

# The Gods of the Egyptians



E. A. Wallis Budge

**BERSERKER**

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**BOOKS**

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THE  
GODS OF THE EGYPTIANS  
OR  
STUDIES IN  
EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY

BY

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IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

WITH 98 COLOURED PLATES  
AND 131 ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

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I

DEDICATE THIS BOOK

ON

THE GODS AND MYTHOLOGY OF EGYPT

BY PERMISSION

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

**THE EARL OF CROMER**

PRIVY COUNCILLOR, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

THE REGENERATOR OF EGYPT

WITH

SINCERE GRATITUDE AND RESPECT

## PREFACE

**A**MONG the various branches of Egyptology which have been closely studied during the last twenty-five years, there are none which are more interesting to inquire into, or more difficult to understand fully, than the religion and mythology of the inhabitants of the Valley of the Nile. When we consider the number of works on these subjects which have been written and published, both by expert Egyptologists and by competent exponents of the science of religion during that period, such a statement may appear at first sight to be paradoxical, and many may think when reading it that some excuse must certainly be made for the philosopher who asked an eminent professor of Egyptology the somewhat caustic question, "Is it true that the more the subjects of Egyptian religion and mythology are studied the less is known about them?" The question is, however, thoroughly justified, and every honest worker will admit that there are at the present time scores of passages, even in such a comparatively well-known religious compilation as the *Book of the Dead*, which are inexplicable, and scores of allusions of a fundamentally important mythological character of which the meanings are still unknown. The reasons for this state of things are many, and the chief of them may be briefly recalled here.

The custom of relying absolutely upon the information about the ancient Egyptian religion and mythology, which is reported by Greek historians, was abandoned by Egyptologists long ago, for as soon as the native Egyptian religious texts could be read, it

became evident that no Greek or Latin writer had any exact first-hand knowledge of these subjects, and that none of them succeeded wholly in reproducing accurately in their works the facts concerning them which they derived from Egyptian books or from Egyptian priests. This is hardly to be wondered at, for the cultured Greek writers must have, and did, as we know, look with mingled pity, and contempt, and ridicule, upon the animal cults of the Egyptians, and they had no sympathy with the materialistic beliefs and with the still more materialistic funeral customs and ceremonies, which have been, from time immemorial, so dear to certain Hamitic peoples, and so greatly prized by them. The only beliefs of the Egyptian religion which the educated Greek or Roman truly understood were those which characterized the various forms of Aryan religion, namely, the polytheistic and the solar; for the forms of the cults of the dead, and for all the religious ceremonies and observances, which presupposed a belief in the resurrection of the dead and in everlasting life, and which had been in existence among the indigenous inhabitants of north-east Africa from predynastic times, he had no regard whatsoever. The evidence on the subject now available indicates that he was *racially* incapable of appreciating the importance of such beliefs to those who held them, and that although, as in the case of the Ptolemies, he was ready to tolerate, and even, for state purposes, to adopt them, it was impossible for him to absorb them into his life. It is important to remember this fact when dealing with the evidence of Greek and Roman writers on the Egyptian religion and mythology, for it shows the futility of trying to prove an absolute identity in the indigenous religions of the Aryans and Egyptians.

Now, although a true decipherment of the ancient Egyptian hieratic and hieroglyphic texts has enabled us to draw our in-

formation on the religion and mythology of Egypt from native sources, we have still to contend against the ignorance of Egyptian scribes and the mistakes of careless copyists, and it must never be forgotten that the theologians at the court of the Pharaohs under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties were just as ignorant of many facts connected with their religion and mythology as we ourselves are. In proof of this it is sufficient to refer to the different explanations of certain passages which are given along with the text in the xviiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, and to the childish punning etymologies of the names of gods and of many mythological explanations which are set down in the texts inscribed on the walls of some chambers in the tomb of Seti I. at Thebes, and on the walls of the temple of Horus of Behuṭet at Edfú. It is satisfactory to be able to say that many of the absurd etymologies and trivial explanations which are products of the scribes of old can now be corrected. Recent researches have shown that the royal scribes under the New Empire (B.C. 1700-700) were unable to read correctly the hieratic characters which formed the names of some of the kings of the early Archaic Period, and this being so, little surprise need be felt at the difficulties in religious texts which are due to their ignorance or blunders. Apart from such considerations, however, the subjects of Egyptian religion and mythology themselves are full of inherent difficulties, which have, unfortunately, not been lessened by the manner in which some Egyptologists have treated them.

The number of the gods, even under the IVth Dynasty, about B.C. 3600, was very great, and as time went on it multiplied greatly. The Pyramid Texts, which were written under the IVth, Vth and VIth Dynasties, supply the names of about two hundred gods and mythological beings, but in the *Book of the Dead* according to the Theban Recension (B.C. 1700-1200) over five

hundred gods are mentioned. If to these be added the names of all the mythological beings which occur in the various Books of the Underworld, we shall find that the number of the gods who were recognized by the theologians of the XIXth Dynasty at Thebes was about twelve hundred. If all the religious texts of this period from all the religious centres of Egypt were available for study, we should certainly find that the names of hundreds of additional local gods, goddesses, and mythological beings could be collected from them. With such a number of gods to consider, it was impossible for confusion not to arise in the mind of the Egyptian when dealing with them, and the texts prove that he found the gods as difficult to group and classify as the modern investigator. The attributes of hundreds of them were vague and shadowy, and the greater number of them were merely provincial gods, to whom circumstances had given some transient importance, which resulted in their names being recorded in writing. In fact, the theologian of ancient Egypt found it impossible to form a system of gods which should be consistent in all its parts, and should assign to earth gods, water gods, air gods, village gods, city gods, nome gods, national gods, and foreign gods, the exact position and attributes which were their due in it. From one point of view the modern investigator is more fortunate than the Egyptian theologian, for he has more materials upon which to work, and, as a rule, he is better equipped for his inquiry. The Egyptian knew nothing about the study of comparative religion, and he was sadly hampered by his own methods.

Modern scientific study of the Egyptian religion and mythology may be said to have begun with the publication in full of the texts, both hieratic and hieroglyphic, of the Heliopolitan, Theban, and Saïte Recensions of the *Book of the Dead* (PER-EM-HRU), and of the cognate funeral texts, such as "The Book of what is in the

Underworld," "The Book of Breathings," "The Book of Transformations," the "Lamentations," and the "Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys," &c. The first to attempt to build up on a large scale a system of Egyptian theology and mythology from ancient native works was the late DR. HEINRICH BRUGSCH, who collected and published in his *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1885-1888, a mass of facts of the greatest importance, and a summary of the conclusions which he deduced from them. In the same year in which the first section of Dr. Brugsch's work appeared, M. MASPERO published in the *Revue des Religions* (tom. xii., p. 123 f.) a masterly article, entitled *La Religion Égyptienne d'après les pyramides de la V<sup>e</sup> et de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie*, in which he gave to the world some of the results of his study of the "Pyramid Texts," which contain the oldest known Recension, i.e., the Heliopolitan, of the *Book of the Dead*. In 1887, SIGNOR LANZONE published the last part of his *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, which is one of the most valuable contributions to the study of Egyptian mythology ever made, and which contains the names of a large number of gods, demons, spirits, etc., arranged alphabetically, and a series of drawings of many of them printed in outline in red ink. In 1888 and 1889, M. Maspero, in two admirable articles in the *Revue des Religions* (*La Mythologie Égyptienne*, tom. xviii., p. 253 f., and tom. xix., p. 1 f.), discussed and criticized both the works of BRUGSCH and LANZONE, and shed a great deal of new light upon the facts collected in both.

To M. Maspero belongs the credit of being the first to consider the Egyptian religion and mythology from the anthropological point of view, and all the evidence on these subjects which has since become available goes to prove the general correctness of the opinion which he stated some fifteen or sixteen years ago. BRUGSCH, it must be admitted, regarded the origin of Egyptian

religion from too lofty a metaphysical and philosophical standpoint, and appealed for proofs of his contentions to Egyptian texts belonging to too late a period to be entirely free from the influence of Greek culture and thought; in fact, he read into certain Egyptian texts, ideas, doctrines, and beliefs which the primitive and indigenous Egyptians could never have possessed. On the other hand, it seems to me that M. MASPERO has somewhat underrated the character of the spiritual conceptions of the dynastic Egyptians, and that he has done so because, when he wrote his great article, *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, Egyptologists had not thoroughly realized the distinction which exists between the primitive or predynastic element in the Egyptian religion and the Asiatic element. This element was of a solar character undoubtedly, and was introduced into Egypt by the "Followers of Horus," or the "Blacksmiths," who invaded the country, and conquered the natives, and settling down there, built up the great dynastic civilization which we call Egyptian. This seems to be the correct explanation of the diversity of view of two such eminent experts, and the opposite character of their conclusions appears to be due chiefly to the difference of the standpoints from which they viewed the subject.

A prolonged study of the religious and mythological texts of ancient Egypt has convinced me of the futility of attempting to reconcile the conflicting beliefs and to harmonize the contradictory statements which are found in them, so long as we regard the Egyptian religion as "one in its extension and principle." It must first of all be resolved into its constituent elements, and when this has been done, it will probably be possible to classify, and arrange, and assign to their proper sources the various material and spiritual conceptions and beliefs which the Egyptians heaped up in their minds and flung together in their religious writings.

It must, moreover, be studied by the light which the science of comparative religion has given us, and due regard must be paid to the important evidence on the subject that may be deduced from the remains and monuments of the Predynastic and Archaic Periods which have been unearthed during the last few years.

The primitive dwellers in Egypt undoubtedly belonged to a large and important section of the inhabitants of North-East Africa, and possessed physical and mental characteristics which were peculiar to themselves. In the earliest times they were savages, and lived and died like savages in other parts of the world; religious belief of any kind, in the modern sense of the term, they had none, and they probably regarded the animate and inanimate objects which they saw about them as akin to themselves. At a much later period they peopled the earth, air, sky, and water with beings of various kinds, and they paid a sort of homage or worship to certain stones, trees, and living creatures, in which they assumed that they lived. Some beings were held to be friendly and others unfriendly; and it was thought that gifts or offerings would secure the continuance of the friendship of the former and avert the hostility of the latter. Friendly beings gradually became gods, and unfriendly ones were classed as devils, and in the ceremonies which the Egyptian savage performed in their honour, and in the incantations which he recited, the magic of Egypt, the forerunner of her religion, had its origin. The chief object of the savage Egyptian was self-preservation, and self-interest was the mainspring of his actions, all of which were undertaken with a view to material benefits. When he first becomes known to us in the late Neolithic Period we find that he possessed a belief in an existence beyond the grave, and that it was of a material character is proved by the fact that he placed offerings of food in the graves of the dead. To prevent their return to this

world, and their consequent claim for food and other material things, the heads of the dead were often severed from their bodies, and their feet cut off; thus the living made themselves secure in the possession of their homes, and wives, and goods. Nothing is known of the Egyptian religion and its ceremonies at this period, but whatever they were, it is pretty certain that the object of them all was to secure for themselves after death a renewal of life which should be full of carnal delights and pleasures, and there is no doubt that the ideas of a resurrection from the dead and immortality on these lines were firmly implanted in the native mind long before the Dynasty Period began.

The cult of Osiris, the dead man deified, and the earliest forms of his worship, were, no doubt, wholly of African origin; these are certainly the oldest elements in the religion of the Dynastic Period, and the most persistent, for Osiris maintained his position as the god and judge of the dead from the Predynastic to the Ptolemaic Period. The Followers of Horus, who brought a solar religion with them into Egypt from the East, never succeeded in dislodging Osiris from his exalted position, and his cult survived undiminished notwithstanding the powerful influence which the priests of Rā, and the worshippers of Āmen, and the votaries of Āten respectively exercised throughout the country. The heaven of Osiris was believed to exist in a place where the fields were fertile and well stocked with cattle, and where meat and drink were abundant; the abodes of the blessed were thought to be constructed after the model of the comfortable Egyptian homesteads in which they had lived during life, and the ordinary Egyptian hoped to live in one of these with his wives and parents. On the other hand, the followers of Rā, the sun-god, believed in a heaven of a more spiritual character, and their great hope was to occupy a seat in the boat of the god, and, arrayed in light, to travel

whithersoever he went. They wished to become bright and shining spirits, and to live upon the celestial meat and drink upon which he lived; as he was so they hoped to be in every respect. The materialistic heaven of Osiris appealed to the masses in Egypt, and the heaven where Rā lived to the priests of Rā and other solar gods, and to royal and aristocratic families, and to the members of the foreign section of the community who were of Eastern origin.

The various waves of religious thought and feeling, which swept over Egypt during the five thousand years of her history which are known to us, did not seriously disturb the cult of Osiris, for it held out to the people hopes of resurrection and immortality of a character which no other form of religion could give. Secure in these hopes the people regarded the various changes and developments of religious ideas in their country with equanimity, and modifications in the public worship of the gods, provided that the religious feasts and processions were not interrupted, moved them but little. Kings and priests from time to time made attempts to absorb the cult of Osiris into religious systems of a solar character, but they failed, and Osiris, the man-god, always triumphed, and at the last, when his cult disappeared before the religion of the Man CHRIST, the Egyptians who embraced Christianity found that the moral system of the old cult and that of the new religion were so similar, and the promises of resurrection and immortality in each so much alike, that they transferred their allegiance from Osiris to JESUS of Nazareth without difficulty.) Moreover, Isis and the child Horus were straightway identified with MARY THE VIRGIN and her SON, and in the apocryphal literature of the first few centuries which followed the evangelization of Egypt, several of the legends about Isis and her sorrowful wanderings were made to centre round the Mother

of CHRIST. Certain of the attributes of the sister goddesses of Isis were also ascribed to her, and, like the goddess Neith of Saïs, she was declared to possess perpetual virginity. Certain of the Egyptian Christian Fathers gave to the Virgin the title "Theotokos," or "Mother of God," forgetting, apparently, that it was an exact translation of *neter mut*, , a very old and common title of Isis. Interesting, however, as such an investigation would be, no attempt has been made in this work to trace out the influence of ancient Egyptian religious beliefs and mythology on Christianity, for such an undertaking would fill a comparatively large volume.

From what has been said in the preceding pages the plan followed in the preparation of the present volumes will be evident. In the opening chapter an attempt has been made to describe the religious beliefs of the primitive Egyptians, and to explain how their later ideas about the "gods" and God grew up, and how they influenced the religious writings and paintings of the Dynastic Period. The region which is commonly called Heaven, or the "Underworld," and its denizens are next considered at some length, and this section is followed by chapters on the ancient myths of Rā, the legend of Rā and Isis, and the legend of the destruction of mankind. The hieroglyphic texts of the myths and legends are given with interlinear transliteration and translation, so that the student may verify my statements for himself. Of the minor gods and demons, of which nothing but the names are known, lists only are printed. The great gods of Egypt have been grouped as far as possible, and they are discussed in connection with the various religious centres to which they belong, e.g., Ptah, Sekhet, and I-em-ḥetep with Memphis, Amen, Mut, and Khensu with Thebes, and the "Great Company" of the gods with Heliopolis. Speaking generally, the first volume of this work treats of the oldest and

greatest gods and triads of gods of Egypt, and the second, of the gods of Heliopolis, among whom are included Osiris and the deities of his funeral cycle. The hymns to the gods have been freely quoted, because they illustrate so clearly the views which the Egyptians held concerning them, and the manner in which they sought to praise them. In a chapter entitled "Miscellaneous Gods" will be found several lists of gods of the hours, days, months, winds, Dekans, etc., which I have collected from Dr. Brugsch's *Thesaurus* of astronomical and other texts; for the main facts given in these volumes the authorities, both ancient and modern, will be found at the foot of the pages wherein they are first mentioned.

Most of the portraits of the gods which appear in the coloured plates have been reproduced from papyri, coffins, etc., but for the outlines of a few I am indebted to Signor Lanzone's *Dizionario Mitologia Egizia*, the value of which has been already mentioned. It has been thought advisable to print the portraits of the gods which are not taken from papyri upon a papyrus-coloured ground, and to enclose each within a coloured border, for the effect is better, and the plan is consistent with that followed by the ancient Egyptian artists at all periods.

My thanks are due to Reginald Lake, Esq., of Messrs. Gilbert & Rivington, and to Mr. G. E. Hay and Mr. F. Rainer, of his staff, for the care and attention which they have taken in printing this work.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

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# THE GODS OF THE EGYPTIANS

## CHAPTER I

### THE GODS OF EGYPT

**T**HE Greek historian Herodotus affirms<sup>1</sup> that the Egyptians were “beyond measure scrupulous in all matters appertaining to religion,” and he made this statement after personal observation of the care which they displayed in the performance of religious ceremonies, the aim and object of which was to do honour to the gods, and of the obedience which they showed to the behests of the priests who transmitted to them commands which they declared to be, and which were accepted as, authentic revelations of the will of the gods. From the manner in which this writer speaks it is clear that he had no doubt about what he was saying, and that he was recording a conviction which had become settled in his mind. He was fully conscious that the Egyptians worshipped a large number of animals, and birds, and reptiles, with a seriousness and earnestness which must have filled the cultured Greek with astonishment, yet he was not moved to give expression to words of scorn as was Juvenal,<sup>2</sup> for Herodotus perceived that beneath the acts of apparently

<sup>1</sup> ii. 64.

<sup>2</sup> “*Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens  
“Aegyptus portenta colat? crocodilon adorat  
“Pars haec, illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin.  
“Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopithecii,  
“Dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae  
“Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.  
“Illic aeluros, hic piscem fluminis, illic*”

## 2 ANTIQUITY OF RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES

foolish and infatuated worship there existed a sincerity which betokened a firm and implicit belief which merited the respect of thinking men. It would be wrong to imagine that the Egyptians were the only people of antiquity who were scrupulous beyond measure in religious matters, for we know that the Babylonians, both Sumerian and Semitic, were devoted worshippers of their gods, and that they possessed a very old and complicated system of religion; but there is good reason for thinking that the Egyptians were more scrupulous than their neighbours in religious matters, and that they always bore the character of being an extremely religious nation. The evidence of the monuments of the Egyptians proves that from the earliest to the latest period of their history the observance of religious festivals and the performance of religious duties in connexion with the worship of the gods absorbed a very large part of the time and energies of the nation, and if we take into consideration the funeral ceremonies and services commemorative of the dead which were performed by them at the tombs, a casual visitor to Egypt who did not know how to look below the surface might be pardoned for declaring that the

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“Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.  
“Porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu :  
“O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis  
“Numina ! Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis  
“Mensa, nefas illic fetum ingulare capellæ :  
“Carnibus humanis vesci licet.”—*Satire*, xv. 1—13.

That the crocodile, ibis, dog-headed ape, and fish of various kinds were venerated in Egypt is true enough; they were not, however, venerated in dynastic times as *animals*, but as the *abodes of gods*. In certain localities peculiar sanctity was attributed to the leek and onion, as Juvenal suggests, but neither vegetable was an object of worship in the country generally; and there is no monumental evidence to show that the eating of human flesh was practised, for it is now known that even the predynastic Egyptians did not eat the flesh of the dead and gnaw their bones, as was once rashly asserted. Juvenal's statements are only partly true, and some of them are on a par with that of a learned Indian who visited England, and wrote a book on this country after his return to Bombay. Speaking of the religion of the English he declared that they were all idolators, and to prove this assertion he gave a list of churches in which he had seen a figure of a LAMB in the sculpture work over and about the altar, and in prominent places elsewhere in the churches. The Indian, like Juvenal, and Cicero also, seems not to have understood that many nations have regarded animals as symbols of gods and divine powers, and still do so.

Egyptians were a nation of men who were wholly given up to the worship of beasts and the cult of the dead.

The Egyptians, however, acted in a perfectly logical manner, for they believed that they were a divine nation, and that they were ruled by kings who were themselves gods incarnate; their earliest kings, they asserted, were actually gods, who did not disdain to live upon earth, and to go about and up and down through it, and to mingle with men. Other ancient nations were content to believe that they had been brought into being by the power of their gods operating upon matter, but the Egyptians believed that they were the issue of the great God who created the universe, and that they were of directly divine origin. When the gods ceased to reign in their proper persons upon earth, they were succeeded by a series of demi-gods, who were in turn succeeded by the Manes, and these were duly followed by kings in whom was enshrined a divine nature with characteristic attributes. When the physical or natural body of a king died, the divine portion of his being, i.e., the spiritual body, returned to its original abode with the gods, and it was duly worshipped by men upon earth as a god and with the gods. This happy result was partly brought about by the performance of certain ceremonies, which were at first wholly magical, but later partly magical and partly religious, and by the recital of appropriate words uttered in the duly prescribed tone and manner, and by the keeping of festivals at the tombs at stated seasons when the appointed offerings were made, and the prayers for the welfare of the dead were said. From the earliest times the worship of the gods went hand in hand with the deification of dead kings and other royal personages, and the worship of departed monarchs from some aspects may be regarded as meritorious as the worship of the gods. From one point of view Egypt was as much a land of gods as of men, and the inhabitants of the country wherein the gods lived and moved naturally devoted a considerable portion of their time upon earth to the worship of divine beings and of their ancestors who had departed to the land of the gods. In the matter of religion, and all that appertains thereto, the Egyptians were a "peculiar people," and in all ages they have exhibited a tenacity of belief

and a conservatism which distinguish them from all the other great nations of antiquity.

But the Egyptians were not only renowned for their devotion to religious observances, they were famous as much for the variety as for the number of their gods. Animals, birds, fishes, and reptiles were worshipped by them in all ages, but in addition to these they adored the great powers of nature as well as a large number of beings with which they peopled the heavens, the air, the earth, the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the water. In the earliest times the predynastic Egyptians, in common with every half-savage people, believed that all the various operations of nature were the result of the actions of beings which were for the most part unfriendly to man. The inundation which rose too high and flooded the primitive village, and drowned their cattle, and destroyed their stock of grain, was regarded as the result of the working of an unfriendly and unseen power; and when the river rose just high enough to irrigate the land which had been prepared, they either thought that a friendly power, which was stronger than that which caused the destroying flood, had kept the hostile power in check, or that the spirit of the river was on that occasion pleased with them. They believed in the existence of spirits of the air, and in spirits of mountain, and stream, and tree, and all these had to be propitiated with gifts, or cajoled and wheedled into bestowing their favour and protection upon their suppliants.

It is very unfortunate that the animals, and the spirits of natural objects, as well as the powers of nature, were all grouped together by the Egyptians and were described by the word NETERU, which, with considerable inexactness, we are obliged to translate by "gods." There is no doubt that at a very early period in their predynastic history the Egyptians distinguished between great gods and little gods, just as they did between friendly gods and hostile gods, but either their poverty of expression, or the inflexibility of their language, prevented them from making a distinction apparent in writing, and thus it happens that in dynastic times, when a lofty conception of monotheism prevailed among the priesthood, the scribe found

himself obliged to call both God and the lowest of the beings that were supposed to possess some attribute of divinity by one and the same name, i.e., NETER. Other nations of antiquity found a way out of the difficulty of grouping all classes of divine beings by one name by inventing series of orders of angels, to each of which they gave names and assigned various duties in connexion with the service of the Deity. Thus in the *Kur'ân* (*Sura xxxv.*) it is said that God maketh the angels His messengers and that they are furnished with two, or three, or four pairs of wings, according to their rank and importance; the archangel Gabriel is said to have been seen by Muḥammad the Prophet with six hundred pairs of wings! The duties of the angels, according to the Muḥammadans, were of various kinds. Thus nineteen angels are appointed to take charge of hell fire (*Sura lxxiv.*); eight are set apart to support God's throne on the Day of Judgment (*Sura lxix.*); several tear the souls of the wicked from their bodies with violence, and several take the souls of the righteous from their bodies with gentleness and kindness (*Sura lxxix.*); two angels are ordered to accompany every man on earth, the one to write down his good actions and the other his evil deeds, and these will appear with him at the Day of Judgment, the one to lead him before the Judge, and the other to bear witness either for or against him (*Sura l.*). Muḥammadan theologians declare that the angels are created of a simple substance of light, and that they are endowed with life, and speech, and reason; they are incapable of sin, they have no carnal desire, they do not propagate their species, and they are not moved by the passions of wrath and anger; their obedience is absolute. Their meat is the celebrating of the glory of God, their drink is the proclaiming of His holiness, their conversation is the commemorating of God, and their pleasure is His worship. Curiously enough, some are said to have the form of animals. Four of the angels are Archangels, viz. Michael, Gabriel, Azrael, and Israfil, and they possess special powers, and special duties are assigned to them. These four are superior to all the human race, with the exception of the Prophets and Apostles, but the angelic nature is held to be inferior to human nature because all the angels were commanded to worship

Adam (*Sura ii.*). The above and many other characteristics might be cited in proof that the angels of the Muhammadans possess much in common with the inferior gods of the Egyptians, and though many of the conceptions of the Arabs on this point were undoubtedly borrowed from the Hebrews and their writings, a great many must have descended to them from their own early ancestors.

Closely connected with these Muhammadan theories, though much older, is the system of angels which was invented by the Syrians. In this we find the angels divided into nine classes and three orders, upper, middle, and lower. The upper order is composed of Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones; the middle order of Lords, Powers, and Rulers; and the lower order of Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. The middle order receives revelations from those above them, and the lower order are the ministers who wait upon created things. The highest and foremost among the angels is Gabriel, who is the mediator between God and His creation. The Archangels in this system are described as a "swift operative motion," which has dominion over every living thing except man; and the Angels are a motion which has spiritual knowledge of everything that is on earth and in heaven.<sup>1</sup> The Syrians, like the Muhammadans, borrowed largely from the writings of the Hebrews, in whose theological system angels played a very prominent part. In the Syrian system also the angels possess much in common with the inferior gods of the Egyptians.

The inferior gods of the Egyptians were supposed to suffer from many of the defects of mortal beings, and they were even thought to grow old and to die, and the same ideas about the angels were held by Muhammadans and Hebrews. According to the former, the angels will perish when heaven, their abode, is made to pass away at the Day of Judgment. According to the latter, one of the two great classes of angels, i.e., those which were created on the fifth day of creation, is mortal; on the other hand, the angels which were created on the second day of creation

<sup>1</sup> See my edition of the *Book of the Bee*, by Solomon of Al-Basra. Oxford, 1886, pp. 9-11.

endure for ever, and these may be fitly compared with the unfailling and unvarying powers of nature which were personified and worshipped by the Egyptians; of the angels which perish, some spring from fire, some from water, and some from wind. The angels are grouped into ten classes, i.e., the Erêlîm, the Îshîm, the Bêné-Elôhîm, the Malachîm, the Hashmalîm, the Tarshîshîm, the Shishanîm, the Cherûbîm, the Ophannîm, and the Serâphîm;<sup>1</sup> among these were divided all the duties connected with the ordering of the heavens and the earth, and they, according to their position and importance, became the interpreters of the Will of the Deity. A comparison of the passages in Rabbinic literature which describe these and similar matters connected with the angels, spirits, etc., of ancient Hebrew mythology with Egyptian texts shows that both the Egyptians and Jews possessed many ideas in common, and all the evidence goes to prove that the latter borrowed from the former in the earliest period.

In comparatively late historical times the Egyptians introduced into their company of gods a few deities from Western Asia, but these had no effect in modifying the general character either of their religion or of their worship. The subject of comparative Egyptian and Semitic mythology is one which has yet to be worked thoroughly, not because it would supply us with the original forms of Egyptian myths and legends, but because it would show what modifications such things underwent when adopted by Semitic peoples, or at least by peoples who had Semitic blood in their veins. Some would compare Egyptian and Semitic mythologies on the ground that the Egyptians and Semites were kinsfolk, but it must be quite clearly understood that this is pure assumption, and is only based on the statements of those who declare that the Egyptian and Semitic languages are akin. Others again have sought to explain the mythology of the Egyptians by appeals to Aryan mythology, and to illustrate the meanings of important Egyptian words in religious texts by means of Aryan etymologies, but the results are wholly unsatisfactory, and they only serve to show the futility

<sup>1</sup> See the chapter "Was die Juden von den guten Engeln lehren" in Eisenmenger, *Entdeckten Judenthums*, vol. ii. p. 370 ff.

of comparing the mythologies of two peoples of different race occupying quite different grades in the ladder of civilization. It cannot be too strongly insisted on that all the oldest gods of Egypt are of Egyptian origin, and that the fundamental religious beliefs of the Egyptians also are of Egyptian origin, and that both the gods and the beliefs date from predynastic times, and have nothing whatever to do with the Semites or Aryans of history.

Of the origin of the Egyptian of the Palaeolithic and early Neolithic Periods, we, of course, know nothing, but it is tolerably certain that the Egyptian of the latter part of the Neolithic Period was indigenous to North-East Africa, and that a very large number of the great gods worshipped by the dynastic Egyptian were worshipped also by his predecessor in predynastic times. The conquerors of the Egyptians of the Neolithic Period who, with good reason, have been assumed to come from the East and to have been more or less akin to the Proto-Semites, no doubt brought about certain modifications in the worship of those whom they had vanquished, but they could not have succeeded in abolishing the various gods in animal and other forms which were worshipped throughout the length and breadth of the country, for these continued to be venerated until the time of the Ptolemies.

We have at present no means of knowing how far the religious beliefs of the conquerors influenced the conquered peoples of Egypt, but viewed in the light of well-ascertained facts it seems tolerably certain that no great change took place in the views which the indigenous peoples held concerning their gods as the result of the invasion of foreigners, and that if any foreign gods were introduced into the company of indigenous, predynastic gods, they were either quickly assimilated to or wholly absorbed by them. Speaking generally, the gods of the Egyptians remained unchanged throughout all the various periods of the history of Egypt, and the minds of the people seem always to have had a tendency towards the maintenance of old forms of worship, and to the preservation of the ancient texts in which such forms were prescribed and old beliefs were enshrined. The Egyptians never forgot the ancient gods of the country, and it is typical of the spirit of conservatism which they displayed in most things that even in the Roman

Period pious folk among them were buried with the same prayers and with the same ceremonies that had been employed at the burial of Egyptians nearly five thousand years before. The Egyptian of the Roman Period, like the Egyptian of the Early Empire, was content to think that his body would be received in the tomb by the jackal-headed Anubis; that the organs of his corruptible body would be presided over and guarded by animal-headed gods; that the reading of the pointer of the Great Scales, wherein his heart was weighed, would be made known by an ape to the ibis-headed scribe of the gods, whom we know by the name of Thoth; and that the beatified dead would be introduced to the god Osiris by a hawk-headed god called Horus, son of Isis, who in many respects was the counterpart of the god Heru-ur, the oldest of all the gods of Egypt, whose type and symbol was the hawk. From first to last the indigenous Egyptian paid little heed to the events which happened outside his own country, and neither conquest nor invasion by foreign nations had any effect upon his personal belief. He continued to cultivate his land diligently, he worshipped the gods of his ancestors blindly, like them he spared no pains in making preparations for the preservation of his mummified body, and the heaven which he hoped to attain was fashioned according to old ideas of a fertile homestead, well stocked with cattle, where he would enjoy the company of his parents, and be able to worship the local gods whom he had adored upon earth. The priestly and upper classes certainly held views on these subjects which differed from those of the husbandman, but it is a significant fact that it was not the religion and mythology of the dynastic Egyptian, but that of the indigenous, predynastic Egyptian, with his animal gods and fantastic and half-savage beliefs, which strongly coloured the religion of the country in all periods of her history, and gave to her the characteristics which were regarded with astonishment and wonder by all the peoples who came in contact with the Egyptians.

The predynastic Egyptians in the earliest stages of their existence, like most savage and semi-savage peoples, believed that the sea, the earth, the air, and the sky were filled to overflowing with spirits, some of whom were engaged in carrying on the works

of nature, and others in aiding or obstructing man in the course of his existence upon earth. Whatsoever happened in nature was attributed by them to the operations of a large number of spiritual beings, the life of whom was identical with the life of the great natural elements, and the existence of whom terminated with the destruction of the objects which they were supposed to animate. Such spirits, although invisible to mental eyes, were very real creatures in their minds, and to them they attributed all the passions which belong to man, and all his faculties and powers also. Everything in nature was inhabited by a spirit, and it was thought possible to endow a representation, or model, or figure of any object with a spirit or soul, provided a name was given to it; this spirit or soul lived in the drawing or figure until the object which it animated was broken or destroyed. The objects, both natural and artificial, which we consider to be inanimate were regarded by the predynastic Egyptians as animate, and in many respects they were thought to resemble man himself. The spirits who infested every part of the visible world were countless in forms, and they differed from each other in respect of power; the spirit that caused the Inundation of the Nile was greater than the one that lived in a canal, the spirit that made the sun to shine was more powerful than the one that governed the moon, and the spirit of a great tree was mightier than the one that animated an ear of corn or a blade of grass. The difference between the supposed powers of such spirits must have been distinguished at a very early period, and the half-savage inhabitants of Egypt must at the same time have made a sharp distinction between those whose operations were beneficial to them, and those whose actions brought upon them injury, loss, or death. It is easy to see how they might imagine that certain great natural objects were under the dominion of spirits who were capable of feeling wrath, or displeasure, and of making it manifest to man. Thus the spirit of the Nile would be regarded as beneficent and friendly when the waters of the river rose sufficiently during the period of the Inundation to ensure an abundant crop throughout the land; but when their rise was excessive, and they drowned the cattle and washed away the houses of the people, whether made of

wattles or mud, or when they rose insufficiently and caused want and famine, the spirit of the Nile would be considered unfriendly and evil to man. An ample and sufficient Inundation was regarded as a sign that the spirit of the Nile was not displeased with man, but a destructive flood was a sure token of displeasure. The same feeling exists to this day in Egypt among the peasant-farmers, for several natives told me in 1899, the year of the lowest rise of the Nile of the XIXth century,<sup>1</sup> that "Allah was angry with them, and would not let the water come"; and one man added that in all his life he had never before known Allah to be so angry with them.

The spirits which were always hostile or unfriendly towards man, and were regarded by the Egyptians as evil spirits, were identified with certain animals and reptiles, and traditions of some of these seem to have been preserved until the latest period of dynastic history. Āpep, the serpent-devil of mist, darkness, storm, and night, of whom more will be said later on, and his fiends, the "children of rebellion," were not the result of the imagination of the Egyptians in historic times, but their existence dates from the period when Egypt was overrun by mighty beasts, huge serpents, and noxious reptiles of all kinds. The great serpent of Egyptian mythology, which was indeed a formidable opponent of the Sun-god, had its prototype in some monster serpent on earth, of which tradition had preserved a record; and that this is no mere theory is proved by the fact that the remains of a serpent, which must have been of enormous size, have recently been found in the Fayyûm. The vertebræ are said to indicate that the creature to which they belonged was longer than the largest python known.<sup>2</sup> The allies of the great serpent-devil Āpep were as hostile to man as was their master to the Sun-god, and they were regarded with terror by the minds of those who had evolved them. On the other hand, there were numbers of spirits whose actions were friendly

<sup>1</sup> In October, 1899, the level of the water of Lake Victoria was 2 ft. below the normal, and in December the level at Aswân was 5 ft. 8 ins. below the average of previous years.

<sup>2</sup> "If the proportions of this snake were the same as in the existing *Python* "séboe it probably reached a length of thirty feet." C. W. Andrews, D.Sc., in *Geological Mag.*, vol. viii., 1901, p. 438.

and beneficial to man, and some of these were supposed to do battle on his behalf against the evil spirits.

Thus at a very early period the predynastic Egyptian must have conceived the existence of a great company of spirits whose goodwill, or at all events whose inaction, could only be obtained by bribes, i.e., offerings, and cajolery and flattery; and of a second large company whose beneficent deeds to man he was wont to acknowledge and whose powerful help he was anxious to draw towards himself; and of a third company who were supposed to be occupied solely with making the sun, moon, and stars to shine, and the rivers and streams to flow, and the clouds to form and the rain to fall, and who, in fact, were always engaged in carrying out diligently the workings and evolutions of all natural things, both small and great. The spirits to whom in predynastic times the Egyptians ascribed a nature malicious or unfriendly towards man, and who were regarded much as modern nations have regarded goblins, hobgoblins, gnomes, trolls, elves, etc., developed in dynastic times into a corporate society, with aims, and intentions, and acts wholly evil, and with a government which was devised by the greatest and most evil of their number. To these, in process of time, were joined the spirits of evil men and women, and the prototype of hell was formed by assuming the existence of a place where evil spirits and their still more evil chiefs lived together. By the same process of imagination beneficent and friendly spirits were grouped together in one abode under the direction of rulers who were well disposed towards man, and this idea became the nucleus of the later conception of the heaven to which the souls of good men and women were supposed by the Egyptian to depart, after he had developed sufficiently to conceive the doctrine of immortality. The chiefs of the company of evil spirits subsequently became the powerful devils of historic times, and the rulers of the company of beneficent and good spirits became the gods; the spirits of the third company, i.e., the spirits of the powers of Nature, became the great cosmic gods of the dynastic Egyptians. The cult of this last class of spirits, or gods, differed in many ways from that of the spirits or gods who were supposed to be concerned entirely with the welfare of man, and in dynastic times there are abundant

proofs of this in religious texts and compositions. In the hymns to the Sun-god, under whatsoever name he is worshipped, we find that the greatest wonder is expressed at his majesty and glory, and that he is apostrophised in terms which show forth the awe and fear of his devout adorer. His triumphant passage across the sky is described, the unfailing regularity of his rising and setting is mentioned, reference is made to the vast distance over which he passes in a moment of time, glory is duly ascribed to him for the great works which he performs in nature, and full recognition is given to him as the creator of men and animals, of birds and fish, of trees and plants, of reptiles, and of all created things; the praise of the god is full and sufficient, yet it is always that of a finite being who appears to be overwhelmed at the thought of the power and might of an apparently infinite being. The petitions lack the personal appeal which we find in the Egyptian's prayers to the man-god Osiris, and show that he regarded the two gods from entirely different points of view. It is impossible to say how early this distinction between the functions of the two gods was made, but it is certain that it is coeval with the beginnings of dynastic history, and that it was observed until very late times.

The element of magic, which is the oldest and most persistent characteristic of the worship of the gods and of the Egyptian religion, generally belongs to the period before this distinction was arrived at, and it is clear that it dates from the time when man thought that the good and evil spirits were beings who were not greatly different from himself, and who could be propitiated with gifts, and controlled by means of words of power and by the performance of ceremonies, and moved to action by hymns and addresses. This belief was present in the minds of the Egyptians in all ages of their history, and it exists in a modified form among the Muḥammadan Egyptians and Sūdānī men to this day. It is true that they proclaim vehemently that there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is His Prophet, and that God's power is infinite and absolute, but they take care to guard the persons of themselves and their children from the Evil Eye and from the assaults of malicious and evil spirits, by means of amulets of all kinds as zealously now as their ancestors did in the days before

the existence of God Who is One was conceived. The caravan men protect their camels from the Evil Eye of the spirits of the desert by fastening bright-coloured beads between the eyes of their beasts, and by means of long fringes which hang from their *mahlâfas*, or saddles, and in spite of their firm belief in the infinite power of God, they select an auspicious day on which to set out on a journey, and they never attempt to pass certain isolated caves, or ravines, or mountains, in the night time. All the members of the great family of the Jinn are to them as real to-day as their equivalents were to the ancient Egyptians, and, from the descriptions of desert spirits which are given by those who have been fortunate enough to see them, it is clear that traditions of the form and appearance of ancient Egyptian fiends and evil spirits have been unconsciously preserved until the present day. The modern Egyptians call them by Arabic names, but the descriptions of them agree well with those which might be made of certain genii that appear in ancient Egyptian mythological works treating of the Underworld and its inhabitants.

The peoples of the Eastern Sûdân, who are also Muḥammadans, have inherited many ideas and beliefs from the ancient Egyptians, and this is not to be wondered at when we remember that the civilization of Nubia from the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty to the end of the XXVIth, i.e., from about B.C. 1550 to about B.C. 550, was nothing but a slavish copy of that of Egypt. A stay of some months in the village at the foot of Jebel Barkal, which marks the site of a part of the old Nubian city of Napata, convinced me of this fact, and visits to other places in the Eastern Sûdân proved that these ideas and beliefs were widespread. The hills and deserts are, according to native belief, peopled with spirits, which are chiefly of a disposition unfriendly to man, and they are supposed to have the power of entering both human beings and animals almost at pleasure. Palm-trees die or become unfruitful, and cattle fall sick through the operations of evil spirits, and any misfortune which comes upon the community or upon the individual is referred to the same cause. The pyramids, which they call *turâbil*, on the hill, are viewed with almost childish fear by the natives who, curiously enough, speak of the royal personages

buried therein as *illâhât*, or "gods," and none of them, if it can possibly be avoided, will go up after sundown into "the mountain," as they call the sandstone ridge on which they are built. Tombs and cemeteries are carefully avoided at night as a matter of course, but to approach the pyramids at night is regarded as a wilful act which is sure to bring down upon the visitor the wrath of the spirits of the kings, who have by some means acquired a divine character in the eyes of the natives. When I was opening one of the pyramids at Jebel Barkal in 1897, Muḥammad wad Ibrahim, the shêkh of the village, tried to keep the workmen at work as long as daylight lasted, but after this had been done for two or three evenings, several of the wives of the men appeared and carried off their husbands, fearing they should either be bewitched, or suffer some penalty for intrusion in that place at the time when, in popular opinion, the spirits of the dead came forth to enjoy the cool of the evening. The same idea prevailed further south among the people who lived on the river near the pyramids of Baḳrawīyeh, which mark the site of the royal necropolis of the ancient city of Berua, or Marua, i.e., Meroë. The local shêkh was appointed to go with me and to help in taking measurements of some of the pyramids at this place, but when we were about half a mile from them he dismounted, and said he could go no further because he was afraid of the spirits of the gods, *illâhât*, who were buried there. After much persuasion he consented to accompany me, but nothing would induce him to let the donkeys go to the pyramids; having hobbled them and tied them to a large stone he came on, but seated himself on the ground at the northern end of the main group of pyramids, and nothing would persuade him to move about among the ruins. The natives of Jebel Barkal viewed the work of excavation with great disfavour from the very first, and their hostile opinion was confirmed by the appearance at the pyramids of great numbers of wasps, which, they declared, were larger than any which they had seen before; they were convinced that they were evil spirits who had taken the form of wasps, and that evil was coming upon their village. It was useless to explain to them that the wasps only came there to drink from the water-skins, which were kept full and hung there on pegs driven into the

masonry for the use of the workmen ; and when a harmless snake, about eight feet long, which had also crawled there to drink, was killed one morning by the men, their fears of impending evil were confirmed, for they were certain that the spirit of a king had been killed, and they expected that vengeance would be taken upon them by the divine spirits of his companions.

About halfway up Jebel Barkal there lived four large hawks which always seemed to be following any person who ascended the mountain, but yet never came very near ; these were always regarded by the natives as the embodied spirits of the gods whose figures still remain sculptured and painted on the walls of the rock-hewn sanctuary at the foot of the hill, and I never heard of any attempt being made to shoot or snare them by the people of the villages of Barkal, Shibba, or Marâwi. The inhabitants could not know that the hawk was probably the first living creature which was worshipped in the Nile Valley, and therefore the respect which they paid to the hawks must have been due to a tradition which had been handed down to them through countless generations from a past age. Their connecting the hawks with the figures of the gods sculptured in the sanctuary of Âmen-Râ is worthy of note, for it seems to show that on such matters they thought along the same lines as their ancestors.

Concerning amulets, the Sûdânî man is as superstitious as were his ancestors thousands of years ago, and he still believes that stones of certain colours possess magical properties, especially when inscribed with certain symbols, of the meaning of which, however, he has no knowledge, but which are due, he says, to the presence of spirits in them. Women and children, especially female children, protect many parts of their bodies with strings of beads made of magical stones, and sometimes with plaques of metal or stone, which are cut into various shapes and ornamented with signs of magical power ; the positions of such plaques on the body are frequently identical with those whereon the dynastic Egyptians laid amulets on the dead, and, if we could learn from the Sûdânî folk the reasons which prompt them to make use of such things, we should probably find that the beliefs which underlie the customs are also identical. The above facts concerning the Sûdânî belief in spirits might be

greatly multiplied, and they are not so remotely connected with the beliefs of the dynastic, and even predynastic, Egyptians, as may appear to be the case at first sight, and the writer believes that a large amount of information of a similar kind awaits the investigator, who will devote the necessary time to living in some of the out-of-the-way villages of the black (not negro) peoples who dwell on the eastern bank of the Nile and of the Blue Nile.

In many isolated places in Southern Nubia and the Eastern Sūdân are trees which men regard with reverence, but this may be the result of contact with the natives of Central Africa, where people pray to trees on certain occasions,<sup>1</sup> believing that the spirits which are supposed to dwell in them can bestow gifts upon those whom they regard with favour, and ensure safety both to themselves and their animals when travelling. Still further to the south certain animals, e.g., the cynocephalus ape, which plays such a prominent part in dynastic Egyptian mythology, are supposed to be inhabited by divine spirits and to possess extraordinary powers of intelligence in consequence, and the various kinds of scarabæi, or beetles, are thought to be animated by spirits, which the natives connect with the sun. The dead bodies of these insects were, in former days, often eaten by women who wished to become mothers of large families, and to this day parts of them are cooked, and treated with oil, and made into medicines<sup>2</sup> for the cure of sore eyes, etc. The dynastic Egyptians believed that the scarab was connected

<sup>1</sup> "Under the wide-spreading branches of an enormous heglik-tree, and on a spot beautifully clean and sprinkled with fine sand, the Bedeyat beseech an unknown god to direct them in their undertakings and to protect them from danger." Slatin Pasha, *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*, London, 1896, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Ibrahim Rûshdî, Clerk of Telegraphs at Benha, in Lower Egypt, told me in January, 1895, that in many districts the beetles were boiled, and the grease extracted from them; as they are being boiled the shells come off. The bodies are next roasted in olive oil, and then steeped in myrrh, and after this they are macerated in that liquid, and strained through muslin; the liquid which runs through is believed to cure the itching which is caused by a certain internal ailment. Some men drink a few drops of it in each cup of coffee, and women drink it to make them fat. The old women have a prescription for sore eyes, which is as follows:—Stick a splinter of wood through a series of beetles for twelve hours when a child is about to be born; when the child is born, pull the splinter out of the last beetle, and dip it in *kohl*, and rub the eyes of the child with it. If this be done in the proper way the child will never suffer from sore eyes.

with the Sun-god Rā, and in religious texts of all periods it is said that the beetle occupied a place in the boat of this god.

We have already seen that the dynastic Egyptians, and their predecessors, conceived the existence of spirits hostile towards man, of spirits beneficent towards man, and of spirits which were wholly occupied with carrying out the various operations of Nature, and we must now consider the manner and forms in which they became visible to man. The commonest form in which a spirit was believed to make itself visible to man was that of some beast, or bird, or fish, or reptile, and at a very early period adoration, in one form or another, of the so-called inferior animals was well-nigh universal in Egypt. At the time when this worship began animals, as well as inanimate objects, were not considered by the inhabitants of the Nile Valley to be greatly removed from themselves in intelligence. Primitive man saw nothing ridiculous in attributing speech to inanimate objects and animals, which were supposed to think, and reason, and act like human beings; and the religious literature of many of the most ancient nations contains numerous proofs of this fact. Among the baked clay tablets found in the ruins of the Royal Library of Nineveh, which contained copies of hundreds of documents preserved in the temples of the most ancient cities of Babylonia, were fragments of a dialogue between a horse and an ox, which is now known as the "Fable of the Horse and the Ox,"<sup>1</sup> and it is tolerably certain that this dialogue did not originate in the reign of Ashur-bani-pal (B.C. 668-626), although the tablet on which it was written is not older than his time. Again, in the Creation Legend the dragon-monster Tiamat, the representative of the powers of evil and darkness, is made to conspire against the gods, and to create a serpent brood<sup>2</sup> in order to do effective battle with them; and other instances might be quoted to show that the Babylonians and Assyrians attributed to the animals reason, passions, and language.

<sup>1</sup> See *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, London, 1900, p. 48; the fragments are exhibited in the British Museum, Nineveh Gallery, Table-case C.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36. For the cuneiform tablets in the British Museum see Nineveh Gallery, Table-case A. See also L. W. Kirg, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. i., p. 1 ff.

From the Bible we learn that the Hebrews held the same views as their kinsmen on this matter, and we are told that the serpent beguiled and seduced Eve by his speech, and made her break the command of the Lord (Genesis iii. 1 ff.), and that the she-ass of Balaam remonstrated with her master and asked him why he had smitten her three times (Numbers xxii. 28). We may note in passing that this animal is said to have been able to see the Angel of the Lord standing in the way, whilst her master could not, and we are forcibly reminded of the belief which was current among Jews and Muhammadans to the effect that dogs howled before a death because they were able to see the Angel of Death going about on his mission, to say nothing of our own superstition to the same effect, which, however, we seem to have derived not from the East, but from cognate northern European nations. We see also from the Book of Judges (ix. 8 ff.) that speech and reason were sometimes attributed to objects which we regard as inanimate, for we read that the trees "went forth on a time to anoint a king over them; and they said unto the olive tree, Reign thou over us." When the olive tree refused, they went to the fig tree with the same request, and when the fig tree refused, they went to the vine, which refused to leave its wine "which cheereth God and man"; on this they applied to the bramble, which placed before them the choice of coming and putting their trust in its shadow, or of being burnt by the fire which should come forth from out of itself. In connexion with this idea may, perhaps, be mentioned the incident recorded in Numbers xxi. 17, wherein we are told that the princes and nobles digged a well "with their staves" by the direction of the lawgiver, and that the Children of Israel sang this song, "Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it." Many other examples might be quoted from Hebrew literature to show that animals and inanimate objects were on certain occasions regarded as beings which possessed thinking and reasoning powers similar to those of men.

Among the Egyptians animals thought, and reasoned, and spoke as a matter of course, and their literature is full of indications that they believed them to be moved by motives and passions similar to those of human beings. As a typical example may be quoted the instance of the cow, in the *Tale of the Two Brothers*,

who tells her herd that his elder brother is standing behind the door of the byre with his dagger in his hand waiting to slay him; the young man having seen the feet of his brother under the door took to flight, and so saved his life. Here we have another proof that animals were sometimes credited with superhuman intelligence and discernment, since but for the warning of the cow, who had perceived what her master had failed to notice, the herd would have been slain as soon as he entered the byre. Here, too, must be noted the very important part which is played in the Judgment Scene in the *Book of the Dead* by animals. In the *Story of the Shipwreck* also we are told concerning a huge serpent thirty cubits long, with a beard two cubits long, which made a long speech to the unfortunate man who was wrecked on the island wherein it lived.

