for the funeral, and the younger members of the family are often pawned. As the day for the funeral approaches the wailing is resumed. The drum is beaten nearly all night, and in the early

morning the gong and the chant can be heard. At dawn for several days there is heavy firing. The body is then wrapped in its shroud, and around this a "glorious cloth" is wound, and then with the thunders of the big drums and a dirge, it is brought to the great square of the town so that all may see it. Six strong men raise the body as high as they can to "show" it, in different parts of the square. It is then taken to the grave amid screams and wailings, and when the women have laid their hands on it, two men jump into the grave to receive the body and put it carefully in its final resting-place. As soon as this is done, all weeping and wailing and tears cease as if by magic. The daughter turns aside, dries her streaming tears, and walks away chatting lightly.¹

The Bateke, who live to the north of Stanley Pool, often bury a man in the floor of his own house. The shroud is cut over the mouth, and in filling up the grave, after the interment, a pole is placed with one end on the mouth of the body, and the other end sticking out from the grave. When the earth is properly filled in and trodden down, the pole is withdrawn, and so a clear hole is left to the mouth of the body. Into this hole, from time to time, palm wine is poured, that the deceased may not lack the liquor which used to gladden his heart when living.

On the Upper Congo a man of importance has a number of slaves, who follow him about, paddle his canoe, and generally serve him. When he dies, it is not fitting that he should enter the Spirit-world unattended, as though he were only a slave. Wives will be needed to cook and care for him; so, when the time for burial comes, these conveniences are provided for him. The dead man is washed, rubbed with oil and powdered camwood, which makes him red all over. His face is decorated, one eye and cheek being made yellow with ochre, and the other white with pipeclay; coloured lines are drawn on the forehead. A broad line in white, bordered with black, is brought down each of his red arms. Dressed in fine cloth, his hair well braided, his body sits in state on his stool, his pipe in his mouth. Men and women come to look at him, while the wives and their friends sing a dirge, rattle their rattles, and beat

¹ Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 176 ff.

the gongs. In a house near by are ten men, their necks secured in forked sticks  and firmly tied; they are to accompany him. Among the weeping wives are three or four who are chosen to attend him in the Spirit-world. Great crowds assemble on the day of the funeral, and each person is in full paint and finery, and several people dance. The body is brought out, and the crowd gathers in an open space where there is a strange wooden seat. The ten slaves are brought, and one of them is placed in the seat and fastened to it. A tall flexible pole is stuck into the ground, at some distance behind the seat, and from its top is suspended by a cord a sort of cage. The pole is bent down, and the cage is fitted to the man's head. He is blindfolded, and the executioner commences to dance, and make feints, and at last, with a fearful yell, he decapitates his victim, with one sweep of the huge knife. The pole, thus released, springs into the air. The crowd yells with delight and excitement. The body is unbound, and a new victim is placed on the seat, and this horror is repeated, until the ten slaves have joined their dead master. The heads are thrown into a pool of water beside the river, until the flesh comes off, and then the skulls are placed in the house over the master's grave. The bodies of the slaves are carried to the grave, and laid in order on the bottom. Four women are then seized, and their arms and legs are broken with blows from a heavy stick, and then, still alive, they are placed in the grave. The body of their lord is laid upon them, and the grave is then filled in. Higher up the river these customs would be considered poor and mean without a cannibal feast, and the body would be kept until a hunt for victims could be organized. Among the Bakuba on the Upper Kasai, three hundred slaves have been killed at the death of the king or his sister.¹

THE BALUBA BURIAL.²—The dead man is buried in a wicker basket with a lid, the body being in the position of a man squatting and embracing his knees. The grave

¹ Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 253.

² The facts given in the following nine paragraphs are taken from Johnston's *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 646 ff.

is dug in the forest in the evening, and the body is hurriedly buried. The house of the deceased is burnt down, but a small hut is built near the place where it stood, and there the spirit of the dead man will come to hold converse with the living. Before the hut a ditch is dug, which is filled with flour and water. By its side is dug another, in which is placed a pot pierced at the bottom; in this palm wine is poured.

THE MUYANZI BURIAL.—The body is washed and painted. The legs are bent in such a manner as to raise the knees as high as possible, and are kept in that position by bands of tree bark or native cloth. The body is then dressed in the richest clothes of the deceased, and placed before his hut, where for ten days all come to admire it. The people dance funeral dances, sing songs, fire off guns, and beat drums; this goes on all day, and palm wine circulates freely. When decomposition is far advanced the body is buried in the entrance to the house, clothes and all.

THE MONGO BURIAL.—The body is washed and placed in a hut for one, or even two months. It is then enclosed in a box, which is carved, painted, and mounted with points resembling horns, and carried through the neighbouring villages with songs and dances, and then buried.

THE BANGATA of the Equator put the dead body in communication with the living by means of a tube, as do the people of the Cataract region of the Lower Congo.

THE BAPOTO BURIAL.—The body is decorated with collars, bracelets, glass trinkets, etc., and is buried by mourning women who wear bands of green leaves round their bodies.

THE ARUWIMI BURIAL.—The body is buried in a shallow grave made in the house, and one or two slaves are killed, so that their spirits may go to Spirit-land with their master.

THE MAÑBATTÔ BURIAL.—The warrior is buried where he falls. A hut is built over him, and there the relatives and friends bring baskets of food and jars of water at intervals, and they keep the grave clean. The bodies of the poor are left for the ants and hyenas.

THE BANTU BURIAL.—The Ababua and the Baieu (Babati) of the Wele-Bomo-Kandi bury the dead on a bed, at a depth of three feet; after a month they are exhumed and buried in another place. This ceremony is repeated as long as the parents live, and when the bed is worn out another is provided; at each exhumation lamentation is made. The gifts to the dead consist of food only, and all the property of the deceased is buried with him. The Baieu eviscerate the body and dry it.

THE NILOTIC-NEGRO BURIAL.—On the north-east Congo the body is buried in a square pit dug in the house, and is placed in a sitting position with the arms folded and wrists fixed to the shoulders. When the pit is filled in, the grave is sprinkled with ox blood or beer.

THE BANZIRI BURIAL.—The body is arranged in a doubled-up position on a kind of gridiron of poles, and a fire is lit under it; earthen pots are placed to receive the fat which runs out of it. Those present rub their faces and hands with this fat, rinse it off with warm water, and the relatives drink the rinsings, thinking thereby to absorb the virtues of the deceased. What remains of the fat is either sent to absent relatives, or kept in the dead man's house. The body is not buried until decomposition is far advanced.¹

THE NDOLO BURIAL.—The body is covered with a coating of red bark paste, and is provided with a new loin-cloth; the eyebrows are blackened with charcoal. It is then hoisted up on to a platform twelve feet high, and set in a sitting position; a stick supports the head, and the hands are spread on the knees. The women and girls chant a dirge.²

THE BAHUANA BURIAL.—The body is placed in a sitting position in a grave about five feet deep, with the face towards the west; food, palm wine, and all the clothes and weapons of the deceased are buried with him. In a small hut above the grave are laid the fragments of his pots, which are broken at the

¹ Mr. Torday's information.

² Father Heymans, of New Antwerp (*George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 652).

funeral ; here the brother of the deceased often places an offering of food. Women have their pots buried with them. A man killed by lightning is buried lying on his back. The foreheads of the men mourners are painted black, but the women paint the whole face black.¹ The mourning colour of the Bayaka women is red.²

THE BALUBA BURIAL.³—When an important Luba chief expires, every one, great or small, must mourn in a subdued tone ; the members of all the brotherhoods come before the house where the body lies to perform dances ; the women violently strike their hatchet and hoe against each other. This deafening hubbub lasts a day. The relatives then make a distribution of beads among all the dancers, and the tumult ceases. During this time a young slave is obtained ; his neck is broken by a blow, and he is laid by the body for two days. He is the chief's boy attendant. The chief's wives, squatting near him, do not cease their lamentations. Some days pass in this way without other incidents ; after which the stiffened limbs are forcibly bent and the body placed in its wicker coffin. In the house two stages are raised, one above the other ; on the upper one is placed the coffin, on the lower a large earthen pot. The body decomposes ; a noxious liquid infested with maggots escapes from it and falls into the receptacle ; it is left there for several weeks. When the body is ready, that is to say, when the nails can be taken off easily, the Musungi (*i.e.*, the "peacemaker"), the provisional "executor" of the deceased, raises the lid of the coffin, removes all the nails from the feet and hands, and the belt of hippopotamus hide, the badge of greatness, cuts off the middle finger of the right hand and a great toe and places them together in a hollowed fruit, which is placed in a small basket with a cone-shaped cover. The bundle is entrusted to the nephews of the deceased ; they proceed to hang it up in

¹ Torday and Joyce, *Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Huana*, p. 290.

² *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 655.

³ The following account by a Belgian missionary is printed in *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 655.

the ancestral hut. One of the nephews has it under his special care, and is responsible for the whole under pain of death or banishment. At this time they sacrifice a slave ; his death announces the event.

Finally the burial is proceeded with. The important men of the village, followed by some relatives, proceed by day and night towards a shallow marsh, carrying the remains of the deceased. A great chief can never go thus into the Other World without taking away a portion of his slaves ; and so whenever the funeral procession is set in motion, two men are beaten to death with clubs and thrown across the public road without burial ; it is their mission to tell passers-by that their master has gone along that way to his last dwelling. As soon as the site of the grave has been selected, the men build a large square barrier of grass and weed, drain off the water which is within, and set to work with feverish activity to dig a deep ditch of about six feet, taking care to keep the side walls well hollowed out ; and forthwith two female slaves of the dead man, who have as a preliminary been decked in their finest attire, descend of their own accord (or by force, and in spite of their laments and sobs) to the bottom of this tomb, lie on their sides face to face, and stretching out the arm which is next the ground, embrace the decomposed remains of their master. The jar containing the liquid and worms I have described is emptied and broken in the grave. These poor women, mad with misery, do not always show themselves eager to fulfil the task required of them at the funeral ; for that reason they are usually bound, or sometimes their skulls are mercifully broken. During that time, six slaves brought for the purpose are butchered, and their bodies placed in the hollowed walls ; then the ditch is quickly filled up, and the marsh water, escaping over the barrier, makes its way in and covers this sad spot with a silence which will be broken for a moment, some months later, by the piercing cries of new victims. In short, the same grave-diggers will return to the grave, bringing a man in bonds, whom they will force to build a wooden enclosure on the edge of the marsh ; when he shall have completed his task, one of them will drive into his breast the head

of his lance, crush his head, and lay him in a ditch beside the chief. Then a few days before the arrival of a successor at the dead man's village, they will go again with a slave, and some jars of beer, force the wretched man to pull out all the stakes and drop all the jars in a small ditch; then they will kill him likewise, and bury him on the other side of the grave. The departed is satisfied; his successor may come.

THE NSAKARA BURIAL.—On a bed, in an immense circular ditch, his head resting on the arm of his favourite wife, is laid the body of the deceased, dressed in his richest attire; around him, attached to stakes, the strangled bodies of the wives who have been unwilling to survive their husband; thrown pell-mell in the ditch the bodies of slaves and servants who have worked for the dead man; such is the hideous spectacle presented to a crowd craving for pain and slaughter. The ditch is filled up, and on the newly-piled earth begins the sacrifice of the victims destined for the feasts celebrated in memory of him whom they are lamenting These repasts of human flesh last many days.¹

THE UPPER CROSS RIVER BURIAL.—The old and helpless members of the community are hit on the head by their fellows, who carefully smoke-dry their bodies. These are afterwards pulverized, and formed into small balls by the addition of water in which Indian corn has been boiled for some hours. This mixture is dried in the sun, or over fires, and is then put away for future use as an addition to the family stew.²

THE ARAB BURIAL.—Sir Samuel Baker attributed to the Arabs the grave which, as has been seen above, is of purely African origin. He says: "The graves of the Arabs are an improvement upon those of Europeans. What poor person who cannot afford a vault has not felt a pang as the clod fell upon the coffin of his relative? The Arabs avoid this. Although there is no coffin the earth does not rest upon the body. The hole being dug similar in shape to a European grave, an extra trench is formed at the bottom of the grave about a foot wide.

¹ From the Report of a Belgian missionary, printed in *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 657.

² Kingsley, *West African Studies*, pp. 555, 556.

The body is laid upon its side within this trench, and covered by bricks made of clay which are laid across; thus the body is contained within a narrow vault. Mud is then smeared over the hastily-made bricks, and nothing is visible, the tomb being made level with the bottom of the large grave. This is filled up with earth, which, resting on the brick covering of the trench, cannot press upon the body. In such a grave my best man was laid—the Slave women raising their horrible howling, and my men crying loudly I was glad to see so much external feeling for their comrade, but the grave being filled, their grief, like all loud sorrow, passed quickly away, and relapsed into thoughts of buffalo meat; they were soon busily engaged in cutting up the flesh.”¹

THE ABYSSINIAN BURIAL.—When a person is seized with the fever, the relatives set in front of him all the ornaments of gold and silver and fine clothes which their respective friends can collect, making at the same time as much noise as possible with drums, trumpets, and loud outcries, which is done with the view of “driving out the devil” of the man, for most Abyssinians believe that most diseases are caused by demoniacal possession. When it is seen that the sick man is about to die, the drums and trumpets cease, and all present set up mournful howls. And when death is announced, they tear out their hair, scratch the skin from their temples, and throw themselves with sobs and screams on the ground; they show such agony that one would imagine that the very existence of the universe was threatened by his death. Relatives, friends, acquaintances and servants together produce indescribable confusion. Soon after death, the body is carefully washed, fumigated with incense, and sewn up in one of the cloths which the deceased wore when he was alive, and is then carried to the grave, in which it is laid whilst the priests recite appropriate prayers. On the following day the relatives and friends celebrate the feast in honour of the dead. An image of the deceased is made up and dressed in rich garments, and is placed on his favourite mule, and carried in procession through the town to the tomb. A

¹ Baker, *Albert N'yanza*, p. 36.

number of professional wailing women join the procession, and keep up a terrible noise the whole time, saying: "Why did you leave us? Had you not houses and lands? Had you not a wife who loved you?" Arrived at the tomb the cries and wailings are redoubled, the priests shout "Hallelujahs," and the relatives scream in concert. The whole party then goes back to the house of the deceased, and partakes of a huge meal of meat, and drink is provided in such quantities that every member of the party eventually becomes drunk.¹

From the statements contained in the above descriptions of modern African funerals the reader will see that the similarity between them and the funerals of the ancient Egyptians is too close and too widespread to be the result of accident. The indigenous Egyptians being Africans buried their dead like Africans. A settled government enabled the craft of the undertaker to develop and flourish to a degree undreamt of in Central Africa, but it may be safely asserted that the well-preserved condition of Egyptian mummies and funerary furniture is due far more to the protection of the limestone hills and the sandy deserts than to the art of the embalmer and his colleagues. Everything put into the ground of the Central African forest perishes through damp and insects, and the same is the case in the fertile Delta of Egypt; only in those parts of Egypt where tombs can be hewn in the mountains or in the stony bed of the desert have mummies and funerary furniture been satisfactorily preserved.

¹ Salt, *Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 422.

“person,” or “self,” and the Romans, had they understood the true meaning of the word, would probably have translated it by “genius natalis.” When the body died the Ka did not die with it, but continued its existence; whether it was supposed to live for ever cannot be said. The body was preserved in a tomb, so that the Ka might come and visit it whenever it pleased, but it could not be considered the dwelling-place of the Ka after its death. Therefore the Egyptians prepared a figure or statue of the dead person to whom the Ka belonged, taking great pains to give it all the characteristics of the deceased, so that the Ka might recognize it as an image of its body and be pleased to enter into the figure and take up its abode there. The Egyptians placed the figure or statue so prepared in the tomb with the body, sometimes in a niche, and sometimes in a very small chamber behind a stone partition with an opening in it, so that the Ka might see and hear all that was going on in the tomb when visitors came there to pay visits in its honour. The figures set up in memory of the dead by many modern African peoples are in reality Ka figures, only the original purpose of them has been forgotten. Dr. Schweinfurth rightly says that such figures are not idols, and in describing those which were on the grave of Yanga, the Bongo chief, he mentions rough-hewn figures, as large as life, which were carved to represent the chief followed by his wives and children. Some figures of this kind have bead necklaces and rings, and hair is fixed in appropriate places on the body.¹ No pains are spared in making such figures as life-like as possible. In the case of a very great man such a figure is placed in the middle of the town or village, in order that the living may benefit by consultation with the Ka when it visits it. Thus in the town of Cashil, in the Jaga country, there was such an image 12 feet high in the centre of a circle of elephants’ tusks, and the natives were in the habit of making offerings of palm oil and goats’ blood to it. The name of the figure was Quesango (Kizangu). Elsewhere were several smaller images.²

¹ *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 286.

² Andrew Battell, *Strange Adventures* (1901 edition), p. 46.



The gods Hāp, Hekau and Horus presenting the royal child Amen-hotep III and his Ka, or double, to Amen-Rā.
From a bas-relief in the Temple of Luxor.

Not only was it necessary to provide a figure for the Ka to dwell in, but if it was not to perish of cold, hunger, and thirst, offerings of meat, drink, clothing, etc., must be placed in the tomb by the friends and relatives of the dead, so that the Ka might eat and drink, anoint and dress itself, even as its body had done when upon earth. The Ka did not, of course, consume the actual offerings of food which were given to it, but only the spirits, or "doubles," of the bread, beer, vegetables, meat, oil, etc., and similarly it arrayed itself in the spirits of the suits of linen apparel which were offered to it. No uncertainty about this belief is possible, for all the sepulchral prayers contain a petition to the effect that thousands of meals of every kind of good and pleasant food may be given to the Ka of So-and-so. In the Chapter on Osiris and the Doctrine of offerings, numerous instances are quoted of the methods of making offerings to the Kau, or Doubles of the dead, employed by the Egyptians and modern peoples in Africa. Therefore it is sufficient to say here that the custom of offering food, etc., to the dead with the object of preserving the existence of the Kau can be clearly traced in Egypt and the Sûdân from the Pre-dynastic Period to the present day.

Assuming, then, that the Ka was provided with a statue in which to dwell in a well protected tomb, and regular and sufficient offerings, there is no reason why it should not live for ever. It has, however, always been the common experience that sepulchral endowments become alienated, that tombs are destroyed by natural and other causes, or "usurped" by strangers, and that bodies perish, however carefully embalmed or mummified. In such cases the fate of the Ka was sad indeed, for it was then obliged to go and seek its own food, and hunger and thirst might compel it to eat offal and to drink filthy water. Its existence might be prolonged by the prayers of the pious who entreated the gods of the dead to provide it with food, but sooner or later a change of religion would come, men's ideas would change, and the Ka would be unprovided for. When the Egyptians embraced Christianity, the Kau of their ancestors must have starved, for the Egyptian Christians made no

offerings to the dead, and they did not pray the magical prayers which in earlier times were believed to secure food for the dead. The *Kau* of dead Egyptians would meet with little charity at the hands of their descendants who embraced Islâm, for they had been "unbelievers," and the offspring of the "time of ignorance" (*jahiliyyah*), who knew neither the God of Islam nor its great Prophet. On this point the words of the *Qur'ân* are quite definite:— Upon those who believe not, and who die in their unbelief, shall be the curse of God, and of the angels and of all men; they shall remain under it for ever, their punishment shall not be alleviated, neither shall they be regarded.¹ If, as seems likely, the fate of the *Ka* was bound up with that of the body, then many score millions of *Kau* must have perished when the ancient religion of Egypt came to an end, at least so far as ordinary people were concerned. We read of *KAU* in the kingdom of Osiris, but these, probably, belonged to kings and chiefs and nobles who were buried with elaborate rites and ceremonies, which conferred on them the privileges of the gods who lived for ever, or they may have belonged to the gods themselves.

A belief in the existence of the *Ka* exists among some modern African peoples. The *Tshi*-speaking tribes² use the word *Kra* to designate the spirit of a man, which enters him at birth, lives with him throughout his life, and leaves him at death. This spirit is entirely distinct from the man himself. The word *Kra* is generally interpreted "soul," but the *Kra* does not in any way correspond to the European idea of soul, and it has nothing to do with the soul which, on the death of the body, departs straightway to the Land of the Dead. The *Kra* is not the man himself, in a shadowy or ghostly form, that continues his existence after death in another world, but is a kind of guardian spirit, who lives in a man. The *Ewe*-speaking peoples have a similar belief, the indwelling spirit being by them termed a "*Luwo*." The *Gã*-speaking peoples assign to each individual two indwelling spirits called "*Kla*," one male and one female, the former being of a bad and the latter of a good

¹ Surah II (The Cow).

² See Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 149.

disposition. And they give good or bad advice, and prompt good or bad actions, according to their respective dispositions.¹ The Bantu equivalent of the "Kra" or "Kla" is called "Manu."² The Ba-Huana believe that man is composed of body, *bun* (soul), and double (*doshi*). The Doshi is a shadowy second self, corresponding to the Kra of the Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast, and the Ka of the Ancient Egyptians. It leaves the body in sleep, and visits other people in dreams, and the Doshi of the dead appear to the living in the same manner. All people have Doshi, and animals also. At death the Doshi lingers about in the air, visits its friends and haunts its enemies; it will persecute the relations if the body has not received proper burial; there are no means of exorcising it.³ The Bayaka of the Kwango-Kwilu also believe in the existence of an imperishable principle or soul, according to Mr. Torday, which they call "Doshi."⁴

Colonel Ellis says that when a man dies his Kra becomes a "Sisa," and a Sisa can be born again and become a Kra in a new human body. It can remain in the house with its dead body, and can annoy the living and cause sickness. If it fails to find a new body, it must go to the land of Insisa, where the Insisa (plural of Sisa) live and build houses. This country lies beyond the River Volta. Usually Insisa do no harm to the relatives of its dead body unless they have not buried it with proper care and ceremony; therefore are the dead buried with great care, for the relatives like to think that the Sisa of the dead relative is sitting with them comfortably in the hut, and not wandering about outside unprovided for. The Sisa lives near the house until the end of the period of mourning, when it goes to the country of Insisa. The Ahantas build special small huts for the Insisa, in which

¹ The Yorubas think that a man has three indwelling spirits: 1. The Olori, which dwells in the head, and is the protector, guardian, and guide of a man; to it offerings are made. 2. The Ipin ijeun, which dwells in the stomach. 3. The Ipori, which dwells in the big toe.—Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 126.

² Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 200.

³ Torday and Joyce, *Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Huana*, *Journal Anth. Inst.*, Vol. XXXVI.

⁴ Quoted by Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 640.

they place a bundle of hair of the deceased, and meat and drink offerings.¹ These facts are of importance, for they show that the modern African holds about the Kra, and its later development the Sisa, views similar to those which the Egyptian held about the Ka, and the urgent necessity there was to bury the body with full ceremonies and to provide for the Ka.

THE SPIRIT-BODY (SĀHU).

The fact that the Egyptians and many peoples of the Sûdân were in the habit of drying the body in the sun or embalming it, and swathing it in cloth of some kind, proves that its preservation was in some way necessary for the eternal welfare of its spiritual constituents. The Egyptians were a practical people, and they would never have gone to the expense and trouble of embalming the dead unless they had believed that it was absolutely necessary. There is no proof that they ever expected the physical body to rise again; on the contrary, the texts state clearly that the "soul is in heaven, the body in the earth,"² and "thy essence is in heaven, thy body in the earth";³ and this, notwithstanding the texts say:

"I germinate like the plants";⁴ "my flesh,    germinateth";⁵ "I am, I am, I live, I live, I germinate, I germinate";⁶ and in the "Book of Breathings" it is said to the deceased: "Thy soul liveth, thy body germinateth by the command of Rā, without diminution, without defect, like [that of] Rā, for ever and ever." These statements taken together prove that the Egyptians believed that some kind of body rose from the dead, and continued its existence in the Other World. The pictures of the beatified as seen in papyri

¹ Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

²               . Pepi I, l. 85.

³               . Pepi I, l. 304.

⁴ Book of the Dead, Chapter LXXXIII, l. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, LXIV, l. 49.

⁶ *Ibid.*, CLIV.

show us that this risen body had the form and appearance of the physical body which had been mummified and laid in the grave. We know that the KA was maintained by the offerings of relatives and friends of the dead, but we have no information as to the means by which the Sāhu,¹ or revived body, was kept in existence. The word "sāhu" seems to mean something like "free," "noble," "chief," and in this case it appears to be used as the name for a body which has, by means of the religious ceremonies that have been performed over it, obtained freedom from the material body and power whereby it has become incorruptible and everlasting. Hence arose the great importance of funeral ceremonies and offerings, which caused a spiritual body to spring from the physical body, and the KA to continue its existence after the death of the body to which it belonged. As the physical body formed the abiding-place of the KA and the soul, so the spiritual body was believed to afford a dwelling-place for the soul, for it is distinctly said² that "souls enter into their sāhu." And the spiritual body had power to journey everywhere in heaven and on earth, for to King Tetā it is said: "Thou hast received thy sāh, thy foot shall have no limit set to it in heaven, thou shalt not be driven back on earth."³

Modern African peoples also believe that the living man and the Kra become on the death of the man a ghost or shadowy man and a Sisa. On this point all the Tshi-speaking peoples agree.⁴ The Tshi name for the shadowy man is "Srahman," plur., Asrahmanfo. The Srahman does in the Other World what he did when he lived here; the chief is a chief, the peasant a peasant, and the slave a slave. He has the same passions, appetites, needs, and necessities as living men, and he lives on and enjoys the intangible individualities of the offerings which are made at his grave.⁵ The Yoruba



² Book of the Dead, Chapter LXXXIX, l. 5.

³ Tetā, l. 271.

⁴ Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 157, 158.

tribes call the "ghost-man" "Iwin," or "Okan," but the latter word also means "heart." The Iwin holds the position he held here in the Other World, if he reaches it, but this he only does if the prescribed funeral rites have been properly performed. If these be omitted the "ghost-man" wanders about the world, cold, hungry, and homeless, and he may be seized by evil spirits and cast into "the unseen world of potsherds."¹ Dr. Nassau tells us that the Uvengwa is the self-revivified spirit and body of a dead human being. It is an object of dread, and is never worshipped in any manner whatever. It is white in colour, but the body is variously changed from the likeness of the original human body.² The Baluba believe that the soul continues to reside unimpaired in the corpse, with the possibility of detaching itself, not freely and untrammelled, but in association with a vague, impalpable something, a kind of phantom or spectre which has the exact appearance of the dead body, but has not its real substance. It is under this shadowy form, which is, in short, the dematerialized body, that the soul will henceforth live in the realm of the dead. The Baluba believe the soul to be a principle distinct from the body, and endowed with a more ethereal nature, but unfit to exist alone without some veil or phantom. This phantom has not always the exact shape of a human being. Thus the phantom of a man whose flesh has been eaten by cannibals takes the form of a dried skeleton, and that of a man whose body has been burnt will for ever appear as a wreath of smoke dropping an ashy dust.³ Thus the ancient and modern evidences taken together show that the Egyptians and Sûdâni peoples believed in a resurrection, and thought that the spirit body was enabled to rise from the physical body through the rites and ceremonies which were performed over it.

¹ Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 127.

² *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 71.

³ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 642.

THE SHADOW (KHAIBIT).

Closely associated with the body was its shadow, , and the Egyptians appear to have thought it one of its most important attributes. We do not know what ideas they held about its functions when the man to whom it belonged was alive, but it is quite certain that they did not believe the resurrection of the spiritual body to be complete unless that phantom form was in possession of its shadow. The texts lead us to suppose that the Sahu was an immaterial form of the physical body, and it seems that the Egyptians thought it to be material enough to cast a shadow! In the text of Unas the shadow is mentioned in connection with the "form."¹ In the Theban Book of the Dead the deceased prays that his Ba and Khu and Shadow may not be shut in in the Other World,² and elsewhere³ we read, "O keep not captive my Soul (Ba), O keep not ward over my Shadow, but let a way be opened for my Soul and for my Shadow, and let [me] see the great God in the shrine, on the day of the Judgment of Souls, and let [me] recite the words of Osiris, whose habitations are hidden, to those who guard the members of Osiris, and who keep ward over the Khu (Spirits), and who hold captive the shadows of the dead, who would work evil against me, lest they work evil against me." In the vignette in the Papyrus of Ani we see Ani standing by the door of his tomb, and his soul in the form of a human-headed bird hovering over his spirit body. In a variant vignette⁴ the soul is hovering over the shadow of the deceased, which is painted solid and black. Further on in the text of the same Chapter it is said: "Thou shalt have dominion over thy legs, and thou shalt advance to thy body straightway in the earth." These passages are important, for they show: (1) That there were believed to exist certain evil Shadows who would do harm to their fellow Shadows if they could;

¹ Line 523.² Chapter XCI.³ Chapter XCII.⁴ Papyrus of Nefer-uben-f.

- ✓ (2) That the Shadow was associated with the Soul ;
 ✓ (3) That the Shadow had the power to move about and to go where it liked. The difference between the spirit-body and the Shadow is so slight that we can readily understand how easily one was confounded with the other in men's minds.

The Shadow is a recognized portion of man among modern African peoples. In West Africa the natives told Dr. Nassau that it was possible for a human being to have his *nsisim*, i.e., shadow, stolen or otherwise lost, and for him to exist in a diseased or dying state. In this case his body would cast no shadow.¹ The same authority says there is a widespread belief among the natives in a "dual soul," which consists of a "spirit," which, as far as is known, lives for ever in the world of spirits, and a shadow, which for an uncertain length of time hovers around the mortal remains.² Here we seem to have a confusion between the spirit-body and the shadow of a man. The shadow, according to Miss Kingsley, is one of the four souls of man. She noticed that men would march happily enough through forest or grass land on a blazing morning, but when they came to a piece of open ground they would go round it, not across it, because they were afraid of losing their shadows. They only do this at noontime. On asking some Bakwiri why they were not anxious about losing their souls at night time, she was told that at night all shadows lay down in the shadow of the Great God, and so became stronger. Had she not noticed how long and strong the shadows of men, trees, and mountains were in the morning? Murders are sometimes committed secretly by driving a nail or a knife into a man's shadow.³ The Nandi think that the human soul is embodied in a person's shadow, and it is firmly believed that after death the shadows of both good and bad people go underground and live there.⁴ All the Nandi are afraid of a shadow.⁵ At one time among the Bavili it was

¹ *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, p. 230.

³ *West African Studies*, p. 207.

⁴ Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 41.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

considered a crime for one person to trample upon or even to cross the shadow of another, especially if the shadow were that of a married woman. The shadow was supposed to sleep in the body of its owner at night, and if a sorcerer were to rob a man of his shadow it was equivalent to taking away his life. The shadow enters and leaves the body by the mouth, and is then likened to the breath of a man. When a man dies he has no shadow, and when he falls into a fit or trance the Bavili say it is because some sorcerer has taken his shadow.¹ According to the Fjort the Shadow ceases to exist on the death of the body.²

We have now described the physical body, the spirit-body, the double and the shadow, and it remains to consider the African beliefs about that portion of a man which we call the soul.

THE SOUL OF THE KA, OR BODY-SOUL.

To one of the constituents of man's spiritual economy the Egyptians gave the name of "Ba," ¹, a word which, by general consent among Egyptologists, is translated "soul." Various attempts have been made to provide a derivation for the word, and it has been thought to mean something like "noble" or "sublime," but all such derivations are mere guesses, and it must be frankly admitted that the exact idea which the Egyptians associated with the word is unknown. The texts afford no explanation of it, but they give a certain amount of evidence which shows us generally what they thought the Ba to be, and this, especially when compared with modern African ideas of the soul, is invaluable. The Ba, it seems, was connected closely with the Ka with which it dwelt, and it appears to have been regarded as the soul of the Ka. It was not incorporeal, though its nature and substance were somewhat ethereal. It was gratified by the offerings made to the Ka of the dead body in the tomb, and perhaps it partook of their spirit entities. It revisited its Ka and the body in the tomb,

¹ Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 80.

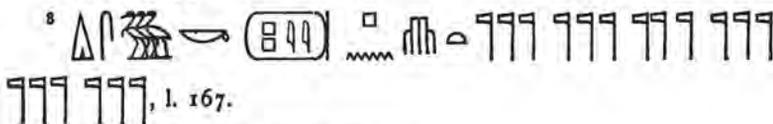
² Dennett, *Folklore of the Fjort*, London, 1898, p. 116.

and it could take up its abode there at pleasure ; it was free to travel all over heaven, and to mix with and to hold converse with souls there, and it could take any form it pleased. The Ba of a man was represented by a bird with a bearded human head . As in the

Pyramid Texts we read of a "living Ba,"¹ we must assume that there was such a thing as a dead Ba, in other words, that the Ba could die. The Ba could live in a body not its own, for at their pleasure the gods sent their Ba into the dead king Unás.² The Egyptians believed that more than one Ba belonged to a man, for the "Baiu" or "souls" of King Pepi were placed at the head of the Two Companies of the Gods.³ The "souls" here referred to are, of course, the other portions of the spirit entity of man which resemble the Ba in nature and substance. The Egyptians believed that the Ba might, by the agency of evil spirits, be prevented from rejoining its Ka and physical body, and that it might wander away from them, and even be shut up with them and unable to get out. Therefore was written the LXXXIst Chapter of the Theban Book of the Dead, in which the deceased prayed: "If my Ba would tarry, let it be brought to me from whatsoever place it may be in . . . let me have my Ba and my Khu . . . let it look upon its physical body, let it rest upon its spirit-body." From the same chapter we learn that the rejoining of the Ba to its Ka and body was supposed to take place in Heliopolis, where the Soul of Osiris rejoined itself to the body of that god. According to one view, when the Ba visited its Ka and body in the tomb it took with it air and food, which we may assume were intended for the Ka; this is proved by the vignette in the Papyrus of Neb-qet,⁴ in which the Ba, in the form of a human-headed bird, is actually seen descending the shaft of the

¹ Unás, l. 455.

² *Ibid.*, l. 522.



⁴ Ed. Devéria and Pierret, Plate 3.

pit of the tomb leading to the mummy chamber bearing with it air and water.

We have already seen that offerings were made to the Ka, and a passage in the Book of the Dead (Chapter XXIXc) suggests that the Ka, if needing food, had the power of making the Ba to bring it. The deceased says: "I am the Bennu, the Ba of Rā, the "guide of the gods of the Tuat. Their Baiu (souls) "come forth upon earth to do the will of their Kau, "therefore let my Ba come forth to do the will of my



The "Doubles" of Ani and his wife drinking water in the Other World.

"Ka." Now the vignette of this Chapter in the Papyrus of Ani is a heart , which proves that in the XVIIIth dynasty the heart was somehow associated with the Ba and the Ka, and we must, it seems to me, conclude that the Ba was the soul of the Ka, and that its seat of being was in the Ka.

THE HEART.

In Egyptian *ab*¹ , which literally means "heart," is used to express wish, longing, desire, lust, will, courage, mind, wisdom, sense, intelligence, manner, disposition,

¹ The Semitic word for "heart" (Heb. לֵב, Syr. لُب, Arab. لُب, Eth. ልብ) may be connected with this word.

attention, intention, etc., and it is clear that the heart was regarded as the seat of life, and as the home of the passions, both good and bad, and as the seat of the pleasures derived from eating, drinking, and the carnal appetite. There appears to have been a soul which was connected with the heart. It was not, I believe, the soul as we usually understand it, but the heart-soul.¹ The importance of the heart to the deceased will be readily understood from the fact that no less than five Chapters of the Book of the Dead (XXVI-XXX) are devoted to its preservation. In one of these (XXVI) the deceased prays for a heart, for, if he has no heart, he says: "I cannot eat of the cakes of Osiris on the east bank of the Lake of Flowers. . . . With the mastery of my heart I am master of my arms and legs, and I can do whatsoever my Ka pleaseth, and my soul will not be fettered at the gates of the Tuat." Here, clearly, we see that the welfare of the soul depends upon that of the heart. In the XXVIIth Chapter the deceased appeals to the "stealers of hearts"² not to take his heart-soul away; and in the XXVIIIth he prays that his heart-soul may not be carried off by the War-gods of Heliopolis,³ and that it may not be given to Suti (Set). The vignette represents the deceased seated and clasping his heart to his breast with his left hand, in the presence of a monster, the form of which appears to be derived from that of the ourang-outang, or the soko, of the forests of the Sûdân. In the XXIXth Chapter the deceased prays that his heart may be neither taken away from him, nor killed, and he identifies himself with Horus, the "dweller in hearts," and with the "lord of hearts, the slayer of the heart." In Chapter XXX he addresses with reverence the heart of Osiris, and the intestines [of the god] and the Four Sons of Horus, who protect the viscera. The contents of the famous "Heart-Chapter" (XXXB) have already been described; in this the heart and its soul are addressed by the deceased.

¹ On the Heart-soul, *Hâti*, see *infra*, p. 137.

² ³

Among modern African peoples the heart of both man and beast is regarded as the source of all life, emotion, passion, movement, and strength, and in the case of man the heart is often identified with the soul.¹ Thus the Ba-Huana call the soul and the heart by the same name—"Bun."² The priests of Ogun used to take out the hearts of human victims, and reduce them to powder, which they mixed with rum and sold to persons who wished to be endowed with great courage. Such people swallowed the mixture, and believed that by doing so they absorbed all the courage of the dead.³ Among the Nandi the warrior always ate a small portion of the heart of the dead man in order to make himself brave.⁴ The heart of the lion, the elephant, and other mighty beasts has always been prized, and eaten joyfully by the natives, and as a proof that the custom is still observed we may quote the experience of the unfortunate Lieut. Boyd Alexander. After he killed a lion, and the beast had been skinned, John, his cook, secured all but a little corner of the heart, and having dried it took it home to make strong the heart of his little son.⁵

THE SPIRIT-SOUL (KHU).

The exact meaning of the word Khu, or, as it is written in the Pyramid Texts *Aakhu*, is very hard to discover, and authorities have differed greatly in their translations of the word, and in their descriptions of what the Khu is. That it was a very important portion of a man is clear from texts of all periods, and there is no doubt that it was supposed to be eternal. The Pyramid Texts prove that the Khu of the gods lived in heaven, and thither wended the Khu of a man as soon as ever the prayers said over the dead body enabled it to do so. King Unás "stood at the head of the Khu,"⁶ *i.e.*, he was the chief of all the Khu; and when the souls of the gods transferred themselves from their own spirit-bodies to

¹ Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, pp. 126, 127.

² Torday and Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴ Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 27.

⁵ *From the Niger to the Nile*, p. 61.

⁶ Line 71.

Unäs, their Khu were before Unäs.¹ The god received the king as a brother, and placed him among the "imperishable Khu."² The last passage is important, for the hieroglyphic determinatives suggest that the Khu were beings of light, comparable to the stars, and the evidence of other passages supports this view, and indicates that the Khu of a man was the intangible, ethereal, transparent portion of his immaterial economy, to which modern nations have given the name of "spirit." The Khu is mentioned in connection with the Ba and the Khaibit (Soul and Shadow),³ and with the Ba and the Ka (Soul and Double),⁴ but it is clear that it is something quite distinct from the Ka, Ba, and Khaibit, though in some respects it must have possessed characteristics similar to these immaterial entities of man. We have seen that the texts speak of man having more than one "soul," and that the Egyptian, like the modern African, thought that he possessed three at least, the Ka, or Double, the Ba, or Heart-soul, and the Khu. The Khaibit or Shadow was confused at times with the Ka. It appears, then, that the Khu is the Spirit, or Spirit-soul of a man, which it was impossible to injure or kill, and that it was the vital principle of a man and was immortal. The Ka perished if offerings were not provided for it, and the Ba (Heart-soul) might, it was thought, also die, but the Khu was "imperishable."

Appertaining to the Khu was the Sekhem , the functions of which are not known exactly; the word means "power," and it may be an immaterial personification of the energy of a man. To King Pepi it is said: "Thy Sekhem cometh among the Khu";⁵ "thy Sekhem is pure among the Khu";⁶ "thou art pure, thy Ka is pure, thy Ba is pure, thy Sekhem is pure."⁷ Osiris and every god had his Sekhem, and Rā is called the "Great Sekhem, the Sekhem among the Sekhemu."⁸

¹ Line 522.

²  Tetä, l. 289.

³ Book of the Dead, Chapter XCI.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Chapter CLXXXIII, l. 35.

⁵ Line 13. ⁶ Line 113. ⁷ Line 112.

⁸ Unäs, ll. 514, 515.

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From the above facts we are able to state the following:—

When an Egyptian was born he was believed to possess a physical body (Khat) and an immaterial Double (Ka), which lived inside the body and was associated closely with the Ba, which dwelt in the heart, and which appears to have been connected with the Shadow of the physical body. Somewhere in the body lived the Khu or Spirit-soul, the nature of which was unchangeable, incorruptible, and immortal. When the body died there could be raised from it by means of words, holy or magical, and ceremonies performed by the priests, a



Isis giving bread and water to the Heart-soul.

Spirit-body called Sāhu, which the Khu (Spirit-soul) could inhabit at pleasure. The Ka, Ba, or Heart-soul, and Shadow dwelt in the tomb with the body, or wandered about outside it and away from it, when they desired to do so. Their existence was finite, and appears to have terminated whenever funerary offerings failed to be made to them. As all tomb-endowments came to an end sooner or later, the destruction of the Ka and its soul and shadow was certain. On the other hand, the Sāhu, or Spirit-body, which was revived from the physical body, was wholly independent of offerings, for it derived its sustenance from the Khu, or Spirit-soul, and this was self-existent and immortal. Therefore it was the Sāhu which entered heaven and lived with Osiris and the blessed for all eternity. This being so it is easy to

understand why the Egyptians took such pains to preserve the bodies of their dead by mummification, and why the custom of embalming the dead continued in Egypt for some centuries after the introduction of Christianity into that country, in fact until the doctrine preached by Saint Anthony became known. This great ascetic taught men to believe that Christ would, at the Resurrection, give them back their bodies in a glorified state, and that therefore mummification was unnecessary for the genesis of the spiritual body.

If we consider the facts stated in the preceding paragraphs as a whole, and compare the Egyptian's belief about the constituent parts of his spiritual entity with the beliefs of other ancient peoples, we find nothing resembling it. It stands quite alone, and it is not until we come to examine the modern African beliefs concerning the soul that we find anything similar to it. It will be seen from the facts given below that among the tribes of the Sûdân and Western Africa exactly parallel beliefs exist, and we are driven to conclude that the eschatological ideas of the Egyptians were not peculiar to themselves, but belonged to the indigenous peoples of those parts of Africa.

THE DUAL-SOUL OF THE MODERN AFRICAN.

Speaking generally, the belief in a future life among modern Africans is as universal as the belief in God. The Masai say that when a man dies and is eaten by a hyena, all is over with him, and that the soul does not come to life again. They say also, somewhat inconsistently, that when a medicine man dies, or a rich man, and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them.¹ The Bari think that when a man dies, the person is gone absolutely, never to return, in fact that a man is "worn out."² The Bahima believe in the spiritual existence of chiefs,³ according to Sir Harry Johnston, but Mr. Cunningham says that they have no

¹ Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 307. See also Johnston, *Uganda*, p. 832.

² Frobenius, *Die Heiden-Neger*, p. 137.

³ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. I, p. 631.

belief in kings or warriors coming back.¹ Neither the Masai nor the Bahima appear to bury the bodies of ordinary folk, for the former throw them out into the bush, and the latter hang them on the branches of trees for the hyenas to eat,² but kings and chiefs are buried, because it is thought that their existence does not end with the death of their bodies. Although the African may say that he does not believe in the resurrection of the body, his acts prove that he takes the existence of the soul in another life for granted. Mr. Nassau found that the very people who were declaring unhesitatingly that men came to an end like goats, dogs, and chickens, took the greatest care of their family fetish, and sacrificed diligently to the spirits of their ancestors, and appealed to them for help in their family undertakings.³

In West Africa the belief in the DUAL-SOUL, *i.e.*, the soul of the body, and the soul, or, as we may call it, the "Spirit-soul," is well-nigh universal. The soul of the body, the Egyptian Ba, is mortal, but the Spirit-soul, the Egyptian Khu, is immortal. Nothing is soulless to the African, and even matter is thought to be a form of soul, of a low order it is true, which souls of a higher nature can make use of.⁴ It is generally thought that, in addition to the Body-soul and the Spirit-soul, man possesses also a Life-soul and a Dream-soul. The Life-soul is viewed in different ways by different peoples. According to some it is of equal importance with the Body-soul and the Spirit-soul, but others regard it as a member of a class of spirits which is associated with man from his birth to his death. All agree that it has its abode in the physical heart, and that it can be drawn away from the heart by witchcraft; when the Life-soul is stolen from a man his body dies. Some regard the Life-soul as a sort of guardian spirit, and at times it is spoken of as if it were a man's conscience, and it is important to note that a kind of worship is accorded to it as to spirits. The general

¹ *Uganda and Its Peoples*, p. 12.

² *Uganda*, p. 632. There is no future life for women or common folk.—*Ibid.*, p. 832.

³ *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 53.

⁴ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 199.

drift of the evidence which we have about it suggests that this Life-soul is nothing more nor less than the soul of the heart, and that it was known to the Egyptians. In the Chapters of the Book of the Dead which deal with the heart are two words commonly rendered heart by translators. The first of these is *ab*, , and the second is *hāti*,¹ . Thus in Chapter XXXA the deceased says: "My *ab*, my mother! My *hāti*, my being!" It is quite easy to say that *ab* and *hāti* are synonyms, and to translate accordingly, but the Egyptian must have made some distinction in his mind when he used them, and it seems to me that in the earliest times *ab* meant the physical heart, and *hāti* the soul of the heart, or the state, or quality, or mental condition, of the heart. Both the *ab* and the *hāti* could be stolen, as the titles of the Chapters in the Book of the Dead prove, and the result would be in either case the same to the body, namely, death. The *ab* could be given to a man (Chapter XXVI), or carried away from a man (Chapter XXIX), or struck dead (Chapter XXIXA), or a model of it could be made in *sehert* stone (Chapter XXIXB), or it could be spoken against, or cursed, or bewitched (Chapters XXXA, XXXB). The *hāti* could only be carried off, or stolen, and the vignette of Chapter XXVII in the Papyrus of Ani proves that the deceased adored it, for we see him standing reverently before the *hāti*, which, in the form of a heart, is set upon a pedestal before him . In the scene of the weighing of the heart which is found in fine papyri, the heart seen in one pan of the Balance probably represents the *Hāti*, or Heart-soul.

The name "Dream-soul" is given to that part of a man which is thought sometimes to leave him during sleep, and to wander away into strange places, where it sometimes meets with remarkable adventures. Sometimes it enjoys its freedom so greatly, and so delights in its intercourse with other Dream-souls, that it forgets to come back to its body before the man wakes up. If it

¹ In Coptic Ⲭⲏⲧ .

does come back in time its reunion with its body dulls its faculties, and the person, in his efforts to remember or to tell what he has seen, relates only the vagaries of a dream. If it does not come back in time, the man to whom it belongs falls seriously ill,¹ and recourse must be had to a witch-doctor, if his life is to be preserved. The witch-doctor professes to be able to bring back the Dream-soul to its home, but there is a great deal of fraud connected with the process. It is most important for a man that every soul of his shall be in him, for any breach in the intercommunication of his souls is followed by the decay and death of his body. If the Dream-soul of a man has lost itself, a new one must be found to take its place, for the abode where it lives in a man must in no case be left empty, otherwise a "Sisa," *i.e.*, the soul of some person who has not been properly buried, will step into it and dwell there. Unfortunately a Sisa is usually accompanied by a crowd of devils, or evil spirits, and these enter a man with it, and produce illnesses of all kinds, fever, delirium, convulsions, etc., which must cause death unless they and the Sisa can be ejected from the body.² It is a prevalent belief that Dream-souls which lose themselves are caught by witch-doctors, who set traps for them in a systematic manner, and then sell them to their original owners at high prices. Though a man has a Dream-soul substitute in him, which in a general way is satisfactory, he is never really comfortable until he gets his own Dream-soul back, and he usually spares no pains to effect its capture. Sometimes the witch-doctor is paid by an enemy of the man to whom the Dream-soul belongs, to keep it in captivity and thereby to cause his death; in such cases it is not only caught and kept, but tortured, and hung up over the canoe fire, and so on.³

Yet another soul of man is believed to exist by the Africans, *viz.*, the Bush-soul. It lives in some animal in the forest, a pig, or a leopard, and offerings are made to it; these are placed in small huts built far away in the forest. If the animal in which is a Bush-soul dies or

¹ Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 55.

² Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 203.

³ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 206.

is killed, the man who is connected with the soul dies also; and if the man dies or is killed, the animal containing his Bush-soul contrives to die or be killed also.¹ These three souls, the Life-soul, the Dream-soul, and the Bush-soul, appear to be phases of the Body-soul, and it seems to me that actually the Egyptian and the African only know of the Dual-soul, *i.e.*, the Body-soul and the Spirit-soul.

TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS AND TRANSFORMATION.

The Egyptians believed in the transmigration of souls, and their priests composed a series of Chapters,² the recital of which enabled the souls of the dead to take any form they pleased. A soul could become a golden hawk, a divine hawk, a *tchatcha* chief, a god of light, a lily,³ the god Ptah, a Bennu bird, a heron, a "living soul," a swallow, a serpent, and a crocodile. It could remain in each of these so long as it pleased, presumably without losing its identity, and it could pass from one form to another at pleasure. By passing into the body of a Light-god it became an equal of the luminaries of heaven, as a bird it could explore the sky, as a serpent the earth, and as a crocodile it could travel whither it pleased in the waters. Among modern Africans the belief is current that the souls of men make periodic migrations into hyenas,⁴ in order to attack and injure or kill those who have done their bodies harm. Dr. Junker's servant Ahmad told him a story of a woman in Sennaar who had been turned into a hyena⁵ by witchcraft, an occurrence of which, he assured him, he had been an eye-witness.⁶ The human soul which

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

² See Book of the Dead, Chapters LXXVI-LXXXVIII.

³ It is curious to find a flower mentioned in this category, for though the African gives a soul to vegetable matter, he denies to it mind and intelligence.—Leonard, *The Lower Niger*, p. 188.

⁴ Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II, p. 322.

⁵ The Nandi believe that hyenas talk like human beings and that they hold converse with the spirits of the dead. They say the hyenas are hermaphrodites, and they are supposed to put on spectacles, and an apparatus to assist their hearing; they are supposed to intercede with the spirits of the dead, so that the lives of children placed on their paths may be spared.—Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 7.

⁶ Junker's *Travels in Africa*, Vol. I, p. 333.

enters into an animal does not necessarily lose its human personality, or change into that of a beast, and the belief in this possibility does not include the idea of a permanent residence in the animal.¹ A human soul in an animal may do harm to members of its own family, as in the case of the soul-possessed elephant at Benita in 1867, which was laying waste a certain plantation. When the owner was asked why he did not shoot it, he said he dared not, as the spirit of his father who had died recently had passed into it.² The Wanyamwesi of East Africa believe in transmigration, both during life and after it. In Mashonaland they believe that both the living and the dead can change themselves into animals, either to execute some vengeance, or to procure something they wish for. Thus a man will change himself into a hyena or lion to steal a sheep and make a good meal of it, or into a serpent to avenge himself on some enemy.³ According to the Barotse, the spirit of a chief takes up its abode in a hippopotamus, but yet they carry water to his tomb.⁴ The tribes of the Lower Niger think that certain individuals can transform the human body into that of an animal, and *vice versâ*, and that human beings can be possessed by souls of animals. The human soul does not alter the character of the animal, but the animal soul in a man debases him.⁵ This power of transformation is called "Ehehe." Major A. G. Leonard mentions the case of a woman of Utshi who was accused of causing the death of one Oru, who was devoured by a crocodile. This she was supposed to have done by projecting her Spirit-soul into the crocodile which devoured him, and not by transforming herself into the animal.⁶ In Southern Guinea it is believed that a man can turn himself into a tiger and destroy the lives and property of his fellow men. He can also turn his enemy into an elephant and kill him.⁷ Among the Yorubas a belief is current to the effect

¹ Nassau, *Fetichism*, p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³ Declé, in Nassau, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 230, 231.

⁴ Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 74.

⁵ Leonard, *The Lower Niger and Its Tribes*, p. 189.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁷ Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 398.

that men can transform themselves into trees, shrubs, rocks, etc., as well as into animals.¹ Up and down the main Congo the Bantu populations consider it possible for the spirits of dead and living men to enter the bodies of buffaloes, leopards, and crocodiles, in order that they may inflict injuries on their enemies. The Busoko cannibals of the lower Aruwimi believe in a kind of transmigration of souls.² Thus from one side of Africa to the other we find that the belief in the transmigration of souls is general, but it may be noted that among modern peoples it is usually associated with evil intent. The object of all the transformations provided for the Egyptian was to do good to him, and to benefit him, and not to enable him to do harm to other people. Still, the facts prove that the Egyptians and the modern Africans held precisely similar views about the trans-migrations of souls.

NEW BIRTH AND REINCARNATION.

There are at least two passages in the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead which show that the Egyptians believed in the possibility of a "second birth." The first occurs in the LXIVth Chapter, in which the deceased identifies himself with the "God of the hidden soul, the Creator of the gods," and refers to his second birth,³ and the second in the CLXXXIIInd Chapter, wherein Osiris is addressed as "he who giveth birth to men and women a second time."⁴ The context in the latter case suggests that the new birth or re-birth here referred to did not take place in this world, but in the kingdom of Osiris, and in the former case the new birth of the deceased seems to resemble the re-birth of Rā, the Sun-god, who, it was thought, was re-born daily. In neither case can the re-birth be considered as re-incarnation as the word is understood at the present time.