In the papyri of the XVIIIth Dynasty we have representations of the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the Great Balance, which takes place in the presence of the Great Company of the gods, who act as judges, and who pass the sentence of doom, that must be ratified by Osiris, according to the report of the god Thoth, who acts as scribe and secretary to the gods. The Egyptian hoped that his heart would exactly counterbalance the feather, symbolic of Maât or the Law, and neither wished nor expected it to outweigh it, for he detested performing works of supererogation. The act of weighing was carefully watched by Anubis the god of the dead, whose duty was to cast to the Eater of the Dead the hearts which failed to balance the feather exactly; and by the guardian angel of the deceased, on behalf of the deceased; and by a dog-headed ape, who was seated on the top of the pillar, and who supported himself upon the bracket on which was balanced the beam of the Great Scales. This ape was the associate and companion of the god Thoth, and he was supposed to be skilled in the art of computation, and in the science of numbers, and in the measurement of time; his duty at the weighing of the heart was to scrutinize the pointer of the scales, and, having made sure that the beam of the scales was exactly level, i.e., that the heart and the feather exactly counterbalanced each other, to report the fact to Thoth, so that he in turn might make his report to the gods on

the case under consideration. The ape seated on the pillar of the Scales belongs to a species which is now only found in the Sūdān, but which in late predynastic or in early dynastic times might have been found all over Egypt. The dog-headed ape is very clever, and even in modern times is regarded with much respect by the natives, who believe that its intelligence is of the highest order, and that its cunning is far superior to that of man; the high esteem in which it was held by the ancient Egyptians is proved by the fact that the god Thoth was held to be incarnate in him, and by the important functions which he performed in their mythology.

It will also be remembered that in the vignette which represents the sunrise in the *Book of the Dead* a company of six or seven dog-headed apes is depicted in the act of adoring the god of day, as he rises on the eastern horizon of heaven; they stand on their hind legs and their forepaws are raised in adoration, and they are supposed to be singing hymns to the Sun-god. In a text which describes this scene these apes are said to be the spirits of the dawn who sing hymns of praise to the Sun-god whilst he is rising, and who transform themselves into apes as soon as he has risen. It is a well known fact in natural history that the apes and the monkeys in the forests of Africa and other countries chatter noisily at dawn, and it is clear that it was the matutinal cries of these animals which suggested their connection with the spirits of the dawn. It is not stated in the text whether the spirits of the dawn were created afresh each day or not, or whether the monkeys transformed themselves into spirits daily, and so were able to greet the rising sun each morning. We may, however, connect the idea concerning them with that which is met with in an ancient Hebrew description<sup>1</sup> of the angels of Hebrew mythology, for one group of "angels of service" from the river of fire were supposed to be created daily in order to sing one hymn to God Almighty and then to come to an end.

Passing now to the consideration of the worship of animals by the Egyptians of the predynastic and dynastic periods, we have

<sup>1</sup> Compare Eisenmenger, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 371. כל יומא ויומא נבראין  
מלאכי השרת מנהר דינור ואמרי שירה ובטלין

to endeavour to find the reasons which induced the early inhabitants of the Nile Valley to pay adoration to birds, beasts, fishes, and other creatures of the animal kingdom. A careful examination of the facts now available shows that in Egypt primitive man must have worshipped animals in the first instance because they possessed strength, and power, and cunning greater than his own, or because they were endowed with some quality which enabled them to do him bodily harm or to cause his death. The fundamental motive in man for worshipping animals was probably FEAR. When man first took up his abode in Egypt the physical conditions of the country must have resembled those of some parts of Central Africa at the present time, and the whole country was probably covered with forests and the ground obscured by dense undergrowth. In the forests great numbers of elephants and other large beasts must have lived, and the undergrowth formed a home for huge serpents of various species and for hosts of deadly reptiles of different kinds, and the river was filled with great crocodiles similar in length and bulk to those which have been seen in recent years in the Blue Nile and in the rivers further to the south. We have no means of knowing at what period the elephant was exterminated in Egypt, but it was probably long before dynastic times, because he finds no place in Egyptian mythology. The ivory objects which have been found in predynastic graves prove that this substance was prized by the primitive Egyptians, and that it was, comparatively, largely used by them for making personal ornaments and other small objects, but whether they imported elephants' tusks from the Sûdân, or obtained them from animals which they hunted and killed in some part of Egypt cannot be said. On the top of one of the standards<sup>1</sup> which are painted on predynastic vases we find the figure of an elephant, a fact which seems to show that this animal was the symbol of the family of the man for whom was made the vase on which it is found, or of his country, or of the tutelary deity, i.e., the god of his town or tribe. On the other hand, it is quite clear from several passages in the texts with which the walls of the chambers and corridors of the pyramid tombs of Unâs and Tetâ, and other kings of the Early

<sup>1</sup> See J. de Morgan, *Ethnographie Préhistorique*, p. 93.

Empire at Şakkâra are inscribed that Egypt was infested with venomous snakes and noxious reptiles of various kinds when the original forms of those passages were written, and that they were sufficiently formidable and numerous to cause the living grave anxiety about the safety of the bodies of their dead. Thus in the text of Unâs,<sup>1</sup> a king of the Vth Dynasty, we find a series of short magical formulae, many of which are directed against serpents and fierce animals, and all are couched in terms which prove that they must have been composed long before they were inscribed on the walls inside this king's pyramid, and M. Maspero is undoubtedly correct in thinking that they must have presented serious difficulties to the king's *literati*. In these formulae are mentioned the serpents Ufä, , Nâi, , Hekä, , Hekret, , Setcheh, , Äkeneh, , Ämen, , Häu, , Äntäf, , Tcheser-ţep, , Thethu, , Hemth, , Senenähemthet, , and allusion is made to a most "terrible serpent,"     . At the time when these formulae were composed each of these serpents was probably the type of a class of venomous snakes, and their names no doubt described their physical characteristics and their methods of attack. The abject fear of the Egyptians for the serpent seems to have been constant in all generations, and the texts of the latest as well as those of the earliest period contain numerous prayers intended to deliver the deceased from the "serpents which are in the Underworld, which live upon "the bodies of men and women, and consume their blood."<sup>2</sup> Long after Egypt was cleared of snakes and when the country was in the condition in which we now know it, the tradition remained that a

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Maspero, I. 533 ff.

<sup>2</sup>                   *Book of the Dead, Chapter 1B., l. 4.*

mighty serpent, some thirty cubits, i.e., about fifty feet long, lived on the top of Bakhau, , the Mountain of the Sunrise, and his name was *Ámi-Hemf*, i.e., "Dweller in his flame," .

The worship of the serpent in Egypt is of great antiquity, and shrines to certain members of the species must have existed at a very early date. In predynastic times the uraeus was held in great veneration, and the great centre of its worship was in the Delta, at a place which the Egyptians in dynastic times called "Per-Uatchet," and the Greeks "Buto." At the period when the uraeus was being worshipped in Lower Egypt, the vulture was the chief object of adoration in Upper Egypt, its principal sanctuary being situated in the city which the Egyptians called "Nekhebet," and the Greeks "Eileithyiaspolis." The uraeus goddess was called "Uatchet," or "Uatchit," and the vulture goddess "Nekhebet," or "Nekhebit," and the cities which were the centres of their worship became so important, probably in consequence of this worship, that in the early dynastic period we find it customary for kings when they wished to proclaim their sovereignty over all Egypt to give themselves the title , which may be freely rendered by "Lord of the shrines of the Vulture and Uraeus." The equivalents of these signs are found on the now famous plaque inscribed with the name and titles of *Áha*, a king who is often, but without sufficient reason, assumed to be identical with Mená or Menes, and thus it is clear that the cities of Nekhebet and Per-Uatchet were important religious and administrative centres in predynastic times.

Other wild animals which were worshipped by the Egyptians about the same period were the lion, and the lynx, which they called *maflet*, , and the hippopotamus, and the quadruped which became the symbol of the god Set; among amphibious creatures the crocodile and the turtle were the most important. Among domestic animals the bull and the cow were the principal objects of worship, and proof is forthcoming that they were

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Dead*, Chapter cviii., l. 5.

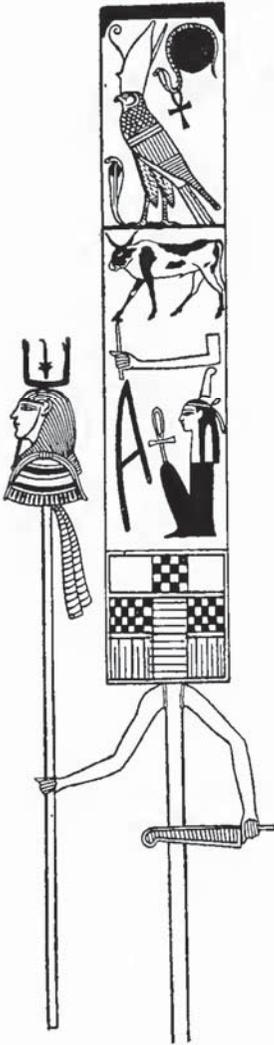
regarded as deities in predynastic times. The great strength of the bull, and his almost irresistible attack in fighting and headlong rush, excited the fear and admiration of primitive man, and his fecundating powers made him at a very early period the type of the generative principle in nature. For thousands of years the kings of Egypt delighted to call themselves "mighty bull," and the importance which they attached to this title is evinced by the fact that many of them inscribed it upon their *serekh*, or cognizance, which displayed their name as the descendant of Horus;



Usertsen II. receiving "life" from the god Sept. Behind him is his *serekh* inscribed with his Horus name.

in fact, it formed their Horus name. The figure of a bull is found sculptured upon some of the green slate objects which date from the predynastic period, and which have been erroneously called palettes, and a flint model of the head and horns of the cow, which in later times became the animal symbolic of the goddess Hathor, was found in a predynastic grave; all these objects are in the British Museum (Nos. 20,790, 20,792, and 32,124). The warrior kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties were pleased when the court scribes related in commemorative inscriptions how

their lords raged and roared like lions as they mounted their chariots and set out to crush the foolish enemy who had the



*Serekh* of Rameses II., on which is inscribed the Horns name of this king, i.e., KANEKHT - MERI - MAĀT. The canopy of the *serekh* is in the form of the sky ☰, and from the standard on which it rests spring two human arms and hands. The right grasps a standard surmounted by the head of the king, which here represents the "royal ka" ♂ and the left the symbol of Maāt.

temerity to defy them, but they preferred to be likened to the "mighty bull," who trampled opposition beneath his hoofs, and gored and destroyed with his horns that which his hoofs had failed to annihilate. Out of the reverence which was paid to the bull in predynastic times grew the worship of two special bulls, Hāp and Mer-ur, which names the Greeks modified into Apis and Mnevis, the sacred animals of the ancient cities of Memphis and Heliopolis respectively. The worship of Apis is at least as old as the beginning of the dynastic period, and we know that the cult of this bull continued in Memphis until the close of the rule of the Ptolemies. In some way the beliefs concerning Apis were connected with those which the Egyptians held concerning Osiris, the god and judge of the dead, who is called in the *Book of the Dead*<sup>1</sup> the "Bull of Amentet," i.e., the "Bull of the Underworld," ; and in the Ptolemaic period the two gods were merged into one and formed the god Sarapis, to whom were ascribed the attributes of the Egyptian and Greek gods of the Underworld.

It now seems to be generally admitted by ethnologists that there are three main causes which have induced men to worship animals, i.e., they have worshipped them as animals, or as the dwelling-places of gods, or as representatives of tribal ancestors.

<sup>1</sup> Chapter i., l. 4.

There is no reason whatsoever for doubting that in neolithic times the primitive Egyptians worshipped animals as animals and as nothing more ; the belief that animals were the abodes of spirits or deities grew up in their minds later, and it was this which induced them to mummify the dead bodies of birds, and beasts, and fishes, etc., in which they thought deities to have been incarnate. We have no means of knowing exactly when this belief arose, but it is certainly as old as the time when the Apis Bull began to be worshipped, and when the Egyptians began to keep the ram and other animals, and birds, and reptiles, and fishes in sanctuaries, and to worship them as deities incarnate. In connection with it we must notice that, in the case of the Apis Bull and the Ram of Mendes, the god Apis did not take up his abode in every bull, and that the soul of Osiris, which was supposed to dwell in the Ram of Mendes, did not make his habitation in every ram. The Apis Bull, like the Ram of Mendes, had to be sought for diligently, and no bull or ram was made the object of veneration in the sanctuaries of Memphis or Mendes unless he possessed the characteristic marks by which the priests recognized him. The ordinary bulls and rams of the species to which the Apis Bull and the Ram of Mendes belonged were not regarded in the same light as the animals which by the marks upon them proclaimed themselves to be the creatures to which worship should be offered, and they were, of course, sacrificed in the performance of funeral ceremonies and killed and eaten as food by the people, even though somewhat of the deity may have been incarnate in them. When the Apis Bull or the Ram of Mendes died the deity who had been incarnate in it transferred himself to another animal, and therefore did not leave the earth.

The question as to whether the Egyptians worshipped animals as representations of tribal ancestors, or "totems," is one which has given rise to much discussion, and this is not to be wondered at, for the subject is one of difficulty. We know that many of the standards which represent the nomes of Egypt are distinguished by figures of birds and animals, e.g., the hawk, the bull, the hare, etc., but it is not clear whether these are intended to represent "totems" or not. It is pretty certain that the nome-standard of dynastic times was derived from the standards which the predynastic

Egyptians set up in their boats, or caused to be carried in ceremonial processions, or during the performance of public functions, and there is no reason for doubting that, substantially, the same ideas and beliefs underlie the use of both classes of standards. The animal or bird standing on the top of a nome-perch or standard is not intended for a fetish or a representation of a tribal ancestor, but for a creature which was regarded as the deity under whose protection the people of a certain tract of territory were placed, and we may assume that within the limits of that territory it was unlawful to injure or kill such animal or bird. Thus in the Nome of the Black Bull a black bull of a certain kind would be regarded as a sacred animal, and it is certain that in predynastic times worship would be offered to it as a god; similarly in the Nome of the Hare the hare would be worshipped; and in the Nome of the Hawk the hawk would be worshipped. Outside these nomes, however, the bull and the hare and the hawk might be, and probably were, killed and eaten for food, and from this point of view the sacred creatures of the Egyptians may be thought to have something in common with the totems, or deified representatives of tribal ancestors, and with the fetishes of the tribes of nations which are on the lowest levels of civilization. In connexion with this matter it is customary to quote the statements of Greek and Roman writers, many of whom scoff at the religion of the Egyptians because it included the worship of animals, and charge the nation with fatuity because the animals, etc., which were worshipped and preserved with all care in some places were killed and eaten in others. The evidence of such writers cannot be regarded as wholly trustworthy, first, because they did not take the trouble to understand the views which the Egyptians held about sacred animals, and secondly, because they were not in a position to obtain trustworthy information. In the passage from one of Juvenal's *Satires* already quoted, he declares that the Egyptians ate human flesh, and it is possible that he believed what he wrote; still the fact remains that there is not a particle of evidence in the Egyptian inscriptions to show that they ever did so, and we have every reason for believing that they were not cannibals.

His other statements about the religion of the Egyptians are,

probably, as untrustworthy. There is not enough ancient Egyptian religious literature extant to enable us to trace the history of religion in all periods of dynastic history, still less are we able to follow it back in the predynastic period, because of that time we have no literature at all; such monuments and texts as we have, however, serve to show that the Egyptians first worshipped animals as animals, and nothing more, and later as the habitations of divine spirits or gods, but there is no reason for thinking that the animal worship of the Egyptians was descended from a system of totems or fetishes, as Mr. J. F. M'Lennan believed.<sup>1</sup> It has been assumed by some ethnologists that many primitive peoples have been accustomed to name individuals after animals, and that such animal names have in certain cases become tribe names. These may have become family surnames, and at length the myths may have grown up about them in which it is declared that the families concerned were actually descended "from the animals in question as ancestors, "whence might arise many other legends of strange adventures "and heroic deeds of ancestors, to be attributed to the quasi-human "animals whose names they bore; at the same time, popular "mystification between the great ancestor and the creature whose "name he held and handed down to his race, might lead to veneration "for the creature itself, and thence to full animal-worship."<sup>2</sup> This theory may explain certain facts connected with the animal-worship of numbers of savage or half-savage tribes in some parts of the world, but it cannot, in the writer's opinion, be regarded as affording an explanation of the animal-worship of the Egyptians. In dynastic times kings were, it is true, worshipped as gods, and divine honours were paid to their statues, but the reason for this was that the king was believed to be of the seed of the god Horus, the oldest of all the gods of Egypt. There is reason for believing that to certain men who were famous for their knowledge or for some great works which they had accomplished divine honours were paid, but neither these nor the kings were held to be gods who were worshipped throughout the land as were the well-known or natural gods of the country. In short, the worship which

<sup>1</sup> See the *Fortnightly Review*, 1869-1870.

<sup>2</sup> See Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., p. 236.

was paid to kings after their death, or to ordinary men, who were sometimes deified, was quite different from that paid to the gods of the country, whether they were in animal or human form or whether they represented the spirits which concerned themselves with the welfare of men or those which occupied themselves with the direction of the operations of Nature.

We see, moreover, from the nome-standards that several objects besides animals were worshipped and regarded as gods, or that they, at all events, became the symbols of the deities which were worshipped in them. In predynastic times we know that some standards were surmounted by representations of two, three, four, or five hills,<sup>1</sup> , , , another by two arrows (?) , another by a fish, , another by two arrows and a shield, , etc. With the predynastic  is probably to be compared the dynastic sign , and with the predynastic  the dynastic sign . It is not easy at present to find a dynastic equivalent for the two arrows (?) , or to find the reason why the three hills  were connected with a god, but we shall probably be correct if we connect the two arrows (?) with some aboriginal god of war, and the three hills with the abode of some, at present, unknown god. The shield and the crossed arrows can, we think, be explained with more certainty. We know from the Nome-Lists that the fifth nome of Lower Egypt, , which was called Sâpi by the Egyptians and Saïtes by the Greeks, had for its capital the city Saut or Saïs, and that the great deity of this city was the goddess Nit or Neith. The dynastic pictures of this goddess represent her in the form of a goddess who holds in her hands two arrows and a bow; she sometimes wears upon her head the crown of the north , or , which is the sign for her name, or two crossed arrows ; in fact, such pictures prove beyond a doubt that Nit, the goddess of Saïs, was the goddess of the chase *par excellence*. That this goddess was worshipped in the earliest dynastic period is certain, for we find that her name forms part of

<sup>1</sup> See my "History of Egypt" (*Egypt in the Predynastic and Archaic Periods*), vol. i., p. 78.

the name of Nit-ḥetep, who seems to have been the daughter of king Sma, and who was probably the wife of Āḥa, and also part of that of the early dynastic king Mer-Nit. That the dynastic sign



is the equivalent of the predynastic sign  there is no reason to doubt, and, as the former is known to represent the crossed arrows and shield of the hunting goddess of Saïs, we are justified in believing that its predynastic equivalent was intended to be a picture of the same objects, and to be symbolic of the same goddess.

We have already mentioned the predynastic standard surmounted by the figure of an elephant, which was, undoubtedly, intended to represent a god, and thus it is clear that both in predynastic and dynastic times the Egyptians symbolized gods both by means of animals and by objects connected with their worship or with their supposed occupations. In dynastic Nome-Lists we have for the name of Mätenu a knife , for the nome of Ten a pair of horns surmounted by a plumed disk , for the nome of Uas, or Us, a sceptre , for the nome of Sesheshet a sistrum , etc. The first, third, and fourth of this group of examples are clearly objects which were connected with the worship of the gods whom they symbolize, and the second is probably intended to be the headdress of the god of the nome which it symbolizes. At this period of the world's history it is impossible to fathom the reasons which led men to select such objects as the symbols of their gods, and we can only accept the view that they were the product of some indigenous, dominant people who succeeded in establishing their religious customs so strongly in Egypt that they survived all political commotions, and changes, and foreign invasions, and flourished in the country until the third century of our era at least.

The cult of Nit, or Neith, must have been very general in Egypt, although in dynastic times the chief seat thereof was at Saïs in the Delta, and we know that devotees of the goddess lived as far south as Naḳâda, a few miles to the north of Thebes, for several objects inscribed with the name of queen Nit-ḥetep have been found

in a grave at that place. Of the early worship of the goddess nothing is known, but it is most probable that she was adored as a great hunting spirit as were adored spirits of like character by primitive peoples in other parts of the world. The crossed arrows and shield indicate that she was a hunting spirit in the earliest times, but a picture of the dynastic period represents her with two crocodiles<sup>1</sup> sucking one at each breast, and thus she appears in later times to have had ascribed to her power over the river.

It has already been said that the primitive Egyptians, though believing that their gods possessed powers superior to their own, regarded them as beings who were liable to grow old and die, and who were moved to love and to hate, and to take pleasure in meat and drink like man; they were even supposed to intermarry with human beings and to have the power of begetting offspring like the "sons of God," as recorded in the Book of Genesis (vi. 2, 4). These ideas were common in all periods of Egyptian history, and it is clear that the Egyptians never wholly freed themselves from them; there is, in fact, abundant proof that even in the times when monotheism had developed in a remarkable degree they clung to them with a tenacity which is surprising. The religious texts contain numerous references to them, and beliefs which were conceived by the Egyptians in their lowest states of civilization are mingled with those which reveal the existence of high spiritual conceptions. The great storehouse of religious thought is the *Book of the Dead*, and in one of the earliest Recensions of that remarkable work we may examine its various layers with good result. In these are preserved many passages which throw light upon the views which were held concerning the gods, and the powers which they possessed, and the place where they dwelt in company with the beatified dead.

One of the most instructive of these passages for our purpose forms one of the texts which are inscribed on the walls and corridors of the chambers in the pyramid tombs of Unäs, a king of the Vth Dynasty, and of Tetä, a king of the VIth Dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> In the text of Unäs (l. 627) the crocodile-god Sebek is called the son of Neith



The paragraphs in general of the great Heliopolitan Recension deal, as we should expect, with the offerings which were to be made at stated intervals in the little chapels attached to the pyramids, and many were devoted to the object of removing enemies of every kind from the paths of the king in the Underworld; others contain hymns, and short prayers for his welfare, and magical formulae, and incantations. A few describe the great power which the beatified king enjoys in the world beyond the grave, and, of course, declare that the king is as great a lord in heaven as he was upon earth. The passage in question from the pyramid of Unás is of such interest and importance that it<sup>1</sup> is given in the Appendix to this Chapter, with interlinear translation and transliteration, and with the variant readings from the pyramid of Tetá, but the following general rendering of its contents may be useful. "The sky poureth down rain, the stars tremble, the bow-bearers run about with hasty steps, the bones of Aker tremble, and those who are ministrants unto them betake themselves to flight when they see Unás rising [in the heavens] like a god who liveth upon his fathers and feedeth upon his mothers. Unás is the lord of wisdom whose name his mother knoweth not. The noble estate of Unás is in heaven, and his strength in the horizon is like unto that of the god Tem his father, indeed, he is stronger than his father who gave him birth. The doubles (*kanu*) of Unás are behind him, and those whom he hath conquered are beneath his feet. His gods are upon him, his uræi are upon his brow, his serpent-guide is before him, and his soul looketh upon the spirit of flame; the powers of Unás protect him." From this paragraph we see that Unás is declared to be the son of Tem, and has made himself stronger than his father, and that when the king, who lives upon his fathers and mothers, enters the sky as a god, all creation is smitten with terror. The sky dissolves in rain, the stars shake in their places, and even the bones of the great double lion-headed earth-god Aker, , quake, and all the lesser powers of heaven flee in fear. He is considered to have been a mighty conqueror upon earth, for those whom he has vanquished are

<sup>1</sup> The hieroglyphic texts are given by Maspero, *Les Inscriptions des Pyramides de Saqqarah*, Paris, 1894, p. 67, l. 496, and p. 134, l. 319.

beneath his feet ; there is no reason why this statement should not be taken literally, and not as referring to the mere pictures of enemies which were sometimes painted on the cartonnage coverings of mummies under the feet, and upon the sandals of mummies, and upon the outside of the feet of coffins. An ordinary man possessed one *ka* or "double," but a king or a god was believed to possess many *kau* or "doubles." Thus in one text<sup>1</sup> the god Rā is said to possess seven souls (*bau*) and fourteen doubles (*kau*), and prayers were addressed to each soul and double of Rā as well as to the god himself ; elsewhere<sup>2</sup> we are told that the fourteen *kau* of Rā, , were given to him by Thoth. Unás appears in heaven with his "gods" upon him, the serpents are on his brow, he is led by a serpent-guide, and is endowed with his powers. It is difficult to say what the "gods" here referred to really are, for it is unlikely that the allusion is to the small figures of gods which, in later times, were laid upon the bodies of the dead, and it seems that we are to understand that he, Unás, was accompanied by a number of divine beings who had laid their protecting strength upon him. The uraei on his brow and his serpent-guide were the emblems of similar beings whose help he had bespoken—in other words, they represented spirits of serpents which were made friendly towards man.

The passage in the text of Unás continues, "Unás is the Bull of heaven which overcometh by his will, and which feedeth upon that which cometh into being from every god, and he eateth of the provender of those who fill themselves with words of power and come from the Lake of Flame. Unás is provided with power sufficient to resist his spirits (*khu*), and he riseth [in heaven] like a mighty god who is the lord of the seat of the hand (i.e., power) [of the gods]. He taketh his seat and his back is towards Seb. Unás weigheth his speech with the god whose name is hidden on the day of slaughtering the oldest [gods]. Unás is the master of the offering and he tieth the knot, and provideth meals for himself ; he eateth men and he

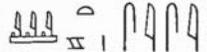
<sup>1</sup> Dümichen, *Tempelinschriften*, vol. i., pl. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii., Bl. 194.

“liveth upon gods, he is the lord of offerings, and he keepeth “count of the lists of the same.” The dead king is next likened to a young and vigorous bull which feeds upon what is produced by every god and upon those that come from the Fiery Lake to eat words of power. Here we have a survival of the old worship of the bull, which began in the earliest times in Egypt, and lasted until the Roman period. His food is that which is produced by every god, and when we remember that the Egyptians believed that every object, animate and inanimate, was the habitation of a spirit or god, it is easy to see that the allusion in these words is to the green herbage which the bull ordinarily eats, for from this point of view, every blade of grass was the abode of a god. In connexion with this may be quoted the words of Sankhôn-yâthân, the Sanchoniatho of the Greeks, as given by Eusebius, who says, “But these first men consecrated the productions of the “earth, and judged them gods, and worshipped those things, upon “which they themselves lived, and all their posterity, and all “before them; to these they made libations and sacrifices.”<sup>1</sup>

Now the food of this bull Unás is also said to be those who came from the Lake of Fire, or the city of She-Sásá, and who are these? From Chapter cviii. of the *Book of the Dead* we learn that She-Sásá was situated in Sekhet-Sásá,<sup>2</sup> i.e., a district in heaven, and it is clear from the text of the Chapter that it was one of the abodes wherein the beatified dead obtained food. The deceased is made to say, “I have not lain down in death; I have stood over “thee,<sup>3</sup> and I have risen like a god. I have cackled like a goose, “and I have alighted like the hawk by the divine clouds and by “the great dew . . . I have come from She-Sásá, which is in “Sekhet-Sásá, i.e., the Lake of Fire, which is in the Field of “Fire.” Towards the end of the Chapter (line 10) mention is made of herbage or crops () and it seems as if these

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, *Praep. Evan.*, lib. i., c. 10 (in Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, London, 1832, p. 5).

<sup>2</sup> . See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, Text, p. 203.

<sup>3</sup> He speaks to the Thigh, , in heaven.





conquered. The accounts of the battles of dynastic times show that the Egyptians looted and destroyed the cities and towns of the vanquished, and that they cut down orchards and gardens, and carried off all the flocks and herds which they could find; and there is abundant proof that they mutilated the bodies of their dead foes after a fight, but that they either ate them or behaved towards them in a manner contrary to nature there is absolutely no evidence to show.

We have now to consider the remaining paragraphs of the extract from the text of Unás. The gods upon whose bodies Unás fed were snared by Am-keḥuu, and they were examined as to their fitness and condition by Tcheser-ṭep-f, a divine being who was in later times one of the Forty-Two Judges in the Hall of Maāti, and is mentioned in the "Negative Confession" of the *Book of the Dead*. The gods were next bound by Her-thertu, and the god Khensu cut their throats and took out their intestines; a being called Shesemu acted as butcher and cut them up and cooked the pieces thereof in his fiery cauldrons. Thereupon Unás ate them, and in eating them he also ate their words of power and their spirits. The largest and finest of the gods he ate at daybreak, and the smaller sized ones for meals at sunset, and the smallest for his meals in the night; the old and worn-out gods he rejected entirely and used them up as fuel in his furnace. The cauldrons in which the bodies of the gods were cooked were heated by the "Great One in heaven," who shot flame under those which contained the thighs of the oldest of the gods; and the "Perer, who is in heaven," of Unás cast also into cauldrons the thighs of their women. Unás is then said to make a journey about every part of the double sky, or double heaven, , i.e., the night sky and the day sky, and also to travel about, presumably from one end to the other, through the two *átebu*,  , of Egypt, i.e., the land which lies between the mountains and the Nile on each side of the river. As a result of eating of the bodies of the gods Unás becomes the Great Sekhem, the Sekhem of the Sekhemu; he also becomes the Āshem of Āshem, the Great Āshem of the Āshemu. The power which protects Unás and which he possesses is greater than that of all the

*sāhu* in the heavens, and he becomes the eldest of all the firstborn gods and he goes before thousands and makes offerings to hundreds [of them]; indeed, the power which has been given to him as the Great Sekhem makes him to become as the star Saḥu, i.e., Orion, with the gods. “Unās can repeat his rising in the sky, for he is “the Seben crown as lord of the heavens. He taketh count of the “knots (or, sinews) and of livers, and he hath taken possession of “the hearts of the gods. He hath eaten the Red Crown, he hath “eaten the White Crown, and he feedeth upon fat entrails; the “offerings made to him are those in whose hearts live words of “power. What the Red Crown emitteth that he hath eaten, and “he flourisheth; the words of power are in his belly, and his *sāhu* “is not turned away from him. He hath eaten the knowledge of “every god, and his existence and the duration of his life are “eternal and everlasting in any *sāhu* which he is pleased to “make. Whatsoever he hateth he shall never do within the limits, “or, inside the borders of heaven. Behold their soul, i.e., the “soul of the gods, is in Unās, and their spirits are with him; “his food is more abundant than that of the gods, in whose bones “is the flame of Unās. Behold their soul is with Unās, and their “Shadows are with their Forms, or Attributes. Unās is in, or “with, the doubly hidden Khā gods (?) [as] a Sekhem, and having “performed [all] the ordinances of the (ceremony of) ploughing “the seat of the heart of Unās shall be among the living upon this “earth for ever and ever.”

The last portion of the extract is of peculiar interest because it affords some insight into the beliefs which the Egyptians held about the constituent parts of the economy of the gods. We have already seen that a *ba*, or soul, has been assigned to Unās, and *karu*, or “doubles,” and *khu*, or spirits, and a *sāhu*, and a *sekhem*; the last two words are difficult to translate, but they are rendered with approximate correctness by “spiritual body,” and “power.” The soul was intimately connected with the heart, and was supposed to be gratified by offerings, which it was able to consume; the “double” was an integral part of a man, and was connected with his shadow, and came into being when he was born, and lived in the tomb with the body after death; the spirit was the seat of

the spiritual part of man, and gods and divine personages were credited with the possession of several spirits; the *sāhu*, or spiritual body, was the ethereal, intangible, transparent and translucent body, which was supposed, in dynastic times at all events, to grow from the dead body, the form of which it preserved; the *sekhem* was the "power" which seems to have animated the *sāhu* and to have made it irresistible. From the extract given above from the text of Unās we learn that the gods were composed of all these various parts, and that in fact their economy resembled that of man; in other words, the Egyptians made their gods in their own image, only they attributed to them superhuman powers. The gods, however, preserved their existence by means of a magical protection which they enjoyed, *meket*, , and also by *hekau*, , which is commonly translated "words of power"; the aim of every Egyptian was to obtain possession of both the magical protection and the words of power, for they thought that if they once were masters of these they would be able to live like the gods. In the earliest times in Egypt men thought that the only way to obtain the strength and immortality of the gods was to eat the gods themselves, and so we read that Unās, having eaten parts of the boiled bodies of the gods, "hath eaten "their words of power (*heka*), and swallowed their spirits (*khru*)." As a result of this he becomes the "Great Power," the "Power of Powers," i.e., the greatest Power in heaven. He becomes also the Āshem of Ashem, the great Āshem of the Āshemu, that is to say, the very essence of Āshem, and the greatest powers of the Āshemu beings are enshrined within him because he has within him the spirits and the words of power of the gods.

But what is the meaning of Āshem? In the text of Tetā the word has for its determinative a hawk perched upon a standard, , which shows that it has some meaning connected with deity or divinity, but it cannot be the name of one divine being only, for we find it in the plural form Āshemu, . The determinative, however, does not help us very much, for it proves little more than that some attribute of the Hawk-god Heru was ascribed to the Āshemu; the hawk was undoubtedly the first





word actually means "liver." Mr. Frazer has quoted in his work<sup>1</sup> instances which prove that savage tribes look upon the liver as the seat of the soul or life of man, and that portions of it are eaten by them with the view of acquiring the qualities of the former possessor of the liver. The words of the text of Unās do not say definitely that the king ate the *thesu* and livers of the gods who had been killed for him, but it is evident from the context that they were supposed to form part of his food. On the other hand, it is said definitely that he did eat their *smau saau*, or "fat entrails," , and their hearts, , or those portions of them which were the seats of the *hekau*, , or words of magical power, which were the source of their life.

Now besides the spirits, and the words of power, and the internal organs of the gods, Unās, it is said, hath eaten the "knowledge,"  *sāa*, of every god, and the period of his life and his existence are merged into eternity and everlastingness, which he may pass in any way that pleaseth his spiritual body (*sāh*), and during this existence he has no need whatsoever to do anything which is distasteful to him. Moreover, the soul[s] and spirits of the gods are in and with Unās, and their souls, and their shadows, and their divine forms are with him. Thus we see that Unās has absorbed within his spiritual body all the life and power of the gods, and his portion is everlasting life, and he can do anything and everything he pleases. Here we should naturally expect the section to come to an end, but the last sentence goes on to say that Unās is with the double Khā god, who is invisible, or unknown, and that being a Power (*selchem*) who hath performed [the ceremony] of ploughing, "the seat of the heart<sup>2</sup> of Unās shall "be among those who live upon this earth for ever and for ever." In this sentence we have an illustration of the difficulty of understanding and explaining the Egyptian religion and the doctrine of the gods. In the early portion of the passage from the text of

<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Bough*, vol. ii., p. 357 (2nd edition).

<sup>2</sup> The word here used is *ab* .

Unás already translated and analyzed we are told how the dead king became the god of god, immortal and invisible, with supreme power in heaven, etc., but at the end of it we read that the seat of the heart of Unás shall be among those who live upon this earth for ever and ever, i.e., Unás shall enjoy after death a continuation of the life which he began in this world; in fact, shall have a double existence, the one heavenly and the other earthly.




  
*khem en mut - f ren - f au shepsu*<sup>1</sup>  
 knoweth not his mother his name. Is the noble rank

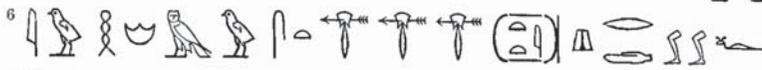

  
*Unas em pet au user - f em khut ma Tem*<sup>2</sup>  
 of Unas in heaven, is his strength in the horizon like Tem,


  
*at - f au mes - nef su useru eref*<sup>3</sup>  
 his father; he (i.e., Tem) begot him [and] he became stronger than he.


  
*au kau Unas ha - f au hemu set - f*<sup>4</sup>  
 Are the doubles of Unas behind him, the conquered [are]


  
*lher retui - f au neteru - f tep - f au aart - f*<sup>5</sup>  
 beneath his two feet. His gods are on him. His uraei are


  
*em apt - f au semtu Unas em hat - f*<sup>6</sup>  
 on his brow. The serpent guide of Unas is before him.

<sup>1</sup> 
<sup>2</sup> 
  
<sup>3</sup> 
  
<sup>4</sup> 
<sup>5</sup> 
  
<sup>6</sup> 
  
<sup>7</sup> 
<sup>8</sup> 


  
 petret ba khut ent bes 505. au useru Unas

Seeth soul [his] the spirit of flame. The powers of Unas


  
 her meket - f Unas pa ka pet en het

protect him. Unas this [is] the bull of heaven that thrusteth


  
 em ab - f ankh em kheper 506. en neter

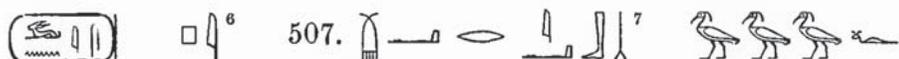
with his will, living upon what cometh into being of god


  
 neb am em semu - sen iu meh

every, and eating of their food who come to fill


  
 khat - sen em hekau em She en Sasa

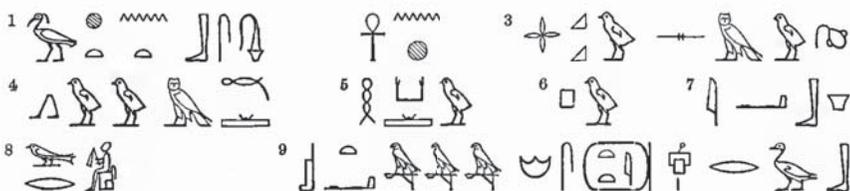
their belly with words of power from the lake of Flame.


  
 Unas pa 507. aper - a er aab khu - f

Unas this [is] provided with power against his spirits.


  
 au Unas khā em ur pu neb amu ast - ā

Unas riseth like a mighty one, the lord in the seat of the hand [of the gods].


  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9





*ân Shesemu rekhes - f sen en Unâs fesef - nef*
  
 Behold, Shesemu hath cut them up for Unâs, he hath boiled

*âkhet âm - sen em ketât - f meshert Unâs*
  
 pieces of them in his cauldrons blazing. Unâs

*pâ âm heka - sen ââm khu - sen*
  
 this hath eaten their words of [he] hath eaten their spirits.
   
 power,

*âu uru - sen en âshet-f tuat âu her-âbu - sen*
  
 Their great ones are for his meal of the morning, their middle ones
   
 are

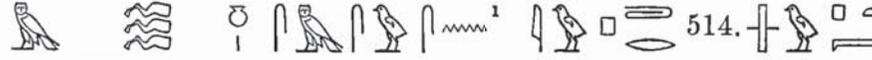
*en meshert - f âu shereru - sen en âsht-f*
  
 for his sunset meal, their little ones are for his meal

*âu âa - sen âatu - sen*
  
 of the night, their old ones (male) their old ones (female) are

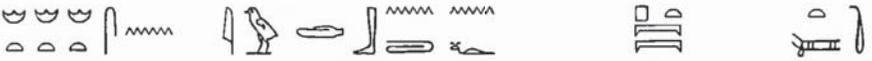
1 2 
  
 3 4 5 
  
 6 7 
  
 8 9 10

  
*en kapt - f an āā em pet*  
 for his furnace. Behold, the great one in heaven

  
*utu-nef setchet er uhatu khert-sen*  
 hath shot flame against the cauldrons beneath them

  
*em khepeshu nu semsu - sen au Perer - amu - pet*  
 with the thighs of the eldest ones. Perer-āmu-pet

  
*en Unās shesert - nef ketāt em retu nu*  
 of Unās hath thrown [into] the cauldrons the legs of

  
*hemt - sen au teben - nef pet tem-thā*  
 their women. He hath gone round about the double heaven, all of it,

  
*au perer - nef atebu Unās pā*  
 he hath gone round about the two halves of Egypt. Unās this [is]

  
*sekhem ur sekhem em sekhemu Unās*  
 the sekhem great, the sekhem of the sekhemu. Unās

<sup>1</sup> 

<sup>2</sup> 

<sup>3</sup> 

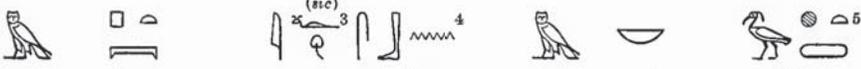
<sup>4</sup> 

<sup>5</sup> 

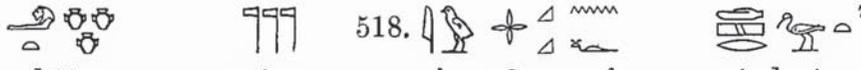
<sup>6</sup> 



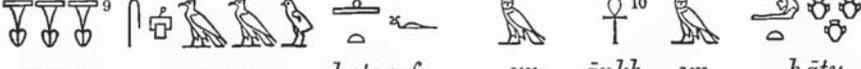

  
*Sahu*      *ar*      *neteru*      *au*      *nem*      *en*      *Unas*      *khātu*<sup>2</sup>  
 Orion,      with      the gods.      Hath repeated      Unas      [his] rising

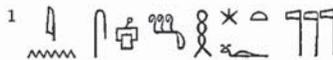
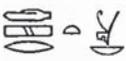
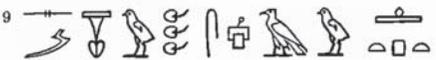

  
*em*      *pet*      ....      *seven*      *em*      *neb*      *khut*<sup>5</sup>  
 in      heaven.      He is the *seven* crown      as      lord      of the horizon.


  
*au*      *heseb - nef*      *tesu*      *beqsu*      *au*      *thet - nef*<sup>6</sup>  
 He hath counted up      knots [and] livers.      He hath taken possession of


  
*hātu*      *neteru*      518.      *au*      *am - nef*      *teshert*<sup>7</sup>  
 the hearts      of the gods.      He hath eaten      the Red Crown,


  
*au*      *am - nef*      *uatchetu*      *usheb*      *Unas*      *em*  
 he hath eaten      the White Crown.      Feedeth      Unas      upon


  
*smau*      *saau*      *hetep-f*      *em*      *ankh*      *em*      *hātu*<sup>10</sup>  
 entrails      fat,      his offering whereon live      in [their] hearts  
 [is that]

<sup>1</sup>       <sup>2</sup>       <sup>3</sup>   
<sup>4</sup>       <sup>5</sup>       <sup>6</sup>       <sup>7</sup>   
<sup>8</sup>       <sup>9</sup>       <sup>10</sup> 

519.    
*hekau - sen asth-f au Unas nesb - f sebeshu*  
 their words of power. Behold, Unas eateth what is cast out

   
*amu teshert af uakhka - f au heka - sen*  
 [from] the Red Crown, he flourisheth, their words of power

   
*em chat-f an hem em sahu Unas*  
 are in his belly, not is turned back the sahu of Unas

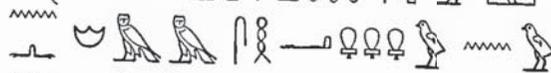
   
*ma-f au am - nej saa en neter neb*  
 from him. He hath eaten the intelligence of god every,

   
*ahau pa neheh tcher-f pa tchetta*  
 [his] period of life [is] eternity, his existence is everlastingness

   
*em sah - f pen en merer - f ar - f*  
 in his sah, this what he is pleased [to do] he doeth,

<sup>1</sup> 

<sup>2</sup> 

<sup>3</sup> 

<sup>4</sup> 

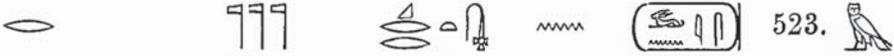
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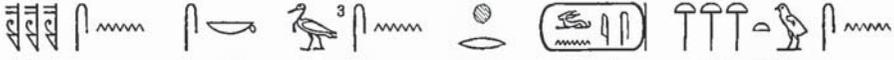
<sup>6</sup> 

  
*mestchetch - f      an      ar-nef      an      tcher      khot*  
 [what] he hateth      not doeth he      in      the limits      of the horizon

  
*tchetta er      neheh      sek      ba - sen      amt      Unas*  
 for ever and ever.      Behold,      their soul      [is] in      Unas,

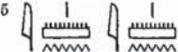
  
*khu - sen      kher      Unas      em      ha khet - f*  
 spirits their [are] with      Unas,      more      abundant [is] his food

  
*er      neteru      gerert      en      Unas      em*  
 than [that of] the gods.      The flame      of      Unas [is] in

  
*gesu - sen      sek      ba-sen      kher      Unas      khaibitu-sen*  
 their bones, behold, their soul is with      Unas,      their shadows

  
*ma      aru - sen      au      Unas      em      enen      kha kha*  
 are with their forms.      Unas is with these, rising, rising,

  
*amen      amen      sekhem      aru      aritu . . .*  
 hidden, hidden,      a sekhem      having performed      the ordinances

1       2       3   
 4       5   
 6       7 

525.  <sup>1</sup>     
*em khebes ast-âb Unâs em*  
of ploughing, the seat of the heart of Unâs [is] among

<sup>2</sup>         
*ânkhu em ta pen tchetta er neheh*  
the living on earth this for ever and for ever.

<sup>1</sup> 

<sup>2</sup> 

## CHAPTER II

## CONCEPTION OF GOD AND THE "GODS"

THE texts in the pyramids of Unâs and Tetâ and their immediate successors prove that the religious literature of the Egyptians contains a multitude of beliefs and opinions which belong to all periods of their history, and represent different stages in the development of their civilization. Their ideas about the various parts which constitute their material, and mental, and spiritual existences cannot have been conceived all at once, but it is very hard to say in respect of some of them which came first. We need not trouble about the order of the development of their ideas about the constituent parts of the gods, for in the earliest times, at least, the Egyptians only ascribed to them the attributes which they had already ascribed to themselves; once having believed that they possessed doubles, shadows, souls, spirits, hearts, (i.e., the seats of the mental life), names, powers, and spiritual bodies, they assigned the like to the gods. But if the gods possessed doubles, and shadows, and hearts, none of which, in the case of man, can exist without bodies, they too must possess bodies, and thus the Egyptians conceived the existence of gods who could eat, and drink, and love, and hate, and fight, and make war, and grow old, and die, and perish as far as their bodies were concerned. And although the texts show that in very early times they began to conceive monotheistic ideas, and to develop beliefs of a highly spiritual character, the Egyptians never succeeded in abandoning the crude opinion about the gods which their indigenous ancestors had formed long before the dynastic period of their history. It is, of course, impossible to assume that educated classes of Egypt held such opinions, notwithstanding the fact that religious texts which

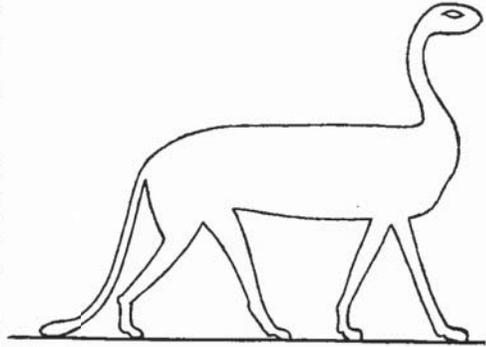
were written for their benefit contain as great a mixture of views and beliefs of all periods as those which were written for humbler folk.

The *Book of the Dead* in all dynasties proves that the rich and the poor, and the educated and the uneducated alike prayed for funeral offerings in the very Chapters in which they proclaimed their sure belief in an existence in which material things were superfluities. In the texts of the Early Empire the deceased is declared to be a god, or God, and the son of god, or God, and the oldest god of all, Horus, gives him his eye, and he sits on a great throne by the side of God; yet in the same texts we read that he partakes of the figs and wine of the gods, that he drinks beer which lasts for ever, that he thirsts not like the gods Shu and Tefnut, and that the throne of God is made of iron, that its legs terminate in hoofs like those of bulls, and that its sides are ornamented with the faces of lions.<sup>1</sup> The great god Horus gives him his own "double" (*ka*), and yet there are in heaven enemies who dare to oppose the deceased; and although he is declared to be immortal, "all the gods give him of their food that he may not die," and he sits down, clothed in white linen and wearing white sandals, with the gods by the lake in the Field of Peace, and partakes with them of the wood (or, tree) of life on which they themselves live that he also may live. Though he is the son of God he is also the child of Sothis, and the brother of the Moon, and the goddess Isis becomes his wife; though he is the son of God we are also told that his flesh and his bones have been gathered together, that his material body has been reconstructed; that his limbs perform all the functions of a healthy body; and as he lives as the gods live we see that from one point of view he and the gods are constituted alike. Instances of the mixture of spiritual with material ideas might be multiplied almost indefinitely, and numbers of passages containing the most contradictory statements might be adduced almost indefinitely to prove that the ideas of the Egyptians about the world beyond the grave, and about God and the gods were of a savage, childish, and inconsistent

<sup>1</sup> The passages from the Pyramid Texts are collected in my *Papyrus of Ani*, London, 1894, pp. lxxi. ff.

character. What, however, we have to remember in dealing with Egyptian religious texts is that the innate conservatism of the Egyptian in all ages never permitted him to relinquish any belief which had once found expression in writing, and that the written word was regarded by him as a sacred thing which, whether he believed it not, must be copied and preserved with great care, and if possible without any omission or addition whatsoever. Thus religious ideas and beliefs which had been entirely forgotten by the people of Egypt generally were preserved and handed down for thousands of years by the scribes in the temples. The matter would have been simple enough if they had done this and nothing more, but unfortunately they incorporated new texts into the collections of old ones, and the various attempts which the priests and scribes made to harmonize them resulted in the confusion of beliefs which we now have in Egyptian religious works.

Before we pass to the consideration of the meaning of the old Egyptian name for god and God, i.e., "neter," mention must be made of a class of beings which were supposed to possess bodies



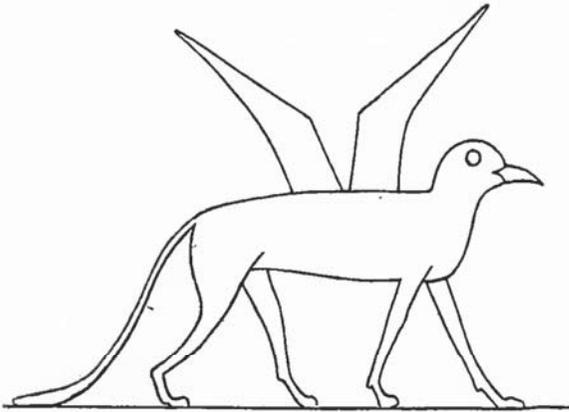
The serpent-headed leopard SETCHA.

partly animal and partly human, or were of a composite character. Among the latter class may be mentioned the creature which has the body of a leopard and the head and neck of a serpent, and was called "Setcha,"<sup>1</sup> ; and that which has the body of a lion, from which grow a pair of wings, and the head of an eagle, and is called "Sefer," <sup>2</sup>; and that which has a body, the fore part being that of a lion, and the hind part that of a horse, and the head of a hawk, and an extended tail which terminates in a flower somewhat resembling the lotus. The name of this creature is Sak, —  , and she is represented with a collar round her

<sup>1</sup> See Champollion, *Monuments*, tcm. iv., Paris, 1845, pl. 382.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* See also Newberry, *Beni-Hasan*, ii., pl. iv.