¹ Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 123.

² Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 632.

³ A sequence of Egyptian hieroglyphs: a lotus flower, a seated man, a bird, a square, a circle, a crescent moon, and two vertical bars.

⁴ A sequence of Egyptian hieroglyphs: a lotus flower, a seated man, a bird, a bird, a seated man, a bird, a bird, and a bird.

Among modern African peoples it is believed that a considerable number of the souls of the dead pass into the bodies of their descendants, and live there permanently.¹ The idea of reincarnation is very strong in the Niger Delta tribes. Among them, Miss Kingsley says: "Most—I think I may say all—human souls of the 'surviving soul' class are regarded as returning to the earth again, and undergoing a reincarnation shortly after the due burial of the soul."² When a baby arrives in the house after the death of a chief, articles which once belonged to deceased members of the house are presented to it, and then, according to the one it picks out, it is decided who that baby really is—See, Uncle So-and-so knows his own pipe, etc.,—and I have often heard a mother reproaching a child for some fault say: 'Oh, we made a big mistake when we thought you were So-and-so.'³ According to popular belief, a certain proportion of spirits, who have recuperated their evidently diminishing energy during their stay in spirit-land, are obliged to be re-born into their own family. Thus we have a belief in a reversion to the ancestral type. These spirits, who are chosen by the "dormant or self-existent Creator," are those of men of strong character and moral stamina, especially those who have been good domestic managers, traders, farmers, or hunters, but not necessarily men of commanding ability or marked individuality. The re-birth of the soul into the human body is not merely a belief, in the ordinary sense of the word, but a conviction, that neither argument, satire, nor ridicule will uproot or even shake. Proof of re-birth depends on physical and external similarities of appearance between the living or human and the departed or spirit elements, and in making comparisons particular attention is paid to birth-marks, scars, cicatrices, defects, deformities, etc. In addition, the expression of the intelligence and individuality is taken into consideration, and the testimony of the dream-soul communications, and the feeling of the absolute immutability of the creative principle. This conviction is so inflexible,

¹ Nassau, *Fetichism*, p. 56.

² *Travels in West Africa*, p. 461.

³ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 145.

handed down as it has been in uninterrupted succession for thousands and thousands of years, from father to son, and from mother to daughter, that when an infant having a mark of some kind on its body dies, and another happens to be born with a mark in any way similar, or bearing the slightest resemblance to it, it is at once said to be the same child born over again. It is the custom of the tribes all over the Niger Delta to give the child a name which implies "re-born."¹

Many pygmy tribes think that their dead relations live again in the form of the red bush-pig,² and the Banza of the Western Mubangi basin believe that their chiefs are reincarnated in chimpanzies.³

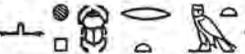
DEATH.

The Egyptian theologians believed that there was a time when there was no death,⁴ but that time was when the god Temu alone existed, and before he created the heavens and the earth, and men and "gods." How and why death came the texts do not tell, but, judging from the views which are held in the Sûdân at the present time, we may assume that the Egyptians regarded death as the means necessary to enable man to continue his existence after the breath left his material body. The present world was to them merely the ante-chamber of the Other World; a man's house in this world was a temporary abode, but his tomb was his "eternal house," .⁵ The philosopher counselled men to enjoy themselves,⁶ to anoint and scent their bodies, to wear garlands and lilies, to cherish the woman beloved, to sing and dance, to put away trouble and sorrow, and

¹ Leonard, *The Lower Niger and Its Tribes*, p. 210 f.

² Johnston, *Uganda*, p. 539.

³ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 632.

⁴ . Text of Pepi I, l. 664.

⁵ The Dahoman considers this present life as only a means of attaining an eternal status: Earth is only a temporary dwelling-place; Hades is their "home."—Skertchley, *Dahomey as It is*, p. 462.

⁶ , "make a happy day."

to think only on things which yield pleasure, until the day when they must come into port in the land that loveth silence.¹ "Follow after enjoyment and forget care," was the advice given by his soul to the man weary of life,² and the dead lady That-I-em-ḥetep advised her husband to eat, drink, marry wives, enjoy himself, and to have no thought or care or sorrow so long as he lived. For, she adds, Amenti is a place of stupor and darkness, and Death calleth every one to him, gods and men, and great and little are all one to him, and he seizeth the babe as well as the old man.³ The ordinary Egyptian felt as did old Chinsunse, who said to Livingstone: "We live only a few days here, but we live again after death. We do not know where, or in what condition, or with what companions, for the dead never return to tell us. Sometimes the dead do come back, and appear to us in dreams; but they never speak nor tell us where they have gone, nor how they fare."⁴ In spite of this, however, the Egyptian did not devote all his life to the pursuit of pleasure, and he who had the necessary means prepared an "eternal house" for himself, so that when death claimed him, he might have a "secret place" wherein to free himself from his material body, and rise in the Spirit-body, and depart to the Other World which, in spite of all the assertions of his priests, must ever have been a place of the deepest mystery.

The modern African believes that more than half the deaths which occur are caused by witchcraft,⁵ and that usually a body only dies because someone has stolen one of its souls.⁶ Among many tribes death is always supposed to be caused by witchcraft, but a few peoples are ready to admit that some deaths are due to the call of Njambi (*i.e.*, God, or Providence).⁷ Here and

¹ *A.Z.*, 1873, p. 60.

²  § 16.

³ See the stele in the British Museum, No. 1027.

⁴ Livingstone, *The Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, p. 121.

⁵ Miss Kingsley says "sixty per cent."—*West African Studies*, p. 209.

⁶ Frobenius, *Childhood of Man*, p. 155.

⁷ Nassau, *Fetichism*, pp. 117, 170.

there a people, *e.g.*, the Wakamba, believe that death from natural causes is quite possible. If an old man dies they say, "he was due to die:" it is fate (*inguè*).¹ Livingstone in his definition of the primitive African faith says that "death is often a punishment of guilt, such as witchcraft."² The Bantu believe in a "spirit of death," and according to a legend of Kintu, the founder of the Unyoro-Uganda dynasty, it was attached to this king in the form of a young man, owing to an act of disobedience to God on his part.³ Among them death is in no way regarded as a cessation of being. They have no idea of the resurrection of the body, for that is buried, but the spirit, the man himself, lives on. Where and how he lives they know not.⁴ The Baluba of South Central Congoland think that death in no way causes a separation of soul and body; it is a stoppage of the heart produced by: (1) A fatal accident, or (2) the power of a sorcerer, or (3) the spirit of a deceased relative. Some have an idea that a spirit in the Other World complains to Kabezya-Mpungu that it is lonely, and asks that So-and-so who is living on earth may be sent to him. Kabezya-Mpungu then despatches a messenger who fastens on the person whom he has come to summon. This is sickness, and when God gives the signal this messenger begins to compress the heart, and continues to do so until it has ceased to beat. That is why they say of a sick man: "Such an one has seized him"; and of a dead man, "God has visited him, the All-Powerful has got possession of him"; or again, "his father has called him," or, "his mother has slain him."⁵

Among the tribes of the Lower Niger death is not only accepted and looked on as a spiritual causation, but death itself is personified, as with the Egyptians,⁶ and dealt with as a powerful spirit, who gains the mastery over the life of the human *ego* by depriving the soul of the body, *i.e.*, ejecting the former, so that dissolution of the latter

¹ Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 491.

² *The Zambesi*, p. 521.

³ Johnston, *Uganda*, p. 606.

⁴ Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 252.

⁵ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 642.

⁶ See the quotation from the Stele of That-I-em-hetep, p. 144.

supervenes. The native regards death as a relentless and inexorable demon who, although omnivorous and a glutton who is always gorging himself, is not so much a devourer of souls as a carrier away of them. With this description may be compared the passages in the XVIIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead, which describe: (1) The god with the face of a dog and the eyebrows of a man, who feedeth on the dead, who watcheth at the Bight of the Lake of Fire, who devoureth the bodies of the dead, and swalloweth hearts, who voideth filth, and remaineth unseen. The name of this being is "Devourer for millions of years." (2) The great god who carrieth away the soul, who eateth hearts, who devoureth offal, the guardian of the darkness, the dweller in the Seker boat. His name is either Suti, or Smam-ur, the Earth-soul. The latter passage suggests that the ancient and awful god Seker, who sat enthroned in darkness in the bowels of the desert west of Memphis, is Death himself. Though the native believes that in some cases death is due to some former act of omission or commission on the part of the deceased, and in others to natural decay, *e.g.*, senile decay, he thinks that nearly every death is, in the first instance, due to or associated with witchcraft.¹ When a person falls ill among the Nandi it is attributed to the anger of an ancestor, and when he is nearing death his male relatives say: "The soul has become very small." Mr. Hollis² records a Nandi myth to the effect that the early dwellers on the earth were threatened by a dog with death, unless they gave him milk from their gourd and beer through their straw. "If you do this," said he, "I will arrange for you to go to the river when you die, and to come to life again on the third day." The people laughed at the dog, and gave him some milk and beer to drink off a stool. The dog was angry at not being treated like a human being, but he drank the milk and beer, and as he went away he said: "All people will die, and the moon alone will return to life." This is why the dead do not return, and why the moon reappears after three days' absence.³ Two other causes of death

¹ Leonard, *The Tribes of the Lower Niger*, p. 171 ff.

² Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 69, 70.

³ Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 98.

are mentioned by Miss Kingsley, viz., some action on the part of the Bush-soul, and reincarnated disease. When a man falls ill, he sometimes thinks that his illness is the result of anger on the part of his Bush-soul, and therefore causes offerings to be made to it in a little hut in the forest built on the last place in which it was seen. As no one but an Ebumtup, or person endowed with the gift of second sight, can see his own Bush-soul, the services of a witch-doctor are obtained, and attempts are made by him to placate the Bush-soul. If these are not successful, the sick man dies. Or, the Bush-soul may through some rash act on its part become wounded or killed, and then its owner will die. A reincarnated soul may have suffered from some disease in a former state of existence in the body, and this having been reincarnated with the soul causes the death of the new body.¹

¹ *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 459-461.

CHAPTER XX.

SPIRITS AND THE SPIRIT-WORLD.

THE Egyptians believed that the spirits of the dead, whose bodies had been buried with the proper rites and ceremonies, went ultimately to a region which was set apart for them and was called "ꜥuat," *  . It follows of necessity that very few Egyptians could afford the expense incurred in embalming, in hewing a tomb in the rock, and in purchasing funerary furniture and offerings, etc., therefore the bodies of a very large number of people must have been disposed of by some means or other each year without "burial," as the high-class Egyptian understood the word. Kings and members of the royal family, nobles, and officials and priests were, no doubt, "buried," but the working classes, and peasants and slaves, must have been thrust into shallow graves in the sand on the edge of the desert, from which they were ultimately dragged by wild beasts and devoured. There is no *proof* that the dead were wilfully cast forth into the desert to be eaten by beasts, as the Masai cast their dead into the bush and invite the hyenas to come and eat them, but it is quite clear that the dead must have been got rid of by some such means. The cultivable land of Egypt was too valuable to be devoted to them, and the number of tombs which remain is remarkably small when we consider the scores of millions of human beings who lived in Egypt under thirty dynasties of Pharaohs. We have already seen that the Kau and Body-souls of the dead perished when the supply of offerings failed, or when the dead had no friends to recite the magical formulæ which produced offerings, but there remained the immortal Spirit-souls of the dead, and these must have proceeded to the Land of Spirits when they departed from their bodies. Therefore this region must have been inhabited by the spirits of all the human beings who had ever been

They could be placated by service and offerings, and they showed their pleasure and gratitude by doing acts of kindness to their worshippers, and by assisting them when in trouble and difficulties. Those who were wise spared no pains in obtaining their help, and in disarming their opposition. The spirits of the dead were regarded with much the same feelings as the gods. Their power for evil was believed to be greater in the Tuat than upon earth, for their freedom from the body gave them greater facilities for doing harm to men. They could, moreover, move about unseen, and escape from invisible spirit-foes was well-nigh impossible. There were good spirits as well as bad, but the Book of the Dead practically ignores the former, and its magical formulae were directed entirely against the operations of evil spirits. Though naturally of a gay and light-hearted disposition, the Egyptian must have lived in a perpetual state of fear of spirits of all kinds, spirits of calamity, disease, and sickness, spirits of angry gods and ancestors, and above all the spirit of Death. His imagination filled the world with spirits whose acts seemed to him to be generally malevolent, and his magical and religious literature and his amulets testify to the very real terror with which he regarded his future existence in the world of spirits. Escape from such spirits was impossible, for they could not die.

The views of modern African peoples about spirits and their world throw much light upon the denizens of the Egyptian Tuat, and a few of them are here noted. Among the Nandi the Oik, *i.e.*, devils, or spirits of departed kinsfolk, cause sickness and death, and when they move about underground earthquakes take place. They appear to men in dreams. They may be propitiated by offerings, and prayers must be made to them.¹ The people of the Congo believe that souls can act as demons, and must be propitiated. The lesser spirits, at any rate, are human in their intelligence, can be flattered, propitiated, deceived; are sometimes kind to the individuals or clans they patronize, or who adopt them as protectors or allies.² Departed souls must be kept in a good

¹ Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 41, 69, 82, 100.

² Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 636.

humour, and must, if possible, be kept at a distance ; food and drink must be given to them, and huts built for them.¹ In West Africa the natives mourn the loss of the bodies of their dead, whilst at the same time they drive away their spirits with yells and noises of every kind. These spirits are worshipped, with worship of a deprecatory character, but their continued presence is not desired.² The Dinka and Bongo tribes know no spirits except those which are evil.³ The evil spirits in Ankole are very numerous, and they cause sicknesses.⁴ Some spirits which have inhabited human bodies are supposed to have existed before birth as well as after death. It is considered possible for a minor evil spirit to be born with a man's soul, and to enter a man's body during sleep.⁵

The Ibo define the soul as the fruit of the body, and the spirit as the living or vital energy of a person, in other words, the soul whose material body has died or perished. They make no difference between soul and spirit.⁶ In Northern Guinea the spirits of the dead are supposed to mingle freely with the living, and they convey warnings and admonitions to human beings in dreams.⁷ Messages can be sent to spirits by dying people,⁸ and Mr. H. Ward actually heard a message being given to a slave, who was to be beheaded, for a spirit by a man who said : " And tell him when you meet, that his biggest war-canoe, which I inherit, is rotten."⁹ In Dahomey every act of importance was reported to the king's ancestor by the spirit of a man who was killed on purpose.¹⁰

The Egyptians speak in their religious texts of Heart-souls, Spirit-souls, Kau, or Doubles, Sāhu, or Spirit-bodies, and Sekhemu as if they formed separate

¹ Frobenius, *Childhood of Man*, p. 158.

² Nassau, *Fetichism*, p. 59.

³ Frobenius, *Die Heiden-Neger*, pp. 343, 361.

⁴ Johnston, *Uganda*, p. 631.

⁵ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 200 ; *Travels in West Africa*, p. 230.

⁶ Leonard, *The Lower Niger*, p. 140.

⁷ Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 211.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 220, 394.

⁹ H. Ward, *A Voice from the Congo*, p. 144.

¹⁰ Burton, *A Mission to Gelele*, Vol. II, p. 24 ; Skertchley, *Dahomey as It is*, p. 339.

orders of spirits, and we find that modern African peoples also arrange the spirits in different groups. In each case the grouping does not mean, it seems to me, that the nature and character of the spirits of the various groups are different, but only that their occupations are different. Dr. Nassau classifies the spirits of West Africa thus :—

The first class is known by the name of "Anina" or "Malina," and consists of souls or spirits, embodied and disembodied; they take a great interest in human affairs, and especially in those of the families of which they are or were members.

The second class is called "Abambo," which may be rendered "ghosts." Where they live and why they appear is unknown. They are never asked to appear, and are rarely worshipped, and their coming is dreaded. They are the spirits of dead tribal ancestors, as distinguished from the spirits of strangers. The natives cannot decide whether they are benevolent or malignant, or whether to love or hate them. The Abambo are the spirits which are supposed to possess men; they are cast out only with the greatest difficulty. When Abambo appear to human beings they rarely speak to them, they only terrify them.

The third class is the "Ombwiri," plural "Awiri." The Awiri resemble the fauns, dryads, and forest spirits, which live in rocks, trees, etc., and resent the trespass of human beings on their land. The Ombwiri is regarded as a guardian spirit, and each man has his own ombwiri, for which he provides a small house near his own. The Awiri are the only spirits which have no priesthood; they hold intercourse with men direct. They are kindly disposed towards men, but religious services, which really constitute an ancestral worship, must be performed in their honour.

The fourth class is the "Sinkinda," and consists chiefly of the spirits of people who were in a humble position in this world, and were distinguished neither for greatness nor goodness. Besides these, the class includes spirits, or perhaps demons, whom Njambi (*i.e.*, God) created, but to whom He never gave bodily existence. Almost all Sinkinda are evilly disposed.

One or more of them can enter into a human body, but sickness follows their coming; they are never visible to man. Sometimes they are called "Ivavi," *i.e.*, "messengers," and they bring tidings, good or bad, as the case may be; a "messenger" gives his information by the mouth of some living member of the family, whose body he is occupying temporarily. With such "messengers" may be compared the messengers



mentioned in the Book of the Dead.

In the XXIXth Chapter the deceased calls upon the "messenger of every god" to retreat, and he says: "Even though thou hast come to carry off my living heart-spirit, this living heart-spirit of mine shall not be given to thee." And in the CXXVth Chapter¹ we read of the "messengers" which utter evil accusations, and make calamities to happen.

A fifth class of spirits, the "Myondi," are akin to those of the fourth class, but appear to be less under the control of the witch-doctor than other spirits. They cause sickness, and can help or harm men. They are worshipped always in a deprecatory way. They sometimes take possession of human bodies, and the Sinkinda, Awiri, and Ilâgâ (spirits of foreigners) are invoked to effect their expulsion.²

Authorities differ in their definitions of the powers and functions of the various classes of spirits, which are very difficult to determine, but all agree that some spirits, even those of the same class, are stronger and have greater power for good or evil than others. The powers of a spirit are limited: it cannot do everything. Usually a spirit attends to a particular kind of work, but it is thought that, on occasions, it may attempt to usurp the functions of a spirit of another class. Every class of spirits can be made helpers of man provided that they are entreated with humility, and made friendly by means

¹ Part III, ll. 16, 17.

² Miss Kingsley refers to another class of spirits which resemble the Lares and Penates of the Romans, and belong to the household, and descend by inheritance with the family. In their honour are secretly kept a bundle of fingers, or other bones, nail-clippings, eyes, brains, etc., accumulated from deceased members of successive generations.—*Travels in West Africa*, p. 444.

of offerings.¹ The existence of a sixth class of spirits is considered possible both by Dr. Nassau² and Miss Kingsley,³ viz., those which enter the body of some animal, generally the leopard, with a definite purpose and for a limited time. This purpose is generally the killing of some enemy, and as the strength of the animal is directed by human intelligence and will, the spirit is enabled to carry out its evil design. Many murders are committed in this way, as in the cases of the German wehr-wolf and the French loup-garou. Mr. Bonham Carter, the eminent Legal Secretary at Khartûm, shows that this belief was in operation in the Sûdân in 1903. One Kwat Wâd Awaibung murdered his neighbour Ajak Wâd Deng, and, having pleaded guilty, he said :—“ Ajak owed me a sheep and would not pay me. He said he would show me some of his work, and next day my son was eaten by a crocodile, which was, of course, the work of Kwat, and for that reason I killed him. We had a feud for years, as I was a more successful hippopotamus-hunter than he was, and for that reason he was practising witchery over me and my family.” The explanation of the murder is that Ajak believed that Kwat had sent his soul into the crocodile, which made the animal lie in wait near the river bank where Ajak’s son usually bathed. When the youth came down to the river and entered the water, the crocodile obeyed its natural instinct, and dragged him down and drowned him and ate him. Several witnesses supported Ajak’s statement, and their evidence proved that this belief was shared by the people generally.⁴

The Baluba believe in the existence of a great number of evil spirits called “ Bashangi ” or “ Bakishi, ” who are probably the disembodied souls of wicked sorcerers. They wander about at night, appearing sometimes as shooting stars. They terrify men and scatter death among the villages ; their sole aim is to injure, and their chief happiness is to make people

¹ Nassau, *Fetichism*, p. 64 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³ *Travels in West Africa*, p. 445.

⁴ *Egypt and the Sûdân* (Report), Egypt No. I, 1904, p. 89.

miserable.¹ A very large number of tribes in Africa believe firmly in the existence of a host of evil spirits, which they generally identify with the souls of the dead. Some African peoples, *e.g.*, those of Dahomey, have the curious belief that the same spirit can be in more than one place at the same time. Thus Gêzu's spirit was thought to be on his war-stool in his shed, and also in his own tomb, at one and the same time. A spirit will sometimes remain in Dead-land, and also come back to the earth in the body of a new-born infant; all the king's children were but the transmigrated spirits of the old kings.²

THE PLACE OF DEPARTED SPIRITS.

The Egyptians held several opinions about the places to which spirits departed after the death of their bodies. According to some they went and lived in the bodies of animals and birds, others thought they entered the stars and so lived in the sky, from which they could visit the earth from time to time, and others believed that they lived in the Boat of the Sun. The greater number, however, assumed that they went to a region called *Ṭuat*, which was thought to be situated on the other side of the range of mountains that surrounded the world. On the far side of the *Ṭuat* there was a similar range of mountains, and so we may say that the *Ṭuat* had the form of a long valley, very much like the Nile Valley; it ran parallel to both ranges of mountains and between them, and was on the same plane as the land of Egypt, or of the sky which was above it. In the range of mountains which enclosed Egypt were two holes; from the one on the east the sun rose, in that on the west the sun set. The *Ṭuat* began near the western hole and ended near the eastern hole; thus it was nearly circular in form. It was shut off from Egypt by mountains, and had neither sun, nor moon, nor stars, therefore it was a region of gloom and darkness and a place of fear and horror. A river flowed through the *Ṭuat* Valley, just as the Nile flows through

¹ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 636.

² Skertchley, *Dahomey as It is*, p. 465.

Egypt, and its banks were inhabited by the spirits who had lived in the body in the various nomes of Egypt. The Tuat Valley was divided into sections. Thus there were the Tuat of Thebes, the Tuat of Abydos, the Tuat of Herakleopolis, the Tuat of Memphis, and the Tuat of Saïs; then, bending eastwards, there were the Tuat of Bubastis, the Tuat of Heliopolis, the Tuat of Kher-āha, and so on. Each Tuat contained its own good and evil spirits, who might be well disposed towards native souls, but who were almost certain to be hostile to stranger-souls that came from other parts of Egypt. Thus the Tuat was a duplicate of Egypt, and the dwellers in it were as various as the living inhabitants of Egypt, but the spirits for the most part confined their movements to their own section. The man who wished his soul after death to have the power of moving about from one end of the Tuat to the other took care to make offerings to all the gods of all the Divisions of the Tuat during his lifetime, for such acts of worship were believed to secure for him their help both in this world and in the next. Each Division of the Tuat contained a town which was the seat of the god who ruled it; this town was the equivalent of the metropolis of the nome on earth.

The Egyptian theologians realized at a very early period that the soul of a man would have great difficulty in making its way through the Tuat, therefore they compiled various books which they intended to form Guides to that region of darkness and difficulty. The oldest of these may be called the Book of the Two Ways, and copies¹ of it are found on the coffins of the Middle Empire. According to this a man might go to the abode of the blessed by two ways, by land or by water, but once having set out on one route, the soul could not change to the other; for the two ways were separated by a river of fire. Another Book, called "Am-Tuat,"² describes the journey of Rā through the Tuat. It was intended to illustrate the power of Rā over the kingdom of the dead, but incidentally it gives a considerable amount of information about the Tuat.

¹ See Schack, *Zweiwegebuch*, Leipzig, 1903.

² See my *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, Vol. I, London, 1905.

Rā, or rather the dead body of Rā, makes the journey along the river of the Tuat in a boat, wherein is a crew of gods; each Division is supposed to represent one of the hours of the night, and the goddess of each hour in turn acts as the pilot. In the first hour Rā, or his flesh Āf, travels through the first Division, a distance of 120 *ātru*, when he reaches the gods of the Tuat. The Second and Third Divisions are each 309 (or 480) *ātru* in length and 120 *ātru* in breadth. In the Third Division the kingdom of Osiris is situated, and when there Āf is near Abydos. The Fourth and Fifth Divisions reach from Abydos to Şakḳārah, and include the kingdom of Seker, the god of Death. At this stage of the journey Āf is obliged to leave his boat, for the region is a waterless desert. The boat takes the form of a serpent, and so is enabled to pass through the sand. In the Sixth Division Āf again uses his boat, and sails to the city of Osiris, where this god was said to be buried. In the Seventh Division, which is the secret abode of Osiris, the boat of Āf is stranded because the river has run dry, and it is only moved along by means of the magical words of Isis and Semsu (firstborn gods?). The failure of the water is caused by the serpent Āpep, who has drunk it up. This monster is called "Stinking Face," Neḥa-ḥer, and is 450 cubits long. Āf does not destroy him, but casts a spell on him and then passes him by. The Eighth Division is a continuation of the Seventh, and contains the Secret Circles of Āment; it was situated near Busiris in the Delta. In the Ninth and Tenth Divisions the gods from the boat of Āf assist in preparing the boat for the last stage of the journey. In the Tenth Division Āf finds the Beetle into which he is to transform himself, and in the Eleventh he sees the pits of fire in which the bodies, souls, shadows, and heads of the foes of Osiris are being burnt. In the Twelfth Division the beetle is on the front of the boat, and when the boat has been dragged through the body of a huge serpent 1,300 cubits long, entering at its tail and coming out from its mouth, Āf is found to have transformed himself into the beetle, *i.e.*, into Kheperā, the morning sun. In the vignette to this Division we see that the dead body of Rā is thrown aside in the

Țuat, and that, in the form of the solar disk, Kheperá enters his boat in the sky, and begins his journey across heaven. As Rā, or rather Áf, passed through the Țuat he addressed words to all the beings who were on the banks of the river in each division, and provided them with food and drink. As he journeyed along he seems to have brought light with him, and the gods rejoiced in the temporary lightening of their darkness; as he passed on gloom once more settled down upon them, and the blackness of night again covered them. Fortunate indeed were the souls who were able to secure a passage in the Boat of Áf, for then they would have no reason to fear the fiends on the river bank and the pits of fire. The Book Ám-Țuat was as useful to the living as to the dead, and every picture in it was regarded as the symbol of a magic power which was able to protect the body in this world and the soul in the next.

A third work also was compiled by the priests as a "Guide" to the Țuat, viz., the Book of Gates. In it the Țuat is divided into twelve Divisions, each of which is guarded by a huge fortified Gate, and each Gate is kept by warlike gods and fiery serpents. The kingdom of Osiris occupies a prominent place in this work, and we have in it representations of the Hall of Judgment of this god, and the occupation of the blessed, and the punishment of the wicked. From first to last the Book of Gates¹ represents the Țuat as conceived by the indigenous Egyptians, and the ideas and beliefs



The deceased setting out for the Other World.

expressed therein agree with those of the Book of the Dead. These ideas and beliefs are purely African, and they suggest that the Egyptian Țuat was very much what the "God's Town" or "Njambi's Town" is to the African of to-day. They did not, I believe, grow up in Egypt, but in Central or West Africa. The frequent allusions to "making a way," or

having a way made or opened for the deceased, which are found in the Book of the Dead, show that to reach

¹ See my *Book of Gates (Egyptian Heaven and Hell, Vol. II)*, London, 1905.

the ẖuat the soul was obliged to travel through a forest, in which it was easy to lose the path. The Yoruba "babalawo" (priest) to-day addresses the dead, saying: "May the road be open to you . . . May you find the road good when you go in peace."¹ The road to the ẖuat was so difficult to find, that unless the soul was conducted thither by the Wolf-god Ap-uat, the probability of its losing its way was very great. At times the mantis



The deceased building himself a house in the Other World.

acted as guide, and in the LXXVIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead the deceased says: "I have come into the House of the king; the mantis² led me hither . . . I have made my way, and I have travelled thereon."

The Domain of the ẖuat was, according to one opinion, divided into seven parts, each of which was guarded by a Gate; each Gate had its keeper, its watchman, and its herald. According to another view the Gates were ten in number, and some papyri enumerate fourteen or fifteen and some twenty-one. To pass through them it was necessary for the souls of the dead to know the names of the Gates and the names of the beings who guarded them, in fact, to possess the knowledge of a series of important words of power. Yet another opinion was that the Kingdom of the ẖuat

¹ Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 156.

² Commonly known as the "praying mantis," to which supernatural powers have been attributed by Africans, Arabs, and some European peoples. The Arabs say that it prays with its head turned towards Mekkah! "There were parrots . . . and those most entertaining stick-like little insects known as 'praying mantis,' that hold up two long front legs in a supplicating and prayerful attitude if one attempts to touch them."—L. Gerard, *Hyena of Kallu*, p. 134. "In the south of the Peninsula (Yucatan) you find that curious insect the praying mantis, so-called in allusion to the attitude of its forelegs, which are held as are hands in prayer. These creatures wage remorseless war on one another and fight until the stronger literally pulls its foe's head off."—C. Arnold and F. J. T. Frost, *The American Egypt*, p. 377. For an excellent drawing of the mantis see Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. I, 412; and for a description of the species see Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 938.

was divided into fourteen Aats (Domains), of which only one was devoted to Osiris. One Aat was specially set apart for the gods and another for the Spirits; a third was a region of fire, a fourth contained roaring torrents of water, a fifth was the home of the Nile, a sixth was the home of the Hippopotamus-goddess, and so on. The Domain of Osiris was only one among many, but to the Egyptian it was the most important of them all. In it the god lived surrounded by his ministers and followers like an African king on earth; the former directed the work of the servants of the god, and the latter performed the duties which were assigned to them in the fields wherein grew the Maät wheat, or the "staff of life." On this wheat Osiris and his followers lived. It was a form of Osiris himself, and those who ate it and lived upon it nourished themselves upon their god. The ministers of Osiris formed the aristocracy of Sekhet-Aaru, and their occupations were the same as those of an aristocracy on earth. The personal attendants of Osiris, and his servants, and his field labourers, lived in much the same way as they lived upon earth. Groups of souls belonging to the same family lived together, and the friendships of earth were continued in the Tuat. The souls of husbands and wives were reunited. There parents found their children again and rejoiced in their love, and faithful household servants and slaves ministered to the souls of their masters and mistresses in the Tuat as they had ministered to them upon earth. Many passages in the texts refer to the sexual union of souls, but there is no mention of the begetting of offspring. The population of the Tuat was recruited from the souls who left this earth day by day. The duties which souls performed for Osiris in nowise interfered with the interest which they took in their kinsfolk who lived on the earth, and they were able to watch their affairs and, when necessary, to afford them protection. This idea is well expressed in the following extract from a text of the XVIIIth dynasty:—

"Thou makest a way through the mountains of Kher-neter.¹

"Thou lookest upon thy house of the living,

¹ The Other World.

“Hearing the sound of singing and music in thy hall on this earth.

“Thou workest protection for thy children for ever and ever.”¹

The connection between the souls of the living and the dead was very close, and the belief in it permeated every class in Egypt. If the Egyptians thought, like the modern African, that some men contained souls which had been twice born, they would feel that they had in their midst beings from the Other World, and the influence of such in the affairs of daily life must have been very great. Be this as it may, it is certain that the worship of ancestral and other spirits was always one of the most important factors in their religion, and that the belief in the *Ṭuat* and its spirit-dwellers was a fundamental feature of their spiritual constitution. The “gods,” e.g., Rā, Amen, Ptaḥ, Khnemu, etc., were beings to revere and propitiate when necessary, but none of them ever really occupied in their minds the position of Osiris, King and Judge of the dead. The priests of Amen attempted to force their dogma of the sovereignty of their god over the dead into the minds of the people, but they failed, and the cult of Osiris flourished centuries after they had passed away. The *Ṭuat* was an indigenous African conception, and all its features and characteristics were African, and Osiris its overlord ruled after the manner of an African king.

Under the IVth dynasty every man in Egypt belonged to the king, every yard of ground was the king's; the king was Egypt, and Per-āa (Pharaoh), the “Great House,” was the house in which all men lived. The king disposed of men's lives as he pleased, and their bodies were only buried by his favour. The absolutism of the king of Egypt at that time is well

¹  Sethe,

Urkunden, IV, 1064.

illustrated by the views about kings and chiefs which were current in Africa not many years ago. Among the Manyema a subject shows his submission to a chief by rubbing dust on his shoulders.¹ Baker says that there was never a more supreme despot than Kamrasi. Not only the property, but the families of his subjects were at his disposal. He boasted that "all belonged to him."² Speke saw the subjects of Mtesa throw themselves flat upon their bellies before him and cover their faces with earth;³ the same writer says that in Uganda every man adores the king as a deity.⁴ "Uganda is personified by Mtesa, and no one can say he has seen Uganda until he has been presented to the king."⁵ To the king all territorial chiefs owe allegiance as overlord.⁶ Among the Barotse the people kneel before the king, raise their hands high in the air, and cry out "Great king." Chiefs kneel down and pour water or sand into their hands, and spread it over the king's arms. Then they strike their heads on the ground, and clapping their palms together sing his praises. Personal freedom and personal property are alike non-existent. All the people are the slaves of the king.⁷ In Shoa the king is absolute lord and master of the land, and of the bodies and lives and possessions of all his people.⁸ The Basango regard their chief as a god, and fear to say anything wrong lest he should hear them. They fear both before him and when out of sight.⁹ In Dahomey the men touch the ground with their heads and lips before the king. When a man appears before the king he must cover his head and the upper part of his body with dust, as much as to say, "I am nothing but dirt before thee."¹⁰ And every man belongs to the king.¹¹

¹ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 324.

² *Albert Nyanza*, p. 408.

³ *Journal* (Dent's Reprint), p. 238; and see p. 267.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁶ A. R. Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda*, Vol. I, p. 86.

⁷ Declé, *Three Years*, p. 72.

⁸ Krapf, *Travels*, p. 35.

⁹ Livingstone, *Last Journals*, Vol. II, p. 77.

¹⁰ Burton, *A Mission to Gelele*, Vol. II, p. 341.

¹¹ Skertchley, *Dahomey as It is*, p. 487.

And thus it was with Osiris, Overlord of the Tuat. Every soul in his kingdom belonged to him absolutely, and drew its means of support from him. In the Book *Am-Tuat* we see the god seated on his throne watching the slaughter of those who have rebelled against him; their limbs are fettered, and then they are dragged into the presence of the god and their heads cut off. Treason to the mind of the African king is the gravest of all offences, and is always punished by death, which is usually accompanied by tortures, and thus was treason punished in the Tuat. The headsman of Osiris and his assistants in the Tuat were as busily occupied as are the executioners in the service of African kings at the present day.

With the brief description of the Tuat and of the life led by souls in it given in the preceding paragraphs we may compare the accounts given by travellers of modern African ideas about the Spirit-world. The Bahima believe that the spirits of the dead go to Mitoma, and to arrive there they have to enter the great Ankole forest, and pass under German East Africa. The whiz and hum of passing spirits¹ are frequently heard as they enter the forest on their way to Mitoma. Good and bad go there, but no slaves are admitted, for there is no work to do there. There are no cows there, and no clothing is needed; in fact, the beings there have no wants. The spirits of white men cannot enter Mitoma.² The Egyptians were not so exclusive, for their Tuat contained the souls of the *Āamu*, *i.e.*, the dwellers in the Eastern Desert, the Libyans (*Themehu*) and the Negroes (*Nehesu*).³ According to Dr. Nassau the Spirit-world is all around us, and does not differ much in its wants and characteristics from this earthly life, except that it is free from some of the limitations of material bodies. Spirits require food, but only its essence. They have passions good and bad. They have wives, but there is no procreation by spirits in the Other World. The

¹ Among the Akikuyu they say: "You can hear the spirits; they come together from different places, and dance in the wilds and make a noise. Spirits make a whirring sound, they do not say words."—Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 240.

² Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 23.

³ Budge, *Book of Gates*, pp. 151-153.

natives having no system of rewards or punishments believe not in heaven or hell. All the dead go to Njambi's Town, and live there together, the good with the bad, as they lived together on earth. The hell which some speak of is not a native conception, but is probably the result of the teaching of Portuguese Roman Catholic missionaries three hundred years ago. Departed spirits (Musimo) never die, and they are to be feared and driven away by noise.¹ The Akikuyu believe that some spirits pass into animals, that others wander about, and that some go to the Land of the Dead, Miiriniya Mikongoi. This land is regarded as the residence of the dead of bygone generations, and is a place from which spirits cannot emerge, and is dark. They have no god of evil, but there is a dwelling-place where live a vast number of bad spirits, men, women, and children. These possess many cattle, sheep, and goats. It is terribly cold there, and its inhabitants have no clothes except a scrap of skin, the size of the palm of the hand, which they place over their faces when they sleep. To approach a fire is for them an absolute impossibility.²

The Spirit-world of the Tshi-speaking peoples is called "Srahmanadzi." It resembles this world, and like the Egyptian *Tuat* has towns, villages, forests, mountains, rivers, etc. It is beneath the earth, and is less bright than the world of the living. A proverb says: "A corner in the world is better than the whole of Srahmanadzi." When the sun sets in this world it rises in Srahmanadzi. There the old become young, a young man becomes a boy, and a boy a baby. They grow and become old, but age brings no weakness or wasting of the body. When they reach the prime of life they remain in that condition, and never change. A chief in this world is a chief there, and a slave a slave. Srahmanadzi is a duplicate of this world, and life there is only a continuation of the life here. It is this belief which is at the bottom of the custom of killing wives and slaves on the death of a king or chief, so that their souls may depart to the Spirit-world and minister to his wants there. This custom is not the result of a blood-

¹ Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, pp. 56, 59, 62.

² Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 243.

thirsty disposition, but arises from feelings of affection, respect, and awe for the dead, and the desire that the departed may suffer no inconvenience or lack comfort in his new abode.¹ The entrance to the Tshi Other World is "just east of the middle Volta, and the way down is difficult to follow."² The souls who arrive there do not cease to take an interest in mundane affairs, for they not only have local palavers, but try palavers left over from their earthly existence. And when there is an outbreak of sickness in a Fanti town or village, and several inhabitants die off, the opinion is often held that there is a big palaver going on down in Srahmanadzi, and that the spirits are sending upon earth for witnesses, subpoenaing them as it were.³

The Other World of the Ibo is much the same as this, but it is full of gloom, for there is no day there. The earth is similar, and there are in it forests, hills, valleys, rivers, and roads leading from one town to another, and houses and farms. Roads lead from this world to it, and on these souls travel to their final home. The land of the dead has no connection with the land which swallows up the sun, for it is dark, whilst the place where the sun is is always light. The king, the rich man, the poor man, the working man, and the farmer will all be as they are here. Certain places are set apart for the spirits of murderers, suicides, and men of violence. Whether good or bad here, the man who is properly buried will go to the land of spirits. Some souls are good and are well-doing, but those who belong to criminals and outcasts are regarded as demons. The head of a house here will there have authority over the fate of his own household, and it is necessary to be on good terms with him; this may be secured by gifts, offerings, and sacrifices made to his soul. Negligence in respect of such a soul will beget neglect on its part, and may even render it hostile to the interests of its kinsfolk on earth.⁴ The souls in the Other World not only converse with each other, but they have assemblies and

¹ Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 157 f.

² Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 488.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 519.

⁴ Leonard, *The Lower Niger*, pp. 185-189.

palavers in order to discuss the more public affairs of the community, arguing, wrangling, and even quarrelling, as they did in this world. Unlike humanity, however, they keep their own counsel, and their quarrels to themselves. As they neither speak of their affairs to human beings nor give them counsel, they are inquisitors pure and simple. Thus, the ancestor becomes the great spirit inquisitor of his family, who can and does inflict injury and evil upon it ; this belief is the root of the whole idea of moral punishment.¹

According to the Yorubas the spirits of all the dead go to *Orun*, the heavens. It is divided into two parts ; in one, the heaven of peace and happiness, live the souls of the blessed, and in the other, which is called the " world of potsherds," live the spirits of the wicked.² The Bantu believe that the spirits of the dead live in a dark forest, which is commonly spoken of as the " forest " or " the land of the dead."³ In Dahomey the " *nidon* " or spirit goes to " *Kutomen* " or " *Dead-land*," where there is neither reward nor punishment. The king here is a king there, and every soul has the social status which its body had on earth. *Kutomen* is, in fact, a " Swedenborgian reproduction of this world, and " it is placed under the earth. The departed often " returns to earth in the body of a child, and yet remains " in *Dead-land*—an idea which some travellers have " confounded with metempsychosis."⁴ The priests say that life in the Other World is much the same as in this, and that there are there wars, palavers, feasts, dances, etc., as here. The clothes in which a man is buried accompany him to *Kutomen*.⁵ The oldest idea in Central Congo-land is that the spirits of the dead live in a dark forest. Until recently the Congo tribes on the coast believed that their dead went to a world at the bottom of the sea, and there spent their time as slaves to the white man, making cloth and trade goods.

The Bayanzi think that the souls of the dead go to

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

² Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 268.

³ Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 252.

⁴ Burton, *Mission to Gelele*, Vol. II, p. 158.

⁵ Skertchley, *Dahomey as It is*, p. 465.

the sky.¹ Some ancient Egyptians also held this view. They thought that the sky was the floor of heaven, and that it rested on two mountains, Bakha and Manu, which are the mountains of Sunrise and Sunset respectively. Another view was that it rested on four pillars, which formed the four cardinal points and were held in position by the four Sons of Horus. In the former case souls made their way to one or other of the mountains, and climbed to the top, and so stepped on to the crystal sky, and then joined the souls who were already there. In the latter case the Egyptians thought that souls could only reach the sky by means of a ladder. There is a legend² to the effect that Osiris only succeeded in getting into the sky by means of a ladder which was provided by Rā. Osiris was assisted to mount it by Rā and Horus, or Set and Horus, each of whom pushed him up with one finger. In the tombs of the Ancient and Middle Empires models of ladders have been found, and it was believed that when deceased persons had pronounced over them the appropriate words of power, these models increased in length and strength, and became actual ladders, and reared themselves up so that they might mount them, and so ascend at will from their graves to heaven. The ladder also appears in the Book of the Dead, and the deceased says: "I set up a ladder among the gods,"³ and the "Light-god hath made me to be vigorous by the two sides of the ladder."⁴ Elsewhere it is said: "He shall come forth upon your ladder which Rā hath made for him, and Horus and Set shall grasp him firmly by the hand."⁵ Finally, when men no longer placed models of ladders in tombs, the priests provided for the necessity of the dead by painting a ladder on papyri containing copies of the Book of the Dead.⁶ In connection with this belief in the ladder as a means of communication between heaven and earth, it is interesting to note that the Fernando Po people think that at one time a ladder, "like the one you get

¹ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 643.

² Unās text, ll. 192, 579, and Pepi text, ll. 200, 422, and 471.

³ Chapter CXLIX.

⁴ Chapter XCVIII.

⁵ Chapter CLIII.

⁶ *Papyrus of Ani*, 2nd edit., Plate 22.

palm-nuts with, only long, long," reached from earth to heaven, so that the gods could come down and attend personally to mundane affairs. One day a crippled boy began to ascend it, and when he was a long way up his mother saw him, and started in pursuit. The gods, being horrified at the idea of the invasion of heaven by boys and women, threw down the ladder, and have since left humanity severely alone.¹ It is possible that the idea of a ladder reaching from earth to heaven may have drifted across Africa from the Christians in Abyssinia, but it is hardly likely, and it is probable that it forms a part of the tradition current all over West Africa that there was once a time when a direct means of communication between gods and men existed upon earth.

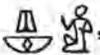
¹ Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 507.

CHAPTER XXI.

MAGIC (WITCHCRAFT), WHITE AND BLACK.

THE Egyptians, like the modern Africans, believed that the government of this world was, practically speaking, in the hands of a considerable number of "gods" and spirits, and that, in order to have success and happiness here and hereafter, it was necessary to obtain their goodwill and help. The performance of the duties and ceremonies connected with the proper worship of ancestral spirits was performed by a member of each family, who in dynastic times was called the "servant of the KA," , and the direction of the worship due to the local god was committed to the care of the "servant of the god," . The chief of every large village, or town, or district, usually attached to his service a man who was believed to be able to hold communication with the spirits of the "gods," and to have influence with them, and also to possess powers of an occult character with which, when necessary, he could control, limit, or abrogate the action of evil spirits. In many cases the chief, and even the king of the whole country, must have owed his position to the influence of this man and his assistants, who posed as interpreters of the divine will, and the acts and policy of the chief were often directed by them. The chief was supreme in all temporal matters, and the man who possessed occult powers was equally supreme in all spiritual matters. The chief was in primitive times the strongest and bravest man in the community, the most fearless hunter, and the fiercest fighter, and was, in fact, the embodiment of physical strength. The man of occult powers was, on the other hand, the incarnation of intelligence, agility of mind, thought, cunning, shrewdness, and foresight, and, when the Egyptians had acquired the art of writing, he added to his other powers the ability

to read and write, and he possessed a thorough knowledge of the sacred books. This condition of things exists among the communities of West Africa at the present day, for Sir Harry Johnston says that among those where there has been no recent interference of the white man, and no conversion to Islâm or Christianity, there are two pillars of society—the Chief (king, judge, magistrate, leader in battle), and the Magician (sorcerer, medicine-man, priest, lawyer). Sometimes, but rarely, the functions of the two are combined. Usually, the chief leaves the laws, police, medicine, meteorology, prophecy, and practical science of the tribe to a distinct functionary, the magician, the wise man, or woman, the “Nganga” of Bantu Africa.

The title of the man who possessed occult powers and was recognized by the King of Egypt as the official director of religious and magical ceremonies, was “Kher heb,” , and his influence was very great and far-reaching. He was well versed in the knowledge of all the sacred books, he knew how to perform both magic and religious ceremonies, and how and when to recite spells with the proper tone of voice, he was able to draft prayers, incantations, spells and magical formulae, he could foretell the future, explain auguries and portents, interpret dreams, assign causes to illnesses, and declare the name of the spirits of the dead which caused them, he knew the great secret names of the gods whereby they existed and maintained order in the world, he knew how to cause death and to make the dead to live, to concoct potent medicines, to take the form of anything animate or inanimate in earth, air, water and sky, to render himself invisible at pleasure, and to cast out devils. Such are the powers which the literature of ancient Egypt ascribes to the Kher heb. The use of these powers for a good purpose and with the object of doing good to the living or the dead may be described as White Magic, and the employment of them with the view of doing harm or injury to anyone as Black Magic.

The legitimate use of White Magic took place chiefly in connection with the dead, and the Kher heb was held

to be justified in using his powers to effect the preservation of their bodies and souls, and to make the Spirit-soul to join the Spirit-body. The formulae which he composed and recited protected the grave, and kept away hostile beings, living and dead, from it, and caused supplies of offerings, on which the KA and the Heart-soul lived, to appear regularly and constantly in the offerings-chamber. When written upon the walls of tombs, coffins, sarcophagi, wooden boards, amulets, etc., they became "words of power" of irresistible might, for they transferred to them some part of the invisible and almighty power which was believed to maintain life in the gods, and to support all creation. The Kher heb was the channel by which this mysterious and wonderful power was made useful to man, and his most sacred function was to act as mediator between the spirits of gods and of the beatified and the living. He was himself a great amulet or charm, for at times the spirits of the gods made his body a temporary abode, and all that he did and said on such occasions was thought to be inspired by divine beings and to have divine authority. At such times he spoke as if he were indeed the god who possessed him, and in addressing the evil spirit, or crocodile, or serpent, or fiend, he bade him depart, or fall helpless, or die because he was that god.

Thus in the Book of the Dead we have : "Get thee, back, crocodile Sui, for I live by the magical power (*heka* "𓄏𓄱𓄱). My mouth hath power over the *heka*" (Chapter XXXI). "I am Osiris. I am Horus. I am Anpu. I am the priest in heaven" (Chapter XXXI). "Get thee back, Crocodile, I am Set. Get thee back, Crocodile, I am Osiris. Get thee back, Crocodile, I am Sept. Get thee back, Crocodile, I am Tem. Get thee back, Crocodile, I am Uatch-Merti, I am Rā" (Chapter XXXII). "O serpent, I am the Lynx" (Chapter XXXIV). "I command the spirits" (Chapter XXXVIII_A). "I am the two lion-gods. I stand in the Boat of Rā, and I recite his commands, and announce his words" (Chapter XXXVIII). "Depart from me, O Āpshait, for I am Khnemu, and I carry the words of the gods to Rā" (Chapter

XXXVI). "I am the Great One, son of the Great One. I am fire, the son of Fire" (Chapter XLIII). "I am Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow. I shall be born a second time. I am the Soul who created the gods, and I feed the beings in the Tuat" (Chapter LXIV). "I am the Fire-god, brother of the Fire-god; I am Osiris, brother of Isis. I am Orion. I am Anubis. I am Horus. I am Tem. I was in the birth-chamber of Osiris. I was born with him. I renew my youth" (Chapter LXIX). "I am the girdle of the robe of Nu. I rescued the Eye of Rā when it grew dim. I judged Sut. I turned the night into day" (Chapter LXXX). "My tongue is the tongue of Ptaḥ" (Chapter LXXXII). "I created myself like Kheperā. I am Khensu (Moon-god), who beateth down all opposition" (Chapter LXXXIII). "I am the Soul, which is God. I am the Souls of everlastingness, and my body is eternity. My form is everlastingness" (Chapter LXXXV). "I know the hidden ways and the doors of Sekhet-Āarru" (Chapter LXXXVI). "I am the serpent Sata. I die and I am born each day" (Chapter LXXXVII). "I am the divine crocodile dwelling amid terror" (Chapter LXXXVIII). "I smite with terror the powers of the rain and thunder" (Chapter XCV).

In several of the magical texts which contain spells reference is made to various calamities which befell the gods or goddesses, and the rubrics say that the spells there written were the identical spells which were recited to effect the deliverance or relief of the injured deities. Thus Horus was stung by a scorpion, but Isis, by the advice of Nephthys and Serqet, prayed to Rā, who stopped his boat, and sent Thoth to heal the child. Thoth came bearing with him magical power (*heka*) obtained from Rā, and the poison having been expelled from the body of Horus, the suffering child recovered. If a person who was stung by a scorpion would bear this story in mind, the poison would leave his body, as it left the body of Horus. Or, if anyone recited this story over a man stung by a scorpion he would be healed.¹

¹ This story is told on the Metternich Stele (ed. Golénischeff).

Another great source of the magician's power was the secret names of the gods, which he professed to know. The existence of every god, and indeed of every being, was bound up in his secret name, and he who knew these names and how to utter them was their master. The importance of the name is well illustrated by the following legend of Rā and Isis.¹ When Rā reigned on earth as well as in heaven, Isis was seized with the desire to know his secret name, which was the source of his life and sovereignty. She knew everything except this name. Rā was old, and dribbled at the mouth, and catching some of his spittle she kneaded it with earth and made a serpent, which she placed on the path of the god so that it might bite him when he passed by. When Rā came along with the gods, this serpent bit him, and as the poison flowed through his body he suffered great pain, and was about to die. Then Isis came and asked the god to tell her his secret name, but though he enumerated many of his names, his great and secret name was not among them. Meanwhile his agony increased, and when his body became filled with the fire of the poison, and he was unable any longer to bear it, he promised that his secret name should be transferred to Isis; this apparently took place, for Rā recovered, but what the name was we do not know. The knowledge of names plays a very prominent part in the Book of the Dead. Thus, to be acquitted in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, it was necessary for the deceased to know the names of the Two-and-Forty gods who were there. To obtain a passage in the magic boat (Chapter XCIX) it was necessary for him to know the secret name of every part of it, and to be able to utter them correctly. To pass through the Seven Halls and the Pylons of the Kingdom of Osiris he had to know not only their names, but also the names of their Porters, Watchers, and Heralds (Chapters CXLIV-CXLVIII). Before he could escape from the net of the catcher of souls he was obliged to know and declare the names of every part of it (Chapter CLIIIA). As specimens of magical names may be quoted the following: Sharesharekhet, Shapuneterarika, Shaka Amen

¹ See Lefébure, *A.Z.*, 1883, p. 27 ff.

Shakanasa, Atareamtcherqemturrennuparsheta, Kasaika Arethikasathika, Amennaankaentekshare, Retasashaka, Ireqai, Mārqaṭha, Rerei, Nasaqbubu, Thanasathanasa, Sharesathakatha, Haqahakakaḥer, Ānrauaaqersaanqre-bathi, Kherserau, Ḥarepukakashareshabaiu (Chapter CLXII ff.). In the Magical Papyrus (B.M., No. 10,042) we have the following words of power :—

Atir-Atisau, Atirkaha-Atisau, Smauimatemu-Atisau.

Smautanenmui-Atisau, Smauttekaui-Atisau.

Smauttekabaiu-Atisau, Smauttchakaratcha-Atisau.

Tāuarhasaqinahama, Sennfetta, Bathetet, Satitau.

Anrahakathasatitau, Haubairhuru (?), Haari (Col. XII).

Pāpāluka, Pāpāruka, Pāpālur (Col. VII).

In a spell in the same papyrus we read : " I am the " chosen one of millions of years, who cometh out of the " Ṭuat, whose name is unknown." If this name be " cut " (*i.e.*, uttered) on the river bank, it will slice it away ; and if it be cut on the ground a fire will break out. The power of this spell was very great. If a man repeated it four times,¹ and held in his hand at the same time a drawing of the Eye of the Sun with a figure of An-Ḥer in it, the earth would collapse into the celestial ocean, and the South would become the North. A man who knew the next spell in the papyrus became like one who had seventy-seven eyes and seventy-seven ears (Column VII). The most remarkable use of the name of a god as a word of power is related in the Book of Overthrowing Āpep (British Museum, No. 10,188). In this the god Tem describes how he created the world and all the generations thereof. There was a time, he says, when no one and nothing existed except himself. A desire came over him to create the world, and he carried it into effect by making his mouth utter his own name as a word of power, and straightway the world and all therein came into being.² The things which came

¹ The Gallas to this day recite their semi-magical prayers four times. See Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, 1896, Vol. 2, p. 45.

² 

quenched, each in one of the troughs of milk. The performance of this ceremony was to be witnessed by none save a man, or his father, or his son. A tet of crystal, a figure of Anubis, a figure of a mummy, and the model of a palm tree, seven cubits in height, each mounted on a small mud brick inscribed with its own spell, were then placed in the east, west, north, and south walls of the tomb respectively, and the text of the CXXXVIIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead was recited. How the power of these amulets worked, and what exactly the ceremonies were supposed to do we know not, but the general evidence of the Chapter itself suggests that they made the soul of the dead man to ascend into heaven in the form of Osiris or Rā. The Rubric says that the figure of the mummy is to be smeared with bitumen and set fire to, and we may assume that, as the body of the deceased is thus burned symbolically, his spirit rises in the flame, and mingles with the flames of the four sacred lamps of the Four Sons of Horus, and is thus united to the soul of Osiris, which, it seems, sometimes took the form of a flame of fire. These ceremonies are said to be "an exceedingly " great mystery of Amentet, and a type of the hidden " things of the Other World." More than once the Rubrics order that such ceremonies as these are not to be witnessed by the " dwellers in the papyrus swamps," *i.e.*, the fen-men of the Delta, who were also not to be allowed to know the texts which related to them, or even to see copies of them (Chapters CLXI and CXC).

The Rubrics to the magical texts make clear another very important fact in connection with the working of magical ceremonies and the reciting of spells by the Kher heb, *viz.*, that before undertaking anything of the kind he must make himself ceremonially pure. The things described in the Rubrics to Chapter CXXXVII were ordered to "be performed by a man who is washed " clean and is ceremonially pure, one who has neither " eaten meat nor fish recently, and has not had inter- " course with women." The famous Judgment Chapter was to be recited "by a man who was washed clean and " purified, who was clad in linen garments, and was shod " with white leather sandals; his eyes must be painted

“with antimony, and his body anointed with *ānti* “unguent” (Chapter CXXV). The spiritual faculties of the magician were rendered more keen by abstention from carnal pleasures, and the words of the man who was clean “within and without, before and behind,” were believed to possess greater power, and to be followed more quickly by the desired effect, than those of him to whom personal cleanliness was of small account. The higher the degree of cleanliness of his mind and body, the greater was the influence of the magician over the spirits whom he summoned to help him. The White Magic of the Egyptians, notwithstanding the ceremonies and spells, and figures and amulets, which were associated with it, was sanctified by the chief object for which it was employed, namely, the resurrection of the Spirit-body and the rejoining of the Spirit-soul to it in the kingdom of Osiris. Besides this, it was used to heal sicknesses and to drive out devils and evil spirits from suffering humanity, and the general trend of its influence was for good. In every important event in the life of the Egyptian, from his cradle to his grave, White Magic played a prominent part. It brought to him at his birth good spirits, who watched over him and protected him, it gave him amulets which brought the living power of his gods to his body as he grew up, it provided beneficent spells which guarded his wife and children, and house, and farm, and animals, and other possessions, its precepts led him to worship his ancestral spirits and gods, and when he died its rites and ceremonies were employed to secure the admission of his soul into the kingdom of spirits.

There were, however, in Egypt many men who professed the art of Black Magic, the object of which was to do harm. In their hands the powers of magic were generally misused, and disastrous results, if we may believe the papyri, were the consequence. One of the commonest ways of working evil was by means of the wax figure. A man employed a magician to make in wax a figure of his enemy, whose name was cut or written upon it, and then to work magic upon it by reciting spells over it. If the spells contained curses, they were supposed to take effect upon the living man ;

and if the figure were stabbed, or gashes made in it with a knife, the living man suffered terrible pain, or wounds appeared in his body. If the figure were destroyed by fire or by any other means, the death of the living man ensued. The Westcar Papyrus tells us that the wife of one Āba-āner committed adultery in his garden with one of his servants. When the news of this was brought to him, he made a model of a crocodile in wax, and told his servant to go and place it in the river at the spot where his guilty wife's paramour was in the habit of bathing. As soon as this man entered the water on the following day, the wax crocodile turned into a huge living crocodile, which quickly devoured him. The Rollin Papyrus states that certain evil men succeeded in stealing a book of magic from the Royal Library, and that by following the directions contained in it they succeeded in making wax figures, on which they worked magic with the view of injuring or killing the king of Egypt. This was held to be treason in the first degree, and the malefactors seem to have suffered the death penalty. The use of the wax figure was not disdained by the priests of Amen-Rā at Thebes, for they regularly burnt a wax figure of the fiend Āpep, who daily endeavoured to prevent the sun from rising. This figure was in the form of a serpent of many folds, on which the name Āpep was written or cut. A case made of papyrus inscribed with spells containing curses was prepared, and the wax serpent having been placed inside it, both case and figure were cast into a fire made of a special kind of plant. Whilst they were burning the priest recited curses, and stamped upon them with his left foot until they were rendered shapeless and were finally destroyed. This magical ceremony was believed to be very helpful to Rā, the Sun-god, who uttered over the real Āpep spells which paralysed him, and then killed him by the fiery darts of his rays, and consumed him.

Further information about the powers said to be possessed by Egyptian magicians is given by the Westcar Papyrus. Thus in the reign of Seneferu one Tchatcha-em-ānkh divided the water of a lake into two parts, and placed one part upon the other, in order to allow a singing woman, who was rowing the royal boat

with the king in it, to recover a jewel which had dropped from her into the water as she rowed and sang. Another magician, called Teti, who lived in the reign of Khufu, could make a lion follow him without leading him by a rope, and knew certain mysteries connected with the sanctuary of Thoth, and could rejoin the head of a man to his body after it had been cut off, and make him live again. He was brought into Khufu's presence by Prince Ḥeruṭāṭāf, and the king commanded that a prisoner should be given to him, so that he might exhibit a proof of his magical powers before His Majesty. Teti, however, suggested that some animal should be substituted for the prisoner, and a goose was brought in. Having cut off its head, he placed the head and the body in different parts of the room, the former on the west side and the latter on the east. He then uttered words of power, and the head and the body began to move towards each other; when they came close together, the head leapt back to its place on its body, and the bird quacked. Another kind of bird was treated in the same way, and its head rejoined its body as in the case of the goose. An ox was then brought and its head was cut off, and the words of power of Teti caused it to rejoin its body.

As the worker of White Magic used the hidden names of gods and good spirits as words of power, so the sorcerer used the hidden names of devils and fiends as spells which produced evil. The knowledge of these names made him master of the devils who entered the bodies of the living and produced diseases of every kind, and who unhesitatingly performed his commands. The names of Set and his fiends could be made to produce thunder, lightning, storm, cold, famine, pestilence, and death. The use of the names of the spirits of poisonous plants enabled him to concoct deadly poisons, and decoctions made from parts of savage animals and venomous reptiles, and liquid from dead human bodies, formed ingredients in his baleful "medicine." Like the modern fortune-teller, he professed to read the future, and a complete calendar of the lucky and unlucky days of the year, of which we have one complete copy¹ and one

¹ See Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Plates XXXI and XXXII.

incomplete,¹ enabled him to declare what day, and what part of it, would be propitious for undertaking any proposed work. He professed to be able to hold intercourse with the spirits of the dead, and to have an intimate acquaintance with all that took place in the Other World. Thus in the Second Tale of Khā-em-uas² we read how one Setme went into the Tuat, and having passed through its various halls he saw Osiris seated in judgment, with Anubis on his left hand and Thoth on his right, whilst the Assessors were on both sides of him. He saw the Balance standing there, and learned that the men whose good deeds exceeded their evil deeds entered among the lords of Amentet, whilst their souls went to heaven. Those whose evil deeds exceeded their good deeds were delivered to the Devourer, and their souls and bodies were destroyed for ever. This same tale describes the magical powers which were possessed by Setme's son, Sa-Asār. Thus he could read books without opening them, and he told the king the contents of a letter which an Ethiopian had brought to him. The magician Hor made a model in wax of a litter for four bearers, and, having pronounced a spell over it, ordered it to go to the Sûdân and bring back the Viceroy, so that he might be beaten with 500 stripes, and to return in six hours; and it is related that the litter did so.³ During a contest between this same Hor and an Ethiopian magician, the Ethiopian caused fire to appear in the palace; in reply Hor recited a spell, and a shower of rain came and put out the fire. The Ethiopian then caused the heavens to become black, so that no man could see his neighbour, whereupon Hor recited a spell and made the darkness to pass away. Then the Ethiopian made a huge vault of stone, 200 cubits long and 50 cubits broad, to be above the heads of Pharaoh and his princes, and it threatened to crash down and kill them all; when the king and his people saw this they uttered piercing shrieks. Hor, however, uttered a spell, which caused a great phantom boat, apparently made of papyrus, to come into being, and he made it carry the stone vault away to the Great Water of Egypt (Lake Moeris).

¹ Sallier Papyrus No. IV (No. 10, 184).

² Ed. Griffith, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

From the works of Greek writers of the Graeco-Roman Period we know that Egyptian sorcerers at that time were supposed to be able to send terrifying dreams to men and women, to steal the mind and senses from a man, to rob the lover of his beloved's love, to alienate a wife's affections from her husband, to fill men and women with longings for illicit love, to cause sickness and death, to raise the dead, to take the forms of animals, birds, reptiles, etc., to make themselves invisible, to involve men in loss or ruin, to control the powers of heaven and earth, etc. There is nothing strange in this, for powers to perform all these things were claimed by ancient Egyptian magicians. In the Ptolemaic Period, magicians began to cast nativities and to make horoscopes, and to claim the power of explaining the alleged influences of the Seven Planets, and the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac, and the Thirty-six Dekans, on the lives of men. Nectanebus, the last native king of Egypt, was reputed to be the greatest of magicians, for he knew what was in the depths of the Nile and the sea, he could work the astrolabe, read the stars, cast nativities, foretell the destinies of men, and he slew his enemies by sea and by land by the use of words of power and mighty names and wax figures. He made wax models of ships and their crews, and of regiments of soldiers, some representing those of his own country and others those of the enemy, and setting them face to face he recited over them his words of power. The figures of the soldiers or sailors, as the case might be, then began to fight, and as the wax figures of his troops slew and routed those of their opponents, his living enemies were destroyed. One day his words of power failed to produce their customary effect, and, realizing that the gods of Egypt had forsaken him, he collected all the money he could carry and fled by ship to Macedon, where by magical means he seduced Olympias, and became, according to Pseudo-Callisthenes, the father of Alexander the Great. He went to the fields and collected a number of plants which possessed magical properties, and, having pounded them and squeezed out their juice, he made a figure of Olympias, and wrote her name upon it; he then poured the juice of the plants over it and laid it down in the attitude of

sleep by the fire. Nectanebus recited spells and names over the figure, and the result of these was to cause Olympias to dream that a spirit called Amen came to her and was united with her, and that she conceived a man-child by him. Shortly after this Nectanebus disguised himself as Amen and went to the queen's chamber, and, believing him to be the god who had appeared to her in her dream, she admitted him to her embrace.¹

The Egyptian Christians were nearly as much addicted to the use of magic as their "pagan" ancestors. With them the Cross took the place of the ānkh , and its name became a word of power. The sign of the Cross terrified the devil, drove away fiends, and healed the sick, and the Name of Christ possessed untold power. The Devil fled before it "like a sparrow before a hawk," and a hippopotamus which ravaged the crops, being adjured by it to depart, ceased to do harm, and departed and was no more seen. The Christian Fathers asserted that even laymen might drive away devils by the Name of Christ and the Sign of the Cross. Macarius, by the sprinkling of holy water, restored to her human form a woman who had been transformed into a mare. Paul the Simple cast out from a man a devil, who took the form of "a mighty dragon seventy cubits long." The monk Apollo cast spells upon certain priests and people who were worshipping an image, and they remained powerless to move under a blazing sun, until he prayed over them and removed the spell. A friend of this Apollo called Ammon appealed to Christ to destroy a serpent, and as soon as the reptile heard this name it burst asunder. Bessarion walked on the water, and made the sun to stand still. Petarpemotis made a dead man to speak, and walked upon the water, and entered into a chamber where the brethren were "in the air by the power of the angels," and visited Paradise and saw the saints, and brought back figs therefrom. When the people mixed the sand which he had blessed with the sterile soil in their land, crops grew straightway

¹ *Ethiopic Version*, ed. Budge, p. 10 ff.

which were larger and more abundant than those of any other part of Egypt.¹

With the description of the alleged powers of ancient Egyptian magicians set forth in the previous pages, we may now compare the statements made by various travellers about the medicine-men and witch-doctors and their doings in Central and Western Africa in recent years. According to Schweinfurth, the creed of the Dinkas centres in an institution called "Cogyoor," which embraces a society of necromancers and jugglers by profession. They are expert conjurers and ventriloquists, and are familiar with the ghosts of the dead.² The Matabele recognize two kinds of witchcraft. One kind includes the "making of medicine" to cause rain and the performance of ceremonies to appease the spirits of ancestors. The other kind consists of evil practices which were supposed to cause sickness and death.³ If a man wants to cause his enemy to be speared, he makes a clay figure, which is supposed to represent him, and pierces it with a pin. Anyone can be bewitched by spreading medicine on his path or in his hut. He who possesses the liver and entrails of a crocodile can cause the death of anyone he pleases. There are two kinds of witch-doctors. One kind works his magic by throwing three bones, and watching the positions in which they fall; the other kind chants his spells and oracles in a shrill voice. Both kinds hold intercourse with the spirits of the dead. The blood and gall of a black ox were used by the witch-doctors in the charm for making rain.⁴ Among the Bongo many of the chiefs are magicians, or medicine-men, and they owe much of their influence over their peoples to the fact that they are believed to possess power over the spirits of the dead, all of whom are supposed to be capable of doing mischief. As the Bongo have no belief in the existence of good spirits it follows that the only magic they know is Black Magic. The Bongo medicine-man holds communication

¹ For the statements in this paragraph see my *Paradise of the Holy Fathers*, Vol. I, p. XLIX ff.

² *Heart of Africa*. Vol. I, p. 169.

³ Nassau, *Fetichism*, p. 117; Declé, *Three Years*, p. 152.

⁴ Declé, *Three Years*, p. 153.

with spirits by means of certain roots, decoctions and preparations of which are used to do harm to living persons.¹ Among the Baganda each tribe or clan has its own Muchwezi, or sorcerer (*i.e.*, medicine-man, or witch-doctor), who conducts the worship of ancestral spirits. There are, however, besides many doctors in white or black magic.² The men who attend to the worship of the various gods and ancestral spirits were termed "Bamandwa." They were also diviners, and were able by superstitious means to answer questions as if they were oracles. The Mandwa would listen to the question, and having made the sign of the cross with a strip of leather on which were sewn nine kauri shells (called "Engato"), and flung this object before him, would answer it as one inspired. The priests of Mukasa, the god of Lake Victoria, carried a paddle as an emblem of their office,³ just as do twelve of the gods in the pictures in the Egyptian Books of the Other World.⁴ In Kavirondo witchcraft is of two kinds, "obufira," *i.e.*, white magic, or the use of hypnotism and divination for innocent purposes; and "obulugo," which is little else than killing people by poison, or fright.⁵ Their witch-doctors are great experts in the lore of omens derived from the appearance of the entrails of sheep. Besides ancestral spirits two gods are worshipped by the Ba-Kavirondo: Awafwa, the god of good spirits, and Ishishemi, a sort of devil.⁶ The right side is lucky and the left unlucky,⁷ as in ancient Egypt. The witch-doctors among the Basoga of the island of Bavuma recognize two classes of spirits, one good⁸ and the other bad,⁹ and each spirit has its own priest. They are

¹ Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 306; Frobenius, *Die Heiden-Neger*, p. 361.

² Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 589.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 676.

⁴ Budge, *Am-Tuat*, p. 189; *Book of Gates*, p. 276.

⁵ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 751.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 750.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 751.

⁸ These are: Nasamba, Walumbe, Waitambugwe, Kintu, Maganda, Maero, Bugingo, Takwe, Kisalunkaba, Kirongo, Lukamaembe, Nalango, Kitako, Kalesa, Duungu, Nabisana, Kigulu, Kaliro, Naigombwa, Lumbui, Kamiantumbe, Kakua, Kambuzi.

⁹ These are: Irukoma, Isödzi, Buvuma, Kasota, Wesege, Nambaga, Kitiko, Meru, Buyegu, Nabirie.—See Johnston, *op. cit.*, II, p. 718.

worshipped by offerings which are placed for them in "fetish huts." Among the Jala there exists a kind of magic called "Jamkingo," which is practised by a sort of secret society, and which means to all intents and purposes secret poisoning. Among the Gemi tribe the magicians are blacksmiths, which fact calls to mind the blacksmiths¹ (*mesentiu*), or metal workers, who assisted Horus in performing the ceremonies connected with the resurrection of Osiris.

The Juju² priests of New Calabar were said to be able, by their devilish arts, to change a man's face and appearance to such a degree that his mother would not recognize him; to cause a tree on the river banks to bend its trunk and lower the topmost branches so that they could absorb water from the river; to take upon themselves the form of birds and fly away, and to be able to disappear at pleasure.³ When the Juju priest performed a ceremony of great importance he wore nothing but "a superb dark-coloured and greasy-looking rag about his loins, barely sufficient to satisfy the "easiest-going of European Lord Chamberlains."⁴ This also was the case with the Kher heb magician in ancient Egypt, for when performing certain of the ceremonies connected with the "Opening of the Mouth" he wore nothing but a loin cloth.⁵

Among the Masai all medicine-men belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and they are descended from Ol-Oimooja, or E-Sigiriaishi, the sons of Ol-le-Mweiya. They have four methods of divining: (1) By a buffalo or ox horn and a handful of stones. (2) By examining the entrails of a goat. (3) By getting drunk and prophesying. (4) By dreams.⁶ Among the Nandi the Orkoiyot or principal medicine-man is chief of the

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 792.

² Derived not from "joujou," as is commonly supposed, but from a local West African word "egugu," which means "idol," "sacred emblem."—Leonard, *Lower Niger*, p. 115.

³ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 499.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

⁵ The chief Kapufi was not allowed to wear anything but a single loin-cloth of the plainest cotton.—Thomson, *Central African Lakes*, Vol. II, p. 221.

⁶ Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 325.

whole race. His methods of divining are similar to those of the Ol-oiboni, or medicine-man of the Masai. He can interpret omens and avert ill luck. He tells the people when to plant their crops, he obtains rain for them, he makes women and cattle fruitful, and the success of a war or raid depends on his approval. His approval is shown when he gives one of the leaders a club which has been smeared with a concoction called *setanik*, and this club is carried in front of the party. The person of the Orkoiyot is absolutely sacred. No one may approach him with weapons in his hand, or speak in his presence unless first addressed; his head must never be touched, lest his powers of divination depart from him. He is thought to be able to detach his head from his body, and to send it to watch his troops wherever they may be engaged in fighting. He never prays to Asista, but only to the spirits of his deceased ancestors. Besides the Orkoiyot there are two classes of lesser medicine-men, one of whom is called Kipsakeiyot, and the other Kipungut. The magicians bewitch people by "catching" their foot-prints, or by means of portions of their clothing which they have worn, or a bead, or by their hair, nail parings, teeth, spittle, or anything which has fallen from their bodies. The rain-makers cause rain by soaking the root *kiptakchat* in water.¹

Among the Gallas the magician or medicine-man has great power, and is called "ogêssa," *i.e.*, "learned man," or "doctor of the book."²

The position and authority of the magician in Western Africa is well summarized by Wilson, who says that the person who has a knowledge of witchcraft is supposed to possess little less than omnipotence. He is master of the lives and destinies of his fellow men, and of sea and land, and of the elemental forces of nature, and of the wild beasts of the earth. He can change himself into a tiger, elephant, shark, etc., and withhold rain, and fill the land with want and distress and pestilence. He can cause sickness, poverty, insanity, and death. The art of witchcraft may be exerted with

¹ Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 52.

² Paulitschke, *Ethnographie*, Vol. II, p. 62.

or without any material agency ; the wish and the word of the magician can perform anything. No one knows the source of his power ; some suppose that it is derived from the spirits, and others believe that he obtains it by eating the leaves or roots of a forest tree.¹

The art of the magician, or medicine-man, or witch-doctor, is employed by the natives in every event of life, and is used publicly and privately. Before Mtesa went to war the priests of the Musimu, or evil spirits, about one hundred in number, used to bring the war charms for him to touch with his forefinger. These charms consisted of dead lizards, bits of wood, hide, nails of dead people, claws of animals, beaks of birds, with compounds of herbs and leaves carefully placed in vessels ornamented with beads. During the fight these magicians chant spells, and exhibit their "medicines" to the foe, and their associates shake large numbers of gourds filled with pebbles, and create an awful din.² Among the Garenganze in South-east Africa the side that is beaten at once acknowledges that the medicines of the enemy are stronger than their own.³ The war-fetish of the Batanga is a spear with prongs, which is thrust into the head of a dead man, which is afterwards cut off from its body, and carried to the house of the medicine-man. Whilst the man does this he must be naked. The spear is then boiled in a pot with some of the blood of a cock, and several magic ingredients, including the human head, and the warriors are sprinkled with some of the water from the pot. A mess composed of cock's blood, red-wood, a cock, oil, gourd seeds, plantains, etc., is then cooked in the pot, and the medicine-man and the warriors eat it. The warriors are sponged on their breasts, and are then ready to fight, feeling assured of victory. The spear is, presumably, carried before them as they march.⁴

Before going hunting the members of the party would fetch a medicine-man, who put the fat of zebra, eland, and other game, mixed with dirt, in a pot. Hot coals

¹ *Western Africa*, p. 222.

² Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. I, p. 327.

³ Arnot, in Nassau, *Fetichism*, p. 175.

⁴ Nassau, *op. cit.*, p. 177 f.

were then placed on the fat, and clouds of dense smoke arose. Into this the men thrust the muzzles of their rifles through the smoke, and sniffing the smoke each called on the hunting spirit Saru, saying, "Saru, I must kill game." The medicine-man next placed a bowl of the "medicine" water on the hunter's head, and whilst the latter repeated the names of the animals he wished to kill, the former stirred the water. If the water splashed over and ran down on the hunter's face success was assured to him; if none left the bowl he might as well go home. Among the Matabele the medicine-man made a mark with medicine water on the forehead of each hunter, and this gave him authority over the beasts. When going on a journey a travelling fetish is prepared. This is a spear with roots of a sweet herb tied round the blade. Wood splinters are then tied to it in such a way that they form a little cage, and in this are placed a bit of human skin, bits of the claws of a lion or leopard, food, beer, and magical roots. A cloth is sewn over the cage, and when the king has spit on it and blessed it, the spear is ready to be carried before the caravan. The human skin gives power, the claws of the animals protect from claws, the food and beer secure a supply of meat and drink, and the roots and the king's spittle give health to the party.¹ Success in trade is obtained by mixing with water the brains of a dead man who was wise, and rubbing the mixture on the face; brains mixed with oil are also rubbed on the hands. Another trade medicine is made by putting into an antelope's horn the ashes of the skin of a flying fox, the leaves of the kota tree, the nail from a human finger, the tip of the tongue, menstrual fluid, red-wood powder, and the tail feathers of the kilinga bird. The mouth of the horn is closed with gum, but the feathers are allowed to project through the gum. When about to trade the owner of the horn secretly pulls out a feather, and rubs a little of the liquid from the horn on the tip of his nose.² The native merchant who is in a hurry to get rich sometimes employs the Okundu medicine, which is of a very terrible character. The merchant or his witch-doctor

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

² *Ibid.*, p. 180.

kills someone in order that his spirit may be set free to go and use its influence on the merchant's behalf with the white men with whom he is about to trade.¹

Modern Africans of all kinds, like the ancient Egyptians, firmly believed that every sickness and disease were caused by some evil spirit, either as a punishment for some neglect or insult to it on the part of the stricken man, or as the result of the machinations of some witch-doctor. Dr. Nassau distinguishes three kinds of disease-causing spirits, viz., the Nikinda, Ombwiri, and Olâgâ. The first are supposed to be the spirits of the dead who were undistinguished when living, the second the spirits of kings, chiefs, nobles, etc., and the third the spirits who had been raised to the rank of angels in the Spirit-world. In treating the diseases supposed to be caused by these spirits the medicine-man tries to find out from the patient which kind of spirit it is who is vexing him, and when he has satisfied himself on this point he proceeds to concoct medicine from the herbs and roots which are suitable. The three classes of spirits mentioned above are probably the equivalents of the three classes of beings mentioned in the Egyptian texts, viz., the *henmemet*, *pât*, and *rekhit*.² These, apparently, all lived in heaven, but whether the Egyptian associated them with causation of disease cannot be said.

The making of love-philtres is a very common occupation of the witch-doctor, to whom both men and women apply for means whereby they may enjoy the love of some particular person. Many men and women make their own love-philtres, and the essential in most of them is some portion of the body of the woman or man, from which when mixed with herbs a decoction is made, to be administered in some form or other to the person whose love is wished for.³ Sir Harry Johnston has given us a number of most interesting facts about the witch-doctor's methods in various parts of Africa. The Baluba magicians say they can make themselves invisible by means of certain charms, and once invisible they indulge

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

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³ For full descriptions see Nassau, *Fetichism*, p. 184 ff.

in horrible "ghoulish practices or in disgusting immoralities." The magician fills the body of the large Goliath beetle, or a small horn, with small human knuckle-bones, and scrapings of red camwood. He puts this in his mouth and becomes invisible. He then fills a *Tragelaphus* horn with magic ingredients, and encloses this in the very long pod of the *Kigelia* tree. He covers the beetle or small horn with charcoal paste, as he utters his spell, and then ties the pod up in cloth. He then buries the magic horn in a hole dug in front of the door of the man whom he wants to bewitch, fills the hole up, and covers it with twigs. Immediately the inmate of the house on going out touches one of the twigs, his leg contracts, his sinews shrivel, and he falls back dying on his mat. Or the magician takes straws from the house and path of the victim, and throws them into his supply of water; as the water evaporates the victim pines away. Or he takes grass from under the tree which has often sheltered his victim, and binding it in small bundles hangs them up in his house; when these are dry his enemy is dead. Or he makes a wooden figure of his victim, cuts it in pieces, which he throws one by one into boiling water; when the last is thrown in the man is dead. The *Baluba* magician also asserts that he can steal a man's personality from him, and the natives are fully convinced that their souls can be stolen from them.¹ This belief was common among the ancient Egyptians, as we have already shown. Magicians in all parts of Africa profess to be able to drive out spirits from those possessed, and their operations are everywhere characterized by noise, dancing, singing, drumming, and feasting. The story of the casting out of an evil spirit from the daughter of the chief of *Bekhten* by the priests of *Khensu* proves that the ancient Egyptian priest pretended to possess the same powers as the modern African witch-doctor.

The wide-spread belief that almost every death is caused by witchcraft gives to the medicine-man or witch-doctor a power over his fellow creatures which is well-nigh absolute, for he can accuse any man he likes of causing the death of another, and the accused person is forthwith put to death, unless he is willing to undergo the "ordeal

¹ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 660.

of the red-water." The "red-water" is a decoction of the inner bark of a large forest tree of the mimosa family; it is reddish in colour, and has an astringent taste, and analysis shows that it is both an astringent and a narcotic, and, when taken in large quantities, an emetic. The accused, with a cord of palm leaves only about his waist, sits near the pots containing the red-water, and all the people gather round about and form a circle. After his accusation has been pronounced, he makes a formal acknowledgment of all the evil deeds of his past life and, invoking the name of God three times, calls down His wrath upon himself if he is guilty of the crime laid to his charge. He then steps forward and drinks freely of the red-water; if it produces nausea in him, and causes him to vomit freely, he is at once declared innocent. If it produces vertigo, and he loses self-control, he is regarded as guilty, and the people fall upon him, kick him, buffet him, stone him, and finally drag him through bushes and over rocks until he is practically torn to pieces. The man who is declared innocent enjoys a higher position in society than he did before the ordeal, and a few days after, dressed in his finest clothes, he progresses with his friends in triumph through the village or town, and receives gifts from admirers and friends. He then arraigns his accusers before the chief men of the place, and they must either undergo the ordeal, or pay a fine. The natives believe that red-water itself possesses intelligence, and that it is capable of clear discrimination in all doubtful cases.¹ They think that when it enters the stomach it at once lays hold of the element of witchcraft, and destroys the life of the accused. The quantity of red-water which the accused is made to drink depends upon the popular feeling at the time; if he is "very bad man," the quantity of water alone is sufficient to kill him, to say nothing of the extract of bark in it. Sometimes the accused is allowed to go away after drinking the usual quantity, and then he, no doubt, takes an emetic, and soon becomes well. Or, owing to family influence,

¹ This is the Nkasa of Western Congo-land, Mwavi of Nyasa-land, Chifafa of Luba-land, Ibutu of the Bateke, Mbondi or Nkã of the Upper Congo, Mondenge of the lower Aruwimi, and Samba of the Lokele.—Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 689.

the medium being a small boy who has never been bitten by a dog nor burnt in the fire. The boy gazes on the word "Allah" in the centre of a Khatim, or seal, traced in the sand, and under the controlling eye of a Fiki calls to the "King of the Devils," who, on his arrival, will answer any questions put regarding the sick, through the medium of the child, by this time sunk into a trance.¹ Among the Vai and Mandingo in Liberia, divination by means of sand is also practised. The sand is sifted through the fingers or sprinkled on the ground, and the magician draws his conclusions as to the future from the forms into which the sand falls. Sir Harry Johnston says that sand divination is practised throughout Muhammadan Africa, from the Senegal to the Red Sea, and from Egypt to Nyasa.² In the oldest form of sand divination, the signs used were triangles and circles and lines with dots made inside and outside them in sand on the desert floor; from the combination of dots the magician made his augury. In the next form the sand was scattered by hand, and the augury was derived from the forms which it assumed. In the Graeco-Roman Period the triangles, circles, and lines were drawn on a board, and counters were made to take the place of the dots; in this form it passed into use among the Arabs among whom the *Darb-al-raml*, or "striking of the sand," is a common means used in divining.³ Burton saw an Arab "sand board" (*takht-*

¹ *Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories*, 1908, p. 295.

² *Liberia*, Vol. II, p. 1064.

³ In the *Golden Silence*, by C. N. and A. M. Williamson, London, 1910, we read that the lady Lella M'Barka always carried about with her the sand which she used in divining. It came from Tuggûrt, and was mixed with a little sand from Mekkah (p. 260). It would only yield up its secret in star-light (p. 266). It was tied up in green silk, lined with a very old Arab brocade, purple and gold, and was in quantity as much as could have been heaped on a soup plate. The heroine took a handful and held it over her heart, and framed a wish whilst it was there, and then sprinkled it over the rest. M'Barka trailed her fingers lightly over the sand until she had made three long wavy lines, the lower ones rather like telegraphic dots and dashes. The heroine then laid her forefinger on three of the figures in the lines, and after consulting a little old note-book M'Barka also measured spaces between the figures the girl had touched and counted monotonously. And having uttered her prophecy she then smoothed away the tracings in the sand (p. 273).

al-raml) in use in Dahomey, and says that it was 2 feet long, 8 inches broad, and that it had a dove-tail handle. On one side of it were sixteen primary figures, called "mothers," and on the other sixteen secondary figures, called "children"; each figure was in an oblong of cut and blackened lines, and at the top were circles, squares, etc. The counters were thrown on the board, and according to the positions in which they fell, so was the augury.¹ Whether the ancient Egyptians used sand in divining cannot be said, but there seems to be little doubt that they regarded it in the light of a substance which possessed magical qualities. They were probably well acquainted with the mighty masses of sand which move from north to south and from south to north in the Western Desert, ruthlessly burying whole villages in a few hours, and they, no doubt, believed that sand contained a spirit which had to be propitiated. At all events, it is impossible to think that they could have placed the statues of the dead, which were intended to become abodes of their Doubles (KAU), upon mounds of sand without some good traditional reason.

The power of the witch-doctor is exhibited to its fullest extent when he is called on to "smell out" the witch in a community in which a man of importance has died suddenly and without apparent reason. He is often fetched from a great distance, and when he has come and performed his magic, and has declared that such and such a man has witched out the life of the dead man, no earthly power can save the accused from a cruel death. Du Chaillu has vividly described the appearance of a witch-doctor who came to find out who had caused Ishungui's death, and he says that he never saw a more ghastly object. He had on a high head-dress of black feathers. His eyelids were painted red, and a red stripe from the nose upward divided his forehead into two parts. Another red stripe passed round his head. The face was painted white, and on each side of his mouth were two round red spots. About his neck hung a necklace of grass and also a cord, which held a box against his breast. This little

¹ See Burton, *Alf Laylah wa Laylah*, Vol. III, p. 269; Burton, *Mission to Gelele*, Vol. I, p. 332.

box is sacred and contains spirits. A number of strips of leopard and other skins crossed his breast, and were exposed about his person ; and all these were charmed and had charms attached to them. From each shoulder down to his hands was a white stripe, and one hand was painted quite white. To complete this horrible array, he wore a string of little bells around his body. He sat on a box or stool, before which stood another box containing charms. On this stood a looking-glass, beside which lay a buffalo-horn containing some black powder, and said, in addition, to be the refuge of many spirits. He had a little basket of snake-bones, which he shook frequently during his incantations ; as also several skins to which little bells were attached.¹ An official medicine-man seen by Mr. Torday had a tuft of blood-red feathers on his head, numerous skins about his loins, his body painted with white ochre, his hands holding three spears, a whisk made of an antelope's tail, an axe, and an executioner's knife.² Baertand Werner describes the dress of a "fetish man" of a Mongwandi village on the Dua-Ebola River thus : Two or three red loin-cloths woven of raphia palm-fibre encircle his thighs ; bells, feathers, and iron bracelets ornament his ankles and wrists ; a collar of white feathers surrounds his neck ; a score more large feathers of various colours are bound in the shape of a tail in his hair ; all his body is daubed red, his face painted white ; his hands shake little bells.³ There is no proof that the Kher ḥeb magician of the ancient Egyptians ever arrayed himself in such apparel as that described above, but it is quite possible that the magic-doctors who worked magic for the lower classes of the people dressed themselves in a fantastic fashion in order to impress them with a sense of their supernatural powers, and to awe them. The bulk of the population of Egypt must always have been devout believers in magic, both black and white, and their belief, no doubt, found expression in the same way as the belief in magic of the modern peoples of the Sūdân.

¹ *Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, p. 241.

² Torday, in Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 661.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 663.

CHAPTER XXII.

FETISHISM.

VARIOUS writers on comparative religion have described the religion of the ancient Egyptians as "fetishism," and have regarded their gods as "fetishes." It seems, however, to me wholly wrong to call the propitiatory ceremonies which they performed before certain of their spirits, and the worship which they paid to certain sacred animals, and even the worship of figures of the gods, by the name of fetishism, for by so doing they use the word to describe forms of worship to which it cannot rightly be applied. Neither a spirit, nor an animal, nor a figure of a god, is a fetish, for, properly speaking, "a fetish is something tangible and inanimate, which is believed to possess power of itself."¹ The misuse of the word "fetish" practically begins with Bosman, who often uses it in his "Description of Guinea." In one place he says: "Fetiche, or Bossum in the Negro language, derives itself from their false God, which they call Bossum," and elsewhere he states that "all things made in honour of their false gods, never so mean, are called Fetiche." De Brosses, a later writer, called everything worshipped by the negroes of West Africa "fetishes," and their system of worship "fetishism," but, as Colonel Ellis has shown, he mixed up Animal Worship and Nature Worship with the worship of tangible and inanimate objects, and termed these three distinct forms of worship "fetishism." Both Bosman and De Brosses perpetuated a mistake made by the early Portuguese travellers to West Africa who visited that country between 1440 and 1500. At that time their native country was filled with relics of saints, charmed rosaries, images, crosses, etc., which were, in the majority of cases, regarded by their wearers as amulets or charms. Such articles were termed by the

¹ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 178.

Portuguese *feitiços*, and a manufacturer or seller of them was termed a *feitiçeiro*. When, therefore, the Portuguese found the natives reverencing or worshipping certain objects such as those tenanted by tutelary deities they naturally spoke of them as the *feitiços* of the natives. They had no other word commonly in use with which to describe charms, or that which they supposed the natives to regard as charms or amulets. The Portuguese only applied the term *feitiço* to tangible and inanimate objects, and to the wooden figures, stones, and cones of earth believed by the natives to be the abiding-places of indwelling gods, etc. They would never have called an iguana a *feitiço*, nor the local spirit of a hill or river, etc. Since, therefore, a *feitiço* is only, properly speaking, a tangible and inanimate object, fetishism can properly only mean the worship of such objects. The confusion which has resulted from the improper use of the term fetish is extreme, and is now probably irreparable. The natives never worshipped, and do not now worship, rocks or rivers, but the gods who dwell in them; and rocks, rivers, trees, etc., are only revered as the abiding-places of gods. True fetishism, *i.e.*, the worship of tangible and inanimate objects, as Colonel Ellis rightly says, is not characteristic of primitive peoples, or of races low in the scale of civilization. It is only arrived at after considerable progress has been made in religious ideas, and when the older form of religion becomes secondary. It owes its existence to the confusion of the tangible with the intangible, of the material with the immaterial; and to the belief in the indwelling god being gradually lost sight of, until the power, originally believed to belong to the god, is finally attributed to the tangible and inanimate object itself.¹

According to Major A. G. Leonard fetishism and idolatry are the two chief branches of the main channel of ancestral worship which forms the foundation of naturism.² The spirit or deity symbolized in any object, be it tree, stone, animal, etc., is in every case the

¹ Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 190. And compare Nassau, *Fetichism*, p. 75; Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 211 ff., and Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man*, p. 182.

² *The Lower Niger*, p. 114.

personification of the ancestor.¹ In the Delta of the Niger fetishes and idols are merely religious adjuncts that have grown out of the one main ancestral idea.² Material forms are considered by the native to be essential for all ancestral spirits whose services are utilized or whose memories revered. These, to them, constitute the great and radical difference between those spirits from whom human treatment may be expected, and the malignant demons who wander about formless, always ready to perpetrate evil and evil only. It is in the act and purpose of this materialisation, in other words, of this emblemism of spirits, which we speak of as fetishism and idolatry, that much misconstruction has been placed, principally by missionaries and travellers, who, although their own Christian religion has been evolved from the same identical germ, and on somewhat similar lines, have been the greatest offenders in this respect. Emblemism is merely an external formula of an inner cult of worship.³

Turning now to the ancient Egyptian religion, it may be asked, Was there fetishism in it? and if so, To what extent? If we compare the worship or reverence paid by the Egyptians to the spirits of certain trees, or to the spirit of the Nile, or to the spirits of the gods, with the worship of spirits of like character by modern African peoples, we find its theory and practice to be identical. The Egyptians worshipped their ancestors, whose spirits they located in statues and figures, and Nature-spirits of all kinds, and spirits of gods, who when it pleased them took up their abode in symbolic figures, in living animals, and in totems, living or dead, but from first to last there is no evidence whatsoever that they worshipped a figure or symbol, whether made of metal, wood, stone, porcelain, or any other substance, unless they believed it to be the abode of a spirit of some kind. So far from fetishism being peculiarly characteristic of the Egyptian religion, it seems to me that this religion, at all events in its oldest form, was remarkably free from it. There is plenty of evidence that the Egyptian of the Middle and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

² *Ibid.*, p. 116.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

New Kingdoms did not know what many of the sacred emblems or symbols represented, a fact which is clearly proved by the way in which they drew them on papyri, or fashioned them in various substances.

Thus in the case of the symbol  *ānkh*, which certainly means "life," the Egyptians do not appear to have known what object the picture represented, and no modern Egyptologist has satisfactorily identified it. Again, the Egyptians associated the so-called "Buckle" of Isis, , with the blood and magical words of power of that goddess, and they believed that the object would protect the wearer against evil,¹ but there is no evidence that they knew in late times what object it symbolized. The suggestion that the picture represents a buckle or belt has nothing to recommend it, and it is far more likely that  is a conventional representation of some member of the body of the goddess than anything else.² Of the *ṯet*, , which is the symbol of Osiris, or his emblem, more is known. The text of the CLVth Chapter of the Book of the Dead associates it with the backbone,    *ṯ*, and vertebrae,    *ṯ*, of the god, and it is clear that  is a conventional representation of a part of his spinal column. The oldest form of this part was probably represented by the symbol , which seems to represent a part of the back with portions of the ribs attached to it. As time went on the funerary artist drew a stand with a broadened base under it, and made the ribs straight, and at length the form  came into being. It is possible that when the Egyptians had forgotten what objects these three pictures, , , and , symbolized, and only remembered that the first gave

¹ Book of the Dead, Chapter CLVI.

² See above, p. 276 (Vol. I).

life, and the second the virtue of the blood of Isis, and the third the stability of the backbone of Osiris, the god who rose from the dead, the lower classes and the ignorant came to regard them as fetishes in the true sense of the word; but this is not by any means certain. There is no evidence that the Egyptians ever forgot that figures of gods and sacred animals and pictures, and amulets of all kinds, were the permanent or temporary abiding-places of spirits, who, if cherished, would be kind and helpful to them, and who, if slighted or neglected, would do them harm. The  and the 

certainly represent the ancestral idea which seems to me to have been the root of the cult of Osiris, for, as we have seen, the former symbolizes a part of the body of Osiris, himself the great ancestor-god, and the latter is connected with the womb, that is to say, the very life of Isis, the great ancestress-goddess.

Many of the amulets are connected with the bodies of the father-gods, or with incidents in their lives, to reproduce which was always beneficial to the dead, and sometimes to the living also. There was, no doubt, among the Egyptians a class of men who were conscious or unconscious impostors, and who supplied them with charms, or amulets, or objects which were supposed to contain powers derived from familiar spirits over which such men claimed to have absolute or special control. Even in such cases the alleged powers must have been assumed to be of a spiritual character, for neither buyer nor seller would be foolish enough to imagine that a piece of carnelian, or a bit of porcelain, or a wooden figure, would, of and by itself, bring protection to the wearer. It was to the interest of both that the amulet or charm should contain a Spirit-power, for without the spirit they were "dead" things. The natives all over the Sûdân and in West Africa will sell the traveller dead fetishes and amulets, but they will not willingly part with those in which they think the spirits still live. Amulets and charms which were inherited from parents or relatives might, of course, easily become fetishes, just as they do in Africa at the present day, in which case the possessors worshipped them for themselves alone. On the other

hand, the present possessor might think that the Spirit-power which was in them when they were in the hands of former possessors was increased by the addition to it of the Spirit-powers of such possessors, and if this were so he would regard them as very potent objects. Wherever we find fetishism it seems to be a corruption or modification of some former system of worship rather than the result of a primitive faith. The worship of the Sun-god Rā which was introduced into Egypt by the priests of Heliopolis was, no doubt, adopted by the upper classes of the Egyptians, but the masses never forsook their cult of the spirits who dwelt in ancestral figures, sacred animals, amulets, and totems living or dead. Similarly the cult of Āten, which was rejected even by the priesthood, made no impression on the Egyptians of the lower classes, and the only effect it could have upon them would be to make them cling closer to their belief in the great ancestor-god Osiris. In cases where their priests adopted the cult of the sun under any form, and therefore ceased to teach the doctrine of the in-dwelling spirit in ancestral figures, etc., the people might forget the doctrine, and their ancestral figures, amulets, etc., would then degenerate into fetishes.

All this is only theory so far as the Egyptians are concerned, but authorities on modern African religions tell us that this is exactly what has taken place among the peoples of West Africa. Thus Colonel Ellis says that there is more fetishism among the negroes of the West Indies, who have been Christianized for more than half a century, than amongst those of West Africa; for side by side with the new religion have lingered the old superstitions, whose true import has become forgotten or corrupted. Hence the belief in Obeah, still prevalent in the West Indies, which formerly was a belief in in-dwelling spirits which inhabited certain objects, has now become a reverence or worship paid to tangible and inanimate objects, which of themselves are believed to possess the power to injure.¹ Dr. Nassau says that the West African accepted baptism as a powerful charm. For each and all of his heathen fetishes the Christian

¹ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 193.

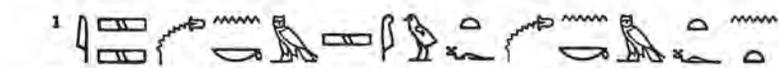
priest simply substituted a relic. The ignorant African, while he learned to bow to the Virgin, kept on worshipping also a fetish. The Virgin was only just another fetish, and Christian priests only another set of powerful fetish-doctors. The heathen in becoming a baptized "Christian" left behind him only the names of his fetish ceremonies. Some new and professedly more powerful ones were given him, which were called by Christian names, but which very much resembled what he had been using all his life. His "conversion" caused no jar to his old beliefs, nor change in its practice, except that the new fetish was worshipped in a cathedral, and before a bedizened altar.¹

¹ *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 212.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SPITTING AS A RELIGIOUS ACT.

THE ancient Egyptian texts contain many allusions to spitting, and whether employed in blessing or banning it was certainly regarded as a religious act of no small significance. Under certain circumstances it was considered to be a creative act. Thus when, according to a legend which is as old at least as the Pyramids, the god Tem had had union with himself he spat, and his spittle was the gods Shu and Tefnut; he then placed his arms round them, and his KA, or Double, entered into them.¹ This legend is repeated in the Papyrus of Nesi-Āmsu,² and, no doubt, was accepted in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. In the XVIIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead we read that the Eye of Rā, *i.e.*, the Sun, was seriously injured by a violent assault made upon it by Set, but Thoth came forward, and, having spit upon the Eye, the trouble disappeared, and the Eye soon recovered.³ In this case spitting was used as a curative act. From a book of magic we learn that spitting was sometimes made an act of cursing. Thus in the Book of Overthrowing Āpep we have a Chapter entitled "Of spitting upon Āpep," and its opening words are: "Be spit upon, Āpep," which are to be said four times. When the wax figure of Āpep was cast into the fire the priest spat upon it as it burned, and then trampled upon it with his left foot. On another occasion the priest said: "Look thou, Rā, hear

¹  Pepi II, l. 663.

² See Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri*, p. XIV.

³  l. 74.

“thou, Rā, verily I have destroyed thine enemy, I have trampled upon him, I have spit upon him.” The case in which the wax figure was sometimes burnt was, according to the Rubric, “to be stamped on with the left foot, and spit upon four times in the course of every day.” In this case spitting is an act of banning. The following illustrates the use of spitting as a curative act. In Kordofān the operator kneels over the outstretched patient, and after making a silent prayer he reads aloud the opening Surah of the *Qur’ān*, and then spits over the body three times; having said *Amīn* (Amen) he rises to his feet. Descendants of the Prophet possess the powers of curing by spitting, but holy men in general have them. And any human spittle is supposed to contain curative properties. Sometimes the saliva is mixed with sand and is applied to the nostrils, eyes, and forehead of the sufferer, and at other times it is mixed with water and carried to the bed-ridden as a remedy. Roots are often chewed to a pulp in the mouth and then applied to the nostrils.¹ Spitting has many significations in the *Sūdān* generally, and the universality of the custom is proved by the following remarks of travellers.

Schweinfurth says that spitting betokens the most affectionate goodwill. Among the *Dyūr* it was a pledge of attachment, an oath of fidelity; it was to their mind the proper way of giving solemnity to a league of friendship.² The chief of the *Jangaes* gave Petherick a goat, requesting that he would spit in the hand of his son, expressing a belief that if he did so his son would be enabled to throw a spear with power. Petherick cordially did so amid the acclamations of the tribe, and the youth received the congratulations of all.³ Among the *Barotze* relatives take leave of each other with elaborate ceremony. They spit upon each other’s faces and hands, or, rather, pretend to do so, for they do not actually emit saliva. They also pick up blades of grass, spit upon them, and stick them about the beloved head. They also spit on the hands; all this is done to warn off evil spirits. Spittle also acts as a kind of *tabū*. When

¹ R. G. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

² *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 205.

³ *Travels in Central Africa*, Vol. I, p. 105.

they do not want a thing touched, they spit on straws and stick them all about the object.¹ Among the Bantû when the priest introduces the newly born child to the ancestral spirits, he spits on it as he makes each petition on its behalf.² The Masai formerly attached much importance to the act of spitting, and among them and the tribes of the Nandi and Sûk to spit at a person is a very great compliment. When the Masai came to Sir Harry Johnston, each of them before extending his hand to him would spit on the palm. Before they entered his house they would spit to the north, east, south, and west. Every unknown object which they regarded with reverence, such as a train, they would spit at. Newly born children are spit on by every one who sees them.³ The people of the Kytch tribe return thanks by holding your hand and *affecting* to spit upon it; which operation they do not actually perform, as I have seen stated in works on the White Nile.⁴ Before parting a ceremony had to be performed by Katchiba. His brother was to be our guide, and he was to receive power to control the elements as deputy-magician during the journey, lest we should be wetted by the storms, and the torrents should be so swollen as to be impassable. With great solemnity Katchiba broke a branch from a tree, upon the leaves of which he spat in several places. This branch, thus blessed with holy water, was laid upon the ground, and a fowl was dragged about it by the chief. Katchiba handed the branch to his brother, who received it with much dignity, in addition to a magic whistle of antelope's horn which he suspended from his neck. Every native had a whistle, with which he could attract or drive away rain at pleasure. No whistle was supposed to be effective unless it had been blessed by Katchiba.⁵ One day Speke went out shooting, but though he fired at several animals he failed to kill any of them. All his men were surprised, and the

¹ Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 213; Declé, *Three Years*, p. 77.

² Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. I, p. 587.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 833.

⁴ Baker, *Albert N'yanza*, p. 48.

⁵ Baker, *Albert N'yanza*, p. 211.

villagers who were escorting him in the hope of getting flesh, were so much annoyed that they offered to cut his forefinger with a spear and spit on it for good luck.¹ When Rebmann was leaving a chief, he and the Wanika and Suahili were favoured with "dirty expectoration" by the natives as a sign of farewell, and then they were told to "go in peace."² When Miss Kingsley said farewell to a woman whom she visited, the old lady took her hand, turned it palm upwards, and spat upon it. She consulted Dr. Nassau on the subject, and he told her that the spitting was a by-product of the performance which consisted in blowing a blessing.³

Thomson says: Spitting has a very different signification with the Masai from that which prevails with us or with most other tribes. With them it expresses the greatest goodwill and the best of wishes. It takes the place of compliments of the season, and you had better spit upon a damsel than kiss her. You spit when you meet, and you do the same on leaving. You seal your bargain in a similar manner. The Masai flocked to me, and the more copiously I spat upon them, the greater was their delight . . . How could I, for instance, resist the upturned face of a young unmarried woman, as with her bright eyes she would look the wish she longed to utter. And what better reward could I have than the delighted glance of the nut-brown maid when I expectorated upon the little snub nose so eagerly and piquantly presented?⁴ Among the works of the European travellers to Africa in the seventeenth century which mention spitting may be noticed Claude Jannequin's *Voyage to Lybia in 1697*, p. 33.

THE WEARING OF TAILS BY MEN AND WOMEN.

Everyone who has examined the bas-reliefs in Egyptian temples, and the coloured vignettes in papyri containing copies of the Book of the Dead, cannot have failed to notice that gods and kings are often repre-

¹ *Journal of the Discovery*, p. 462.

² Krapf, *Travels*, p. 262.

³ *Travels in West Africa*, p. 288.

⁴ *Through Masai Land*, p. 290.

sented wearing very long tails, with an elongated tuft at the end. And if we look at the statues of kings we shall find that in many of them also the tail is represented, especially in seated statues. In the case of the seated statues of Amen-hetep III in the British Museum,¹ the tails are supposed to have been brought under the body, and parts of them, with the tufts, will be seen sculptured on the flat surfaces between the legs. In reliefs the tail is attached to the girdle and tunic, or loin-cloth, of which it probably, at one time, formed part. In primitive times gods, kings, and magic-doctors, all over the Sûdân and in other parts of Africa, wore the skins of animals when they were performing solemn ceremonies, and the tails of such skins hung down behind them; the tail in the Egyptian bas-relief and in the vignette is a survival of this ancient skin dress. The god Thoth was incarnate in the ibis, and Horus in the hawk, yet the Egyptians saw nothing unusual in representing the former as an ibis-headed man wearing a long tail, and the latter as a hawk-headed man wearing a long tail.² Animal gods, *e.g.*, the Jackal-god Anubis, when represented with a human body, are also given tails. The custom of wearing a tail has passed down the ages from the primitive to the modern African peoples, who, as will be seen from the following extracts, attach considerable importance to it.