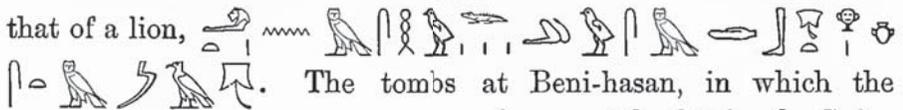
neck, and with bars and stripes on her body, which has eight teats.<sup>1</sup> Among creatures, part animal part human, may be mentioned the leopard, with a human head and a pair of wings

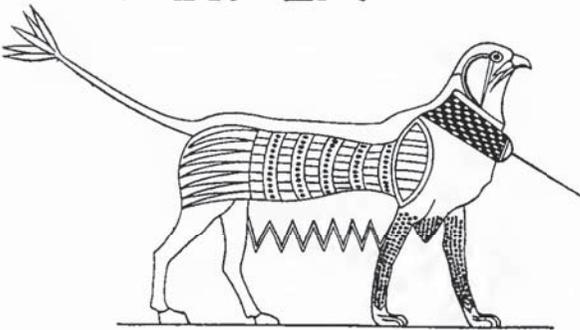


The eagle-headed lion SEFER.

growing out of his back,<sup>2</sup> and the human-headed lion or sphinx. The winged human head which springs from the back of the leopard<sup>3</sup> strongly reminds one of the modern conventional representations of angels in religious pictures, but as the name of this fabulous creature is unknown, it is impossible even to guess at the reasons for which he was furnished with a winged man's

head. In connexion with the composite animals enumerated above must be mentioned the "Devourer of Amenti," called "Am-mit, the Eater of the Dead," whose forequarters were those of a crocodile, and hindquarters those of a hippopotamus, and whose body was

that of a lion, . The tombs at Beni-hasan, in which the



The fabulous beast SAQ.

figures of the *Setcha*, the *Sefer*, and the *Saq* are depicted, date from the XIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 2500, and there is no reason for supposing that their existence was not conceived of long before that time. Side by side with these is also depicted an animal called *Sha*, , which has

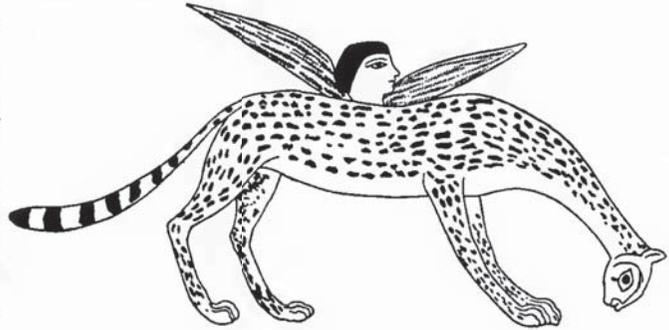
long square ears, and an extended tail resembling an arrow, and in its general appearance it much resembles the animal of the god Set.

<sup>1</sup> See Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. xxiii., No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiii., No. 6.

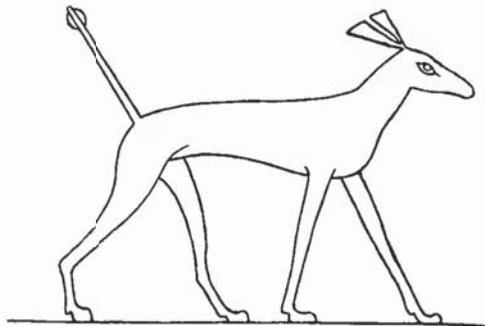
<sup>3</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii., pl. 131.

Two explanations of the existence of such composite creatures may be given. They may be due either to the imagination of the Egyptians, which conceived of the existence of quadrupeds wherein were united the strength of one animal and the wisdom or cunning of another, e.g., the Setcha which united within itself the strength of the leopard with the cunning of the serpent, and the name-



A fabulous leopard.

less leopard with a man's winged head, or to the ignorance of the ancients of natural history. The human head on an animal represented the intelligence of a man, and the wings the swift flight of the bird, and the body of the leopard the strength and the lithe motions of that animal. In conceiving the existence of such creatures the imagination may have been assisted in its fabrication of fabulous monsters by legends or stories of pre-dynastic animals which were current in certain parts of Egypt during the dynastic period. Thus, as we have said before, the monster serpents of Egyptian mythology have their prototypes in the huge serpents which lived in the country in primeval times, and there is no doubt that *Āpep* was, originally, nothing more than a huge serpent which lived in some mountain on the western



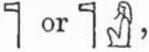
The animal *Sha*.

bank of the Nile. On the other hand, it is possible that the Egyptians really believed in the existence of composite animals, and that they never understood the impossibility of the head and neck of a serpent growing out of the body of a lion, or the head

of a hawk out of the body of a lion, or a human head with the wings of a bird out of the body of a leopard. They were keen enough observers of the animals with which they came in contact daily, and their representations of them are wonderful for the accurate delineation of their forms and characteristics; but of animals which they had never seen, and could only know from the reports of travellers and others, naturally they could not give accurate representations. Man in all ages seems prone to believe in the existence of composite animals and monsters, and the most cultured of the most ancient nations, e.g., the Egyptians and the Babylonians, form no exception to the rule. The early seal-cylinders of the Babylonians reveal their belief in the existence of many a fabulous and mythical animal, and the boundary stones, or landmarks, of a later period prove that composite animals were supposed to watch over the boundaries of kingdoms and estates, which they preserved from invasion, and the winged man-headed bulls, which the Assyrians set up in the gates and doorways of their palaces to "protect the footsteps of the kings who made them," indicate clearly that they duly followed the examples set them by their kinsmen, the Babylonians. From the Assyrians Ezekiel probably borrowed the ideas which he developed in his description in the first chapter of his book of the four-faced and four-winged animals. Later, even the classical writers appeared to see no absurdity in solemnly describing animals, the existence of which was impossible, and in declaring that they possessed powers which were contrary to all experience and knowledge. Horapollo, i. 10, gravely states that the scarabaeus represents an *only begotten*, because the scarabaeus is a creature self-produced, being unconceived by a female, *μοιογενές μὲν ὅτι αὐτογενές ἐστὶ τὸ ζῶον, ὑπὸ θηλείας μὴ κυοφορούμενον*; and in one form or another this statement is given by Ælian (*De Nat. Animal.*, iv. 49), Aristotle (*Hist. An.*, iv. 7), Porphyry (*De Abstinencia*, iv. 9), Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xi. 20 ff.), etc. Of the man-headed lion at Gizeh, i.e., the Sphinx, Pliny, Diodorus, Strabo, and other ancient writers have given long descriptions, and all of them seem to take for granted the existence of such a creature.

The second explanation, which declares that composite animals

are the result of the imagination of peoples who have no knowledge, or at all events a defective one, of the common facts of natural history is not satisfactory, for the simple reason that composite animals which are partly animal and partly human in their powers and characteristics form the logical link between animals and man, and as such they belong to a certain period and stage of development in the history of every primitive people. If we think for a moment we shall see that many of the gods of Egypt are closely connected with this stage of development, and that comparatively few of them were ever represented wholly in man's form. The Egyptians clung to their representations of gods in animal forms with great tenacity, and even in times when it is certain they cannot have believed in their existence they continued to have them sculptured and painted upon the walls of their temples; curiously enough, they do not seem to have been sensible of the ridicule which their conservatism brought down upon them from strangers.

We have already said above that the common word given by the Egyptians to God, and god, and spirits of every kind, and beings of all sorts, and kinds, and forms, which were supposed to possess any superhuman or supernatural power, was NETER, , and the hieroglyph which is used both as the determinative of this word and also as an ideograph is . Thus we have  or  , "god," and  , or              , "gods;" the plural is sometimes written out in full, e.g.,       . The common word for "goddess" is NETERT, which can be written  , or  , or     ; sometimes the determinative of the word is a woman, , and at other times a serpent, e.g.   . The plural is NETERIT,             . We have now to consider what object is supposed to be represented by , and what the word NETER means. In Bunsen's *Egypt's Place* (i., Nos. 556, 557, 623) the late Dr. Birch described  as a hatchet; in 1872 Dr. Brugsch placed<sup>1</sup>  among "objets tranchants, armes," in his classified list of hieroglyphic

<sup>1</sup> *Index des hiéroglyphes phonétiques*, No. 394.

characters ; thus it is clear that the two greatest masters of Egyptology considered  to be either a weapon or a cutting tool, and, in fact, assumed that the hieroglyphic represented an axe-head let into and fastened in a long wooden handle. From the texts wherein the hieroglyphics are coloured it is tolerably clear that the axe-head was fastened to its handle by means of thongs of leather. The earliest axe-heads were made of stone, or flint or chert, and later of metal, and it is certain that when copper, bronze, and iron took the place of stone or flint, the method by which the head was fastened to the handle was considerably modified. Recently an attempt has been made to show that the axe, , resembled in outline "a roll of yellow cloth, the lower part bound or laced over, the upper part appearing as a flap at the top probably for unwinding. It is possible, indeed, that the present object represents a fetish, e.g., a bone carefully wound round with cloth and not the cloth alone."<sup>1</sup> But it need hardly be said that no evidence for the correctness of these views is forthcoming. Whether the hieroglyphic  was copied from something which was a roll of cloth or a fetish matters little, for the only rational determination of the character is that which has already been made by Drs. Birch and Brugsch, and the object which is represented by  is, in the writer's opinion, an axe and nothing else.

Mr. Legge has collected<sup>2</sup> a number of examples of the presence of the axe as an emblem of divinity on the megaliths of Brittany and in the prehistoric remains of the funeral caves of the Marne, of Scandinavia, and of America, and, what is very much to the point, he refers to an agate cylinder which was published by the late Adrien de Longpérier, wherein is a representation of a priest in Chaldaean garb offering sacrifice to an axe standing upright upon an altar. Mr. Legge points out "that the axe appears on these monuments not as the representation of an object in daily use, but for religious or magical purposes," and goes on to say that this is proved by "the fact that it is often found as a pendant and of such materials as gold, lead, and even amber; while that it is often represented with the peculiar fastenings of the earlier flint weapon shows that its symbolic use

<sup>1</sup> Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1899, p. 310.

“goes back to the neolithic and perhaps the palaeolithic age.” He is undoubtedly correct in thinking that the use of the stone axe precedes that of the flint arrow-head or flint knife, and many facts could be adduced in support of this view. The stone tied to the end of a stick formed an effective club, which was probably the earliest weapon known to the predynastic Egyptians, and subsequently man found that this weapon could be made more effective still by making the stone flat and by rubbing down one end of it to form a cutting edge. The earliest axe-head had a cutting edge at each end, and was tied by leather thongs to the end of a stick by the middle, thus becoming a double axe; examples of such a weapon appear to be given on the green slate object of the archaic period which is preserved in the British Museum<sup>1</sup> (Nos. 20,790, 20,792), where, however, the axe-heads appear to be fixed in forked wooden handles. In its next form the axe-head has only one cutting edge, and the back of it is shaped for fastening to a handle by means of leather thongs. When we consider the importance that the axe, whether as a weapon or tool, was to primitive man, we need not wonder that it became to him first the symbol of physical force, or strength, and then of divinity or dominion. By means of the axe the predynastic Egyptians cut down trees and slaughtered animals, in other words, the weapon was mightier than the spirits or gods who dwelt in the trees and the animals, and as such became to them at a very early period an object of reverence and devotion. But besides this the axe must have been used in sacrificial ceremonies, wherein it would necessarily acquire great importance, and would easily pass into the symbol of the ceremonies themselves. The shape of the axe-head as given by the common hieroglyphic  suggests that the head was made of metal when the Egyptians first began to use the character as the symbol of divinity, and it is clear that this change in the material of which the axe-head was made would make the weapon more effective than ever.

Taking for granted, then, that the hieroglyphic  represents an axe, we may be sure that it was used as a symbol of power and

<sup>1</sup> See my *History of Egypt*, vol. ii., p. 10, where it is figured and described.

divinity by the predynastic Egyptians long before the period when they were able to write, but we have no means of knowing what they called the character or the axe before that period. In dynastic times they certainly called it NETER, as we have seen, but another difficulty presents itself to us when we try to find a word that will express the meaning which they attached to the word; it is most important to obtain some idea of this meaning, for at the base of it lies, no doubt, the Egyptian conception of divinity or God. The word NETER has been discussed by many Egyptologists, but their conclusions as to its signification are not identical. M. Pierret thought in 1879 that the true meaning of the word is "renewal, because in the mythological conception, the god assures "himself everlasting youth by the renewal of himself in engendering himself perpetually."<sup>1</sup> In the same year, in one of the Hibbert Lectures, Renouf declared that he was "able to affirm "with certainty that in this particular case we can accurately "determine the primitive notion attached to the word," i.e., to NUTAR (NETER). According to him, "none of the explanations "hitherto given of it can be considered satisfactory," but he thought that the explanation which he was about to propose would "be generally accepted by scholars," because it was "arrived at as "the result of a special study of all the published passages in which "the word occurs."<sup>2</sup> Closely allied to NUTAR (NETER) is another word NUTRA (NETRA), and the meaning of both was said by Renouf to be found in the Coptic **ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ** or **ⲛⲟⲩⲧ**, which, as we may see from the passages quoted by Tatham in his *Lexicon* (p. 310), is rendered by the Greek words *ἰσχύς*, *παράκλησις*, and *παρακαλεῖν*. The primary meaning of the word **ⲛⲟⲩⲧ** appears to be "strong," and having assumed that NETER was equivalent in meaning to this word, Renouf stated boldly that NETER signified "mighty," "might," "strong," and argued that it meant Power, "which is "also the meaning of the Hebrew El." We may note in passing

<sup>1</sup> "Le mot par lequel on rendait l'idée de Dieu.  nuter, signifie au "propre, 'renouvellement,' parce que dans la conception mythologique, le dieu "s'assure une éternelle jeunesse par le renouvellement de lui-même, en s'engendrant "lui-même perpétuellement." *Essai sur la Mythologie Égyptienne*, Paris, 1879, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, p. 93.

that the exact meaning of "El," the Hebrew name for God, is unknown, and that the word itself is probably the name of an ancient Semitic deity.

The passages which were quoted to prove that NETER meant "strong, strength, power," and the like could, as M. Maspero has said,<sup>1</sup> be explained differently. M. Maspero combats rightly the attempt to make "strong" the meaning of NETER (masc.), or NETERIT (fem.), in these words: "In the expressions 'a town *neterit*,' 'an arm *neteri*,' . . . is it certain that 'a strong city,' 'a strong arm,' gives us the primitive sense of *neter*? When among ourselves one says 'divine music,' 'a piece of divine poetry,' 'the divine taste of a peach,' 'the divine beauty of a woman' [the word] *divine* is a hyperbole, but it would be a mistake to declare that it originally meant 'exquisite' because in the phrases which I have imagined one could apply it as 'exquisite music,' 'a piece of exquisite poetry,' 'the exquisite taste of a peach,' 'the exquisite beauty of a woman.' Similarly in Egyptian 'a town *neterit*' is a 'divine town'; 'an arm *neteri*' is 'a divine arm,' and *neteri* is employed metaphorically in Egyptian as is [the word] 'divine' in French, without its being any more necessary to attribute to [the word] *neteri* the primitive meaning of 'strong,' than it is to attribute to [the word] 'divine' the primitive meaning of 'exquisite.' The meaning 'strong' of *neteri*, if it exists, is a derived and not an original meaning."<sup>2</sup>

The view taken about the meaning of *neter* by the late Dr. Brugsch was entirely different, for he thought that the fundamental meaning of the word was "the operative power which created and produced things by periodical recurrence, and gave them new life and restored to them the freshness of youth (die thätige Kraft, welche in periodischer Wiederkehr die Dinge erzeugt und erschafft, ihnen neues Leben verleiht und die Jugendfrische zurückgiebt."<sup>3</sup> The first part of the work from which these words are quoted appeared in 1885, but that Dr. Brugsch held much the same views six years later is evident

<sup>1</sup> *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, tom. ii., p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Maspero, op. cit., p. 215.

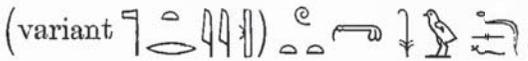
<sup>3</sup> *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 93.

from the following extract from his volume entitled *Die Aegyptologie* (p. 166), which appeared in 1891. Referring to Renouf's contention that NETER has a meaning equivalent to the Greek *δύναμις*, he says, "Es liegt auf der Hand, dass der Gottesname in "Sinne von Starker, Mächtiger, vieles für sich hat, um so mehr "als selbst leblose Gegenstände, wie z. B. ein Baustein, adjektivisch als *nutri* d. h. stark, mächtig, nicht selten bezeichnet "werden. Aber so vieles diese Erklärung für sich zu haben "schieht, so wenig stimmt sie zu der Thatsache, dass in den "Texten aus der besten Zeit (XVIII Dynastie) das Wort *nutr* als "ein Synonym für die Vorstellung der Verjungung oder Erneuerung auftritt. Es diente zum Ausdruck der periodisch wiederkehrenden Jugendfrische nach Alter und Tod, so dass selbst dem "Menschen in den ältesten Sarginschriften zugerufen wird, er sei "fortan in einen Gott d. h. in ein Wesen mit jugendlicher Frische "umgewandelt. Ich lasse es dahin gestellt sein, nach welcher "Richtung hin die aufgeworfene Streitfrage zu Gunsten der einen "oder der anderen Auffassung entschieden werden wird; hier "sei nur betont, dass das Wort  $\int$  *nutr*, *nute*, den eigentlichen "Gottesbegriff der alten Aegypter in sich schliesst und daher einen "ganz besonderen Aufmerksamkeit werth ist."

In this passage Dr. Brugsch substantially agrees with Pierret's views quoted above, but he appears to have withdrawn from the position which he took up in his *Religion und Mythologie*, wherein he asserted that the essential meaning of NETER was identical with that of the Greek *φύσις* and the Latin "natura."<sup>1</sup> It need hardly be said that there are no good grounds for such an assertion, and it is difficult to see how the eminent Egyptologist could attempt to compare the conceptions of God formed by a half-civilized African people with those of such cultured nations as the Greeks and the Romans.

The solution of the difficulty of finding a meaning for NETER is not brought any nearer when we consider the views of such distinguished Egyptologists as E. de Rougé, Lieblein, and Maspero.

<sup>1</sup> "Der Inbegriff dieses Wortes deckt sich daher vollständig mit der ursprünglichen Bedeutung des griechischen *physis* und des lateinischen *natura*." (p. 93.)

The first of these in commenting on the passage  (variant ) which he translates "Dieu devenant dieu (en) s'engendrant lui-même," says in his excellent *Chrestomathie Égyptienne* (iii. p. 24), "One knows not exactly the meaning of the verb *nuter*, which forms the radical of the word *nuter*, 'god.' It is an idea analagous to 'to become,' or 'renew oneself,' for *nuteri* is applied to the resuscitated soul which clothes itself in its immortal form." Thus we find that one of the greatest Egyptologists thinks that the exact meaning of NETER is unknown, but he suggests that it may have a signification not unlike that proposed by Pierret. Prof. Lieblein goes a step further than E. de Rougé, for he is of opinion that it is impossible to show the first origin of the idea of God among any people hitherto known historically. "When we, for instance, take the Indo-European, what do we find there? The Sanskrit word *deva* is identical with the Latin *deus*, and the northern *tivi*, *tivar*; as now the word in Latin and northern language signifies God it must also in Sanskrit from the beginning have had the same signification. That is to say, the Arians, or Indo-Europeans, must have combined the idea of God with this word, as early as when they still lived together in their original home. Because, if the word in their pre-historic home had had another more primitive signification, the wonder would have happened, that the word had accidentally gone through the same development of signification with all these people after their separation. As this is quite improbable, the word must have had the signification of God in the original Indo-European language. One could go even farther and presume that, in this language also, it was a word derived from others, and consequently originated from a still earlier pre-historic language. All things considered it is possible, even probable, that the idea of God has developed itself in an earlier period of languages, than the Indo-European. The future will perhaps be able to supply evidence for this. The science of languages has been able partly to reconstruct an Indo-European pre-historic language. It might be able also to reconstruct a pre-historic Semitic, and a pre-historic Hamitic,

“and of these three pre-historic languages, whose original con-  
“nexion it not only guesses, but even commences to prove  
“gradually, it will, we trust in time, be able to extract a still  
“earlier pre-historic language, which according to analogy might  
“be called Noahitic. When we have come so far, we shall most  
“likely in this pre-historic language, also find words expressing  
“the idea of God. But it is even possible that the idea of God  
“has not come into existence in this pre-historic language either.  
“It may be that the first dawning of the idea, and the word God  
“should be ascribed to still earlier languages, to layers of languages  
“so deeply buried that it will be impossible even to excavate  
“them. Between the time of inhabiting caves in the quaternian  
“period, and the historical kingdoms, there is such a long space of  
“time, that it is difficult to entertain the idea, that it was quite  
“devoid of any conception of divinity, so that this should first  
“have sprung up in the historical time. In any case we shall not  
“be able to prove historically where and when the question first  
“arose, who are the superhuman powers whose activity we see  
“daily in nature and in human life. Although the Egyptians are  
“the earliest civilized people known in history, and just therefore  
“especially important for the science of religion, yet it is even  
“there impossible to point out the origin of the conception of the  
“deity. The oldest monuments of Egypt bring before us the  
“gods of nature chiefly, and among these especially the sun.  
“They mention, however, already early (in the IVth and Vth  
“Dynasties) now and then the great power, or the great God, it  
“being uncertain whether this refers to the sun, or another god of  
“nature, or if it was a general appellation of the vague idea of a  
“supernatural power, possibly inherited by the Egyptians. It is  
“probably this great God indicated on the monuments, from the  
“the IVth Dynasty, and later on, who has given occasion to the  
“false belief that the oldest religion of the Egyptians was pure  
“monotheism. But firstly, it must be observed, that he is not  
“mentioned alone but alongside of the other gods, secondly, that  
“he is merely called ‘The great God,’ being otherwise without  
“distinguishing appellations, and a God of whom nothing else is  
“mentioned, has, so to speak, to use Hegel’s language, merely an

“abstract existence, that by closer examination dissolves into “nothing.”

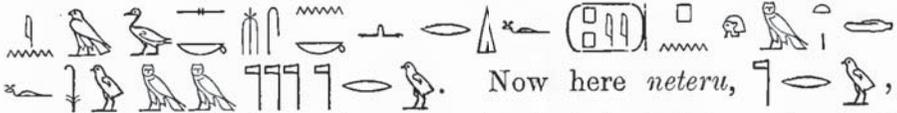
It is necessary to quote Professor Lieblein's opinion at length because he was one of the first to discuss the earliest idea of God in connection with its alleged similarity to that evolved by Aryan nations; if, however, he were to rewrite the passage given above in the light of modern research he would, we think, modify many of his conclusions. For our present purpose it is sufficient to note that he believes it is impossible to point out the origin of the conception of the deity among the Egyptians. The last opinion which we need quote is that of M. Maspero, who not only says boldly that if the word NETER or NETRI really has the meaning of “strong” it is a derived and not an original meaning, and he prefers to declare that the word is so old that its earliest signification is unknown. In other words, it has the meaning of god, but it teaches us nothing as to the primitive value of this word. We must be careful, he says, not to let it suggest the modern religious or philosophical definitions of god which are current to-day, for an Egyptian god is a being who is born and dies, like man, and is finite, imperfect, and corporeal, and is endowed with passions, and virtues, and vices.<sup>2</sup> This statement is, of course, true as regards the gods of the Egyptians at several periods of their history, but it must be distinctly understood, and it cannot be too plainly stated, that side by side with such conceptions there existed, at least among the educated Egyptians, ideas of monotheism which are not far removed from those of modern nations.

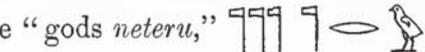
From what has been said above we see that some scholars take the view that the word NETER may mean “renewal,” or “strength,” or “strong,” or “to become,” or some idea which suggests “renewal,” and that others think its original meaning is not only unknown, but that it is impossible to find it out. But although we may not be able to discover the exact meaning which the word had in pre-dynastic times, we may gain some idea of the meaning which was attached to it in the dynastic period by an examination of a few passages from the hymns and Chapters which are found in the

<sup>1</sup> *Egyptian Religion*, by J. Lieblein, Leipzig, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> *La Mythologie Égyptienne (Études de Mythologie, tom. ii., p. 215).*

various versions of the *Book of the Dead*. In the text of Pepi I. (line 191) we have the words:—"Behold thy son Horus, to whom "thou hast given birth. He hath not placed this Pepi at the "head of the dead, but he hath set him among the gods *neteru*,"

 Now here *neteru*, ,

must be an adjective, and we are clearly intended to understand that the gods referred to are those which have the attribute of *neteru*; since the "gods *neteru*," , are mentioned in opposition to "the dead" it seems as if we are to regard the gods as "living," i.e., to possess the quality of life. In the text of the same king (line 419) a *bāk neter*, , i.e., a hawk having the quality of *neter* is mentioned; and in the text of Unās (line 569) we read of *bauī netruī*, , or the two souls which possess the quality of *neter*. These examples belong to the Vth and VIth Dynasties. Passing to later dynasties, i.e., the XVIIIth and XIXth, etc., we find the following examples of the use of the words *neter* and *netri*:—

1.   
*hun netri aā heh utet se-mes su tcheseḥ*<sup>1</sup>  
 Boy *netri*, heir of eternity, begetting and giving birth to himself.

2.   
*tā-ā tu em āb-ā āti bakai netri*  
 I am devoted in my heart without feigning, O thou *netri*

   
*er neteru*

more than the gods.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, Text, p. 11, l. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43, l. 4.

3. <sup>1</sup>  
*tchel - tu re pen her maḥu en neträt*  
 Shall be said this chapter over a crown of *neträt*.

4. <sup>2</sup>  
*neter - kuä*

I have become *neter*.

5. <sup>3</sup>  
*äü - ä khā - kuä em bāk netri*  
 I have risen up in the form of a hawk *netri*.

6. <sup>4</sup>  
*äb - kuä neter - kuä kḥu - kuä*  
 I have become pure, I have become *neter*, I have become a spirit (*kḥu*),

- <sup>4</sup>  
*user - kuä ba - kuä*

I have become strong, I have become a soul (*ba*).

7. <sup>5</sup>  
*unen-f neter mā neteru em Neter-khertet*  
 His being *neter* with the gods in the Neter-khertet.  
 (or, he shall be)

8. <sup>6</sup>  
*äü - f neträ khat-f temtu*  
 He shall *neträ* his body all.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, p. 80, l. 10.

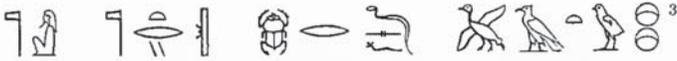
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154, l. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168, l. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174, l. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 417, l. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 419, l. 7.

9.    
*netri*    *u*    *ba - k*    *em*    *per*    *Sebut*<sup>1</sup>  
 They make *neter*    thy soul    in the house of    Sebut.
10.    
*netri - f*    *ba - k*    *ma*    *neteru*<sup>2</sup>  
 He makes *neter*    thy soul    like    the gods.
11.    
*neter*    *netri*    *kheper tchesej*    *paut*<sup>3</sup>  
 God    *netri*,    self-produced,    primeval matter.

Now, in the above examples it is easy to see that although the words "strong" or "strength," when applied to translate *neter* or *netri*, give a tolerably suitable sense in some of them, it is quite out of place in others, e.g., in No. 6, where the deceased is made to say that he has acquired the quality of *neter*, and a spirit, and a soul, and is, moreover, strong; the word rendered "strong" in this passage is *user*, and it expresses an entirely different idea from *neter*. From the fact that *neter* is mentioned in No. 1 in connection with eternal existence, and self-begetting, and self-production, and in No. 11 with self-production and primeval matter, it is almost impossible not to think that the word has a meaning which is closely allied to the ideas of "self-existence," and the power to "renew life indefinitely," and "self-production." In other words, *neter* appears to mean a being who has the power to generate life, and to maintain it when generated. It is useless to attempt to explain the word by Coptic etymologies, for it has passed over directly into the Coptic language under the forms *nouti* **Ⲣⲟⲩⲧ**, and *noute* **Ⲣⲟⲩⲧⲉ**, the last consonant, *r*, having disappeared through phonetic decay, and the translators of the Holy Scriptures from that language used it to express the words "God" and "Lord." Meanwhile, until new light is thrown upon the subject by the discovery of inscrip-

<sup>1</sup> See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, Text, p. 509, l. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 511, l. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49, l. 1.

tions older than any which we now have, we must be content to accept the approximate meaning of *neter* suggested above.

The worship of the gods (*neteru*), which began far away back in predynastic times, continued through the archaic and dynastic periods, and lasted until the IVth or Vth century of our era; it is tolerably certain that in respect of some of them the ideas of the Egyptians never changed, but, as regards others, their views did not remain as constant as some writers would have us imagine. In the earliest days every village community in Egypt had its local god, who shared the good or evil fortune of the community to which he belonged. His emblem or symbol was carried out to war, and was, of course, present at all great public gatherings when matters connected with the welfare of his devotees were discussed. A special habitation was set apart for him, and its upkeep was provided for out of common funds. As the riches of the people of the village increased, the rank and dignity of their god kept pace with them, but his revenues suffered in times of scarcity, and defeat, and war; his emblem might even be carried off into captivity and burnt, or smashed, when, of course, the spirit which dwelt in his symbol was also destroyed. The number of such early gods was legion, for many large communities possessed several gods, each of which was famed locally for some particular attribute. When a man left one village and settled in another he took his god or gods with him, but he would be obliged to acknowledge the god of the village or city in which he had made his new abode, and to contribute towards the maintenance of his house and its small compound. The reduction in the number of the gods of Egypt began when man first realized that certain gods were mightier than others, for he ceased gradually to worship those who had, in his opinion, failed to justify his belief in them, and transferred his allegiance to the gods who were able to give him the most help. In process of time the god or goddess of a certain village or town would obtain a fame and reputation for power which would outrival those of the deities of the neighbouring cities, and the growth of the worship of such god or goddess would be accompanied by a corresponding decline in that of the gods in the towns round about. The gods, in the first instance, grew by

a process of selection out of the spirits who were well disposed towards man and were helpful to him, and the "great gods" of the Egyptians were evolved, practically, in a somewhat similar manner. It is at present hopeless to attempt to enumerate all the gods who were, from first to last, worshipped by the Egyptians, for it will not be possible to do this until every text extant has been published. Meanwhile an examination of the earliest Egyptian religious literature known to us proves that a number of gods who were of some importance in the polytheistic system of the Early Empire dropped out from it long before the period of the New Empire, and thus it is very doubtful if we shall ever be able to collect the names of all the gods who have been worshipped in the Valley of the Nile between the Archaic and Roman periods, whilst to make a list of all the predynastic gods is manifestly impossible.

Future discoveries in Egypt may produce texts that will tell us which were the favourite gods in the archaic period and give us some idea as to the pronunciation of their names, for we have reason to think that during the greater part of that period the Egyptians were able to write. If ever such texts are brought to light we shall probably find that the gods who were worshipped during the archaic period were those who were popular in the predynastic period, just as we find that the gods of the Egyptians of the Middle and New Empires were to all intents and purposes the same as those of the Egyptians of the Early Empire. Speaking generally, it may be said that the Egyptians of the greater part of the dynastic period of their history invented few new gods, and that they were well content to worship such deities as were known to their ancestors; we know that they admitted, at times, foreign gods into the assembly of the old Egyptian gods, but the religious texts prove that they were never allowed to usurp the functions of the indigenous gods. Political and other reasons might secure for them a certain amount of recognition in the country generally, and the people of the cities where their emblems and statues found resting-places treated them with the easy toleration which is so marked a characteristic of many countries in the East; but as soon as such reasons disappeared the foreign gods were quietly ignored, and in a short time their worship was forgotten. This statement is

not intended to apply to the gods who were introduced from one city or district of Egypt into another, for we know that the Egyptian priesthood and people of a given city were ready to show hospitality to almost any god of any town, or city, or district, provided that he belonged to the same *company* as that of which the chief local god was a member.

We have, unfortunately, no long connected religious texts in the forms in which they must have existed under the first four dynasties, and we cannot therefore say what gods were worshipped during that period. There is, as has been shown elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> good reason for believing that some parts of the *Book of the Dead* were revised or edited during the early part of the period of the 1st Dynasty, and if this be so we may assume that the religious system of the Egyptians as revealed in the texts of a much later time closely resembled that which was in existence in the later part of the archaic period, i.e., during the first three dynasties. Under the Vth and VIth Dynasties we touch firmer ground, and we find abundant, though not complete, materials for the study of the gods of Egypt and their attributes in the lengthy hieroglyphic texts which were inscribed inside the pyramid tombs of Unās, Tetā, Pepi I., Mer-en-Rā-Meḥti-em-sa-f, and Pepi II. An examination of these texts reveals the existence of an established theological system in Egypt, and we find that even at that time the literature in which it was, more or less, expounded, contained innumerable layers of religious thought and expressions of belief which belonged to periods many of which must have been separated by long intervals of time. The gods are mentioned in such a way as to prove that the writers of the texts, or at least the copyists, assumed that the reader would be well acquainted with the subject matter of the compositions, and from first to last neither explanation nor gloss is to be found in them. The texts are, of course, sepulchral, and the greater number of the gods mentioned in them are referred to in their characters as gods who deal with the souls of the dead in the world beyond the grave.

The Sun-god Rā and the gods of his cycle, and Osiris, the god and judge of the dead, and the gods of his cycle, have definite

<sup>1</sup> See my *Book of the Dead*, London, 1901, vol. i., p. xxxiii.

positions and duties assigned to them, and it is very clear that both the texts which describe these and the ceremonies which were performed in connection with the words recited by the priests were, even under the Vth Dynasty, extremely ancient. Moreover, it is certain that the religious texts in use for funeral purposes under that dynasty are substantially those which were compiled several centuries before. We may note in passing that the funeral books were edited by the priests of *Ānnu* or *Ānu*, i.e., Heliopolis, and as a result they exhibit traces of the influence of the theological opinions of the great priestly college of that city; but at bottom the views and beliefs which may be deduced from them, and the fundamental conceptions to which they give expression are the products of the minds of the predynastic, indigenous Egyptians. To the consideration of the Heliopolitan religious system we shall return later, and we may therefore pass on to the enumeration of the principal gods who are made known to us by the Pyramid Texts at *Šakḥāra*. Among the great gods who were certainly worshipped in the early archaic period may be mentioned:—

Ptah (Tetá 88)		Heru, <sup>3</sup> or Horus (Mer-en-Rā 454)	
Nu (Unás 199)	 1	Kheper } (Unás 444)	
Net, or Neith (Unás 67)	 2		
Rā ( <i>passim</i> )		Khnemu (Unás 556)	
Het-Heru (Hathor)		Sebek (Unás 565)	

Of these gods Heru, or Horus, was the hawk-god, i.e., the spirit and personification of the "height" of heaven; Kheper was the beetle-god; Khnemu the ram-god; and Sebek the crocodile-god; Net or Neith was originally a wood-spirit, Rā and Ptah were two forms of the Sun-god, and Nu was the watery mass of heaven

1 Or,  (Unás, 399), or  (Tetá, 78).

2 Or,  (Unás, 272).

3 Or,  Heru-ur, "Horus the elder" (Unas, 358).

in which he lived. With Rā and Kheper the priests of Heliopolis associated the form of the Sun-god which was specially worshipped in their city, and thus we have mentioned the compound gods Rā-Tem  (Unās 216, 224, Mer-en-Rā 458), and Tem-Kheperer  (Pepi II. 662). In the text of Unās (line 626) Sebek is styled "son of Net," , and he is also called "lord of Baru,"  (line 565); but if the XVIIIth Dynasty texts be correct the name of this place is misspelt, and in any case it must be identical with the Bakhau, , or Mountain of the Sunrise of Chapter cviii. of the *Book of the Dead*. The following is a list of the other principal gods mentioned in the Pyramid Texts:—

Aḥu (Pepi II. 850)



Aker (Unās 498, 614, Tetā 309)



Āpi (Unās 487)



Āp-uat (Unās 187)



Āmen (Unās 557)



Āment (Unās 557)



Ām-ḥenth-f (Pepi I. 666)



Ām-sepa-f (Pepi I. 666)



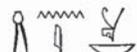
Āmsu or Min (Unās 377)



Āmset (Tetā 60, 197)



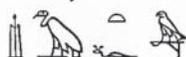
Ānā (Unās 272, 275)



Ānpu (Unās 71, 207, 219)



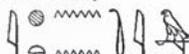
Ān-mut-f (Pepi II. 772)



Ān-tcher-f (Pepi I. 651)



Ākhet-nen-thā (Tetā 307)



Āsār, Osiris (*passim*)



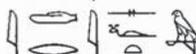
Āst, Isis (Unās 181)



Āsken (Pepi II. 1324)



Āter-āsfet (Pepi II. 980)



Ānkh (Pepi I. 672)



<sup>1</sup> Aḥu appears to be identical with , who is Āmsu or Min ; see Pepi II., l. 1320.

I-en-her-pes (Unäs 392)		Mut (Unäs 181)	The variants are
Uaḥu (Tetä 333)		Ment (Pepi II. 849)	
Ur-sheps-f (Pepi I. 671)		Mentef (Pepi II. 1228)	
Urt (Unäs 272)		Menth (Mer-en-Rā 784)	
Urt-ḥekau (Unäs 269)		Meḥt-urt (Unäs 427, 623)	
Usert (Unäs 229)		Meḥt-urt (Unäs 427, 623)	
Uthes (Pepi II. 976)		Em-khent-maati (Pepi I. 645)	
Ba (Mer-en-Rā 784)		Em-khent-maati (Pepi I. 645)	
Babā (Unäs 532)		Meskha (Unäs 567)	
Babi (Unäs 644, 647)		Meskhaat (Pepi I. 671)	
Baābu (Pepi I. 568)		Metchetät (Pepi II. 956)	
Babuā (Pepi I. 604)		Nāu (Unäs 557)	
Bastet (Pepi I. 569)		Nubt (Unäs 479)	
Ba-āshem-f (Mer-en-Rā 784)		Nebt-ḥet (Unäs 220)	
Pent (Unäs 280)		Nefer-Tem (Unäs 395)	
Pesetchet (Unäs 417)			
Maat-Khnemu (Pepi I. 445)			
Maāt (Unäs 220)			

<sup>1</sup> This god is said to have a "red ear"

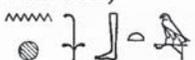
<sup>2</sup> Var.

Enen (Unās 557) } 

Enehet (Unās 240) } 

Nekhben (Unās 459) } 

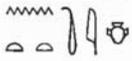
Nehebkau (Unās 559) 

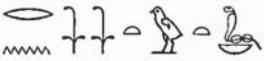
Nekhebet (Mer-en-Rā 762) 

Neht (Unās 601) 

Nesert (Unās 269) 

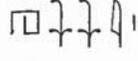
Neṭi (Unās 279) 

Netetthāb (Unās 598) 

Renenut (Unās 441) 

Ruruthā (Pepi II. 976, 979) 

Hepath (Pepi I. 636) 

Henenā (Pepi I. 636) 

Hetchhetch (Pepi I. 173) 

Heṭṭenuut (Tetā, 332) 

Hu (Unās 439) 

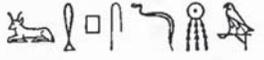
Hep (Unās 187) 

Hep-ur (Unās 431) 

Hep (Tetā 60, 197) 

Hem (Pepi I. 641) 

Hemen (Pepi II. 850) 

Hen-pesetchti (Tetā 309) 

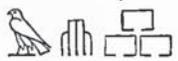
Hent (Unās 417) 

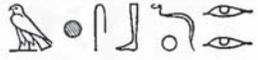
Hunt (Tetā 357) 

Heru (passim) 

Heru-āāḥ (Tetā 365) 

Heru-ām-ḥenu (Unās 211) 

Heru-khent-peru (Unās 202) 

Heru-khesbetch-maati (Unās 369) 

Heru-khutthā (Unās 471) 

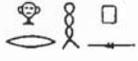
Heru-Sept (Unās 465) 

Heru-ṭesher-maati (Unās 369) 

Heru-Ṭat (Unās 218) 

Heru-khart (Tetā 301) 

Hrā-f-ḥa-f (Pepi I.) 

Hēr-ḥepes (Unās 226) 

Hesat (Pepi II. 976)



Hesmennu (Mer-en-Rā 670)



Het-Hert (Unās 575)



Heka (Pepi I. 583)



Heqet (Pepi I. 570)



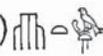
Khāata (Unās 536)



Khebetch (Unās 434)



Khent-Āmenti (Unās 201)



Khent-maati (Unās 218)



Khnemu (Unās 556, Pepi I. 455)



Khensu (Unās 510)



Khensu-Sept (Unās 588)



Saa (Unās 439)



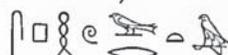
Sathet (Pepi I. 297)



Seb (Unās 234)



Sephū-urt (Pepi II. 976)



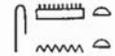
Sept (Unās 219)



Sma-ur (Unās 280)



Smentet (Tetā 355)



Sunth (Pepi II. 854)



Seref-ur (Tetā 309)



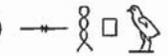
Serqet (Pepi I. 647)



Serqet-hetu (Tetā 207)



Sehepu (Pepi I. 685)



Sekhemf (Pepi II. 978)



Sekhen-ta-en-ur (Unās 281)



Sekhet (Unās 390)



Sāhsa (Pepi II. 975)



Seker (Pepi I. 641)



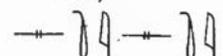
Seksen (Pepi I. 650)



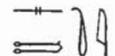
Set (Unās 6)



Sethāsethā (Pepi I. 265)



Seththa (Pepi I. 259)



Shu (Unās 185)



<sup>1</sup> Var.  Pepi I., 352.

<sup>2</sup> He is identified with  in Pepi II., 1320.

<sup>3</sup> Var. .

Shesmu (Unäs 511)		Tem-kheprer (Pepi II. 662)	
Sheskhentet (Unäs 390)		Tatet (Unäs 67)	
Kenur (Pepi II. 979)		Tuamutef (Tetä 60)	
Kasut (Pepi II. 975)		Tenānu (Pepi I. 269)	
Qebhsennuf (Tetä 60)		Tentēn (Unäs 280)	
Tait (Tetä 376)		Təhuti (Unäs 228)	
Tebā (Unäs 428)		Tehent (Mer-en-Rā 773)	
Tefen (Unäs 453)		Tchenṭeru (Tetä 198)	
Tefnut (Unäs 453)		Tchenṭtchenṭer (Pepi I. 301)	
Tem (Unäs 207)			

Besides the above gods are mentioned the “angel (or messenger) of the two gods,” (Unäs 408); and the “Āshem that dwelleth within Āru,” (Tetä 351). Allusions are made to the following important stars:—

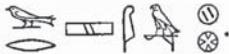
- Nekhekh (Tetä 218), .  
 Seṭet (Tetä 349), , i.e., the Dog Star.  
 Saḥ (Tetä 349), , i.e., Orion.  
 Seḥuṭ (Pepi II. 857),

The Pyramid Texts show that in addition to the gods already enumerated there existed certain classes of beings to whom were attributed the nature of the gods, e.g. :—

- The Āfu (Pepi II. 951), .  
 The Utenu (Pepi II. 951),

## OTHER DIVINE BEINGS

The Urshu of Pe (Pepi II. 849), 

The Urshu of Nekhen (Pepi II. 849), 

The Hēmmemet (Unās 211), 

The Set beings, superior and inferior, (Pepi II. 951),



The Shemsu Hēru (Pepi I. 166), 

Of the functions of the Āfu and Utennu nothing whatever is known. The Urshu, i.e., the Watchers, of Pe and Nekhen may have been groups of well-known gods, who were supposed to "watch over" and specially protect these cities; but, on the other hand, they may only have been the messengers, or angels, of the souls of Pe and Nekhen. The Hēmmemet beings are likewise a class of divine beings about whom we have no exact information. In certain texts they are mentioned in connection with gods and men in such a manner that they are supposed to represent "unborn generations," but this rendering will not suit many of the passages in which the word occurs, and in those in which it seems to do so many other hypothetical meanings would fit the context just as well. The passage in which the Set beings are referred to must belong to the period when the god Set was regarded as a beneficent being and a god who was, with Horus, a friend and helper of the dead. The text quoted above shows that, like Horus, Set was supposed to be the head of a company of divine beings with attributes and characteristics similar to those of himself, and that this company was divided into two classes, the upper and the lower, or perhaps even the celestial and the terrestrial. Last must be mentioned the Shemsu Hēru, or the "Followers of Horus," to whom many references are made in funeral literature; their primary duties were to minister to the god Horus, son of Isis, but they were also supposed to help him in the performance of the duties which he undertook for the benefit of the dead. In the religious literature of the Early Empire they occupy the place of the "Mesniu," , of Horus of Behūtet, the modern

Edfû, i.e., the workers in metal, or blacksmiths, who are supposed to have accompanied this god into Egypt, and to have assisted him by their weapons in establishing his supremacy at Behuțet, or Edfû. The exploits of this god will be described later on in the section treating of Horus generally.

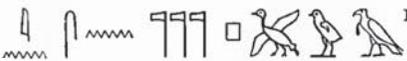
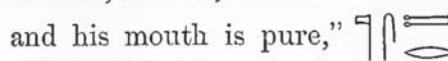
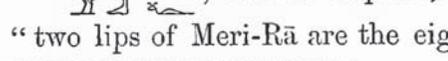
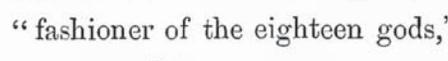
In the text of Pepi I. (line 419) we have a reference to a god with four faces in the following words:—"Homage to thee, O thou "who hast four faces which rest and look in turn upon what is in "Kenset,<sup>1</sup> and who bringest storm . . . .! Grant thou unto this "Pepi thy two fingers which thou hast given to the goddess Nefert, "the daughter of the great god, as messenger[s] from heaven to "earth when the gods make their appearance in heaven. Thou "art endowed with a soul, and thou dost rise [like the sun] in thy "boat of seven hundred and seventy cubits.<sup>2</sup> Thou hast carried in "thy boat the gods of Pe, and thou hast made content the gods of "the East. Carry thou this Pepi with thee in the cabin of thy "boat, for this Pepi is the son of the Scarab which is born in "Hetepet beneath the hair of the city of Iusâas the northern, and "he is the offspring of Seb. It is he who was between the legs of "Khent-maati on the night whereir he guarded (?) bread, and on "the night wherein he fashioned the heads of arrows. Thou hast "taken thy spear which is dear to thee, thy pointed weapon which "thrusteth down river banks, with a double point like the darts of "Râ, and a double haft like the claws of the goddess Mațet."

Throughout the Pyramid Texts frequent mention is made of one group, or of two or three groups, of nine gods. Thus in Unâs (line 179) we read of "bowing low to the ground before the nine gods," ; and in line 234 we are told that the king's bread consists of "the word<sup>3</sup> of Seb which cometh



<sup>3</sup>  *tchet* means literally "word," but it often is used to express "thing,"

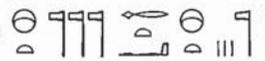
"matter," like the Hebrew דבר.

forth from the mouth of the nine male gods," . The god Seshaa, , is said in line 382 to have been "begotten by Seb and brought forth by the nine gods," ; and in line 592 Rā is said to be the "chief of the nine gods," . From several passages (e.g., Unās 251) we learn that one company of nine gods was called the "Great," , and that another company was called the "Little," , and the "nine gods of Horus" are spoken of side by side with "the gods,"   (line 443), but whether this group is to be connected with the Great or Little company of gods cannot be said. A double group of nine gods is frequently referred to, e.g., in Tetā, line 67, where it is said, "The eighteen gods cense Tetā, and his mouth is pure,"  ; and in Pepi I., line 273, where we read that the "two lips of Meri-Rā are the eighteen gods,"  ; and again in line 407, where Pepi I. is said to be "with the eighteen gods in Qebhu," and to be the "fashioner of the eighteen gods,"  . We may perhaps assume that the eighteen gods include the Great and the Little companies of the gods, but, on the other hand, as "male and female gods" are mentioned<sup>2</sup> in the text of Tetā, nine of the eighteen gods may be feminine counterparts of the other nine, who must therefore be held to be masculine. But the texts of Tetā (line 307) and Pepi I. (line 218) show that there was a third company of nine gods recognized by the priests of Helio-

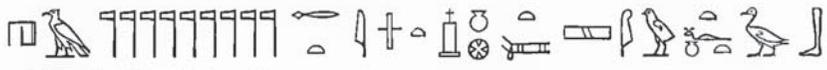
<sup>1</sup> Variant ; Tetā, l. 253.

<sup>2</sup>  (l. 197).

polis, and we find all three companies represented thus:  


The Egyptian word here rendered "company" is PAUTI or *paut*, which may be written either  or , and the meaning usually attached to it has been "nine." It is found in texts subsequent to the period of the pyramids at Şakḥâra thus written:— | *paut neteru*, "paut of the gods"; the double company of the gods is expressed by  *pautti*, or we may have  *paut neteru netcheset*, i.e., "the Great company of gods and the Little company of the gods." The fact that a company of gods is represented by nine axes, , has led to the common belief that a company of the gods contained nine gods, and for this reason the word *paut* has been explained to mean "nine." It is quite true that the Egyptians frequently assigned nine gods to the *paut*, as we may see from such passages as Unâs 235,<sup>1</sup> and especially from line 283, where it is said, "Grant thou that this Unâs may rule the nine, and that he may complete the company of the gods,"  . But the last quoted passage proves that a *paut* of the gods might contain more than nine divine beings, for it is clear that if the intent of the prayer was carried out the *paut* referred to in it would contain ten, king Unâs being added to the nine gods. Again, in a litany to the gods of the Great company given in the Unâs text (line 240 ff.) we see that the *paut* contains Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Isis, Set, Nephthys, Thoth, and Horus, i.e., ten gods, without counting the deceased, who wished to be added to the number of the gods. In the text of Mer-en-Râ (line 205) the *paut* contains nine gods,<sup>2</sup> and it is described as the

<sup>1</sup> 

<sup>2</sup> 

; see also Pepi II., l. 665.