The Bongo men and women wear girdles, the former adding a strip of stuff which they fasten to the girdle, allowing the ends to fall down before and behind. The latter attach to the girdle a supple bough with plenty of leaves, and perhaps a bunch of grass. Now and then a tail, like a black horse-tail, composed of the bast of the *Sansevieria*, is appended to the back of the girdle.³ The usual costume of the Niam-Niam is formed of skins which are fastened to the girdle and form a picturesque drapery about the loins. The finest and most variegated skins are chosen for this purpose, those of the genet and colobus being held in the highest estimation; the long black tail of the quereza monkey is also

¹ Nos. 412, 413.

² See the Judgment Scene in the Papyrus of Ani.

³ Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 294.

fastened to the dress.¹ Escaryac de Lanture was told of the existence of Lake Koeidabo, to the west of which lived the Mala-gilageh, or men with tails; they were of small stature and reddish complexions, and covered with long hair.² The dress of the Moro women is of the scantiest description, and consists of a plaited wisp of straw of the strictest economical dimensions, and is drawn up between the legs and attached to a slender waist-belt. This also sustains at the back a bunch of green leaves, about the size and shape of the tail of an ostrich, which gives the wearer a jaunty appearance.³ The men of Uregga wear skins of civet and monkeys, with the tails hanging downwards.⁴ Among the Bantu negroes both sexes usually wear a waist-belt of beads, and the married women who have borne children wear a lower string of beads, to which is attached a tiny little apron of leather embroidered with beads, and also a long tail made of strings of fibre derived from a marsh plant. The tiny apron in front is sometimes made of short strings of the same fibre, instead of being a piece of leather sewn with beads. Very great importance is attached to this tiny square of fibre or beadwork, and to the tail behind. If a man of the same tribe should touch this, the only covering worn by a married woman, a great offence has been committed, even if the man be the woman's husband. Unless the sacrifice of a goat is made it is thought that the woman will die of the insult. If, however, these coverings are touched or torn off by an enemy or a stranger no harm is done.⁵ Among the Nilotic negroes, when a woman is married she puts on a tail of strings. After marriage it is considered very bad manners for a woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 137; see also Frobenius, *Die Heiden-Neger*, p. 385.

³ Petherick, *Travels in Central Africa*, p. 277.

⁴ Frobenius, *Die Heiden-Neger*, p. 146.

⁵ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 728.

the usual sacrifice of a goat.¹ As a sign of mourning a black tail, fringed with white strings, is worn for about a month.² The women of the Shír and Kytch tribes wear small lappets of tanned leather as broad as the hand. At the back of the belt, which supports this apron, is a tail which reaches to the lower portions of the thighs. This tail is formed of finely cut strips of leather, and the costume has doubtless been the foundation for the report I had received from the Arabs that "a tribe in Central Africa had tails like horses."³ The Bari women wear a neat little lappet, about six inches long, of beads, or of small iron rings worked like a coat of mail, in lieu of a fig-leaf, and the usual tail of fine shreds of leather or twine, spun from indigenous cotton, pendent behind. Both the lappet and tail are fastened on a belt which is worn round the loins, like those of the Shír tribe; thus the toilette is completed at once.⁴ The Latuka women wear exceedingly long tails, precisely like those of horses, but made of fine twine and rubbed with red ochre and grease.⁵ The Yergum on the Niger told Mr. Boyd Alexander that the Gazum people have tails about six inches long, for which they have to dig a hole in the ground when they sit down, a statement which he doubted.⁶ The Wahele women who can afford it dress almost entirely in beads, wearing innumerable strings round their loins. Nothing else is worn in front, while behind it would be considered indecent to appear without a piece of hide ornamented with beads, and cut away so as to resemble a tail.⁷ The Wakavirondo also make tails for themselves of grass or fibre.⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 783.

² *Ibid.*, p. 793.

³ Baker, *Albert N'yansa*, p. 54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁶ *From the Niger to the Nile*, p. 78.

⁷ J. Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes*, p. 218.

⁸ Hattersley, *The Baganda at Home*, p. 144.

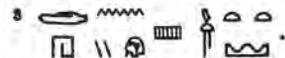
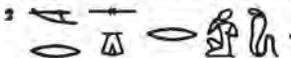
CHAPTER XXIV.

MISCELLANEOUS.

I. ILLNESS CAUSED BY AN OFFENDED DEITY.

IT has already been shown that the Egyptians believed that sicknesses were caused by spirits, good or bad, and that the modern Africans hold a similar belief. The sickness may be a punishment inflicted on a human being by an offended or outraged deity, or may be caused by a minor evil spirit who has been induced to cause it by the operations of a magician, or witch-doctor. As an example of the belief that a sickness was caused by the anger of a deity may be quoted the following :—A stele at Turin¹ which was made for one Nefer-Aābu bears a text in which the deceased confesses the sins which he committed against the goddess Mer-sekert,² who was called Ṭeheni-Āmenti,³ the “Forehead of Āmenti,” and whose shrine was situated near the Ramesseum at Thebes. “Whilst “ I was on earth,” he says, “ I was an ignorant and a “ senseless man, knowing neither good nor bad, and I “ transgressed against Ṭeheni. And she corrected me, “ and I was in her hand both by night and by day, and “ I sat upon the tiles like a woman who is with child. I “ cried out for air (or, breath) but none came to me, for “ I was fast bound by Ṭeheni-Āmentet, the strongest of “ all the gods, the goddess of the city. Behold, I say to “ everyone, great and small, among the officials, Take “ good heed to Ṭeheni, for there is a lion inside her, “ and it smiteth like a savage lion, and she pursueth “ whosoever sinneth against her. Then I cried out to “ my Lady, and she came to me in the form of sweet air, “ she made peace with me, and she made me to perceive “ her hand, she came back to me with feelings of peace,

¹ No. 102. Published by Lanzone, *Dizionario*, Plate CXXV; and see Maspero, *Bibl. Égyptol.*, tom. II, p. 405.



“ she made me to forget my suffering, and I had air to breathe. Now Ṭeheni-Āmentet maketh peace with him that crieth out to her, and Nefer-āābu saith : Behold, listen, O all ye ears which are upon the earth —take good heed to Ṭeheni-Āmentet.” The stele on which this text is found was, no doubt, set up by a man who, when suffering from bronchitis or asthma, or both together, went to the shrine of the goddess, and, confessing his sins, implored her forgiveness and help. The goddess answered him graciously, and came to him in the form of air, *i.e.*, she gave him power to breathe easily, and in grateful remembrance of her help, he had an account of his cure written and set up near her shrine for all to see.

2. ILLNESS CAUSED BY THE SPIRIT OF A DEAD WIFE.

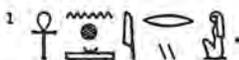
A papyrus at Leyden, published by Maspero,¹ supplies some very interesting information on the causation of sickness by spirits. This document contains a copy of a letter which was written by a widower to the spirit of his deceased wife, and placed by him on a sepulchral figure. In it he says : “ What harm did I ever do to thee that I should come to the terrible plight I am in ? “ What harm have I done to thee that thou shouldst lay thine hand upon me, seeing that no evil hath been done to thee ? From the time when we were married have I ever hidden anything from thee ? Thou didst become my wife when I was a young man, and I have lived with thee ever since. Though I was promoted to dignities of all kinds I still lived with thee, and I never left thee, nor did I cause thy heart any pain. When I was set over the soldiers of Pharaoh and the men who followed his chariot, did I not cause thee to come so that they might do homage to thee, and did not they give thee beautiful gifts of all kinds ? When thou wast ill I went to the chief physician, and he did for thee everything which thou saidst he ought to do. When I went with Pharaoh to the Súdān I was thinking the whole time of thee, and I passed the eight months which the expedition lasted without desire to

¹ *Études Égypt.*, tom. I, p. 145 ff.

“ eat or to drink because of thee. When I came back
 “ to Memphis I asked leave of Pharaoh, and I returned
 “ at once to thee, and I and my people mourned for thee
 “ before my house. I made funerary apparel for thee, and
 “ linen swathings, and provided an abundant supply of
 “ offerings.” The concluding words of this extraordinary
 document are obscure, and it is impossible to say what
 their meaning is. The sheet of papyrus on which this
 letter was written was rolled up and attached to a sepul-
 chral figure, not of the wife to whom it is addressed—she
 was called *Ānkh-ari*¹—but of another woman. This fact
 is difficult to explain, and it has been supposed that the
 letter was attached to the wrong figure by mistake.
 Another explanation is possible. The figure to which it
 was fastened may have been that of a woman who died
 some time after *Ānkh-ari*, and the widower may have
 attached it to her figure with the view of getting the
 spirit of this woman to convey its contents to the spirit
 of his dead wife in the Other World. The text says
 nothing about the reason why the letter was written, but
 it seems quite clear that the widower, finding himself
 sick and depressed, consulted a magician, who told him
 that his illness was caused by the spirit of his dead wife.
 Towards the close of his letter the widower seems to say
 that he did not enter his house for three years, and we
 may assume that, having waited all this time for peace,
 he at last consulted a magician, and made his appeal to
 his dead wife’s spirit. Further, the magician may have
 promised him to cause the contents of the letter to reach
 the Other World without fail.

3. MARRIAGE.

Of the betrothal and wedding ceremonies of the
 ancient Egyptians nothing is known, but it is most
 probable that they resembled those which are common
 among Africans at the present day.² Social formalities



² See Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 674 ff.; Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. II, p. 44; Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, pp. 609, 687, 747, 790, 822, 878; Hollis, *Masai*, pp. 121, 129, 170,

made the marriage legal, and it is unlikely that there was any religious ceremony. Under the New Empire women of high degree took care to have suitable provision made for them before they married, and carefully worded legal contracts safeguarding their interests were drawn up and executed. Apparently any man might marry any woman, for there seems to have been neither family nor tribal totem *tabû*, at least in the Dynastic Period. Polygamy was very common. Among the upper classes a man frequently married more than one wife for purely official and social reasons, which were often connected with property of various kinds, and the inscriptions mention a few cases in which two wives rule in a man's house at the same time. Kings, of course, married several wives for political and State reasons, and they and their nobles usually kept large *harims*. Among the lower classes in the great towns sexual morality was not of a high order, and men frequently lived with women who were not their wives. Then, as now, they entered into "temporary marriages, and as often as not they called the women who lived with them their "sisters." In all classes men sometimes married their actual sisters, and they appear to have done so in order to keep property in the family. This kind of incest was authorized by the cult of Osiris, for according to the legend the two brothers Osiris and Set married their sisters Isis and Nephthys. Another legend quoted by Plutarch makes Osiris to have union also with Nephthys, the result of this intercourse being Anubis. The Ptolemies adopted the custom of sister-marriage, though the Greeks in general abhorred it. Among modern African peoples marriage between brother and sister is practically unknown. In West Africa marriage within any degree of consanguinity is forbidden, and marriage of cousins is impossible;¹ in modern Egypt the marriage of cousins is regarded as a fitting arrangement, and all parties are satisfied. The religious texts show that the spirits of the Other World

201, 238, 299, 302, 309, 331; Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 60 ff.; Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 225; Declé, *Three Years*, pp. 78, 158, 233, 294, 346, 430, 445, 490; and especially Nassau, *Fetichism*, p. 4.

¹ Nassau, *Fetichism*, p. 8.

modern African tribes at the present day. The Maxims of Ani say: "Sit not down when another is standing up if he be older than thou, even if thy rank in life be higher than his."¹ With this compare: Young men never enter the presence of an aged person without curtseying, and passing in a stooping attitude, as if they were going under a low door. When seated in his presence, it is always at a humble distance. If they hand him a lighted pipe or a mug of water, they fall on one knee. If an old man, they address him as *rera*, "father"; if an old woman, as *ngwe*, "mother."² The aged must only be addressed in terms of flattery and adulation. Any disrespectful deportment or reproachful language towards such persons is regarded as a misdemeanor of no ordinary kind. And there is nothing which a young person so much deprecates as the curse of an aged person, and especially that of a revered father. This profound respect for aged persons, by a very natural operation of the mind, is turned into idolatrous regard for them when dead. They are not divested of their power and influence by death, but, on the contrary, they are raised to a higher and more powerful sphere of influence, and hence the natural disposition of the living, and especially those related to them in any way in this world, to look to them and call upon them for aid in all the emergencies and trials of life.³

5. PURIFICATION AFTER BIRTH.

Soon after a child was born among the ancient Egyptians, he or she was washed with water and, in the case of well-to-do people, was probably anointed with oil. The washing with water was, no doubt,



² Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 208.

³ Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 393.

originally a symbolic act, and was equivalent to the sprinkling with water which took place during the performance of religious and magical rites and ceremonies. The anointing oil was probably of a special kind, and must have been thought to possess peculiar properties, like the Seven Holy Oils used in the Opening of the Mouth. Whether the washing of the child with water was regarded in the same way as we regard baptism we do not know. Among many modern African tribes there remain traces of a ceremony resembling baptism, which may have been derived from the Jews or Christians of East Africa. Dr. Nassau found traces of the ceremony on Corisco Island about 46 years ago, and he says that it had been very prevalent in other parts of the Gabûn country before that time.¹ Mr. Wilson states that in Western Africa a public crier announces the birth of a child, and claims for it a name and place among the living. Someone else, in a distant part of the village, acknowledges the fact, and promises, on the part of the people, that the child shall be received into the community, and have all the rights and immunities pertaining to the rest of the people. The population then assemble in the street, and the babe is brought out and exposed to public view. Dr. Nassau gives a picture of the babe lying on a plantain leaf.² A basin of water is provided, and the headman of the village or family sprinkles water upon the child, giving it a name, and invoking a blessing upon it, such as, that it may have health, grow up in manhood or womanhood, a numerous progeny, possess much riches, etc.³ Among the Banyoro the Muchwezi, or sorcerer, visits the newly born child, and as he prays that it may have long life, riches, and health, and may be a firm believer in the tribal and ancestral spirits, he spits on its body as he utters each petition, and pinches it all over.⁴ The priest's saliva is, of course, sacred. Bishop Tucker found in Uganda a ceremony very like baptism; oil was poured on the

¹ *Fetichism*, p. 212.

² *Crowned in Palm-Land*, p. 102.

³ Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 399.

⁴ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 587.

child's head, and a name was given to it.¹ Among the Yorubas a remarkable ceremony of purification is performed over both mother and child seven days after its birth. The water which is always in the earthen vessels placed before the images of the gods is brought to the house and thrown upon the thatched roof, and as it drips down from the eaves the mother and child pass three times through the falling drops. The *babalarwo* (priest) next makes a water of purification with which he bathes the child's head, and he repeats three times the name by which the infant is to be known, and then holds him in his arms so that his feet touch the ground.²

When in the Oasis of Khârgah in 1909, I was informed by the Omdah that the inhabitants, though Muslims, baptize their babies on the second or third day after birth. The child is placed in a flat basin (*tisht*) and water is poured over it, whilst a name is given to it. This custom dates from pre-Muslim times, when the dwellers in the Great Oasis were Christians, and they have preserved it along with several other customs, apparently of Christian origin. Thus they decorate the tops of the walls of their houses with palm branches once a year on a day which is equivalent to Palm Sunday, and for weeks before Easter they collect eggs, and save them and dye them pink with a decoction of permanganate of potash, and as "Easter eggs" they eat them on Easter Sunday.

6. CIRCUMCISION.

The mummified bodies of the ancient Egyptians which are available for examination prove that circumcision was general at all periods in Egypt. As, however, the texts say little or nothing about the ceremony itself, or its significance, we must assume that it had no religious importance, at least in Dynastic times, and that, if the earlier inhabitants of the Nile Valley ever regarded it as an act of worship, this view of it was ignored by their descendants or forgotten. Originally, circumcision must have had a religious significance, and there is little doubt

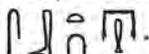
¹ *Eighteen Years in Uganda*, Vol. I, p. 85.

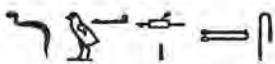
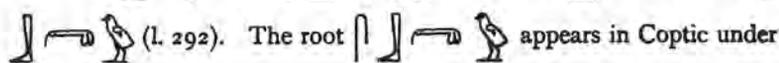
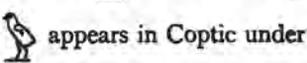
² Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 153.

that the portion cut from the body of the boy was regarded as an offering which was made to one or other of the gods of virility or generation, just as it is to-day among many of the tribes of Africa. A representation of the performance of circumcision, probably the oldest known, is found on a relief in a tomb at Şaqqárah,¹ and it dates from the period of the VIth dynasty. The act is performed by a "priest of the KA,"² but whether this official was a member of the boy's family, or a professional priest, cannot be said. A god of circumcision appears to be mentioned in the text of Tetá (VIth dynasty), but in exactly what connection is not clear.³

According to the accounts of travellers circumcision is not universal in Africa at the present time. All the males of the Congo Pygmies seen by Sir Harry Johnston were circumcised,⁴ and so were the Mbuta and Bantu-speaking negroes of the Congo Forest, from the Semliki Valley to the Upper Congo.⁵ Among the Nandi youths are circumcised between the ages of ten and twenty, and only boys are so treated if they are fairly rich orphans, or if their fathers are old men. The commonest age is between fifteen and nineteen.⁶ Among the Masai the age is between thirteen and seventeen, but orphans and the children of the poor wait till they are twenty.⁷ Among the Lendu the age is seven or eight, and the part cut from the boy is carefully buried in the ground.⁸ In some parts of West Africa the

¹ See Capart, *Une Rue de Tombeaux à Saqqarah*, and a notice of the work by Scott-Moncrieff in *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 34-36.

² 

³  or 
 (l. 292). The root  appears in Coptic under the forms $\text{c}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{e}}$, $\text{c}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{t}}$, $\text{c}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{t}}$, $\text{c}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{i}}$, $\text{c}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{e}}$.

⁴ *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 538.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 556.

⁶ Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 52 ff. The elaborate ceremonies performed by the Nandi, as described by Mr. Hollis, are full of interest, and merit careful study.

⁷ Hollis, *Masai*, pp. 262, 296.

⁸ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 554.

operation is performed from two to twelve days after the child's birth, in others after a period of three or four months, and in others the rite is evaded. No Lunda man can become chief until he has been circumcised. Some of the tribes of forest negroes of the north-east borderland of the Congo basin,¹ and a few of the Mongo tribes, and the Bambala and Bahuana of the Kwilu-Kasai, and many of the wild negroes of the south and south-east, do not circumcise. The Krubois of West Africa entirely repudiate the idea.² Among the Bongos circumcision is not practised, and a circumcised man cannot hope to make a good marriage.³ The Basukuma do not circumcise,⁴ but the Lendu do.⁵ According to Stanley, some of the tribes of the great African forest circumcise, and others do not;⁶ the forest embraces twelve degrees of longitude. The Wakamba, like most East African tribes, circumcise.⁷ In Andrew Battell's day the people of Angola were circumcised.⁸ The Waiyau used to circumcise their males, and after the performance of the ceremony boys took a new name.⁹ The people of the Sherbro also gave their boys a name after circumcision.¹⁰

As to whether there is any religious or "fetishistic" idea connected with circumcision in the minds of the modern African opinions differ. Bentley thought there was not, but according to Mr. Torday some tribes in south-west Congoland attach a "distinct fetishistic importance" to the operation. Sir Harry Johnston also thinks that in some parts of Congoland "vestiges of

¹ As to the peoples of the Batwa information is not forthcoming. The names given to them are: Dongo, Matimba, Obongo, Bakka-Bakka, Kenkab, Betsan, Mala-Gilagah, Tikki-Tikki (by the A-Sandé), Akka (by the Mañbattú), Affifi (by the Mounfu), Wotsehua, Wambuttu, etc.—Frobenius, *Heiden-Neger*, p. 456.

² Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 576; *Liberia*, Vol. II, p. 978.

³ Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 294.

⁴ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 309.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁶ *Darkest Africa*, Vol. II, p. 90.

⁷ Krapf, *Researches and Missionary Travels*, p. 144.

⁸ *Strange Adventures* (Hakluyt Society), p. 57. Livingstone says that the Bechuanah and Caffre tribes circumcise, but not the Negro tribes beyond 20 degrees south.—*Missionary Travels*, p. 146.

⁹ Livingstone, *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 81.

¹⁰ Alldridge, *Sherbro and Its Hinterland*, p. 125.

superstition or religion" are attached to it in the minds of the people.¹ He also thinks that the practice "arose in connection with religious belief somewhere in Egypt, Arabia, Syria, or the Mediterranean coast-lands, and gradually made its way south into Africa, assisted very considerably during the last thousand years by the spread of Muhammadanism."² It is, however, quite certain that circumcision was practised by the Blacks, or Negroes, in Predynastic times; this is proved by the green slate object in the British Museum,³ on which is a representation of a fight between Egyptians and Blacks. The men who are vanquished have curly wool for hair, and are bearded and naked, and it is evident that they are circumcised. These enemies of the Egyptians, who are certainly Sûdânî folk, may have borrowed circumcision from Egypt, but if it is so, it is quite clear that the borrowing was very ancient, for it took place at least 6,000 years ago. Strabo says: "All the Troglodytes are circumcised, and the cripples among them are mutilated" (iii. 31). The general trend of the evidence suggests that circumcision was practised in the Sûdân, as well as in Egypt, from time immemorial, that it had nothing to do with considerations of health, that it had a religious significance, and that it was originally connected with some kind of phallic worship.⁴

In many parts of the Sûdân girls also are circumcised. According to Mr. R. G. Anderson the circumcision of girls is of two kinds. The first is called *Ṭahûrat Sunna*, i.e., the "purification of the law," and the second *Ṭahûrat Farohîn*, i.e., the "purification of the Pharaohs." In the first the clitoris and labia minora are removed; this kind is in vogue among Egyptian women, but in the Sûdân is mostly restricted to the Baḳḳârah tribes. In the second the upper two-thirds of the labia majora are

¹ *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 576.

² *Ibid.*

³ No. 20,790, Third Egyptian Room, Table-case L.

⁴ An excellent description of the operation of circumcision as practised in Kordofân is given by Mr. R. G. Anderson in *Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratory*, p. 318, with good illustrations. The peculiar character of Masai circumcision is shortly stated by Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 804.

also removed; this kind of circumcision is believed to have been practised by the ancient Egyptians under the Pharaohs, and is thought to have survived despite the innovation of Muslim Law.¹ Strabo mentions the circumcision of girls (*καὶ τὰ θήλαια ἐκτέμνειν*), but he does not go into details. W. G. Browne, who was in the Sûdân between 1792 and 1800, supplies some interesting information in his narrative of his travels, and describes the operation and its effects.² The whole subject has been investigated with great care and learning by Dr. Ploss, who shows that the practice is common in Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, Sennaar, and the Sûdân, and among the Gallas, Agows, Gaffats, Gongos and many other peoples of East Africa. It is also found in the Little Oasis, where to be called the "son of an uncut woman" is a serious insult, and in West Africa, *e.g.*, in Sierra Leone, Benin, Congo-land, Accra, the Gold Coast, Old Calabar, Loando and in the lands of the Masai, Wakuasi, and Betchuanas. It is interesting to note that Dr. Ploss considers infibulation, which follows the operation in Africa, quite peculiar to Africa, for he says that outside North and Central Africa he has found it practised in no other country in the world.³

¹ *Third Report*, p. 320.

² "Mihi contigit nigram quandam puellam, qui hanc operationem subierat, inspicere labia pudendi acu et filo consuta mihi plana detecta fuere, foramine angusto in meatum urinae relicto. Apud Esne, Siout et Cairo, tonsores sunt, qui obstructionem novaculâ amovent, sed vulnus haud raro lethale evenit" (p. 347). Of the operation necessary before marriage, he says: "Cicatrix, post excisionem clitoridis, parietes ipsos vaginae, foramine parvo relicto, inter se glutinat. Cum tempus nuptiarum adveniat, membranum, a quâ vagina clauditur, coram pluribus pronubis inciditur, sponso ipso adjuvante. Interdum evenit ut operationem efficere nequeant, sine ope mulieris aliquae expertae, quae, scalpello partes in vaginâ profundius rescindit. Maritus crastinâ die cum uxore plerumque habitat; undie illa Araborum sententia, 'Lêlat ad-dukhlâ mithl lêlat al-futûh, i.e., post diem aperturae, dies initus. Ex hoc consuetudine fit ut sponsus nunquam decipiatur, et ex hoc fit ut in Aegypto Superiori innuptae repulsare lascivias hominum parum student, dicentes, 'Tabûsni walâ takhurkani,' sed quantum eis sit invita haec continentia, post matrimoniam demonstrant libidine quam maxime indulgentes" (p. 332).

³ *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*, ed. Bartels, Seventh edition, Vol. I, p. 227 ff.

7. TWINS.

It is well known that in several parts of the Sûdân the advent of twins is regarded as a calamity, and that they are promptly killed, and that in others twins are welcomed and are allowed to grow up like other children. The Egyptians had no hostile feelings to twins, for their gods and goddesses Osiris, Isis, Set, Nephthys and Horus were all children of one birth, and Osiris and Set were always regarded as twin brethren, and Isis and Nephthys as twin sisters. And the Egyptians were as tolerant of twins in daily life as they were in their mythology, as the following facts will show. In the reign of Amenhetep III the whole of the monuments and temple buildings on the west bank of the river at Thebes were under the direction of an eminent "Clerk of the Works," called Suti, and those on the east bank, including the royal residence, were under the direction of another eminent "Clerk of the Works," called Heru. These facts we learn from the stele in the British Museum (No. 475) which was found at Thebes in a tomb that probably contained both their bodies. The principal text on the stele is a hymn to the Sun-god, and on the sides of this are given a few biographical details of the two men. After describing his love of truth and his hatred of falsehood, Heru says that "his brother" was like himself in this respect, and that he "came forth from the belly with me."¹ Thus Heru and Suti were brothers, and if the words quoted mean anything at all it is that they were twins. Here we have a proof that under the XVIIIth dynasty at least twins were not regarded as a calamity, and their names, Heru and Suti, suggest that the gods Horus and Set were held to be the patron gods of male twins. We may now note the usages as to twins in other parts of Africa.

In one town of the kingdom of Benin, the name of which Miss Kingsley was unable to obtain, twins and their mother were sacrificed to a demon who lived in a

¹ . Birch, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*,

Vol. VIII, p. 157.

wood near the town. In Old Benin the law was mercilessly carried out in the case of the poorer class of natives, but wealthy people often bribed the Juju priests, and the twins were spared.¹ Women who bore twins or who died in child-birth were supposed to have committed adultery with spirits.² In Nguru, one of the sister provinces of Unyanyembe, twins are ordered to be killed and thrown into water the moment they are born, lest droughts and famines or floods should waste the land. Should any one attempt to conceal twins, the whole family would be murdered by the chief. In the province of Unyanyembe, if a twin or twins die, they are thrown into the water for the same reason as in Nguru. When a twin dies, the mother ties a little gourd to her neck as a proxy, and puts into it a trifle of everything which she gives the living child, lest the spirit of the dead twin should torment her. On the death of the child she smears herself with butter and ashes, and runs frantically about, tearing her hair and bewailing piteously. The men use the foulest language to her, as if in abuse of her person, but they do so merely to frighten away the demons who have taken the child. Speke was told of a Myoro woman who bore twins that died, and who kept two small pots in her house as effigies of the children, into which she milked herself every evening, lest the spirits of the dead should persecute her. The twins were placed in pots, which were taken to the jungle and placed by a tree, with the mouths downwards.³ Among the Matabele twins are put to death,⁴ but the Senga, Chinyai, Tuwala, and the Goa, *i.e.*, the principal native races of the Portuguese Zambesi, have large families, and do not kill twins.⁵ Whilst Du Chaillu was in an Apingi village a woman gave birth to twins, and one of the children was immediately killed, the Negroes holding that if both twins are permitted to live the mother will die.⁶ Twins are killed among all the Niger Delta tribes, and, in districts out of English control, the mother

¹ *West African Studies*, p. 455.

² *Ibid.*, p. 148.

³ *Journal of the Discovery*, Dent's edition, pp. 425, 426.

⁴ Declé, *Three Years*, p. 160.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁶ *Strange Adventures*, p. 456.

too, except in Omon, where the sanctuary is. There mothers and their twins are exiled to an island in the Cross River. In some places the mother of twins is kept in a hut for a whole year after their birth. Then there is a great dance, and certain ceremonies take place, during which the mother and the doctor, not the husband, have their legs painted white. After this the woman returns to her ordinary avocations. When a twin dies a wooden image is made and placed near it so that the spirit of the dead twin may have some place to live in if it needs it. Elsewhere Miss Kingsley found that the mother of twins, if allowed to live, was regarded as a thing accursed, and an outcast. She had to live by herself in a hut, into which no one would enter, no one would eat or drink with her, or partake of the food or water which she had cooked or fetched. Remarriage and giving birth to a child acceptable to the natives were the only things which could rehabilitate her. The bodies of mothers of twins, and of women who have died in their confinement without the child being born, are cast far into the bush, and not near the path, where the bodies of the children are thrown in order that their souls may choose new mothers from the women who pass by.¹ In Old Calabar twins are buried alive.² Among the tribes of the Lower Niger a woman on giving birth to twins is not allowed to touch the cooking utensils.³

According to Major A. G. Leonard the destruction of twins is a purely religious custom, the origin of which is lost in antiquity. The birth of twins is regarded as an unnatural event, which is to be ascribed solely to the influence of malign spirits, acting in conjunction with the power of evil. It is an offence against the ancestral gods, and must be removed, together with the offending cause, the woman. It implies a spirit duality, or enforced possession by some intruding and malignant demon, in the yielding and offending person of a member of the household, consequently an outrage committed upon the domestic sanctity. The natural product of two human energies, as a single unit, is only

¹ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, pp. 472, 473.

² Hutchinson, *Ten Years' Wanderings among the Ethiopians*, p. 49.

³ Leonard, *Lower Niger*, p. 311.

endowed, or provided, with one Soul-spirit. The Ibo and Brassmen always allow the first-born twin to live, and this custom is a practical admission of this view. In every home in the Delta the advent of twins causes terror, for it will provoke the anger of the gods and bring punishment. Twins are therefore thrown into the bush, or set adrift in rivers and creeks in roughly-made baskets of reeds and bulrushes, where they are drowned or devoured by sharks and crocodiles. The mothers are considered unclean for the rest of their lives, and are compelled to live in "Twin Towns."¹

In Alladah and Whydah twins were regarded as a sure proof of the infidelity of the mother, as the people considered that no woman could have two children at once by one husband. The twins were thrown into the water, and the mother impaled and her breasts cut off.² Among the Nandi the birth of twins is looked upon as an inauspicious event, and the mother is considered unclean for the rest of her life. One of the twins is always called Simatua (a kind of fig tree) and the other receives the name of an animal.³

On the other hand, the Bantu and the Nilotic negroes consider the birth of twins to be a very lucky event; among the former people it is celebrated by an obscene dance, which, however, is only lewd in its traditional gestures.⁴ Among the Masai, Turkana, Sūk, etc., the birth of twins is considered lucky, but, at the same time, to be rather a tempting of Providence. And the mother of twins must live away from her husband's village for some months, and on no account go near the kraal where the cattle are kept. One cow is reserved for her use, and she drinks its milk.⁵ The Igarra in the Niger Delta hail the birth of twins with joy and acclamation, and it is thought to be brought about by good and not evil spirits. The twins are treated exactly alike, eat alike, dress alike, and are married on the same day. It is thought that twins

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

² Skertchley, *Dahomey as It is*, p. 500.

³ Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 68.

⁴ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, pp. 748, 778.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 878.

cannot be poisoned, and that whilst children they can declare the sex of an unborn child.¹ Up till 1874 twins were brought from Cape Coast to the wells of the god Kottor-krabah to be named by the two famous silk-cotton trees, called "N'ihna-attah."² In Garenganze the people delight in twins, and the fathers and mothers of twins used to bring their offspring and present them to the king. Men and women came wearing scant clothing, and the king made them presents of cloth. Among the Benga tribe if a twin died, a wooden image was substituted in the bed or cradle box for the dead twin; if both children die the mother must have two wooden images. In the Gabûn country special ceremonies must be performed for the safety of their lives, or, if they die, to prevent further evil. Among the Egba tribes of the Yoruba country they become objects of worship.³

An interesting fact in connection with twins is reported by Speke, who says:—To-day a tremendous commotion took place in Mûsa's tembé amongst all the women, as one had been delivered of still-born twins. They went about in procession, painted and adorned in the most grotesque fashion, bewailing and screeching, singing and dancing, throwing their arms and legs about as if they were drunk, until the evening set in, when they gathered a large bundle of bulrushes, and, covering it over with a cloth, carried it up to the door of the bereaved on their shoulders, as though it had been a coffin. Then, setting it down on the ground, they planted some of the rushes on either side of the entrance, and all kneeling together, set to bewailing, shrieking, and howling incessantly for hours together.⁴

8. STEATOPYGOUS WOMEN.

The pictures of Egyptian women which are found on the walls of tombs, etc., prove that the majority of women in Egypt, at least of the upper classes, were slender in figure, with long arms, hands, legs, and feet. Among

¹ Leonard, *Lower Niger*, p. 462.

² Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 43.

³ Nassau, *Fetichism*, pp. 205-208.

⁴ Speke, *Journal*, p. 98, Dent's edition.

the dolls and portrait figures of women which have come down to us this type is well represented, but among them we also find figures of women, both tall¹ and short,² with abnormally developed hips and thighs. In one of the reliefs which formerly adorned the temple of Hâtshepset at Dêr al-Bahârî, and is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,³ the artist depicted the King of Punt, his queen, two sons, and a daughter. The figure of the queen, with its curved back, massive arms and legs, and huge hips, is very remarkable, and



The steatopygous Queen of Punt.

From a bas-relief in the temple of Hâtshepset at Dêr al-Bahârî (now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo).

that of the daughter suggests that when she grew older she would be like her mother. At one time this figure was thought by some to be a caricature of the queen drawn by an ill-natured Egyptian artist, but recent investigations have proved that, so far from this being the case, his representation of the queen is strikingly faithful, especially when we compare it with modern pictures of modern steatopygous women. All that can be said against it is that the curve of the back is, perhaps, unduly emphasized, but, even so, the

¹ See the dolls and portrait figures exhibited in the Fourth Egyptian Room in the British Museum.

² See the bone figure of a pygmy woman, No. 42, Table-Case L, in the Third Egyptian Room in the British Museum.

³ See Maspero, *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, edit. 1910 (Room I, No. 309), p. 130.

conventional limitations imposed on the artist must be taken into account.

The reliefs in the pyramid-chapels at Shendî, or Shindî, represent funeral processions of women with extraordinary girth of body and development of hip, and the great "Candace" queens of Meroë are seen to be even larger. They resemble in many respects the queen of Punt, but they are taller, and their backs are straight. In and around Shendî at the present day many young women succeed in attaining great girth of body by drinking milk, in which a certain herb has been steeped, in large quantities daily, and the works of travellers contain many allusions to the great corpulency of African beauties in all parts of the Continent. Thus Ibn Baṭūṭah extols the beauty of the women of the Bardâmah, a Berber tribe, and says they were the whitest and stoutest women he had ever seen. They drink night and morning a mixture of milk and water and crushed millet, uncooked.¹ Mungo Park says that a woman of even moderate pretensions must be one who cannot walk without a slave under each arm to support her, and "a perfect beauty is a load for a camel." The girls eat large quantities of *kuskus*, and drink a large bowl of camel's milk each morning, and mothers used to beat their daughters for not eating enough.² Schweinfurth saw fattened women among the Bongos, whose thighs were as large as a man's chest, and whose measurements across the hips recalled to his mind the "Hottentot Venus" in Cuvier's *Atlas*.³ Baker, describing Kamrasi's retreat, says that he appeared with a great number of women (his wives), several of whom were carried on litters, being too fat to walk.⁴ Speke visited the chief Wazézéru and found him sitting with his wife on a grass-strewn bench of earth, with numerous wooden pots of milk in front of them. The lady was so immoderately stout that she could not rise, and so large were her arms that, between the joints, the flesh hung

¹ *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, tom. IV, p. 438.

² *Travels in the Interior of Africa*, Dent's edition, p. 116.

³ *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 295.

⁴ *Albert Nyansa*, p. 385.

down like large, loose-stuffed puddings. Wazézeru, when asked what they did with so many milk pots, pointing to his wife, replied: "This is all the product of these pots; from early youth upwards we keep those pots to their mouths, at it is the fashion at court to have very fat wives."¹ On another occasion Speke visited a sister-in-law of Rūmanika and found her to be "another of these wonders of obesity, unable to stand excepting on all fours." Her measurements were: height, 5 feet 8 inches; round arm, 1 foot 11 inches; chest, 4 feet 4 inches; thigh, 2 feet 7 inches; calf, 1 foot 8 inches. "Meanwhile, the daughter, a lass of sixteen, sat stark-naked before us, sucking at a milk-pot, on which the father kept her at work by holding a rod in his hand, for, as fattening is the first duty of fashionable female life, it must be duly enforced by the rod if necessary."² The only occupation of Kamrasi's sisters consisted in drinking milk, each one consuming daily the produce of from ten to twenty cows. They cannot walk, and should any one of them wish to go and see a relative, eight men are required to help her on to a litter.³ Mr. J. Thomson also speaks of the "monstrously" fat wives of Kapufi, king of Karague, who were fed entirely on milk.⁴ This peculiarity of the women of Central and Southern Africa is discussed by Dr. Ploss, who quotes many authorities, and prints a number of illustrations from drawings, photographs, etc., and adds remarks on its physiological aspect.⁵

9. THE POISONING OF RĀ.

In the Legend of Rā and Isis we read that the goddess Isis wished to become like Rā and to have dominion over the whole universe, and that, having meditated long on the matter, she at length decided she could only gain the power of Rā by obtaining the knowledge of his secret name from him. She therefore caused the god to be bitten by a serpent, and when he

¹ *Journal*, p. 172.

² *Ibid.*, p. 189.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

⁴ *To the Central African Lakes*, Vol. II, p. 219.

⁵ *Das Weib*, Vol. I, p. 202 f.

was in great agony he was persuaded to let his name pass into her. The "magnificent serpent" which bit the god was fashioned by Isis out of the dust of the ground, mixed with the saliva that fell from the mouth of Rā, and she made it to have poison fangs, and set it on the path by which Rā went forth each day to inspect the heavens and the earth. When the god came forth, accompanied by his train of gods, he passed along the road of heaven as usual, and when he arrived at the spot where the serpent lay coiled up waiting for him, it reared itself up, and bit him, and drove the poison of its body into him.¹ In placing the serpent on the path of the Sun-god, Isis employed a stratagem which is in use by buffalo hunters among the Banyoro at the present day. The Chiope hunters in the north of Unyoro told Mr. G. Wilson, the Collector of the District, that expert hunters were in the habit of catching puff-adders in a noose. They nailed the living snake by the tip of its tail in the middle of a buffalo track, and when a buffalo went by the snake struck at it and killed it. As many as ten buffaloes were killed in one day in this manner. The body of the first buffalo was discarded as being poisoned, but the bodies of the other victims were eaten.² The puff-adder attains a considerable size, for Sir Samuel Baker saw one which, though only 5 feet 4 inches in length, was rather more than 15 inches in girth. Its head was flat, its tail blunt, it had eight teeth, and Sir Samuel secured five poison fangs, the two most prominent being an inch in length.³ When Rā had transferred his secret name to Isis, the goddess, presumably, administered to him an antidote, just as a modern witch-woman would do, for many "doctors" in Africa are well acquainted with antidotes to snake-bite.⁴

10. OSIRIS RESTORED TO LIFE BY ISIS.

According to one of the legends of Isis and Osiris, the goddess by enchantments and other means succeeded

¹ Lefébure, *A.Z.*, 1883, p. 27.

² Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 584.

³ *Albert N'yanza*, p. 233. A good coloured picture of the Gabûn puff-adder is given by Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. I, Plate facing p. 94.

⁴ Johnston, *Uganda*, p. 795.

in making Osiris to return to life sufficiently long to beget Horus. An interesting modern parallel to this story is given by Mr. Dennett, who prints a story to the effect that Fullafulla, one of the three wives of Nenpetro, after the death of her husband collected herbs and plants, and by their means restored him to life. The juices of the plants and herbs were applied to his body by her, and she, presumably, recited incantations as she used them. It is impossible to think that the legend of Isis and Osiris is known in West Africa, and we can only conclude that modern "wise-women" or "witch-women" claim to do what was done by Isis, the great enchantress.

II. THE SPITTING SERPENT.

In the Eighth Section of the Book of Gates a picture is given of a monster speckled serpent called "Kheti,"

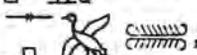
𓏏𓏏𓏏, with seven undulations, in each of which stands

a god. The mouth of the serpent is open, and through it he belches a stream of fire into the faces of the enemies of Rā, whose arms are tied behind their backs in agonizing positions. Horus says to the serpent: "Open thy mouth, distend thy jaws, belch forth thy fire against the enemies of my father, burn up their bodies, and consume their souls by the fire which issueth from thy mouth, and by the flames which are in thy body."

In the Book Am-Ṭuat (IXth Division) we also have a group of twelve little serpents, the duty of which was to pour out fire from their bodies, which was to light the dead Sun-god on his way. It is easy to explain away these creatures and their fire-spitting qualities by saying that the word fire is only figuratively used here, and that the pictures are merely representations of serpents shooting out poison from their fangs. It was formerly thought spitting serpents did not exist, and that the Egyptian drawings were the result of the artist's imagination. Livingstone, however, killed a serpent of the species *picakholu*, which was 8 feet 3 inches long, and was so copiously supplied with venom that it continued to distil clear poison from the fangs for hours after its head was cut off. He says, "This was probably that which passes

“ by the name of ‘ spitting serpent,’ which is believed to “ be able to eject the poison into the eyes when the “ wind favours its forcible expiration.”¹ Bentley tells us that one of the ladies of the Mission at Vivi went to look for eggs in the fowl-house, and that she nearly put her hand on a “ spit-adder,” which spat at her. The poison entered her eyes, and for a while it was feared that she would lose her sight; the pain was very great.² The Egyptian artist clearly had this serpent in his mind when he drew Kheti spitting venom in the faces of the wicked. The question of the “ spitting serpent” is discussed by Dr. F. Werner, who says that he saw a full-grown specimen of the *Naja Nigricollis* which had been brought to him in Gondokoro, spitting directly at his friend Dr. Sassi. The saliva has, he says, no fatal effect on the unbroken skin, nor on the mucous membrane of the eyes, which are, however, liable to severe inflammation, provided that it be washed away at once.³ Another serpent, *Naja hajae*, is supposed by some to spit, but Dr. Werner has no evidence on the subject. This serpent is probably the “ asp” of Cleopatra, and, no doubt, the snake which Moses made to become rigid in the presence of Pharaoh. Modern snake-charmers give similar exhibitions of their power over it in Egypt at the present day.

12. THE INSECT SEPA.

In various places⁴ in the text of Unás there are series of spells which were recited with the view of keeping off from the king's body in its tomb the attacks of serpents, scorpions, and other venomous reptiles. Among such reptiles is mentioned the “ Sepa  of Horus” or, as in line 537, “ Sepa ” , without any reference to Horus. In Tetá, line 302,

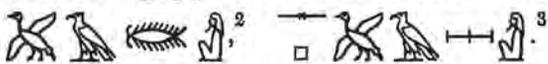
¹ *Missionary Travels*, p. 143.

² *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 393.

³ *Third Report of Wellcome Research Laboratories*, p. 174.

⁴ Line 301 ff., and l. 532 ff.

⁵ Or, . Unás, l. 329; Tetá, l. 300.

we have , and in line 304, "the great Sepa" . In the Middle Empire we have the form ,¹ and in Theban papyri of the Book of the Dead .

The variant forms of the determinative which are placed after the word show that the scribes had no very clear idea of the form of the *Sepa*, but the determinative in Unás, l. 329, proves conclusively that *Sepa* was a many-legged reptile or insect, which had poison fangs, or bags, one on each side of its vicious mouth. On submitting a copy of this determinative to the Hon. Walter Rothschild he at once pronounced it to represent a caterpillar of an allied family to the South American "Megalopygidae." He showed me a specimen of this family, and the accuracy of the Egyptian representation of a member of the allied family was seen to be remarkable. The creature is about three inches long, and is covered with a mass of orange-coloured hair, about half an inch thick. Each hair is capable of ejecting poison into the hand of anyone who touches it incautiously; the contents of even a single hair produce very severe inflammation, whilst the discharge into the human body from many hairs would be followed by death. These characteristics of the *Sepa* caterpillar-family enable us to understand why the Egyptians classed it with venomous serpents, scorpions, etc. Witch-doctors are said to make use of the poison distilled from caterpillars in their "medicines," but details of the effect of it are hard to acquire. We may note in passing that the spells against serpents, etc., in the text of Unás prove that when they were written Egypt must have been overrun with venomous snakes, reptiles, and insects, just as is the Congo Forest at the present day. Sir Harry Johnston enumerates some of these, viz., mosquitoes, tsetse fly

¹ *Recueil*, tom. XXX, p. 187.

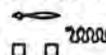
² Chapter XVII, l. 87.

³ Chapter LXIX, ll. 7 and 9.

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(causer of sleeping sickness), sand flies, hippo flies, jiggers or burrowing fleas, driver ants, brown ants, ants that stink, cockroaches two inches long, locusts four inches long, mason wasps, wasps with an almost deadly sting, beetles, caterpillars that produce a skin disease by the slightest contact with their poisonous hairs, aromatic bugs, shrieking locustids, pouncing crickets, mantises, spiders, ticks, the huge *Pandinus* scorpion six inches long, centipedes eight inches long, with a very poisonous sting, and huge, but harmless millipedes.¹ The adult millipede ejects a dark liquid which stains the hands, and is said to be poisonous, if taken internally.²

13. SNAKE-WORSHIP.

The Egyptians regarded certain kinds of snakes with reverence, and their religious books contain many allusions to them; on the other hand, the mythological writings show that some snakes or serpents were regarded as incarnations of evil. Among these are the serpents the names of which are given in the text of *Unás*, and several others are mentioned in the *Book Am Tuat* and the *Book of Gates*; but all of them appear to have been regarded as forms of the monster serpent *Āpep* , which was the type of all physical and moral evil. In short, the serpent was either a power for good or the incarnation of diabolical cunning and wickedness. Similar views are held concerning the serpent by modern African peoples, as the narratives of travellers testify, and if we had sufficient information we should probably find that the snakes which were revered in old days are revered now, and that those which were regarded as evil beings are still so regarded. The *Book of the Dead* mentions (Chapter CVIII) the serpent *Āmi-hemf*, which lived on the top of a mountain and was thirty cubits³ long, and the Papyrus *Golénischeff*⁴ also mentions a serpent thirty cubits long, which had a

¹ *George Grenfell*, Vol. I, p. 232, Vol. II, p. 937.

² *Nassau, Fetichism*, p. 199.

³ About forty-five feet.

⁴ *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. XXVIII.

beard two cubits long, and which conversed with the shipwrecked mariner on the enchanted island. The longest serpent now living in Africa seems to be the python, which is, however, less than 45 feet long, as the following instances prove. Du Chaillu's men ate a python 13 feet long;¹ Schweinfurth saw a python 15 feet long;² Sir Harry Johnston's longest python was 17 feet long;³ a python of Du Chaillu was 18 feet long;⁴ Mr. Hunter Reid killed a python near Boma, the skin of which when dry was 25 feet 2 inches long and 2 feet 7 inches wide;⁵ Bentley says the python sometimes attains a greater length than 30 feet; Mr. Alldridge saw a dead python 33 feet long and 6 inches in diameter, which was being carried away by a crocodile;⁶ and the longest skin measured by Miss Kingsley, a damaged one, was 26 feet. She mentions a python which was brought into Creek Town in the Rev. Mr. Goldie's time which must have been over 40 feet in length.⁷ The Egyptians represented certain snakes with a head at each end of the body,⁸ and Miss Kingsley mentions one serpent which the natives declared to have "a head at each end."⁹ The Egyptians drew figures of serpents with human heads and legs, and the wings of a bird, but this is not very remarkable when we remember that even Herodotus and Aristotle believed in "flying serpents." Reverence is still paid to the serpent in many parts of Africa. Thus the Dinkas revere pythons,¹⁰ and call snakes in general their "brethren";¹¹ they wash them with milk and anoint them with butter.¹² The python is

¹ *Adventures*, p. 57.

² *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 83.

³ *Uganda*, Vol. I, p. 118.

⁴ *Adventures*, p. 145.

⁵ *George Grenfell*, Vol. I, p. 270. Its stomach contained one peck of brass, copper, and iron rings. The natives walked along its back as on a big log.

⁶ *Sherbro and Its Hinterland*, p. 109.

⁷ *West African Travels*, p. 547.

⁸ Am-Tuat, Division X.

⁹ *West African Travels*, p. 161.

¹⁰ Stanley, *Darkest Africa*, Vol. I, p. 424.

¹¹ Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 158.

¹² Stanley, *Darkest Africa*, Vol. I, p. 424; and see Frobenius, *Heiden-Neger*, p. 344.

the great Juju snake of the Brassmen, and their titular guardian angel, and no Brass king would sign a treaty with the British Government that did not include a clause by which any European who killed or molested a python was made liable to a fine.¹ The Gallas pay great reverence to the serpent, which they regard as the mother of the human race, and they in this respect follow the example of the Pagan Ethiopians, whose deity was a huge serpent.² The Bârî think that a python called Yukanye was the mother of their tribe, and they keep tame serpents in their houses, and all over the Blue Nile district a certain kind of python is venerated. The Dinkas work witchcraft by means of snakes, and the snake-magician is believed to be able to cause his snake to injure a man, or his family, or cattle. If a man is injured by a snake in any way, he promptly tries to find out who is its "master," so that he may propitiate him.³

14. THE CROCODILE.

The Egyptians revered the crocodile from the earliest times, but their reverence was the result of fear, and the creature was always regarded as the incarnation of a terribly evil power which manifested itself in the destruction of human and animal life. The Egyptians endeavoured to placate the Crocodile-god by means of offerings and sacrifices, and many modern African peoples follow their example. Shrines dedicated to the crocodile existed in some of the cities of the Delta under the Ancient Empire, and under the Middle Empire the cult of the creature was common in Egypt. The Book of the Dead contains a spell (Chapter LXXXVIII) which gave the deceased the power to assume the form of the "divine crocodile, which dwelleth in terror, and seizeth its prey," and the belief is common in Africa at the present day that a human spirit can take possession of a crocodile, and direct the creature to carry out some purpose, good or bad.⁴ Two

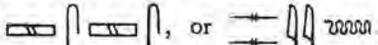
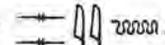
¹ Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 483.

² Krapf, *Travels*, p. 81.

³ Anderson, *Third Report*, pp. 355, 356.

⁴ Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 538.

other spells (Chapters XXXI and XXXII) enabled the deceased to drive away the four crocodiles which dwelt in the four quarters of the world, and attacked the dead in order to seize upon the *heka*, or magical powers and words, on which they depended for existence in the Other World. In the Book of Gates (Division IX) we find that *Ānep*, the monster serpent which endeavoured to prevent the sun from rising, and the cause of storms, whirlwinds, thunder and lightning, is accompanied by a fiend in the form of a crocodile, which has a tail terminating in the head of a serpent, and is called *Shesseshe*, or *Sessi*.¹ This is, undoubtedly, the crocodile of which figures were burnt at stated intervals on certain days, in the great temples of Egypt, down to the Ptolemaic Period, with the view of preventing the brewing of storms in the skies, and of assisting the Sun-god *Rā* to rise in the sky. In beliefs connected with the cult of *Osiris* the crocodile appears as a friend of this god and of his son *Horus*, but the fact remains that the creature was held sacred in some parts of Egypt, and was slain as a noxious reptile in others.² The centre of its worship in Roman times was the city of *Arsinoë* (*Crocodylopolis*), where the sacred crocodile was kept by itself in a lake, and was fed with bread, flesh, and wine by its priests; bracelets were placed on its fore-legs, and gold ear-rings in its ears.³ Another place famous for the cult of the crocodile was *Thebes*, and reverence for it seems to have persisted in the *Thebaid* till the eighteenth century of our era, for at that time the "king of the crocodiles" lived at *Armant*, eight miles south of *Thebes*.⁴ According to *Wiedemann*,⁵ a gigantic crocodile was venerated at *Khartûm* in the reign of *Muhammad Ali*. It would be interesting to know if this crocodile was an ordinary *Crocodylus niloticus*, or a Slender-snouted crocodile (*Crocodylus cataphractus*), or a Short-headed crocodile (*Crocodylus*

¹  or .

² Herodotus, II, 69.

³ Strabo, I, § 38.

⁴ Sieber, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss*, Vienna, 1820, p. 59; Pückler, *Aus Mehemed Ali's Reich*, III, p. 250.