<sup>1</sup> this is the only meaning which can be extracted from the Egyptian words, and the context, which the reader will find given in the section on the Creation, proves that it is the correct one. The word "primeval," which is added in brackets, is suggested by the texts wherein *pautti* is accompanied by *tep*, i.e., "first," in point of time, compare <sup>2</sup> "first matter," that is to say, the earliest matter which was created, and the matter which existed before anything else. From the above facts it is clear that the meaning "Neunheit" must not be given to the Egyptian word *paut*.

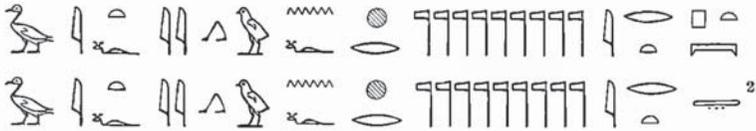
We have now seen that, so far back as the Vth Dynasty, the priests of Heliopolis conceived the existence of three companies of gods; the first two they distinguished by the appellations "Great" and "Little," but to the third they gave no name. The gods of the first or "Great" company are well known, and their names are:—

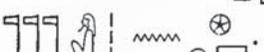
1. Tem, the form of the Sun-god which was worshipped at Heliopolis.
2. Shu. 3. Tefnut. 4. Seb. 5. Nut. 6. Osiris. 7. Isis. 8. Set.
9. Nephthys. Sometimes this company is formed by the addition of Horus and the omission of Tem. The names of gods of the second or "Little" company appear to be given in the text of Unās, line 253 ff., where we have enumerated:—
1. Rāt. 2. Ām-Ānnu.
3. Ām-Āntchet. 4. Ām-Ĥet-Şerqet-ka-Ĥetepet. 5. Ām-Neter-Ĥet.
6. Ām-Ĥetç-paār. 7. Ām-Saĥ. 8. Ām-Ṭep. 9. Ām-Ĥet-ur-Rā.
10. Ām-Unnu-resu. 11. Ām-Unnu-meĥt. It must, however, be noted that whereas in the text the address to the Great company of the gods as a whole follows the separate addresses to each, the address to the Little company precedes the separate addresses to each; still there is no reason for doubting that the second group of names given above are really those of the Little company of the gods. The names of the gods of the third company are unknown, and the texts are silent as to the functions which the company was supposed to perform; the Great and Little companies of the gods are frequently referred to in texts of all periods, but

<sup>1</sup> See *Archaeologia*, vol. lii., p. 557.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, Text, p. 348, l. 15.

the third company is rarely mentioned. Thus in the text of Pepi I. (line 43), the king is said to sit on an iron throne and to weigh words at the head of the Great company of gods in Annu; the two companies of the gods lift up the head of Pepi (line 97), and he takes the crown in the presence of the Great company (line 117); he sits at the head of the two companies (line 167), and in their boat (line 169); and he stands between the two companies (line 186). It has already been suggested<sup>1</sup> that the Great company of gods was a macrocosm of a primitive kind, and the Little company a microcosm; this view is very probably correct, and is supported by passages like the following:—"The son of his father is come with "the company of the gods of heaven, . . . the son of his father is "come with the company of the gods of earth."



From numerous passages in texts of all periods it is clear that the Egyptians believed that heaven was in many respects a duplicate of earth, and, as it was supposed to contain a celestial Nile, and sacred cities which were counterparts of those on the earth and which were called by similar names, it is only reasonable to assign to it a company of gods who were the counterparts of those on earth. And as there were gods of heaven and gods of earth, so also were there gods of the *Tuat*, or Underworld, who were either called *tuat*, , or , or *neteru en tuat*, . This being so, we may assume that when the writers of the Pyramid Texts mentioned three companies of the gods, , they referred to the company of the gods of heaven, the company of the gods of earth, and the company of the gods of the Underworld, meaning thereby what the writer of the XXIIIrd Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* meant when he spoke of "the

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 244.  
<sup>2</sup> Pepi I., ll. 298-300.

“company of all the gods,” . In the Pyramid Texts, however, and in the later Recensions of the *Book of the Dead* which are based upon them, the *pautti neteru*, , or , were intended to represent the Great and Little companies of the gods, and these only; the members of each company varied in different cities and in different periods, but the principle of such variation is comparatively simple. Long before the priests of Heliopolis grouped the gods of Egypt into companies certain very ancient cities had their own special gods whom they probably inherited from their predecessors, i.e., the predynastic Egyptians. Thus the goddess of Saïs was Nit, or Net, or Neith; the goddess of Per-Uatchet was Uatchet; the goddess of Dendera was Hathor; the goddess of Nekheb was Nekhebet; the god of Edfû was Horus; the god of Heliopolis was Tem; and so on. When the priests of these and other cities found that, for some reason, they were obliged to accept the theological system formulated by the priests of Heliopolis and its Great company of gods, they did so readily enough, but they always made the great local god or goddess the head or chief, , of the company.

At Heliopolis, where the chief local god was called Tem, the priests joined their god to Râ, and addressed many of their prayers and hymns to Tem-Râ or Râ-Tem. At Edfû the great local god Horus of Behuțet was either made to take the place of Tem, or was added to the Heliopolitan company in one form or another. The same thing happened in the case of goddesses like Neith, Uatchet, Nekhebet, Hathor, etc. It was found to be hopeless to attempt to substitute the Heliopolitan company of gods for Neith in the city of Saïs, because there the worship of that goddess was extremely ancient and was very important. The fact that her name forms a component part of royal names very early in the Ist Dynasty proves that her worship dates from the first half of the archaic period, and that it is much older than the theological system of Heliopolis. But when the priests of Saïs adopted that system they associated her with the head of the company of the gods, and gave her



capital city of a nome, when once firmly established, seems to have maintained his influence in all periods of Egyptian history, and though his shrine may have fallen into oblivion as the result of wars or invasions, and his worship have been suspended from time to time, the people of his city always took the earliest opportunity of rebuilding his sanctuary and establishing his priests as soon as prosperity returned to the country.

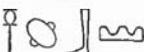
## CHAPTER III

## PRIMITIVE GODS AND NOME-GODS

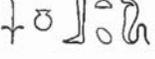
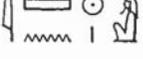
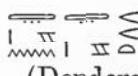
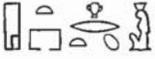
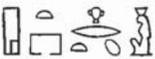
**D**URING the predynastic period in Egypt every village and town or settlement possessed its god, whose worship and the glory of whose shrine increased or declined according to the increase or decrease of the prosperity of the community in which he lived. When the country was divided into sections which the Egyptians called *hespu*,  <sup>x</sup>/<sub>iii</sub>, or "nomes," a certain god, or group of allied gods, became the representative, or representatives, of each nome, and so obtained the pre-eminence over all the other gods of the nome; and sometimes one god would represent two nomes. In this way the whole country of Egypt, from the Mediterranean Sea to Elephantine, was divided among the gods, and it became customary in each nome to regard the god of that nome as the "Great God," or "God," and to endow him with all the powers and attributes possible. We have, unfortunately, no means of knowing when the country was first split up into nomes, but the division must have taken place at a very early period, and the gods who were chosen to represent the nomes were undoubtedly those who had been worshipped in the large towns or settlements during the predynastic period. Thus in the earliest dynastic times of which we have inscriptions of any length we find that Neith was the chief deity of Saïs, Osiris of Busiris, Thoth of Hermopolis, Uatchet of Per-Uatchet, Ptaḥ of Memphis, Sebek of Crocodilopolis, Amen of Thebes, Nekhebet of Nekheb, and Khnemu of Elephantine. The number of the nomes seems to have been different in different periods, so it is not possible to say with certainty how many the early nome-gods were in number. The Egyptian lists give the number of nomes as forty-two or forty-four, but the classical writers,

Strabo, Diodorus, and Pliny, do not agree in their statements on the subject. Strabo says<sup>1</sup> that the Labyrinth contained twenty-seven chambers, and if each one represented a nome the nomes must have been twenty-seven in number, i.e., ten in Upper Egypt, ten in Lower Egypt, and seven in the Heptanomis. On the other hand, Herodotus says<sup>2</sup> that the Labyrinth contained twelve halls. Pliny (Bk. v., chap. 9) enumerates the nomes as follows:—Ombites, Apollopolites, Hermonthites, Thinites, Phaturites, Coptites, Tentyrites, Diopolites, Antaeopolites, Aphroditopolites, Lycopolites, Pharaethites, Bubastites, Sethroites, Tanites, the Arabian nome, the Hammonian nome, Oxyrynchites, Leontopolites, Athribites, Cynopolites, Hermopolites, Xoites, Mendesium, Sebennytes, Cabasites, Latopolites, Heliopolites, Prosopites, Panopolites, Busirites, Onuphites, Saïtes, Ptenethu, Phthemphu, Naucraticites, Metelites, Gynaecopolites, Menelaites, Maraeotis, Heracleopolites, Arsinoïtes, Memphites, and the two nomes of Oasites. Diodorus Siculus (i. 54) gives the number of the nomes as thirty-six;<sup>3</sup> Herodotus (ii. 164) tells us that the country of Egypt was divided into districts<sup>4</sup> or nomes, but he does not say how many of them there were. These facts serve to show that the number of nomes when the country was first divided was smaller than in later times, and we may assume that it was the nomes of the Delta which increased in number rather than those of Upper Egypt. The following is a list of the nomes of Egypt according to inscriptions at Edfû and elsewhere, together with their capitals and the gods who were worshipped in them:—

## UPPER EGYPT.

	Nome.	Capital.	God.
1.	TA-KHENT 	Ābu  (Elephantine)	Khnemu 
2.	THES- HERTU 	Teb  (Apollinopolis Magna)	Heru-Behutet 

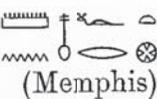
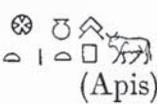
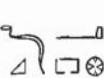
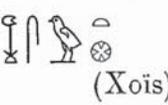
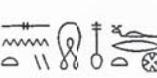
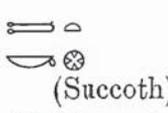
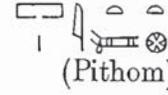
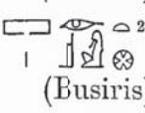
<sup>1</sup> xvii. l. § 37.<sup>2</sup> ii. § 148.<sup>3</sup> Τῆν δὲ χώραν ἄπασαν εἰς ἕξ καὶ τριάκοντα μέρη διελόν, ἃ καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι νομούς.<sup>4</sup> κατὰ γὰρ δὴ ἰομοῦς Αἴγυπτος ἅπαντα διαβρίθηται.

Nome.	Capital.	God.
3. TEN 	Nekheb  (Eileithyia) Senit  (Esneh)	Nekhebet 
4. UAST 	Uast  (Thebes)	Āmen-Rā 
5. HERUI 	Qebti  (Coptos)	Āmsu, Min or Khem 
6. ĀA-ṬĀ 	Ta-en-tarert  (Denderah)	Het-Heru (i.e., Hathor) 
7. SESHESH 	Het  (Diospolis Parva)	Het-Heru 
8. ĀBT 	Ābtu  <sup>1</sup> (Abydos) Thenit  (This)	Ān-Her 
9. ĀMSU, MIN or KHEM 	Āpu  (Panopolis)	Āmsu, Min or Khem 
10A. UATCHET 	Ṭebut  (Aphroditopolis)	Het-Heru 
10B. NETERUI 	Ṭu-qat  (Antaeopolis)	Heru (Horus) 
11. SET 	Shas-hetep  (Hypsele)	Khnemu 

<sup>1</sup> Var.  *Āb-tut*, i.e., "the city of the mountain of the heart's desire"; see Dümichen, *Geschichte*, p. 143.

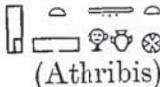
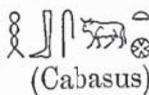
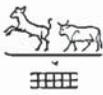
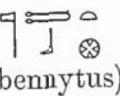
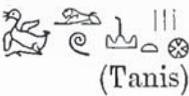
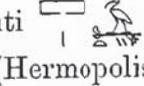
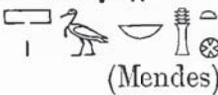
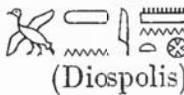
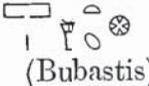
	Nome.	Capital.	God.
12.	ṬU-F	Nut-en- bak (Antaeopolis)	Ḥeru
13.	ĀTEF- KHENT	Saiut (Lycopolis)	Āp-uat
14.	ĀTEF- PEḤU	Qesi  (Cusae)	Ḥet-Ḥert
15.	UN	Khemennu (Hermopolis)	Teḥuti (Thoth)
16.	MEḤ- MAḤETCH	Ḥebennu (Hipponon)	Ḥeru
17.	ĀNPU	Kasa (Cynopolis)	Ānpu
18.	SEP	Ḥet-suten (Alabastronpolis)	Ānpu
19.	UAB	Per-Māchet (Oxyrynchus)	Set
20.	ĀTEF- KHENT	Henensu (Herakleopolis Magna)	Ḥer-shefi
21A.	ĀTEF- PEḤU	Ermen- hert	Khnemu
21B.	TA-SHE	Sheṭ (Crocodilopolis)	Sebek
22.	MĀTEN	Ṭep-āhet (Aphroditopolis)	Ḥet-Ḥert

LOWER EGYPT.

Nome.	Capital.	God.
1. <b>ĀNEB-</b> <b>ḤETCH</b> 	Men- nefert  (Memphis)	Ptah 
2. <b>KHENSU</b> <sup>1</sup> 	Sekhemt  (Letopolis)	Ḥeru-ur 
3. <b>ĀMENT</b> 	Nut-ent- Ḥāp  (Apis)	Ḥet-Ḥeru 
4. <b>SĀPI-RES</b> 	Tcheqā 	Sebek, Isis, Āmen
5. <b>SĀP-MEḤ</b> 	Saut  (Sais)	Net (Neith) 
6. <b>KASET</b> 	Khasut  (Xoïs)	Āmen-Rā 
7. ... <b>ĀMENT</b> 	Senti- nefert 	Ḥu 
8. ... <b>ĀBT</b> 	Theket  (Succoth) Per- Ātem  (Pithom)	Temu 
9. <b>ĀTI</b> 	Per-Āsār  (Busiris)	Osiris 

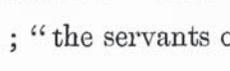
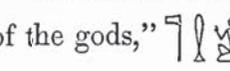
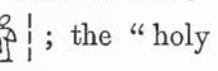
<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a variant is ; see Pleyte, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1868, p. 17; and Dümichen, *Kalendarinschriften*, 118b, 106d.

<sup>2</sup> Or,  (?).

	Nome.	Capital.	God.
10.	KA-QEM 	Het-ta-her-áb  (Athribis)	Horus 
11.	KA-HESEB 	Hebes-ka  (Cabasus)	Isis 
12.	THEB-KA 	Theb-neter  (Sebennytus)	An-her 
13.	HEQ-ĀT 	Ānnu  (Heliopolis, On)	Rā 
14.	KHENT-ĀBT 	Tchalu  (Tanis)	Heru 
15.	TEḤUT 	Per-Teḥuti  (Hermopolis)	Teḥuti (Thoth) 
16.	KHA (?) 	Per-ba-neb-Teṭṭu  (Mendes)	Ba-neb-Tattu, or Teṭṭetet 
17.	SAM-BEḤUTET 	Pa-khen-en-Āmen  (Diospolis)	Āmen-Rā 
18.	ĀM-KHENT 	Per-Bast  (Bubastis)	Bast 
19.	ĀM-PEḤU 	Per-Uatchet  (Buto)	Uatchet 
20.	SEPT 	Qesem  (Goshen ?)	Sept  <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The authorities to be consulted on the nomes of Egypt are Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* (see the list at the end of vol. iii.); Dümichen, *Geographie des alten Aegyptens* (in Meyer, *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens*), Berlin, 1887; and J. de Rougé, *Géographie Ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*, Paris, 1891.

Thus every nome of Egypt possessed a representative god whose temple was situated in the capital city of the nome, and attached to the service of each nome-god was a body of priests who divided among themselves the various duties connected with the service of the gods, the maintenance of the buildings of the temple, the multiplying of copies of religious works, and the religious education of the community. In Upper Egypt, where the care of the dead seems to have been the principal duty of the living, the lower orders of the priesthood probably carried on a lucrative business in mummifying the dead, and in funeral papyri and amulets, and in conducting funerals. The high-priest of each great city, and sometimes even the high-priestess, bore a special title. In Thebes the high-priest was called "first servant of the "god Rā in Thebes";<sup>1</sup> in Heliopolis the title of the high-priest was "Great one of visions of Rā-Ātem";<sup>2</sup> in Memphis, "Great chief "of the hammer in the temple of him of the Southern Wall, and "Setem of the god of the Beautiful Face (i.e., Ptah)";<sup>3</sup> in Saïs, "governor of the double temple";<sup>4</sup> and similarly the high-priestess of Memphis bore the title of "Nefer-tutu";<sup>5</sup> in Sekhem the title of the high-priestess was "Divine mother";<sup>6</sup> in Saïs, "Urt," i.e., "great one";<sup>7</sup> in Mendes, "Utcha-ba-f";<sup>8</sup> and so on. The priests of every great god were divided into classes, among which may be mentioned "those who ministered at certain hours,"

†  ; "the servants of the gods,"  ; the "holy fathers,"  ; the "libationers,"  . The accounts of the temple were kept by the "scribe of the temple,"

<sup>1</sup> 

<sup>2</sup> 

<sup>3</sup> 

<sup>4</sup> 

<sup>5</sup> 

<sup>6</sup> 

<sup>7</sup> 

<sup>8</sup> 

𓆎 𓆏 𓆑 𓆒, and, in large temples, one or more scribes kept a register of gifts to the temple and of the property of the god.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to say how many priests of all classes ministered to any given nome-god; it seems that the highest permanent priestly officials were at all times and in all cities very few in number, and that the "servants of the god" were very many. The priests of each nome-god were subject to no external authority, and the high-priest of a great nome possessed a power which was hardly inferior to that of the nomarch himself.

The worship of each nome-god contained elements peculiar to itself, and the beliefs which centred in him represented all the ancient and indigenous views of the inhabitants of the nome, and these were carefully observed and cultivated from the earliest to the latest times. We may see from the list of nome-gods given above that many nomes worshipped the same god, e.g., Horus was worshipped in three nomes of Upper Egypt and two nomes of Lower Egypt, whilst one nome worshipped him under the special form of Horus of Behūtet; three nomes of Upper Egypt worshipped Khnemu, two worshipped Āmsu (or Min or Khem?), two worshipped Ānpu, and Hathor was worshipped in five nomes in Upper Egypt and one in Lower Egypt. The cults of the ram-headed god Khnemu at Elephantine, of the vulture goddess Nekhebet at Eileithyia, of the crocodile god Sebek in the district of Ta-she (Fayyūm), of the dog-headed god Ānpu at Cynopolis and Alabastronpolis, of the ibis-god Thoth at Hermopolis, of Horus the elder (Ĥeru-ur) at Letopolis, and of Uatchet at Buto (Per-Uatchet), were extremely ancient, and with them are probably to be grouped in point of antiquity the cults of the wolf(?) -headed god Āp-uat, the lioness goddess Sekhet, the cat-headed goddess Bast, and the god Set. The animal which was the type and symbol of this last god has not as yet been identified; it cannot have been the ass as was once thought, and it is hardly likely to have been the camel; at present, therefore, we can only tentatively assume that it belonged to some class of animal which became extinct at a very early period. The cults of the various forms of the sky-god Horus, and of the Sun-god, and of the

<sup>1</sup> For other temple officials see Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 218.

goddess Hathor, are the oldest of all. The goddess Neith, whose symbols were two arrows and a shield, appears to have been of Libyan origin, but, as has already been shown, the attributes of some of the oldest indigenous gods of Egypt were ascribed to her in early dynastic times. The origin of the god Osiris is obscure, but it is difficult, when all the statements made concerning him in the religious texts are taken into consideration, not to think that the original seat of his worship was in the Delta. Early in the dynastic period his most important shrine was at Abydos, which became the centre of his cult and the sacred city to which his worshippers flocked for countless generations. In spite of this, however, the nome-lists show that the nome-god was *Ān-Ĥer*, or *Ānhur*, and notwithstanding the special honour in which Osiris was held throughout Egypt, *Ān-Ĥer* was always regarded as the official god of the nome *Ābt* and of its capital of the same name.

The Elysian Fields, i.e., the *Sekhet-ĥetepet*, were situated in the Delta where the country was fertile, and where the land was traversed by canals and streams of water running in all directions; moreover, the "House of Osiris" *par excellence* ( *Per-Āsār*<sup>1</sup> = Busiris) was in the Delta, and the shrine of the god who was worshipped in the form of a ram which was said to contain the soul of Osiris, was also in the Delta. Everywhere in the texts Osiris is called the "lord of Abydos," and generally this title is followed by another, i.e., "lord of *Ṭaṭṭu*." Now *Ṭaṭṭu* is the city, and "The Ram, lord of *Ṭaṭṭu*,"  *Ba-neb-Ṭaṭṭu*, was its god. The name *Ṭaṭṭu* was corrupted into "Mendes" by the Greeks, and in this city the great local god was worshipped under the form of a ram, which is now commonly known as the "Mendesian Ram." The frequent use of the title "lord of *Ṭaṭṭu*" suggests that the worship of Osiris was grafted on to or was made to absorb that of the local ram-god, and that in consequence Osiris became the lord of the city in his stead. It may be urged that *Ṭaṭṭu* was merely the seat of the shrine of the god Osiris in the northern kingdom, just as Abydos was his

<sup>1</sup> The words *Ba-neb-Ṭaṭṭu* usually follow here, therefore the full name of the city is, "House of Osiris, the Ram, lord of *Ṭaṭṭu*."

sanctuary in the southern kingdom, but this explanation of the use of the title is insufficient. It may further be urged that, inasmuch as the titles "lord of Abydos," "lord of Ṭaṭṭu," occur in connection with others which have reference to Osiris in his capacity as governor of the Underworld, the Abydos and Ṭaṭṭu here mentioned are mythological cities and not cities upon earth. But even if this be so it matters little, for we know that the Egyptians fashioned their mythological or heavenly cities after the manner of their earthly cities, and that their conceptions of things spiritual were based upon things material.

Returning for a moment to the adoption of gods, we may note that from first to last the people of one nome were generally ready to offer hospitality to the gods of another, and also to the gods of strangers who had come to settle among them. At times, however, a new god, or a new group of gods, was forced upon the inhabitants of one or more nomes, and even upon a whole province, as the result of conquest, or by the wish of the king, or by the supremacy of the priesthood of a given city. Thus the priesthood of Rā or Rā-Tem at Heliopolis succeeded in making their theological system paramount in the country, and the whole of the religious philosophy of the Theban *Books of the Dead* is based upon their teaching. Until the conquest of the Hyksos by the Theban princes the god Āmen was a nome-god of no great importance, but when they became kings of the south and north, he immediately became the king of all the gods of the south and the north, and the titles and powers and attributes of the great gods of the country were ascribed to him by his priests. As the prince of Thebes was greater than any and every prince in the other nomes of Egypt, so the Theban nome-god was greater than any and every other god of Egypt. The extraordinary dislike which Āmen-ḥetep IV. exhibited towards this god, and the foolish attempt which he made to substitute for his worship that of Āten, or the Disk, furnishes us with an example of the imposition of a god upon a priesthood and province; the attempt was successful for a time over a limited area, but it had no chance of permanent success because the fundamental ideas of the worship of the god as Āmen-ḥetep interpreted them were foreign to the religious conceptions of the Egyptians generally.



same characteristic is observable in the texts of the Theban priesthood, and we find that their god *Āmen* was even introduced into the *Book of the Dead* where, manifestly, he had little claim to be. The hymns in the chapters of that work are addressed either to *Rā*, in one form or another, or to *Osiris*, but in Chapter clxxi. we find the following address:—"O *Tem*, O *Shu*, O *Tefnet*, O *Seb*, O *Nut*, "O *Osiris*, O *Isis*, O *Set*, O *Nephthys*, O *Ḥeru-khuti* (*Harmachis*), "O *Hathor* of the Great House, O *Kheperā*, O *Menthu*, the lord of "Thebes, O *Āmen*, the lord of the thrones of the two lands, O "Great company of the gods, O Little company of the gods, O gods "and goddesses who dwell in *Nu*, O *Sebek* of the two *Meḥt*, O "Sebek in all thy manifold names in thine every place wherein thy "Ka (i.e., double) hath delight, O gods of the south, O gods of the "north, O ye who are in heaven, O ye who are upon the earth, "grant ye the garment of purity unto the perfect spirit of *Āmen*- "ḥetep."<sup>1</sup> The greater number of the gods whose names are given in the Pyramid Texts are also mentioned in the religious literature, especially in the *Book of the Dead* of later periods, and if we possessed copies of all the religious works of the New Empire we should probably discover that the names of all the gods, with perhaps the exception of *Set*, worshipped under the Early Empire were preserved in them. The Egyptians, certainly in dynastic times, rarely abandoned a god, and, speaking generally, it is remarkable how little the character and attributes of the gods vary in the period between the IVth and the XXVIth Dynasties. The obstinate conservatism of the Egyptians, which seems to have been inherited in an almost unaltered state by their descendants the Copts, induced the writers of religious texts to introduce into their works as many of the gods as possible, and they were moved to do this as much by motives of priestly policy and by self-interest as by feelings of reverence for the gods of Egypt.

In the Pyramid Texts the predominant gods are those of the company of Heliopolis, but we nevertheless find that the gods of remote towns and cities had duties assigned to them, and that one and all of them were supposed to minister to the deceased kings in the Underworld. The reason of this is not far to seek.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Translation), p. 315.

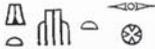
The heaven which the Egyptian conceived in his mind closely resembled Egypt in respect of its sub-divisions, and its various cities and districts were ruled by gods whom it was necessary to propitiate, and whose friendship must be gained at any cost. A man hoped that in the next life he would be able to wander about at will through the length and breadth of heaven, and the only way to obtain this privilege was to secure the goodwill of the gods of the four quarters of the sky by the recital of prayers of various kinds, and by the performance of certain ceremonies, which were always of a more or less magical character. To be able to pass at pleasure along the eastern Delta of heaven and without opposition presupposed the favour of Sept and Temu; and to have power to drink of the waters of the celestial Nile presupposed the favour of the god Khnemu, the lord of the Island of Elephantine, close to which were situated, according to Egyptian belief, the sources of the Nile. The texts of all periods exhibit an almost childish anxiety to prove that every god of Egypt is interested in the welfare of the beings in the Underworld who were once mortal men, and it was a common belief also in all periods that the mere asserting in writing that the gods would minister to the deceased would produce the assistance desired. To enjoy the power to enter into certain cities in heaven the deceased was obliged to know the various gods or "Souls" who were worshipped in them. Thus the Souls of the West were Tem, and Sebek, the lord of the Mountain of Sunrise, and Hathor, the lady of the Evening;<sup>1</sup> the Souls of the East were Heru-khuti (Harmachis), the Calf of the goddess Khera, and the Morning Star;<sup>2</sup> the Souls of the city of Pe were Horus, Mestha, and Hapi;<sup>3</sup> the Souls of the city of Nekhen were Horus, Tuamutef, and Qebhsennuf;<sup>4</sup> the Souls of Heliopolis were Ra, Shu, and Tefnet;<sup>5</sup> and the Souls of the city of Hermopolis were Thoth, Sa, and Tem.<sup>6</sup> Similarly every great heavenly city was held to contain a company of gods, and the beatified soul was thought to enjoy the duty of paying visits to their shrines just as, when in the body, it made offerings to their earthly counterparts.

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Dead*, Chap. cviii.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. cix.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. cxii.

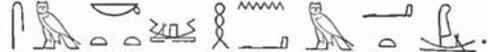
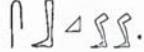
<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. cxiii.    <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. cxv.    <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. cxvi.





“The CHIN of this Pepi is Khert-Kaent-Sekhem, ; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The BACKBONE of this Pepi is [the Bull] Sma, ; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The SHOULDERS AND ARMS of this Pepi are Set; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The [BREAST] of this Pepi is Baabu, ; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The HEART of this Rā-meri is Bastet; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The BELLY of this Rā-meri is Nut; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The [LOINS of this Pepi are] the Great and Little companies of the gods; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The BACK of this Pepi is Heqet; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The BUTTOCKS, , of this Rā-meri are the Semket and Māt boats;<sup>1</sup> he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The PHALLUS of this Pepi is Hāp;<sup>2</sup> he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The two THIGHS<sup>3</sup> of Rā-meri are Nit and Serqet; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The two LEGS<sup>4</sup> of this Rā-meri are the twin soul-gods at the head of Sekhet-tcher;<sup>5</sup> he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The soles of the two FEET<sup>6</sup> of this Rā-meri are the double Maāti boat; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The HEELS (?), , of this Pepi are the Souls of Annu; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven.”

In the XVIIIth Dynasty versions of this interesting text were written in papyri containing the *Book of the Dead*, and of these the following exhibit variant readings which appear to indicate changes of belief.

- 1 
- 2 
- 3 
- 4 
- 5 
- 6 

## FROM THE PAPYRUS OF NU.

(Brit. Mus., No. 10,477, sheet 6.)

- "My hair is the hair of Nu.  
 "My face is the face of the Disk.  
 "My eyes are the eyes of Hathor.  
 "My ears are the ears of Āp-uat.  
 "My nose is the nose of Khenti-  
     " khas.  
 "My lips are the lips of Ānpu.  
 "My teeth are the teeth of  
     " Serqet.  
 "My neck is the neck of the  
     " divine goddess Isis.  
 "My hands are the hands of  
     " Ba-neb-Ṭaṭṭu.  
 "My fore-arms are the fore-arms  
     " of Neith, the Lady of Saïs.  
 "My backbone is the backbone  
     " of Suti.  
 "My phallus is the phallus of  
     " Osiris.  
 "My reins are the reins of the  
     " Lords of Kher-āḥa.  
 "My chest is the chest of Āa-  
     " shefit.  
 "My belly and back are the  
     " belly and back of Sekhet.  
 "My buttocks are the buttocks  
     " of the Eye of Horus.  
 "My hips and legs are the hips  
     " and legs of Nut.  
 "My feet are the feet of Ptaḥ.  
 "[My fingers] and my leg-bones  
     " are the fingers and leg-  
     " bones of the Living Gods.  
 "There is no member of my

## FROM THE PAPYRUS OF ANI.

(Brit. Mus., No. 10,470, sheet 32.)

- "The hair of Osiris Ani is the  
     " hair of Nu.  
 "The face of Osiris Ani is the  
     " face of Rā.  
 "The eyes of Osiris Ani are the  
     " eyes of Hathor.  
 "The ears of Osiris Ani are the  
     " ears of Āp-uat.  
 "The lips of Osiris Ani are the  
     " lips of Ānpu.  
 "The teeth of Osiris Ani are the  
     " teeth of Serqet.  
 "The neck of Osiris Ani is the  
     " neck of Isis.  
 "The hands of Osiris Ani are  
     " the hands of Ba-neb-Ṭaṭṭu.  
 "The shoulder of Osiris Ani is  
     " the shoulder of Uatchet.  
 "The throat of Osiris Ani is the  
     " throat of Mert.  
 "The fore-arms of Osiris Ani  
     " are the fore-arms of the  
     " Lady of Saïs.  
 "The backbone of Osiris Ani is  
     " the backbone of Set.  
 "The chest of Osiris Ani is the  
     " chest of the Lords of  
     " Kher-Āḥa.  
 "The flesh of Osiris Ani is the  
     " flesh of Āa-shefit.  
 "The reins and back of Osiris  
     " Ani are the reins and  
     " back of Sekhet.  
 "The buttocks of Osiris Ani are

“body which is not the  
 “member of a god. The  
 “god Thoth shieldeth my  
 “body wholly, and I am  
 “Rā day by day.”<sup>1</sup>

“the buttocks of the Eye  
 “of Horus.  
 “The phallus of Osiris Ani is  
 “the phallus of Osiris.  
 “The legs of Osiris Ani are the  
 “legs of Nut.  
 “The feet of Osiris Ani are the  
 “feet of Ptaḥ.  
 “The fingers of Osiris Ani are  
 “the fingers of Orion.  
 “The leg-bones of Osiris Ani  
 “are the leg-bones of the  
 “Living Uraei.”

The text which follows that describing the deification of the members in the inscription of Pepi I.<sup>2</sup> is perhaps of even greater interest, for it declares that :—

“This Pepi is god, the son of god ; he cometh forth and raiseth  
 “himself up to heaven. This Rā-meri is the son of Rā, who loveth  
 “him ; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up to heaven. Rā hath  
 “sent forth this Rā-meri, who cometh forth and raiseth himself up  
 “to heaven. Rā hath conceived this Pepi, who cometh forth and  
 “raiseth himself up to heaven. Rā hath given birth to this Pepi,  
 “who cometh forth and raiseth himself up to heaven. This [is] the  
 “word of power which is in the body of Rā-meri, and he cometh  
 “forth and raiseth himself up to heaven. This Rā-meri is the  
 “Great Power among the great company of sovereign chiefs who  
 “are in Ännu, and he cometh forth and raiseth himself up to  
 “heaven.”

In the previous pages it has been shown that the Great company of the Gods of Heliopolis contained nine or more gods, and that whenever these were adopted by other cities and towns the attributes of the chief of the Heliopolitan gods were transferred to the local nome-god, and the identities of both gods were merged in each other. It will, however, be evident at a glance that there

<sup>1</sup> See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Translation), p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Line 574.

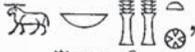
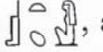
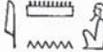
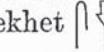
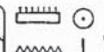
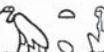
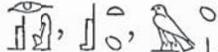
were very few localities which could afford to maintain in a proper state the worship of nine or more great gods in addition to that of the nome-god, and as a matter of fact we find that very few even of the great towns and cities adopted all the gods of the companies of Heliopolis, and that very few possessed companies of gods which contained as many members as nine. The city of Khemennu (Hermopolis) was famous as the sanctuary of the company of Eight Gods, indeed the name "Khemennu,"  $\begin{matrix} \text{IIII} \\ \text{IIII} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix}$ , means "the city of the Eight Gods." The names of these gods were:—1. NU,  $\begin{matrix} \text{☉☉☉} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix}$ . 2. NUT,  $\begin{matrix} \text{☉☉☉} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix}$ . 3. HĒHU,  $\begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix}$ . 4. HĒHUT,  $\begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix}$ . 5. KĒKUI,  $\begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix}$ . 6. KĒKUIT,  $\begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix}$ . 7. KĒREH,  $\begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix}$ . 8. KĒREHET,  $\begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{☉} \end{matrix}$ , and with their leader TEHUTI, or Thoth, they formed one of the oldest of the companies of gods in all Egypt. The names of the members of the *paut*, or company, of Hermopolis as here given are taken from the texts inscribed on the walls of the temple which Darius II. built at Hebet in the Oasis of Khârga,<sup>1</sup> and which is a comparatively late building, but there is reason for believing that they are copied from very ancient documents, and that taken together this group of gods represents the oldest form of the Hermopolitan *paut*. In some lists of the gods Amen and Ament are made to take the places of Nu and Nut, and those of Kereh and Kerehet are filled by Nenu and Nenut; in others Amen and Ament are substituted for Kereh and Kerehet.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout Egypt generally the company of gods of a town or city were three in number, and they were formed by the local deity and two gods who were associated with him, and who shared with him, but in a very much less degree, the honour and reverence which were paid to him. Speaking generally, two members of such a triad were gods, one old and one young, and the third was a goddess, who was, naturally, the wife, or female counterpart, of the older god. The younger god was the son of the older god and goddess, and he was supposed to possess all the

<sup>1</sup> See Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase el-Khargeh*, Leipzig, 1878, pl. 14.

<sup>2</sup> For the lists of the *paut* of Thoth at Edfû, Dendera, Karnak, Philae, etc., see Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 127.

attributes and powers which belonged to his father. The head of the triad was sometimes Rā, and sometimes a god of comparatively limited reputation, to whom were ascribed the power and might of the great Sun-god, which his devotees assumed that he had absorbed. The feminine counterpart or wife of the chief god was usually a local goddess of little or no importance; on the other hand, her son by the chief god was nearly as important as his father, because it was assumed that he would succeed to his rank and throne when the older god had passed away. The conception of the triad or trinity is, in Egypt, probably as old as the belief in the gods, and it seems to be based upon the anthropomorphic views which were current in the earliest times about them. The Egyptian provided the god with a wife, just as he took care to provide himself with one, in order that he might have a son to succeed him, and he assumed that the god would have as issue a son, even as he himself wished and expected to have a son. In later times, the group of nine gods took the place of the triad, but we are not justified in assuming that the ennead was a simple development of the triad. The triad contains two gods and one goddess, but the ennead contains five gods and four goddesses, being made up of four pairs of deities, and one supreme god. The ennead is, however, often regarded as a triad of triads, and the three enneads of Heliopolis, ,

as a triad of a triad of triads. The conception of the ennead is probably very much later than that of the triad.<sup>1</sup> Examples of triads are:—At Mendes, Ba-neb-Ṭaṭṭu , Ḥāt-meḥit , and Ḥeru-pa-khart ; at Tcheqā, Sebek , Isis , and Amen ; at Memphis, Ptaḥ , Sekhet , and I-em-ḥetep ; at Thebes, Amen-Rā , Mut , and Khensu ; and triads like Osiris, Isis, and Horus , and Set, Nephthys, and Anubis  were wor-

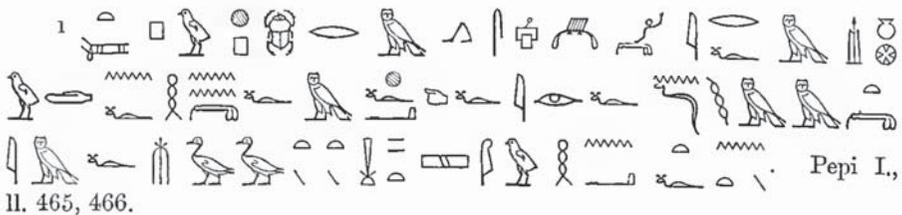
<sup>1</sup> An exactly opposite view is taken by M. Maspero (*La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 270).

shipped in several places in Egypt. The members of many triads in Egypt varied at different times and in different places, but variations were caused chiefly by assimilating local gods and goddesses with the well-known members of the companies of the gods of Heliopolis.

The facts recorded in the preceding pages show that the great gods of the dynastic period in Egypt were selected from a large number of local gods, who were in turn chosen from among the representatives of the gods of the desert, and mountain, and earth, and water, and air, and sky, who had been worshipped in predynastic times. Thus in the great company of the gods of Heliopolis we have Shu, a form of *Ān-her* , the local god of Sebennytus; Osiris, the local god both of Busiris and Mendes; Isis, a form of the still more ancient goddess "Uatchit, lady of Pe," , i.e., Buto; Tefnet, the goddess of a district in the fifteenth nome of Lower Egypt; etc. The gods of the later predynastic period were, of course, developed out of the multitude of spirits, good and bad, in whom the most primitive Egyptians believed, and it is clear that in general characteristics the gods of the dynastic period were identical with those of the predynastic period, and that the Egyptians rarely abandoned any god whose priests in the earliest times had succeeded in establishing for him a recognized position. The form of the worship of the gods must have changed greatly, but this was due rather to the increase in the general prosperity of the country than to any fundamental change in the views and beliefs of the Egyptians as to their gods; the houses of the gods, or temples, became larger and larger and more magnificent as increased wealth flowed into the country as the result of foreign conquest, but the gods remained the same, and the processions and ceremonies, though more magnificent under the New Empire, preserved the essentials of the early period. But if we examine the religious texts carefully it will be seen that the Egyptians were always trying to reduce the number of their gods, or, in other words, were always advancing from polytheism to monotheism. The priesthood and the educated classes must have held religious views which were not absolutely identical with those of the peasant who cultivated the fields, but

such, I believe, were concerned chiefly with the popular forms of worship of the gods and with conceptions as to their nature. The uneducated people of the country clung with great tenacity to the ordinary methods of celebrating their worship, principally because the frequent festivals and the imposing ceremonies, which formed a large and important part of it, were regarded as essential for their general well-being; the priests and the educated, on the other hand, clung to them because their influence was not sufficiently powerful to establish a popular form of religion and worship which would be consistent with their own private views.

Every change which can be traced in the religion of the country proves that the priesthoods of the various great religious centres absorbed into the new systems whenever possible the ancient gods and the ancient beliefs in them; hence during the period of the highest culture in Egypt we find ideas of the grossest kind jostling ideas which were the product of great intellectuality and much thinking. Expressions which are the result of a series of beliefs in tree gods, desert gods, water gods, earth gods, and gods with human passions, abound, and it is these which have drawn down upon the Egyptians the contempt of the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans, and even of modern skilled investigators of Egyptian religion and mythology. It has not been sufficiently realized that the polytheism of the Egyptians had aspects which were peculiar to itself, and the same may be said of one phase of the beliefs of this people which appears to be, and which, the writer thinks, undoubtedly is, monotheistic. When the priests of Heliopolis formulated their system of theogony they asserted that the god Tem produced the two gods that issued from himself, i.e., Shu and Tefnut, by masturbation,<sup>1</sup> and there is little doubt that in making this declaration they were repeating what the half savage and primitive Egyptians may really have believed; but it would be





the Egyptians, according to M. Maspero, never attained to the idea of the unity of God, and were at the best of times nothing but a half savage nation. It is easy to bring a charge of being half savage against a great nation, but in this case the charge is ill-founded, and is, in the writer's opinion, contradicted by every discovery which is made in Egypt; for the more we learn of the ancient Egyptians the more complete and far-reaching we find their civilization to have been. The evidence of the monuments of the Egyptians will, however, be sufficient to exhibit the character of this civilization in its true light, and, as the expression "half savage" is at best very vague, and must vary in meaning according to the standpoint of him who uses it, we pass on to consider the question whether the Egyptians attained to a conception of the unity of God or whether they did not.

We have seen that M. Maspero believes that they did not, but on the other hand some of the greatest Egyptologists that have ever lived thought that they did. He thinks that the Egyptians possessed the greater number of their myths in common with the most savage of the tribes of the Old and New Worlds, that their practices preserved the stamp of primitive barbarism, that their religion exhibits the same mixture of grossness and refinement which is found in their arts and crafts, that it was cast in a mould by barbarians, and that from them it received an impression so deep that a hundred generations have not been able to efface it, nor even to smooth its roughnesses or to soften its outlines.<sup>1</sup> No

"l'autre avec une sûreté de main incomparable. C'était le temps où je n'avais pas essayé par moi-même le déchiffrement des textes religieux et où je me bornais à reproduire l'enseignement de nos grands maîtres. Quand j'ai été contraint de les aborder, . . . j'ai dû m'avouer à moi-même qu'ils ne respiraient point cette sagesse profonde que d'autres y avaient sentie. Certes on ne m'accusera pas de vouloir déprécier les Égyptiens : plus je me familiarise avec eux, et plus je me persuade qu'ils ont été un des grands peuples de l'humanité, l'un des plus originaux et des plus créateurs, mais aussi qu'ils sont toujours demeurés des demi-barbares." *La Mythologie*, p. 277.

<sup>1</sup> "En art, en science, en industrie, ils ont beaucoup inventé, beaucoup produit, beaucoup promis surtout; leur religion présente le même mélange de grossièreté et de raffinement qu'on retrouve dans tout le reste. La plupart de ses mythes lui sont communs avec les tribus les plus sauvages de l'Ancien et du Nouveau-Monde; ses pratiques gardent le cachet de la barbarie primitive, et je crois que les sacrifices humains n'en avaient pas disparu dans certaines circon-

one will attempt to deny that traces of half savage ideas and customs are to be found in Egyptian religious literature, but the real question is whether such traces render it impossible for the Egyptians ever to have attained to the conception of monotheism, whether the existence of such half savage ideas and customs is incompatible with it or not. Every one who is familiar with the literatures of oriental religions knows that the sublime and the ridiculous, spiritual ideas and material views, intellectuality and grossness, and belief and superstition, occur frequently in close juxtaposition, and illustrations of these statements may be found in the writings of the Arabs, and even in certain parts of the Hebrew Scriptures. Yet no one will deny that the Arabs as a people have been monotheists since the time of Muḥammad the Prophet, and no one will refuse to admit that the Hebrews, after a certain date in their history, became monotheists and have remained so. The literatures of both the Hebrews and the Arabs are full of extravagances of every kind, but no competent person has denied to these nations the right to be called monotheistic, and no one in the light of modern research will attempt to judge them by the coarsest expressions and materialistic thoughts which are found in their Scriptures. On the other hand, no one expects to find either in Hebrew or in Arabic literature the lofty spiritual and philosophical conceptions which modern highly educated thinkers associate with the idea of monotheism, and the same is, of course, to be said for the literature of the Egyptians; but it is not difficult to show that the idea of monotheism which existed in Egypt at a very early period is at least of the same character as that which grew up among both Hebrews and Arabs many centuries later.

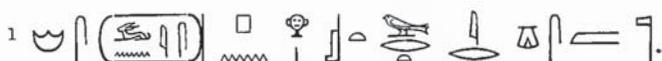
To prove this statement recourse must be had to a number of extracts<sup>1</sup> from religious texts, and among such may be quoted the following:—To the dead king Unās it is said, “Thou existest at

“stances, même sous les grands Pharaons thébains. Elle a été jetée au moule “par des Barbares, et elle a reçu d’eux une empreinte si forte que cent générations “n’ont pu, je ne dirai pas l’effacer, mais en amollir les aspérités et en adoucir les “contours.” *La Mythologie*, p. 277.

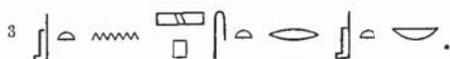
<sup>1</sup> See the group given in my *Papyrus of Ani*, London, 1895, p. lxxxiii. ff.



. Another view which may be urged is that the *netjer*, , here referred to is either the god Osiris or the god Rā, but even so it must be admitted that Osiris or Rā occupied a position in the mind of the Egyptian theologian which was far superior to that of any of the "gods." On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the Pyramid Texts are full of passages in which we are told what great things Rā will do for the deceased in the next world, and the honour which he will pay to him, and we must therefore conclude that the God referred to in the passages which we have quoted is not Rā, although he may be Osiris. But if we arrive at this conclusion we must admit that in the relatively remote period about B.C. 3300 Osiris was considered to be such a great god, and to occupy such an exalted position at the head of the "gods," that he could be spoken of and referred to simply as "God." We have already seen it implied that Osiris was the judge of those who were in the Underworld, and we know from the text of Unās (line 494) that he sat on a throne in heaven;<sup>1</sup> as the king is said to have become "god, and the messenger (or, angel) of God"<sup>2</sup> (line 175), and to "enter into the place which was more holy than any other place"<sup>3</sup> (line 178), it is perfectly clear that the God of the Pyramid Texts was an entirely different being from the "gods" and the "companies of the gods." The deceased is actually called "Osiris Pepi,"<sup>4</sup> and as he is said to have become an angel of God, if Osiris be that God and judge, he must have held a similar position to that of the God of the Hebrews, who is said to "judge among the gods,"<sup>5</sup> and must have been ministered to by "gods"

<sup>1</sup> .

<sup>2</sup> .

<sup>3</sup> .

<sup>4</sup> . Pepi I., l. 60.

<sup>5</sup> Psalm lxxxii. 1. בְּקִרְבַּי אֱלֹהִים יֹשֵׁב.

of a rank inferior to his own. We may assume, then, that the God of the Pyramid Texts was Osiris, the god and judge of the dead, but it is clear that the only aspects of the God which are referred to are those which he bears as the god and judge of the dead. We have, unfortunately, no means of knowing how he was described by his earliest worshippers, for the priests of Heliopolis, when they absorbed him into their theological system, took care to give him only such characteristics as suited their own views; they have, however, shown us that he was the judge of the dead, and that he occupied a unique position among the gods, and enjoyed some of the powers possessed by the God of the nations which are on all hands admitted to be monotheistic.

But we may obtain further information about the conception of God among the Egyptians by an examination of certain passages in the famous Precepts of Kaqemna and the Precepts of Ptaḥ-ḥetep. The first of these works was composed in the reign of Seneferu, a king of the IVth Dynasty, and the second in the reign of Ássá, a king of the Vth Dynasty, but we only know them from the copies contained in the papyrus which was given to the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris by E. Prisse d'Avennes in 1847.<sup>1</sup> This document was probably written about the period of the XVIIth Dynasty, and may, of course, contain readings and additions reflecting the opinions of the Egyptians on religion and morals which were then current; but the foundations of both works belong to an earlier time, though whether that time fell under the XIIth Dynasty, as some think, or under the IVth and Vth Dynasties as the works themselves declare, matters little for our present purpose. In both sets of Precepts we have a series of moral aphorisms similar to those with which we are familiar in the Book of Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, and the Book of Proverbs, and they are given as the outcome of the experience of men of the world; neither the work of Kaqemna nor that of Ptaḥ-ḥetep can be said to have been drawn up from a religious point of view, and neither author supports his advice by appeals to religious

<sup>1</sup> See *Fac-simile d'un papyrus Égyptien en caractères hiéroglyphiques*, Paris, 1847, folio.

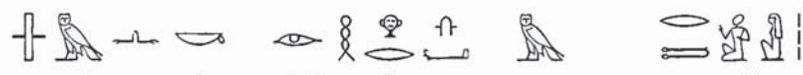
authority. In these works we find the following admonitions and reflections :—

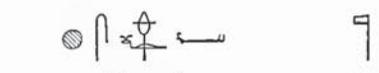
1.    
*an*            *rekhentu*            *khepert*            *arit*            *neter*<sup>1</sup>  
 “ Not [are]    known    the things    which maketh    God,”

i.e., the things which will come to pass by God's agency cannot be known, that is to say, God's ways are inscrutable.

2.    
*au*    *am*            *tau*            *kher*            *sekher*            *neter*  
 The eating    of bread    is according to    the plan of    God,

i.e., a man's food comes to him through the providence of God.

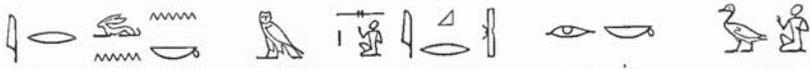
3.    
*am - k*            *ari*            *her*            *em*            *reth*  
 Thou shalt not    put    terror    into    men and women ;

   
*khesef*            *neter*  
 is opposed [thereto]    God.