⁵ *Muséon*, Vol. VI, 2, pp. 113-128.

osteoloemus).¹ In size the crocodile is often over-estimated, and Sir Harry Johnston says that the biggest his party ever shot in Uganda was 15 feet long.² The largest measured by Miss Kingsley was 22 feet 3 inches long,³ and Bentley killed one which was 17 feet 6 inches long.⁴ At Dixcove and in the Lower Congo the crocodile is worshipped,⁵ and in some parts of West Africa its intelligence is believed by the natives to be of a very high order. Thus Stanley tells us that the chief of Ukara had a crocodile which was as docile and obedient to his master as a dog, and as intelligent as a man. The chief coveted a pretty woman who was in the house of Lukongeh, but could find no way of getting possession of her. At length he told his crocodile of his wishes, and told it to lie in wait in the rushes near Msossi until the woman came to the lake to bathe, and then to seize her and bring her over to him. The next day at noon the woman was in the house of the chief of Ukara! It was also said that Machunda, the father of Lukongeh, owned a crocodile that stole an Arab's wife and carried her across the country to the king's house.⁶ The Christian monks of Egypt made use of crocodiles, and Palladius tells us that Apellen ordered a crocodile to carry him across the river and that the creature did so twice.⁷ Among many Sûdânî tribes a belief in the efficacy of the genitals of the crocodile as an aphrodisiac is current, and portions of them are powdered and swallowed by men who wish to be blessed with large families. Mr. Bousfield says that the penis of the crocodile eaten with spices is considered to be the most potent means of increasing sexual power in the male.⁸

¹ These are the three chief classes mentioned by Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 929.

² *Uganda*, Vol. I, p. 406.

³ *Travels*, p. 546.

⁴ *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. II, p. 249.

⁵ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 140.

⁶ *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. I, p. 253.

⁷ Budge, *Paradise of the Holy Fathers*, Vol. I, p. 354.

⁸ Bousfield, *Native Methods of Treatment of Diseases in Kassala* (*Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories*, p. 274).

15. THE USE OF THE NET IN FOWLING, FISHING, AND HUNTING.

At a very early period in their history the Egyptians believed that the spirits of the dead, in journeying from this world to the next, would encounter beings equipped with nets which they used for catching unwary souls who were travelling. To guard souls against this danger, the priests drew up a series of spells, copies of which form Chapters CLIII_A and CLIII_B of the Book of the Dead. They also provided the former Chapter with the picture of a magical net, every part of which had a magical name, and in the accompanying text all the names are given. Apparently souls flew through the air to their abode in the Other World, and they were sometimes caught in the net of the "fierce fowler whose fingers are hidden,"¹ but he who was provided with the proper spells was able to avoid him altogether, or to escape from him. The name of this great fowler was Her-f-ḥa-f, or Maa-ḥa-f,² who ferried the dead over the Egyptian Styx, and he was assisted by the "fowlers," who on some great occasion had caught the fiends and the Khetiu-ta in his net. The net depicted on the papyrus was a picture of the net used by him, but if the deceased knew the names of all its parts it would be powerless to enmesh him. In the Book of Gates (Division IX) we see the net being used by those who are going out to work spells on Āpep and Shesshes, the enemies of Rā. The company consists of six men, four apes, and four women, and in front of them stand three men armed with harpoons.

The net is employed in hunting by many African peoples just as it was by the Egyptians. Thus, among the Bongos, nets are used in all the *battues* for game, and the people devote as much attention to the construction of these nets as they do to the weaving of their fish-

¹  Chapter CLIII_A, l. 7.

²  or 

snare and basket pots.¹ The king of Toro's men were provided with extensive nets, and they caught a large chimpanzee in one of them,² and the Bantu negroes sometimes catch antelopes in nets.³ The Sango and Mongwandi are fond of eating monkeys and chimpanzees, and when they go hunting, they frighten these creatures into isolated trees, and then drive them into nets which they spread about the feet of them.⁴ The Ababua drive game, with the help of dogs, into enormous nets, where the killing takes place.⁵ At Fatiko, Sir Samuel Baker says, the favourite method of hunting was by means of the net. Every man in the country was provided with a net of strong cord. This was twelve yards long and about eleven feet wide, if stretched to its maximum. The meshes were about six inches square.⁶ All the Bakalai tribes enjoy *ashiga* or net hunting. The nets are made of the fibre of the pineapple plant, or of the fibres of a kind of tree, with which stout threads are mixed. They are from sixty to eighty feet long and five feet wide, and every village possesses several.⁷

16. STRONG NAMES.

A king of Egypt under the Middle and New Empires usually possessed five names, and each of these proclaimed his strength, valour, and power. He bore the first name as the successor of Horus, the second as the chosen one of the goddesses Nekhebit and Uatchit, the third as the Golden Horus, the fourth as the King of the South and North, and the fifth as the son of Rā. The various names which are given to Rameses II may be counted by the dozen, and the custom of giving such "mighty names" to the king of Egypt finds its parallel in the custom which is widespread among many modern African peoples of calling the chief or king by "strong names." Thus the king of the Bavili has seven titles, one

¹ Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 272.

² Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. I, p. 357.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 586.

⁴ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 780.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 776.

⁶ *Ismailia*, Vol. II, p. 439.

⁷ Du Chaillu, *Adventures*, p. 106.

of which he does not receive until after his death.¹ Among the "strong names" of Dahomey, the "Omniscient," king of Dahomey, 1625—1650, were "Donun," "the all-wise," "Akwazhu," "the leveller of his enemies," etc. Gêzu, 1818—1858, had many strong names, among them being:—

Bodun-ganu-minh, *i.e.*, "fetish conquering everything."

Eganu-menseh-Minhwe Gêzu, "he conquered all his enemies, so everybody comes to Gêzu."

Gan kaka de jeh, "a conqueror for whom everybody will wait."

Vokhe Mau, "the scarlet bird of the gods."²

Among the titles of Gelelê, the successor of Gêzu, were:—

Glere, "heavy," *i.e.*, the "king who cannot be moved."

Kini-kini-kini, "dragon with claws," *i.e.*, "he tears all in pieces."

Tenge makan fenkpon, "rock, finger-nail cannot scratch it."

Ahorsu Yemabu, "Shadow-king," *i.e.*, "he who will never be lost in his kingdom."³

The king of Dahomey is double, not merely binonymous, nor dual, like the spiritual Mikado and the temporal Tycoon of Japan, but two in one; he is king of the city, and he is king of the Bush, *i.e.*, of the farmer folk and of the country as opposed to the city. This Bush-king, Addokpon, though a wholly imaginary person, enjoys all the pomp and state of a real king. The Bush-king double of Gelelê had his palace at Akpwe-ho, a few miles from Abomey, on the Toffo road, an official mother, a chief executioner, a master of ceremonies, male and female officers, eunuchs, and wives. And a number of criminals and victims were set apart to be slain at this Bush-king's So-Sin Customs. The idea of the Bush-king is said to have been evolved by Gêzu, the father of

¹ Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 100.

² Skertchley, *Dahomey as It is*, p. 451 ff.

³ Burton, *Mission to Gelele*, Vol. II, p. 333.

touches one of them with his hand, and the prince so touched becomes at once king of Uganda, and makes all arrangements for the burial of the dead king.¹

18. POTTERY MADE BY HAND.

During the Predynastic Period and the early dynasties the Egyptians made their pottery, even the largest vessels, by hand, and the use of the potter's wheel appears to have been unknown. Their skill in this craft was remarkable, and the proportions of the vessels which they turned out are so true, and the circular shapes so exact, that it is sometimes almost impossible to believe that they did not employ some mechanical means in their pottery work. Many modern peoples in Central Africa possess similar skill in the craft of the potter, *e.g.*, the Dyoor, of whose work Schweinfurth says: "It is remarkable how they manage with the mere hand to turn out immense vessels which, even to a critical eye, have all the appearance of being made on a wheel."² Among the Bongos the women, without the help of any turning-wheel, succeed in producing most artistic specimens of pottery. The larger water bottles are sometimes a yard in diameter. Handles are uniformly wanting, and to compensate for this want, their whole outer surface is made rather rough by being ornamented by a number of triangles and zig-zag lines, which form all manner of concentric and spiral patterns. The gourd-platters and bottles are generally decorated with different dark rows of triangles.³ In all Congoland the potter's wheel is unknown; all pottery is made by hand, and women are the potters. In the west beautiful and elaborate designs and careful choice of colours and materials make their appearance; this is probably due to the influence of the Sûdânt peoples in the north and of the early Portuguese.⁴ The only implements used by the Nandi in pottery making are: The handle of a hoe, which is employed for pounding and stirring the clay,

¹ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 224.

² *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 212.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

⁴ Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 812.

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the shoulder-blade of an ox, a stone, a seed pod, some plaited grass, and three pieces of straw, with which the pots are smoothed and ornamented.¹ At Stanley Pool the natives had no idea of the potter's wheel, but putting a piece of calabash under a lump of clay, to make it turn freely, they very deftly turn it round slowly by hand, and make some very thin regular ware. It is hard sometimes to realize that the articles have not been "thrown" on the wheel, so round are they, and even.² The Obbo people have no knowledge of the potter's wheel, and the circular form is obtained entirely by hand.³ The Bubis of Fernando Po also make their pottery without a wheel.⁴ Of native pottery in general Dr. Livingstone says: "The pots for cooking, holding water and beer, are made by the women, and the form is preserved by the eye alone, for no sort of machine is ever used."⁵

19. FINGER-NAILS.

In one of the Chapters of the Daily Cult⁶ which deals with the placing of the hands on the coffer to "make purification," the priest declares to the god that he has "done away," *i.e.*, cut, his nails, in imitation of Thoth, who, on a certain occasion, cut his nails. These words show that the cutting or cleansing of the nails was an important act in making the body of the priest ceremonially pure. What exactly was the idea which underlay this act of purification cannot be said, but its importance is evident. In connection with this it is interesting to note that the cannibal Makarakas, among other cleanly habits, include that of keeping the fingernails tidy.⁷

20. FIGURES AND COUNTING.

The Egyptians counted from one to nine by means of short strokes, and they had signs for ten \cap , hundred @,

¹ Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 35.

² Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. II, p. 37.

³ Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, p. 196.

⁴ Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 65.

⁵ *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 59.

⁶ Moret, *Culte Divin*, p. 170.

⁷ Junker, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 245.

thousand , ten thousand , hundred thousand , million , and ten million ; thus it is clear that they could count up to very large numbers. The modern Baganda are also skilled arithmeticians, for before the Europeans entered their country they had developed the expressions for numerals, and used a decimal system of calculation. They have words for every multiple of ten up to twenty millions.¹ Among the Egyptians the number seven appears to have represented completeness, for we have the Seven Hathors, the Seven Arits, the Seven Cows and their Bull, the Seven Spirits, the Seven Uraei, the Seven-headed Serpent, etc. The number nine also seems to represent finality and completeness, and the Companies of the Gods each contained nine members. And we have Nine Mourners, Nine Watchers, Nine Smeriu, Nine Task-masters, Nine Followers of Osiris, Nine Holders of the Rope for measuring land, etc. Among modern African peoples the number nine is regarded as sacred. When a man is killed by lightning in Uganda nine witches are sent for, who surround the body.² When Lukedi became king, he killed nine fowls, nine cows, nine old women and nine young women, and he made nine loads of beads into a head-dress, which he wore.³ A magician works magic by means of nine kauri shells sewn on to a strip of leather, with which he makes the sign of the Cross.⁴ In the Okijun country a fair is held every ninth day.⁵ A woman does not work in the fields for nine days after the birth of her child.⁶ Gelele was, according to his reckoning, the ninth king of the Dahoman dynasty, and at the Sin Kwain Custom he made nine stools, nine hammocks, nine flags, and nine swords to march in procession.⁷ The number 110 seems to have possessed some special significance, and the Egyptians regarded it as the utmost limit of a man's

¹ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 695. Compare Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 298.

² Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 589.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 600.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 678.

⁵ Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 475.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 793.

⁷ Skertchley, *Dahomey as It is*, p. 402.

life.¹ Thus in a papyrus² mention is made of some person who lived upon earth 110 years, and Nefer-Renpet, in a prayer cut on a libation tank in the British Museum, entreats the gods to allow him to live 110 years $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \textcircled{\text{e}} \\ \text{O} \end{smallmatrix} \right.$, provided that they give him health and strength to enjoy them.³ In connection with this number may be mentioned the custom in West Africa of giving a man who has committed some serious offence 110 lashes with a whip. Thus Du Chaillu commuted the punishment of death to a flogging of 110 lashes in the case of one Boulay who had tried to poison him.⁴ Whether the Egyptians believed in certain numbers being lucky and others unlucky cannot be said, but it is probable that they did, and that they used numbers in divining. Among modern diviners by means of numbers may be mentioned the Nandi, who regard 2, 3, 5, 8, and 10 as lucky, especially 3 and 5, and 1, 4, 6, 7, and 9 as unlucky;⁵ the most unlucky number is 1 and the least so is 4.

21. TIME, THE YEAR, SEASONS, ETC.

The Egyptians divided the year into three seasons, each containing four months; each month contained thirty days, or three weeks of ten days each.⁶ Five intercalary days were added to make up a year of 365 days. They conceived of very long periods of time, *e.g.*,

$\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{f} \\ \text{f} \\ \text{f} \end{smallmatrix} \right\} = \text{tens of millions of years.}$

$\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{f} \\ \text{f} \\ \text{f} \\ \text{f} \\ \text{f} \end{smallmatrix} \right\} = \text{one million of millions of millions of years.}$

¹ Egyptians sometimes attained to a great age, perhaps actually to 110 years, for Ankh-p-Khart tells us that he ministered in a temple for 80 years, and when he died he must have been 100 years old, or more. See his statue in the British Museum, No. 820.

² *Anastasi*, IV, p. 6, l. 14.

³ Central Saloon, No. 605 (*Guide*, p. 167).

⁴ *Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, p. 245.

⁵ Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 89.

⁶ In late times the year consisted of 12 months, each month containing 29 days, or 4 weeks of $7\frac{1}{2}$ days each, and a supplementary month of $17\frac{1}{2}$ days (equal 1 decade and 1 week). See Daressy, *La Semaine des Égyptiens* in *Annales du Service*, Vol. X, pp. 21-23, 180, 182.

In early Dynastic times each year was named by the most important event which took place in it. The Mandingoes in Mungo Park's day also distinguished each year by a particular name, founded on some remarkable occurrence which happened in that year. Thus they say, "the year of the Farbanna war," and the "year of the Kaarta war," the "year in which Gadou was plundered," etc. They calculate their years by the rainy seasons, of which there is one in each year.¹ Among many modern African peoples the year is divided into three seasons. Thus the Yorubas have Ewo-erun, "dry season"; Ewo-oye, "season of the Harmathan wind"; and Ewo-ojo, "rainy season"; and each of their months contains six weeks of five days each, from which, however, they deduct twelve hours.² The Bavili year is divided into three parts, which contain one month, four months, and eight months respectively³; they are called Mawalala, Xicifu, and Mvula. These three parts contain six seasons, each of two months, which are called Mwici (smoke), Bunji (mist), Mvumvumu (drizzle), Waw Waw Waw (rains), Nvula Nxentu (female rains), Nvula Mbakala (male rains).⁴ In Speke's time the Baganda reckoned only five months to the year,⁵ and only recently has time been divided into years in Uganda.⁶ The Egyptians gave names to each month, to each day of the month, and to each hour of the day and night, and some modern African peoples do likewise.⁷ Our information about the divisions of time in use among modern Sûdânt folk is scanty, for the older travellers paid no attention to the matter.

In the Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days the Egyptians divided the day into three parts, but it is not clear whether each part contained four or eight hours, *i.e.*, whether they included the night in the day or not. Many African peoples divide the day into three parts,⁸

¹ *Travels in the Interior of Africa*, Dent's reprint, p. 210.

² Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, pp. 144, 151.

³ Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁵ *Journal*, p. 355.

⁶ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 234.

⁷ See Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 106, and Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 94 ff.

⁸ *E.g.*, the Mandingoes.—Mungo Park, *Travels*, p. 208.

Ptolemaic Period we find lists of the Signs of the Zodiac and pictures of their gods.

Modern African peoples pay little attention to the heavenly bodies in general, and travellers have, as a rule, surprisingly little to tell us of their views concerning them. Sir Harry Johnston says that beyond a slight interest in the sun or moon the Negro race, as contrasted with the Asiatic or European, takes little notice of the heavenly bodies. The average native of Uganda takes little or no interest in the stars. The Baganda know the Great Bear, and their name for it means "six stars"; Orion they call the three stars. Sirius is simply "Munyenye," or "*the star*."¹ The Bakongo regard Venus and Jupiter as the spouses of the moon.² Rūmanika asked Speke "if the same sun we saw one day appeared again, or whether fresh suns came every day, and whether or not the moon made different faces, to laugh at us mortals on earth."³ Pingiro, chief of Nindo, asked Declé if there were two suns, one which went to bed one evening, and another which got up next day.⁴ When Mungo Park asked the Mandingoes what they thought became of the sun during the night, they considered the question childish, for they had never thought out the matter, and the subject seemed to them to be beyond human investigation. The Nandi think that the sun retires into his scabbard at night time, and returns by a different road to his home in the east; and when the moon disappears she is supposed to fall, and to go home by a different road. When there is no moon the people say that the sun has killed his wife.⁵

The moon has attracted the notice of the natives of Africa more than any other heavenly body, and most of their religion and religious ceremonies are grouped about it. The new moon to them is a newly created thing, or a resurrection of its old body, and a new embodiment of the moon's spirit. To the African everywhere it has

¹ *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 697.

² *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, p. 815.

³ *Journal*, p. 193, Dent's reprint.

⁴ Declé, *Three Years*, p. 370.

⁵ Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 98.

always been the symbol of new birth, new life, growth development, and power. Many peoples in West, South, and Central Africa salute its appearance reverently, and Pagans as well as Muslims say a short prayer when they see its crescent in the sky at sunset for the first time each month. The prayer said, they spit upon their hands and rub them over their faces. Work of all kinds, especially that connected with agriculture, and journeys are undertaken during the waxing moon, and marriages are performed, and circumcision festivals are celebrated during this period. No work of any importance is begun during the moon's last quarter,¹ when mourning festivals are celebrated.² The institution of a general day of rest among the Yorubas and many other peoples in Africa and elsewhere is probably to be referred to moon-worship. Originally the first day of the new moon was observed as a day of rest, a holy day sacred to the moon. When the month was divided into weeks, the first day of each week, *i.e.*, of each phase of the moon, was also regarded as holy. As the Mendis do no work on the first day of the month, saying that if they did the rice and corn would grow red, the day of the new moon being "a day of blood," Colonel Ellis thinks that they at one time offered human sacrifices to the new moon.³ As the African developed anthropomorphic conceptions of gods moon-worship decayed, but the new moon is still treated with reverence in most parts of Africa, and its appearance is celebrated with festivals, dancing, music, and joyful entertainments of all kinds.

23. THE PILLOW OR HEAD-REST, ♀.

The Egyptians often placed in their tombs head-rests, or "pillows," on which the heads of the dead rested, and they often attached to mummies small models of the pillow, made of haematite and other substances, which were supposed to possess the power of "lifting up" their heads. A large collection of pillows in wood, ivory, etc.,

¹ Mungo Park, *Travels*, pp. 208, 209; Hollis, *Nandi*, pp. 19, 52, 60, 79.

² Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 71.

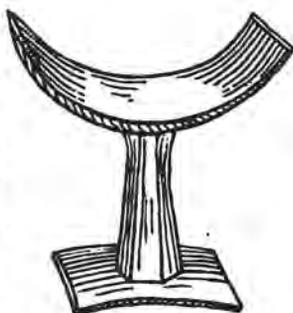
³ *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 146.

is exhibited in the Third Egyptian Room, and there are many pillow-amulets in the Fourth Egyptian Room, of the British Museum. In the Papyrus of Ani the pillow appears as one of the three chief amulets, the other two being the backbone of

Osiris, , and a portion of the body of Isis, . It forms the

vignette of Chapter CLXVI of the Book of the Dead, and the text suggests that it not only raised up the head, but prevented it from being carried off. The

modern African peoples also use head-rests made of wood, etc., which closely resemble those of the Egyptians; for illustrations of these see Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 309, and Johnston, *George Grenfell*, Vol. II, pp. 745-748.



Egyptian Pillow.

24. THE DANCE OF THE GOD.

In the chapter on Osiris and dancing it has already been stated that most of the chief African peoples regard ceremonial dancing before a god as an act of worship. Allusion has already been made to the pygmy who was brought from the Súdán to Egypt, and who knew how to dance the "dance of the god," the "god" being, presumably, Osiris, and we are justified in assuming that this "god" had his own special dance, which was not generally known in Egypt. There is certainly some good reason for the statement that the pygmy knew the dance of the "god." With this we may compare a remark of Colonel Ellis, who says: "On the Gold and Slave Coasts, every god of note has his own dance, which is sacred to him, and is known only to the initiated."¹

25. UNDER-WORLD.

The Egyptian Book of Gates and the Book Am-Tuat suggest that some parts of the Other World were supposed

¹ *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 296.

to be underground, and the entrances to these, with the Porters or Doorkeepers, seem to indicate that the artists who drew the pictures of them were well acquainted with the fact that certain tribes lived in underground dwellings. Some modern African peoples live underground, and Livingstone, describing the underground houses in Rua, says they are very extensive, ranging along mountain sides for twenty miles, and in one part a rivulet flows inside.¹ He also speaks of underground store-houses in Kabiuré, in the range called Kakoma.² There are also underground houses in the Oasis of Khârgah, to which for generations the people have been in the habit of driving their cattle, and in which the people themselves have taken refuge, when attacked by the desert Arabs. I visited them in 1909 and found them well stocked with grain, and women, goats, and children living in them contentedly. The light of lamps and fires added a weirdness to the scene, which might well serve as a base for an imaginary Under-world, like the Ipo-okú of the Yorubas,³ where the spirits of the dead lived and continued their existence which they had begun in the flesh on earth.

26. MAGICAL FIGURES IN STEATITE.

In connection with what has been said about magical figures and figures of ancestors, it may be noted that small steatite figures are sometimes dug up in various parts of the Sherbro Hinterland, and that the people ascribe magical powers to them. They make offerings of flour to them, and then consult them about expeditions, wars, the crops, and the acquisition of wealth. Each figure, or devil, is in command of many spirits, who carry out his orders. If a figure is set on a small bamboo stool, within a little palm leaf shrine, in a secret place near a crop, it is believed that the crop will be doubled. If such a figure is acquired by theft its powers are supposed to be increased.⁴

¹ *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 274.

² *Ibid.*, p. 281.

³ Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁴ Allridge, *Sherbro and Its Hinterland*, p. 163.

27. INCENSE.

Among the Egyptians of all periods one of the most important ceremonies was the burning of incense. Each substance used in the composition of incense was supposed to possess magical properties, and the smell produced by burning them together was believed to be much liked by the gods. The smoke was thought to form a material vehicle on which the words of the prayers recited by the worshipper would mount up to heaven, and when they reached the divine being to whom they were addressed, the odour of the incense which accompanied them caused him to receive them graciously, and to grant the suppliant his petition. And this was not all, for a passage in the Pyramid Text of Pepi II shows that the soul of the dead man ascended into heaven by means of the incense which was burnt on his behalf. The passage reads:—

- “ The father of Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā is Shu.
- “ The mother of Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā is Tefnut.
- “ They draw up Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā to heaven, to heaven,
- “ On the flame of the incense.¹
- “ Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā is pure.
- “ Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā liveth.
- “ Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā maketh his seat, behold, Osiris.”

An interesting modern parallel to this old idea is given by Livingstone. A fire broke out at Hara, the night after he left that place, and destroyed the village, including the goods, beads, guns, powder, cloth, etc., of one Hamês. The news reached Livingstone's camp the next morning, and prayers were at once offered up for Hamês, and some incense burnt. The Muslims held their prayer book (Kur'ân ?) in the smoke of the incense whilst the responses were being said.² Thus all the

¹
 , l. 958.

² *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 233.

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prayers of the book were despatched to heaven on the wings of the burning incense, and the suppliants believed that they must be heard by God.

28. SITTING ON THE SHOULDERS.

In the Pyramid Text of Pepi I we read :

Pepi cometh forth into heaven.

He findeth Rā. Standing upright,¹ he meeteth him.

He seateth himself on his shoulders.

Rā will not permit him to descend to the ground,

For behold, he knoweth that Pepi is greater than he.

Pepi is more spirit than the spirits (*khu* )

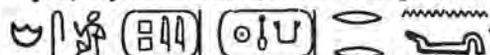
More perfect than the perfect (*āgeru* )

More stable than the stable ones (*tchetu* )²

And in the Pyramid Text of Pepi II it is said, "Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā hath seated himself on thy shoulder, Osiris."³ Thus we see that the kings of Egypt when they arrived in heaven were supposed to mount on the shoulders of both Rā and Osiris. The wording of the texts makes it clear that no allusion to the embracing of the king by these gods is meant, and it is quite clear that we are intended to understand that he seated himself on their shoulders. The idea seems strange until we remember that among many peoples in Africa chiefs and their wives are in the habit of travelling on the shoulders of their attendants from one place to another. Thus Sir Samuel Baker tells us that the chief

¹ *I.e.*, Pepi meets Rā as an equal, he does not bow before him.

² Pepi I, l. 91 = Meri-Rā, l. 120 = Pepi II, l. 698.

³ , l. 958.

Katchiba was in the habit of travelling upon the back of a very strong subject, "precisely as children are wont to ride pick-a-back. He generally had two or three spare men, who alternately acted as guides and ponies, while one of his wives invariably accompanied him, bearing a large jar of beer."¹ When Livingstone was at Hara, "a daughter of Nsama came this afternoon to be a wife and cementer of the peace! She came riding 'pick-a-back' on a man's shoulders; a nice, modest, good-looking young woman, her hair rubbed all over with *nkola*, a red pigment, made from camwood, and much used as an ornament."²

29. RED BODY COLOURING.

The wall paintings in Egyptian tombs, etc., often contain representations of men whose bodies are coloured red, and in papyri containing vignettes of the Book of the Dead the body of Osiris is frequently given this colour. From these it is clear that the Egyptians were in the habit of painting their bodies with red pigment, and many modern Africans follow their example at the present day. Thus among the Shilluks the poor anoint themselves with unguents with which wood-ashes are mixed, and their colour becomes grey; the landowners, or men of position, mix the ashes of cow-dung with their unguents, and when smeared with them their bodies have a dusky-red tint, like the "hue of red devils."³ The Mañbattu use a "beauty-paint" made of the red powder of camwood, which is mixed with fat, and is rubbed over the whole body. The Niam-Niam also use a similar paint, which they apply to their bodies in spots and stripes; they stain red all their faces and breasts to increase the ferocity of their appearance.⁴ The Acholi smear their whole bodies with red paint and fat.⁵ The Baris paint their bodies with a pigment made of oxide of iron and grease, and give "themselves the

¹ *Albert N'yanza*, p. 210. See the illustration on p. 209.

² *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 231. See the illustration facing p. 232.

³ Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 88.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 106.

⁵ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 354.

appearance of new red bricks."¹ The Baris pulled down the house built by the devoted Austrian missionaries, and having pounded and ground the bright red bricks of which it was built into powder, they mixed it with grease, and smeared their bodies with the mixture, and so "the house of God was turned into 'pommade divine.'"² The Nuers also stain their bodies red,³ and the Mbichos rub their bodies all over with oils and red earth.⁴ The people of Makalumbi use large quantities of red powder and oil in dressing their hair,⁵ and the Taveta maidens smear themselves with red earth and fat.⁶

30. THE TORTOISE.

Among the Egyptians the tortoise was regarded as one of the personifications of evil, and the creature itself was classed with crocodiles, serpents, and other noxious creatures. In the Book of the Dead the death of the tortoise is followed by the living of Rā, and in Chapter CLXI the deceased says, "Rā liveth, the tortoise dieth." How the tortoise came to be associated with Thoth and the four winds of heaven, which are referred to in this Chapter, cannot be explained. In another place (Chapter LXXXIII) the deceased says, "I have dressed myself like the tortoise." The tortoise has an evil reputation among the Baganda, for they believe that the monster python Bemba, one of their mythical kings, was slain by the guile of Enfudu, the tortoise.⁷ One of the ways of celebrating the making of peace after a war is to kill a tortoise with blows of a club.⁸ Among the Fjort the tortoise is associated with the fire which came from heaven.⁹

¹ Baker, *Albert N'yanza*, p. 59.

² Baker, *Ismailia*, Vol. I, p. 237; *Albert N'yanza*, p. 59.

³ Baker, *Albert N'yanza*, p. 39.

⁴ Du Chaillu, *Adventures*, p. 109.

⁵ Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes*, Vol. II, p. 111.

⁶ Höhnel, *Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie*, p. 102.

⁷ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 154.

⁸ Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 84.

⁹ Dennett, *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort*, p. 76.

31. THE PRIMITIVE VILLAGE.

The Egyptian determinative for village, or town, or any inhabited district, is , *i.e.*, a circular enclosure surrounded by a wall, with two main streets at right angles to each other. Many modern villages in West Africa have this shape and arrangement of streets, *e.g.*, the Usimbi villages, Wenya and others, at Stanley Falls.¹ The villages of the Kavirondo are circular, have fences all round, and the cattle are brought in each night and the gates are shut.²

32. DECORATION OF BOWS OF BOATS.

In the vignette to Chapter CXXXIII of the Book of the Dead we see Rā, the Sun-god, seated in his boat, from the bows of which hangs a sort of rectangular mat, with a bird perched on the top. The mat appears to be fringed. What seems to be a parallel to this is furnished by Stanley, who describes an Aruwimi war-canoe, and tells us that from its bow streamed a thick fringe of the long white fibre of the Hyphene palm.³

33. TREE-WORSHIP.

The Egyptians believed that certain deities took up their abode in trees, and several trees were regarded by them as sacred. Thus, in Heliopolis, there was the famous Persea tree, near which lived the Great Cat which cut off the head of the serpent of darkness,⁴ and the god Sepes lived in a tree.⁵ The god Rā appeared each morning from between two sycamore trees of turquoise,⁶ and there was also in Heliopolis an olive (?) tree which was closely associated with Horus.⁷ The goddesses Nut and Hathor lived in trees, and a vignette shows us the former giving bread and water to the

¹ Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. II, p. 260.

² Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 279.

³ *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. II, p. 271.

⁴ Book of the Dead, Chapter XVII, l. 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter CLXXIX, l. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Chapter CIX, l. 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Chapter CLXXVIII, l. 3.

deceased, as he kneels by the stream on which the tree is planted.¹ In the celestial Heliopolis stood the sacred tree on the leaves of which Thoth and Sesheta wrote the names of kings and of the blessed dead.² This is, of course, the original of the Sidr, or Lote tree of Paradise, which the Muslims say contains as many leaves as there are human beings in the world, and that on each leaf the name of one human being is written. The cult of trees is common among many modern African peoples, some of whom regard tree-spirits as very powerful beings. Thus the Masai worship the spirits of the Subugo tree, and of the Retete tree, which is a species of parasitic fig. They propitiate these by killing a goat, and by bringing blood in a calabash and pouring it over the base of the tree trunk.³ The cult of trees by the Masai is associated with the reverence which is paid to grass as a sacred symbol, and the "Laibanok," or sorcerers, pluck grass before they perform any of their magical ceremonies.⁴ Near the Karüma Falls is a tree in which lives a spirit that is supposed to gratify the powers and pleasures of men and women who summon its presence in the form appropriate to each.⁵ Among the Gallas the Woda is esteemed holy, and under its shadow sacrifices and prayers are offered up to the exalted spirit who dwells in it. Of the greatest sanctity is the tree Worka (*Ficus sycamorus*), at Woda Nabi, by the River Hawash, where each year the Gallas offer up a great sacrifice to their deity Waka, and pray, saying: "O Wak, give us children, tobacco, corn, cows, oxen and sheep. Preserve us from sickness, and help us to slay our enemies who make war upon us, the Sidama (Christians) and the Islama (Muslims). O Wak, take us to thee, lead us into the garden, lead us not to Setani, and not into the fire."⁶ The priests of this tree are called "Lubas," as opposed to the medicine-men, or sorcerers, who are called "Kalijas." The Camante perform their

¹ *Ibid.*, Chapter LIX.

² Figured in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Band III, Plate 169.

³ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 832.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 833.

⁵ Speke, *Journal*, p. 446, Dent's reprint.

⁶ Krapf, *Travels*, p. 76.

religious ceremonies in dense forests, where they are said to pay particular reverence to the Cactus tree, ascribing to it a reasonable soul, and believing that the human race are sprung from it.¹ In the Camma country the people venerate a mighty tree which they call "Oloumi." Its bark is said to possess healing properties, and if a man washes himself in a decoction of it it is thought that he will be lucky and shrewd in making bargains.² In every Ibo community sacred trees and tree deities and spirits are to be found. The Efik people sacrifice a goat and a fowl each year to the tree called "Parando," and they present to it yams, plantains, and nimbo-tree wine. At Ogbe-abri lives the Tree-god Ani; at Isiskme is a grove sacred to Ede-mili, the Crop-god; Ofo, the god of justice and truth on the Niger, lives in the tree Ofo; and Osisi, a form of Ofo, lives in a tree. In Brass, when the Liana creeper is cut down, the natives have to perform expiatory ceremonies. In Southern Nigeria the Blood-plum tree is venerated. The Yorubas venerate the Aluki, a sort of prickly pear, and Asorin, the "father of trees," and the Ayan tree, and the Apa tree.³ An account of a remarkable ceremony given by an eye-witness is quoted by Sir Harry Johnston. During a period of hunger a number of the Basoga came in canoes to a very fine specimen of a tree of the *Parinarium* species, which rose to the height of a hundred feet above the ground before giving out branches. The tree was surrounded by small fetish huts, and curious arcades, and umbrellas of straw. When the Basoga arrived at the base of the tree, they removed all their clothing, and wrapped ropes made of creepers round their arms and necks, and began to dance whilst songs were sung. After a time a little girl ten years old was brought, and laid at the base of a tree, and every action connected with slaying a sacrifice was gone through; and a slight incision was made in her neck. She was then thrown into a lake close by, but was saved from drowning by a man who stood ready to rescue her.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

² Du Chaillu, *Adventures*, p. 264.

³ Leonard, *The Lower Niger*, p. 298 ff.; Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 115.

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The child was afterwards dedicated to a life of virginity. All this took place near Luba in Western Busoga.¹

34. THE THRONE.

Egyptian hymns to Osiris, and those which relate to him and his successor Horus, lay great stress upon the fact that Horus inherited his father's throne, and sitting on it ruled the world. Thus in the Book of the Dead we have: "Thy throne hath descended to thy son Horus" (Chapter CLXXV, l. 14). "Horus, his son, is seated upon the throne of the Dweller in the Lake of Fire as his heir. . . . Horus is stablished upon his throne" (*ibid.*, ll. 20, 21). "Thy son Horus is triumphant. . . . The throne of Kēb hath been adjudged to him, together with the rank which was established by Temu, and ordered by decree in the Library, and recorded on a tablet according to the command of Ptaḥ-Tanen." (Chapter CLXXXIII, l. 12, f.). The throne of Horus passed naturally to his representative on earth, *i.e.*, to the king of Egypt, and from time immemorial in Africa the possession of the royal or tribal-chief's throne has been regarded as synonymous with the possession of the sovereignty over a country or district. The original throne of Osiris, as we have seen, probably contained portions of his body, and as long as these were preserved in it, his son Horus enjoyed the protection and power which they transmitted to the mystic seat, *i.e.*, he was under the direct influence of the great ancestral spirit. When the first king of Egypt sat upon that throne the spirit of Horus, as well as that of Osiris, protected and inspired him, and the divine power which these gods conferred upon him, by virtue of his succession to their sovereignty, gave to his words and deeds an authority which was divine and absolute. At certain periods in Egyptian history the people, from the highest to the lowest, regarded the king as god as well as king, and as the master of their lives, and bodies, and souls, and property. No one could sit upon the throne of Horus as king without the god's permission, and out of this belief grew up in

¹ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 719.

Africa the idea of the divine right of kings. The oldest throne of Osiris was probably made of wood, but in late times fine alabaster, costly stone and metal, bronze, gold, etc., which were sometimes inlaid, were also employed. In the kingdom of Nubia the royal throne was made of gold, and in the inscription of Nástasen we are told that, after sacrificing two bulls, this king "went up and sat on the Golden Throne in the Golden Chamber, under the shadow of the great royal fans."¹ This he did at Napata. He then went to the city of Per-Ḳem, and having paid homage to Amen he went up and sat on the golden throne; this act conferred upon him the sovereignty of that part of Nubia of which Per-Ḳem was the capital. He also went to P-nubs, the capital of another province, and went up and sat on the golden throne which was preserved there. Mention is also made by Nástasen that he went into an underground chamber and lay there for four nights, and that, having made offerings of all kinds to Amen and sacrificed two bulls, he went into the temple and took his seat upon the "seat of state" which was in the "Chamber of the Throne." From the Book of the Dead we learn that the beatified in the Other World also possessed throne chambers with seats in them, for the XLVIIth Chapter is a spell the recitation of which prevented the "throne chamber and the throne,"

𓄏𓄏𓄏𓄏, from being taken away from them.²

The importance of the tribal throne, which is one of the abodes of the ancestral spirit, is clearly recognized by modern African peoples. Thus the throne of Unyoro was very ancient, and had been in existence for many generations. It is quite a small object, and is made of copper and wood, and is regarded as a "cojoor," or talisman. The throne, and a very ancient drum, "which is considered with reverence as something uncanny," are always jealously guarded by special soldiers, and are

¹ For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Band V, Plate 16.

² We may note, in passing, the "stark-naked people," the Wakidi, mentioned by Speke, who live up in trees, and have small stools fixed on behind, always ready for sitting upon. See *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, p. 81, Dent's reprint.

seldom used. Should the throne be lost or stolen, the authority of the king would disappear, together with the talisman, and disorder would reign throughout the country until the precious object should be restored.¹ Nothing can happen in Unyoro without the order of the king. The superstitious veneration for the possession of the magic throne produces a profound obedience.² It was on this throne that Kamrasi sat when Baker visited him, and on that occasion it rested upon a carpet of leopard skins.³

35. DRIED HUMAN BODIES.

Reference has already been made to the costliness of embalmmnt among the Egyptians. The remains of many bodies which have been found in large, common graves suggest that attempts were made to preserve them by drying them in the sun or by the help of fire; both methods were probably employed. Drying by fire has been commonly practised in many parts of Africa in recent years, and Miss Kingsley states that it was customary when a native of Benin died to dry his body over a gentle fire, and then to take it back for burial to his native city.⁴ It may also be noted that when Livingstone died at Kataui on Lake Bemba, his faithful servants removed his internal organs and dried his body in the sun for twenty-two days; they then rolled it in blankets and put it in the bark shell of a small tree, and carried it to the coast. This information was given to Mr. H. Ward by Uledi Pagani.⁵ In the late period the Egyptians preserved bodies in honey, and this custom is not unknown in West Africa, for when Sonni Ali, Emperor of Songhay, was drowned in 1492, his body was eviscerated by his sons, and filled with honey, and carried back and laid in the tombs of his fathers.⁶

¹ Baker, *Ismailia*, Vol. II, p. 206.

² *Ibid.*, p. 316.

³ *Albert N'yanza*, p. 288.

⁴ *West African Studies*, p. 455.

⁵ Ward, H., *A Voice from the Congo*, p. 65. The names of the men who saved him from the lion were Wadi Mozera and Muini Hasali.

⁶ Shaw, *Tropical Dependency*, p. 179.

36. CANNIBALISM, HUMAN SACRIFICE, ETC.

In addition to the instances already given the following may be noted. The Gabun eat the dead, just as did the Gabun Fang and the Ogowe Fang,¹ and the Mañbattu,² Wasongora Meno, and Waregga are also cannibals.³ The Gbalin tribe of Kpwesi fatten and eat prisoners and slaves.⁴ In Ofurekpe, in Old Calabar, the people eat prisoners of war, otherwise the inhabitants "are everything to be desired."⁵ It is on record that in 1668-9 four sailors were captured by some of them, and that three of the four were killed and eaten at once.⁶ Among many secret societies in Africa the eating of human flesh forms one of their most sacred rites,⁷ and many sorcerers are believed to eat portions of the bodies of the dead.⁸ The Angicas were in the habit of eating human flesh,⁹ and in the fifteenth century the Benins, the most civilized of all the coast tribes, lived upon it.¹⁰ Queen Shinga before undertaking any new enterprise cut off the head of the handsomest man in her guard, and drank a deep draught of his blood.¹¹ In proof of the view that cannibalism is not a thing of the past, as some imagine, we may note Mr. H. Ward's remarks in his *Voice from the Congo*, London, 1910. Cannibalism is, he says, a regular practice, and the people eat human flesh as a standard article of diet because they have an innate love of it. They say: "It gives us a strong heart for fighting, and we eat men because it is good to eat meat that talked with us." Men are fattened

¹ Nassau, *Fetichism*, p. 235.

² Frobenius, *Heiden-Neger*, p. 420.

³ Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. II, p. 106.

⁴ Johnston, *Liberia*, Vol. II, p. 952.

⁵ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 564.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 567.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 538.

⁸ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 578. The Bakwains buried their dead hastily in their huts lest the witches (Baloi) should disinter them and use parts of their bodies in their fiendish arts.—Livingstone, *Travels*, p. 129. On eating the heart see *Last Journals*, Vol. II, p. 49.

⁹ Battell, *Strange Adventures*, p. 101.

¹⁰ Shaw, *Tropical Dependency*, p. 179.

¹¹ She had sixty male concubines who took the names of women and wore female dress.—Reade, *Savage Africa*, 1863 edit., p. 364.

and taken to the market at Mubangi, where they are hawked about alive. Mr. Ward saw four Lulungu captives soaked in water up to their chins, and then killed and eaten.¹

With reference to human sacrifices at burial Mr. Ward describes the funeral of a chief of Bolobo. His body was painted white, black, red, and yellow, and he wore a feather headdress; as he lay in his grave, ten women and several young men were pushed into the grave with the body, and when earth had been poured in on them and they had been trampled down, a dance was held on the spot.² When a Bairo chief died his wives committed suicide as a matter of course,³ and even at the death of a great African lady a slave was sacrificed.⁴ The people of Senjero offer up human beings as sacrifices, and many families must slay their first-born sons, so that their blood may be poured out on the base of a certain pillar.⁵ King Kwoffi Karri Kari sacrificed a human victim every Tuesday to his "fetish," which was kept in a gold box covered with plates.⁶ On the terrible sacrifice of human life which went on at the "watering" of the skeletons and tombs of deceased kings in Dahomey, see a most interesting letter written by the Rev. P. W. Bernasko in 1860, and published by Burton.⁷ In Ashanti many human victims were sacrificed yearly on the king's birthday, in addition to those which were offered up to the gods monthly, and to the spirits of the dead kings at the Annual Customs.⁸

37. THE SPIRIT-BURIAL, OR SECOND BURIAL.

Among the tribes of the Lower Niger the custom of Second Burial, or Spirit-Burial, is common. This burial is conducted on much the same lines as the first, except that a greater entertainment is provided, and the

¹ See pp. 231, 275, 277, 278, 283.

² *Ibid.*, p. 55. See also Junker, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 261, 262.

³ Johnston, *Uganda*, Vol. II, p. 610.

⁴ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 453.

⁵ Krapf, *Travels*, p. 69.

⁶ Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 512.

⁷ Burton, *A Mission to Gelele*, Vol. II, p. 331, and see pp. 334, 335, and especially p. 354. Also Skertchley, *Dahomey*, pp. 340, 351, 416.

⁸ Skertchley, *Dahomey*, p. 513.

expenses incurred are heavier. The second burial is, in a spiritual sense, of greater importance than the first, "because it is a special memorial service held over the deceased in order to release him from the thralldom of the region of the dead in which all souls are confined, . . . and to usher him triumphantly, as befits his birth, into the abode of his fathers in the world of spirits." No soul can attain to the peaceful ancestral habitations without the rite of second burial. Formerly human sacrifice accompanied this rite, one hundred slaves and a horse being sometimes killed on the death of an elder, but since the British Government has interfered in native customs, animals and gifts of food, etc., are contributed by friends instead of slaves. Among some sections of the Ibo peoples the Okuku ceremony, which is identical with the second burial or lamentation ceremony, was remarkable from the fact that during its performance a male or female slave was killed and eaten by those who belonged to the family of the deceased. The slave was beheaded by the eldest son. Without this sacrificial entertainment the soul, it was thought, would either remain for ever dormant, or, being in the power of the god of death, would be liable to be absorbed by him, or be used as a malignant force. The New Calabar people, prior to the introduction of Christianity, were in the habit of performing a still more elaborate set of ceremonies in connection with the "Duen-fubara," or image of the deceased.

The Duen-fubara was a painted wooden figure representing the head and shoulders of the deceased, which was intended to be the abode for his spirit. It was made by the Fuchians, who had the monopoly of making such things, and was brought to the house of the deceased, where living sacrifices were offered to it, and their blood poured over it. When this had been done, the sons of the dead man, with a number of followers, went to the house, and endeavoured to carry off the Duen-fubara by force. When the servants of the house resisted them, a sort of sham fight followed, and this was kept up for a time. At length the defenders of the Duen-fubara gave way, and the sons obtained possession of the figure, which

they took to a small house that had been specially built to receive it. This was the house-chapel of the family, and a trusty man was appointed to guard the figure, and to keep the house swept and clean.¹ The wooden figure is identical with the KA figure of the Egyptians, the house is identical with the "KA chapel," and the ministrant is the equivalent of the "priest of the KA."

These ceremonies are identical with those of the memorial service for the dead which is common throughout Egypt and the Sūdān, and they closely resemble those which the ancient Egyptians performed for their dead, when their object was to secure the passage of their souls from the land of death to the land of the spirits. It cannot be too strongly insisted that spirits were believed to be alive in the land of death, and that death with them did not imply finality. The reason why the living were so anxious that the spirits of the dead should pass from the land of death to the land of spirits was that they might take up their position as spirit-fathers, and act as guardians and protectors of their families.

If we apply these considerations to the history of the burial of Osiris we shall see that the ideas which prompted the performance of the funerary ceremonies of Osiris are identical with those which cause the modern African to undertake the labour and expense of the second burial of his kinsfolk. The details of the murder and dismemberment of Osiris are given elsewhere, so we may pass on to consider his second burial. The Book of Opening the Mouth describes at considerable length the funerary ceremonies performed for Osiris at his first and second burials, but they have not been kept distinct in that work. The ceremonies connected with the slaughtering of the bulls, and with the presentation of the reeking hearts and the legs of the animals, represent those which were performed at the first burial, but we must note that, even at the early period when the Book of Opening the Mouth was reduced to writing, bulls had taken the place of the human victims which had been sacrificed at the actual burial of Osiris. Nearly all the other ceremonies, especially those which deal with the censing, anointing, dressing, and decoration

¹ See Leonard, *The Lower Niger*, p. 159 ff.

tion of the mummy, belong to the second burial, and their object was to give Osiris the power to pass from the land of death to the land of the spirits. In later times, when a KA figure, or statue, took the place of the mummy, the object was the same, but the figure was placed in a specially prepared chamber or shrine, like the Duen-fubara, in order that the spirit who used it as an abode from time to time might be consulted and appealed to for help in time of trouble, by those who lived on the earth. The second burial of Osiris thus not only freed his spirit from the land of death, but made him to become the great and powerful ancestral spirit and protector of the tribe which founded his cult in primitive times. At a later period, when his worship spread over all Egypt, he became the spirit-protector of all the country, and the ancestor-god, *par excellence*, of all its inhabitants.

Among modern African tribes the second burial may be deferred for several months after the death of an individual, and sometimes a whole year elapses before the spirit-burial takes place. Whether this was so in the case of Osiris cannot be said, but we know that the burial of this god was commemorated annually. In primitive times human beings were, no doubt, sacrificed before his statue, and their blood sprinkled on it and on the ground about his shrine, in much the same way as the skeletons of the kings of Dahomey are "watered," *i.e.*, bathed, with blood once a year. In course of time animals were substituted for men, and their flesh was eaten sacramentally by the priests and certain of the worshippers. It is possible that at some of the shrines one human being at least was eaten sacramentally, just as a human victim was eaten during the Okuku ceremonies of the Niger tribes. As time went on the slaughter of men ceased, and libations of wine took the place of "waterings" with blood, and in one of the vignettes in the Papyrus of Nebseni we see a series of bunches of grapes hanging from the roof of the shrine in which Osiris is seated. The offerings made to Osiris at the annual commemoration were very numerous, and their comprehensive character is well illustrated by the Great and Little Lists of Offerings which are included

in the text of the Book of Opening the Mouth. They consisted of incense of different kinds, unguents of various sorts, wines from the South and the North, beer, the flesh of animals, geese and other birds, cosmetics, changes of raiment, fruit, vegetables, flowers, etc. The offerings at the tomb of Osiris much resembled those which are presented by relatives, friends, and neighbours in honour of a modern king or chief in Western Africa at his second burial. And the great feast which followed the conclusion of the solemn ceremonies was characterised by the same weepings, cries, shouts of joy, laughter, dancing, noise of pipes, drums, horns, etc., and acrobatic performances which accompany the second burial of a great king at the present day. Of course, they have nowadays, in addition, explosions of gunpowder, fusillades of rifles, and noises caused by instruments of music of European origin.

Under the New Empire the cult of Osiris developed with extraordinary rapidity, and temples were built in honour of the god at Abydos and at other great centres of his worship. In these his festivals were observed, and once a year commemorative ceremonies of a more or less elaborate character were performed. During such festivals priestesses assumed the characters of Isis and Nephthys, and recited before the shrine of the god addresses and hymns in which the sufferings and death, and the reconstitution and resurrection of Osiris, were described. Added to these were many expressions of great grief for the death of their lord, and invocations to him to return to them and to remove from their hearts the sorrow and pain which his departure had caused them. These addresses, which are commonly known as the "Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys," and the "Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys," are equivalent to the words of mourning which are addressed to kings and chiefs of Africa at their second burials, and were sung with the same object, *i.e.*, to assist Osiris as the great ancestral spirit in his operations in the Spirit-world, to gratify him and to win his favour for deceased relatives and friends, to obtain his assistance for the Egyptians in their daily life, and to induce him to give them full and satisfactory inundations of the Nile, and good harvests.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE GODDESS ISIS.

Of the exact position which Isis held among the gods of Egypt under the first four dynasties, and of the attributes which the Egyptians ascribed to her in the Archaic Period, we know nothing, but it is probable that she was generally regarded as the female counterpart of Osiris, and that she was believed to minister to his wants, and to guard and protect him with the devotion and fidelity of a truly loving wife. We find figures of a goddess who, as she appears with Osiris, must be Isis, on some of the cylinders which have been discovered at Abydos, and if this be the case, there is good reason for believing that Isis was known in the Predynastic Period. One thing seems to be quite certain: her fortunes were bound up with those of Osiris, and as his cult grew and developed throughout Egypt, so the fame and power of Isis increased in the land. It is impossible to arrive at a final conclusion on these points, for the evidence necessary is not forthcoming, but lack of evidence does not justify the statements made by those writers who assert that Isis had no place among the gods of the Ancient Empire. Until we know from hieroglyphic inscriptions what views were held about Osiris by the Egyptians of this period, it is futile to discuss the position of Isis. Those who took the view that Osiris was a mere tribal chief would regard Isis as a tribal chief's wife; those who worshipped Osiris under the form of a bull would naturally think of Isis as a cow; those who revered Osiris as a great, mighty, and terrible ancestral spirit would consider Isis as his spirit counterpart, and so on. The characteristics of Isis changed as Osiris absorbed little by little the attributes and powers of other gods, and from being in the earliest times a somewhat obscure, and probably local, goddess, she became the chief deity of all Egypt, and, in late times, her worship wholly eclipsed that of her male counterpart Osiris.

The oldest form of the name of the goddess in Egyptian is 𓆎 , which is usually transcribed "Ast," but



The Bull-god *Āsār-Hep*
(*Sarapis*).

the true reading of the two hieroglyphic signs seems to be "S[e]t," or "S[a]t." The vowel which was prefixed to assist the pronunciation of the two consonants was probably

a 𓆎 and not 𓆎 ,

and in this case the name of the goddess is to be read "Ast." The classical form of the name suggests that a vowel to assist in pronouncing the two consonants was prefixed, and in modern times in Egypt we have *istīm* for "steam," and *express* for "express." The word *ast* means "seat, throne, chamber, house, abode, place," etc., but there seems to be no possibility of connecting any one of these with the attributes of the goddess in such a way as to give a rational explanation of her name, and none of the derivations hitherto proposed can be regarded as satisfactory. As the

wife of Osiris she was her husband's throne, as the mother of Horus she was the house in which he came into being, as the great World-Mother she was the abode in which all life originated, and her womb was the source whence sprang gods and men, the harvest, and all living creatures. There is no doubt that at one time or another all these, and many other similar ideas, were associated by the Egyptians with her name, but she was dear to the Egyptians of all periods because they regarded her as the type of the faithful wife and loving mother, who bore pain and suffering, sorrow and solitude, and endured untold persecutions from Set, her husband's murderer, for the sake of her lord and his beloved son Horus.