4.    
*ar*    *seka - nek*            *ter*            *em*            *sekhet*            *ta*    *set*  
 If thou hast land    labour    in    the field (which) hath given  
 for ploughing

   
*neter*  
 God.

<sup>1</sup>The author of this observation was Kaqemna; the other ones are by Ptaḥ-ḥetep.

5.   
*ar un - nek em sa aqer ari - k sa*  
 If thou wouldst be a man perfect make thou [thy] son

  
*en smam neter*  
 to be pleasing unto God.

6.   
*sehetep aqu - k em khepert-nek khepert*  
 Satisfy thy dependants by thy actions; it should be done

  
*en hesesu neter*  
 by him that is favoured by God.

7.   
*mertu neter pu setem an setem*  
 What is loved of God is obedience; disobedience

  
*en mestetu neter*  
 hateth God.

8.   
*mak sa nefer en tata neter*  
 Verily a son good [is] of the gifts of God.

And finally from the Prisse Papyrus may be quoted the exhortation, "If having been of no account, thou hast become great, and "if, having been poor, thou hast become rich, when thou art

“governor of the city be not hard-hearted on account of thy  
“advancement, because thou hast [only] become

9.      
- mer* *septu* *neter*
- “the guardian of the provisions of God.”

From this group of extracts we learn that the ways of the god referred to in the “Precepts” were inscrutable, that it was he who was supposed to give a man children, and property, and food, that he was opposed to any man tyrannizing over his fellow creatures; that he loved to be obeyed and hated disobedience, i.e., those who would not hearken unto him; that the perfect man was he who brought up his son in ways pleasing to God; that God expected the man who had been favoured by him to do good to those who were dependent upon him; and the writer of the “Precepts” urged the governor of a city to remember that he was only the guardian of goods and provisions which belonged to God. In all these extracts it is clear that the allusion is to some great and powerful being who rules and governs the world and provides according to his will for those who are in it. In the second extract we have the words *sekher neter*, i.e., the *sekher* of God. The word *sekher*   has many meanings, among them being “thought, plan, intention, scheme, design,” and the like, and when Ptaḥ-ḥetep said that “the eating of bread is according to the *sekher* of God,” there is no doubt that he intended his readers to understand that a man obtained bread, or food, to eat according to the plan or design which God had made, or decreed beforehand. A rendering which would very well represent the words *sekher neter* is “Divine providence;” but they do not justify the translation “fate” which has been proposed for them.

Now we know that both the writers Kaqemna and Ptaḥ-ḥetep lived in the neighbourhood of Memphis, because their tombs are at Saḳḳâra, and if they lived at Memphis their great local god would be Ptaḥ of the Beautiful Face, or Ptaḥ of the White Wall, whose

feminine counterpart was Sekhet and whose son was I-em-ḥetep. But in the group of extracts just given there is no mention of any of these gods, and the God referred to cannot be Osiris, first, because the texts are not funereal, and secondly, because the attributes ascribed to this God are not of those which we know from later texts belonged to the god of the dead. Who then is the God whose power, and providence, and government of the world are here proclaimed? The answer to this question is that the God referred to is God, Whose power men of the stamp of Ptaḥ-ḥetep discerned even at the remote period in which he lived, and Whose attributes they clearly distinguished; He was in their opinion too great to be called anything else but God, and though, no doubt, they offered sacrifices to the gods in the temple at Memphis, after the manner of their countrymen, they knew that God was an entirely different Being from those "gods."

Passing now to the period of the New Empire we have to consider a few extracts from the famous work commonly known as the "Maxims of Ani," or the "Precepts of Khensu-ḥetep," which was first described<sup>1</sup> by E. de Rougé in 1861, and was published in full fifteen years later by Chabas.<sup>2</sup> The text<sup>3</sup> is written upon a papyrus which was found in a box lying upon the floor of the tomb of a Christian monk at Dêr al-Medinet, and from considerations of palaeography it must probably be assigned to the period of the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, but the original composition must be a great deal older, and it may well date from the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The following extracts will illustrate the conception of God in the mind of the author of the "Maxims":—

- |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| 1. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|    | <i>pa</i>   |   | <i>neter</i>  | <i>en</i>   |   |   | <i>sāauá</i>  |   | <i>ren - f</i>  |   |  |
|    | The   |   | God   | is for  |   |   | making great  |   | his name.   |   |  |

<sup>1</sup> See *Moniteur*, 15 Août, 1861; and *Comptes Rendus*, Paris, 1871, pp. 340-350.

<sup>2</sup> See *L'Égyptologie*, Chalons-sur-Saône and Paris, 4to, 1876-1878.

<sup>3</sup> A facsimile was published by Mariette in *Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*.

2.       
*pa neter âput pa maâ*  
 The God [is] the judge of the right.

or, the God is the judge, the righteous one, i.e., the judge who passes sentence according to what is straight, *maâ*, i.e., the law, the canon.

3.      
*âu tâu neter-ku unu*  
 Giveth thy God the means of subsistence.

4. "I have given thee thy mother," the writer says to his son, "and she carried thee even as she carried thee, and took upon herself a heavy burden for thy sake, and did not lean upon me. When at length thou wast born after having been carried by her for months, she laid herself under thy yoke, and she nourished thee for three years,<sup>1</sup> and was never weary of thee. . . . When thou wast sent to school to be taught, she came every day without fail to thy master [bringing] bread and beer [for thee] from her house. Now thou hast become a man and hast married a wife and hast a house, set thine eye upon thy child, and bring him up as thy mother brought thee up. Wrong not thy mother lest she lift up

-         
*ââui-set en pa neter emtuf setemu sebhu-set*  
 "her hands to the God [and] he hearken unto her prayers"  
 [and punish thee].

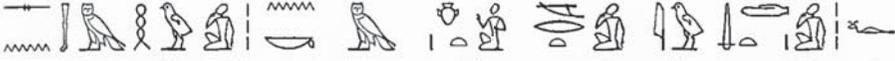
5.       
*âmmâ su en pa neter*  
 "Let [a man] give himself to the God,

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "her breasts were in thy mouth for three years."


  
*sauu* - *k* *su* *em-nent* *en* *pa* *neter*
  
 "keep thou thyself daily for the God,


  
*aiu* *tuauu* *ma-qeti* *pa* *haru*
  
 "to-morrow (?) being like the day (to-day?)."

6. 
  
*khennu* *en* *neter* *betu-tuf* *pu* *sehebu*
  
 "The sanctuary of God its atomination is much speaking.


  
*senemehu-nek* *em* *ab* *mert* *aiu* *metet-f*
  
 "Make thou thy prayers with a heart of love all the petitions


  
*nebt* *amennu* *ari-f* *kheru-tuk*
  
 "of which are in secret. He will perform thy affairs,


  
*setemu-f* *a* *tchetetu-k* *sishepu-[f]* *utennu-tuk*
  
 "he will hear what thou sayest, he will accept thine offerings.

7. 
  
*utennu* *neter-ku* *sau-tu* *er*
  
 "In making offerings to thy God guard thou thyself against


  
*na* *betau-tuf* *a* *ennu* *maat-k* *er*
  
 "the things which he abominateth. O observe [with] thine eye

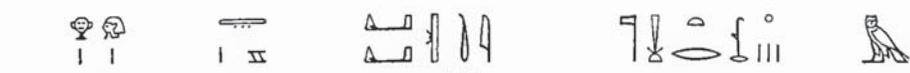

  
*paif*                      *sekheru*                      *gentet*                      *emtuk*                      *senenti-tu*
  
 " his                      plans.                      Devote                      thyself to the adoration

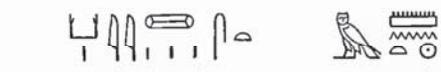

  
*em*                      *ren - f*                      *su*                      *tāt*                      *bairu*                      *heh*
  
 " of                      his name.                      It is he who giveth                      souls                      to millions


  
*en*                      *aaru*                      *sāauā*                      *pa*                      *enti*
  
 " of                      forms,                      and [he] magnifieth                      whosoever

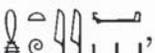

  
*sāauā - f*                      *ār*                      *neter*                      *ta*                      *pen*                      *en*
  
 " magnifieth him.                      Now                      the god                      of this earth                      is


  
*pa*                      *Shuu*                      *her*                      *khut*                      *au*                      *naif*                      *mātui*
  
 " the god Shu, he who is over the horizons. His similitudes


  
*her*                      *tep*                      *ta*                      *tā-tā-thā*                      *senterā*                      *em*
  
 "[are] upon earth, are given [to them] offerings of incense with


  
*kai-set*                      *em-ment.*
  
 " their food offerings                      daily."

The group of passages given above supplies a new set of attributes ascribed by the Egyptians to God, and they show that they believed this Being to be one who judged according to right, who was jealous for the honour of his name, who received prayers

and offerings, and who granted to the suppliant all his petitions, and performed all his desires, when such petitions were made to him in secret and with a "loving heart." The seventh extract is peculiarly instructive, for in it we have a sharp distinction drawn between this God and the solar god Shu, who is here, clearly, identified with the Sun-god. The worshipper of God is exhorted to consider His plans, or designs, , which are manifest upon earth, to pay good heed to the manner in which he makes offerings to Him, and to dedicate himself to the adoration of His name, for it is He who giveth souls, i.e., life, to millions of beings, and those who exalt Him He will exalt. On the other hand, the similitudes of the god Shu, the lord of the horizons, i.e., the skies of the South and the North, the East and the West, and the god of this earth, are upon the earth, and to them offerings of incense and meat are made daily. There is no need here to dwell upon the lofty conception of what is meet for the worship of God; nor upon the fact that many of the phrases in the extract are identical in meaning, and almost in words, with passages in the Hebrew Scriptures, for they will be familiar to all, and extracts like the following will occur to every reader:—"Consider the wondrous works of God" (Job xxxvii. 14); "them that honour me I will honour" (1 Samuel ii. 30), etc. The word rendered "similitudes," , is difficult to explain in detail though its general meaning is clear enough, and we must understand by it "things which are in the likeness [of Shu]"; these can, apparently, only refer to the gods to whom incense and offerings were brought daily. The great importance of the second group of extracts consists in the fact that they emphasize and develop the difference between the Egyptian conception of God and the gods. The author of the "Maxims," like Kagemna and Ptaḥ-ḥetep, set out to write a book of moral precepts by which he intended his son to mould his course of life and to be guided. This work is not of a funereal character, therefore the God who is referred to throughout cannot be Osiris, and the context proves beyond all doubt that the writer is alluding to the same Being as were the earlier writers of moral aphorisms already mentioned. In the case of the

“Maxims,” however, the word for God, *neter* , is usually qualified by the emphatic article *pa* .

But in all the passages quoted above there is no distinct statement that the God alluded to therein is God alone, and that there is no other God besides Him, although this is clearly implied; we must therefore turn to another class of texts in which the attribute of oneness or unity is ascribed to one or more “great gods,” and see how it is applied. The god Ta-tunen is called, “One, maker of mortals, and of the company of the gods”;<sup>1</sup> the god Rā-Tem is called, “lord of heaven, lord of earth, maker of “beings celestial and of beings terrestrial, God One, who came “into being in primeval time, maker of the world, creator of “rational beings, maker of Nu (the sky), creator of the Nile, “maker of whatsoever is in the waters, and giver of life to the “same, knitter together of the mountains, making to come into “being men and women, and beasts and cattle, and creator of the “heavens and the earth”;<sup>2</sup> the great Khu (Spirit) whom Tem created is described as the “only One in Nu”;<sup>3</sup> Osiris is said to be “lord of the gods, god One”;<sup>4</sup> and in a remarkable passage, in which the whole of the attributes of the Sun-god Rā have been transferred to Amen-Rā, we have the following statement wherein this god is said to be “the holy (or, venerable) Soul which came

<sup>1</sup> . *Papyrus of Ani*, sheet 1, line 6.

<sup>2</sup> .  
*Papyrus of Hunefer*, sheet 1, line 5 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Book of the Dead*, Chap. lxxviii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. clxxiii.

“into being aforetime, the great god who liveth in (or by) Maāt  
 “(i.e., unailing and unvarying order and regularity),

<i>pautti</i>	<i>tepi</i>	<i>mes</i>	<i>pautti</i>
“the <i>paut</i>	primeval [which] gave	birth to	the two companies of gods,

<i>kheper</i>	<i>neter</i>	<i>neb</i>	<i>am - f</i>	<i>uā uāwi</i>
“came into being	god	every	through him,	one alone,

<i>āri - f</i>	<i>unen</i>	<i>shaā</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>sep tepi</i>
“he made	what exists	when the earth began	in	primeval time,	

<i>shetau</i>	<i>mesi</i>	<i>āshṭ</i>	<i>kheperiu</i>	<i>ān</i>	<i>rekhtu</i>
“hidden	of births,	manifold	of forms,	not is known	

<i>bes - f</i>
“his growth.” <sup>1</sup>

The text goes on to say that Amen-Rā is the “holy Sekhem (i.e., “Power), the god who is beloved, and is terrible and mighty in “his risings, lord of space, the Power, Kheperā, the creator of “every evolution (or, thing) which belongeth to his existence,<sup>2</sup> “except whom at the beginning none other existed.” Here then we have Ta-tunen, Rā-Tem, and the god Osiris all called “God One,” *neter uā*, and in the last extract we have the remarkable expression “God One alone,” applied to Amen-Rā. If we consider for a moment we shall see that the

See Maspero, *Mém. Miss. Arch.*, tom i, p. 594.

<sup>2</sup>

gods Tem and Kheperà are only forms of the Sun-god Rā, and as Tatunen was concerned in the production of the Sun-god he also is a solar god; at the time when the above extracts were written, i.e., under the XVIIIth Dynasty, we have abundant proof that the Egyptians were continually adding to the attributes which they ascribed to Osiris, and that such attributes were those which belonged to some form of Rā or to Rā himself. The word "One" then is applied in these cases to Rā, and to the forms of Rā, and to a god who had come to be regarded in one aspect at least as a solar god, and it will be found on examination of the texts that whenever a god or goddess is described as "One" it is because that deity has been endowed by the writer, whether rightly or wrongly is another matter, with some of the attributes of Rā.

It is easy to see from the hieroglyphic extract given above that to the god there described are attributed many of the creative qualities which we assign to God Almighty. Thus he is said to be the primeval *Paut* or divine substance who gave birth to the two companies of the gods (in this case we must understand the company of the gods of heaven and the company of the gods of earth, and not the Great and Little Companies of the gods of Heliopolis), and every god came into being by him or through him. Here it is quite clear that "every god" means only every inferior being who possessed something of the quality of a *neter* or "god," and every being who ministered to the great *Paut*, and who in the Hebrew Scriptures would be grouped under the name "Elôhim," אֱלֹהִים, or among the "angels," and in Arabic literature among the good *Jinn*. The text goes on to say not only in primeval times, i.e., "in the beginning," he created whatever exists upon the earth, but also that in primeval time no other being existed with him. This is a definite statement of the unity or oneness of God which cannot be gainsaid, and it was this attribute of unity or oneness which the priests of various cities ascribed to their local god whenever they could. We have no means of saying whether this idea of oneness or unity was first applied to Rā or to some more ancient god such as Horus, but it is, in the writer's opinion, quite certain that it existed in the minds of the educated classes of Egypt in the earliest times, and that in all periods it was the

central point of their conceptions of God. But the text goes on to say that the great Paut who created the companies of the gods is "hidden of births and manifold of forms," and that "his growth (or development) is unknown." This is only another way of saying that the manner in which the beings and things produced by the Paut came into being is unknown, and that he appears under many forms. We may here refer to the passage in the XVIIth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (line 9), wherein it is said :—

					
<i>nuk</i>	<i>neter āa</i>	<i>kheper tchesef</i>	<i>Nu</i>	<i>pu</i>	
"I am the great god self-created, Nu, that is to say,					
					
<i>gemam</i>			<i>renu - f</i>	<i>paut</i>	<i>neteru</i>
"who made his names			the company	of the gods	
					
<i>em</i>	<i>neter</i>				
"as god."					

Concerning this being the question is asked, "Who then is this?" and the following answer is given :—

								
<i>Rā</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>gemam</i>			<i>renu</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>āt - f</i>	
"It is Rā		who created			names	for	his members	
								
<i>kheper</i>	<i>enen</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>em</i>					
"and these came into being			in the form of	the gods				
								
<i>āmi -</i>	<i>khet</i>	<i>Rā</i>						
"who are in the following			of Rā."					

On the creative power of the great Paut special emphasis is laid in the extract on p. 132, for, after declaring that he created in the begin-

ning whatsoever exists, the text adds that he created everything that had to do with his own coming into being; and in the passages from the *Book of the Dead* it is taught, according to one dogma, that the names of the great, self-produced god Nu became the company of gods under the form of God, and according to another that the gods who were in the train of Rā were the members or limbs of Rā, and that these limbs were, in turn, the names of Rā. The last text quoted is of considerable importance, for it gives us a direct proof that the attributes of the god Nu were transferred to Rā, and that Rā was identified absolutely with Nu, and the last text but one quoted shows how the attributes of Rā were transferred to Amen, who was originally only the local god of Thebes, by means of the fusion of the two gods into Amen-Rā. We know that to many gods were ascribed the attributes of Rā, and that all solar gods were, in the dynastic period at least, held to be forms of him; if we could identify them all we should be able to reduce the number of Egyptian gods considerably.

The attribute or quality of oneness or unity, which is ascribed first to the great God who was the creator of the heavens and the earth and all therein, and secondly to the Sun-god who was regarded as the visible type and symbol of God and his various forms, and thirdly, at a later period to the god Osiris, has been termed "henotheism" by many writers who asserted that it was a "phase of religious thought"<sup>1</sup> which was different from monotheism. According to the late Right Honourable Prof. Max Müller we have become acquainted with this phase of religious thought "for the first time through the Veda," and he goes on to say that "when these individual gods are invoked they are not "conceived as limited by the power of others, as superior or "inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the suppliant as "good as all the gods. He is felt at the time as a real divinity, "as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations "which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every "single god. All the rest disappear from the vision of the poet, "and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light "before the eyes of the worshippers." It is quite true that the

<sup>1</sup> Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 285.

Egyptian religion passed through a phase which has been identified as henotheism, but, assuming for a moment that we should be correct in calling that phase henotheism, the Egyptian religious texts prove that it was "not the henotheism of Max Müller or of Hartmann, or of Asmus, but a practical henotheism, i.e., the adoration of one God above all others as the specific tribal god or as the lord over a particular people, a national or relative monotheism, like that of the ancient Israelites, the worship of an absolute sovereign who exacts passive obedience. This practical monotheism is totally different from the theoretical monotheism, to which the Aryans, with their monistic speculative idea of the godhead, are much nearer."<sup>1</sup>

These words by the late Professor Tiele here quoted were not applied by him to the Egyptian religion, but they so well express the present writer's views about the monotheism of the Egyptians that they are adopted for that purpose. Professor Tiele was, undoubtedly, the greatest authority on comparative religion of his day, and although he was not an Egyptologist at first hand, he had discussed Egyptian religious texts with great experts like Chabas, Birch, de Rougé, and others, to such good purpose that his opinion on the subject is of peculiar value. According to him the Egyptian religion presents two apparently contradictory and irreconcilable phenomena:—1. A lively sentiment of the spirituality of God united to the coarsest materialistic representations of different divinities; and 2. A sentiment, not less lively, of the unity of God, united to an extremely great multiplicity of divine persons.<sup>2</sup> The best educated priests, he thinks, who were the most vigorous promoters of religious progress, were as much attached to forms and traditional symbols as the people themselves, and they were most unwilling to give up any part of them. The symbolism, being misunderstood by the ignorant folk, produced serious errors, and the forms under which the Egyptians represented their gods, and which are repellent to our refined taste, answered in their minds to the idea of divinity which was purer and more spiritual than the noble and beautiful forms of the gods of

<sup>1</sup> C. P. Tiele, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. xx., p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire Comparée des Anciennes Religions*, Paris, 1882.

Hellas. The ignorant felt no repugnance to monstrous representations because they appeared as representations having a profound and mysterious meaning; the learned understood the meanings of the symbols, and paid their adoration through them to the truth of which they were the coverings. In other words, the uneducated loved a plurality of gods, while the priests and educated classes who could read and understand books adopted the idea of One God, the creator of all the beings in heaven and on earth who, for want of a better word, were called "gods."

The priests and theologians saw nothing incompatible in believing that God was One, and that he existed under innumerable forms. We may note the existence of the same view in the Hebrew Scriptures where, in spite of the commandments, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness [of anything] that [is] in heaven above, . . . Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them . . ." (Exodus xx. 3-5), the Israelites felt no scruple in representing God in the midst of His sons, and for a very long time they continued to adore a number of divine beings side by side with Yahweh.<sup>1</sup> Thus in Joshua xxii. 22, we read, "The Lord God of gods, the Lord God of gods, he knoweth and Israel shall know;" in Exodus xxii. 28 is given the commandment, "Thou shalt not revile the gods nor curse the ruler of thy people;" in Psalm cxxxvi. 2, Israel is exhorted to "give thanks unto the God of gods;" the "sons of God" we know from Genesis vi. 2; Job ii. 1; xxxviii. 7;<sup>2</sup> and that "gods" in some passages mean nothing but beings possessing some characteristic of God is clear from 1 Samuel xxviii. 13, wherein we read that the witch of Endor told Saul that she "saw gods ascending out of the earth." The allusion in this last passage is clearly to some kind of supernatural being or beings. Returning for a moment to the views of Professor Tiele, we admit that, judging from certain texts of the Dynastic Period, he is justified in asserting that in Egypt monotheism is anterior to polytheism; but judging from the evidence of the recently discovered monuments of the

<sup>1</sup> Tiele, *Hist. Comparée*, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Deut. x. 17; Psalms xiv. 3; lxxxii. 1, 6; Job i. 6.

predynastic and archaic periods, we must admit that polytheism appears to be older than monotheism. On the other hand, the monotheistic ideas which appear in the works of Kagemna and Ptah-hotep were certainly not invented during the period in which they lived, and there is every reason for believing that they originated at a much earlier date. If literary compositions belonging to the first three dynasties are ever brought to light from the tombs of Egypt, we shall probably find that the idea of the oneness of God is expressed with just as much force and certainty as it is under the following dynasties, and in the same works we shall also find mention of the various gods who were created by the great God who was proclaimed to be One, and expected to be worshipped with obedience.

The final opinion of Professor Tiele on the Egyptian religion was that from the beginning it was 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 Egyptian drew nearer and nearer to monotheism.<sup>1</sup>

We may now consider the opinions of some of the greatest Egyptologists on the monotheism of the Egyptians. Writing in the *Revue Archéologique* (1860, p. 73) E. de Rougé says, "The unity of a supreme and self-existent being, his eternity, his almightiness, and eternal reproduction thereby as God; the attributing of the creation of the world and of all living beings to the supreme God; the immortality of the soul, completed by the dogma of punishments and rewards; such is the sublime

<sup>1</sup> "Een voorhistorisch monotheïsme onderstelt een graad van ontwikkeling en een vordering in het wijsgeerig nadenken, die bij een nog barbaarsch volk niet denkbaar zijn. Ook de egyptische godsdienst is van animisme en magisch polydaemonisme nitgegaan en zoo eerst tot polytheïsme opgeklommen. Dit polytheïsme ontwikkelt zich dan in twee geheel tegen o vergestelde richtingen. Aan den eenen kant wordt de godenwereld, door bijeenvoeging van plaatselijke godsdiensten, een gevolg van de onderwerping der verschillende gewesten met hun godsdienstige middelpunten aan het gezag van één koning, en door overneming van vreemde godheden, steeds rijker. Aan den anderen kant nadert men het monotheïsme meer en meer, zonder het oothelder en ondubbelzinnig uit te spreken. De geleerden trachtten beide mit elkander overeen te brengen, onder anderen door de vele goden voor te stellen als de openbaringen van den éenen, ongeschapen, verborgen God, zijn leven, door hem zelnengeschapen." See *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid*, Amsterdam, 1893, p. 25.

“and persistent base which, notwithstanding all deviations and all “mythological embellishments, must secure for the beliefs of the “ancient Egyptians a most honourable place among the religions “of antiquity.”<sup>1</sup> In an article on the “Religion of the Ancient Egyptians,” written nine years later as a result of a close study of many of the great religious texts, he asserted that more than five thousand years before there existed in the Valley of the Nile the hymn to the unity of God, and the belief in the unity of a supreme God with the attributes of Creator of men, and Legislator of man, whom he has endowed with an immortal soul. In his description of the principal monuments at the Egyptian Museum at Bûlâk in Cairo, Mariette Bey said, “At the head of the Egyptian pantheon “soars a God who is one, immortal, uncreated, invisible and hidden “in the inaccessible depths of his essence; he is the creator of the “heavens and of the earth; he has made everything which exists “and nothing has been made without him; such is the God who “is reserved for the initiated of the sanctuary.”<sup>2</sup> A similar view was held by Chabas,<sup>3</sup> who said, “The One God, who existed before “all things, who represents the pure and abstract idea of divinity, “is not clearly specialized by [any] one single personage of the vast “Egyptian pantheon. Neither Ptah, nor Seb, nor Thoth, nor Râ,

“L'unité d'un être suprême existant par lui-même, son éternité, sa toute-  
 “puissance et la génération éternelle en Dieu; la création du monde et de tous  
 “les êtres vivants attribuée à ce Dieu suprême; l'immortalité de l'âme, complétée  
 “par le dogme des peines et des récompenses; tel est le fond sublime et persistant  
 “qui, malgré toutes les déviations et toutes les broderies mythologiques, doit  
 “assurer aux croyances des anciens Égyptiens un rang très honorable parmi les  
 “religions de l'antiquité.” . . . . “Il y a plus de 5000 ans qu'a commencé, dans  
 “la vallée du Nil, l'hymne à l'Unité de Dieu et à l'Immortalité de l'âme; et nous  
 “voyons dans les derniers temps l'Égypte arrivée au Polythéisme le plus effréné.  
 “La croyance à l'Unité du Dieu suprême, à ses attributs de Créateur et de Législateur  
 “de l'homme, qu'il a doué d'une âme immortelle; voilà les notions primitives  
 “enchâssées comme des diamants indestructibles au milieu des superfétations mytho-  
 “logiques accumulées par les siècles qui ont passé sur cette vieille civilisation.”  
*Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, Paris, 1869, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> “Au sommet du panthéon Égyptien plane un Dieu unique, immortel, incréé,  
 “invisible et caché dans les profondeurs inaccessibles de son essence; il est le  
 “créateur du ciel et de la terre; il a fait tout ce qui existe, et rien n'a été fait sans  
 “lui; c'est le Dieu réservé à l'initié du sanctuaire.” Mariette, *Notice*, Cairo,  
 1876, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes*, p. 107.

“nor Osiris, nor any other god is a personification of him at all times; but of these sometimes one and at other times another is invoked in terms which assimilate these intimately with the supreme type; the innumerable gods of Egypt are only attributes and different aspects of this unique type.”

M. Pierret, in discussing the matter, holds the view that the texts prove that the Egyptians believed in a God who was One, and was without a second, and was infinite and eternal. At the very time, however, when the scribes were writing upon papyrus or cutting upon stone the inscriptions which affirmed this belief, the artists were making sculptures of the gods with heads of hawks, or rams, or crocodiles, or goddesses with the heads of lionesses, cats, or cows. Nevertheless the One God, who is without a second, is One even among the company of the gods, for he has numerous names and forms, and he appears under sacred and mysterious forms in the temples, that is to say under the figures<sup>1</sup> which were painted on the walls, and in the statues of the gods which were set up in the temples. The greatest supporter of the doctrine of ancient Egyptian monotheism was the late Dr. Brugsch, who assigned to the word for God, *neter* , the highly philosophical meaning which has been quoted above. Accepting the view, which the Egyptians themselves held, that the gods were only names of the various attributes of the One God, he searched through the religious literature and collected from the hymns, prayers, etc., which were addressed to the various gods and goddesses in various periods, a number of epithets and attributes<sup>2</sup> which were bestowed upon them by their worshippers. These extracts he classified, and when they were grouped and arranged they formed a description of God such as it would be difficult to find a parallel for outside the Holy Scriptures. It has been contended that as these scattered epithets are never found together the ancient Egyptians had no conception of a God who was One, and was self-produced, and had existed, and would exist, always, and was hidden and unknown of form and name, and was the Creator of heaven and the gods, and earth, and man, and all

<sup>1</sup> Pierret, *Le Panthéon Égyptien*, Paris, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> They will be found in Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 96 ff.

things, and was at the same time merciful, and compassionate, and loving, and the protector of the weak against the strong, and the rewarder and protector of those who served him.

But this contention is not well founded, because, although these attributes were ascribed to a miscellaneous number of deities, we must remember that they would not have been thus associated unless the writers recognized such gods as phases or aspects of the Great God. The fact remains that such attributes were ascribed to gods who were created by God, and that the Egyptians arrived at such ideas as those described above is a lasting proof of the exalted character of their religion and of their conception of monotheism. The main point to keep in view is that the gods of Egypt were regarded by the Egyptians generally as inferior beings to the great God who made them, and that they were not held to be equal to him in all respects. Further, we must repeat that the God referred to in the moral precepts of the Early Empire holds a position similar to that held by Yahweh among the Hebrews and Allah among the Arabs, and that the gods and goddesses who were ministers of his will and pleasure find their counterparts in the angels, and archangels, and spirits of all kinds, both good and bad, of whom the Hebrew and Arabic literatures are full. No surer proof of this can be given than the well-known passage in Deuteronomy vi. 4, where it is said, "Hear, O Israel, Yahweh our God (literally, gods), is Yahweh One,"<sup>1</sup> and the Egyptian *neter uā* , "One God," as far as the application and meaning of *uā* is concerned, is identical with that of the Hebrew word in the text quoted. We may note, too, the words, "Yahweh our gods," which show that Yahweh was identified with the gods, of the polytheistic period of the ancient Hebrew religion; it is, however, possible that when the verse in Deuteronomy was written the word *Elôhîm* had come to mean the great God of the Hebrews, although originally it had meant a collection of sacred or divine beings. In the *Qur'ân*, Sura cxii., the God of the Arabs is declared to be One, and from the commentaries on the Sura we know that this declaration was revealed to Muḥammad in answer to the people of

<sup>1</sup> Compare St. Mark xii. 29.

the Kurêsh, who asked him concerning the distinguishing attributes of the God he invited them to worship. If we had all the literature of the early Hebrews, and of the Arabs at the period of the propaganda of Muḥammad we should probably find that many local gods in Palestine and Arabia were called One, but that only the God who had the moral aspects which were attributed to the great God of the Egyptians by the philosophers of the Early Empire succeeded in retaining it permanently.

The religion of the Egyptians has, however, always been regarded from two distinct and opposite points of view; a number of scholars, among whom may be mentioned Champollion-Figeac, de Rougé, Chabas, Mariette, Dévéria, Birch, and Brugsch, have considered it to have been monotheistic, but others have declared unhesitatingly that it was polytheistic; this result is due probably to the way in which it is regarded. Speaking of the difference of opinion which existed on the subject between the late Dr. Brugsch and himself, M. Maspero says that he and Brugsch considered the Egyptian religion in two different ways. Time, he says, which has done so much harm to other nations, has shown itself favourable to the Egyptians. It has spared their tombs, their temples, their statues, and the thousand small objects which were the pride of their domestic life, and it has led us in such a way that we judge them by the most beautiful and the prettiest of the things which they made, and has at length caused us to place their civilization on the same footing as that of the Romans or the Greeks. But if it be looked at more nearly the point of view changes; to speak quite shortly, Thothmes III. and Rameses II. resemble Mtesa of Central Africa more closely than they do Alexander or Caesar. It is not their fault, but they arrived too soon in a period which was too early, and they must bear the penalty of their precociousness. In art, in science, in trade, they have invented much and produced much, and have, above all, promised much; their religion presents the same mixture of coarseness and refinement which is found in all else. Most of its myths it holds in common with the most savage tribes of the Old and the New Worlds. The Egyptian possessed the spirit of the metaphysician, a fact which he proved when Christianity furnished him with a subject worthy of his

subtle powers. But, M. Maspero asks, what kind of metaphysics could proceed from so naïve a conception of the universe and of things which he has revealed? He thinks it must be true, at least in the main, because Brugsch depicted the Egyptian world in a manner very similar to his own, and deeming it true he cannot any longer admit the notion of the Egyptian Deity and his unity which several scholars have adopted. He takes the Egyptian religion for what it shows that it is, viz., a polytheism with its contradictions, and its repetitions, with its dogmas indecent sometimes, cruel sometimes, and ridiculous sometimes, according to modern ideas, and with its families of half-human gods which the worshipper cherished the more or understood the better the more closely they resembled himself.<sup>1</sup> The opinion thus expressed, though unfavourable to the character of the Egyptian, and directly opposed to the views of some of the greatest Egyptologists of the last century, is evidently honest, and coming from such a quarter is entitled to the greatest respect; but it seems that M. Maspero has judged the Egyptians of all periods according to the standard of religion which was in vogue in Egypt in predynastic times, when the primitive Egyptians were, no doubt, half savage.

The Egyptians, being fundamentally an African people, possessed all the virtues and vices which characterized the North African races generally, and it is not to be held for a moment that any African people could ever become metaphysicians in the modern sense of the word. In the first place, no African language is suitable for giving expression to theological and philosophical speculations, and even an Egyptian priest of the highest intellectual attainments would have been unable to render a treatise of Aristotle into language which his brother priests without teaching could understand. The mere construction of the language would make such a thing an impossibility, to say nothing of the ideas of the great Greek philosopher, which belong to a domain of thought and culture wholly foreign to the Egyptian. The allusion to the Christian metaphysics of the Egyptian is understandable, as everyone knows who has taken the trouble to read the literature of the Copts, who transferred much of the base and degraded Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 278.

mythology which was current during the first few centuries of the Christian era into their newly acquired belief in Jesus Christ. The lives of the Coptic martyrs show the use which the Egyptian made of his metaphysical spirit, and the history of the early Church in Egypt illustrates what happened when he tried to apply it to the consideration of the common theological terms in Greek and in Latin. Incidentally we may note that in order to express the various ideas connected with the Christian Deity and the Persons of the Trinity he was obliged to take over the actual Greek words into his language, which was poor in abstract ideas. In the picture which M. Maspero has given of the Egyptian's conception of the universe and of the origin of gods and things he has only dwelt upon the mythological side of the question, and has not set forth all the passages upon which other Egyptologists have based their views about Egyptian monotheism; moreover, no allowance appears to have been made for the peculiar religious and mental characteristics of the race. But when all is said against the Egyptian religion which can be said, the fact remains that it is not the religion itself which has cruel, ridiculous, and indecent dogmas, but the myths wherewith generations of foolish priests obscured the pure beliefs in monotheism and immortality which seem to have existed in Egypt from the earliest times. If modern oriental religions were judged in the adverse manner in which the religion of ancient Egypt has been judged, none would escape similar condemnation; the same thing may be said of some of the religions of the Western nations.

The superstitions which exist among many Eastern nations professing monotheism and even Christianity are as gross as those found among so-called Pagan nations; as examples may be quoted the Christians of St. John in Southern Mesopotamia, and many of the Arabic-speaking peoples of the Eastern Sûdân, yet among the former no one attempts to deny the existence of a sort of Christianity, though he would indeed be bold who would dare to compare it with the Christianity of such men as Canon Liddon or Cardinal Newman; similarly, the monotheism of the peoples of the Eastern Sûdân is universally admitted, but it does not prevent their indulging in the coarsest and most fantastic beliefs and practices,

many of which, however, it must be admitted have descended to them from their pagan ancestors. Fortunately, however, the monotheistic character of the Egyptian religion rests on too firm a foundation to be easily overthrown, and notwithstanding the elaborate system of symbolic ceremonials which was so prominent a feature of Egyptian worship, Egyptian monotheism always maintained its place in the minds of those who were sufficiently educated to understand the ideas which the symbols thereof represented. The Egyptian never confounded God with the gods, and it would seem that he even discriminated between God and "the god of the city," for in the Negative Confession (No. 38) the deceased says, "O Utu-rekhit, who comest forth from thy house, I have not cursed "God"; and in No. 42 he says, "Hail, Ân-â-f, who comest forth "from Âukert (the Underworld), I have not thought scorn of (or, "belittled) the god who is in my city." Whence came the Egyptian conception of monotheism, or when it first sprang up, cannot be said, but in its oldest form it is coeval with the dynastic civilization of Egypt at least, and it may well date from far earlier times. The monotheistic idea is not the peculiar attribute of any one people or period. It may seem unnecessary to discuss Egyptian monotheism at such length, but the matter is one of great interest and importance because the literature of Egypt proves it to have been in existence in that country for more than three thousand five hundred years before Christ; in fact, Egyptian monotheism is the oldest form of monotheism known to us. It is easy enough to understand how anxious the priesthoods of the various cities would be to persuade the people who worshipped the local gods that this or that god was the being who united in himself the attributes of the original god of the city with those of the great cosmic god with physical aspects who created the heavens and the earth, and with those of the ethical god who was proclaimed by Kaqemna, Ptaḥ-hetep, Ani, and other writers of moral precepts.

In the earliest times it was the god Horus who was chosen in this manner, for under the form of a hawk he appears to have been the first god who was worshipped throughout the country generally, and the numerous forms of this god, and the fact that his attributes were at a later period ascribed to Horus the son of Isis, attest the

antiquity and importance of his cult. The next god chosen to represent the great ethical God of the Egyptians was not a personification of the sky as was Horus, but the Sun-god Rā, on whom was bestowed every epithet of power and might which was known to the Egyptians, as well as the epithets and forms of the god Horus. But although his worship was common throughout Egypt, and his sanctuaries were for many centuries the most important in the land, there is abundant proof that the Egyptians never merged their conceptions of their great ethical God in their conceptions of Rā.

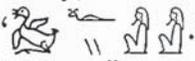
There seem to be traces of a belief that Rā as the spirit or god of the sun may have been a form or representative of him, but they are not very definite, and the worship of Rā's visible symbol, the sun, as the source of heat and light, and therefore of life—as the Egyptians recognized at an early period—was commoner than any abstract conception of his nature or existence. In a hymn to Hāpi, the Nile-god, we find a remarkable passage in which some of the chief attributes of God are ascribed to the power which causes the Inundation and who is addressed under the names of the gods Ptaḥ and Khnemu. To this Being it is said by the author of the hymn, “If thou wert overcome in heaven the gods, , “would fall upon their faces and mankind would perish.” The context shows that the author first pays a tribute of reverence to the local god of Memphis, Ptaḥ, whom he styles the “lord of fish,” and the “creator of wheat and barley,” and of whom he says with reference to the well-known attribute of Ptaḥ as the great artificer, “inactivity is the abomination of his fingers,” i.e., the fingers of the god hate idleness. He then goes on to mention Khnemu, the local god of the First Cataract, wherein the sources of the Nile were at one time believed to be situated, and styles him “the bringer of “food and provisions, the creator of all good things, the lord of all “choice and pleasant meats, who maketh the herb to grow for the “use of the cattle, who filleth the storehouses and heapeth up high “[corn] in the granaries, who payeth heed to the poor and needy, “who maketh to grow crops which are sufficient for the desires of “all men and yet is not diminished thereby, and whose strength is “a shield.” Now the author of the hymn goes on to declare that

the true Hāpi, or god of the Nile, “cannot be figured in stone, he “is not to be seen in the images on which are set the crowns of the “south and the north with their uraei, offerings cannot be made to “him, he cannot be brought forth from his secret places, his dwell- “ing-place is not to be found out, he is not to be found in the “shrines which are inscribed with texts, there is no habitation “which is sufficiently large for him to dwell in, and the heart [of “man] is unable to depict him.”<sup>1</sup>

The being here referred to is a physical and not an ethical god, and the simplest and, from this point of view, most natural explanation of these remarkable statements is that they are intended to describe the inaccessibility both of the Nile-god and of his shrine. The fact, however, remains that the declaration of the almighty strength and inscrutability, and invisibility, and the impossibility of a description of the power which moves the Nile-god being made by man in writing, or in drawing, or in sculpture, proves the existence in the minds of the Egyptian writers of a lofty conception of the attributes of God.

But side by side with the fundamental ideas of Horus and Rā and the conceptions which were at the root of the worship of these gods, there existed in the minds of the Egyptians a firm and continuous belief in the god Osiris, who held a position in the Egyptian religion which was quite distinct from that held by any other god. About his origin nothing can be said, but there is no reason for doubting that he was a god of the indigenous inhabitants of Egypt, and that his worship was firmly established in the country before the dynastic period. He was from the earliest times associated with the doctrine of immortality, and was, the writer believes, the symbol of monotheism in Egypt. It is impossible to say, or even to suggest, what was the original form of his worship, but we know that in the archaic period one great centre of his cult was at Abydos, and from the fact that he was included in the *paut*, or company of gods of Heliopolis, we may conclude that he was a very important god of Ṭaṭṭu, or of Busiris, in the Delta, and that his sanctuary was much visited by the peoples thereof. Under the Vth Dynasty, as we have already

<sup>1</sup> A transcript of this text will be found in my *First Steps in Egyptian*, p. 208.

seen, he was regarded as the judge of the dead, and it is clear that he was also the god of the dead *par excellence*; but it must be noted that the priests of Rā formed at that time the predominant priesthood of Egypt, and therefore care was taken to assign to Osiris a position inferior to that of Rā in heaven. When the VIth Dynasty of kings came to an end the power of the priesthood of Rā was greatly diminished, and the worship of Osiris grew and prospered. It is unnecessary to trace here step by step the growth of the cult of the god until the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and it will be sufficient to say that between the VIth and the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty nearly all the attributes of the Sun-god Rā were transferred to Osiris, and the name of Rā is joined to that of Osiris, just as in much earlier times it was joined to Tem and Ḥeru-khuti to indicate the compound gods Rā-Tem and Rā-Ḥeru-khuti. Thus in Chapter cxxx. of the *Book of the Dead*<sup>1</sup> the deceased says, "I shall not be turned back in the "horizon, for I am Rā-Osiris," and this passage is a proof that quite early in the XVIIIth Dynasty Osiris was considered to be a solar god. In Chapter xvii. (l. 110 ff.) the deceased is made to say, "I am the God-Soul which dwelleth in the Twin-gods, "." On this the question follows, "What does this "mean?" to which we have the answer, "It hath reference to "Osiris when he goeth into Ṭaṭṭu<sup>2</sup> and findeth there the soul of "Rā; there one god embraceth the other, and the divine Souls "spring into being within the Twin-gods." These lines of text are illustrated by a very interesting vignette in the Papyrus of Ani (see sheets 7-10), wherein we see a pylon-shaped building between the double , which represents Ṭaṭṭu, and upon it stand the god Rā, in the form of a hawk with a solar disk upon his head, and Osiris in the form of a human-headed hawk, wearing the White Crown. The two gods face each other in Ṭaṭṭu, and, according to the text, were absorbed or merged each in the other; thus Osiris obtained the attributes and characteristics of the Sun-god Rā, but was supposed at the same time to retain all his own peculiar attributes.

<sup>1</sup> Papyrus of Nu, Chap. cxxx., l. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Either Mendes in the Delta, or the heavenly Mendes.

The view here given is that which was favoured by the priests of Thebes who, however, only reproduced that which they had borrowed from the priests of Heliopolis, and having gained currency in the theological colleges of the South, it spread among the people to such an extent that almost every great city possessed a sanctuary dedicated to Osiris. A very important hymn to Osiris, which is certainly as old as the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, shows us how this god assimilated to himself the old solar gods, and how he became Rā. His holy double ( $\text{𓂏}$  *ka*) was said to live in Mendes, he was the god who dwelt in Sekhem (i.e., Horus), the lord of Qerert (i.e., the Underworld), the holy one in Memphis, the lord of the temple of Hermopolis, the local gods of which were Thoth and his *paut*, or company, and he was declared to be the "soul of Rā" and the very body of this god,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ . His essence was that of the primeval god Nu, and he was the great spirit and divine body in heaven. He was supposed to fight and to vanquish the traditional fiend Sebā, who dared to wage war against Rā, and he was the stablisher of right and truth,  $\text{𓂏}$  *maāt*, throughout the world. He made the earth with his own hands, and its winds, and its vegetation, and feathered fowl, and fish, and cattle and other quadrupeds, and to him belonged by right the mountains and the desert land throughout the world. The lands of Egypt rejoiced<sup>1</sup> to crown him upon his throne like his father Rā. The Great and the Little Companies of the gods loved him, he was the leader of every god, and the brother of the stars. Finally, as a proof of the absolute identity of Rā and Osiris may be quoted the opening lines of Chapter clxxx. of the *Book of the Dead*, which read:—"Homage to thee, O governor of Amentet, Un-nefer, the lord of Ta-tchesert, O thou who risest like Rā! Verily I come to see thee and to rejoice at thy beauties. His disk is thy disk; his rays are thy rays; his crown is thy crown; his majesty is thy majesty; his risings are thy risings: his beauty is thy beauty; the awe which is his is the awe which is thine; his odour is thy odour; his hall

<sup>1</sup> See the text, with a transliteration and translation, in my *First Steps in Egyptian*, p. 179 ff.

“is thy hall; his seat is thy seat; his throne is thy throne; his heir is thy heir; his ornaments are thy ornaments; his command is thy command; his mystery is thy mystery; his things are thy things; his knowledge is thy knowledge; his attributes of majesty are thy attributes of majesty; his magical powers are thy magical powers; he died not and thou shalt not die; he was not vanquished by his enemies and thou shalt not be vanquished by thine enemies; no evil thing befell him, and no evil thing shall befall thee for ever and for ever.”

In such terms did the Egyptians extol the greatness and power of Osiris, but they make no mention of the aspect of the god which endeared him to countless generations of Egyptians. From hundreds of funeral and other texts we learn that Osiris was held to be partly divine and partly human, that is to say, unlike any other Egyptian god he possessed two natures, and two bodies, the one divine and the other human, and two doubles, the one divine and the other human, and two souls, the one divine and the other human, and two spirits, the one divine and the other human. The human body, according to the Egyptian tradition recorded by Plutarch,<sup>1</sup> once lived upon earth and was put to death in a cruel manner, and was mutilated by his brother; but his feminine counterpart, Isis, succeeded in obtaining from Thoth the knowledge of certain words and ceremonies, and having learnt from him the proper manner of reciting these words, and how to perform these ceremonies, by means of them she raised up to life the dead body of Osiris. The god Thoth was the personification of the intelligence of the whole company of the gods, and thus the words which he taught Isis were divine, and they were, presumably, names by the utterance of which the gods themselves maintained their existence. Now when Osiris had been raised from the dead he did not continue his life upon earth, but passed into the region of the Underworld, where he became the judge and god of the dead and, as we have seen, was made the possessor of all the attributes of the Sun-god Rā and of the great One God. But, the Egyptians in the early ages thought, Since Osiris was raised to life by the words and ceremonies which Thoth taught Isis, and since Osiris has gained

<sup>1</sup> *De Iside et Osiride*, ed. Didot (*Scripta Moralia*, t. iii., pp. 429-469), § xii. ff.

immortality by means of them, these same words and ceremonies will raise us to life and give us immortality also. Their priests therefore invented a number of magical ceremonies, which they led the people to believe were identical with those which Isis had performed at the bidding of Thoth, and they strung together magical words which they declared to be those which had raised Osiris to life, and the words were recited and the ceremonies performed by priests who appear to have dressed themselves in such a way as to resemble the divine beings who were concerned with the resurrection of Osiris.

At a later period, however, the Egyptians put their trust in Osiris himself, and addressed their prayers directly to him as the Being, partly divine and partly human, who had raised himself from the dead without having seen corruption, and who had bestowed upon his own earthly body, by means of his divine nature, the gift of an everlasting life which it enjoyed in an incorruptible and glorified form in heaven. The Egyptians "loved life and hated death," and they worshipped Osiris as the Great God who not only possessed the power of maintaining his own life indefinitely—which was supposed to be the chief distinguishing characteristic of a god—but also of giving mortals the power to live after death in this world. What Osiris had effected for himself he could effect for man; hence Thothmes III. is made to address the god in these words, "Homage to thee, O my divine father Osiris, thou hast thy being with thy members. Thou didst not decay, thou didst not turn into worms, thou didst not rot away, thou didst not become corruption, thou didst not putrefy. . . . I shall not decay, I shall not rot, I shall not putrefy. . . . I shall have my being, I shall live, I shall germinate, I shall wake up in peace. . . . My body shall be stablished, and it shall neither fall into ruin nor be destroyed off this earth."<sup>1</sup> Because the human body of Osiris rose from the dead, the body of every man could rise from the dead also, but man lacked what Osiris possessed, i.e., the divine body, soul, spirit, and nature, which had brought about the resurrection of his human body, soul, spirit, and nature. In the earliest times of the worship of the

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Dead*, Chap. cliv.

god the Egyptians, as we have seen, invented magical words and ceremonies with the object of supplying the human body with the power necessary to raise itself from the dead, but as time went on they realized that both words and ceremonies were incapable of giving eternal life to the dead, and that only Osiris himself could give them that which they so earnestly desired, i.e., everlasting life, by supplying to their dead earthly bodies the power to rise again, a power which he himself possessed. Beyond all doubt the Egyptians realized that Osiris was the only God who could make them to inherit life everlasting, and that he alone had the power of making "men and women to be born again."<sup>1</sup>

We have already seen how the attributes of the great God who created all things were ascribed to him, and we now see that he was regarded as the god who had the power to vanquish death by raising up the bodies of the dead in glorified forms, and to reunite to them their souls and their spirits, and to give them eternal life in his dominions. These things were declared of no other god, and no other god united in his person the attributes of an ethical god, and an almighty, creative god, and a god who was the vivifier of the dead. The conception of Osiris included the conceptions of every other god, but the conception of no other god included that of Osiris during the period of the highest thought and civilization of Egypt. The Sun-god Rā was called "One," a few other gods who were made to usurp his attributes were also each called "One;" this in the earliest times was natural enough, because the Egyptians were only acquainted with one Sun, and whether the physical body of the sun as a symbol of the power which moved it or that power itself is referred to in the hymns matters little, for "One" was a suitable epithet both for the sun and its god. In connexion with this matter it is important to remember the unique position which Osiris occupies in the *Book of the Dead* and in funeral texts generally. In the texts of the Vth Dynasty we find that Osiris was believed "to weigh words," i.e., to inquire into the various words and deeds of the lives of

<sup>1</sup> ; see *Book of the Dead*, Chap. clxxxii., l. 15.

men when their souls left their bodies, in order that he might reward them according to their merits.