Numerous passages in the Pyramid Texts prove that, even so far back as the Vth dynasty, Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys, were regarded as the deified

members of a family of human beings, and from this time onward, even down to and including the Roman Period, the conceptions of the Egyptians about this group of gods never changed. Set was detested as the murderer of his good and noble brother Osiris, and the persecutor of the forlorn widow Isis, his brother's wife, and the usurper of the throne and kingdom which belonged to the son of Osiris. The sympathy of all men went out to Isis, who, after her husband's murder, brought forth her son in the papyrus swamps of Lower Egypt, where Set, in the form of a scorpion, stung the child and killed him. Nephthys, her sister's constant and faithful companion, insisted that Isis should appeal to Rā in heaven, and as a result Thoth provided her with the knowledge of certain words of power which restored life to the body of Horus. Further, all men approved of the direct intervention of heaven at this juncture, and applauded Isis for training Horus to engage in mortal combat against his uncle Set, his father's murderer and the usurper of his throne. Throughout the history of Osiris Nephthys appears as her sister's most devoted helper in every trouble and difficulty, and as an affectionate ally of her murdered brother, and a gracious protector of her nephew, his son. Osiris was the type of the good god, king, and husband, Isis was the model of all that a goddess, queen, wife, and mother should be, and Horus exhibited the traits of filial love, which expressed themselves in constant care for his widowed mother and in killing his father's murderer, and which appealed to the heart of every father and mother in Egypt. Apart from these considerations the Egyptians throughout the Dynastic Period regarded their kings as the lineal descendants of that Horus, the son of Osiris, who was conceived and brought forth by Isis after her husband's death, and who became the first king of Egypt. Therefore Osiris and Isis were the ancestors of their kings, and the divine origin of their kings was the secret of their power, which at certain periods in the history of Egypt was absolute. In obeying the king the Egyptians believed they were obeying God, and in placing their souls, bodies, and possessions at the uncontrolled disposal of their king, they thought they were proving

themselves to be loyal and religious servants of God. The sovereignty of this earth was inherited by the Horus, *i.e.*, king, not from Osiris, but from his grandfather K̄eb, the god of the earth, and only his inheritance of heaven came to him from Osiris.

With the rise to power of the Theban princes of the XIth dynasty, and their successors of the XIIth, the cult of Osiris developed greatly, and about this time the fame and renown of Isis as the queen of Osiris, and the "mother of the god," *i.e.*, Horus, began to fill the land. The performances of the sacred Osiris-play at Abydos and elsewhere brought the loving care of Isis for her husband and son into great prominence, and as "queen of heaven" her protection was eagerly sought after throughout Upper and Lower Egypt. She became the great and beneficent goddess and mother, whose influence and love pervaded all heaven, and earth, and the Other World, and she became the personification of the great feminine, creative power which conceived and brought forth every living creature and thing, from the gods in heaven to man on the earth and the insect on the ground. What she brought forth she protected, and cared for, and fed, and nourished, and she employed her life in using her power graciously and successfully, not only in creating new beings, but in restoring to life those that were dead. Throughout the Book of the Dead Isis is spoken of as a giver of life and food to the dead, and she appears in the pictures of Osiris in his shrine in the Judgment Hall with the god, ready to assist in the judgment of the dead. Isis and Nephthys are often identified with the two goddesses of Truth (Maāti), and each may be regarded as a judge of the dead.

Of the sufferings of Isis we find no connected account until we come to the XXXth dynasty, when the famous stele, commonly known as the "Metternich Stele,"¹ was made. This valuable monument tells us that after Set had murdered Osiris, he placed Isis, who was with child, under restraint, but she, acting under the advice of

¹ It was given to Prince Metternich by Muḥammad 'Ali in 1828, and a facsimile of it, with texts and translations, was published by Golénischeff at Leipzig in 1877.

Thoth, who foretold the ultimate triumph of her son Horus, and his accession to his father's throne, succeeded in making her escape one evening. With her went the Seven Scorpion-goddesses—Tefen, Befen, Mestet, Mestetef, Petet, Thetet, and Maatet—and they led her to the village of Per-sui, near the Papyrus Swamps. When Isis arrived at Teb she wished to beg shelter from a woman of position, who lived there and was connected with the overlord of the district, but the woman, seeing her coming, shut the door in her face. Enraged at the treatment which Isis received from this woman, one of the Scorpion-goddesses, Tefen, made her way into the woman's house under the door, and stung her child to death, and set her house on fire. Isis, taking pity on the woman's grief for her child, laid her hands on him and restored him to life, and a flood of rain extinguished the flames of the burning house. Meanwhile a peasant woman had invited Isis to her house, and the goddess went in and stayed there, and the woman who had refused her admission suffered agonies of remorse for a whole night.

Soon after this Isis brought forth her child Horus on a bed of papyrus plants in the Swamps, and she rejoiced greatly in him, because she knew that he would avenge the murder of his father. She hid him carefully, and concealed him, fearing lest he should be stung by some venomous reptile, and one day set out to go to the city of Am, in order to obtain provisions and other necessaries for her son. When she returned she found him lying stiff and dead, with foam on his lips, and the ground round about him was soaked with water from his eyes. In a moment she realized what had happened; Set, in the form of a scorpion, had succeeded in discovering the child, and had stung him to death. The shrieks of Isis rent the air, and caused all her neighbours to run to the place where she was, but though they offered her sympathy, nothing which they could do brought Horus back to life. At length Nephthys came to her sister's help, and she counselled Isis to appeal to Rā in heaven for assistance. This she did, and having cried out to Rā, the sun stood still in heaven, the Boat of Millions of Years stopped, and

Thoth descended to earth to comfort Isis, and to repeat to her the spell which she was to use to restore Horus to life. Isis learned the words of power, and when she had uttered them the poison flowed forth from the body of Horus, air entered his lungs, sense and feeling returned to him, and he was restored to life. Thoth ascended into the sky and took his seat once more in the Boat of Millions of Years, and the sun resumed his course amid shouts of joy on the part of the denizens of heaven, who gloried greatly in the restoration of Horus to life. The temporary death of Horus turned out to be a blessing for mankind, for it was the immediate cause of Isis's obtaining from Thoth a potent spell against the bite of scorpions. This spell Isis transmitted to her priests, and by its use they were enabled to do away the effects of the reptile's poison in the human body, and so to preserve the lives of many Egyptians. The sorrows of Isis, the search for her husband's body, her weary wanderings, her loneliness when she brought forth Horus, the death of the child, etc., probably formed the subjects of scenes that were acted at the Osiris-play, which was performed annually at Mendes, Abydos, and other centres of the cult of Osiris. When Horus had grown up he fought a duel with Set, which lasted for three days and three nights. Towards the close of the fight Horus began to gain the upper hand, and at length he succeeded in fettering his adversary. When Isis saw this, pity for her brother Set moved her, and she uttered a spell which had the effect of causing the fetters of Set to fall away from him, and he escaped. Horus was filled with wrath at his mother's ill-timed clemency, and he raged at her like the savage leopard of the South, and as she fled from before his anger he pursued her and cut off her head. At this juncture Thoth intervened, and transforming the head of Isis into that of a cow, he attached it to her body straightway.

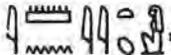
Under the New Empire Isis became, beyond all doubt, the greatest goddess in Egypt, and the following titles illustrate the estimation in which she was held throughout the land:¹ "She of many names. The

¹ See Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, pp. 102, 217-219.

" Great One who is from the beginning. The divine
 " one. The only one. The greatest of the gods and
 " goddesses. The Queen of all the gods. The best
 " beloved of all the gods. The prototype of all beings.
 " Queen of goddesses and women. The female Rā.
 " The female Horus. The Eye of Rā. The right eye
 " of Rā (as Sothis). The star-crown of Rā-Horus. The
 " Queen of the Dekan stars. Sothis, who openeth the
 " New Year. The lady of the beginning of the year.
 " Occupier of the chief place in the boat of heaven.
 " The maker of the sunrise. The lady of heaven. The
 " holy one of heaven. Light-giver in heaven with Rā.
 " She of the beams of gold. The golden one. The
 " most brilliant goddess. Lady of the north wind. The
 " Queen of earth. The mightiest of the mighty. The
 " mighty one on the earth of Kēb. The Queen of the
 " South and North. Queen of the South. Queen and
 " Lady of the lands of the South. Chieftainess in the
 " North. Lady of the solid earth. She who vomiteth
 " fire. Blazing flame. She who filleth the ʔuat with
 " good things. She who is greatly feared in the ʔuat.
 " The great goddess in the ʔuat with Osiris in her name
 " 'Tanit.' The mother of the god [Horus]. The
 " mother of the god Horus, the Mighty Bull. The
 " mother of the Golden Horus, who brought her son
 " into the world in the Birth-chamber so that he might
 " inherit the rank of his father. Giver of new birth to
 " the god of Panopolis (Ka Nekht). The nurse and
 " protector of her son Horus. The Lady of the Birth-
 " chamber. The Cow Ḥeru-sekha, who bringeth forth
 " all things. Who nourished the child Horus with her
 " milk. Bestower of life. Lady of life. Creatress of
 " green things. Bestower of life. Giver of her goods
 " to the gods, and giver of offerings to the spirits.
 " Green goddess, whose green colour is like unto the
 " greenness of the earth. Lady of bread. Lady of beer.
 " Lady of abundance. Lady of joy and gladness. Lady
 " of Love. Who delivereth to the king his rank, with-
 " out whom no king can exist. Lady of the temple.
 " Queen of the Great House and of the House of Fire.
 " Beautiful in appearance. Beloved in all lands.
 " Mighty one. Beautiful (or, majestic) one. Beautiful

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" of face in Thebes. Majestic one in Heliopolis.
 " Beneficent one in Memphis. Mistress of spells.
 " Weaver and fuller. Daughter of Keb. Daughter
 " of the Universal Lord. Child of Nut. First royal
 " wife of Rā. Consort of her father. Whose son is the
 " lord of the earth. Whose husband is the lord of the
 " deep. Whose husband is the inundation of the Nile.
 " Who maketh the Nile to swell and overflow. Who
 " maketh the Nile to swell in his season." The last-
 mentioned titles of the goddess refer to Isis-Sothis,
 whose appearance in the sky indicated the immediate
 advent of the inundation of the Nile, and warned
 men to be ready to begin the agricultural labours of
 a new year. Though essentially the goddess, *par*
excellence, of the South, Isis had control over the stars
 of the Great Bear and of the other constellations of the
 North who were supposed to be able to exercise an
 influence for evil over the sun in the season of spring.
 As Osiris was, in one of his aspects, the lord of grain,
 so Isis was the goddess of crops, and her benign
 influence made grain of all sorts to grow, garden produce
 to be abundant, and fruit to ripen. She was the
 personification of all tilled lands, the benevolent spirit
 of the fields, and the goddess of the harvest.

The association of Isis with the Other World is very
 ancient, and the history of the resurrection of Osiris
 proves that the powers of the goddess in this region
 were very great. An Egyptian legend asserts that
 Horus reconstituted his father's body with the help of
 his four sons, but it was the spells which Isis recited,
 having learned them from Thoth, which gave permanence
 to the work of Horus, and made the unguents, balsams,
 spices, and drugs used by the great physician Anubis, in
 the embalmment of the body of Osiris, to possess their
 marvellous properties. The Egyptians, believing that
 Isis gave to her lord a newly constituted body, spared
 no pains in invoking her help to attain new bodies in
 the Other World, and on her they relied for meat and
 drink. Under the form called Amenit, ,
 Isis was the personification of the Other World.
 Though Osiris was the absolute Lord of that region,

and none entered therein except through him and by his consent, it was Isis who directed all matters connected with the maintenance of the Spirit-bodies of the blessed there, just as the first wife of a modern African chief directs the temporal affairs of her lord's household. Moreover, the righteous were re-born in Amentet, or Isis, and the decision as to whether the dead should leave Amentet, the "Hidden Land," or Hades, or Dead-land, and renew their lives in the region on the further side of the river, or sea, which ran through one portion of the Other World, rested entirely with her. Read in connection with what has already been said about the power of Osiris in the Other World, this statement may be thought to exaggerate the powers of Isis in the same region, but if we consider the part played by Isis in the history of Osiris, we shall find that without her help Osiris must have perished. It was Isis who searched out and collected the members of his mutilated body, and presided over its reconstitution. It was Isis who uttered the spells which revived his body, and made him to have union with her after his death and beget their son Horus. Isis resisted the attacks made upon her by Set, and protected herself against his machinations. She hid herself in the Papyrus Swamps during the period of her pregnancy, and maintained herself until her child was born. Her spells raised Horus from the dead after he had been killed by the sting of a scorpion, and it was Isis who reared him and trained him until he was old enough to do battle with his uncle Set, the murderer of Osiris. Thus Isis revived Osiris, gave him a son, revived that son also, and, having made him avenge his father's death, seated him on his father's throne, and obtained for him the inheritance of her father Kēb.

Among the Egyptians of the Middle and New Empires Isis was regarded as a great magician, and the papyri contain several allusions to her magical powers. She knew how to weave spells and how to fashion magical figures, and she possessed the knowledge of all the secret or hidden names of all the gods and of all the spirits, both good and bad, and she used them in such a way that each of them was compelled to do her will. At her bidding the powers of nature ceased or modified

their operations, and she could make everything, both animate and inanimate, to perform her will. There is a legend which states that at one time there existed one being whose secret name was unknown to her, viz., Rā the Sun-god. This name Isis determined to know, and to effect her purpose she took some of the spittle of the god and mixed it with dust from the ground, and, having formed a venomous serpent therewith, she endowed it with life, and set it on the path traversed by Rā when he went on his daily tour of inspection in heaven. As he passed the serpent, the reptile bit him, and the god became sick unto death. Then Isis went to him, and promised to destroy the effect of the poison and to restore him to health if he would tell her his secret name. This Rā hesitated to do, but as his sufferings increased, and he drew nigh to death, his agony forced him to reveal his name to the goddess Isis, who straightway uttered the spell which relieved his pain and healed him. One of the most powerful amulets known to the Egyptians was the object  *thet*, which carried with it the influence of her blood, and magical powers, and words of power. We have already seen that it is most probably a conventional representation of the uterus with its ligatures, and the vagina. The all-powerful symbol of Osiris is a portion of his backbone,  *tet*, or rather the *os sacrum* set on a stand, and analogy suggests that the amulet , the all-powerful symbol of Isis, represents some organ of her body. The greatness of the power of Isis is well illustrated by the fact that she did not suffer death like Osiris, and the Egyptian inscriptions do not mention any tomb of Isis.¹ Whether the Egyptians believed that she passed from this world to the Other World unchanged in respect of her body cannot be said, but there is little doubt that, at least in the latest days of her cult in Egypt, it was her immunity from death which most impressed the Egyptians and the nations around, and made them to

¹ Diodorus (I, 27) says that her tomb was at Nysa in Arabia.

exalt her powers over those of Osiris. When her cult finally broke down through the development and mighty spreading of Christianity in Egypt, Isis was to her votaries the type and symbol of all that is greatest and best in woman in her character of the unselfish, true, tender, loving, and eternal World Mother.

Isis is generally depicted on the monuments and papyri in the form of a woman who wears on her head a vulture-headdress, and holds in one hand  and in the other . The usual ornament or crown on her head consists of a pair of horns, between which is a solar or lunar disk; this is sometimes surmounted by , the symbol of the sound of her name. Sometimes she wears the Crowns of the South and North, to the back of which is attached the feather of Maât, and sometimes she wears with the pair of horns and the solar disk two plumes. Her horns are those of the Cow of Hathor , but occasionally, as the female counterpart of the Ram of Mendes, she wears a pair of ram's horns under her double crown. Isis, as a woman, and not as a goddess, wears the ordinary head-dress of a woman, but even so she has an uraeus over her forehead, for the Egyptians never forgot her divine origin. As the goddess of the Island of Senemtet, near Philae, she wore a sort of flat cap, having a fillet decorated with uraei and fastened with cords or bands, the ends of which drop down behind her head.¹ By means of this head-dress Isis is identified with the local goddess of the Island. In her character of female counterpart of Osiris, Isis takes, naturally, the form of a cow, and she is often seen wearing the characteristic emblems of ancient Cow-goddesses, viz., Hathor, Meḥ-urt, etc. In the New Empire it became the fashion for women to wear attached to necklaces pendants made of porcelain² or metal, which represent the goddess seated among lotus

¹ Lanzone, *Dizionario*, tav. CCCIX.

² See the fine example in the British Museum, No. 26, 233.

plants with her newly born child Horus on her knees, and which were intended to commemorate the successful birth of her child. These pendants were, strictly speaking, amulets, which were supposed to give their wearers the power to conceive, and to give birth to children without difficulty, and to secure for them the help of Thoth, who acted as "medicine-man" at the confinement of Isis, and the protection of the goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, and of Rā, and of Isis herself. Similarly, the pictures of the bier of Osiris, with Isis standing or kneeling at the foot and Nephthys at the head, which are painted on coffins of the New Empire and of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, are also amulets which brought to them the protection of Isis and Nephthys. In Chapter CLIA of the Book of the Dead Isis says that she has brought to the deceased "the north wind which cometh from Temu," and has strengthened his throat, and set all his enemies under his feet. Thus Isis presided over the conception and birth of human beings into this world and into the next.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE WORSHIP OF OSIRIS AND ISIS IN FOREIGN LANDS.

The raids made by the Egyptians into the Sûdân and the Sinaitic Peninsula under the Ancient and Middle Empires, and the military expeditions into Western Asia made by the great kings of the New Empire, must have carried among the conquered peoples and tribes a knowledge of the gods of Egypt. And the foreign sailors and merchants who traded with Egypt in the Red Sea and Mediterranean Sea must also have carried back with them to their coasts, or islands, and homes, accounts of the curious people whose gods were in the form of the bull, ram, cat, crocodile, jackal, hippopotamus, birds, reptiles, trees, stone pillars, etc. If any of them became acquainted with the strange legends of the gods which were current among the priesthoods of Heliopolis and Memphis, and reported them to their stay-at-home relatives and friends, it is easy to think that they would only be regarded, at first at least, as mere "travellers' tales." When the kings of Egypt ceased to raid countries, and began to occupy them effectively, and to work the mines in them by forced labour under military supervision, the vanquished peoples were brought face to face with men who worshipped these strange animal-gods and emblems, and built temples for them, and they were obliged to obey these foreign rulers. The gods of the indigenous Egyptians and the Sûdânî tribes were, I believe, in primitive times the same, and the worship of these formed a bond between Nubia and Egypt. The solar gods and the Nature gods and Phallic gods of Libya and the Eastern Desert which the later Egyptians adopted were strangers to the Nubians, and a considerable time must have elapsed before their cult became established in their country. We know from the bas-reliefs on tombs and temples and from the inscriptions in the Northern Sûdân that the tribes so far south

as Wād ben-Nagaa and Maṣawwarât adopted a great many of the Egyptian gods who were worshipped under the New Empire and in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, but this was due to the effective occupation of the Northern Sûdân by the Egyptians, Ptolemies, and Roman Emperors, rather than to the deliberate choice of the people. The Northern Nubians as a whole can never have understood the mysteries and intricacies of the Egyptian religion, and there is good reason to believe that the Sûdânî tribes who lived in the country between Kom Ombo and the Equator always preferred the original African cult of ancestors to the modified form of it which became current in Egypt after the introduction of the cult of Râ under the IVth dynasty. The town of Meroë on the Island of Meroë and the Island of Philae were the great centres of the cult of Osiris and Isis for hundreds of years after the downfall of the native religion of Egypt. At the latter place Osiris, Isis, and a Phallic god (Menu) were worshipped in the reign of Diocletian, and the Blemmyes were in the habit of sacrificing men to the sun there.

The Edict of Theodosius I (378-395) against Paganism was disregarded at Philae, and when Olympiodorus visited Nubia between 407 and 425 the people were still pagans,¹ and the cult of Osiris and Isis flourished at Kalâbshah, Primis, and other places in Nubia. When Maximinus in the reign of Marcianus (450-457) went to punish the Nubians for a breach of their treaty obligations, they were still pagans. And in the new agreement which he made with them they stipulated that they should be allowed to visit Philae according to their ancient use and wont, and that they should be allowed to borrow the statue of Isis, and to take it to a certain place in their own country, so that they might make petitions to the goddess in their usual way. This custom was at least 250 years old when Priscus wrote.² In the reign of Justinian (527-565) it seems that the Nubian tribes became restless, and began to stir up trouble in Egypt. This brought down upon them the

¹ Ed. Bekker, p. 62.

² Priscus, Excerpt. legat., in Labbe, *Protrept.*, p. 40; Letronne, *Histoire du Christianisme*, p. 68.

wrath of Justinian, and partly for political reasons, and partly as the result of his hatred of paganism, he determined to put a stop to the worship of Isis and of the gods of her company at Philae. The Island, together with its immediate neighbourhood, formed a centre of religious fanaticism, and was, no doubt, a hotbed of conspiracy, unrest, and discontent. Effect was given to Justinian's decision by Narses the general, who went to Philae and closed the temple of Isis, and removed the statues of the gods from their shrines, and carried them off to Constantinople. He also confiscated the revenues of the sanctuary of the goddess, and threw her priests into prison. Thus the worship of Isis came to an end at Philae. Whether it survived on the Island of Meroë for any length of time there is no evidence to show.

Passing now from Nubia to the north, we find that many of the gods of Egypt were known in the countries near the Delta, *e.g.*, Syria and Palestine, under the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, but we find neither drawing nor representation of Isis in Phoenicia until about the sixth century B.C. About this time Adonis of Byblos (Gebél), and the goddess of that city, whose characteristics resembled those of the Semitic goddess 'Ashtoreth and the Egyptian goddess Hathor, became confused with Osiris and Isis, and traces of this confusion appear in several places in Plutarch's story *De Iside*.¹ At a later period we find figures of Isis upon the coins of Tyre,² and figures of Sarapis on the coins of Gaza³ and Bostra.⁴ On the Stele of Teima we actually find the name of Pe-ṭā-Āsār,⁵ *i.e.*, the "gift of Osiris," which proves that there was in and about Teima in Arabia a colony of worshippers as early as 500 B.C. From Egypt the cult of Sarapis and Isis passed to Asia Minor⁶ and to the Islands of the Mediterranean, *e.g.*, Cyprus, Rhodes, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, Delos, Crete, etc. In the fourth century before Christ Athens

¹ See Movers, I, pp. 235-238; Scholz, *Götzendienst und Zauberwesen*, pp. 226-232.

² Imhoof, *M. Gr.*, p. 443.

³ Reichardt, *Num. Chron.*, 1862, p. 122. ⁴ Leake, *N. H.*, p. 35.

⁵ Nöldeke, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1884, pp. 813-820.

⁶ See Drexler, *Der Isis und Sarapis-Kultus in Kleinasien* in *Num. Zeit.*, Band 21, pp. 1-234.

was a kind of centre of the Egyptian religion, and shrines to Isis, both public and private, seem to have been erected in many parts of Greece at this period,¹ and the bas-reliefs, coins, and other antiquities which have been found in Thessaly, Epirus, Megara, Corinth, Argos, and many other places prove that the worship of Isis was wide-spread, and that Osiris, or Sarapis, Anubis, Harpokrates, and even Nephthys, were associated with her in votive inscriptions. The coins of Malta of the second or first century before Christ show that the cult of Osiris and Isis was of importance in the island, and the monuments found in Catania in Sicily suggest that this city was a centre of the worship of Egyptian gods.² Southern Italy contained many temples of Isis, and the remains of statues, etc., found in Reggio,³ Puteoli,⁴ Pompeii,⁵ and Herculaneum⁶ suggest that the worship of Egyptian gods must have been as common as the worship of native gods in these cities. In Rome, in the first century before Christ, Isis was regarded as one of the principal goddesses of the city. Splendid buildings and temples were set up in her honour, filled with Egyptian objects, obelisks, altars, statues, lavers, etc., which were brought from Egypt with the view of making the shrines of the goddess to resemble those of her native country. Priestesses who professed to be well acquainted with the "mysteries" of Isis dwelt in or near these temples, and assisted in performing services and ceremonies in which large congregations participated.⁷ From Rome, the capital, the cult of Isis naturally spread to the provinces, and thence, little by little, to Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Gaul, and finally by way of Marseilles to Carthage⁸ and the countries of North Africa.

¹ Köhler, *Hermes*, Vol. V, p. 351; *C. I. A.*, III, 896.

² Pistorio, *Lettera*, tom. XV, pp. 169-194; Zoega, *De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum*, pp. 86, 616, 647.

³ Logoteta, *Il Tempio di Iside*, Naples, 1794.

⁴ Lumbruso, *Recherches sur l'Économie*, pp. 126, 157.

⁵ Nissen, *Pompei Stud.*, p. 671.

⁶ See the works of Lafaye and Fiorelli, *passim*.

⁷ For the literature see the article "Isis" in Roscher, *Ausführliches Lex.*, col. 400.

⁸ See M. de Vogüé, *Rev. Arch.*, 3rd sér., tom. XIII, p. 167-176.

In the section on Isis it has been shown that this goddess during the course of her long history, and as a result of the development of her cult throughout Egypt and Nubia, was identified with many purely local spirits and goddesses, and the facts now available prove that the custom of identifying her with foreign goddesses went on in Greece and in Italy, and in nearly every place where her worship was introduced. Thus the Greeks and Romans identified her frequently with Selene,¹ and with Demeter, or Ceres, and with several goddesses of crops and of the harvest in general. She was also regarded as an Earth-goddess, and as such was the mother of all fertility and abundance. Some of her attributes caused her to be identified with Aphrodite, Juno, Nemesis, Fortuna, and Panthea, and among coast-dwellers she was regarded as a Sea-goddess and the patroness of sailors. Isis of "many names" was a mystery to many of her worshippers, among them being some who were wholly unable to satisfy their minds as to her true identity. Thus in the "Golden Ass" of Apuleius of Madaura,² Lucius prays to Isis in these words: "Queen of heaven, whether thou beest Ceres,—
 " the kindly mother from whom in the beginning spring
 " the fruits of earth, who, rejoicing to have found thy
 " daughter, didst take from men their bestial provender
 " of old-world acorns and show forth to them a sweeter
 " food, and now thou honourest exceedingly the soil of
 " Eleusis;—or beest thou Venus, the heavenly one, who
 " at the first beginning of things didst unite the diversity
 " of the sexes in the power of Love that is born of thee,
 " and, after thou hadst brought to birth the race of man
 " that shall endure from generation to generation, art
 " now honoured in thine island shrine of Paphos;—or
 " beest thou Phoebus's sister, who with gentle healing
 " dost bring relief to women in travail and hast reared
 " such multitudes, and art now worshipped in the most
 " glorious fanes of Ephesus;—or beest thou Proserpine,
 " to whom men render shuddering reverence with howls
 " by night, thou whose threefold visage awes the wild

¹ Wiedemann, *Herodots*, p. 192.

² Mr. H. E. Butler's translation, published at Oxford, 1910 (Book XI, 2 ff.).

“rages of the goblin-dead and holds fast the gates of
 “hell, who wanderest in many a diverse grove and art
 “propitiated with varied rite; thou that with thy tender
 “feminine light dost illumine the walls of all cities and
 “with thy moist fires dost nurture the springing seeds,
 “and dispensest thy beams that shift and change with
 “the changes of the sun;—by whatever name, by
 “whatever rite, in whatever semblance man may invoke
 “thee,” etc.

To this prayer Isis made answer: “Lo, Lucius, I
 “am come I, nature’s mother, mistress of all
 “the elements, the first-begotten offspring of all the
 “ages, of deities mightiest, queen of the dead, first of
 “heaven’s denizens, in whose aspect are blent the
 “aspects of all gods and goddesses. With my rod I
 “rule the shining heights of heaven, the health-giving
 “breezes of the sea, the mournful silence of the Under-
 “world. The whole earth worships my godhead, one
 “and individual, under many a changing shape, with
 “varied rites and by many diverse names. There the
 “Phrygians, first-born of men, call me the mother of the
 “gods that dwell at Pessinus; there the Athenians,
 “sprung from the soil they till, know me as Cecropian
 “Minerva; there the wave-beaten Cyprians style me
 “Venus of Paphos; the archer Cretans, Diana of the
 “hunter’s net; the Sicilians, with their threefold speech,
 “Stygian Proserpine; the Eleusinians, the ancient
 “goddess Ceres. Others call me Juno, others Bellona,
 “others Hecate, others the Rhamnusia, but those on
 “whom shine the first rays of the Sungod as each day
 “he springs to new birth, the Arii and the Ethiopians
 “and the Egyptians mighty in ancient lore, honour me
 “with my peculiar rites, and call me by my true name
 “Isis the Queen.”¹

The above extracts are important as illustrating the views which the pious devotees of Isis held concerning the goddess, and as enumerating the various foreign goddesses with whom the Egyptian Isis was pleased to identify herself. It is easy to see that the writer of them had no true knowledge of the actual position which

¹ Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 5 (Butler’s translation).

Isis held in early Egyptian mythology, and that he ascribed to her the attributes which belonged, strictly speaking, to Neb-er-tcher, Temu, and Kheperá in very early times, and to Rā, and Aten, and Osiris in later times. In short, he turned the Almighty God of the ancient Egyptians into a goddess with two natures, the one human and the other divine. Still more important, however, for the study of the history of Isis are two Greek inscriptions, one of which was found on the Island of Ios, and the other on the Island of Andros. The former is, unfortunately, incomplete, but the greater part of the missing portion of the text is supplied by the latter, and thus it is tolerably clear what a complete copy of the inscription contained. Both texts are edited by F. Hiller de Gaertringen in *Inscriptiones Graecae*,¹ and the following copy of the Ios text is taken from Herr A. Schiff's transcript which is printed, with an exact copy in uncials, in Vol. XII (Fasc. V, Part I, p. 217) of that work:—

[Ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκεν Εἰ]σι[δι Σεράπ]ι[δ]ι [Ἀνούβιδι κ'
Ἀ[ρποκρά]τη.

Εἰς ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ τ[ύραν]νος πάσης χώρας καὶ ἐπαίδ[ε]ύθην
ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ γράμματα εὗρον μετὰ Ἑρμοῦ τὰ δημόσια,
ἵνα μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πάντα γράφηται.

Ἐγὼ νόμους ἀνθρώποις ἐθέμην καὶ ἐνόμοθέτησα, ἃ οὐδεὶς
δύναται μεταθεῖναι.

Ἐγὼ εἰμι Κρόνου θυγάτηρ πρεσβυτάτη.

Ἐγὼ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὅσειρεος Βασιλέος.

Ἐγὼ εἰμι θεοῦ Κυνὸς ἄστρω ἐπιτέλ(λ)ουσα.

Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ παρὰ γυναιξὶ θεὸς καλουμένη.

Ε[μ]οὶ Βούβαστις πόλις οἰκοδομήθη.

Ἐγὼ ἐχώρισα γῆν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ.

Ἐγὼ ἄστ[ρ]ων ὁδοὺς ἔδειξα.

Ἐγὼ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν συνέταξα.

Ἐγὼ θαλάσσια ἔργα εὔρα.

Ἐγὼ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησα.

Ἐγὼ γυναιῖκα καὶ ἀνδρα συνήγαγα.

Ἐγὼ γυναιξὶ δεκάμηνον βρέφος ἐνέταξα.

Ἐγὼ ὑπὸ τέκνων γονεῖς φιλοστοργεῖσθαι ἐνόμοθέτησα.

¹ See Vol. XII, Fasc. V, Part I, Berlin, 1903, No. 14, p. 7;
No. 739, p. 213.

Ἐγὼ τοῖς ἀστόργοις γονεῖσι διακειμένοις τειμωνίαν ἐπέθηκα.

Ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ὅσειρεος τὰς ἀνθρωποφαγίας ἔπανσα.

Ἐγὼ μνήσεις ἀνθρώποις ἀνέδειξα.

Ἐγὼ ἀγάλματα θεῶν τειμῶν ἐδίδαξα.

Ἐγὼ τεμένη θεῶν εἰδρυσάμην.

Ἐγὼ τυράνω[ν ἀ]ρχὰς κατέλυσα.

Ἐγὼ στέργεσθαι γυναῖκας ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ἠνάκασα.

Ἐγὼ τὸ δίκαιον εἰσχυρότερον χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐποίησα.

Ἐγὼ τὸ ἀληθές καλὸν ἐνομοθέτησα νομίζ[εσ]θαι.

Ἐγὼ συγγραφὰς γαμικὰ[s] εὔρα.

Ἐγὼ [δ]ιαλέκτους Ἑλλησι καὶ Βαρβάρους διαταξάμην.

Ἐγὼ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν διαγεινώσκεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς φύ[σ]ε[ω]ς ἐποι[η]σα.

Ἐγὼ ὄρκου φόρον [ἐπέβαλο]ν ἐπ[ὶ]]ν ἀδίκως εἴ . . .

TRANSLATION.

[SO-AND-SO DEDICATED THIS] TO ISIS, TO SARAPIS, TO ANUBIS, AND TO HARPOKRATES.

“ I am Isis, the mistress of every land, and I was taught by Hermes,¹ and by aid of Hermes I found out demotic letters, so that all things should not be written with the same letters.

“ I laid down laws for mankind,² and ordained things that no one has power to change.

“ I am the eldest daughter of Kronos.³

“ I am wife and sister of Osiris the king.⁴

¹ The Egyptian Tehuti,  (Thoth), who composed the spells which Isis learned from him; he was the inventor of , or “hieroglyphics.” The use of demotic writing became general in Egypt after the XXVIth dynasty.

² Here Isis assumes the attributes of Sesheta, the female counterpart of Thoth.

³ The Egyptian Keb, .

⁴  , King of the South and North, Osiris.

- “ I am she who governs the star of Kuon the god.¹
 “ I am she who is called Divine among women.²
 “ For me was built the city of Bubastis.³
 “ I divided the earth from the heaven.⁴
 “ I made manifest the paths of the stars.
 “ I prescribed the course of the sun and of the moon.⁵
 “ I found out the labours of the sea.⁶
 “ I made justice mighty.⁷
 “ I brought together woman and man.⁸
 “ I burdened woman with the new-born babe in the
 “ tenth month.⁹
 “ I ordained that parents should be beloved by their
 “ children.
 “ I inflicted retribution on those that feel no love for
 “ their parents.¹⁰

¹ Sept: , Sothis, or the Dog-star.

² “great goddess.”

³ Isis as Bast, Lady of Bubastis.

⁴ Here Isis assumes the *role* of the female counterpart of Shu, who lifted up the sky from the Earth-god K̄eb; thus she is a goddess of light.

⁵ Here Isis assumes the character of a female Thoth, or Maât, who marked out the courses of the sun, moon, and stars in the heavens. Osiris was the soul of the sun, and Isis the spirit of the moon.

⁶ Isis as Maât directed the course of the two boats of the Sun-god, and so became a goddess of navigation. As a goddess of the winds she gave or withheld fair weather, and so, in later times, became the patroness of all seafaring folk, and delivered shipwrecked mariners from their peril.

⁷ Isis and her twin-sister Nephthys were the two goddesses of truth and righteousness, Maâti, , and they were always present in the Hall of Judgment of Osiris at the weighing of the hearts of the dead.

⁸ Isis here assumes the character of the goddess Hathor.

⁹ I know of no Egyptian parallel for this statement. It seems to mean that Isis decreed that the period of utero-gestation should be fully nine months, and that the perfect child was born in the tenth month.

¹⁰ Love of parents and the devotion of children, especially to their mothers, are well-known characteristics of the ancient Egyptians. Numerous statues are inscribed with words which show that they were set up by pious sons to “make to live” their fathers’ names, and the famous moralist Ani warns his son not to ill-treat or neglect his mother, for if she appeals to heaven God will certainly hear her and punish him.

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“ I, by aid of Osiris my brother, put an end to
“ anthropophagy.¹

“ I revealed initiations to mankind.²

“ I taught mankind to honour the statues of the
“ gods.

“ I founded sanctuaries of the gods.³

“ I overthrew the sovereignties of tyrants.

“ I compelled women to be beloved by men.⁴

“ I made justice more mighty than gold and silver.

“ I ordained that truth should be accounted beautiful.⁵

“ I found out marriage contracts for women.

“ I appointed separate languages for Greeks and for
“ foreigners.

“ I made virtue and vice to be distinguished by
“ instinct.

“ I imposed the tribute of an oath on those . . .
“ unjustly.”

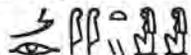
The exact form of the cult of Osiris and Isis as it obtained in the countries where Greek culture had penetrated, and especially in Italy, was based upon the religion which the early Ptolemies organized for their Greek and Egyptian subjects in Egypt. The first Ptolemy is said to have taken counsel with Manetho, the famous priest of Sebennytus, and with Timotheus, a Greek, who was skilled in the knowledge of the Eleusinian Mysteries. In it the Egyptian characteristics of Isis were retained, but to these were added attributes

¹ See the chapter on Osiris and Cannibalism. There seems to be no doubt that the primitive Egyptians were cannibals, and that men only ceased to be so after they learned to grow wheat, barley, and dhura. Sacramental cannibalism probably never died out, and it is common in some parts of Africa at the present day.

² *I.e.*, Isis established regulations which prescribed purity of mind and body for all who wished to become her priests. Fasting from meat and fish and abstention from the use of women were common among the Egyptians, as we see from the Rubrics to the Book of the Dead.

³ The allusion here is probably to the fourteen, or sixteen, temples of Osiris which Isis built over her husband's scattered limbs.

⁴ Isis here assumes the character of the goddess Hathor.

⁵ Isis and her twin-sister Nephthys were the two goddesses of truth and righteousness, Maāti, , and they were always present in the Hall of Judgment of Osiris at the weighing of the hearts of the dead.

which were essentially the products of a non-African mind. The character of Osiris was changed in some respects, and his name was changed to Sarapis. The ancient legends of Osiris and Isis were mixed with legends of non-Egyptian Nature-spirits, and the rapidity with which the new form of the cult of Osiris and Isis spread proves that it offered to peoples of many climes and tongues a form of worship of God which satisfied their religious needs and was highly acceptable to them. In the first place the new cult came from Egypt, the land of mystery *par excellence*, and the home of a civilization which had lasted for thousands of years. The ascetic practices of the priests and priestesses, their abstention from meats, their fastings and habits of self-denial, and their continence, appealed to all men. The ceremonies connected with the worship of Isis impressed the imagination of all beholders, and the acting of the Isis-play, in which her search for the body of Osiris, her finding it, her union with her dead husband, the conception and birth of Horus, her sorrows, and her ultimate triumph, all represented by skilled actors, convinced men against their will that the cult of Osiris and Isis was based upon irrefutable facts. Moreover, it revived and increased the faith in God and in the reality of spiritual things, which the teachings of the philosophers had well-nigh destroyed in their hearts. Above all, it gave men the hope of a resurrection, and preached the doctrine of a second birth, and of a new and pure existence in heaven, in the kingdom of Osiris and Isis, the passport to which was the forsaking of sin, purity in word and deed, and reverent worship of these gods.

The progress of the cult of Osiris and Isis had made such strides in Italy at the beginning of the first century B.C. that it was possible for its votaries to found a College of the Servants of Isis, or Pastophori, in Rome in the time of Sulla, about 80 B.C., and to build a temple in the city. These proceedings were not regarded with favour by the authorities or by the local priesthoods, and as a result the temple of Isis was thrice destroyed by the Consuls, in 58, 50, and 48 B.C. In Campania the worship of Osiris and Isis was established at a still earlier period, for an inscription found at Puteoli, dated

in the year equivalent to 105 B.C., proves that a temple of Sarapis existed in the city at that date.¹ In 44 B.C. the triumvirs built a temple in Rome in honour of Isis and Osiris, and a "few decades later" the festival of these gods was recognized in the public calendar. Somewhere about the beginning of the first century a temple of Isis was built at Pompeii. This appears to have been destroyed by an earthquake in the year 65, but it was rebuilt from its foundation by Numerius Popidius Ampliatus and his wife Corelia Celsa in the name of their son Celsinus, who was then a child only six years old. As a reward the City Fathers, the decurions, admitted the nominal rebuilder of the temple to their own rank, remitting the usual fees. According to Mau,² this temple consisted of an oblong cella, the east side of which was treated as a front, with a portico borne by six columns. A pit for the refuse of the sacrifices was made in the corner of the court near the entrance from the street, and in the opposite corner was an enclosure like a small temple. Near this were two altars, a third stood close to the temple, and there were five others between the columns. The temple possessed no specially Egyptian characteristics, and the ornaments were made of stucco. A broad flight of steps was built in front of the temple, and on the left side was a narrow stairway leading to a door opening in the cella. Across the rear of the cella was a base of masonry six feet high, on which were pedestals for statues of Isis and Osiris. In the two large niches outside were perhaps statues of Anubis and Harpokrates. The walls of the colonnade were painted in bright colours on a deep red ground. The upper parts of the columns were white, the lower were red, and the temple was white. In the colonnade was a yellow base, and above it were large red panels, alternated with light, fantastic, architectural designs in yellow on a red ground. The frieze was black, with garlands in strong contrast—green, blue, and yellow—enlivened with all sorts of animal forms. In the middle of each of the large panels was a priest of Isis, and in the lower parts of the intervening architectural designs

¹ *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, London, 1899, p. 163.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 165 ff.

were marine pictures, galley manoeuvring, and sea fights. The principal altar was near the foot of the steps in front. At the back of the courtyard stood a cylindrical leaden vessel, adorned with Egyptian figures in relief; this was kept filled with water from a pipe connected with the city aqueduct, and here the devout made their ablutions, which formed a very important part of the worship of the goddess. In the south-east corner of the court was the Purgatorium, below which was an underground chamber, with a tank which held the holy Nile water. On the south side of the temple, at the back of the colonnade, were rooms which were used as a kitchen, a dining room, and a bed room. One of these rooms was richly decorated, in the last Pompeian style, with seven large paintings representing Egyptian landscapes, and Io watched by Argus, and Io being received by Isis in Egypt. In this room the Mysteries of Isis were probably acted. In an adjoining room, entered from the colonnade by a narrow door which could be securely fastened, the walls were decorated with large, sketchy pictures of Isis, Osiris, Typhon (Set), and sacred animals and symbols. This room was probably used for performing the most secret ceremonies connected with the worship of Isis; they were most likely phallic in character. In this room was an alcove in which temple property seems to have been stored.

Two services were held in the temple of Isis daily. Long before dawn the votaries of the goddess assembled outside the door of the courtyard of the temple, and the chief priest entered the temple through the small side door, and unbolted the great doors and threw them back, and hung up white linen curtains across the doorway, which hid the sanctuary from view. At dawn the door of the courtyard was opened, and the public streamed in, and people took their places in front of the temple. Then the linen curtains were drawn aside, and in the growing light the form and features of the goddess became visible to her worshippers. Whilst the priest went round performing the appointed rites at the various altars, and reciting prayers, the crowd continued to gaze on Isis, and prayed and rattled sistra at intervals. The priest then fetched water from the underground tank

and poured out a libation from a holy vessel, and as the sun rose all present saluted him, and with loud cries announced the first hour of the day.¹ The second service was held early in the afternoon, and consisted in the adoration of the holy water of the Nile. A priest stood on the steps before the temple holding a vessel containing Nile water, whilst two priests, who stood on the top of the steps, one on each side of the temple door, rattled sistra; a fourth priest fanned a fire at an altar placed at the foot of the steps, and a player made music on his flute. A priestess of Isis stood on the top of the steps in the doorway. The worshippers assembled on each side of the altar and sang and rattled sistra. Details of the service are wanting.

The chief festivals of Isis were two. The first commemorated the murder of Osiris and the finding of his body by Isis. It opened on November 10 with the singing of dirges and loud and bitter lamentations for the death of Osiris, which were, no doubt, based upon the compositions which were sung in Egypt about the same time. Then, on the second day, scenes were enacted which represented the frantic grief and anxiety of those who went about searching for the body of Osiris. On the third day Isis found the body of her husband, and there was great rejoicing in the temple. Grief gave place to gladness and tears to laughter, musicians of all kinds assembled and played their instruments, and men and women danced, and the festival frequently ended with lascivious romps and orgies.

The second great festival was celebrated in the spring, when Isis had "laid to rest the storms of winter and stilled the tempestuous waves of the sea," and the most important ceremony performed in connection with it was the dedication to the goddess of "a barque that had never sailed the waves." A good description of this festival, as it was celebrated at Cenchieae of Corinth, on the Aegean and Saronic seas, is given by Apuleius,² and from this the following summary is made. At the head of the great procession came men who were dressed to represent a soldier, a huntsman, a woman, and a

¹ See Apuleius, XI, 20.

² *Ibid.*, XI, 8 ff.

gladiator. These were followed by men dressed as magistrates, philosophers, fowlers, and fishermen. Then came a tame bear clad like a matron and borne in a litter; a monkey wearing a Phrygian plaited hat and saffron robe, and carrying a golden cup to represent Ganymede; and an ass with false wings glued to his back walking by the side of an old man. These were supposed to represent Pegasus and Bellerophon. Then came women wearing white raiment and garlands of spring flowers, scattering blossoms as they went; women with mirrors held reversed behind their backs, for the use of the goddess as she moved on her way; women with combs of ivory imitating actions connected with the combing and dressing of the hair of the goddess; and women who sprinkled the ground with scent and balsam as they walked. After these came a mixed multitude bearing in their hands lanterns, tapers, torches, and all kinds of lights, which represented the stars of heaven over which the goddess presided. These were followed by the musicians and a choir of youths, magnificently dressed in festal apparel, and singing to the sound of the pipe and flute a beautiful hymn to the goddess. With these came the flute-players of Sarapis, who "through a reed held slantwise toward the right ear, repeated the hymn that the god and his temple claim for their own."

Next followed a crowd of men and women of every rank and age clad in white linen apparel, the men with shaved heads, and the women with their scented hair covered with translucent gauze. These represented those who had been initiated in the divine rites. Among them were the priests who bore the "glorious emblems of the most potent gods," which consisted of a golden bowl of fire, an altar, a golden palm tree, the herald's staff of Mercury, a deformed left hand with open palm, a golden vessel, in the form of a woman's breast, from which libations of milk were poured, a golden winnowing fan, and a pitcher. After these came the gods who deigned to walk with feet upon the earth. First came Anubis, the dread envoy who goes between the lords of heaven and of the Nether World. He was lofty of stature, and his face appeared to be black at one time

and golden bright at another ; in his left hand he bore a herald's wand, and in his right a palm branch. Next came a priest supporting on his shoulders a heifer which held itself erect in human fashion, and symbolized the fruitful mother of all things. Another priest bore an ark full of objects of mysterious significations which symbolized the mysteries of the glorious faith. Another carried the awful image of the mighty deity, the emblem of whose meaning no man may speak, it was "the symbol of the loftiest of faiths, whose mysteries must be shrouded in deep silence." It was neither like cattle, nor wild beast, nor bird, nor man. This object was a small gold urn hollowed out with wondrous skill ; its bottom was perfectly round, and its exterior was adorned with strange Egyptian figures. "Its mouth projected into a long low spout with outstretched tube. On the other side, with ample arch, extended a long retreating handle, on which was set an asp with twisted coils, holding erect the streaked scales of its swelling neck."

When the procession reached shore,¹ the high priest arranged the images in order, and made solemn supplications, and then dedicated to the goddess, having first purified it with a torch, and sulphur, and the breaking of eggs, a beautifully made ship decorated with marvellous Egyptian paintings. On the sail was worked in thread of gold the inaugural prayer for prosperous seafaring in the new year's commerce. Its mast was of rounded pine, all the hull was made of polished sandalwood, and the stern was plated with gold. Then one vied with the other in loading the ship with winnowing fans heaped high with spice and other offerings of supplication. A libation of paste mixed with milk was poured over the waves, and when the ship was loaded, it was loosed from its moorings, and launched on the sea with the help of a favouring breeze ; and all the people, having watched it till it was out of sight, returned to the temple in the order in which they had come. When they arrived there the priests, and the image-bearers, and the initiated arranged the "breathing effigies" each in its appointed place. Then the "scribe" summoned all the Pasto-

¹ Apuleius, XI, 16.

phori, or members of the College of Isis, and mounting a lofty tribunal recited from a book prayers for the prosperity of the Emperor, the senate, the knights, the Roman people, the sailors and the ships, and everything which was under the command and governance of the Roman world. Then in the Greek language, and after he had recited the Greek ritual, he proclaimed the "Launching of the Ships." A shout rose from the people, who kissed the feet of the silver statue of Isis which stood on the steps of the temple, and then departed to their homes in ecstasies of joy, bearing green branches and sacred wands and wreaths.

The above description of the "Launching of the Ships" is based on the account of the great festival of Isis written by one Lucius, who was a loyal servant of the goddess. It will be remembered that he had been transformed into an ass, and that having suffered many troubles in this form, he prayed to Isis to restore to him his human shape during the spring festival of the goddess. Having made to her the prayer already quoted, he lay down to sleep, and, he says :

" Yet scarce had I closed my eyes in sleep, when lo !
 " from the mid deep there rose a face divine that lifted
 " towards me a countenance to which even the gods
 " must do reverence. And then slowly, methought,
 " appeared a shining semblance, that rose till all its body
 " was in view and shook the brine from its limbs and
 " stood before me. I will strive to tell you all the
 " wonder of the sight, if but the poverty of human
 " speech give me power to tell, or the godhead itself that
 " dwelt within that form supply rich store of speaking
 " eloquence. First, the tresses of its hair were thick
 " and long and streamed softly down, now tangled, now
 " straying wide about that neck divine. About its lofty
 " brow was bound a crown of many shapes and varied
 " flowers, and in the midst thereof above the forehead
 " there shone white and glowing a round disc like a
 " mirror or after the semblance of the moon ; to right
 " and left it was bound about with the furrowed coils of
 " climbing vipers ; above, it stretched forth ears of corn.
 " The tunic was of many colours, woven of fine linen,
 " now gleaming with a snowy brightness, now yellow

" with hue of saffron, now blushing with roseate flame.
 " But the cloak it was that dazzled my gaze far beyond
 " all else, for it was of deep black glistening with sable
 " sheen; it was cast round and about the body, and
 " passing under the right side was brought back to the
 " left shoulder. Part of it hung shieldwise down and
 " drooped in many a fold, and the whole streamed
 " seemingly to its utmost edge with tasselled fringe. Along
 " its brodered border, and on its surface also, were
 " scattered sparkling stars, and in their midst the full
 " moon breathed forth her flaming fire. But whereso-
 " ever streamed the embracing folds of that wondrous
 " cloak, there clung a garland's endless wreath, wrought
 " of all manner of flowers, all manner of fruit.

" In its hands the apparition held emblems of
 " different aspect. The right hand carried a bronze
 " rattle made of a slender sheet of metal curved like a
 " belt, through the midst of which were thrust a few
 " small wands, that gave forth a tinkling sound when the
 " arm that bore them shook thrice with quivering pulsa-
 " tion. From the left hand hung a golden cup, from
 " whose slender handle's most conspicuous part there
 " rose an asp towering with head erect and neck that
 " swelled to this side and to that. The ambrosial feet
 " were shod with sandals woven of the leaves of
 " victorious palm. Such was the vision, and of such
 " mighty aspect, that, breathing forth all the blest
 " fragrance of African balms, thus deigned to honour me
 " with utterance divine."¹

In her answer the goddess promised to grant the request of Lucius, and told him how his transformation into human shape once more was to be effected. Everything happened as Isis said, and Lucius was filled with the deepest gratitude to the goddess, and determined to devote his life to her service. He frequented the worship of Isis, with all its exacting service, more zealously than ever, and his desire for admission to the Mysteries increased daily, and he visited the high priest frequently, and urged him to initiate him into the secrets of the night that is holy to the goddess. The priest entreated him to be patient, and told him that the day

¹ Butler's translation, p. 128 f.

of initiation was fixed by the goddess, who also chose the priest destined to perform the service, and fixed the sum to be expended on the ceremony. No one, he added, dares to venture rashly and sacrilegiously to undertake the service of the goddess without her express command and thus to contract mortal guilt. "For the gates of hell and the power of life are in the hands of the goddess, and the very act of dedication is regarded as a voluntary death and an imperilling of life, inasmuch as the goddess is wont to select those whose term of life is near its close and who stand on the threshold of the night, and are, moreover, men to whom the mighty mysteries of the goddess may safely be committed. These men the goddess by her providence brings to new birth and places once more at the start of a new race of life.¹ The high priest then warned him to abstain from "impious and unlawful foods," so as to win his way to the purest of faiths.