In later times this idea was illustrated by the vignette in which the heart of the deceased was seen being weighed in the Great Scales against the symbol of Maät, or the Law and right and truth; at a still later period, when the heart was the symbol of the conscience, this scene became associated with the examination of the words and deeds of the dead which took place in the Hall of Maāti. In the large scenes of the weighing of the heart which were prefixed to the finest papyri of the *Book of the Dead* of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and which were accompanied by suitable hymns and texts, the ceremony takes place in the presence of the gods of the Great and Little companies, but in the Hall of Maāti the Forty-Two Assessors are substituted for the gods. In both cases, however, the great judge of all is Osiris, and it was to him that all Egyptians returned after death. Why the Assessors were forty-two in number cannot be said, but it is very probable, as has been before suggested, that each of them represented a district in Egypt in the earliest dynastic times, and that the Hall of Maāti thus became a meeting place for the Assessors of the whole country when Osiris sat to judge the dead. It is, moreover, impossible to say why certain assessors were supposed to hear confessions about the non-committal of certain sins, and we have no knowledge of the circumstances which gave rise to their selection and to their admission into the Hall of Judgment. Some of them appear to have been originally the gods of cities, and others gods of nomes, but, on the other hand, a few of them are deities who, in the earliest times, were apparently hostile to the dead. Failing full information on the subject, the chief interest which attaches to the Assessors and the Hall of Maāti, in which they sit, consists in the fact that the vignette proves how completely Osiris had gained the ascendancy over all the gods of Egypt.

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to trace the development of the conception of a supreme being in Egypt, from the earliest times to the period when Osiris became endowed with many of the attributes now ascribed to God Almighty. There is

no doubt that in predynastic times the Egyptians worshipped stocks, and stones, and animals, and plants, and trees, and that they only arrived at the idea of gods which were partly animal and partly man at the end of a long period of what is called in modern times "gross idolatry." From the idea of animal-man gods they advanced to the idea of a man-god, and finally their minds developed the conception of monotheism. When we first gain any definite knowledge of them we find that as a people they had put away the worship of stocks and stones, and most of the things which that worship implies, but that certain animals were held to be sacred in certain cities, and that the literature contained allusions to savage habits and practices, as we have already seen. As time went on, many changes took place in the minds of the Egyptians concerning their gods, but little variation was made in their worship and ceremonial in the temples; in other words, the spirit of the religion changed whilst the observance of the letter remained unchanged. Thus the forms of worship and the literature preserved a great deal which no one believed in except the commonest folk, and in this way traces of the lowest forms of religion were preserved and handed down to posterity. The Egyptians, after the period of the IVth Dynasty, were the victims of conservatism and conventionality, and, we might almost add, of the priesthoods of Heliopolis and Thebes; but for these powerful and wealthy confraternities the history of the religion of Egypt would have been very different. The conception of monotheism, which is so clearly expressed in the moral precepts of the Early Empire, would have developed rapidly, and in its growth it would have obliterated the remains of the old and obsolete faiths which had crystallized, and which existed in layers side by side with the higher doctrine. But the decay which set in after the IVth Dynasty, and which stifled the development of painting and sculpture, also attacked the religion of the country, and the noble conception of monotheism, with its cult of the unseen, was unable to compete with the worship of symbols, which could be seen and handled, until the time when Osiris was recognized as the One God, who was also the giver of eternal life. The Egyptians were unlike other nations, and similarly their religion and their gods were unlike the religion

and the gods of other nations ; and as they must not be judged by the standard of any one foreign nation belonging to any one period, so their religion and their gods must not be judged by the standard of the religion and gods of any later civilized nation. We can only know what the Egyptians thought and believed by reading and studying the texts which they wrote, and a final opinion on their beliefs cannot be obtained until all their religious literature has been published ; the general outline, however, of their religion is clear enough, and it shows us that they possessed a good, practical form of monotheism and a belief in immortality which were already extremely ancient even in the days when the Pyramids were built.

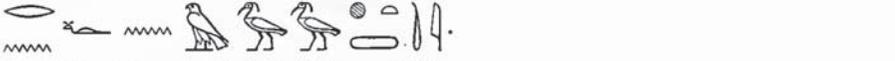
## CHAPTER IV

## THE COMPANIONS OF THE GODS IN HEAVEN

IN the preceding chapters, which are devoted to the consideration of general questions concerning God and the gods, no mention is made of the habitation of these divine beings or of their companions. The texts of all periods are silent as to the exact position of heaven, but it is certain that the Egyptians assigned to it a place above the sky, and that they called it *pet* ; we must distinguish between the meanings of *pet*  and *nut* , for the former means "heaven," and the latter "sky." We may also note that two skies are mentioned in the texts, i.e., , the day sky, and , the night sky. The hieroglyphic for heaven and sky represents a slab, each end of which rests on a support, and we may assume that the primitive Egyptians believed that each end of heaven rested upon a support (i.e., two mountains); out of one mountain came the sun every morning, and into the other he entered every night. The mountain of Sunrise was called Bakhau,     , and the mountain of Sunset Manu,  . In the earliest times the sky was divided into two parts only, the East and the West, but later another division was made, and heaven was split up into four parts, and each was placed under the care of a god. The latter division was made long before the Pyramid Texts were written, for in them it is always assumed that the flat slab of iron which formed the sky, and therefore the floor of the abode of the gods, was rectangular, and that each corner of it rested upon a pillar, . That this is a very ancient view concerning the sky is proved by the hieroglyphic

𓆎𓆎𓆎𓆎, which is used in texts to determine words for rain, storm, and the like; here we have a picture of the sky falling and being pierced by the four pillars of heaven.

At a later period, the four quarters of heaven were believed to be under the direction of four gods, and the four pillars of the sky were poetically described as the four sceptres which they held in their hands. Thus in the text of Tetâ (l. 233) it is said, "As Tetâ goeth towards them they bring unto him the four gods who stand with the sceptres of heaven, and they repeat the name of Tetâ to Râ, and they take up his name to Horus of the two horizons."<sup>1</sup> In several texts<sup>2</sup> allusion is made to the lifting up of heaven upon its four pillars, e.g., , and in one place the four pillars are said to support that on which the four heavens rest, ; at a comparatively late period the idea arose that the sky needed support in the middle as well as at the corners, and the god who acted as the prop was called Hēh, . According to one myth which represented the heavens in the form of the head of a man, and which made the sun and the moon to be his eyes, the supports of heaven were supposed to be formed of his long flowing hair, and thus we have in the text of Unâs (l. 473) an allusion to the "four elder spirits who dwell in the locks of hair of Horus, who stand in the eastern part of heaven grasping their sceptres."<sup>3</sup> The gods who grasped as sceptres the four pillars of heaven, which eventually became the

<sup>1</sup>   
  


<sup>2</sup> See Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 1351.

<sup>3</sup>   
  


four cardinal points, were  $\text{Amset}$ ,  $\text{Hāp}$ ,  $\text{Tuatmef}$ , and  $\text{Qebhsennuf}$ , the god of the southern point,  $\text{Hāp}$ ,  $\text{Tuatmef}$ ,  $\text{Qebhsennuf}$ , the god of the northern point,  $\text{Tuatmef}$ ,  $\text{Qebhsennuf}$ , the god of the eastern point, and  $\text{Qebhsennuf}$ ,  $\text{Amset}$ , the god of the western point. These four gods played a prominent part in connexion with the deceased in the Pyramid Texts, where they are called the "children of Horus,"<sup>1</sup> for at one time they are called upon to bring him the boat of the Eye of Tem,  $\text{Eye of Tem}$ , which is on the Lake of Kha, and at another they are exhorted to protect his life by their magical power and amulets,  $\text{Amulet}$ ,<sup>2</sup> and finally the deceased is said to become one of these four gods (Pepi I. l. 672),  $\text{Deceased as god}$ . The duties which are assigned to them as funereal gods in the *Book of the Dead* will be described later on.

Chief among the dwellers in heaven was the god Rā, who is said to sit upon an iron throne [the sides of which were ornamented] with the faces of lions and feet which resembled the hoofs of bulls.<sup>3</sup> Round about Rā, whether walking or sitting, were the gods who were "in his train," and these formed the nucleus of the inhabitants of heaven. Next to these came certain companies of the gods, and as the whole universe was divided into three portions, namely, heaven, earth, and the  $\text{Tuat}$ , or Underworld, and each portion had its own gods, we may assume that a place was reserved for them in the heaven of the Egyptians. But this heaven also contained several classes of beings, first and foremost among whom may be mentioned the  $\text{SHESU-HERU}$ , or  $\text{SHEMSU-HERU}$ , a name which appears in the Pyramid Texts under the form  $\text{SHESU-HERU}$  (Pepi I., l. 166), and may be translated "Followers of Horus." They are, in fact, beings who followed Horus, the son of Isis, in heaven, where they waited upon him, and performed his behests,

<sup>1</sup>  $\text{SHESU-HERU}$ , Pepi I., l. 593.

<sup>2</sup> Pepi I., l. 444.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 309, 310.

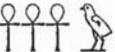


Hâtshepset<sup>1</sup> as if in the latter part of the dynastic period the word had come to mean a class of men and women, especially as it is determined by the signs which usually indicate a number of human beings. Thus Rameses III. speaks of "all the gods and "goddesses of the South and the North, and all men, and all the "pāt, and all the *rekhit*, and all the *hamemet*"; finally, that the *hamemet* were believed to live upon grain is proved by the passage in a hymn to Āmen-Rā wherein this god is said to be the "maker "of the green herb which giveth life to the beasts and cattle, and "of the plant of life, , of the *hamemet*."<sup>2</sup> Of the characteristics of the classes of beings called ĀFA, and UTENNU, who are mentioned in the text of Pepi II. (l. 951), we know nothing, and the same must be said of the SET beings, who were, however, divided into two classes, the Upper and the Lower, . The following extract will show how these beings are mentioned:—  
 "O great heaven, stretch out thy hand to Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā!  
 "O mighty heaven, stretch out thy hand to Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā, for  
 "Pepi is thy divine hawk, . Pepi hath come  
 "having come forth into heaven, and he hath penetrated Qebḥu;  
 "Pepi hath paid homage to his father, and he riseth like Horus.  
 "Pepi hath come to the place where he is, and he (his father)  
 "granteth to him to rise like the sun, and he stablisheth for him his  
 "two divine *utcharts*, and when Pepi cometh forth  
 "with him, great like Horus, son of Nut, and like the child with  
 "the lock of hair (i.e., Harpocrates), and smiting the crowns, and  
 "giving orders to the gods UTENNU, the ĀFA gods follow Pepi, and  
 "those who are in the heavens and on the earth come to him pay-  
 "ing homage, together with the two uraei guides, ,  
 "and the jackals, and the spirits, and the Set beings, both the

<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> Ed. Grébaut, section vi.

“Upper and the Lower.” It is possible that the SET beings may have been of like nature to the god Set, who was the brother and associate of Horus in the earliest times, but who in later times lost his position as a god and became the type and symbol of all evil.

In addition to these the text of Pepi II. (line 849) mentions the “Watchers of the city of Pe,” and the “Watchers of the city of Nekhen,” , from which we may assume that certain cities were supposed to enjoy the protection of a number of gods whose duty it was to look after their interests in heaven. We know from several passages in the *Book of the Dead* that groups of gods were called the “souls” of such and such cities, and it is clear from the inscriptions that each city and town possessed a soul which had, like the soul of a man after death, the power to wander about at will. Thus on a wall in the temple which Cleopatra VII. built at Erment (now destroyed), was a scene in which the great queen was depicted in the act of giving birth to her son Caesarion. The goddess Neith holds up the queen’s arms, and the midwife Netchemtchemt, , receives the boy in the presence of several gods and goddesses. Now in the upper part of the relief were two groups of souls of cities, seven on the right hand and seven on the left, who were supposed to have been present at the birth of the child, and to have taken him under their protection. Among the cities represented are Thebes, , Ant, , Het, , Qeset, Unt, Ahet, Hetep, Uauaa, , etc.<sup>1</sup> Each soul is in the form of a human-headed hawk, and each has on its head horns and a disk, , in the front of which is a uraeus.

Want of space does not allow of the mention of many obscure beings who are called gods, and who are practically innumerable, and we therefore pass on to refer to the spirits and souls, etc., of the righteous men and women who once lived upon this earth. To these, as well as to the divine beings, was given the name “living ones,” , as may be seen from the passage in Unas (line 206), which reads, “Hail, Unas, behold thou hast not departed dead

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 60.

“ () , but as one living () thou hast gone to  
 “ take thy seat upon the throne of Osiris. Thy sceptre *āb*  
 “ () is in thy hand, and thou givest commands unto the  
 “ living ones; thy sceptre *meke* () , and thy sceptre  
 “ *Nehebet* () are in thy hands, and thou givest thine  
 “ orders to those whose habitations are hidden.” When king Tetā is in heaven the seat of his heart is declared to “ be among the  
 “ living ones on this earth for ever,”  .<sup>1</sup>

We have in this latter passage a proof that the Egyptians conceived it possible for a man to attain to all the attributes of a divine being, or, let us say, of an angel, and at the same time to enjoy an existence upon earth as well as in heaven. This idea probably arose because they wished to provide a future for the dead body just as they provided a habitation in heaven for the spirits and souls of the righteous. Heaven and earth were complements each of the other, the gods of heaven were the complements of the gods of earth, and *vice versa*, and the existence of the spiritual and mental attributes of man with the gods in heaven was a complement of his continued life after death in some region on this earth. The Pyramid Texts show that the opinion of the Egyptians about the number and functions of the constituent parts of his economy, both physical and spiritual, changed as time went on and as they ascended the various grades which led up to the high platform of their civilization, and the result of the change, or rather changes, made itself manifest in their religious compositions. In the early predynastic period they thought that the life after death was a mere continuation of the life in this world, and when they had placed some food in or on the graves of their dead they were satisfied.

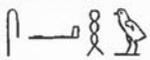
But they knew that the body of a man in the new life could

<sup>1</sup> Compare also   
  
, Pepi I., ll. 545, 546.

not be like that which he possessed on earth, although its form might be similar, and they therefore assumed the existence of another body. In his dreams the Egyptian saw a figure of himself or a duplicate, engaged in various occupations, and to this figure he gave the name *ka*, ; it was born with a man, it remained within him, usually inoperative, and survived him at death. It never left the body in the grave or tomb, and the offerings which were made in the halls of the tombs in all periods were intended to maintain its existence. Nevertheless the *ka* of Horus,  , is in heaven (Tetá, line 88), and also the *ka* of Tetá (line 94), which is adjured to bring that which the king might eat with it; and as the *kau* of men and gods lived in heaven so there lived there also the *kau* of cities, e.g., of the city of Pe,     (Tetá, line 88), and the "lords of *kau* praised Rā both in the dominions of Horus "and in the dominions of Set."<sup>1</sup> King Unās is declared to be the "chief of the doubles,"  , and he is said to "gather together "hearts for the great wise chief" (Unās, line 395). Men and gods alike possessed shadows, and they also had an existence in heaven after the death of the bodies to which they belonged. When Unās had eaten the bodies of the gods, and had absorbed all their souls and spirits, it is said that the "flame of Unās is in their bones, for "their soul is with Unās, and their shadows are with their forms" (Unās, line 523, Tetá, line 330). The souls and the spirits of men had their abode in heaven with the gods, and the religious texts of all periods are so full of allusions to this fact that it is unnecessary to quote examples; the soul, *ba*, , is usually depicted in the form of a hawk with a human head, and the spirit, *khu*, , as a heron. Related intimately to the body, but with undefined functions, so far as we can discover, was the *sekhem*,    , a word which has been translated "power," and "form," and even "vital force;" and finally the glorified body, to which had been

<sup>1</sup>                

     , Tetá, l. 192.

united the soul, and spirit, and power, and name of the deceased, had its abode in heaven. This new body of the deceased in heaven was called *sāhu*, , and may for all practical purposes be termed the spiritual body; it grew out of the dead body and was called into existence by the ceremonies which were performed, and the words which were recited by the priests on the day when the mummified body was laid in the tomb.

Thus we see that the denizens of heaven consisted of the Great, and the Little, and the other companies of the gods; and of a large number of beings, who may for convenience be called the "inferior gods," and of several orders of beings who possessed some characteristic which caused the Egyptians to assume that they were divine; and of the shadows, doubles, souls, spirits, powers, hearts, and spiritual bodies of those who had lived upon this earth. In Chapter lxiv. of the *Book of the Dead* (line 21) is a curious statement to the effect that the "spirits are four million,

"six hundred and one thousand, two hundred,"  , in number, but whether this is intended to

be an enumeration of the spirits of heaven, or of the spirits which once inhabited human bodies, cannot be said. Of the occupations of the denizens of heaven little is known, but to some of them was assigned the task of directing the affairs of this world, others directed the operations of the celestial bodies, and others were attached to the trains of the great gods, and accompanied them in their triumphant courses through the heavens. All these sang praises to Rā as the king and chief of the gods, and they sang hymns to him describing his greatness and glory just as men sang songs of joy to the sun when he rose and set. The gods nourished themselves with celestial food which was supplied to them by the Eye of Horus, that is to say, they supported their existence on the rays of light which fell from the sun which lit up heaven, and they became beings whose bodies were wholly of light. According to one myth the gods themselves lived upon a "wood, or plant of life,"  (Pepi I., line 430), which seems to have grown near the great lake in Sekhet-ḥetep, round which they were wont







pictures of them in the papyri of the *Book of the Dead* which were placed in tombs.<sup>1</sup> The model of the ladder, , *maqet*, could be made as long as the deceased wished by reciting certain words of power over it, and by similar means the picture of the ladders given in the papyri could be turned into real ladders.

The above mentioned facts will show that in his conception of heaven the Egyptian never succeeded in freeing himself wholly from material ideas and the wish to make sure of eternal life and happiness by means of his own acts. In the latter part of the dynastic period the conception of heaven became more material, and at length, if we may judge by the texts, the belief in the resurrection of the actual physical body prevailed, and the life after death was regarded as nothing but a continuation of the life upon earth. Thus the title of Chapter cx. of the *Book of the Dead* declares that the text which follows will give a man the power of "doing everything even as a man doeth upon earth." As a result of this view the deceased prays thus:—"May I become a *khu* (spirit) therein, i.e., in the Sekhet-ḥetep or Elysian Fields, may I eat therein, may I drink therein, may I plough therein, may I reap therein, may I fight therein, may I make love therein, may my words be mighty therein, may I never be in a state of servitude therein, but may I be in authority therein." He also wishes that he may have with him in Sekhet-ḥetep his father and mother, and presumably his wife and children, and also the god or gods of his city, but in these materialistic passages we find no mention of his desire to worship and praise the gods of heaven, or even the Great God who is said to "grow" therein. Thus in another place in the same chapter he says, "O Uakh, I have entered into thee, I have eaten my bread, I have gotten the mastery over choice pieces of the flesh of oxen and of feathered fowl, and the birds of Shu have been given to me. I have plunged into the lakes of Tchesert; behold me, for all filth hath departed from me. The Great God groweth therein, and behold, I have found [food therein]; I have snared feathered fowl and I feed upon the best of them. . . . I have seen the Osiris [my

<sup>1</sup> See the *Papyrus of Ani*, 2nd edition, pl. 22.

“father], and I have gazed upon my mother, and I have made “love.” In every division of the Elysian Fields the deceased, in the later period of dynastic history, found some fresh material pleasure, but, in spite of all its inconsistencies and his materialism, the heaven of the Egyptians was better and purer than that of many more modern nations which are credited with higher intelligence and better civilization.

## CHAPTER V

## THE UNDERWORLD

IN the chapters on God and the gods it has already been said that the Egyptians in the earliest times believed that the gods were moved by the same passions as men and grew old and died like men; later, however, they believed that it was only the bodies of the gods which died, and they therefore provided in their religious system a place for the souls of dead gods, just as they provided a place for the souls of dead men and women. The writers of the religious texts were not all agreed as to the exact position of this place, but from first to last, whatever might be the conceptions entertained about it, it was called T̄UAT, ★   . This word is commonly rendered "underworld," but it must be distinctly understood that the Egyptian word does not imply that it was situated under our world, and that this rendering is only adopted because the exact signification of the name T̄uat is unknown. The word is a very old one, and expresses a conception which was originated by the primitive Egyptians, and was probably unknown to their later descendants, who used the word without troubling to define its exact meaning. To render T̄uat by "hell" is also incorrect, because "hell" conveys to modern peoples ideas which were foreign to the Egyptians of most schools of religious thought. Whatever may be the moral ideas of the T̄uat as a place of punishment for the wicked in later times, it is clear that at the outset it was regarded as the place through which the dead Sun-god Rā passed after his setting or death each evening on his journey to that portion of the sky in which he rose anew each morning. In the XIXth Dynasty we know that the T̄uat was believed to be situated not below our earth, but away beyond the

earth, probably in the sky, and certainly near the heaven wherein the gods dwelt; it was the realm of Osiris who, according to many texts, judged the dead there, and reigned over the gods of the dead as well as over the dead themselves.

The Ṭuat was separated from this world by a chain or range of mountains, and consisted of a great valley, which was shut in closely on each side by mountains; the mountains on one side divided the valley from this earth, and those on the other divided it from heaven. We may note in passing that the Hebrews separated the blessed from the damned by a wall,<sup>1</sup> and that Lazarus was separated from Dives in hell by a "great gulf,"<sup>2</sup> and that the Muḥammadans divide heaven from hell by the mountain Al-A'râf, الاعراف,<sup>3</sup> which, however, cannot be of any great breadth because those who stand upon it are supposed to be able to hold converse both with the blessed and the damned. It is pretty certain that both Hebrews and Muḥammadans borrowed their ideas of the partition between heaven and hell from the Egyptian Ṭuat, but there is no authority in the texts for the Muḥammadan view that it is a sort of limbo or purgatory for those who are too good for earth but not good enough for heaven. Those who stand on Al-A'râf are said to be angels in the form of men, patriarchs, prophets, and saints, and those whose good deeds on earth were exactly counterbalanced by their evil deeds, and who therefore merit neither heaven nor hell. Through the valley of the Ṭuat runs a river, which is the counterpart of the Nile in Egypt and of the celestial Nile in heaven, and on each bank of this river lived a vast number of monstrous beasts, and devils, and fiends of every imaginable kind and size, and among them were large numbers of evil spirits which were hostile to any being that invaded the valley.

On the sarcophagus of Seti I. is a representation of the Creation, which is reproduced on p. 204, and from it we see that the Ṭuat is likened to the body of Osiris, which is bent round like a hoop in such a way that his toes touch the back of his head.

<sup>1</sup> See Eisenmenger, "Was die Juden von der Höllen lehren" (*Entdecktes Judenthum*, tom. ii., p. 322 ff.

<sup>2</sup> St. Luke xvi. 26.

<sup>3</sup> See Ḳur'an, Sura vii.

On the top of his head stands the goddess Nut, who supports with both hands the disk of the sun. From this we may conclude both that Osiris is the personification of the T̄uat, and that the T̄uat is a narrow circular valley which begins where the sun sets in the west, and ends where he rises in the east. The T̄uat was a terrible place by reason of the monsters and devils with which it was filled, and its horrors were increased by the entire absence of light from it, and the beings therein groped about in the darkness of deep night. That the T̄uat should be a place of blackness and gloom is quite natural when once we have realized that it was the path of the dead sun between the sunset of one day and the sunrise of the following day. The ideas about this region, which we find reproduced in papyri of the New Empire, belong to different periods, and we can see that the Theban writers who described it and drew pictures of the beings which lived in it, collected a mass of legends and myths from every great religious centre of Egypt, wishing to make them all form part of their doctrine concerning the great god of Thebes, Āmen-Rā. As the priests of Heliopolis succeeded in promulgating their theological system throughout the length and breadth of Egypt by identifying the older gods with their gods, and by proving that their views included those of all the priesthoods of the great cities of Egypt, so the priests of Thebes endeavoured to convince the priests of other great cities of the superiority and greatness of their God Āmen-Rā, and probably succeeded in so doing. The Theban writers and scribes knew perfectly well that originally every nome or great city possessed its own underworld just as it possessed its own company of gods, and that each underworld was designated by a special name; they, therefore, made the T̄uat to include all these underworlds and all the various gods with whom they were peopled, and they gave it the most important of the names of the local underworlds. The best known of these was Āmentet, , i.e., the "hidden place," which appears to have been originally the place where Ān-her, the local god of Abydos, ruled as god of the dead, under the title of "Khenti Āmentet," that is to say, "he who is the chief of the unseen land." When the importance of Ān-her was eclipsed by the new-comer Osiris, the title of the former

was assigned to Osiris, who, henceforth, was always called "Khenti Amentet." But this usurpation of An-her's title as god of the dead by Osiris must have taken place in very early times, for Amentet was a common name for the underworld throughout Egypt, and is found in texts of all periods, even in those of the Vth and VIth Dynasties.

Yet long before even this remote period the priesthoods of certain nomes or cities must have developed the idea that the life of a man resembled the course of the sun during the day, and that setting was to the sun what death was to a man; the sun, however, reappeared each morning in apparently a new body, and as man wished to live again in a renewed, or new, body, the Egyptian theologians set to work to form a system of theology in which the souls of the blessed dead, i.e., those who had been buried with all the ceremonies prescribed by the religion of the period, were made to accompany the sun in his boat as he passed through the portion of the T̄uat which had been assigned to them. As the sun passed through the T̄uat large numbers of souls made their way into his boat, and although it was only the dead sun that was their guide and protector, and his passage was through the realms of the dead which were under the sovereignty of Osiris, the god of the dead, they were brought forth at length to renewed life and light as soon as the boat passed out from the eastern end of the T̄uat into the day. This view was a very popular and widespread one, especially as it made Rā and Osiris work together, each after his own method, to secure eternal life and happiness for the souls of the dead. As soon as the priests had made up their minds that the T̄uat existed, they began to people it with imaginary beings which were supposed to be hostile to the souls of the dead, and to invent descriptions of the various regions into which they declared it was divided; such descriptions were at length committed to writing, at first in a very simple form, and after the manner of every group of texts which were composed for the benefit of the dead, but finally they became more elaborate, and attempts were made to represent pictorially the creatures which were found in the T̄uat. In fact, it was intended to compile a book which should contain such accurate descriptions of the T̄uat, and such true

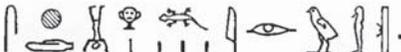
pictures of the foes which the dead soul would have to meet there, together with lists of their names, that when a soul was once provided with a copy of it he would find it impossible to lose his way, or to be overcome by any monster which attempted to bar his way or to prevent his access to the boat of Rā.

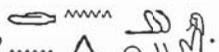
The great work which the Egyptians called "Coming Forth by Day," , supplied the soul with a great many words of power, and prayers, and incantations, as well as hymns, but even in the Early Empire, about B.C. 3500, many of its doctrines were antiquated, and the priests found it necessary to add new chapters and to modify old ones in order to make it a funeral work suitable for the requirements of newer generations of men. Owing to the extreme antiquity of the "Book of Coming Forth by Day," the views expressed in many of its chapters were contrary to those held by Theban priests of the New Empire, about B.C. 1650, and as a result, whilst preserving, and holding in great reverence this work which they had borrowed from the ancient priesthood of Heliopolis, they compiled two works, which may be called "THE BOOK OF THAT WHICH IS IN THE ṬUAT," and the "BOOK OF THE PYLONS." In the first of these, the SHĀT ĀM ṬUAT,"

, were gathered together all the views held by the Heliopolitan priesthood on the life of man's soul after death, and though it contained all the doctrines as to the supremacy of Rā, their great Sun-god, these were so skilfully manipulated by the Theban priests, that the compilation actually became a work which magnified the grade and influence of Amen-Rā, the great god of Thebes, and raised him to the position which the Thebans claimed for him, namely, "king of the gods, and lord of the thrones of the two lands." The thrones here referred to are not those of kings, but the shrines of all the gods on all the land on each side of the river Nile. In the Heliopolitan system of theology the god Osiris held a comparatively subordinate position in the *paut*, or company of the gods, and was in fact only the greatest of the gods of the dead who were worshipped in the Delta; in the "Book of that which is in the Underworld" he also holds a position subordinate to Rā, and his underworld is made to be a portion of

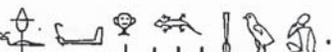
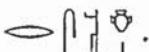
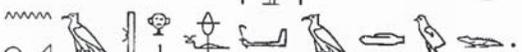
the T̄uat through which the dead sun passed nightly. In the SHĀT EN SBAU,  or "BOOK OF THE PYLONS," the greatest god of all is the god Osiris, and the whole work is devoted to a description of the various sections of the region over which he presides, and is intended to form a guide to it whereby the souls of the dead may be enabled to make their way through it successfully and in comfort. The SHĀT ĀM T̄UAT and the SHĀT EN SBAU were, in fact, the outcome of two distinct schools of theology; the latter, in its most primitive form, was the older of the two, and described the life of man after death more as a continuation of his existence on this earth than as an entirely new life, while the former made the future life to be passed entirely with the Sun-god. The latter maintained the views about the Elysian Fields and their material delights, which found utterance in the "Book of Coming Forth by Day," and was to all intents and purposes an amplification of, and a companion volume to it, but it also contained doctrines which were inserted in it with the view of making it harmonize with the theories in the former which related to the absolute supremacy of Rā. The Theban priests had no wish, when once they had established the mastery of Āmen-Rā, but to bring all the doctrines of the various schools of religious thought into harmony with their own, for such a course could do nothing but contribute to the material prosperity of the great brotherhood of Āmen-Rā. They were tolerably sure of the offerings of the faithful of Thebes, but they were anxious to obtain a share of those of the devotees of Osiris who flocked to Abydos, which was, rightly or wrongly, celebrated as the burial-place of the god. The history of Egypt shows that the fight between the kings of the South and the kings of the North for the supremacy of the whole country was always going on, but as the fortunes of war had given victory to the kings of the South, who were the lords of all Egypt under the New Empire, the priests of the god of these kings determined that Āmen-Rā should be the king of the gods. Religious ambition was helped by the success of the great warrior kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and thus Āmen-Rā became the overlord of Osiris.

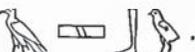
Both the "Book of that which is in the Underworld" and the "Book of the Pylons" divide the Țuat into twelve parts, each of which corresponds to one of the hours of the night, and the divisions are called "Field," , *sekhet*, or "City," , *nut*, or "Hall,"   *ārret*, or "Circle,"   *gerert*. In Chapter cxliv. of the *Book of the Dead*, according to the Papyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus., No. 10,477), the *Ārrets* are seven in number, and each is guarded by a doorkeeper, a watcher, and a herald with the following names:—

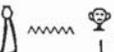
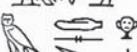
ĀRRET I. 1. Sekhet-ḥrā-āsht-āru, .  
 2. Semetu, . 3. Hu-kheru,   
.

ĀRRET II. 1. Țun-peḥti, . 2. Seqet-ḥrā, .  
 3. Sabes, .

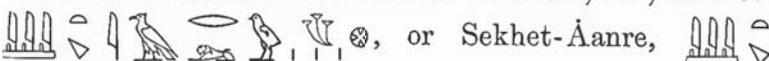
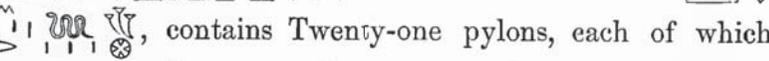
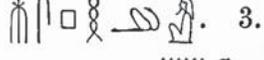
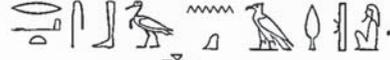
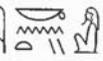
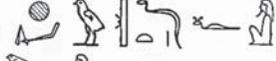
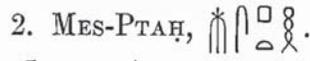
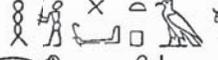
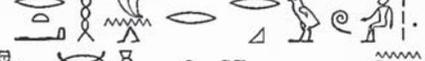
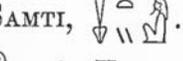
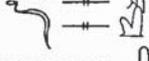
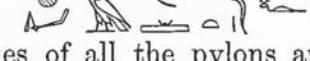
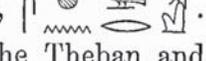
ĀRRET III. 1. Am-ḥuat-ent-peḥ-fi, .  
 2. Res-ḥrā, . 3. Țāau, .

ĀRRET IV. 1. Kheseḥ-ḥrā-āsh-kheru, .  
 2. Res-āb, . 3. Neteqa-ḥrā-kheseḥ-aṭu, .

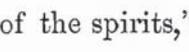
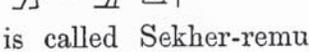
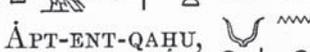
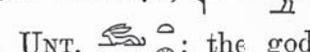
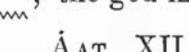
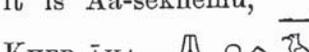
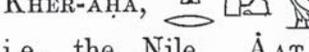
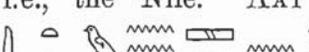
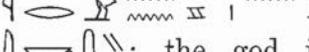
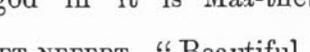
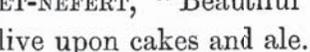
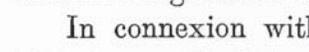
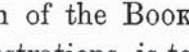
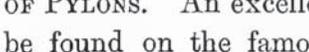
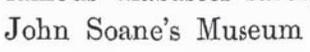
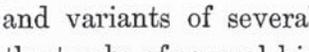
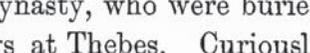
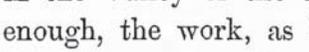
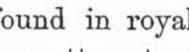
ĀRRET V. 1. Ānkh-em-fentu, . 2.  
 Ashebu, . 3. Țeb-ḥer-kehaat,   
.

ĀRRET VI. 1. Āken-tau-k-ha-kheru, .  
 2. Ān-ḥer, . 3. Meṭes-ḥrā-āri-she,   
.

ARRET VII. 1. Meṭes-sen, . 2. Āa-kheru, . 3. Khesef-ḥrā-khemiu, 

In Chapter cxlv. of the *Book of the Dead* according to the Theban and Saïte Recensions the domain of Osiris, i.e., Sekhet-Āarru,  or Sekhet-Āanre,  contains Twenty-one pylons, each of which has a name, generally a very long one, and each of which is guarded by a god. The names of the gods who guard the first ten of these pylons are:—1. NERI, . 2. MES-PEḤ, . 3. ERTĀT-SEBANQA, . 4. NEKAU, . 5. ḤENTI-REQU, . 6. SEMAMTI, . 7. ĀKENTI, . 8. KHUTCHET-F, . 9. TCHESEF, . SEKHEN-UR, . These names are taken from the Papyrus of Nu already quoted (sheet 25), but the following come from the Turin Papyrus, which was edited by Lepsius so far back as 1842, and they illustrate the changes which have taken place in the names. 1. NERĀU, . 2. MES-PTAḤ, . 3. BEQ, . 4. ḤU-TEPA, . 5. ERTĀ-ḤEN-ER-REQU, . 6. SAMTI, . 7. ĀM-NIT, . 8. NETCHSES, . 9. KHUTCHET-F, . 10. SEKHEN-UR, . The names of all the pylons are given in both the Theban and Saïte Recensions,<sup>1</sup> but the names of the gods who guard pylons XI.—XXI. are given in neither. The domain of Osiris, or Sekhet-Āarru, was, according to Chapters cxlix. and cl., divided into fifteen Āats, which are thus enumerated:—ĀAT () I. Sekhet Āarru ;

<sup>1</sup> See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Text), p. 334 ff.

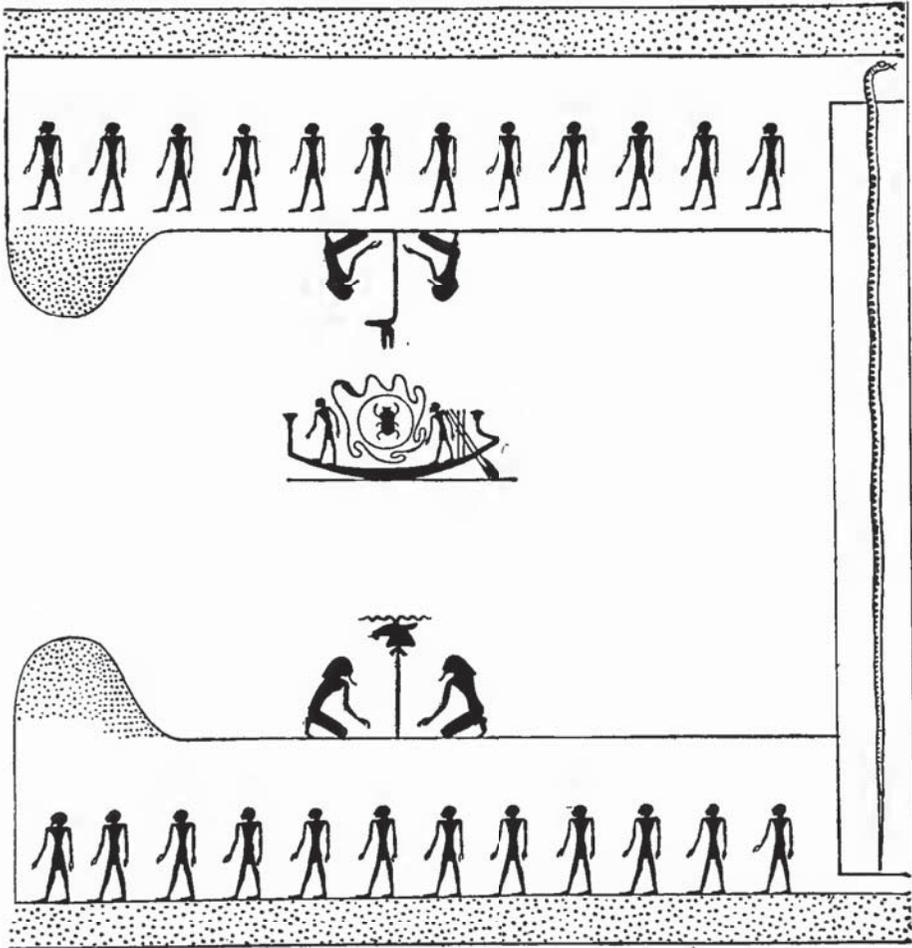
its god was Rā-Heru-khuti. ; its god was Fa-ākḥ, . . . ; the god in it is called Sekher-remu, . . . ; the god in it is Fa-pet, . . ; the god in it is Sept, . ; the god in it is Hetemet-baiu, . ; the god in it is Āa-sekhemu, . ; the god in it is Hāp, , i.e., the Nile. . . ; the god in it is Maatḥet-f, . . ; wherein the gods live upon cakes and ale.

In connexion with these various divisions of the realm of Osiris here will follow naturally a brief description of the Book of PYLONS. An excellent copy of its text, with illustrations, is to be found on the famous alabaster sarcophagus<sup>1</sup> of Seti I., now preserved in Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and variants of several of the passages are given on the walls of the tombs of several kings of the XXth Dynasty, who were buried in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. Curiously enough, the work, as M. Jéquier has remarked,<sup>2</sup> seems never to have become popular, and copies of it are only found in royal tombs; it is generally admitted that it represents an attempt on

<sup>1</sup> See Bonomi and Sharpe, *The alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I., King of Egypt*, London, 1864.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hades*, Paris, 1894, p. 13.

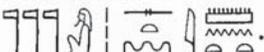
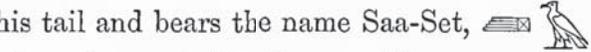
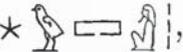
the part of the Theban priests to adjust the cult of Rā to that of Osiris, and if this be so there is little to wonder at if it failed. According to the BOOK OF PYLONS the T̄uat is a long, narrow valley, with sandy slopes, and is divided into two equal strips by the river on which the boat of the sun sails; it is made to contain



The First Hour of the Night.

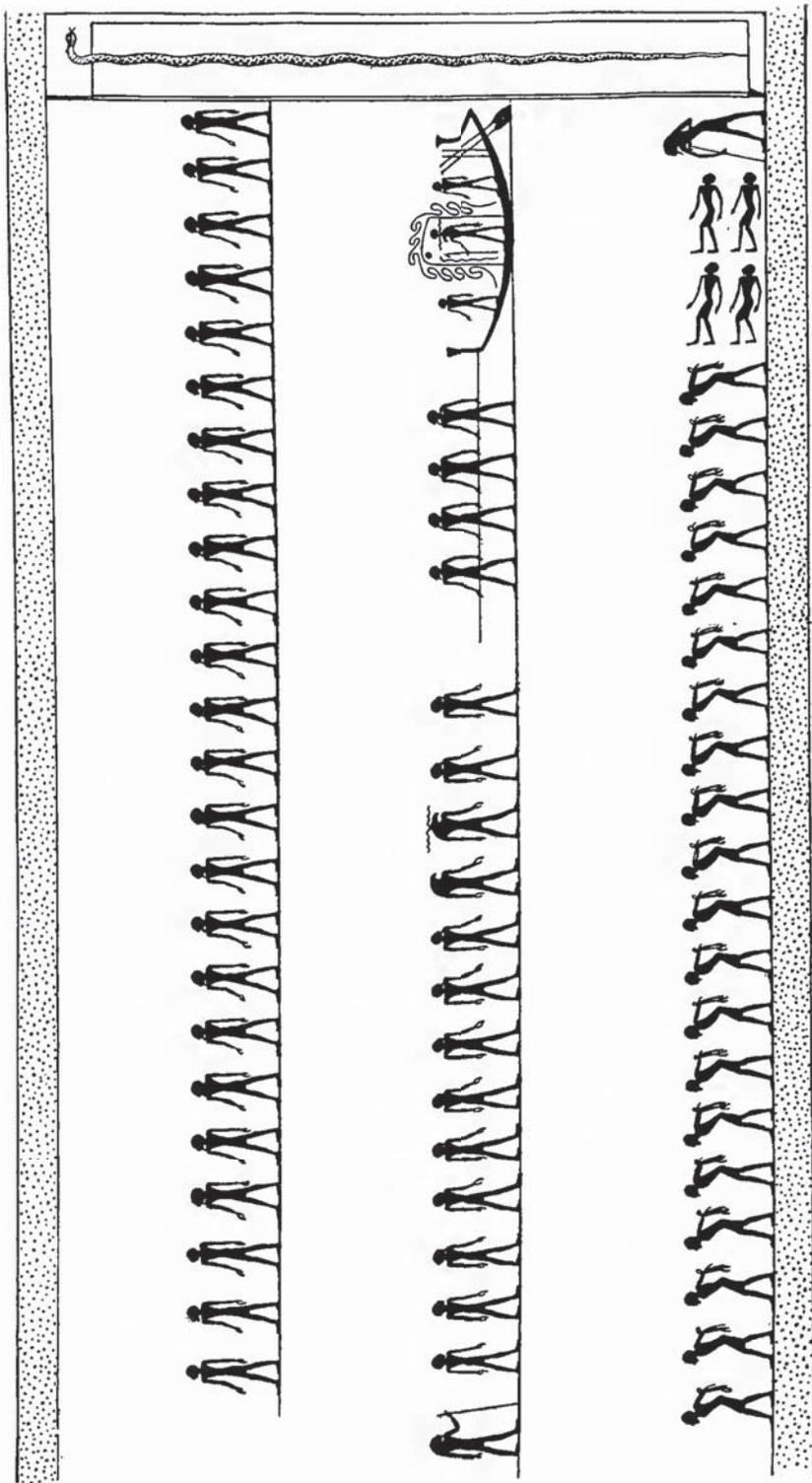
twelve nomes or divisions, which correspond to the twelve hours of the night.

In the FIRST DIVISION, i.e., the FIRST HOUR, we have the Mountain of the West,  $\sphericalangle$ , divided into two portions, and along its lowest part is a path which forms the entrance from this world to the T̄uat. On the right-hand side is a jackal-headed standard,

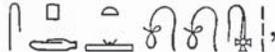
, and on the left a ram-headed standard, ; each of these is adored by the god of the mountain, Set, , and the god of the Tuat, . On the right are the twelve gods of the mountain, and on the left the twelve gods of Set-Āmentet, . In the centre is the boat of the sun, and we see in it a disk containing a beetle; the disk is encircled by a huge serpent in folds, which holds its tail in its mouth. In the bows of the boat stands the god Sa, , and in the stern, Heka, , the god of magical words. The boat, having moved on, approaches a pylon with closed doors, guarded by a huge serpent which stands on his tail and bears the name Saa-Set, . This pylon forms the entrance to the SECOND DIVISION, or SECOND HOUR, and when the god has passed through it "those who dwell in "their Set, , cry out."<sup>1</sup> On the right are twenty-four human forms, which represent those who praised Rā upon earth, , and who directed their words of power against the archfiend Apep, . In the centre is the boat of the sun, in which the god stands in a shrine; he is ram-headed, and holds in his hand a sceptre. The shrine is protected by the serpent Mehen, , and a serpent stands upright on its tail before him; the boat is being towed along by four beings of the Tuat, , and is met by the seven gods called Nepmeh, , Nenhā, , Ba (?), Horus, Uā-āb, , Khnemu, and Setchet, , and by six gods of the āqet, , and a god with a staff. On the left hand of the divine boat are :—(1) The god Tem, leaning on a staff, , (2) four dead men lying on their backs, and twenty men standing with their arms tied together behind their backs. These last are, according to M. Lefébure's rendering<sup>2</sup> of the text, "the criminals in Rā's great hall (the world), those "who have insulted Rā on the earth, those who have cursed that

<sup>1</sup> Bonomi and Sharpe, *op. cit.*, pll. 5 and 4.

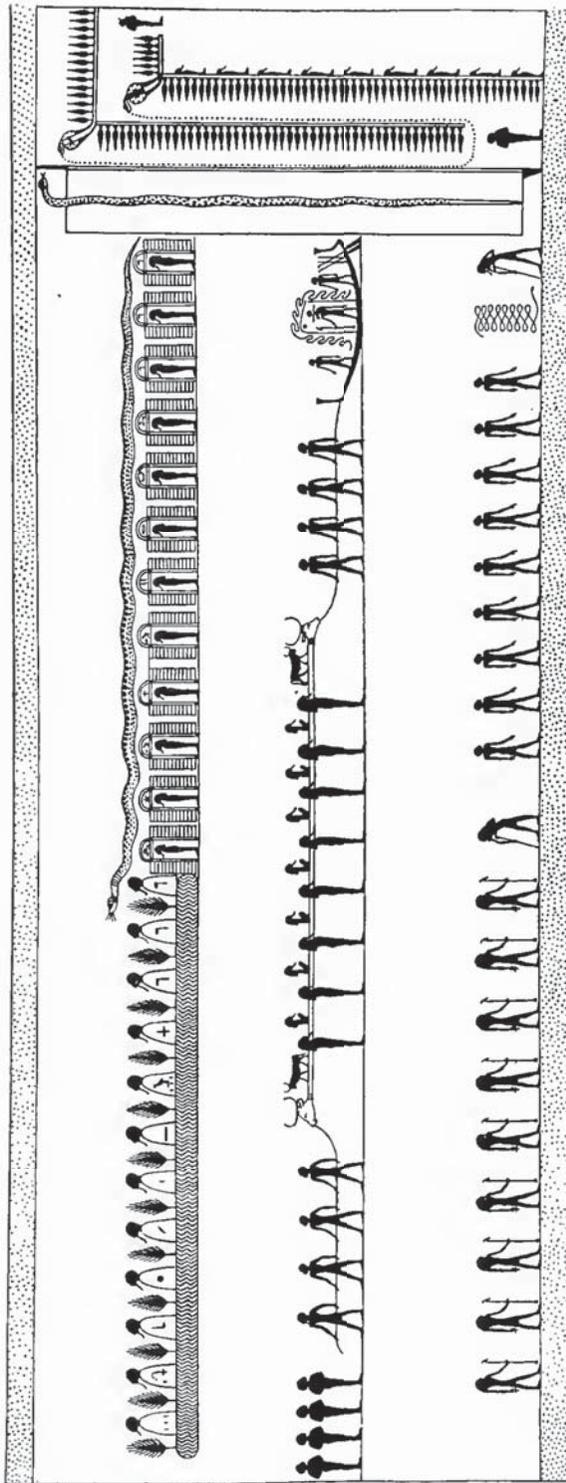
<sup>2</sup> See *Records of the Past*, vol. x., p. 85 ff.



The Second Hour of the Night.

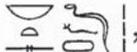
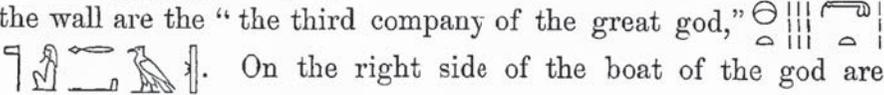
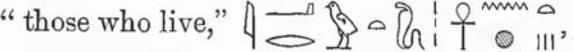
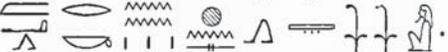
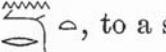
“which is in the Egg, those who have frustrated justice, those who “have uttered blasphemies against Khuti.” The pylon which the god now approaches is quite different from the first, but it resembles all the others which have to be passed through. The opening is protected like a fortress by some advanced work, and through the wall is an entrance to a corridor which runs between two walls crowned with a series of spear heads. This corridor bends at right angles, and in each angle is a uraeus, from the mouth of which drop balls of fire that fill the whole length of it; at each end of the corridor is a god in the form of a mummy, one is called *Ām-āua-qāh-f*, , and the other, *Sekhabsenfunen*, . The pylon itself is called *Septet-uauau*, , and the name of the snake which guards it and stands upon its tail is *Aqebi*, . The entrance to the pylon is also protected by nine gods, in mummied form, who represent the “Second Company” of the gods, .