Lucius took his advice, was patient, and with quiet, and gentleness, and silence zealously attended the daily performance of the rites of the goddess. Night by night he was cheered by the clear commands of Isis who told him that the day of his initiation was come, and what sums he must expend at the supplications, and that Mithras himself, the high priest, should reveal the Mysteries to him. Fortified by such revelations Lucius one night rose from sleep, and set out for the priest's house, intending to press him to appoint him at once to the service of the Mysteries. The priest met him on his way, and before Lucius could speak, told him that the day for the initiation into the most holy secrets of the Mysteries had arrived. Then he led him to the doors of the great shrine, and after celebrating with solemn rite the service of the opening of the gates and performing the morning sacrifice, he brought forth from the hidden places of the shrine certain books with titles written in undecipherable letters. Some of these were in the shape of animals of all kinds, and the extremities of others were knotted, or curved like wheels, or closely interwoven like the tendrils of the vine. The priest, having told Lucius what things he had to buy, escorted

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

him to the nearest baths, and as he entered, the priest prayed the gods to be gracious to Lucius and sprinkled him with water. He then led him back to the temple and set him at the feet of the goddess, and having confided to him certain holy secrets bade him to abstain from all pleasures of the table, to eat no living thing, and to drink no wine. At the end of this time a new linen robe was placed on Lucius and he was taken by the priest into the very heart of the holy place. What was said to him there Lucius dared not divulge, but he says: "I drew nigh
 "to the confines of death, I trod the threshold of
 "Proserpine, I was borne through all the elements and
 "returned to earth again. I saw the sun gleaming with
 "bright splendour at dead of night, I approached the
 "gods above, and the gods below, and worshipped them
 "face to face." When the morning came, after the performance of the rites, Lucius appeared in the twelve cloaks that are worn by the initiate. He then, wearing an embroidered linen cloak called the "Cloak of Olympus," ascended a dais, bearing a flaming torch in his right hand, and wearing a palm leaf crown, and the curtains were suddenly withdrawn, and the people thronged in to gaze upon him. After dwelling with the image of the goddess for some days, he at length entered into the presence of Isis herself, and having wiped her feet with his face, he addressed her with tears in his eyes and sobs in his voice, saying:—

"Holy and eternal protectress of the human race, that dost alway cherish mortals and bless them, thou tendest the mischances of miserable men with a sweet mother's love. Nor ever doth day nor restful night, nor even the least moment of time, pass uncrowned by thy blessings, but always by land and sea thou guardest men, thou drivest from them the storms of life and stretchest out to them thy saving hand, wherewith thou unbindest even the inextricable web of Fate; thou assuagest the tempests of Fortune, and restrainest the baleful orbits of the stars. Thee do the gods of heaven adore, thee the lords of the world below do worship. It is thou that whirlst the sphere of heaven, thou that givest light to the sun, guidest the universe, and tramplest underfoot the powers of hell. For thee the

stars shine, for thee the seasons return, in thee the gods rejoice and the elements are thy slaves. At thy nod the winds blow, the clouds give increase, the seeds spring to birth, and the buds burgeon. Before thy majesty tremble the birds that go to and fro in the sky, the beasts that roam the mountain, the serpents lurking underground, the monsters that swim the deep. But my wit is all too weak to tell of thy praise, my wealth too slender to make thee due offering of sacrifice. My voice is too poor in utterance to tell what I feel concerning thy majesty. Nay, had I a thousand mouths, a thousand tongues, and everlasting continuance of unwearied speech, it would be all too little. Therefore will I strive to do all that a poor yet faithful servant may. I will guard the memory of thy divine countenance and of thy most holy godhead deep hidden within my heart's inmost shrine, and their image shall be with me for ever."¹

A few days later Lucius bade the priest farewell and departed from Cenchieae for Rome, and when he arrived there he became a continual worshipper in the temple of Queen Isis who, from the situation of her temple, was called "Goddess of the Field of Mars." When Lucius had spent a year in worshipping Isis in this way, the goddess began to warn him in his slumbers to prepare for a new initiation. Pondering what the warnings of the goddess might mean Lucius consulted some of the initiate, and at length he learned that he had still to be initiated into the Mysteries of the mighty god, "unconquered Osiris, supreme father of the gods"; for though the faith of Isis was identical with that of Osiris, the methods of initiation into the two faiths were different. On the very next night Lucius saw in a vision one of the initiate wearing a linen garment and bearing wands, and ivy, and mystic emblems, which he might not describe; having placed these before Lucius's household gods, he seated himself in his chair, and told him to give a banquet in honour of the great faith. This being walked with a halting step, and his left heel was bent slightly upwards. In the morning he saw among the Pastophori a man with a foot shaped like that which he had seen in

¹ Butler's translation, p. 151.

his dream, and on speaking to him he learned that he was called Asinius Marcellus, and that he had been warned by Osiris himself to admit Lucius into his Mysteries. Lucius was anxious for his initiation to take place at once, but lack of funds prevented this; at length in obedience to the express command of Osiris, he sold his wardrobe, and with the money which it fetched purchased the things necessary for his initiation. When he had done this, he prepared himself by abstinence from animal food for ten days, and shaved his head, and frequented the service of Osiris, and was "illuminated by the nocturnal rites of the lord of all the gods." Meanwhile, he lived on the gains which his mastery of Roman eloquence won for him in the Forum.

After a short time the gods told him that he must prepare for a third initiation, but he was troubled in his mind about this matter, and began to doubt the good faith of the priests. Whilst thus tormented and stirred almost to madness by his doubts and fears, he saw a gracious midnight vision, and he was assured that this third initiation into the Mysteries was above all things needful for him. Comforted by this vision, Lucius put aside his doubts, and began a fresh course of abstinence, and spared neither toil nor expense in preparing for his initiation. After a few days Osiris appeared to him in the slumber of night, and welcomed him face to face with his own awful voice. He encouraged him to continue his profession in the Forum, to fear no ill-wishers, and chose him to be one of the chief elders among his Pastophori. Once more Lucius shaved his head, and joyfully performed the duties of that most ancient company of priests that was established in the great days of Sulla.

Lucius, it is clear, was a devoted priest of the cult of Osiris and Isis, and it is not difficult to think that his belief in the reality and greatness of these gods was equal to his professions of faith in them. But the Mysteries to which he refers so often must have possessed very little significance to the minds of the lower classes, who were attracted by the singing and dancing, and opportunities for rough play, which accompanied the celebrations of the festivals of the

goddess, and there must have been large numbers of people who scoffed at the animal forms of the Egyptian gods, and at the extraordinary symbols and ceremonies which appertained to their cult. The feelings of such are voiced by Lucian in his short work, *The Council of the Gods*, in which he describes a meeting of the three gods, Zeus, Hermes, and Momus, to discuss the complaints made by the last named to the effect that the banquet of the gods had been thrown open to a number of undesirable persons. Momus, the "Accuser General," complained that many persons, in spite of their mixed origin, had been admitted to the feasts and councils of the gods upon terms of equality, that such had brought with them their servants and satellites and enrolled them among the gods; and that these menials shared in their rations and sacrifices without even so much as paying the customary tax.¹ Momus went so far as to point out to Zeus that the mixed state of society among the gods was due to him and his terrestrial gallantries, and that heaven was simply swarming with the demi-gods whom Zeus had introduced. It was all the result of the attentions paid by him to the daughters of Earth, and the goddesses were just as bad as the gods. Momus then went on to comment unfavourably on Dionysus, Attis, Corybas, Sabazius and Mithras, and then went on to attack the gods of Egypt. He said: "I shall just like to ask that Egyptian there—the dog-faced gentleman in the linen suit (Anubis)—who *he* is, and whether he proposes to establish his divinity by barking? And will the piebald bull yonder (Apis), from Memphis, explain what *he* has for a temple, an oracle, or a priest? As for the ibises and monkeys and goats and worse absurdities that are bundled in upon us, goodness knows how, from Egypt, I am ashamed to speak of them; nor do I understand how you, gentlemen, can endure to see such creatures enjoying a prestige equal or greater than your

¹ In the Bill to amend these matters introduced by Sleep and read by Momus it was stated that, owing to heaven being filled with false gods who troubled the banquets with a tumultuous rout of miscellaneous polyglot humanity, there was a deficiency in the supplies of ambrosia and nectar; and that owing to the increased consumption the price of the latter commodity had increased to four pounds the half-pint.—H. W. and F. G. Fowler, *Works of Lucian*, Vol. IV, p. 171.

own. And you yourself, sir, must surely find ram's horns a great inconvenience"? To this Zeus replied that the way in which the Egyptians went on was disgraceful, but he reminded Momus that there was an occult significance in most of the things, and that it ill became him, who was not one of the initiate, to ridicule them. To this Momus tartly replied: "A god is one thing, and a person with a dog's head is another; I need no initiation to tell me that."¹

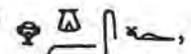
In spite, however, of all jibes, and jeers, and ridicule, the cult of Osiris and Isis spread all over Southern Europe, and into many parts of North Africa, and it continued to be a religious power in them until the close of the fourth century A.D. At Philae, as we have already seen, the worship of Osiris and Isis continued until the reign of Justinian, and it only came to an end in Nubia then because the Emperor caused the temple to be closed by force, and confiscated the revenues of the shrine. The ideas and beliefs which were the foundations of the cult were not even then destroyed, for they survived in Christianity. And the bulk of the masses in Egypt and Nubia who professed Christianity transferred to Mary the Virgin the attributes of Isis the Everlasting Mother, and to the Babe Jesus those of Horus. About the middle of the Ptolemaic Period the attributes of Osiris were changed, and after his identification with Sarapis, *i.e.*, Pluto, the god of death, his power and influence declined rapidly, for he was no longer the god of life. In the final state of the cult of Osiris and Isis, the former was the symbol of Death and the latter the symbol of Life.

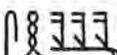
¹ *Ibid.*, p. 165 ff.

APPENDIX

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PYRAMID TEXTS OF PEPI I, MER-EN-RĀ, AND PEPI II.

Heaven is solid (or firm), the earth is strong. Horus cometh, Thoth riseth, and they raise up Osiris upon his side,¹ and they make him to stand up among the gods of the Two Companies. Remember Set, keep in thy heart the word which Kēb spake, and the threats (?) which the gods made to thee in the Temple of the Prince in Heliopolis, when thou hadst set Osiris down on the earth. Thou dost suppress Set, but dost not do these things to him (?). Thou hast the mastery there, thou art delivered, Horus hath made thee master. Thou dost suppress Set. The flesh of his body (?) maketh entreaty, his name becometh Āku-ta. Thou dost suppress Set. The flesh of his body journeyeth,² his name becometh Saḥ (Orion), whose leg is long, and his stride extended, the President of the Land of the South. Osiris beareth thee up as Set bore him up [when] he heard the threats of the gods, which the Father-God spake.³ Thine arm is to Isis, Osiris Pepi, [and] the palm of thy hand is to Nephthys, and thou goest forward between them. Heaven is to thee, the earth is to thee, Sekhet Aaru is to thee, the Aats (Domains) of Horus, the Aats of Set; the cities are to thee, and Tem hath gathered together for thee the Nomes. Kēb hath spoken concerning it. Thoth grindeth his knife, and sharpeneth [his] knife, and crusheth in heads, and cutteth open breasts, He crusheth in heads and cutteth

¹ , l. 186.

² There is a play on the words *seh* , to travel, and *saḥ*

*, Orion.

³ .

open the breasts of those who attack this Pepi, when he is journeying to thee, O Osiris, he breaketh the heads of those who would repel this Pepi when he is journeying to thee, O Osiris, that thou mayest give him life and serenity.

Pepi¹ hath come to thee, O Lord² of Heaven, Pepi hath come to thee, O Osiris. This Pepi hath cleansed (?) thy face, he hath arrayed thee in the apparel of the god, he hath purified thee in Tcheṭat.³ The star Septet (Sothis), thy beloved daughter, who maketh thine annual offerings to thee (*renput*) in her name of "Renpet," is the guide of this Pepi when he cometh unto thee. This Pepi cometh to thee, O Lord of Heaven. This Pepi cometh to thee, O Osiris. This Pepi hath cleansed thy face, he hath arrayed thee in the apparel of the god, he hath purified thee in Aaṭa,⁴ he hath devoured the flesh of thine enemies,⁵ he hath destroyed them, Osiris, and he hath placed them at the head of the Henthi gods.⁶ This Pepi cometh to thee, O Lord of Heaven, this Pepi cometh to thee, O Osiris. This Pepi hath cleansed thy face, he hath arrayed thee in the apparel of the god, and he hath done for thee what Keb commanded him to do for thee. He hath stablished thy hand on life, he hath lifted up thy hand with serenity (?).⁷ This Pepi cometh to thee, O Lord of Heaven, this Pepi cometh to thee, O Osiris. This Pepi hath cleansed thy face, he hath arrayed thee in the apparel of the god. This Pepi hath purified thee. Behold, Horus, thy son, whom thou hast brought forth, hath not put this Pepi at the head of the dead, but he hath set him among the gods who are divine. Their

¹ Line 188. ² ³ , l. 189.

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⁵ = , l. 189.

⁶ , l. 189.

⁷ Perhaps the sceptre is referred to.

Pepi hath ascended into heaven through the two fingers of the God, the Lord of the Ladder (l. 196).

Open the doors of heaven, throw open the doors of the sky¹ to Horus of the gods, on his appearance at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru.

Open the doors of heaven, throw open the doors of the sky to Horus of the East, on his appearance at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru.

Open the doors of heaven, throw open the doors of the sky to Horus of Shest,² on his appearance at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru.

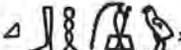
Open the doors of heaven, throw open the doors of the sky to Osiris, on his appearance at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru.

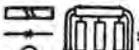
Open the doors of heaven, throw open the doors of the sky to this Pepi, on his appearance at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru.

Therefore let appear him that appeareth at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru; let Horus of the gods appear at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru. Therefore let appear him that appeareth at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru; let Horus of Shest appear at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru. Therefore let appear him that appeareth at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru; let Osiris appear at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru. Therefore let appear him that appeareth at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru; let this Pepi appear at dawn, having purified himself in Sekhet-Āaru.

O Rā, the womb of Nut is filled with the seed of the Spirit which is in her. The earth bendeth under the feet of this Pepi. Tefnut stretcheth out her hand to Pepi. Seker purifieth this Pepi, Rā giveth his hand to Pepi, so that he may promote Pepi [to be] the head of the gods, Pepi hath taken his seat in the sky. O ye who sing and rejoice carry ye this Pepi with you; let him live for ever! (l. 199.)

Happy are those who see, fortunate (?) are those who see the appearance of this god in heaven, which is like

¹ , l. 196.

² , l. 196.

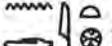
the Morning Star giveth birth to him ; give thou thy hand to Pepi, [and] he shall live (l. 203).

Hail, Osiris this Pepi ! Raise thyself up on thy left side, and place thou thyself on thy right side, by this water of rejuvenation which I have given to thee. Hail, Osiris this Pepi. Raise thyself up on thy left side, and place thou thyself on thy right side, by the warm bread which I have made for thee. Hail, Osiris this Pepi ! The doors of heaven were opened to thee, and the doors of the Petchet¹ were thrown open to thee by the body (?) of the gods who dwell in Pe, when they came to Osiris by reason of the sound of the lamentation of Isis and Nephthys. The Souls of Pe smite for thee, they smite for thee their flesh, they grasp thee with their hands so tightly that they are to thee like their tresses. They make a speech to Horus, saying : Thou departest, thou comest, thou risest up, thou liest down, thou art stablished in life. Standing up thou seest these things, standing up thou hearest these things which Horus hath done for thee. He smiteth thee and thou art smitten. He fetters thee and thou art fettered. He placeth himself with his (or thy) eldest daughter in Qeṭem,² thy great sister, who collected thy flesh, and warmed thy hands, and embraced thee when she found thee on thy side on the place Neṭât,³ and there is no grief in the Two Halves of Egypt. The gods say to him : "Hast thou brought him?" Appear thou, therefore, in Heaven ; become thou like Ap-uat. Thy son Horus shall guide thee on the roads of heaven. Heaven is given to thee. Earth is given to thee. Sekhet-Aaru is given to thee, and these Two Great Gods who come forth from Anu (Pepi II, l. 872).

Pour a libation. Pour a libation. Aqa and Ap-uat ! Watch, O ye who are lying down ! Wake up, O ye who are guardians. Horus watcheth. Osiris Pepi is raised up by the eldest son of Kēb, and the Great Company of the Gods quake [before] him. Thou art purified at [each] month, the dead rise before thee, heads are

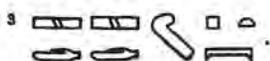
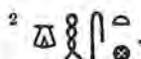
¹  . Pepi, l. 204.

²  .

³  .

(or, fore-legs) have been selected for him. He cometh forth to Hathor of Heaven. . . . This Pepi cometh to thee, O Rā, a calf of gold brought forth by the sky, a being of gold made by the goddess Ḥesat. O Horus, carry thou with thee this Pepi [in] life and stability, and reject thou him not. Pepi cometh to thee, O Father, Pepi cometh to thee, O K̄eb. Give thou thy hand to this Pepi. This Pepi cometh forth to heaven before his mother Nut. . . . K̄eb cometh, with his *at* crown on his head, and his *genāt* garment on him. He smiteth you. He adjudged the lands¹ to the embrace of Osiris [when] he found him placed on his side in the town of K̄eḥset.² Osiris, thy father K̄eb stood up, he delivered thee from the hand of Set. . . . I am he who fettered his feet, fettered his hands, [when] he set himself on his side in the Land of Ru. O Horus on the womb of heaven,³ give thy hand to this Pepi. This Pepi cometh forth to the heaven of Nut, give thou thy hand to Pepi with life and serenity. Collect his bones, group together the intestines of his body. . . . His light appeareth in the sky like that of a great star in the East.

Homage to you, O Waters brought by Shu, and lifted up by Mentefstā,⁴ wherein K̄eb hath purified his members, the hearts after fear, and the breasts after the knife (?) Pepi was brought forth by Nu when there was no heaven, when there was no earth, when there was no established thing, when there was no fighting (or, disturbance), and when there was not the fear which arose through the Eye of Horus. This Pepi is one of the Great Offspring who were brought forth in Anu, who have never been conquered by a king or ruled by chiefs, who are irresistible, whose words cannot be gainsaid. Therefore this Pepi is irresistible; he can neither be conquered by a king nor ruled by chiefs. The enemies of Pepi do not triumph. Pepi lacketh nothing. His nails do not grow long [for want of prey]. No debt is reckoned to Pepi. If Pepi falleth into the water Osiris



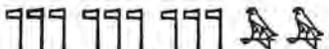
will lift him out, and the Two Companies of the Gods¹ will bear him up on their shoulders, and Rā will give Pepi his hand, wheresoever the god may be. If Pepi falleth on to the earth, Kēb will lift him up, and the Two Companies of the Gods will bear him up on their shoulders, and Rā will give him his hand, wheresoever the god may be (Pepi II, l. 1235).

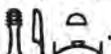
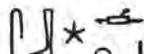
Adoration be to thee, O thou Osiris Pepi, thou Shining one in the horizon, thou Stable one in the Place of stability² who dost make decrees at the head of the living for ever! Stand up on thy left side, set thyself on thy right side, and receive thou this bread which I give unto thee. I am thy son, thine heir.

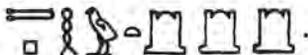
Hail, this Pepi, thy son Horus payeth thee homage. Thy diadem is like that of the Morning and Evening³ Star in Nut. Thy feet and thy wings are like those of a hawk with a large body, that is, [like] the *kenhesu* bird, the splendour of which is seen [as he passes] in the sky. Thou sailest over the firmament as Rā-Ĥeru-Khuti saileth over the waters [thereof], Nut layeth her hands upon thee. . . .

236. Heaven is open! Earth is open! The shrines⁴ of Peter are opened! The strides of Nu are opened! The strides of the god (?) Aakhu⁵ are opened. Behold, [he] is one, stable each day. These [things] his ancestors say unto him, [and] thereupon he cometh forth to heaven, anointed with unguents, and arrayed in the finest apparel of those who sit to give life to Maāt. His side is to the sides of the gods who are in the north of heaven. They are imperishable, he is imperishable; they are incorruptible, he is incorruptible; they cannot decay, he cannot decay. When the god Menthu riseth, he riseth with him; when Menthu maketh a progress, he maketh a progress with him.

243. Heaven is pregnant with wine, Nut maketh herself to give birth to her daughter, the Morning Star.

¹ . Pepi II, l. 1234.

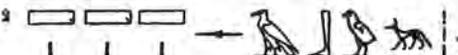
² . ³ . Pepi I, l. 204 + 16.

⁴ . ⁵ .

Rise thou up, then, O Pepi, thou third Septet¹ (Sothis), whose seats are purified. He hath been purified in the Lakes of the Tuat, he hath undressed in the Lakes of the Jackals.² O Baḳes³ plant, remove thyself from his path, for he hath taken the Southern Portion of Sekhet-Aaru, and hath made a way into the blooming meadow of Kha. Grant that Horus may be embraced by the doors of the sky [when] he saileth before Rā to the horizon. Grant that Ḥeru-Khuti may be embraced by the doors of heaven [when] he saileth before Rā to the horizon. Grant that Ḥeru-Shesti may be embraced by the doors of the sky [when] he saileth before Rā to the horizon. Grant that Ḥeru-Ābti may be embraced by the doors of the sky [when] he saileth before Rā to the horizon. Grant that this Pepi, who is Horus of the gods, may be embraced by the doors of the sky [when] he saileth before Rā to the horizon. He hath received his throne in Sekhet-Aaru. He hath gone to the Southern Portion of Sekhet-Ḥetep. He is a great god, the son of a great god. He appeareth between the two thighs of the Two Companies of the Gods. Pepi giveth praise to Rā. Pepi giveth praise to Ḥeru-Ābti. Pepi giveth praise to Ḥeru-Khuti. He travelleth over the circuit. This Pepi resteth and Horus resteth with him on his throne; Horus resteth on his throne, and this Pepi joineth him thereon.

255. Pepi appeareth from Pe before the Souls of Pe, Pepi hath put on the *sheth* garment of Horus, and hath arrayed himself in the apparel of Thoth. Isis is before him, Nephthys is behind him. Ap-uat openeth for him a way. Shu beareth him up, and the Souls of Anu draw him up the steps to set him before the face of Nut, who giveth to him her hand just as they did for Osiris, on that day when he came into port (*i.e.*, died). O Ḥer-f-ḥa-f, Pepi saileth to Sekhet-Aaru! Whether goest thou? He hath appeared in Auuaurt. To him is the body which proceedeth from the god,

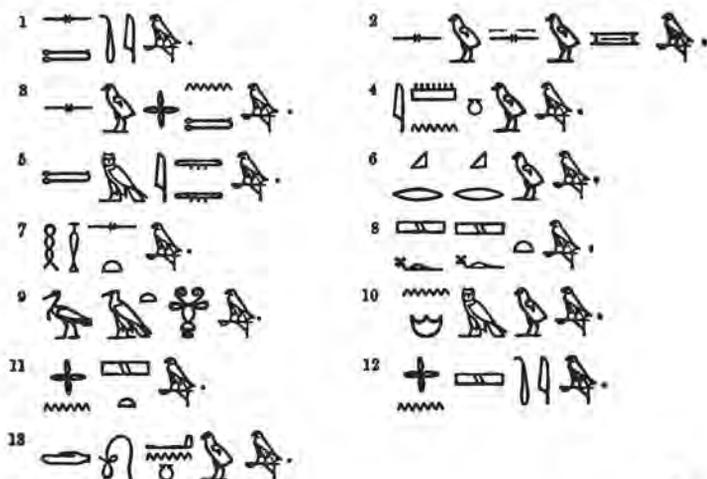
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the uraeus proceeding from Rā, he himself saileth, he placeth himself in Sekhet-Aaru. The Four Spirits who are with Pepi are Hēp, Ṭuamūtef, Āmset, and Qebḥsenuf, two on one side and two on the other. Pepi is steersman, and he findeth the Two Companies of the Gods who give their hands to him, and he taketh his seat among them to decide cases, and he issueth orders to those whom he findeth there.

265. This Pepi is Sethā,¹ this Pepi is Sethā, this Pepi is Susu,² this Pepi is Sunth,³ who circlet about heaven. This Pepi is Arek, the spirit of the Kings of the North. This Pepi is Āmennu,⁴ the Amen of this earth. Pepi is the Unifier of the Two Lands.⁵ Pepi is the Revolver, the god who revolveth.⁶ Pepi is Hēst,⁷ Pepi is the Terrible one.⁸ Pepi is Bat⁹ of the two faces. Pepi is Neḥemu,¹⁰ he delivereth himself from every evil thing. Pepi is Unshet.¹¹ Pepi is Unshā.¹² Pepi is Hēp. Pepi is Ṭuamūtef. Pepi is Āmset. Pepi is Qebḥsenuf. Pepi is Ṭuaānuu.¹³ Pepi is these great gods who are at the head of the Lake. Pepi is the Living Soul, with the face of Sepa. He rescueth his head, delivereth his body, carrieth off his body. In trouble he doeth what must be done, lying in death he doeth what must be done, decreeing what must be decreed. Pepi doeth the deeds of beneficence. Pepi decreeth a good decree. The two lips of Pepi are the



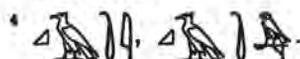
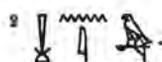
Two Companies of the Gods, Pepi is the Great Word.¹ Pepi is Senā.² Pepi is the unfetterer, and he is loosed from every evil thing. O men and gods, let your hands be under Pepi! Lift ye up Pepi, and raise him up to heaven (even as the two hands of Shu, which are under the sky, bear it up), to heaven, to heaven, to the Great Place among the gods

279. Pepi giveth commands to his father, the Moon, Pepi giveth birth to the Morning Star, Pepi giveth commands to those Four Rejoicing Ones³ who sit on the eastern side of the sky, and to those Four Rejoicing Ones with shining hair who sit in the shade of the dwelling of the god Qatā.⁴ Great of father, great of father, Pepi is great of father.

283. The Comer! The Comer! This Pepi cometh! The Lady of Ṭep is agitated, and the heart of the goddess dwelling in Nekheb fluttereth on that day wherein Pepi cometh in the place of Rā. Pepi hath carried away for himself thy light under his feet. Pepi cometh forth above it before his mother, the living uraeus of the head of Rā, and her heart is grieved for him. She giveth him her breast, he sucketh thereat. Son of the father, this breast is presented to thee, thou suckest thereat, therefore, behold, shall it happen that thy days shall be numberless. The sky speaketh,⁵ the earth quaketh, and the gods of Anu tremble at the voice, and the offering is before Pepi. His mother Bastet taketh him and proclaimeth him to the goddess who dwelleth in Nekhebet, She who dwelleth in Ṭep layeth her hands upon him. Behold he cometh! Behold he cometh! Behold, this Pepi cometh with life and serenity. He maketh his purificatory substances with figs and with wine from the vineyard of the god Pepi passeth as Horus passeth, his sweat being the sweat of Horus, his smell being the smell of Horus, to heaven, to heaven, with the gods of the House of the Lion and the Hawk.



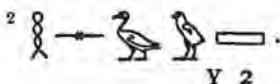
⁶ *I.e.*, it thunders.



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Pepi is in heaven with the gods of the House of the Lion and the Hawk, and he is by their side in friendly converse. Behold, *Ḳeb* taketh Pepi by the hand, and he guideth him in through the doors of heaven, like a god into his place; beautiful is the god in his place. The goddess *Sethat* purifieth him with the four vessels of purification which are in Abu (Elephantine). Hail, where goest thou then, O son of the father? He cometh to the gods of heaven, and behold, he maketh *Peq* to be at peace. Hail, where comest thou then, O son of the father? He goeth to the gods of earth, and behold, he maketh *Peq* to be at peace. Hail, where comest thou then, O son of the father? He cometh to *Tchenttchenter*.¹ Hail, where comest thou then, O son of the father? He cometh to his two mothers, these two vultures, with the long hair (or feathers) and the hanging breasts, which are on the Mountain of *Seḥseḥ* (?), and they put their nipples into the mouth of Pepi straightway, and they are with him for ever!

304. The sky speaketh, the earth quaketh. *Ḳeb* tottereth, the nomes of the god roar, the earth is ploughed up, the offering is taken before this Pepi, the living one, the stable one. Therefore he cometh forth to heaven, he saileth over the firmament with life and serenity, he passeth over the Milky Way (?),² overthrowing the walls of *Shu*. Now he appeareth in heaven on his wings like a great gander which hath escaped from his toils Now he appeareth in heaven among the imperishable stars. His sister the star *Seḫtet* (*Sothis*), his guide the Morning Star, take him by the hand to *Sekhet-Ḥetep*. He taketh his seat there on the crystal (?) throne, which hath faces of fierce lions and feet in the form of the hoofs of the Bull *Sma-ur*. He standeth up in his place which is between the Two Great Gods, with his *āba* sceptre and his *menḥ* staff in his hands. He lifteth up his hand to the *Ḥenmemet* spirits, and the gods come to him with bowings. The Two Great Gods watch in their places, and they find him among the gods deciding cases. The word of every noble is to him, and they make offerings to Pepi among the Two Companies of the Gods.

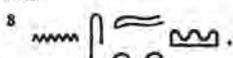


315. Behold, it is not Pepi who maketh entreaty to see thee in thy form in which thou art, O Osiris, who maketh entreaty to see thee in thy form in which thou art, it is thy Son who maketh entreaty to see thee in thy form in which thou art, it is Horus who maketh entreaty to see thee in thy form in which thou art. Thus say the beings who are inert (?) and are like the Great Males under Akhemut (?)¹ to thee, thus say they to thee: "Come, beloved son, in the form of the Sa-mer-f," and they ferry Horus, they ferry Horus at the appearance of Horus among the Meht-urt goddesses. Open, O ye doors of heaven, be thrown open, O ye doors of the sky, to Horus of the East, who at dawn descendeth and purifieth himself in Sekhet-Aaru.² Open, O ye doors of heaven, be thrown open, O ye doors of the sky, to Pepi, who at dawn descendeth and purifieth himself in Sekhet-Aaru.

331. This Pepi hath ploughed the earth, he hath presented the offering. He riseth on the throne like a king, and occupieth it with honour. He saileth over the Lake of Petertá, and he traverseth the Lake of Kha. Neskestet³ stretcheth out the hand to Pepi from her shrine, from her secret place, and she maketh him a god. Behold, Pepi is a pure being, the son of a pure being, and he is purified by [the contents of] the Four Nemast vases, which are emptied (?) [over him] in the Lake of Nether in the city of Nethru,⁴ under the wind of Isis the Great Lady, and behold the Great Lady made Horus dry, and caused him to come with flesh purified. Is Rā more pure than Pepi [or] the doorkeeper of Qebhu (the sky)?⁵ He taketh Pepi along to those Four Gods who are on the Lake of Kenstá, and they give gifts to Osiris Pepi, and they give gifts to Rā. No boundaries are fixed for him, and [he] findeth no limits [set for him]. Behold, one arm of Kēb is to heaven, and his [other] is to the earth, and he taketh Pepi along to Rā. Pepi



² This formula is repeated for Horus of the Tuat and Horus of Shestá.



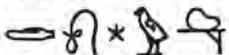
directeth the gods, he is master of the Boat of God. he conquereth heaven and its pillars and its stars.¹ The gods come to him with bowings, the Spirits follow Pepi because of his soul, they reckon up their war-clubs, they brandish their spears and wave their swords, for behold Pepi is a Great One, the Son of a Great One, and is born of Nut. The might of Pepi is the might of Set of Nubt (Ombos). Pepi is the Bull-god Sma-ur, coming forth from Khenti-Amenti. Pepi is the efflux of the celestial water, and he appeared when Nu (?) came into being. Pepi is the serpent Nehebkaui, of manifold windings. Pepi is the Scribe of the Book of God,² who spake and what is came into being, and maketh to exist that which did not exist. Pepi is the band of the written rolls which came forth from the Great Trial. This Pepi is the Eye of Horus, which is stronger than men and mightier than the gods. Horus raiseth him, Set lifteth him up. Pepi maketh offerings of bread and beer and the libation offering at the door, he pacifieth the Two Gods who are to be pacified, he pacifieth the Two Gods who consume (?).

349. Kēb and Nut on the hands of Pepi, and he cometh forth to heaven. Heaven saluteth him joyfully, the earth trembleth before him, for he hath broken the power of the raging rainstorm, and he hath roared like Set. The keepers of the body of heaven and of the doors of heaven have opened unto him, he standeth up on Shu, and the stars supply him with an abode in the shade of the walls of the god. He strideth over the sky like the god Sunth, he is the third of the star Sept (Sothis), whose seats are pure. He is purified in the Lakes of the Tuat. The goddess Nemt³ maketh good roads for him, and she guideth him to the Great Place, which the gods made, and Horus made, and Thoth stablished (?). Isis receiveth him, Nephthys stablisheth him, and he taketh his seat on the Great Throne which the gods have made. The morning stars⁴ come to him with rejoicing, and

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the gods with gladness, and the gods of the horizon¹ having fallen on their faces, and the imperishable stars with homage. He taketh in hand the Sceptre, he directeth the mouth of the gods, he beareth up the sky on his shoulders with life, he supporteth the earth with gladness, his right arm beareth up the sky with power, his left arm supporteth the earth with gladness. He findeth Sheth, he addresseth the doorkeeper of Osiris, and an abomination to him it is to travel without He receiveth the breezes of life, he inhaleth joy of heart, the offerings of the god are laid before him in abundance, he snuffeth the air, he hath the air of the north wind in abundance, and he is happy among the gods. He is better equipped than Sept-ur, and he is advanced more than Khent-Atert. He striketh with his Sceptre, he ruleth with his *Aaat* staff; he setteth his remembrance before men, and his love before the gods. Speak the thing which is; speak not that which is not; an abomination unto God is the shifty word. This Pepi is thy son, this Pepi is thy flesh and blood.

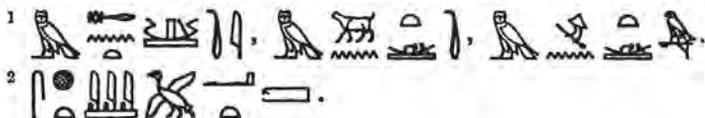
369. I have made a heart for father Pepi, another hath prepared for him his . . .² Now when he cometh forth into heaven, and when he journeyeth through the pools of the Lake of Kha, Anubis cometh and meeteth thee, O Pepi, K̄eb giveth to thee his hand, O father Pepi; the guardian of the earth, the director of the Spirits weepeth tears, O father Pepi. Hail, rise up, father Pepi! Thou hast received thy Four Nemast Vases, and the vases of offerings; thou hast been purified in the Lake of the Jackal, thou hast been censed in the Lake of Ṭat. Thou hast been made pure by thy Shabt flower³ in Sekhet-Āaru. Thou sailest over the heavens, thou stoppest in Sekhet-ḥetep among the gods who pass to their Doubles. Thou sittest on thy throne of alabaster, thou takest in thine hand thy club and thy Ames staff, thou art the leader of the dwellers in Nu,



396. Hail, Nuru, thou Ferry-god¹ of Sekhet-Pât²! Pepi is thy herdsman, the chief of thy breeding ground (?). Pepi is thy fashioner on earth, the offspring of Tem to whom Nut gave birth. He cometh, he bringeth to thee this thy house, he builded it for thee on the night wherein thou wast brought forth, on the day of thy birth (?). This vessel . . . unknown is thy father, unknown is thy mother . . . Make thou him to sail with speed to the Earth, and arrive at the Field made by the gods, the Field wherein they enjoy abundance on the New Year's Days.

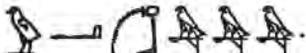
400. Hail, Ferryman, thou Boatman of Maât, who dost transport [souls] to Sekhet-Āaru, this Pepi is true before heaven and before earth. This Pepi is true before the Island of the earth. Pepi swam and arrived at that which was between the thighs of Nut. Pepi is the pygmy, the dancer [before] the god, who rejoiceth the heart of the god, when he danceth before his Great Throne. This is what shall be heard of thee in the houses, and what shall be heard of thee on the roads. This is the day whereon this Pepi shall be proclaimed for life, and to hear the utterance of commands. Behold, the chiefs of the throne of the Great God shall proclaim this Pepi for life and serenity for ever. He is Strength and he is Health. This Pepi saileth to the Field, to the beautiful place of the Great God, and he shall do what hath to be done therein among the servants. He shall assign to them food, and tell out for them birds. Pepi is Horus, who assigneth food to Pepi, and telleth out to him birds.

405. Hail, Ferryman of Sekhet-ĥetep! Bring this to this Pepi; it is Pepi who passeth, it is Pepi who cometh, the son of the Mântchet Boat, which brought forth Kĥeft-Ta; Āntchet brought him forth. Ānkhet-tai is there, on the right side of Osiris. Pepi is the green-laden envoy of the year, O Osiris. Behold, he cometh with the message of thy father Kĥeb with the offerings of the year, the offerings of the year. Beautiful



is that which belongeth to the year, beautiful things belong to the year. Pepi descended with the Two Companies of the Gods into Qebhu, Pepi was the moulder of the Two Companies of the Gods, and he laid the foundation of Sekhet-hetep. This Pepi findeth the gods standing up, arrayed in their apparel, with white sandals on their feet. But they hurl their white sandals down on the earth, and they strip off their apparel, for their hearts are not happy because of thy coming to them. Ye speak, ye remain. "Sekhem-utcha" is the name of this weapon, the . . . of Sekhet-hetep. Stand up now, Osiris, and decree this Pepi to the chiefs of "Sekhem-utcha," the . . . of Sekhet-hetep, as thou didst decree Horus to Isis on the day when thou didst beget him in her, so that they may give him food to eat in the fields, and water to drink from the wells in Sekhet-hetep.

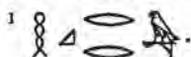
411. Hail, Her-f-ḥa-f, thou doorkeeper of Osiris! Osiris saith: Make thou to come to this Pepi thy boat wherein thou makest to sail thy purified [souls].¹ And when thou hast received thy cool water at that Uārt of the imperishable stars, make him to make his journey therein, by means of the rope of green and red which towed along the Eye of Horus. Now the finger of Osiris there passeth along, in pain (?). This Pepi journeyeth along with great speed (?), guarding himself in the Great Lake. Be opened, O doors of Peter, be opened wide the doors of the Lower Aat! O ye Two Companies of the Gods, make ye this Pepi to travel with you to the Sekhet-hetep, and make him to become a lord of fealty. This Pepi smiteth with his *Āba* sceptre, he ruleth with the *Āaata* staff. He guideth the revolutions of Rā, the watering of the earth, the dew of Kēb, and the . . . of the Two Companies of the Gods. Pepi is the Divine Soul who maketh his way among you, O ye gods, who forceth a way through Pāt Lake, who filleth Pāt Lake with water, who maketh Sekhet-Aaru to blossom, and filleth Sekhet-hetep with water. Behold, as those Four Tchanu,² who stand on the East side

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And they decorate themselves with Crowns of the North [made of flowers] of the Lakes of Sekhet-ḥetep for Isis, the Great Lady, bearer of the diadem (?) in Akh-khebit. And behold, she bringeth them and placeth them before her son Horus the Child, the Babe. He journeyeth over the earth in his white sandals, and he goeth to see his father Osiris. This Pepi openeth his way among the feathered fowl (?), he goeth along with the Lords of Doubles, he travelleth to the Great Lake in Sekhet-ḥetep, by which the Great Gods alight, and these great ones of the imperishable stars give unto Pepi the tree of life whereon they themselves do live, so that he also may live thereon. Make thou this Pepi to journey with thee into thy Great Field which hath been put under thy authority by the gods, wherein thou eatest from night to dawn, being in possession of the god H̄u, and let this Pepi eat of what thou eatest there, and let this Pepi drink of what thou drinkest there. Grant thou that this Pepi may be satisfied there . . . Grant thou that this Pepi may sit in his truth (?), and that he may stand up in his loyal service. Let this Pepi stand up and take possession of his service before thee, even as Horus took possession of his father's house from Set, his father's brother, before K̄eb. Proclaim thou in truth that this Pepi is a Chief among the Spirits, the imperishable ones of heaven, who are Governors of offerings and Guardians of oblations, and who make to descend those who are at the head of their Doubles in heaven.

436. Hail, ye Four Gods who are in front of the flowing hair of Horus, whose hair is in front of you, whose hair is above your temples, whose hair is in your caps on the middle of your heads! Hail, ye Smiters, bring ye the Mekhent Boat to this Pepi, bring ye the Antu(?) Boat to this Pepi. Behold, Heqrer,¹ they transport this Pepi with Maa-ḥa-f and he ferrieth him to that region of the imperishable stars so that he may be among them. Whensoever he giveth the order, take ye over the Mekhent Boat to this Pepi, so that this Pepi may declare your names to the men whom he knoweth,

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and to mortals, and so that he may pluck out these Smiters which are in (?) your heads like lilies from the pools.

440. O Lake of gifts! O Lake of gifts! Behold, this Ser goose is brought, behold, this Set goose is brought, behold, this Neḫ Bull is brought. This Pepi darteth like the *Āhāu* bird, and he rusheth on his prey like the *Bennu* (?) bird. Pepi journeyeth on with his fathers who are in the Lake of Petchu. The bread which cannot go mouldy is brought to Pepi, and his wine which cannot go sour. This Pepi eateth his bread alone by himself, this Pepi doth not cast it behind his back, and he is delivered from the *Kenmut* bird.

Hail, Maa-ḥa-f! Hail, Ḥer-f-ḥa-f! Behold, this Pepi cometh as a living being! He bringeth to thee the Eye of Horus, the fettered (?) one which is in Sekhet-Khennu, and it is in the Eye-of-Khnem Boat that Pepi hath brought it. Hail, Ḥep, Āmset, Ṭua-mut-f, and Qebḥsenuf. Pepi bringeth this Eye-of-Khnemu Boat, which is in the Lake of Kha (or, Lake of Ḥetem). Hail, thou god Ām,¹ open thou a way for Pepi. Hail, thou god Qererá, open thou a way for this Pepi. Hail, thou goddess Nekhebet, open thou a way for Pepi. Homage to thee, O goddess Nefert, in peace! Love ye this Pepi. Love ye this Pepi. Do ye no harm to him. Carry him not away. Carry not ye him away.

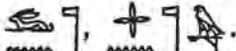
447. The splendour of Pepi maketh strong the heavens when this Pepi maketh to take flight to heaven the Eye of Rā. Stand thou up, O this Pepi, by that left Eye of Horus whereby thou shalt hear the words of the gods. Stand thou up, O Pepi, at the head of the Spirits, even as Horus standeth up at the head of the Living. Stand thou up, O Pepi, at the head of the imperishable Spirits, as Osiris standeth up at the head of the Spirits.

449. Pepi hath been made pure with the purifications which Horus performed for his Eye; Pepi is Thoth, your avenger, and not Set who stole it (*i.e.*, the Eye). The gods make supplication, and the Two Companies of the Gods rejoice when they meet this Pepi. Pepi raiseth up the White Crown wherein the Eye of Horus is

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mighty; the gods rejoice in his appearance. The face of Pepi is the face of a jackal. The arms of Pepi are the arms of a hawk. The tips of the wings of Pepi are those of Thoth. Keb maketh this Pepi to fly to heaven. Pepi draweth the Eye of Horus to him. Pepi judgeth the dead (?). A wall to Pepi are the tablets which are between the legs and under the hands of Osiris. Pepi obstructeth the ways of Set, and continueth on his way with the messengers of Osiris. No god can lay a hand on Pepi, and no mariner can foul the way of this Pepi. Pepi is Thoth, the strength of the gods. Tem calleth this Pepi to heaven to life. Pepi draweth the Eye of Horus to him. Pepi is the son of Khnemu. No evil thing hath Pepi wrought. These words reach to thy face, O Rā, the Bull of the Company of the Nine hearkeneth to them. Open thou the way of this Pepi, make thou spacious the seat of this Pepi at the head of the gods. Pepi draweth the Eye of Horus to him, he exalteth it, and it appeareth on his head. Grant to Pepi that he may see with his two eyes completely, and to destroy his enemies therewith. Horus hath taken his Eye, he hath given it to this Pepi. His odour is the odour of the god, the odour of the Eye of Horus appertaineth to the flesh of this Pepi, Pepi advanceth with it. This Pepi sitteth on the Great Throne of the gods, he supporteth himself on Tem, between the Two Powers (?). O Pepi, . . . the gods, in the embraces of the Eye of Horus. It seeketh this Pepi in Pe, it findeth [him] in Anu, it draweth him on to the head of Set in that place wherein they fought. Horus, give thy hand to this Pepi. Horus, thine Eye hath been presented to thee, it cometh forth to thee, it cometh forth to thee. This Pepi cometh to thee a living being. The Eye of Horus cometh to thee with this Pepi, on Pepi for ever.

461. Thou hast purified Rā, thou hast decorated Horus, . . . on the hands of the god Un,¹ the son of the god, the messenger of the god. This Pepi journeyeth in the Lake of Kenset. This Pepi is purified in Sekhet-Aaru, the Shesu-Heru (Body-guard of Horus) have purified him. They recite for this Pepi

¹ . The first symbol is a seated figure with a staff, the second is a staff, the third is a cross, the fourth is a staff, and the fifth is a bird.

the "Chapter of those who come forth," they recite for this Pepi the "Chapter of those who travel." This Pepi embarketh in thy Boat, O Rā, the gods are the sailors, this Pepi saileth on and they rejoice to meet him even as they rejoice at meeting Rā, when he cometh forth from the East, mounting up, mounting up. This Pepi hath bathed in the Lake of Reeds wherein Rā bathed, Horus hath dried (?) him; the back of this Pepi is the back of Thoth, the legs of Pepi are the legs of Shu, Shu draweth him to heaven, [O gods], give ye your hand to this Pepi.

465. The god Temu once in Heliopolis took the form of a man who masturbated.¹ He thrust his phallus into his hand and worked it about in it, and two children, a brother and a sister, were produced,² Shu and Tefnut. May they place this Pepi between them, may they place this Pepi among the gods at the head of Sekhet-ḥetep. *Recite four times.* This Pepi cometh forth to heaven, this Pepi descendeth to earth, living for ever. Hail, Sunth, who dost traverse the heavens nine times during the night, stretch out a hand to this Pepi—of life, and ferry thou him to this Lake. This Pepi embarketh in the Boat of the God, and the company of the gods in it act as the sailors thereof, and this Pepi also becometh a sailor in it. Thou recitest the "Chapter of Beṭu incense," thou recitest the "Chapter of Natron incense." The Natron standeth up at the head of the Great Company of the Gods. The Beṭu sitteth down at the head of the great Ātert. Hail, thou Doorkeeper of heaven! Act thou thus in respect of the Messenger of the God when he cometh forth. If he cometh forth by the West Gate of heaven, bring to him the South Gate of heaven; if he cometh forth by the East Gate of heaven, bring to him the North Gate of heaven.

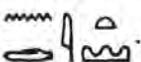
471. Homage to thee, O Ladder, which beareth up the abode of the souls of Pe and the souls of Nekhen, give thou thy hands to this Pepi, and let Pepi sit between the Two Great Gods. Advance the seats of this Pepi, take [him by] the hand to Sekhet-ḥetep, and let him sit among the stars in heaven. The Two

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Tchert birds (*i.e.*, Isis and Nephthys) on the wings of Thoth swoop down and alight, and they bring this Pepi and set him upon his place. This Pepi of life is a messenger (?) of Horus. . . . The ẖet setteth free the Māntchet Boat for its Lord, the ẖet setteth free the Māntchet Boat for its chief Isis cometh, Nephthys cometh, one on the right, one on the left, one of them as a *Ĥat* bird—Nephthys cometh—one of them as a *Tchert* bird. They find Osiris, his brother Set hath cast him down to the ground in Neṣāt.¹ . . . They remove thy foulness—now thy name is Anpu. They remove the efflux of thy filth to the earth—now thy name is “Jackal of the South.” They remove the evil odour of thy body—now thy name is “Ḥeru-shati.” They remove the filth of Ḥeru-ābti. They remove the filth of Ḥeruneb-pāt. They remove the filth of Ḥeru-Ṭatti. They remove the filth of Ḥeruneb-tai. . . . Watch, O Horus, stand up upon Set. Thou art raised up, O Osiris Pepi, the firstborn son of Ḳeb. The Two Companies of the Gods tremble [before] him. . . . Advance thou to the Lake, sail thou to the Great Green Sea. Behold, thou art he who standeth up, he who never resteth, dweller in Abydos. Thou art endowed as a spirit in the horizon, thou art made stable in Tcheket. The Souls of An take thy hand, Rā taketh thy hand, the Two Companies of the Gods raise up thy head, and they make thee, O Osiris Pepi, to be at the head of the Āterti of the Souls of An. Live thou, live thou, thou art raised up . . . O thou Pepi, [thy] marking cometh forth from Rā, thy sweat cometh forth from Isis. . . .

531. Lo Isis and Nephthys! The *Ĥat* bird cometh, the *Tchert* bird cometh, Isis and Nephthys. They come with embraces for their brother Osiris, with embraces for their brother, this Pepi. Thou hast being (?) Thou hast being (?). Thy sister Isis weepeth for thee. Thy sister Nephthys weepeth for thee. Isis, sitting down with her hands upon her head, and Nephthys give the nipple of their breasts to their brother Pepi. Anpu is on his belly. Osiris is on his seat (?) Āp-uat is at the head of

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his fist (?) Thy humours are not, O Pepi. Thy sweat-drops are not, O Pepi. Thy efflux is not, O Pepi. Thy emission is not, O Pepi. . . . Horus covereth thee with his garment, he seizeth those who are in the following of Set. He seizeth them, he breaketh their heads, he cutteth off their haunches, he teareth out their intestines, he diggeth out their hearts, he drinketh copiously of their blood! Count thou up their hearts in thy name of Anpu, counter of hearts. Thine eyes are made for thee like those of two uraei. Thou art Ap-uat upon his standard, Anpu of the Divine House. Hail, thou Pepi, thou art at the head of the Great Houses in Anu. The Spirits fear thee, the imperishable one. Thou castest the dead on their faces before thee, thou seizest with thy hand the *Henmemet*. The Souls of Anu pay thee loyal homage, and they fill thee with life and well-being (or, serenity). He liveth among the living, Seker liveth among the living. He liveth among the living, this Pepi liveth among the living. Hail, thou Pepi! Come, live this thy life in thy season, in thy season, in these years of peace. Warm is the love of thee.

548. Thy water is to thee. Thy flood is to thee. Thy humours are to thee, coming forth from Osiris. The doors of heaven are open to thee, the doors of Nut are open to thee; the doors of heaven are open to thee, the doors of the firmament are open to thee. Isis and Nephthys cry in content over thee [when] they see their brother raised up. Thy fetters are untied, thou layest aside thy humours, thou sittest on thy throne of alabaster (?), thou art purified by thy Four Nemset vessels and thy Four *Äbt* vessels. Thou comest from the God-house, the god is with thee, thou hast abundance in the God-lake. Horus of Nekhen is given to thee, he giveth to thee his Spirits, the Jackals. Behold, by the will of Horus, thou art advanced to the head of the Powers.¹ Abiding is that which thou hast done. Anpu Khenti-neter-seh hath decreed that thou shalt descend like a star, the Morning-star. Thou rushest on

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the Domain of Horus of the South, thou rushest on the Domain of Horus of the North. Thou seizest captives (?), their hands are at the feet of thy throne. Thy father cometh to thee, K̄eb cometh to thee, he doeth that which thou didst for thy father Osiris, on the day of thy perfect festival in the waters, counting up the lists, establishing the sandals, decorating his nails, upper and lower. The Atert of the South and the Atert of the North come to him with bowings. . . .

559. Hail, thou Pepi! Stand up, and sit thou upon the throne of Osiris. Thy flesh (body) is complete like [that of] Tem. Thy face is that of a jackal. Rā hath given to thee thy mouth; he hath removed the impediments in thy speech, he hath made thy words to flow. Stand up, then, thou shalt not come to an end, thou shalt never perish. Live, thou Pepi! Thy mother Nut layeth hold upon thee, she joineth herself to thee, and K̄eb taketh thy hand; come in peace before thy fathers. Thou art master of thy body, thou dressest thy body. Thou comest forth like Horus of T̄at at the head of the imperishable stars. Seat thyself on thy throne of alabaster, on thy lake Qeb̄hu. Live thou, as liveth the Beetle, be stablished, like the T̄et̄, for ever and ever.

Get thee back, K̄en Āka! Thy head is in the hand of Horus, thy tail in the hand of Isis, and the fingers of Tem are on thy brow.

565. The head of this Pepi is that of a hawk; he cometh forth, he flieth up into heaven.¹ The skull of this Pepi is that of the beard (?) of the god; he cometh, etc. The brow of this Pepi is that of . . . and Nu. The face of this Pepi is that of Ap-uat. The eyes of this Pepi are those of Urt-Khentet-baiu-Anu. The nose of this Pepi is that of Thoth. The mouth of this Pepi is that of Khens-ur (?) The tongue of this Pepi is the Maāa portion of the Maāt Boat. The teeth of this Pepi are those of the Souls [of Anu?]. The lips of this Pepi are those of . . . The chin of this Pepi is that of Khert-Khent-Sekhem. The backbone of this Pepi is that of [the Bull] Sma. The shoulders of this Pepi are those

¹ "He cometh forth," etc., is repeated after the identification of each member.

of Set. . . . The . . . of this Pepi is that of Baabu.¹ The breast of this Pepi is that of Bast. The belly of this Pepi is that of Nut. . . . The . . . of this Pepi is that of the Two Companies of the Gods. The haunches of this Pepi are those of Heqet. The buttocks of this Pepi are those of the Semktet and Mäntchet Boats. The phallus of this Pepi is that of Hep. The thighs of this Pepi are those of Net and Serqet. The legs of this Pepi are those of the Twin Souls in Sekhet-Tcher. The soles of the feet of this Pepi are those of the Two Maāti goddesses. The toe-nails of this Pepi are those of the Souls of Anu.

Now this Pepi is a god, the son of a god.² Pepi is the son of Rā, who loveth him.² Rā sendeth forth Pepi,² Rā hath conceived Pepi.² Rā hath brought forth Pepi.² This word of power is the intestines of Pepi.² Pepi is the Great Sekhem among the Great Taskmasters in Anu.² [He] worketh the Boat of [of Rā].² [He is] Horus the Babe, the Child.² Nut hath not united [with him], she hath not given her arms.² Keb hath not travelled on his path (?).² No god hath drawn aside the feet of this Pepi.² He hath no fruit (?), he hath no shade, he hath not washed himself in the laver, he hath not smelled the haunch, he hath not carried the flesh and bone, he hath not ploughed the earth, he hath not carried the offering.² Behold, it is not this Pepi who saith these things to you, O ye gods, but it is Heka who saith them to you. Pepi is the warden of the stand which is under Heka.² Ho, let every god draw his feet to Pepi.² Ho, let every god prepare his throne in his Boat.² Let him plough the earth, let him carry the offering, let him make ready the *nemtet* vessel, let him smell the haunch, let him carry the offering.² Ho, let every god take the hand of this Pepi in heaven, let him make him journey to the House of Horus in the firmament,³ let his KA be triumphant before Keb.