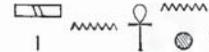
The door of the pylon is opened towards the THIRD DIVISION OF THE T̄UAT, or the THIRD HOUR. The gate is called *SEPTET UAUAU SETET-SEN-RĀ*, . On the right hand of the boat of the god are twelve holy gods of the T̄uat, each in his shrine, with the doors open, and twelve gods of the lakes of fire; a huge snake lies along the tops of all the shrines, and before each god of the basins of fire is an ear of corn. On the left hand are:—1. The god *Tem*; 2. the serpent *Āpep*; 3. the nine gods who are called the “chiefs who drive back *Āpepi*,” ; and 4. *Tem* and the nine gods of things, . The boat of the sun is towed through this division by eight gods of the T̄uat, and the middle of the rope is fastened to a long pole or beam, each end of which terminates in the head of a bull. This pole is supported by eight gods in mummied form, and upon it are seated seven gods; in front and behind these stands a bull, and at the end of the division stand four shrouded mummy forms. The gods who are



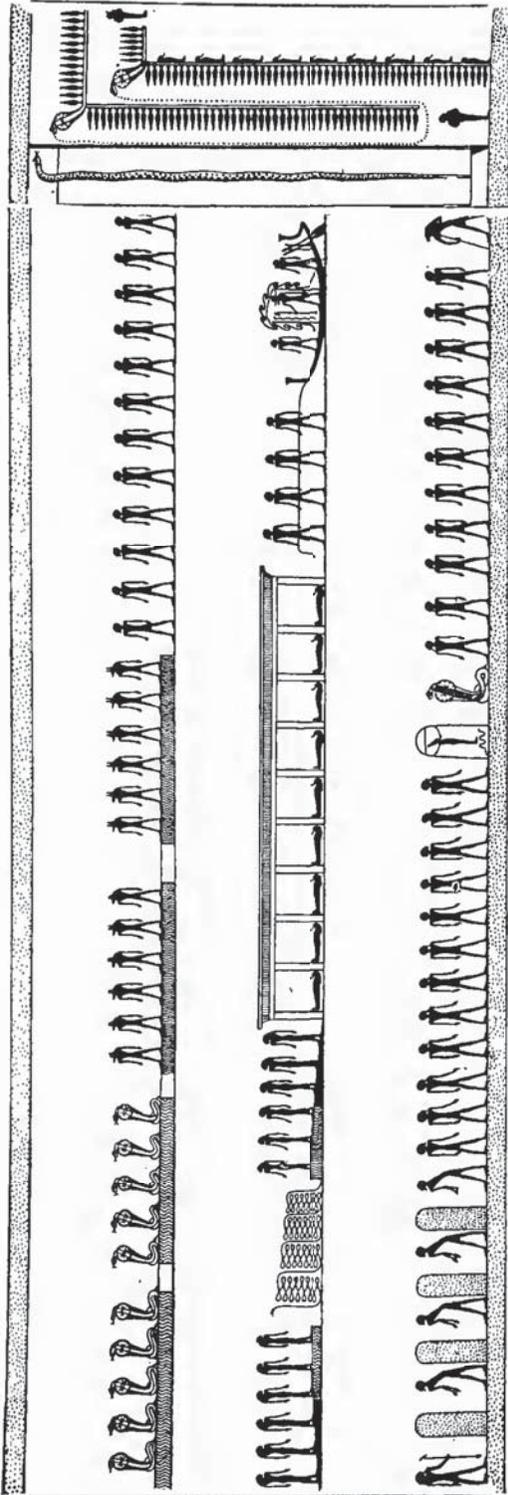
The Third Hour of the Night.

on the left hand of the boat of the sun, and are under the direction of Tem, form two companies, whose special duty it was to carry out the commands of this god in respect of the slaughter of the arch-fiend Āpepi. This monster was first of all to be enchanted by the incantations which were recited over him, and then his head was to be cut off, and his body to be hacked in pieces at the joints. As the god passes out of the Third Division and the door closes, all the beings who are fated to remain in it lift up their voices and weep.

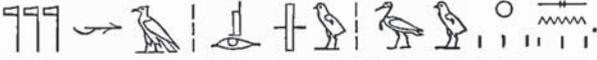
The pylon of the FOURTH DIVISION or FOURTH HOUR is called Nebt-s-tchefau, , and the name of the serpent which guards it and stands upon its tail is Tchetchbi, ; the gods in mummied forms who stand one at the beginning and one at the end of the corridor are called Nenuerbesta, , and Seta-ta, , respectively. The nine gods who guard the wall are the "the third company of the great god," . On the right side of the boat of the god are twelve gods, who are described as the "bringers of their doubles," , and twelve jackal-headed figures, who are walking on the Lake of Life,<sup>1</sup> and ten uraei, who rise out of the Lake of uraei;<sup>2</sup> to all these the Sun-god addresses words of comfort, and they respond suitably. The uraei, who are called "those who live," , are ordered to preserve their flames and fire for use against the enemies of Rā, and they answer the god, saying, "Come to us, unite thyself to Tanen," . On the left side of the boat of the god is Horus the Aged, who follows eleven human forms as they march behind the uraeus called Flame, , to a shrine in which the god Osiris, wearing the crown of the South, stands upon a serpent. Behind Osiris are the twelve gods, "who are behind the shrine," and four gods, who preside over pits in the earth, and the "prince of destruction," who holds a sceptre in his left

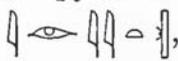
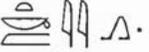
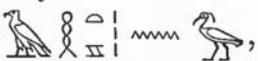
<sup>1</sup> 

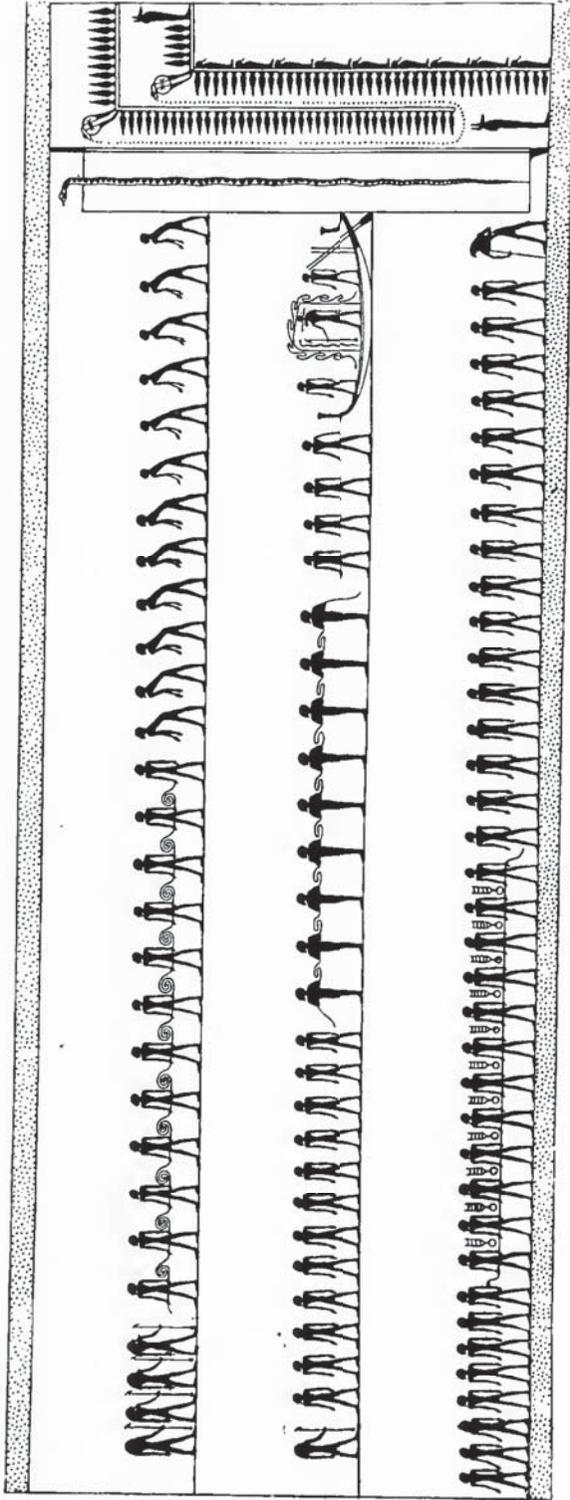
<sup>2</sup> 



The Fourth Hour of the Night.

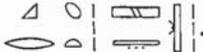
hand and  in his right. In the middle is the boat of the sun being towed along the river of the T̄uat by four gods as usual, and it is made to approach a long low sepulchral building in which are nine chapels, each containing a mummied god lying flat on his back; these are called "the gods who are in the train of Osiris in their caves," . At the end of this building are two groups, each containing six women, who are the personifications of the twelve hours in the T̄uat; between them is the serpent Herert, , with multitudinous coils and windings, and he is said to give birth to twelve young ones to devour the hours. In this division, as in the others, Rā addresses the beings who are in it, and makes arrangements for their supply of food, and reminds them of their duties to him their creator.

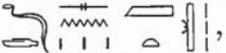
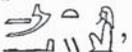
The pylon of the FIFTH DIVISION or FIFTH HOUR is called Ārit, , and the serpent who guards it bears the name of Teka-ḥrā, ; the jackal-headed mummy at one end of the corridor is Āau, , and he at the other is Tekemi, . Along the front of the wall are nine gods in mummied forms who represent the fourth company of the gods. On the right hand of the boat of the god are:—1. The twelve worshippers in the T̄uat; 2. Twelve bearers of cord, ; and 3. Four gods with sceptres. These beings are said to be those who knew Rā upon earth, and who made offerings to him, and in return for this Rā awarded them meat and drink in the most holy place in Āmentet, and said to them, "I am satisfied with what you did for me, whether I was shining in the Eastern heaven, or whether I was in the temple, , of my eye." Therefore they feed upon the food which Rā eats, and offerings are made to them upon earth on account of the praise which they ascribe to Rā in Āmenti. The beings who carry the cords are supposed to measure the "fields of the spirits," , and their cords are supposed to represent the cord of law, i.e.,

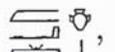


The Fifth Hour of the Night.



call the souls of the righteous and put them in their dwellings, by the corner of those who lived near him. Rā addresses the gods who tow his boat along, and bids them to pull with vigour, and to be strong of arm and firm of limb, and swift of foot, and bold of soul to make a prosperous way for him to the hidden circles, . Next he addresses the figures with draped

shoulders who bear the serpent Ennutchi, and bids them to draw him along; and then praises those who have spoken truth, , upon earth, and have magnified the forms of God, , , and decrees for them cakes for their souls, wind for their nostrils, green herbs from Sekhet-Āaru, and a place among the gods of right and truth, , in the corner of the abode of Rā where the companions of the god pass sentences of doom. The doctrine here preached is essentially that of Osiris, and there is no wonder that the Book of Pylons was not popular with the priests of Āmen.

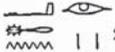
The name of the pylon of the SIXTH DIVISION<sup>1</sup> or the SIXTH HOUR is Nebt-āḥa, , the guardian at the entrance to the corridor is Maā-āb, , "Right of heart," and he who is at the end is Sheta-āb, , "Secret Heart." The wall is guarded by twelve gods in mummied forms, who are called "the gods and goddesses who are in this Pylon," , . Behind the wall is a chamber, the wall of which has upon it a row of spear heads, and inside we see the god Osiris



<sup>1</sup> The scene of the Sixth Division is so mutilated on the sarcophagus of Seti I. that it is not reproduced here.

seated upon the top of a flight of nine steps, on each of which stands a god; thus the whole company of the gods of Osiris are here represented. Osiris wears a double crown, , and holds in his hands the sceptre, , and the emblem of "life." Before him stands a mummied figure who forms the pillar of a pair of scales, and who may be regarded as the personification of the Great Balance with which we are familiar in the Judgment Scene as depicted in papyri. In the pan of the scales is the bird of evil, . Near the scales is a boat in which are an ape and a pig; the ape is urging the pig along with a stick. In the upper part of the scene are the heads of four oryxes and a figure of the god Anubis. The difficult texts which accompany this scene tell us that the "enemies of Osiris are beneath his feet, the gods and the spirits "are before him; he is the foe of the damned, he repulses the "enemies, and he destroys them, and effects their slaughter. "The bearer of the hatchet, and the supporter of the scales "protect him who is in *Āmenti*, who resteth in the T̄uat, and who "passeth through darkness and shadow. Above is Joy, and below "are Right and Truth (). The god resteth and giveth forth "the light of *Maāt* which he hath made." The ape in the boat is said to hand over the pig to punishment "when the god riseth," and Anubis says, "O ye who bring words true or false to me "[remember] that it is *Thoth* who weigheth them." Concerning Osiris we read, "When the weighing of words taketh place he "smiteth evil; he hath a right heart, and he holdeth the words in "the Scales in the holy place wherein the trial of the secret things "of the secrets of the spirits taketh place. It is the god who riseth "who hath made all the beings who are in the T̄uat." The text which relates to the four inverted heads of oryxes is not clear in its meaning, but it says that their dwelling-place is the *Āmeḥet*, a district in the Elysian Fields, and that they hide or protect the spirits. We must note in passing the position of the Sixth Division of the T̄uat. Assuming that the T̄uat was regarded as a nearly circular valley which curved round from the West, where the sun set, to the North, and curved round from the North to the East, where the sun rose, it follows if all the twelve divisions of

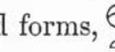
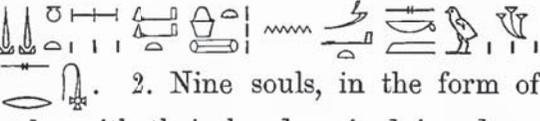
the T̄uat be equal in length, that the Sixth Division would be very near the most northerly part of the T̄uat. And this is exactly where it was intended to be, for the most northerly part of the T̄uat would include the greater part of the Delta, where the principal shrines of Osiris, i.e., Mendes and Busiris, were situated, and it was only right to make the position of the kingdom of Osiris on earth to correspond with that of his domain in the T̄uat. Unlike the other divisions of the T̄uat, the Sixth Division contains no representation of the god Rā, and the texts belonging to it do not even mention his name; the BOOK OF PYLONS made Osiris absolutely supreme in his own dominions, and the exclusion of Rā, or Āmen-Rā, from them was clearly the cause which made the work unpopular with all the worshippers of the great god of Thebes. The position of Osiris on the top of a flight of steps explains the allusions to the "god who is on his staircase" in the BOOK OF THE DEAD, and it proves that it is this god who is represented on the wooden plaque of Senti,<sup>1</sup> and before whom the king is dancing. The Sun-god Rā, having arrived at the north of the T̄uat, must now make his way towards the East.

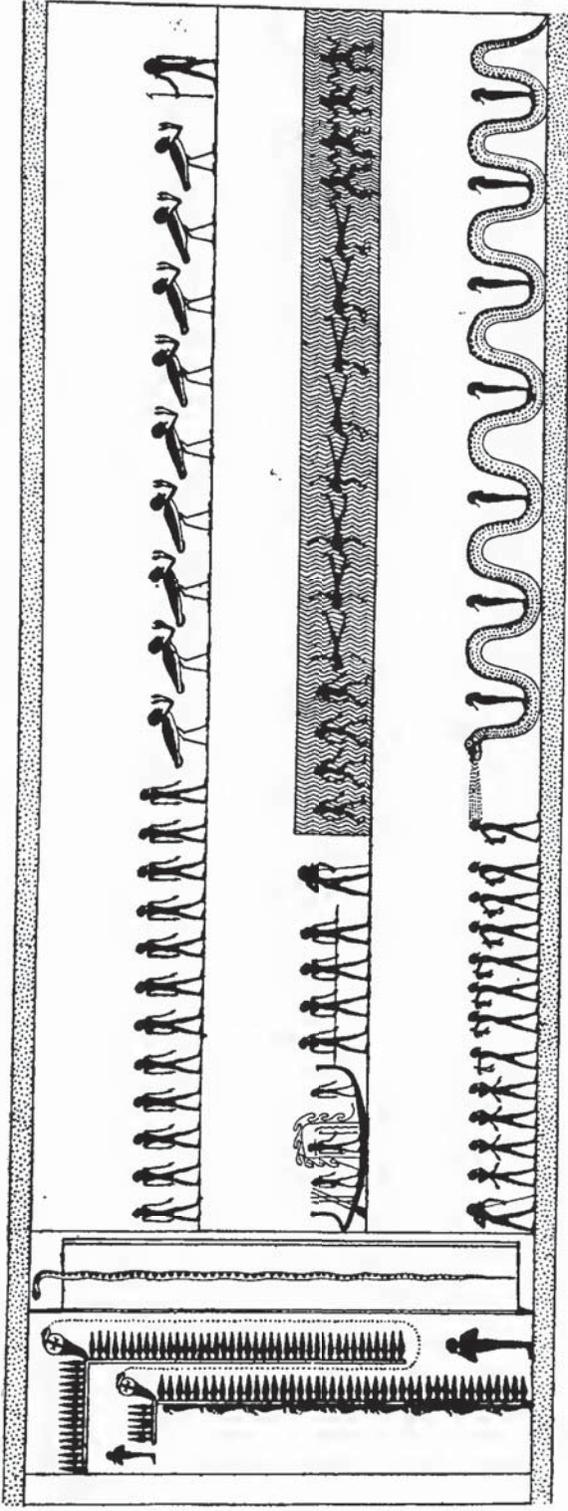
The serpent who guards the pylon of the SEVENTH DIVISION or the SEVENTH HOUR<sup>2</sup> is called Ākhan-maati, , and the guardian at the end of the corridor is called Shepi, ; but the mutilated state of the scene renders it impossible to give the name of the pylon or of the guardian of the entrance to the corridor. On the right side of the boat of the god are a number of beings bearing a rope, which is usually made to resemble a serpent, and on the left side are:—1. A god bending over a staff; his name is Men-sheta, , "Stablisser of what is secret." 2. A number of mummied forms extended on couches, who are described as the "mighty spirits." These beings are commanded by Rā to uncover themselves and to drive away darkness. In the centre is the boat of the Sun-god being towed along, presumably

<sup>1</sup> See *British Museum*, No. 32,650.

<sup>2</sup> The scene of the Seventh Division is so mutilated on the sarcophagus of Seti I. that it is not reproduced here.

by four gods of the Tuat as before. Marching in front of those who tow the boat are twelve gods with sceptres, and four mummied forms who cry out to the inhabitants of this Division of the Tuat to praise Rā, for he will weigh words and will destroy their enemy.

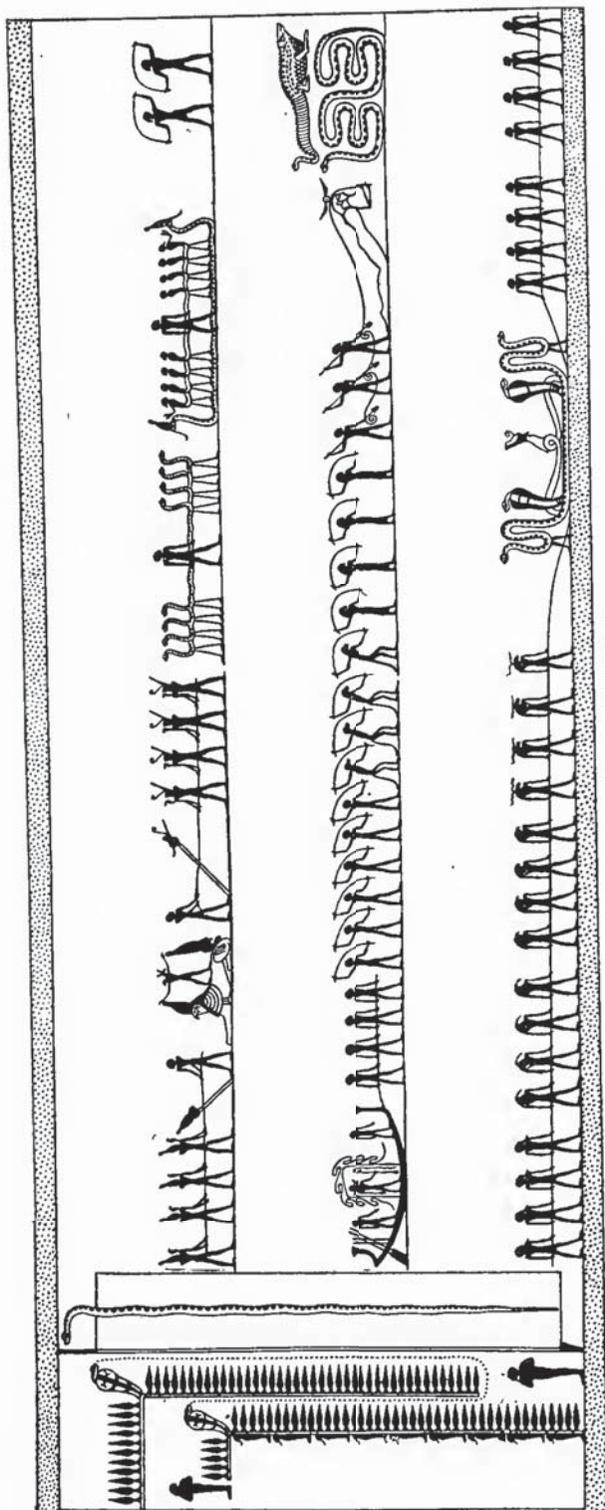
The pylon of the EIGHTH DIVISION or the EIGHTH HOUR is called Bekkhi, , and the name of the snake-god, its guardian, is Set-hrā, ; the guardian of the entrance to the corridor is called Benen, , and the guardian at its end is Hept-ta, . The wall is protected by nine gods in mummied forms, . On the right side of the boat of the god are:—1. Twelve beings in human form, who are described as the “sovereign chiefs who give bread, Maāt, and green herbs to “the souls of Ta-neserser,” . 2. Nine souls, in the form of bearded human-headed hawks, with their hands raised in adoration; these are the “souls of Ta-neserser,” which are fed with bread and green herbs by the command of the god Rā. On the left hand side of the boat of Rā are:—1. Horus leaning on a staff. 2. Twelve men, who represent the enemies of Osiris that have been burnt in the fire, with their arms tied together behind their backs, each group of four in a different way. Opposite the first of these is a huge serpent called Kheti, , which belches forth a stream of fire into his face; on the back of the serpent stand seven gods. The twelve beings are those on whom punishment has been inflicted by Horus at the command of Rā, who has decreed the death both of their bodies and of their souls because of what they did against Osiris, whose mysteries they despised, and whose image they tore from the sanctuary. The serpent Kheti, which is commanded by Horus to consume the foes of his father Osiris, is adjured to burn up both the souls and the bodies of these wicked ones. In the centre of this division are:—1. The boat of the sun being towed by four gods as before. 2. “The dweller in Nu” leaning on a staff. 3. A rectangular lake in which



The Eighth Hour of the Night.

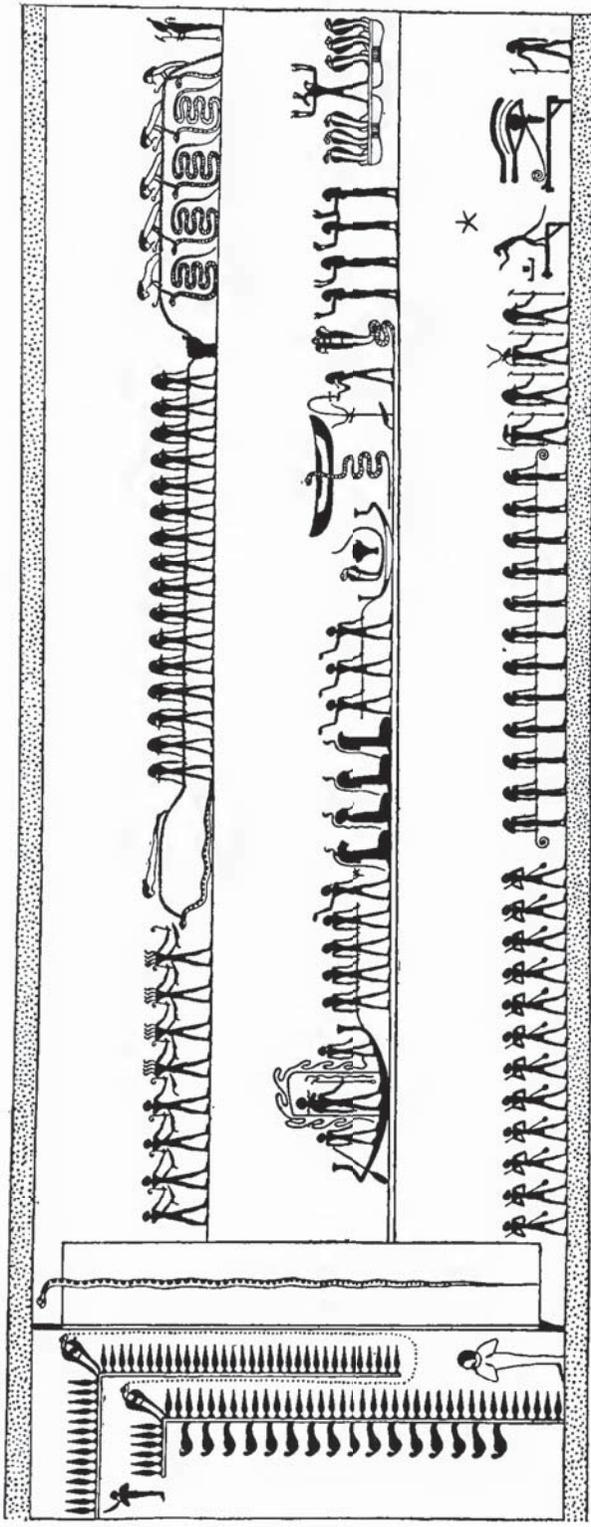
are sixteen men, four of whom bathe, , four float, , four swim, , and four dive, . The gods who tow the boat say, "Let there be praise to the soul of "Rā in heaven, and adoration to his body upon earth; for heaven "is made new by his soul, and earth is made new by his body. "Hail! We open for thee heaven, we make straight for thee the "ways of Åkert. Rest thyself, O Rā, upon thy hidden things; "the hidden ones are adored in thy forms." He who dwelleth in Nu also addresses those who are in the lake.

The pylon of the NINTH DIVISION or NINTH HOUR, is called *Åāt-shefsheft*, ; the serpent which guards it is *Åb-ta*, ; and the guardians of the corridor are *Ånhefta*, , and *Ermen-ta*, . The wall is guarded by nine gods in mummied forms, . On the right hand side of the boat of the Sun-god are:—1. Four gods of the South, , each wearing the white crown, and grasping a rope which is also held by a man who is called "the master of the front," , between the man and these four gods is a pillar surmounted by a bearded head, with a white crown on it, which is being raised by means of the rope. 2. A hawk-headed sphinx with the white crown on his head, and a bearded head, with a white crown on it, resting on his hind quarters. Standing on his back is a human figure which is surmounted by the heads of Horus and Set. 3. Four gods of the North, , each wearing the red crown, and grasping a rope which is also held by a man who is called "the master of the back," ; between the man and these four gods is a pillar, surmounted by a bearded head with a red crown on it, which is being raised by means of the rope. 4. A personage called *Åpu*, , holding the serpent *Shemti*, , which has four heads at each end of his body. 5. A personage holding the serpent *Båth*, , with a head at each end of his body; on his back stands a serpent which is called *Tepi*, , and which is provided



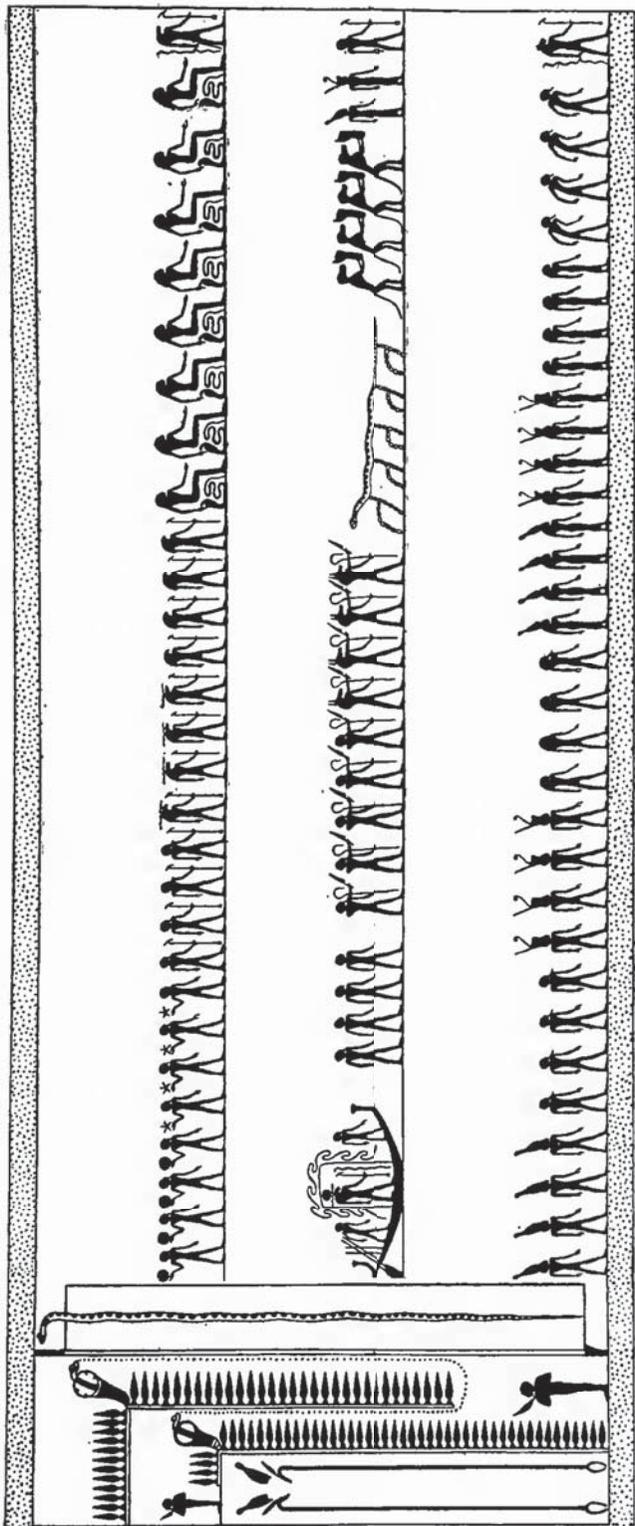
The Ninth Hour of the Night.



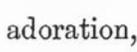


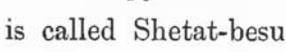
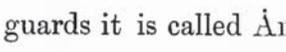
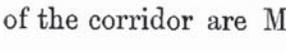
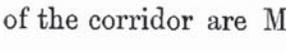
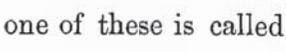
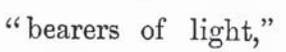
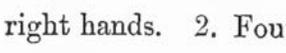
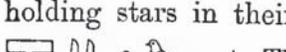
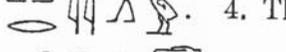
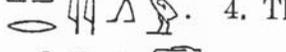
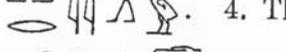
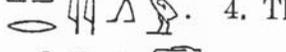
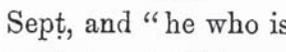
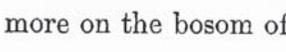
The Tenth Hour of the Night.

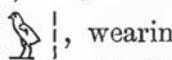
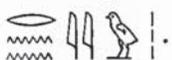
and Kefi, . The wall is guarded by sixteen uraei. On the right hand of the boat of the god are:—1. Four beings, each holding a knife and a rope (?). 2. Four beings, similarly armed, but each having four serpents' heads; these are called Āntiu, , and Hentiu, , respectively. 3. The serpent Āpep, “whose voice goeth round about in the T̄uat,” held by a chain which is grasped by four beings, S̄tefiu, , and twelve gods, and a mighty hand called the “hidden body,” . On the chain, near Āpep's head, is stretched out the scorpion-goddess Serqet. Behind the hand, and growing out of the chain are:—(a) Seb, , who grasps a small chain to which is attached the serpent Uamemti, . (b) Mest, , Hāpi, , T̄uamutef, , and Qeb̄hsennuf, . At the end stands Khenti-Āmenti, or Osiris. The beings on this side of the T̄uat are engaged in destroying Āpep and the foes of the sun-god so that they may not attack the boat of the sun when it comes to a narrow passage. On the left hand side of the boat of Rā are:—1. The twelve Ākhmu-seku gods, , holding paddles. 2. Twelve women, who represent the hours. 3. Four gods with sceptres, Bānt, , Seshshā, , Ka-Āment, , and Renen-sebu, . 4. A monkey on a standard, , with a star over his head, described as the “god of Rethenu” (Syria), . 5. An eye (utchat) on a standard, . 6. A god with a sceptre. Along the middle of this division the boat of the god is towed as usual by four gods. Before it are:—1. The star god Unti, . 2. Four deities, Sekhet, Ābesh, , Serq, , and Horus. 3. Three star gods, who tow a small boat in which are the “face of the disk,” , and a uraeus. 4. A winged uraeus called Semi, , standing upon its tail. 5. A god called Besi, , pouring flame upon a standard surmounted

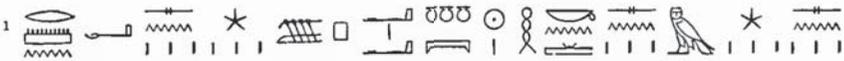


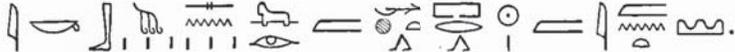
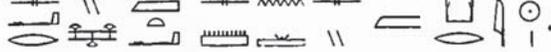
The Eleventh Hour of the Night.

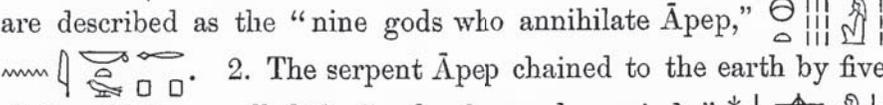
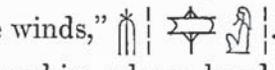
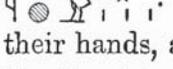
by the head of a horned animal. 6. A serpent caled Ānkhī, , with a bearded god in mummied form growing out from each side of its body. 7. Four women, with hands raised in adoration, who are called "the adorers," . 8. The double god Horus-Set, with two heads and two pairs of arms and hands on one body, standing upon a platform which rests on two bows; from each end of the platform spring three uraei. All these beings are supposed to be employed in helping Rā to continue his course through the Tenth Division, and to make his way to the region of the sunrise; it is evident that most of them are personifications of the stars which herald the approach of the dawn.

The pylon of the ELEVENTH DIVISION or the ELEVENTH HOUR is called Shetat-besu, , and the serpent which guards it is called Ām-net-f, ; the guardians of the corridor are Meṭes, , and Sheṭāu, . Before the wall are two large sceptres surmounted by the white crown; one of these is called Sar, , i.e., Osiris, and the other Horus. On the right hand of the boat of Rā are:—1. Four gods, called "bearers of light," , holding disks on their right hands. 2. Four gods, called "bearers of stars," , holding stars in their right hands. 3. Four gods "who go out," . 4. The gods Ba, , Khnemu, , Penṭer, , and Ṭenṭ, , ram-headed. 5. Four gods, Horus, Horus-Sept, Sept, and "he who is in his double boat," , hawk-headed. 6. Eight women, the Hours, seated on coiled up serpents and each holding a star in her hand; these are the "protecting hours," . 7. The god Sebek-Rā, crocodile-headed. All these are personifications of stars which bear along the boat of Rā towards the day-break, for they wish to see it floating once more on the bosom of Nut, ; and when "the arms of the

“sky-god Nu receive Rā they shout praises with the stars which they carry, and go to him in the heights of heaven in the bosom of Nut.”<sup>1</sup> In connexion with the idea of the stars praising Rā at sunrise we may note its similarity to that expressed in Job xxxviii. 7, “When the morning stars sang together, and all the “sons of God shouted for joy.” On the left of the boat of Rā are :—1. Four beings, Setheniu-ṭep, , wearing white crowns. 2. Four bearded gods called Ákebiu, i.e., “wailers,” . 3. Four beings, Khnemiū, , wearing red crowns. 4. Four bearded gods called Renniu, . 5. Twelve goddesses, the female counterparts of the first three groups of gods. 6. Four gods, with bowed bodies, and 7. The cat-headed goddess Māti, . These beings were supposed to place white crowns on the heads of the gods in the train of Rā, and though their souls rose up, they were never able to leave this Division of the T̄uat or pass out of the pylon. Their duty was to weep for Osiris after Rā had passed out of Áment,<sup>2</sup> and to be with him, as far as their souls were concerned, but their bodies had to stay in their places; they also had to raise up Maāt and to establish it in the shrine of Rā.<sup>3</sup> It was they who “fixed the period of the “years which those who were decreed for the T̄uat should pass “there, and the period of those who were to live in heaven;”<sup>4</sup> but they “tore their hair in grief before the great god in Ámentet, “for although they drove away Set from the pylon they themselves

1  , Bonomi and Sharpe, op. cit., pl. 10.

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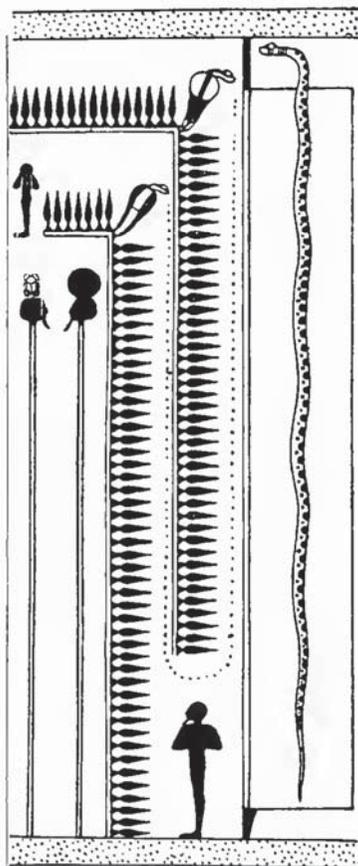

“were not allowed to enter into the heights of heaven.”<sup>1</sup> In the centre of this division we have the boat of Rā being drawn along by four of its gods as usual. Preceding these are:—1. A group of nine gods, each of whom holds a knife, , in the right hand, and a sceptre, , in the left; the first four are jackal-headed. They are described as the “nine gods who annihilate Āpep,” . 2. The serpent Āpep chained to the earth by five chains which are called the “gods who produce winds,” . 3. Four apes, , each holding before him a large hand. 4. The god of Āmenti, , wearing the crown of the South. 5. The goddess of the North, Herit (?), , wearing the crown of the North. 6. The god Sebekhti, . These gods of the T̄uat say, “[This is] the exit from Āment, and the “place for rest in the two divisions of Nu, and [the god] maketh “his transformations in the hands of Nu. This god doth not enter “heaven () , but he openeth the T̄uat upwards in his trans- “formations [which take place] in Nu. What openeth the T̄uat “into heaven are the two hands of the god whose name is hidden, “. He existeth in the darkness which is a solid thing, “, and Rā cometh forth [in] it from the night, “. Those who are in this portion take their knives in “their hands, and grasp their weapons, and smite Āpep, and effect “his slaughter, and smash his joints which are in heaven. The “chains of this fiend are in the hands of the children of Horus, “they advance to the god with their fetters in their fingers. The “god counteth his members after the hidden one hath opened his “[arms] to the Eye of Horus. The Worm () who is “in this scene is fettered by the children of Horus.” The other gods “acclaim Rā in the Eastern horizon of heaven, and the four

<sup>1</sup> 

“apes guide him who created them, two on the right hand, and “two on the left, to the double *âterî* (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) of this god.”

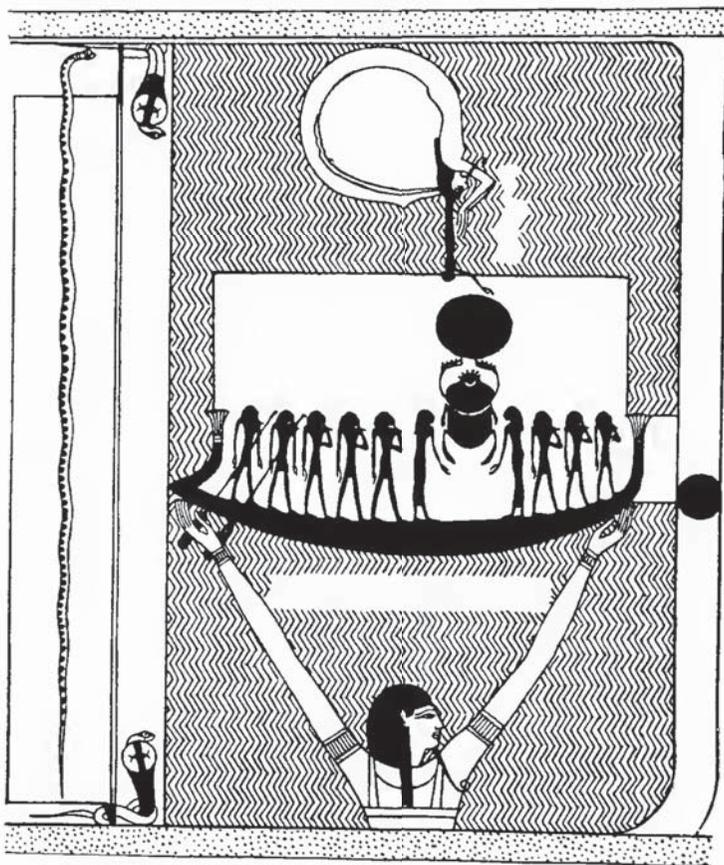
The pylon of the TWELFTH DIVISION or TWELFTH HOUR is called *Ṭesert-baiu*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, i.e., “Red-Souls,” and its serpent god is *Sebi*, ✱ 𓂏𓂏𓂏; the two guardians of the corridor are *Pai*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, and *Âkhekhi*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏. In front of the wall are two

poles, each of which is surmounted by a bearded head; on one head is the disk of the god *Tem*, and on the other the beetle of the god *Kheperâ*, i.e., two forms of the Sun-god. Close to the pylon “Red-Souls” was the pylon of the serpent god *Reri*, 𓂏𓂏, each side of which was guarded by the two uraei of *Isis* and *Nephtys*, one on each side. When *Râ* had passed through these doors he emerged triumphantly from the *Tuat*, and his boat floated on the waters of *Nu*, i.e., in the sky. In the scene in which this is depicted we see the boat containing the beetle of *Kheperâ* and the disk of *Râ*, with the five gods *Seb*, *Shu*, *Ḥek* (for *Ḥeka*), *Ḥu*, and *Sa*, and the two goddesses *Isis* and *Nephtys*, and three gods of pylons. The god *Nu*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, is seen holding up the boat with his hands, which “come forth from the water, and bear up this god.”



A little distance away from the boat is a sort of island which is formed by *Osiris*, the body of the god being bent round in such a way as to cause the tips of his toes to touch the back of his head; the text says that it is *Osiris* himself who forms the encircling border of the *Tuat*. On the head of the god stands the goddess

Nut, , with arms outstretched ready to receive Rā. Thus the god reaches the end of the Tuat and passes by an opening through its border, which is painted black, dotted everywhere with red spots. We have seen that Rā was omnipotent in all divisions of the underworld, except one, which was sacred to Osiris; in this neither Rā nor his name appears.



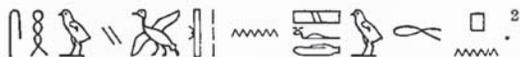
We may now pass on to the consideration of the contents of the "BOOK OF THAT WHICH IS IN THE UNDERWORLD." The authorities for the text and vignettes of this work are numerous,<sup>1</sup> and from the copies of both which have come down to us it is

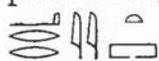
<sup>1</sup> See Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 1st series, pll. 28-32; 2nd series, pll. 1-21; Pierret, *Recueil*, tom. v., pp. 103 ff; Lanzous, *Domicile des Esprits*, Paris, 1879; Birch, *Papyrus of Naskhem*, London, 1863; Mariette, *Papyrus Égyptiens*, tom. ii., Cairo, 1878.

clear that the book was one of considerable length. But long before the end of the XXIst Dynasty (about B.C. 1100) the Egyptians found it impossible to obtain or to pay for complete copies with all the vignettes, and a shortened form of it consequently came into general use. This shortened form, which is called an "Abrégé" by M. Maspero, and a "Résumé" by M. Lefebure, was supposed to contain all that was absolutely necessary for the dead, and it became very popular throughout Egypt. In the tomb of Seti I.<sup>1</sup> we find a copy of the full text, with vignettes, of the first eleven hours, and also a copy of the "Abridgment." The space at our disposal will not admit of a detailed description of the longer work, and therefore a notice of the "Abridgment" only is given here. The complete work is entitled, "The beginning of the horn of the West, the remote boundary of thick darkness,"

 The "horn of the West" means the most westerly point where the sun sets, and *keku samu*, i.e., "thick darkness," or "solid darkness," refers to

the extreme end of the *Ṭuat*, which is painted to resemble a black wall, dotted everywhere with red spots, and which contains an opening through which the boat of Rā emerges every morning. The shorter work is entitled "Abridgment of this book,"



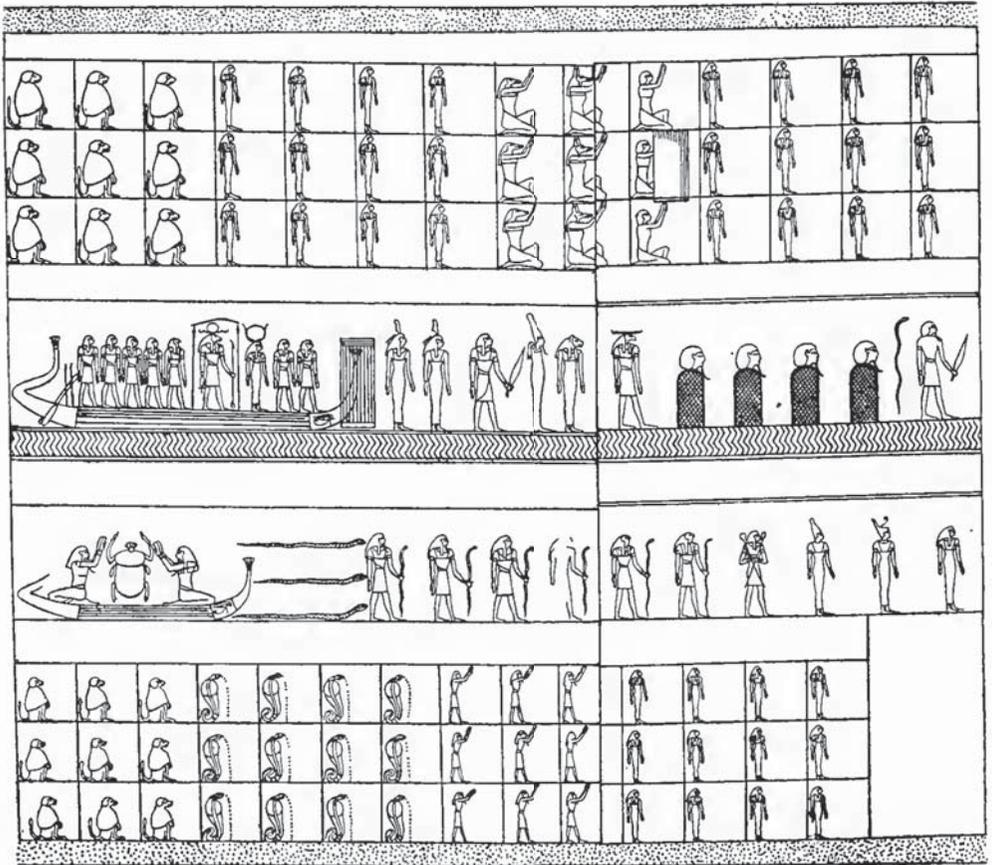
The FIRST HOUR of the night is called USHEMET ḤĀTU KHEFTI RĀ,<sup>3</sup> i.e., "Crusher of the forehead of the enemies of Rā," and the place through which the god passes in it is described as an *ārrit*, , i.e., a hall, or a sort of ante-chamber of the *Ṭuat*. It is quite unlike any part of the *Ṭuat*, for when Rā is in this hall he

<sup>1</sup> See "Le Tombeau de Seti I<sup>er</sup>," in *Mémoires de la Miss. Arch. Française*, Paris, 1886; First Hour, part iv., pll. 24-26; Second Hour, part iv., pll. 29-32; Third Hour, part iv., pll. 32-35; Fourth Hour, part i., pll. 23-25; Fifth Hour, part i., pll. 26-29; Sixth Hour, part iv., pll. 39-42; Seventh Hour, part iv., pll. 43-46; Eighth Hour, part iv., pll. 47-49; Ninth Hour, part ii., pll. 15-18; Tenth Hour, part ii., pll. 19-22; Eleventh Hour, part ii., pll. 23-26; and see Maspero, *Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes*, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> See the edition of the hieroglyphic text, with a French translation, by Jéquier, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 

has not yet arrived in that dismal valley. But even when here he is an entirely different being from what he was in the day-time, for instead of being the sun of day, he is the sun of night, i.e., a dead god, in fact a mere dead body which is called *Āf*,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , i.e., "Flesh," and is represented with the head of a ram surmounted by a solar disk. In the day time he travelled in the *Ātet* boat,



The First Hour of the Night.

$\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , but at night he made his journey along the river of the *Tuat* in the *Sektet* boat,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , in fact, in the same boat in which he sailed over the sky from noon to sunset. In the boat with the dead Sun-god *Āf* are *Āp-uat*,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , "The Opener of the ways," *Sa*,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , *Heru-Hekenu*,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , *Nehes*,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , *Hu*,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , the double of *Shu*,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , the captain of the boat,

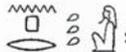
 , and the "lady of the boat,"  . The last-named celestial personage changed every hour, for she represented the local goddess of one hour who was supposed to be the appointed guide of the god through one portion of the *Ṭuat* only; knowing the way through her own district, she was able to instruct the captain of the boat how and where to sail over difficult reaches of the river.