¹ 

² Here comes the refrain "He cometh forth," etc

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587. This Pepi cometh before thee, his father, he cometh before thee, O Osiris. He bringeth to thee thy KA, it existeth endowed with soul (?). His mother Nut raiseth him up upon her brow (?) Thou art raised up. Thou art made complete. Shesa-Khent-Shenāt hath opened thy mouth. Tua-ur in the House of Gold hath opened thy mouth. The two Statues in Het-Hesmen have opened thy mouth. Horus hath opened thy mouth with his little finger wherewith he opened the mouth of his father, opened the mouth of his father Osiris. This Pepi is thy son, this Pepi is Horus. This Pepi is the son loving his father, in his name of Sa-mer-f. Thou art pure in thy collar (or, breastplate), apparel is given to thee, Thy thousand suits of byssus, thy thousand suits of fine linen, doth this Pepi bring to thee, and he stablisheth thee therewith.

593. O sons of Horus, Hep, Tuamutef, Amset, and Qebhsenuf, make the motions which transfer the fluid of life to your father Osiris Pepi, since it is that which shall give him being before the gods. Set striketh. Defend this Osiris Pepi from him until the dawn. Horus hath the mastery. He himself delivereth his father this Osiris Pepi. The father hath worked, praise him! It is Horus who hath come, he judgeth his father Osiris Pepi. This Osiris Pepi maketh his way. Osiris Pepi, is brought to thee the Sma Bull, he escapeth not from thee. Osiris Pepi, is brought to thee the Sma Bull, he maketh his march. Osiris Pepi, is brought to thee the Sma Bull cut in pieces. O sons of Horus, this Osiris Pepi marcheth. O ye sons of Horus, when your son passeth under this Osiris Pepi, do not ye remove yourselves from under him, but bear ye him up. O Osiris Pepi, the Sma Bull is brought to thee cut in pieces; he maketh his march. O sons of Horus, Hep, Tuamutef, Amset, Qebhsenuf, bear ye up your father Osiris, guide ye him along. O Osiris Pepi, he giveth thee sustenance, he openeth thy mouth, stand thou up. I am Nut, I make to approach this Osiris Pepi, I set him [in his place], taking him in my arms. Hail, father Osiris Pepi, I have made thee to approach. Hail, Osiris Pepi, I have brought thee forth

601. The earth hath opened her mouth to this Osiris

are to thee, coming forth from the emissions of Osiris. The doors of heaven are open to thee, the doors of the firmament are thrown open to thee, the doors of the Hat-house are open to thee, and the doors of Nut are unclosed to thee. Isis crieth welcome to the Father, Nephthys maketh the Father to advance in peace Thy Spirit-soul is behind thee, thy Sekhem is within thee Heaven weepeth for thee, the earth trembleth at thee, Smentet crieth out to thee, Menant imploreth thee, rubbing for thee the feet, chafing for thee the two hands. Thou comest forth to heaven like a star, like the Morning Star Pepi cometh to thee, his father, he cometh to thee, O Kēb This Pepi is the son of the Cow, Smat, the great wife, who conceived him and brought him forth, and set him inside her wing. She saileth over the Lake with thee, she goeth along the canal with thee Thy sceptre is firm in thy hand. Thou smitest [therewith], thou directest, thou leviest tax on the lords of service. Behold, thou revolvest about Rā, near the Morning Star; there is no evil to thee, there is no evil attached to thy name on the earth.

614. Pepi cometh forth from Pe. His garment is like that of Horus, his apparel is like that of the Two Companies of the Gods. Pepi hath made himself to rise on his throne like a king, he hath exalted himself like Ap-uat. He hath received the White Crown and the Green Crown. His mace is in his hand, his Ames sceptre resteth in the palm of his hand. The mother of Pepi is Isis, his nurse is Nephthys, the goddess Sekhat-Heru suckleth him, Net (Neith) followeth him, Serqet-het goeth before him, his tackle is tightened, his boats are grouped together. Behold, the son of Tem hungereth [and] thirsteth, [and] thirsteth [and] hungereth on this southern side of the Lake of Kha. O Thoth, who art in the shade of thy grove, give thou to Pepi the tip of the feather of thy wing on this northern side of the Lake of Kha. Pepi is protected, his flesh is protected; Pepi is protected, his apparel is protected. He cometh forth to heaven like Menthu, he descendeth like a Ba bird into his net, like the Soul of Āshem Exalted is father Osiris Pepi like Ap-uat Thy

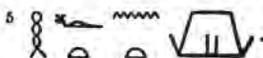
feet are like those of a jackal; stand up then. Thy hands are like those of a jackal; stand up then Father Osiris Pepi crieth out to the Steersman,¹ father Osiris Pepi crieth out to the captain,² and they transport father Osiris Pepi in their boat, to the eastern side of heaven, to the place where the gods were born father Osiris Pepi is brought forth there in the place where the gods are born. This star cometh on the morrow, and on the third day (?). Behold, father Osiris Pepi standeth up at the door under the belly of heaven

This Pepi hath taken his apparel (?),³ this Pepi cometh forth to heaven, stablished like the earth, the male (?) in thy body, O Nut, under the seed of the god in thy mother. Pepi is Horus, the seed of the god in thy mother Nut. Thou hast received⁴ this Pepi as thou hast received the son of the god. O Hapath, O Hapath, O Henená, O Henená, make ye Pepi to travel with you, and establish ye him among you. O Heftnet,⁵ Mother of the Gods, give thou thy hand to this Pepi, give thou his hand for life, draw him to heaven, even as thou hast drawn Osiris to heaven. O Henená, O Henená, O Hapath, O Hapath, make ye Pepi to travel with you, and establish ye him among you.

637. Pure, pure is the Lake of Áaru. Pure is Rā in the Lake of Áaru, and Pepi himself is pure in the Lake of Áaru. Pure is Shu in the Lake of Áaru, and Pepi himself is pure in the Lake of Áaru. O Shu, Shu, lift up this Pepi to heaven, O Nut, give thou thy two hands to him. Hepaf, Hepaf, Henen-henen-henen, Hepaf, Hepaf. Pepi is pure and is conveyed to heaven. This Pepi is stablished with men. This Pepi riseth to the gods. This Pepi riseth with Rā in his rising. Those who are with him are four; one followeth him,



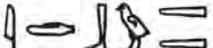
⁴ Or, swallowed.



one goeth before him, one giveth him water, and one giveth him sand (?). This Pepi riseth on thy hands, O Shu, even as Rā riseth on thy hands, and they find seated to meet him the Two Spirits, who are mistresses of this earth. Nut rejoiceth to meet this Pepi. Pepi taketh the *nepenpet* garment which is in her of life and serenity, and which is under her and they sit down together with Pepi. He hath removed from himself the evil which appertained to him. The goddess Serqet giveth her two hands to this Pepi, she conveyeth her breast to the mouth of Pepi, the great Morning Star¹ shaveth him, and the goddess Sept poureth water on his hands. Pepi is born this day [among] the gods. His first mother knoweth him not, but Nut who bringeth him forth with Osiris knoweth him.

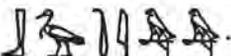
643. This Pepi setteth forth with thee, O Horus. O Thoth, bear him on the tip of thy wing. Behold, it is Seker at the head of the Maāt Boat He who passeth passeth with his Ka. Em-khent-merti passeth with his Ka, and this Pepi passeth with his Ka to heaven. He hath taken the Ladder, and hath ascended it in its name of "Āq-er-pet." He saileth in its boat to the sceptres of the imperishable stars. The Bull of Heaven inclineth his horn and maketh him to pass on his way to the Lakes of Ṭat. Hail, Pepi, thou shalt not fall to the earth. This Pepi hath grasped the Two Sycamore Trees which are in the midst of that side of the sky, he saileth on, and they place him in that eastern side of heaven. Know thou thy name, be not ignorant of thy name. Thy name is "Ān-tcher-f," and "Urrt" is the name of thy father, and the mother who bore thee is "Ḥetep." If thou repulset the offspring of Ān-tcher-f in the horizon, thou wilt repulse this Pepi when he cometh to the place where thou art. If thou repulset the offspring of Serqet, thou wilt repulse this Pepi when he cometh to the place where thou art. If thou repulset the Two Lands² of Horus, thou wilt repulse this Pepi when he cometh to the place where

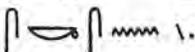
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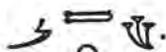
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thou art. If thou repulseth the offspring of Sah (Orion), thou wilt repulse this Pepi when he cometh to the place where thou art. If thou repulseth the offspring of Sept (Sothis), thou wilt repulse this Pepi when he cometh to the place where thou art. If thou repulseth the Two Bentu¹ of Rā, his two sons who love him, thou wilt repulse this Pepi when he cometh to the place where thou art. If thou repulseth the offspring of Ap-uat in Per-Khen, thou wilt repulse this Pepi when he cometh to the place where thou art. If thou repulseth the men of the king, the son of God, thou wilt repulse this Pepi when he cometh to the place where thou art. If thou repulseth thy sailors of the imperishable stars of thy boat, thou wilt prevent them from allowing Pepi to embark in thy boat. If thou repulseth the men belonging to the dead (or, death), thou wilt prevent this Pepi from embarking in thy boat. If thou repulseth the men belonging to earth, thou wilt prevent this Pepi from embarking in thy boat. Behold, thou art Seksen,² the messenger of Rā. This Pepi is not driven away from heaven, and the goddess Mathet³ giveth her hands to this Pepi, the Doorkeeper of heaven. Her-f-ḥa-f uniteth him to his boat of the Lake of Kha, he doth not repulse this Pepi, he maketh no obstacles for him, [saying]: "He is one of you, O ye gods." This Pepi cometh to thee, O Rā, this Pepi cometh to thee, O Antcher-f. He worketh the boat for thee, he maketh passes over thee [with his hands], he loveth thee with his body, he loveth thee with his heart.

652. Water on the sky, O Baq-tree of the firmament! The sky hath produced a god on the hand of Shu and Tefnut, on the hands of Pepi. The gods say: O Uben-ur (*i.e.*, Great Light), hearken to this word which Pepi uttereth to thee. Be gracious to this Pepi, for he is a Chief, the son of a Chief. This Pepi is with thee, rear thou this Pepi for everlasting life and serenity with thysself. O Kheprer, hear thou this word which he shall say unto thee. Be gracious to this Pepi,

¹  or 

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for he is a Chief, the son of a Chief. This Pepi is with thee, rear thou this Pepi with thee. O Nu, hear thou this word which he shall say unto thee. Be gracious unto him, for he is a Chief, the son of a Chief. This Pepi is with thee, rear thou him with thee. O Tem, hear thou this word which he shall say unto thee. Be gracious to this Pepi, for he is a Chief, the son of a Chief. He is with thee, rear thou him with thee. O Uash,¹ son of Kēb, Power, son of Osiris, hear thou this word which he shall say unto thee. Be gracious unto him, for he is a Chief, the son of a Chief. This Pepi is with thee, rear thou him with thee. Come (?) thou to this Pepi in thy name of "Rā destroyed of the covering of the sky." Let Hēru-khuti cause him to hear his souls praised in the mouth of the Two Companies of the Gods. "Beneficent one," saith his mother; "Heir," saith Osiris. This Pepi hath not eaten the Eye of Horus; men say: "He will die because of this." Pepi hath not eaten the flesh of Osiris; the gods say: "He will die because of it." This Pepi liveth as the equal (?) of his father Tem. Protect (?) thou him, O goddess Nekhebet, thou hast protected this Pepi, O Nekhebet, dweller in the House of the Prince which is in Anu (Heliopolis).

. . . 657. Pepi hath passed his day under death, even as Set hath passed his day under death. Pepi hath passed his half-months under death, even as Set hath passed his half-months under death. Pepi hath passed his months under death, even as Set hath passed his months under death. Pepi hath passed his year under death, even as Set hath passed his year under death.

The hands of Pepi have not ploughed the earth. Behold it is Shu who beareth up Nut. The bones of Pepi are of alabaster (?), and his flesh is imperishable. Pepi is the star Ap-shep-pet (Jupiter?). This Pepi approacheth the God and is protected. Heaven shall not be empty of this Pepi, and earth shall not be empty of this Pepi for ever. This Pepi liveth life more than your sceptres *āu*. O ye gods of the Sky, ye imperishable

¹ , l. 654.

ones, who sail over the Land of Tehenu in your boats, and direct them with your sceptres, this Pepi directeth his boat with you by means of the *Uas* sceptre and the *Tchām* sceptre, and he is the fourth (or, third) with you. O ye gods of heaven, ye imperishable ones, who sail over the Land of Taḥennu, who transport yourselves by means of your sceptres, this Pepi transporteth himself with you by means of the *Uas* and *Tchām*, and he is the fourth with you. O ye gods of heaven, ye imperishable ones, who sail over the Land of Taḥennu, who transport yourselves by means of your sceptres, this Pepi transporteth himself with you by means of the *Uas* and *Tchām*, according to the decree of Horus, the Erpāt, the King of the gods. This Pepi hath seized the White Crown which is bound to the Green Crown. Pepi is the uraeus which cometh forth from Set, which carrieth off that which is brought, and Pepi beareth it away and giveth himself life. Pepi is the written roll which cometh forth from Nunu. Pepi is the Eye of Horus which is uninjured and watereth; he is uninjured and watereth. Hearken, O Rā, unto this word which Pepi uttereth to thee; thy body is Pepi, O Rā, make to live thy body in him, O Rā. Kenmut slaughtereth the apes, and the apes slaughter Kenmut. O thou Fowler, O thou Male, be there agreement between you. For that first body, Pepi, of the swathings, and of the triumph, was born when Tchent did not exist, was born when the Word did not exist, was born when Shentet did not exist, was born when Khennu did not exist, was born when the Eye of Horus was not stabbed and when the testicles of Set were not eradicated.

This Pepi is the *anes* matter which cometh forth from Isis, and the red essence which cometh forth from Nephthys. Pepi is strong . . . the gods do nothing against him. Pepi is the seat¹ of Rā, and he dieth not. Kēb, the Erpāt of the gods, beareth him, Tem provideth him with his Eye, Thoth beareth what is among the offerings of the gods, Horus openeth for him, and Set protecteth him. This Pepi shineth in the eastern

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part of heaven, just as Rā shineth in the eastern part of heaven.

663. O Guardian, mother in whom is Pepi, he being in Nut, this Pepi was brought forth by father Tem when there was no heaven, when there was no earth, when there were no men, when the gods were not brought forth, when there was no death. This Pepi hath shortened [his] day under death as Set shortened his day under death. Pepi is at your vases, O gods of Nut,¹ who smite not your enemies, whom their enemies smite not. This Pepi is not smitten, his enemies are not. Ye do not die like a king, and Pepi dieth not like a king; ye do not die like every one who dieth, and Pepi doth not die like every one who dieth. Pepi is imperishable, the king (?) of the great heaven, who dwelleth in H̄et-Serqet. Rā hath drawn Pepi to the sky, this Pepi liveth, just as he who entereth on the right side of heaven and cometh forth from the left side, liveth. Pepi commandeth Ām-ḥent-f, and Ām-Sep-f . . . Pepi is a star. The magical power of Rā is on this Pepi, Rā weigheth not his magical power on this Pepi. Horus throweth this Pepi on his shoulders, he accounteth him as Shu, directing [his] hands under Nut. O Rā, give thy hand to this Pepi! O Great God, give thy staff to Pepi and let him live for ever!

667. "Happy are those who see, those who rest in Petet," saith Isis. This god cometh forth to heaven, his soul is on him, his knife is with him, words of power are his speech, and Tem doeth for him what he did for himself. The gods who belong to heaven bring this Pepi, and the gods who belong to earth embrace him. They place their hands under him, they form a ladder for him, and he entereth into heaven thereby. The doors of heaven are open to him, the firmament is thrown wide open before him. Tem hath gathered together the nomes to him, and K̄eb hath given him towns which are called "Āats," the Āats of Horus, the Āats of Set, and Sekhet-Āaru. Pepi is Raḥes,² Governor of the South-land. Pepi is Ṭeṭun, Governor of Ta-sti

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² 

(Nubia). Pepi is Sept, under his Sebt trees. If ye were to slay him, if ye were to order his death, he would not die, for this Pepi shall most certainly live for ever

669. Thou watchest in peace, Hesmenu, in peace. Thou watchest in peace, Heru-âbt, in peace. Thou watchest in peace, Ba-âbt, in peace. Thou watchest in peace, Heru-khuti, in peace. Thou sleepest in the Semktet Boat, thou wakest up in the Mântchet Boat, behold, thou seest the Chief of the gods, but no god seeth thy chief. O Rā, Father of Pepi, thou drawest him with thee to life with thy mother Nut. Open the doors of heaven to him, unfold the doors of the firmament to him, and let him be thy porter, and vivify thou him. Command thou that he is to sit by thee, on the shoulders of the Morning Star on the horizon. O Rā, Father of Pepi, command the Great Bear which is near thee to yield up its place to him on the Uärt-ur under the firmament, and command Ānkh, the son of Septet, to speak over (?) Pepi. Make him to establish a throne for him in heaven. Pepi giveth orders to Ur-shepsef, the beloved of Ptaḥ, the son of Ptaḥ. His words are on Pepi, he maketh to grow the *tchefa* food (or, offering) in his abode on the earth. Pepi is one of those four gods Āmset, Hep, Tuamutef, and Qebḥsenuf, who live on Maāt, who are exalted by reason of their sceptres, and watch over (?) the Land of the South. He flieth, he flieth from you, O men, like the geese, he delivereth his hands from you like a hawk, he removeth his body from you like a *tchert* bird. Deliver this Pepi from Ām-uärt on the earth, remove him from Ām-āā.

682. Homage to thee, O Sycamore, companion of the god, whereunder stand the gods of Nut! Flame blazeth about it, fire burneth inside it, Maāt extinguisheth it (?). Those who are in Nu embrace thee, those who are in the canals put their arms about thee. Thy breast is on the shoulder of Osiris, the Great Teṭ Thou standest up, Osiris, thy shadow (?) is on thee, O Osiris. Thy diadem repulseth Set The terror of thee is on the wardens of the sky, the fear of thee is on the wardens of the earth. Thou layest thy knife (?) on

the hearts of the Kings of the North who are in the town of Pe. This Pepi cometh to thee, O Horus, the Heir of Kēb, the Word of Tem. To thee is Tem and the Two Companies of the Gods speak; to thee is Tem and thou speakest. Behold, this Pepi is the counterpart of the gods who dwell in the sky. Those who are in the canals embrace thee, those who are in the imperishable stars encompass thee

685. Behold him who cometh. Behold him who cometh, saith Seḥpu.

Behold, the son of Rā cometh, the beloved of Rā cometh, saith Seḥpu.

Let him come, let him come, saith Horus.

Behold him who cometh. Behold him who cometh, saith Seḥpu.

Behold, the son of Rā cometh, the beloved of Rā cometh, saith Seḥpu.

Let him come, let him come, saith Set.

Behold him who cometh. Behold him who cometh, saith Seḥpu.

Behold, the son of Rā cometh, the beloved of Rā cometh, saith Seḥpu.

Let him come, let him come, saith Kēb.

Behold him who cometh. Behold him who cometh, saith Seḥpu.

Behold, the son of Rā cometh, the beloved of Rā cometh, saith Seḥpu.

Let him come, let him come, say the Souls of Ānu and the Souls of Pe.

Praise be to Rā, is what men say when they stand by the side of Pepi on the earth. Behold, thou risest in the East of the sky. Give thy hand to Pepi, and draw thou him with thee to the eastern side of the sky. Praise be to Rā, is what men say when they stand by the side of Pepi on the earth. Behold, thou risest in the South of the sky. Give thy hand to Pepi, and draw thou him with thee to the Southern side of the sky. Praise be to Rā, is what men say when they stand by the side of Pepi on the earth. Behold, thou risest in the heart of the sky. Give thou thy hand to Pepi, and draw thou him with thee to the

heart of the sky. Thine offerings are brought unto thee, and gifts for thee are brought before thee.

Saith Set, the brother of Osiris: "Place Osiris on his side." Saith Rā: "Let the dweller in Neṭāt move, and "raise up his head. The thing which he abominateth is "sleep, what he hateth is weakness; he shall not rot, he "shall not become corruption, this Pepi shall not "perish." Saith your O gods: "Thou watchest "in peace. Osiris watcheth in peace. He who is in "Neṭāt watcheth in peace." "Raise his head," saith Rā. "His odour is that of the Uraeus." "Raise the head of "Pepi," saith Rā. "The odour of Pepi is that of the "Uraeus. He shall not rot, he shall not become corrup- "tion, this Pepi shall not perish," saith your Tchent, O gods. "This Pepi is of thy seed, O Osiris [and "Seṭṭet] in thy name of 'Am-Uatch-ur Ḥeru-khent- "khu.' He shall not rot, he shall not become corrup- "tion, this Pepi shall not perish," saith your Tchent, O gods. He cometh forth from his house clothed like Horus, arrayed like Thoth. The mother of Pepi is thy Ant, O God, the father of Pepi is Anu, and Pepi himself is thy Anu, O God. Rā hath conceived Pepi, Rā hath brought him forth, Pepi is of thy seed, of Rā and Seṭṭet, in thy name of "Ḥeru-khent-khu," the star which saileth over the Great Green Sea. "He shall not rot, he shall not become corruption, he shall not perish," saith your Tchent, O gods. He is one of the Four Gods, children of Ḳeb, who travel over the South and North, and stand by their sceptres, who are anointed with *ḥātet* unguent, and arrayed in *ātmā* apparel, who live on figs, and drink wine, and are anointed with that same substance wherewith ye are anointed. Pepi is dressed as ye are dressed, he liveth upon what ye live upon, he drinketh that which ye drink, he journeyeth with you, he liveth upon what ye yourselves live on. Give ye to him his allotted portion from that which your father Ḳeb gave unto you so that, having it, ye might not hunger or perish. Stretch ye out your hands to this Pepi of life, the sweetest smelling being of those who smell sweet. Collect the bones of this Pepi, knit together his limbs. He sitteth on his throne, he shall not rot, he shall not suffer corruption, he shall not perish, saith your Tchent, O gods.

694. Pepi cometh to you, O mother of Pepi, he cometh to Nut. Thou makest him enter the sky, thou makest the stars to withdraw before him, his odour is like the odour of thy son who cometh forth from thee, his odour is like the odour of Osiris thy son, who cometh forth from thee. O Nu, Pepi hath raised his arm to the sky, he ruleth the earth, and he giveth [it] to thee. He cometh forth, he ascendeth to heaven. He worketh magic for Rā, [he is] Heru-khent-khu, the sweetest smelling of those who smell sweet. Thou watchest in peace. Rā watcheth in peace. Thou watchest in peace. Meṭa watcheth in peace. He giveth a writing to this Pepi, into his hand, the sweetest smelling of those who smell sweet. Osiris riseth, pure of Sekhem, exalted, Lord of Maāt at the New Year, Lord of the Year. Tem, the father of the gods, is at peace. Shu and Tefnut are at peace. Keḅ and Nut are at peace. Osiris and Isis are at peace. Set and Neith are at peace. All the gods in heaven are at peace, all the gods who are in the earth and in the water are at peace, all the gods of the South and North are at peace, all the gods of the West and East are at peace, all the gods of the nomes are at peace, and all the gods of the cities are at peace by reason of this great and mighty word which cometh forth from the mouth of Thoṭh to Osiris, the seal-bearer of life, the seal of the gods.

697. Anubis, the judge of hearts, judgeth Osiris Pepi with the gods who belong to the earth and the gods who belong to heaven, the lord of wine in Uakh, counting for him his year, remembering for him his hours. Pepi counteth his year with him, he remembereth his hours with him. Nu cometh, saith Tem. Come to us, say they, say the gods to thee, Osiris. The brother of the Eldest One cometh, the first of his father, the image of his mother. Heaven conceived him, the Tuat brought him forth. Heaven conceived this Pepi with him. The Tuat brought this Pepi forth with him. Heaven beareth thee up on thy right side with life, and thou livest, by the command of the gods thou livest. Heaven beareth up this Pepi on his right side with life, and he liveth, he liveth, by the command of the gods he

liveth. Thou rulest the earth on thy left side with the sceptre, thou livest, thou livest, by the command of the gods thou livest. Pepi ruleth heaven on his left side with life, and he liveth, he liveth, by the command [of the gods] he liveth. Pepi appeareth on the east side of heaven, he descendeth like a green goose, he descendeth to the Lakes of the Țuat. Pepi hath been purified in the Lakes of the Smen Goose.

Osiris Pepi, pass thou not through the Lands of the East, but pass thou through the Lands of the West, by the path of the Followers of Rā. Thy tribute cometh to thee, thy messengers bear unto thee thy dues; thy ancestors march to thee, and they bear thee to Rā, supporting the East on [their] sceptre[s]. Thou knowest them, thou art gracious to them, thou settest them in thy hands, they pasture for thee thy calves. Behold, thou art their conqueror, they come into thy hands. Thou goest forth to them, endowed with soul, provided . . . in thy name of "Smeṭu." Thy Nekhakha whip is in thy hand, thy Mekes sceptre is near thee, those who bow their faces make obeisance unto thee, and the imperishable stars adore thee. Behold, thou art their conqueror, and they make their way into thy hands. Thou bindest their faces in thy name of "Meḥit." They count thee up complete in thy name of "Anpu." The gods do not come down to thee in thy name of . Thou standest upright at the head of the gods, thou eldest son; behold thou art the heir on the throne of Keb. 

702. This coming forth of thine, O thou Osiris Pepi, is in thine house. Horus cometh forth embracing thee, O thou Osiris Pepi. Thy tribute cometh to thee, thy messengers bear unto thee thy dues, thy servitors surround thee, they say to Rā: "Behold, Pepi cometh to thee, the son of Țeb, [he who is seated] on the throne of Amen." Thou sailest over the Lake of Kha, thou traversest the Lake of Kenset. Thou bowest at the east side of heaven, thou takest thy seat in the two Halls of the Horizon. Thou stretchest out thy hand to them, thou stretchest out thine hand to the gods; they give unto thee praises, they come unto thee with bowings of their backs in homage. They praise thee as they

praise Rā, they come with bowings to thee as they do to Rā.

704. Smite, Father, the Bull Sma-ur. Thou smitest, Father, thou slayest the Great Bull. O Father, Osiris Pepi, the Bull is smitten, smitten for thee, smitten for thee, smitten by the Smiter (or, Slaughterer). The Neḫ Bull is smitten for thee, smitten. Thou art upon his back, upon the back of the Bull. Thou openest the Bull with thy weapon. Thou drivest thy lance into the Bull. Thou takest him by the ear. His head is cut off. His tail is cut off. His forelegs are cut off. His haunches are cut off. His haunch is to serve as a haunch before Tem, the father of the gods. His two cheeks (?) are for Shu and Tefnut. His two jaw-bones are for Ḳeb and Nut. His two flanks are for Isis and Nephthys. His two *khentchui* are for Khent-merti and Nest (?). His backbone (?) is for Neith and Serqet. His heart is for Sekhmet-urt. His intestines are for the Four Gods whom Horus brought forth, and who are beloved by him, Ḥep, Amḳest (?), Ṭuamutef, and Qebḥsenuf. His head, his tail, his forelegs, his hind legs, are for Anpu-ṭep-ṭu and Osiris-Khent-ment-f. The character (?) of the gods is in him, of the Souls of Nekhen, of the Souls of Pe. [He] eateth the red bull, [he] journeyeth on the Lake. Horus hath done [this] for his father Osiris, this Pepi.

Behold, this is thy habitation, Hent-ḥet (?), O Osiris Pepi. The winds are brought to it, the north wind is collected therein, and it raiseth thee up in the form of Osiris Pepi. The god Shesmu cometh to thee with water and wine; Khent-ment-f [cometh] with vessels of drink for the Chief of the two Atert-gods. Thou standest up, thou sittest like Anpu, Chief of Ta-Tchesert. The god Aker standeth up before thee, Shu riseth to meet thee. Ḥep (the Nile) trembleth at the sight [of thee] . . . The pools are full of fragrant flowers, the banks of the canals are covered with blossoms. The offerings of the gods come. Men are glad, and the hearts of the gods rejoice.

709. Pepi cometh to thee, Horus, and thou declarest unto him that great and beautiful word which thou didst utter to Osiris. Pepi becometh great by means of it,

and he becometh mighty thereby. He hath gained possession of his viscera, his BA (heart-soul) is with him, he is prepared with his head, which Horus gave unto Osiris. He is established in heaven as firmly as a mountain [is established in the earth], and is like the support of heaven. He swoopeth down upon heaven like the great crane *āhāu*, which pursueth his way through the tresses of heaven. The feathers upon his pinions are like unto sharp knives of flint, he giveth to Pepi the nails of his claws. The star *Seṭet* (*Sothis*) graspeth the hand of Pepi. Pepi plougheth the earth, he slaughtereth the captive victim for an offering. The two Nomes of the god roar at Pepi when he advanceth to become the Chief of the gods. He taketh his seat on his crystal (?) throne, and the *Āb* sceptre which is in his hand [is] crystal. He lifteth up his hand to the children of their fathers, they stand up before him, he layeth his hand upon them, they sit down. His face is like that of the jackal, his interior is like the Nome of *Aphroditopolis*. He passeth judgment like *Sebek*, the dweller in *Shetet*, and like *Anpu* (?), the dweller in *Tabet*. Pepi crieth out to a thousand (?), and the *Henmemet* Spirits come to him bowing their backs in homage, and they say unto him: "Who hath done this for thee?" Behold, the Mother of Pepi is the goddess *Smat-urt*, she who hath long hair, and a headdress of flowing hair, and long, pendent breasts.¹ She beareth Pepi up to heaven, not allowing him to touch the ground, among the glorious gods. Pepi looketh upon their splendour, and himself becometh splendid likewise, Pepi [resembleth] his father *Osiris*, and the *Henmemet* Spirits glorify him (or, make him glorious).

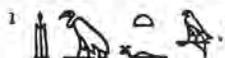
Homage to thee, *Tem*! Homage to thee, *Kheprer*, thou self-created one! Thou art exalted in thy name of "*Qa*," thou comest into being in thy name of *Kheprer*. Homage to thee, O Eye of *Horus*! He is equipped with his arms and hands completely. He will not allow thee to be heard by those in the west, he will



not permit thee to be heard by those in the east, he will not permit thee to be heard by those in the south, he will not permit thee to be heard by those in the north, he will not permit thee to be heard by those in the middle of the earth, [but] thou shalt be heard by Horus. There shall be performed for him everything which he speaketh in every place whither he shall go. Water (?) shall be raised up for him there, water (?) shall be raised up for him when it is there. Thy staff shall be lifted up for him there, thy staff shall be lifted up for him when he is there. Food-offerings shall be raised up for him there, food-offerings shall be raised up for him when he is there. The henket-offerings shall be raised up for him there, they shall be raised up for him when they are there. Everything shall be raised up for him there, and it shall be raised when it is there. He shall be transported to every place wherein he desireth to be. The celestial doors stand [closed] for thee through Anmutf.¹ They shall not open to those in the west, they shall not open to those in the east, they shall not open to those in the north, they shall not open to those in the south, they shall not open to those in the middle of the earth. They shall open to Horus, he worketh them, he maketh them to stand [closed]. He delivereth them from every deadly thing which Set doeth unto them. He holdeth thee fast² in thy name of "Ker[k]-shet." He conducteth and followeth after thee in thy name of "Nut." He delivereth thee from every deadly thing which Set doeth unto thee. Nut welcometh (?), welcometh (?) thee, Keb hath decreed thee to be welcomed (?) in thy name of "Nut." . . .

Osiris [Pepi], thy mother Nut spreadeth herself over thee in her name of "Shet-pet," she causeth thee to exist as god; no enemy is to thee in thy name of "god"; she protecteth thee against every evil thing in her name of "Khnemmet-urt." Thou art the greatest of her children. Osiris [Pepi], thou art the double of all the gods. Horus toucheth thee, and thou becomest his double.

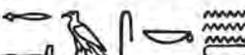
Hail, Keb, this Osiris [Pepi]³ is the son of Shu. Thy



³ See Mer-en-Rā, l. 126.

they retreat from the place where thou art. Thy sister Isis stretcheth out her hand to thee, she consoleth (?) thee —Kamt-urt—through thy name of Kamt-urt. Thou encirclest everything with thy hand in thy name of "Ṭeben Ḥa-nebu."¹ Thou art mighty through thy name of "Āa-sek."² Horus bringeth Set to thee, he giveth him to thee, he (Set) boweth his back before thee, thy strength (or, valour) is greater than his. Horus maketh thee to encircle with thy hand all the gods (*i.e.*, all the gods are in the hollow of thy hand). Horus loveth his father in thee, he permitteth not thee to be injured. Horus is not more wonderful than thou, he avengeth his father in thee. Thou livest with the life of the Beetle (Kheperā?), thou art firmly established in Ṭeṭet (Busiris). Isis and Nephthys work protection by magic for thee in the city of Saut,³ they recognize thee as their lord in thy name of "Neb-Saut," and as their god in thy name of "She-neter." They adore thee; depart not thou from them. Isis cometh to thee rejoicing at thy love. Thy seed entereth her, she becometh heavy with childlike Sept (Sothis). Heru-Sept cometh forth from thee in his name of "Horus in Septet." Thou shinest in him in his name of Khu-ām-tchenṭeru.⁴ Horus avengeth thee through his name "Horus the son who avengeth his father."

The Father standeth up, and this Osiris [Pepi] standeth up.⁵ I am he, thy son. I am Horus. I have come to thee to wash thee, to purify thee, to vivify thee, to knit together thy bones, to collect thy humours, to unite thy hacked flesh. Behold, I am Horus the avenger of his father. I have smitten thee, smitten; I have saved thee, O father Osiris, from the hand of him that would do thee harm. I have come unto thee as the

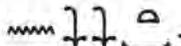
¹ , *i.e.*, "Circuit of the Lords of the North," (l. 142).
² , l. 143.

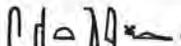
³ , or .

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⁵ Mer-en-Rā, l. 446 = Pepi II, l. 1257.

Envoy of Horus, who set thee, O father Osiris, upon the throne of Rā-Tem. Thou guidest the Hēnmemet Spirits. Thou embarkest in the Boat of Rā, the approach of which the gods love, and they love to embark therein. In it Rā saileth to the horizon, [Pepi] embarketh therein as doth Rā. Thou sittest on the throne of Rā, thou makest decrees for the gods. Thou art Rā appearing on the horizon; Rā is born every day, and [Pepi] is born every day like Rā. Thou hast taken possession of the inheritance of thy father Kēb before the gods in Anu (Heliopolis), the Company of the gods consenting, the great and mighty Company of the gods, in the presence of the Souls of Anu. And those two great and mighty gods who are over Sekhet Aru set thee upon the throne of Horus, and behold it is they who place Shu on thine east side, Tefnut on thy west side, Nu on thy south side, and Nenet¹ on thy north side. And they lead thee to their beautiful and pure seats (or, places) which they made [ready] for Rā when they set him upon their thrones. They make thee to live more years than those of Herukhuti, when they made for him the name of "Hēr-ār-neteru" (*i.e.*, "higher than the gods"). They recite for thee this chapter as they do for Rā-Tem as he shineth each day. They set thee upon their thrones at the head of all the gods, even as they do Rā [when] making him to take his seat.² They make this [Pepi] to be like Rā, through his name of "Kheperer."³ Thou advancest towards them as doth Rā through his name of Rā, and thou retreatest from them as doth Rā through his name of "Tem." The Two Companies of the gods rejoice, Father, at their meeting thee, O father Osiris [Pepi], and they say, "Come to us; this is our brother." The Two Companies of the gods say to Osiris [Pepi], "Father Osiris [Pepi], come to us, [thou art] one of us." The Two Companies of the gods say to thee, "Father Osiris [Pepi], come to us, O eldest son of his father." The Two Companies of the gods say to thee, "Father Osiris [Pepi] is the begetter of his mother." The Two Companies of the gods say to thee, "Father Osiris [Pepi], "come thou to us, O thou to whom thy brother Set

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"caused death." The Two Companies of the gods say, "Most assuredly Set cannot make to be a vain thing our exalting of thee for ever, O father Osiris [Pepi]." The Two Companies of the gods say to thee, "Father Osiris [Pepi], thou art exalted; Father Osiris [Pepi], thou livest!"

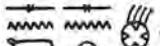
The Eye of Horus is set on the pinion of his brother Set [when] the son of Tem worketh the tackle and maketh the boats to sail together. The son of Tem shall not suffer shipwreck. This [Pepi] belongeth to the son of Tem, the son of Tem shall not suffer shipwreck (Mer-en-Rā, l. 785).

Hail, thou god Ubnenā, who revolveth,¹ Kheprer, Kheprer, thou art for Pepi, and Pepi is for thee. Thy life is for Pepi, and the life of Pepi is for thee. Hail, Green One, proceeding from the Green Goddess (Uatchet), thou hast proceeded from Pepi, and Pepi hath proceeded from thee. Pepi is strong through thy strength. The god Hu² is at noon the meat and drink of Pepi, Aḳeb³ is [his] food in the evening, the food of Pepi. The Heḥtut apes cannot gain the mastery over the life of Pepi. The town of Sensent⁴ is remote from Pepi. Pepi liveth on thine overflow, Pepi is overwhelmed with the great abundance of thy food, O Rā, each day. O Father of Pepi, stand up! Thou hast received thy libations, of the best of the water which cometh forth from Akh-khebit. Those who are in their sepulchres stand up, and turn over your . . . and measure the grain before thy face (?). Thou risest on thy left side, thou art strong on thy right side. Lift up thy face and see what I have done for thee. I, thy son, thine heir, have trodden (?) the barley, and ploughed the wheat, grain for the Uaḳ festivals, barley for thy offerings of spring plants. The Eye of Horus is presented unto thee, it groweth old before thee, it departeth before thee. O Lord of the House,⁵ thy hand is on thy possessions.

¹  Pepi II, l. 705.

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The¹ doors of heaven open, the doors of the waterways of heaven are unclosed before the gods who dwell in Pe, [when] they come to Osiris Pepi, at the sound of the weeping of Isis, at the noise of the cry of Nephthys, at the wailing of these two Spirits for this great one, which cometh forth from Țat (NeȚat?). Get ye gone, O Souls of Pe. They beat their bodies for thee, they smite their hands together for thee, they pluck out their hairs for thee, they beat their thighs for thee, and they say to thee, O Osiris Pepi: "Advance, come, lie down, awake thou, come into port, thou livest. Stand up and behold what thy son hath done for thee. Awake, and hearken thou to what thy son Horus hath done for thee. He hath smitten for thee, smitten the Ox (or, Bull). He hath slain for thee, slain the Sma Bull. He hath bound him with cords for thee, he hath placed him under thy great daughter dwelling in Keȥem. Lamentation is ended (?) at the Aterti (temples) of the gods." Osiris saith to Horus: "The evil which appertaineth to Pepi shall exude on the fourth day, he shall not know what hath been done to him on the eighth day." Thou appearest from the Lake of Life, being purified in the Lake of Qebȥ. Thou hast become like Ap-uat. Thy son Horus maketh thee advance. He hath given to thee the gods who are thine enemies, Thoth bringeth them to thee. Happy are those who see. Content are those who behold, who see Horus. He giveth life to his divine Father, he maketh great the serenity of Osiris, as Chief of the gods of Amenti. Isis poureth holy water over thee, Nephthys purifieth thee. Thy two great and mighty sisters gather together thy flesh, they raise up thy members, they make thine eyes to appear like crowns in thy head, the Semktet Boat and the Māntchet Boat. Tem is given to thee, the Two Companies of the gods work for thee. The children of thy children² lift thee up, viz., Hep, Amsset, Țuamutef, and Qebȥsenuf, and they also make for thee their names. They wash thy face, they collect (?) thy tears, they open thy mouth with their fingers of iron (?). Thou appearest coming forth into the Hall of Tem, thou journeyest to

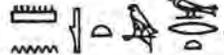
¹ Pepi II, l. 759 ff.

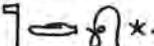
² *I.e.*, grand-children.

the Sekhet-Aaru, thou sailest over the seats of the great god. Heaven is given unto thee, earth is given unto thee, Sekhet-Aaru is given unto thee. And lo! the two great gods transport thee, Shu and Tefnut, the two great gods of Anu. Awake, stand up! This Spirit came forth from Țat, Osiris Pepi cometh forth from Țeb. Hail, Pepi! Thou art the son of the great god. Thou hast been purified in the Lake of Tattà, thou hast received thy throne in Sekhet-Aaru.

805. Thy water is to thee, thine abundance is to thee, thy effluxes are to thee, coming forth from Osiris. Thou collectest thy bones, thou settest in place thy members, thou puttest in order the fluids in thee, thou workest thy cords. The *hat* chamber (tomb) is open for thee, the doors of the sarcophagus are drawn asunder, and the gates of heaven are thrown wide open. Isis welcometh thee, Nephthys said, "In Peace" (*i.e.*, welcome). They see their brother at the festival of Tem. These libations, O Osiris, protect thy flesh in ȚerȚubaf. Thy soul is within thee. Thy Power (sekhem) is nigh thee, thou art established as the Chief of thy Powers. Thou art lifted up, Osiris Pepi! Thou rushest upon the Domains of the South, thou rushest upon the Domains of the North. Thou hast the mastery of the Powers which are in thee. Thou makest thy spirits jackals, which are given to thee by Horus of Nekhen. Thou art raised up, O Pepi, sit thou upon thy crystal (?) throne, by the decree of Anpu, Chief of the Divine Hall. Thou art purified with thy eight libations, [and] eight *nemset* vases, and *äabet* vases, which came forth from the God-house. God therefore art thou, bearing up heaven on thy shoulders, and supporting the earth. Smentet¹ supplicateth thee, Ment-urt² addresseth thee. Hands are turned aside for thee, removed (?) for thee are feet. This appearance of thine is like that of a star, the Morning Star.³ He cometh to thee, his Father, he cometh to thee, Țeb. Take his hand, make his seat to be on the Great Throne. He uniteth with the two Channels (?) of QebȚu (the

¹ 

² 

³ 

Sky). His mouth is purified with incense and natron on the thighs of Khent-Merti.¹ His nails, upper and lower, are made clean. There hath been done for him that which thou didst do for his brother Osiris on the day of counting up the bones, of making firm sandals, and of sailing over Uärt-urt.²

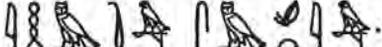
814. The great one boweth over his side, the god standeth up; his power is with him, his Ureret Crown is on him. Pepi boweth over his side, the god Pepi standeth up; his power is with him, his Ureret Crown is on him, as the Ureret Crown is [on] Rā. He cometh forth from the horizon, and . . . in the horizon avengeth him. Hail, Pepi! Thou art raised up. Thou hast received thy seal which the Two Companies of the gods made for thee. Thou art on the throne, in the seat of Khenti Amenti. Thou hast received his power, thou hast received his Ureret Crown. Hail, Pepi, beautiful and great are these things which thy father Osiris hath done for thee. He hath given thee his throne. Thou makest decrees for those whose places are hidden, thou guidest their noble ones, and all the Spirits follow thee according to their names.

Hail, Pepi, thy heart is glad, great is thy breast, thou shalt never cease to be thus. Rā calleth thee by thy name; all the Spirits fear him. Thou slayest their hearts as doth Rā when he cometh forth from the horizon. Hail, thou Pepi! He whose form is hidden, that is Anubis, [croucheth] on his belly. Thou hast received thy face of a jackal; thou art raised up, stand upright! Sit for thy thousand cakes, thy thousand vessels of beer, thy thousand oxen, thy thousand geese, and thy thousand things whereon the god liveth there. Hail, Pepi, thou art pure. Rā findeth thee, thou standest with my mother Nut, she guideth thee over the roads of the horizon. Thou passest thy day happily with thy Ka for ever and ever.

872. Hail, Aḥmet! Hail, Setemá!³ Harm not Pepi,

¹ 

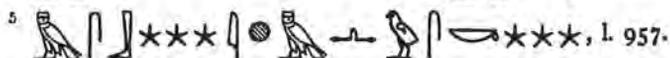
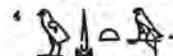
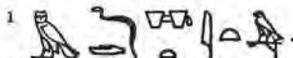
² A portion of the celestial river or ocean.

³ 

his Great Boat, and he worketh it on with him to the horizon to issue decrees to the gods therein. Horus roweth with him in the Great Boat to the horizon. Pepi issueth decrees to the gods therein with him in the horizon, Pepi is one of them.

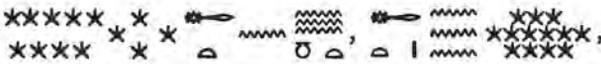
955. Behold the things which they say concerning Pepi, what the gods say concerning Pepi, the words which the gods speak concerning Pepi: "This is Horus coming out of Hēp (the Nile). This is the Neḳa bull coming forth from the walled camp. This is the serpent which cometh forth from Rā. This is the uraeus which cometh forth from Set. Everything happeneth for Pepi even as it happeneth for the goddess Metchet-*āt*,¹ the daughter of Rā, who is on the knees of Rā. Everything happeneth for Pepi even as it happeneth for the goddess Metcha,² the daughter of Rā, on the knees of Rā. Behold, Pepi is the god Utcha,³ the son of Utcha, the issue of Utchat.⁴ Strong is Pepi, strong is Pepi, strong is the Eye of Horus in Anu. Pepi liveth, Pepi liveth, the Eye of Horus liveth in Anu. Pepi cometh forth as thou comest forth, Osiris. Pepi speaketh to his Double in heaven. The bones of Pepi are crystal, the flesh of Pepi is like the imperishable stars.⁵ If Pepi be set there the Great Goddess boweth herself over the arms of Pepi. The mother of Pepi is Nut. The father of Pepi is Shu, the mother of Pepi is Tefnut, they raise Pepi to heaven on the flame of incense. Purified is Pepi, living is Pepi; moreover, he maketh his seat to be Osiris. Pepi sitteth on thy arm, Osiris, Pepi spitteth on thy hair.

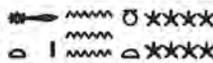
959. Pepi is one of those four [gods] who are the children of Tem, the children of Nut. They do not suffer corruption, Pepi doth not suffer corruption. They decay not, Pepi decayeth not. They do not fall to the earth from heaven, Pepi doth not fall to the earth from heaven. They embrace Pepi, they find Pepi with them,

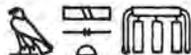


Pepi is one of them, a favoured one of the Bull of Heaven, Pepi raiseth up his Ka, maketh [it] turn back, maketh [it] stay [with him]. O beautiful warder, raise up the Ka, make [it] turn back, make [it] stay [with him]. Therefore is Pepi stable under the constellation [called] the "Belly of the Sky"¹ in the form of a beautiful star [shining] over the bends of the Lake of Kha. Pepi cometh forth into the sky, thou givest to Pepi this Chapter, he is happy with Rā every day. Pepi setteth himself on thy way, O Heru-shest,² along which thou guidest the gods to the beautiful ways of the sky [and] of Sekhet-hetep.

968. The water of life cometh into heaven, the water of life cometh on the earth. The sky catcheth fire before thee, the earth quaketh before thee, at the hands of the Children of God. The two mountains are cleft, the god appeareth, and the god hath the mastery over his own body. The two mountains are cleft, Pepi appeareth, and Pepi hath the mastery over his own body. Behold, Pepi breatheth the air. His feet stand by the pure water which is with Tem, and which hath been produced by the phallus of Shu and the body of Tefnut,³ for they have come and brought to thee the pure water which is with their father [Tem]. They purify thee [therewith]. They cense thee, Pepi. Thou liftest up the sky on the palm of thy hand, thou placest the earth under thy sandal. There is a laver of the water of heaven at the door of this Pepi, [wherein] each god washeth [his] face. Thou wasthest thy hands therein, O Osiris, thou wasthest thy hands therein, O Pepi, and thou renewest thy youth, the third god (?).

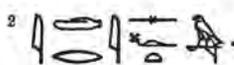
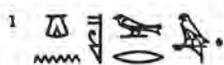
¹ Compare  ,

and  , i.e., the "House of the Thirteen Stars," or the "House of the Eight Stars," which are the names given to the 29th Dekan in one of the Lists published by Brugsch, *Thes.*, p. 146.

²  , l. 961.

³  , l. 970.

Tem. Tem hath done what he said he would do for Pepi; he hath tied bands for him about the Ladder, and he hath made it strong for Pepi. This Pepi is remote from that which is an abomination to men, and he shall not handle that which is an abomination to the gods, he shall not eat that which is . . . , he shall not lie down [in death?] in the night, he shall not keep vigil. He is not without his body like one of the two growths(?) of Kheprer. The bodies of those who are in Țat are reckoned up, and their ears are open to the voice of Pepi. He goeth down among them, reciting the decree of Sekhmef(?). The existence of Pepi is like that of one who is among them. The staff(?) of Pepi is among them like the god of the Great Staff,¹ making his advance to Ȧm-urt. The seal of Pepi is in the House of Rurutà. The god who obliterated sin, Ȧȥer-âsfet,² obliterated the transgressions which belong to Pepi in the presence of Khenti-meri in Sekhem.³



ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. THE CREATION.—The Bushongo legend is as follows:—In the beginning there was nothing but darkness, and on the earth there was nothing but water; in this chaos Bumba, the Chembe (God, = the Egyptian Tem), reigned alone. Bumba had the form of a huge man, and his colour was white. One day, owing to pains in his stomach, he vomited, and the sun, moon, and stars were the result. The water ran off the sand and left it dry, but there was neither vegetation nor animal life upon it. Bumba again vomited and brought up: 1. The leopard, Koy Bumba; 2. The crested eagle, Ponga Bumba; 3. The crocodile, Ganda Bumba; 4. A little fish, Yo Bumba; 5. The tortoise, Kono Bumba; 6. The thunderbolt (a black animal like a leopard), Tsetse Bumba; 7. A white heron, Nyanyi Bumba; 8. A scarab; 9. A goat. He afterwards vomited men, but there was only one of them white like himself, and he called him Loko Yima. The creatures mentioned above produced all the other creatures which filled the world. Nyonye Ngana, a son of Bumba, vomited the white ants, and died. Another son, Chonganda, vomited a plant which was the parent of all vegetation, and a third son vomited kites, but nothing else. King Bumba made Loko Yima "god upon earth" (Chembe Kunji), and then ascended into heaven. Torday and Joyce, *Notes Ethnographiques*, p. 21.

2. THE SOUL.—The Bambala think that man is composed of four elements: Lo, the body; Ilo, the double (Ka); N'shanga, the soul; and Lume-Lume, the shadow. The Bushongo also think that man is composed of four elements: Modyo, the body; Mophuphu, the soul; Ido, the double (Ka); and Edidingi, the shadow. Torday and Joyce, *Notes Ethnographiques*, p. 124.

3. THE AMULET OF "LIFE," ♀.—It has already been shown in this book that two of the most important

amulets of the Egyptians,  and , represent the *os sacrum* of Osiris, and the uterus and its ligatures and vagina of Isis. They symbolized the vital power of Osiris and Isis, procreation, new birth, fecundity, and resurrection. Hence we find them, with appropriate formulae, in the Book of the Dead, and on coffins we see frequently one hand grasping  and the other , *i.e.*, the fetishes which held the spirits of life-power of Osiris and Isis. There is, however, another amulet, *i.e.*, , which has, up to the present, defied all explanation. That it was of vital importance to the living and the dead is proved by its frequent occurrence on the monuments and in papyri. About its meaning "life" there is no doubt, but the identity of the object is difficult to discover. Now as the *Tet*, , represents the *os sacrum* of Osiris, and the *thet*, , represents the uterus and vagina of Isis, it is only natural to think that the sign  also represents some part or organ of the body either of Osiris or Isis, and preferably some member of the body of Isis. As  is intimately connected in the vignette of Chapter XVI of the Book of the Dead with the rising sun, and was presented to Isis by Amen-Rā (see Vol. I, p. 301), when she was giving birth to Horus, it is clearly associated with new life and childbirth and, one would think, with the womb of Isis, or with something in it which was connected closely with the growth of the foetus. Reference has already been made to the importance attached to the umbilical cord by modern Sūdānt peoples (for the passages, see the Index), and to the disposal of the placenta, and analogy suggests that the primitive Egyptians attached as much importance to these objects as to the uterus itself. I discussed the matter with Dr. W. L. Nash, and he informs me that the sign  may well be a conventional representation of the placenta and umbilical cord as they appear after they have left the body, the oval loop of the sign

being intended for the placenta, the projections at the side for ligatures, and the straight line below for the umbilical cord. The placenta and the umbilical cord taken together would make a very powerful fetish, of the same character as  and , and I believe them to be the objects represented by the sign , or "life." If this be so, , , and  were fetishes, in the truest sense of the word, of the same class. Since writing the above, Messrs. Seligmann and Murray have published a paper in *Man*, Vol. XI, No. 8, p. 113 ff., in which they attempt to show that the sign  also represents the uterus of Isis, and hence was associated with childbirth. If this be so, the ancient Egyptian ideas connected with ,  and  were all transferred by the Christian Egyptians to the Cross.

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