The dwellers in the First Hour of the night appear to have been the apes who opened the doors of the *ārrit* to the god, and the beings who were necessary for the singing of songs of praise to Rā, and for piloting his boat through this hall to the *Ṭuat*, and a large number of celestial beings who are mentioned in the text, but who are otherwise unknown, and the souls of the dead who had passed from the earth to this intermediate place and who were waiting for the opportunity of entering into the boat of Rā, wherein they would fain continue their journey. Why the last-named were here cannot be said, but it is probable that such souls belonged to men and women who, when living upon earth, were unable to avail themselves of all the costly and complicated ceremonies prescribed by the priests, and the numerous amulets which were thought to be necessary for the welfare of the soul in the *Ṭuat*. The descriptive text of the First Hour reads:—"This god entereth from the earth into the *ārrit* of the horizon of the West, and he must travel one hundred and twenty *ātru* (   ) in this *ārrit* before he arriveth at the gods of the *Ṭuat*. Net-Rā (  ) is the name of this first country of the *Ṭuat*. Rā giveth fields to the gods who are in his following, and he beginneth to pass decrees and to give commands concerning the things which are done in the *Ṭuat* by the gods of this country. Whosoever shall do these things according to this similitude of the hidden things of the *Ṭuat*, and shall recognize that they are similitudes of the great god himself, shall find them of benefit to him on the earth, and they shall do him good in the great *Ṭuat*." The fact that this region is called "country" shows that it was regarded almost as a part of this world, and it is definitely stated that it is 120 *ātru* in length; now, the *ātru* is

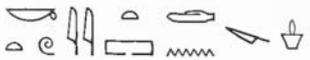
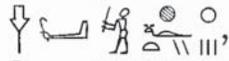
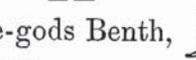
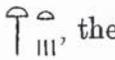
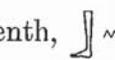
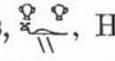
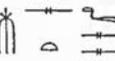
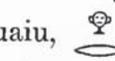
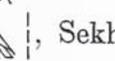
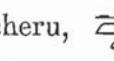
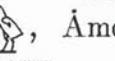
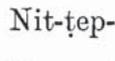
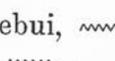
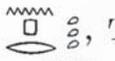
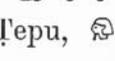
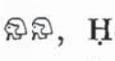
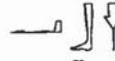
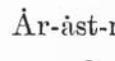
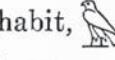
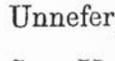
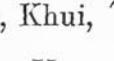
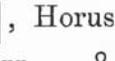
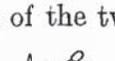
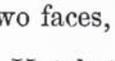
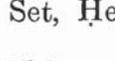
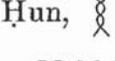
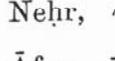
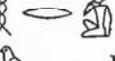




The gods with long flowing hair are the four children of Horus, Mesthâ, Hâpi, Tuamutef and Qebhsennuf, each of whom wore a lock or tress of hair, which became a pillar-sceptre, and supported one of the four corners of heaven; these four gods became at a later period the gods of the cardinal points and the lords of the four quarters of heaven. The Eater of the Ass is, of course, the great serpent of darkness, probably Āpepi, and the Ass is a form of the Sun-god, between whom and the serpent was continual war; the Ass was connected with the Sun-god by reason of his great virile powers. According to M. Maspero,<sup>1</sup> the Boat of the Earth is a name given to the Boat of Râ when it reaches the earth; Tatubâ was probably an earth god.

The illustrated version of the SECOND HOUR shows that the boat of Râ was preceded by four boats. The first of these had a human head on each end, and on its side were the picture of heaven, , and the Utchat, . In the boat rests the moon on a pedestal, and behind it is the god who sets up the feather of Maât. This is the boat of Osiris as the Moon, who is one of the Souls of the Tuat. The second boat has a human head surmounted by the plumes of Āmen, , on each end, and in it is a huge sistrum, the emblem of Hathor; on each side of it is a goddess. In the bows is a beetle, . This is the boat of Isis as Hathor, who is one of the Souls of the Tuat. The third boat has the white crown at the bows, and the red crown at the stern; in it, between the two standards, which are the symbols of the gods Ānpu (Anubis) and Āpuat, is a huge lizard, out of the back of which spring a human head and the white crown. This is the boat of the god who opens the ways, and who is one of the Souls of the Tuat. The fourth boat has a uraeus at the bows and stern. In the centre is a kneeling woman without arms, and on each side of her stands a woman also armless; at each end of the boat is a plant, or shrub. This is the boat of Nepr, , the god of grain and of vegetation, and a form of Osiris, and he is also one of the Souls of the Tuat. The gods who minister to

<sup>1</sup> *Les Hypogées*, p. 46.

Osiris in the Second Hour are:—Isis who avengeth, , Seb of the two corners, , Khnemu of the two corners, , Thoth on his stairs, , Áfu on his stairs, , Ketuit-ten-ba, , Kherp-ḥu-khefti, , Heru-Ṭuat, , Seben-ḥesq-khaibit, , the two ape-gods Benth, , and Áânā, , the god with two faces, , Horus-Set, , Mest-en-Ásâr, , Meṭ-en-Ásâr, , the term of Osiris, and a lion-headed goddess Sesenet-khu, . Behind all these come seven goddesses, Mest-tcheses, , Āmām-mitu, , , Her-ṭuau, , Sekhet of Thebes, , Āmet-tcheru, , Āment-nefert, , and Nit-ṭep-Āment, . On the other side of the boat of the god are Nebui, , Besabes-uāa, , , Nepr, , Ṭepu, , Hetch-ā, , Āb, , Nepen, , Ār-ást-neter, , Āmu-āa, , Heru-khabit, , Anubis, , Osiris-Unnefer, , Khui, , Horus of the two faces, i.e., Horus and Set, , Hen-Ḥeru, , Ḥun, , Hatcheschu, , Neḥr, , Makhi, , Renpti, , Āfau, , and Fa-trâu, . All these gods worship the great god, and guide him on his way, and weep when he has left them; some of them bear to him the prayers of those who are upon earth, and also lead disembodied souls to the forms which belong to them; others apparently mark the seasons of the year. When Rā addressed the beings there, they came to life at the sound of his voice, and they breathed

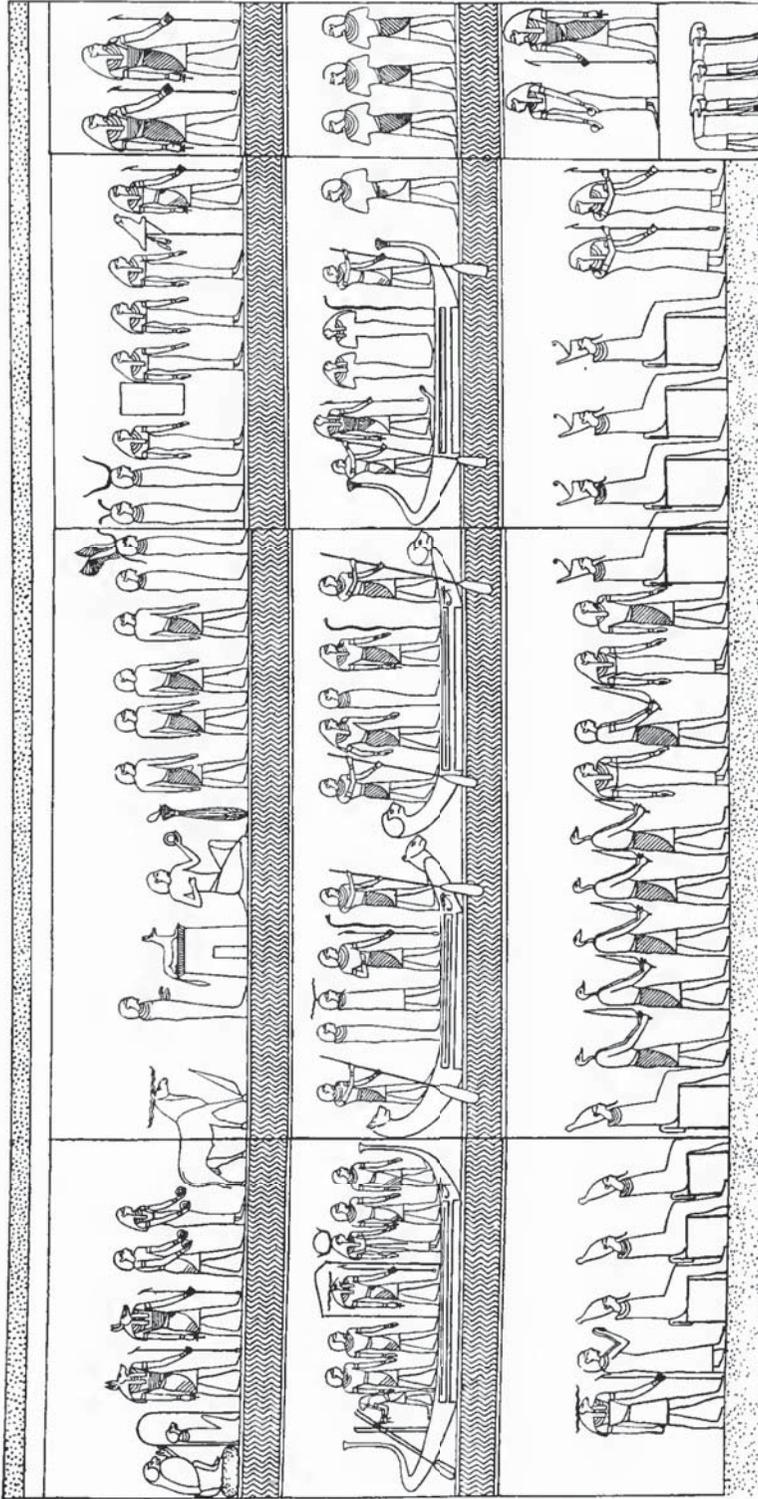
again; he gave them food in abundance, and the gods gave water to the spirits to drink at his command, and the hearts of the rebels of Rā were burnt in the fire. It is, however, clear from the texts that although Osiris was the Lord of the Second Hour Rā was the overlord of Osiris, and that it was he who, like Osiris, made gifts to the dead. On the other hand, the followers of Osiris had to perform service for Rā, and one of their chief duties consisted in keeping in check his enemies, who were always attempting to prevent the progress of his boat; in a way the service of these followers was unrewarded, for they were condemned to remain always in the same place, and to perform the same duty.

From the above paragraph the reader will gain some idea of the difference between the illustrated version of the Second Hour and the abstract of it which is found in the "Abridgment." As the short version makes no attempt to supply the souls which were supposed to make use of it with the names of the various gods and beings in it, we can only assume that they learnt them when on earth in the body. The larger version of the Second Hour is extremely interesting in showing what a subordinate place the priests of Amen-Rā made Osiris occupy in respect of Rā when passing through the ʿTuat.

The descriptive text of the THIRD HOUR, which is called ʿTENT-BAIU,<sup>1</sup> says:—"This great god next arrives in the Country of those who slay () and he roweth over the Stream of Osiris () a space three hundred and nine *ātru* long,<sup>2</sup> and one hundred and twenty *ātru* wide (i.e., this portion of the ʿTuat measured about 38½ miles long by 15 miles wide). This great god giveth commands to the gods who are in the following of Osiris concerning this city, and he assigns to them estates from this country. The name of the gods who are in this field is 'Hidden Souls' () and whosoever knoweth their name shall ascend to the place where Osiris is,

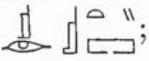
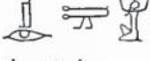
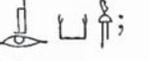
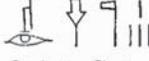
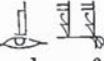
<sup>1</sup>  .

<sup>2</sup> A variant given by Jéquier gives 480 *ātru* as the length, i.e., about sixty miles.



The Third Hour of the Night.

“and water shall be given unto him for his Field. The name  
 “of this Field is Net-neb-uā-kheper-āutu ().  
 “). Whosoever shall make drawings of these  
 “Hidden Souls together with a representation of the hidden  
 “things of the Tuat—beginning the same from the West—it shall  
 “be of great benefit not only to him upon earth, but in the Under-  
 “world, and indeed always. Whosoever knoweth them shall pass  
 “[unhurt] by them as they roar, and shall not fall into their  
 “cauldrons. Whosoever knoweth these things, being attached to  
 “his place, shall have his bread with Rā. Whosoever, being a  
 “soul and a spirit, knoweth these things shall have the mastery  
 “over his legs, and he shall never enter into the place of destruc-  
 “tion, and he shall come forth in his forms and smell the air at his  
 “appointed hour.” The illustrated version of the Third Hour  
 represents the boat of Rā sailing over the “Stream of Osiris”  
 preceded by three boats, each of which is moved onwards by two  
 men with paddles; the beings in these boats are all forms of the  
 god Osiris, and the gods who stand on each side of the stream  
 belong to his cycle, or company. These latter had their bodies of  
 flesh, to which their shadows had been re-united, and their souls  
 talked in them, as soon as Rā had spoken to them; they made  
 answer to the god, and sang his praise whilst he was with them,  
 but their cries of joy changed to lamentations when he left them.  
 They could not go with him, because it was their duty to guard  
 their district, and to destroy the enemies of Rā, and to support the  
 life of Rā, and to make the Nile to flow.

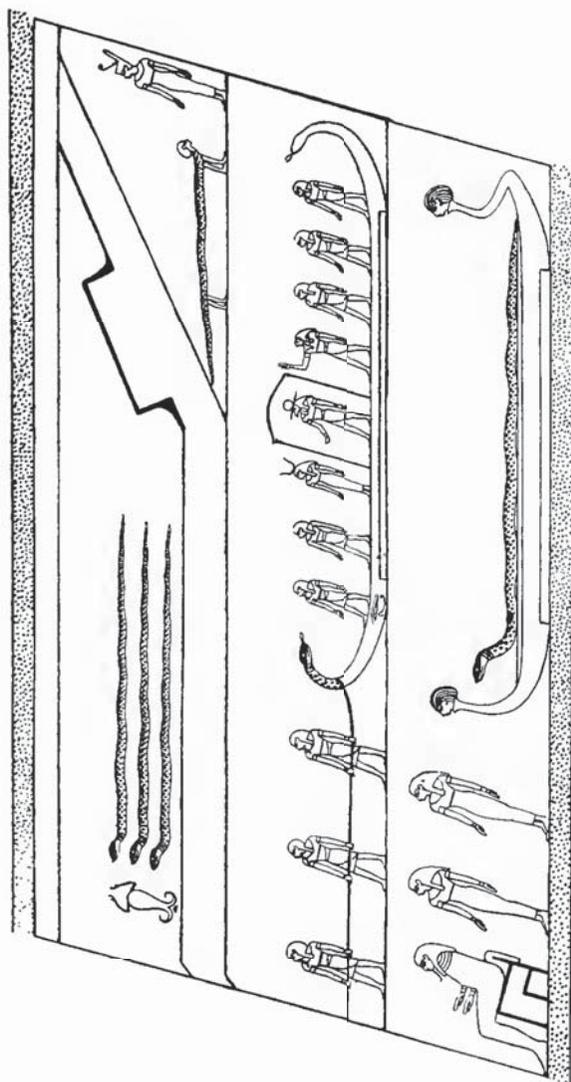
Among the gods in this Hour were the nine forms of the god  
 Osiris:—Osiris, lord of Āment, ; Osiris Khenti-Āment,  
; Osiris the Throne, ; Osiris, conqueror of  
 millions, ; Osiris the double of Āment, ;  
 Osiris on his staircase, ; Osiris prince of the gods,  
; Osiris king of Lower Egypt, ; and  
 Osiris-Sahu, . The duties of the beings who are grouped  
 with these are clear from their names, for these refer to destruction

in one form or another, and the explanatory text tells us that they are employed in "hacking and cutting souls, in shutting up the "shadows of the dead, and in dragging the occupants of tombs to "their place of slaughter;" moreover, they shoot out flames, they cause fires to come into being, and the heads of the enemies of Rā are cut off by their swords. The master of the region traversed in the Third Hour is called Khatrā, , and we learn from the speech of Rā that the inhabitants of the mythological district over which he presides were created by Rā specially to follow and to protect Osiris. To these he says, "O ye whom I have hidden, "whose souls I have put in a secret place, whom I have set in the "following of Osiris to defend him; to accompany his images, to "make an end of those who attack him (even as the god H̄u is "behind thee, O Osiris, to defend thee, to accompany thy images, "to destroy those who attack thee, even as H̄u is to thee, O Osiris, "and even as Sa is to thee, O Khenti Àmentet), ye souls whose "forms are stablished, ye souls whose magical powers make "certain your coming into being, who breathe the air [through "your nostrils, who look] with your faces, who listen with your "ears, who are apparelled in your raiment, who are clothed with "your swathings, who have offerings made to you at stated seasons "by the priests of God, who have estates set apart for your own "behoof and benefit, whose souls are not cast down, whose bodies "are not overthrown: [O Hidden Souls, I say] open ye your "circles, and set ye yourselves in your own places, for I have "come to see my bodies, and to look upon the similitudes of myself "which are in the ʔuat, and it is you who have brought me along "and have given me the opportunity of coming to them. And "now I lead thy soul to heaven, O Osiris, and thy soul to earth, O "Khenti Àuḳert, with thy gods behind thee, and thy spirits before "thee, and thy being and thy forms [about thee]. And thy spirit "hath its word of power, O Osiris, and you, ye spirits who are in "the following of Osiris, have your words of power. I go up on "the earth and the day is behind me; I pass through the night, "and my soul rejoins itself to your forms during the day, and I "fulfil the ceremonies of the night which are needful for you. I



“come after me, let not the murderous fiends come after me, but  
“let me live upon sepulchral offerings among you.”<sup>1</sup>

The illustrated edition of the Fourth Hour shows us the boat of Rā passing through an entirely new country, in fact a region

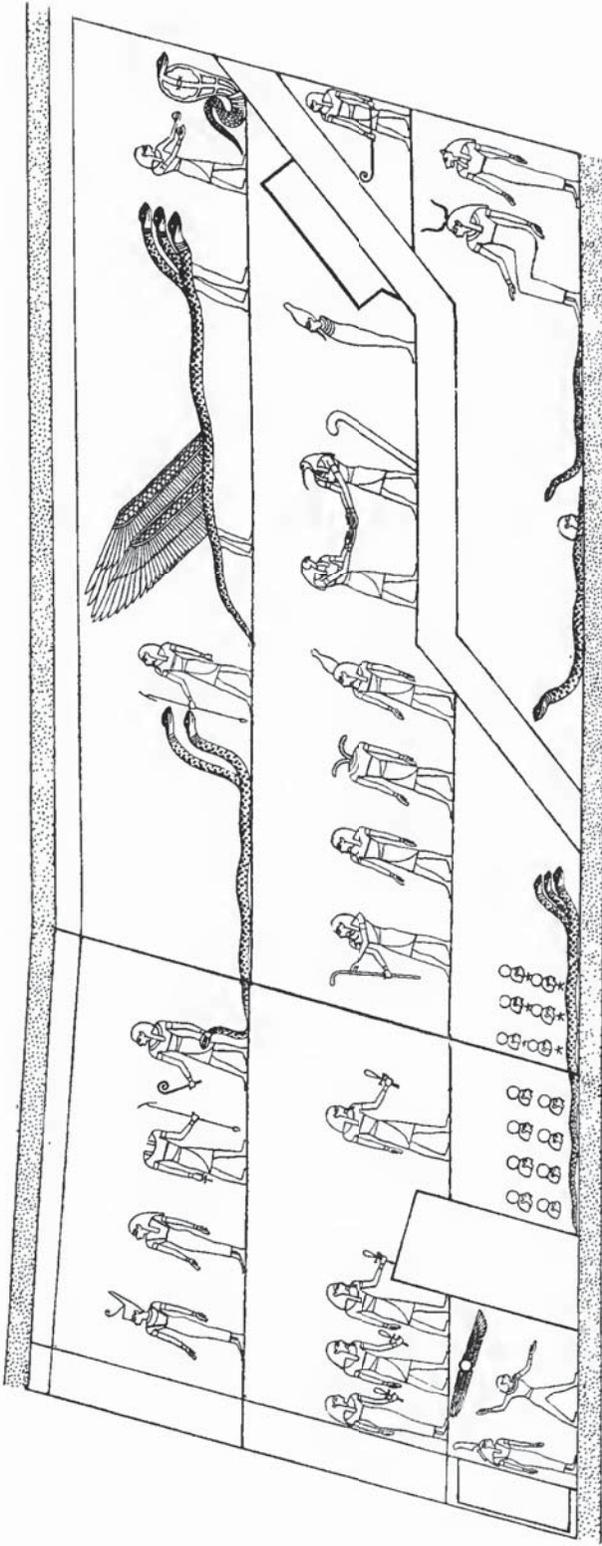


The Fourth Hour of the Night.

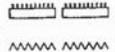
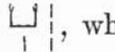
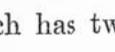
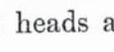
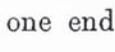
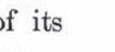
which is filled with huge and fearsome snakes, and represents the region over which the god Seker presides. Here there is no river with banks lined with the gods and the souls of the dead, and here

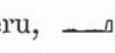
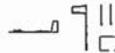
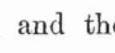
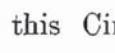
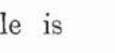
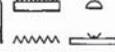
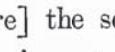
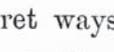
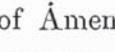
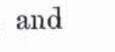
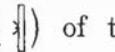
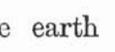
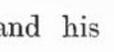
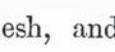
<sup>1</sup> See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Translation), p. 267.



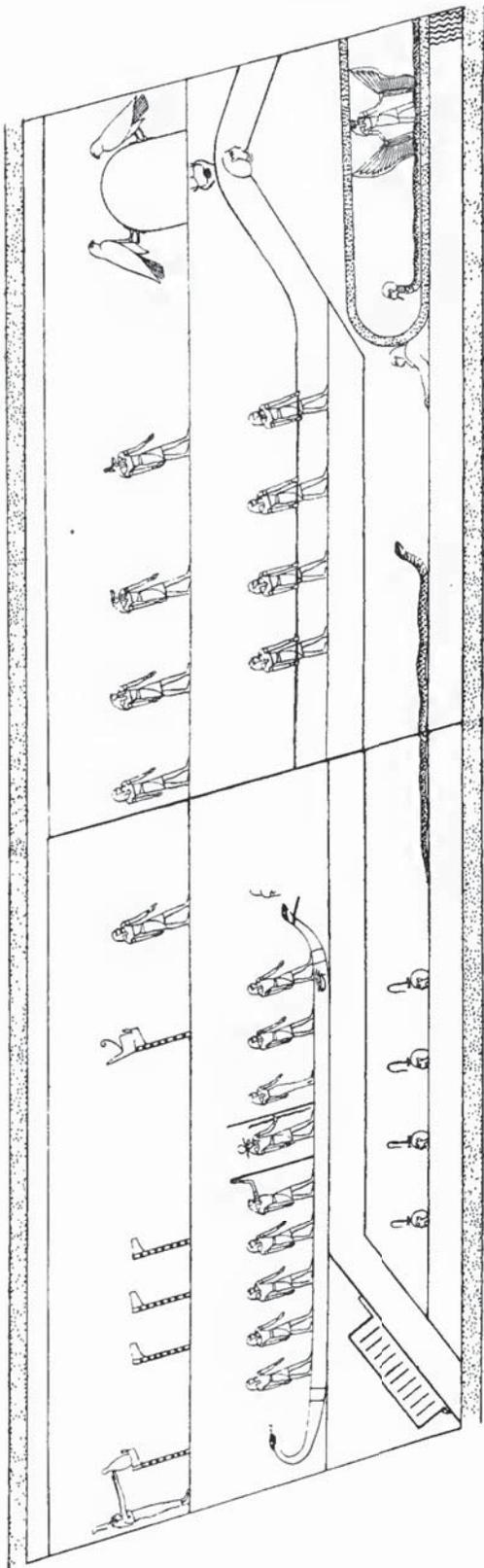


The Fourth Hour of the Night.

; the fourth is Hekent, . and has a human head growing out of its body just above the tail; and the fifth is Menmenu,               , which has three heads, and bears on its back fourteen stars and fourteen human heads surmounted by disks. Next we have three huge serpents near the great scorpion Ankheth,                  , and a huge uraeus, to which libations are being poured out by a man; and a three-headed serpent, with wings, which moves along on four human feet and legs; and the serpent Neheb-kau,      , which has two heads at one end of its body, and one head at the other. All these monsters are said to make their journey daily round about the region of the Fourth Hour, and they live upon what they find on their way.

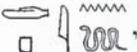
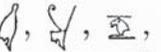
The last hour, as we have seen, is a part of the dominions of Seker, but the FIFTH HOUR, which is called SEMIT-HER-ĀBT-UĀA-S,<sup>1</sup> contains his capital city. The descriptive text says, "This great god is drawn along over the actual roads of the T̄uat, and over the hidden Circle of Seker, the god who is on his sand, and he neither seeth nor looketh upon the hidden figure of the land which containeth the flesh of this god. The gods who are with this god hear the voice of Rā-Heru(?), and they adore him at the seasons of this god. The name of the pylon of this city is Āhā-neteru,      , and the name of this Circle is Āment,      . [Here are] the secret ways of Āment, and the doors of the house of Āment, and the habitable house (      ) of the earth of Seker, and his flesh, and his members, and his body, in their primeval forms. The name of those who are in this Circle is 'Baiu āmu T̄uat' (i.e., Souls in the T̄uat). The forms who are in their hours and their hidden beings neither see nor look upon this form of Seker himself. Whosoever maketh a picture of these things which are in Āment in the T̄uat, to the south of the hidden house, and whosoever knoweth these things, his soul shall be at peace, and he shall be satisfied



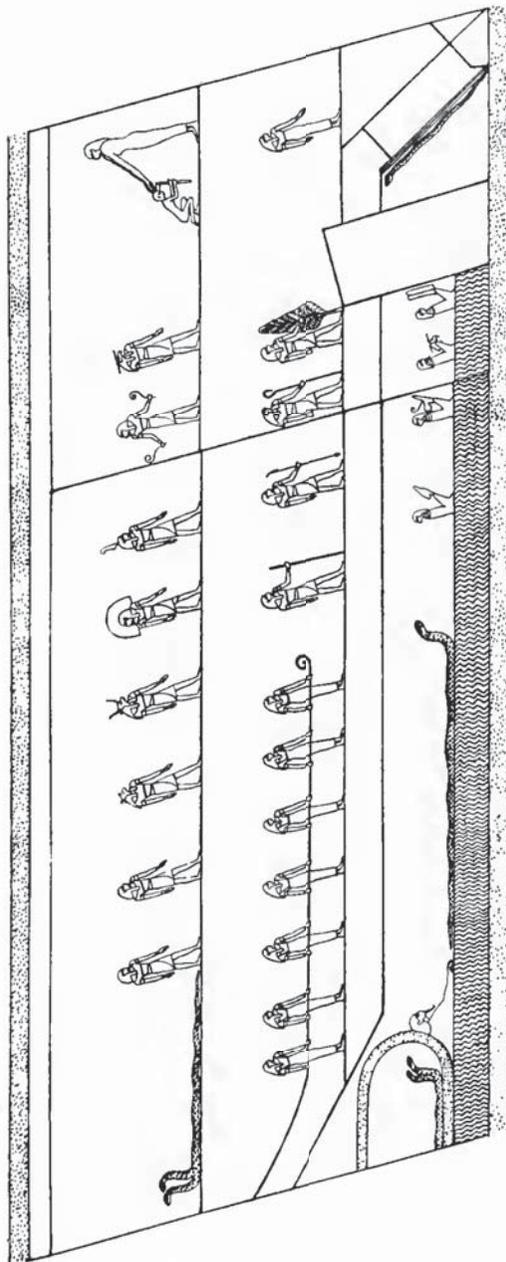


The Fifth Hour of the Night.

“with the offerings of Seker. And Khemit (☉ ) shall “not hack his body in pieces, and he shall go to her in peace. “Whosoever shall make offerings to these gods upon earth shall “[find] them of benefit to him in the T̄uat.”

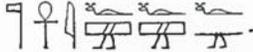
The illustrated version of the FIFTH HOUR shows us Rā travelling in his serpent boat and being towed along by seven gods and seven goddesses, who represent the gods of fourteen days of the month; before these are the divine sovereign chiefs, i.e., Her-khu, , An-ḥetep, , Her-ḥequi, , and Hetch-met . Half way through the hour Rā comes to a mound of sand, the top of which is surmounted by the head of a woman, whereon rests the forepart of a beetle, only one half of which is visible, symbol of the god Kheperā; this head indicates the position of the hidden abode wherein is Seker, and when the beetle alights upon it the god Kheperā holds converse with that god. Immediately beneath the head is the “Land of Seker,” which has the shape , and is described as the “hidden land of “Seker which guardeth the hidden flesh;” it is surrounded by a wall of sand, and at each end, outside the wall, is a sphinx with the head of a man and the body of a lion. Inside this land is a two-headed, winged serpent, with a tail which terminates in a human head; between the wings stands a figure of the hawk-headed god Seker; this serpent monster represents the god watching over his own image. The two sphinxes are watched by two serpents, Tēpān, , and Ānkh-āpau, ; the first serpent enters into the presence of this god, and carries to him daily the offerings which are made by the living, but the second never leaves his place, and lives upon the flames which proceed from his own mouth. Before the second serpent are four seated gods, who bear on their knees the emblems of “hidden symbols” of Seker, i.e., , and rest by the side of a lake of water called Nut, ; for those who are in this lake its waters are like fire, and each of the heads of the four gods which rise above them bears upon it the symbol of fire. The lake is watched over by the company of gods of Rā, represented

by nine axes, and five gods. But before Rā has passed through the Fifth Hour he arrives at a large vaulted chamber, filled with



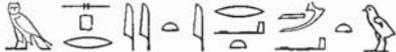
The Fifth Hour of the Night.

sand, and called  $\overline{\text{x}}$ , i.e., "Night," and on each side, clinging by its claws, is a hawk; from the lower part of it goes forth the

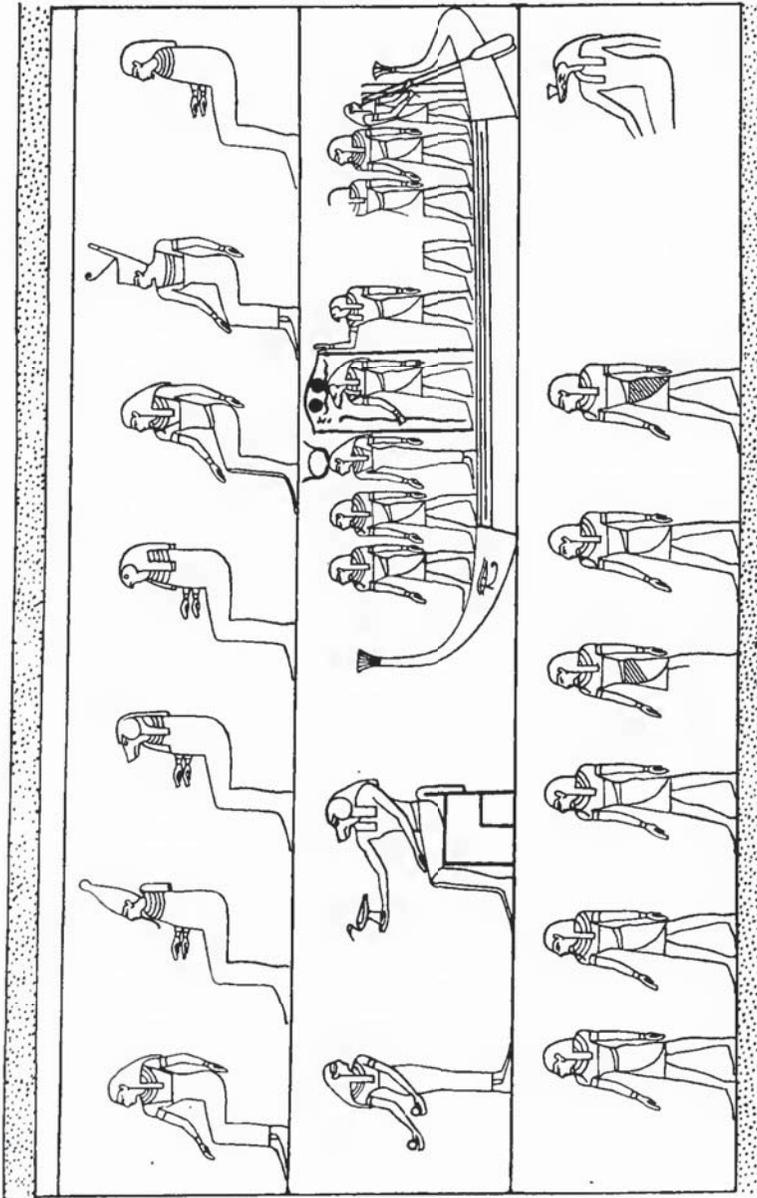
beetle, only one half of which is visible. This beetle, or Kheperà, typified the germ of life, and when the boat of Rā was drawn on to the top of the mound of sand already described, it was supposed to stop on it as it passed, and having done so, it went to the dead god and raised him up to life. This chamber was guarded by a two-headed serpent called Țer, , and it had to be jealously watched in order to prevent the entrance of any one who would disturb or destroy the germ of life. A little beyond the chamber of sand is a group of seven gods, whose duty it was to inspect the slaughter of the dead in the Țuat, and to consume their bodies by the flames of their mouths in the course of each day; and a little further on is the goddess who "lives upon the blood of the dead," and who is occupied in slaying a man doomed to die by the gods. When the boat of Rā arrived at the end of the Fifth Hour he saw the star of the "living god, who journeyeth, "and journeyeth and passeth," . Dr. Brugsch, and following him M. Maspero, and others, have identified this star with the planet Venus, the star of the morning, and the identification is undoubtedly correct. This is an important fact, for, as M. Jéquier has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> coupled with the representation of the beetle going forth from the night to place itself in the boat of Rā, it shows us that the domain of Seker, although reduced to two hours which have been inserted in their proper geographical position in the Țuat, certainly at one time formed a complete hell, and that the rising of the sun was the final event which took place in it.

The Sixth Hour, which is called MESPÉRIT-ĀRĀT-MAĀTU,<sup>2</sup> brings us to the neighbourhood of the shrines of Osiris in the Delta. The descriptive text says, "When this great god arriveth "at the abyss of water, which is the lady of the gods of the Țuat, "he holdeth discourse with the gods who are there, and he giveth "the command for them to obtain the mastery over their offerings " in this city. He saileth in this [Field] being

<sup>1</sup> *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hades*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup>  \*.

“provided with his boat, and he commandeth them [to have] their  
 “fields for their offerings, and he giveth them water for their  
 “streams as they go about the Tuat each day. The name of the

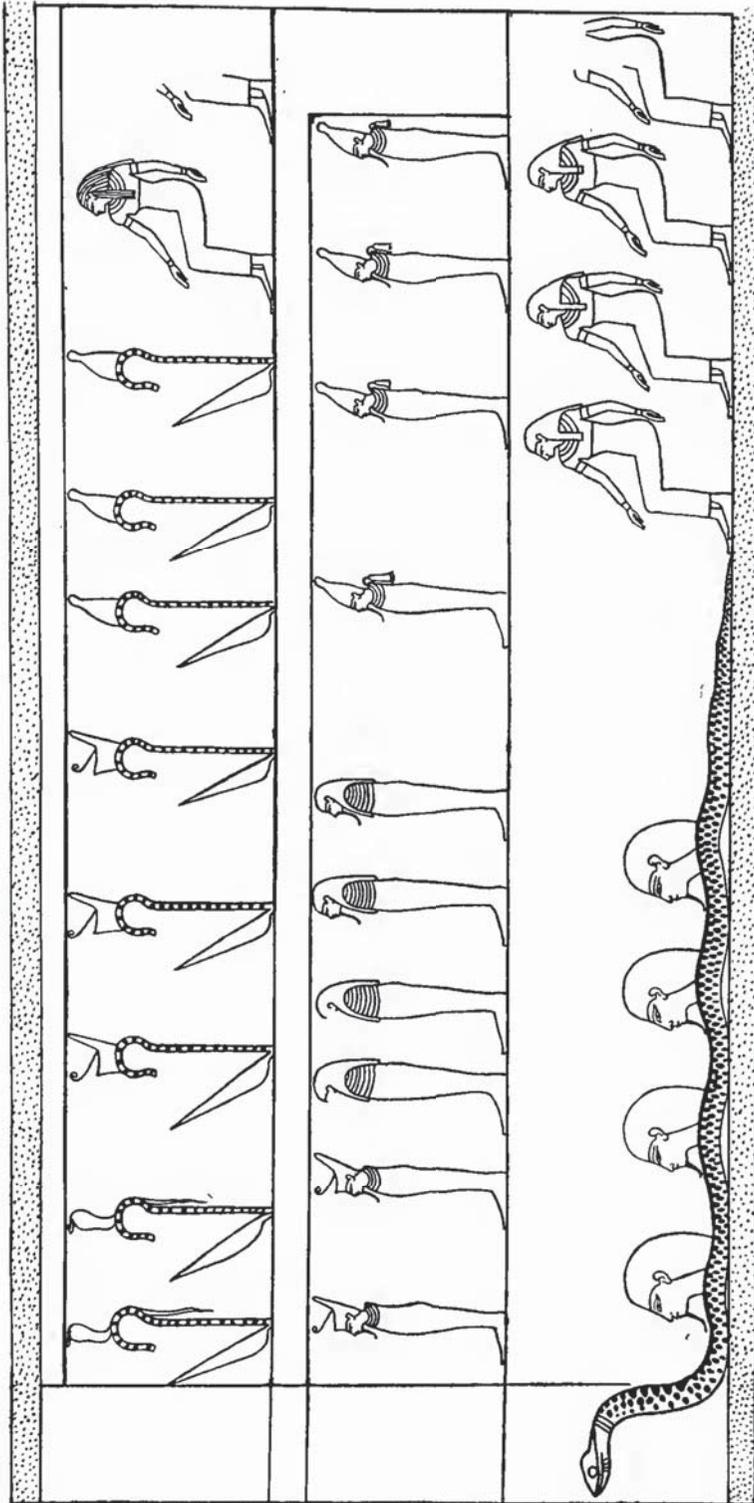


The Sixth Hour of the Night.

“ pylon of this city is Sept-metu (  ). The  
 “hidden path of Amentet, on the stream of which this great god

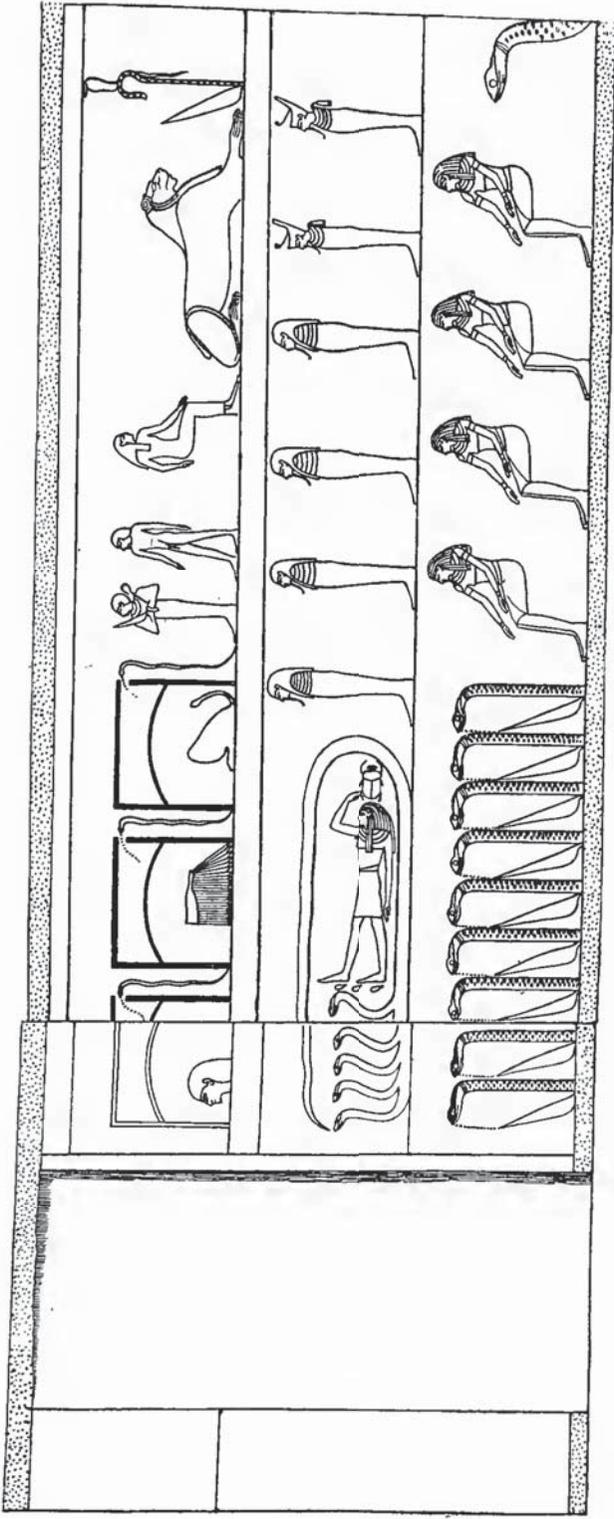
‘journeyeth in his boat to perform the affairs of the gods of the Tuat, and the collecting of their names, and the manner in which their forms rest, and all that appertaineth to their hidden hours, and the hidden similitude of the Tuat, are unknown . . . . The majesty of this god uttereth words, and he giveth divine offerings to the gods who are in the Tuat, and he standeth near them; they see him, and they have the mastery over their fields and over the gifts which are made to them, and they have their beings through the command which this great god, who is mighty of words, giveth unto them. The name of this district is Metchet-nebt-Tuatiu (𓆎 𓆏 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔 𓆕 𓆖 𓆗 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛 𓆜 𓆝 𓆞 𓆟 𓆠 𓆡 𓆢 𓆣).’ The third paragraph of the text promises to those who make pictures of the Sixth Hour a participation in the offerings which have been made to the gods in the train of Osiris, and also that offerings shall be made to them by their kinsfolk on earth.

The illustrated edition of the Sixth Hour shows us that Rā has no longer any need of the boat which was made of the body of a serpent wherein he passed through the realm of Seker, and that he is once again in his old boat and sailing over the waters of the stream in the Tuat. In front of his boat are:—1. Thoth, who is called Khenti-Tuat, and who is represented by a dog-headed god holding an ibis on his out-stretched right hand; and 2. the goddess Ament-semu-set, 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔 𓆕 𓆖 𓆗 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛 𓆜 𓆝 𓆞 𓆟 𓆠 𓆡 𓆢 𓆣. Beyond these is a large house with sixteen divisions, in each of which is a god in mummied form; these represent the mansions of Osiris, and four contain kings of the South, four contain kings of the North, four contain Heteptiu, 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔 𓆕 𓆖 𓆗 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛 𓆜 𓆝 𓆞 𓆟 𓆠 𓆡 𓆢 𓆣, and four contain Spirits. All these form the guardians of a huge five-headed serpent called Āsh-hrau, 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔 𓆕 𓆖 𓆗 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛 𓆜 𓆝 𓆞 𓆟 𓆠 𓆡 𓆢 𓆣, the body of which is bent round into an irregular oval in such a way that his tail almost touches one of his heads. Lying on his back within this oval is a god who is called Āfu, 𓆑 𓆒, i.e., “Flesh,” and as he is touching with his right hand the leg of a beetle which he holds on his head, we may assume that he represents the dead body of Kheperā, and is the opposite of the Sun-god in his boat, who is called “Flesh of Rā,” 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔 𓆕 𓆖 𓆗 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛 𓆜 𓆝 𓆞 𓆟 𓆠 𓆡 𓆢 𓆣.



The Sixth Hour of the Night.

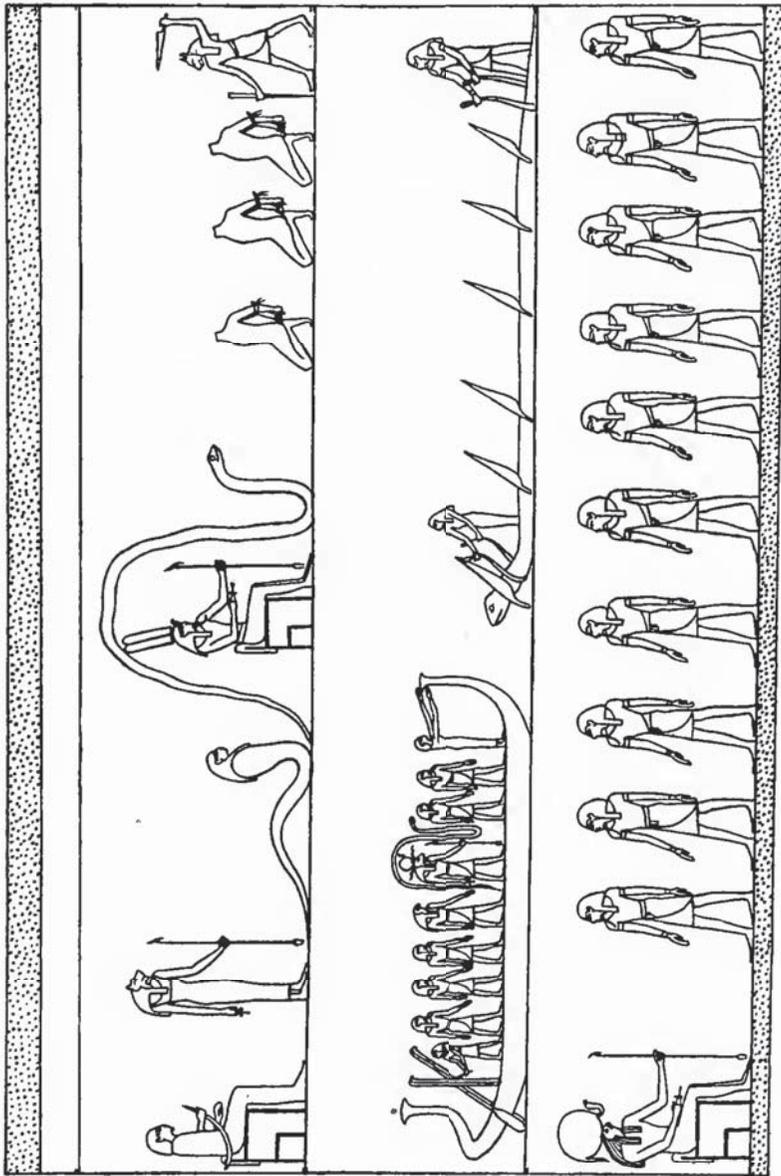
above are addressed by Rā, who commands them to be happy with their offerings, and to protect him, and to slay the serpent Āpepi; they hearken to his voice, and the text goes on to say that it is the voice of Rā which will make the god within the folds of the serpent Āsh-hrāu and the beetle upon his head to move. With these must be mentioned the double company of the gods of Osiris, one company being depicted in human form sitting on invisible thrones; these are:—Hetep-Henti-Tuat, , Āst-āmhit,                                  



The Sixth Hour of the Night.



he who knows it shall be among the spirits near Rā, and he who recites the words of Isis and Ser shall repulse Āpep in Āmentet, and he shall have a place on the boat of Rā both in heaven and

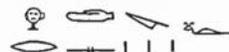
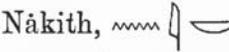
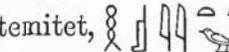


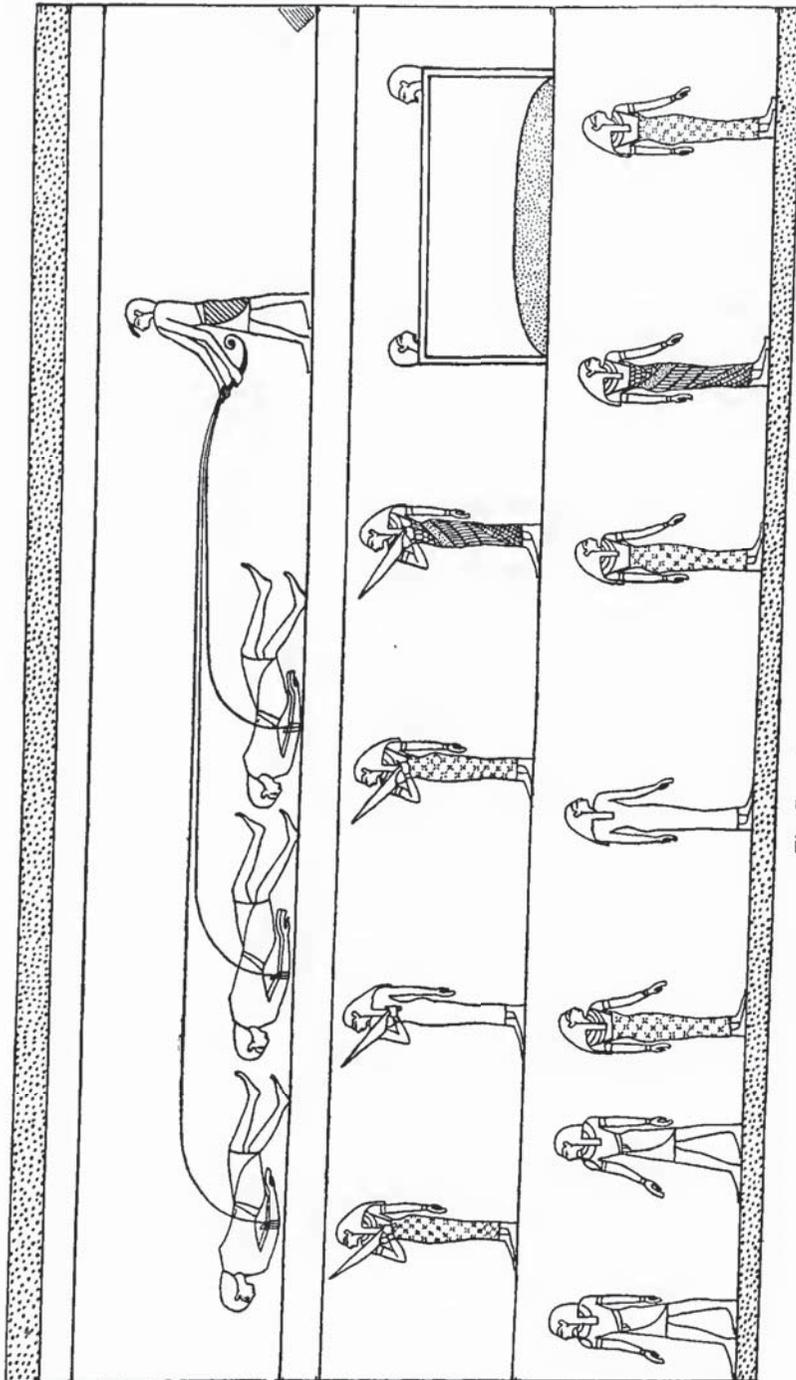
The Seventh Hour of the Night.

upon earth. The man who knows not this picture shall never be able to repulse the serpent Neḥa-ḥrā.

The text continues, "The shallows of the land of Neḥa-ḥrā are

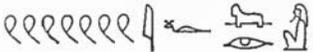
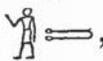
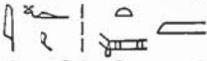
“450 cubits long, and it is filled with his folds, but over one  
 “portion thereof this great god journeyeth not when he travelleth  
 “to the hidden abode of Osiris, for he journeyeth through this city  
 “under the form of the god Mehen, () . Neḥa-ḥrā shall  
 “never drink the water of him that knoweth this, and the  
 “soul which knoweth it shall never be given over to the violence  
 “of the gods who are in this Circle; and the crocodile Āb-she  
 “() shall never eat the soul of him that knoweth it.”

From what is said above we see that the boat of Rā has arrived at a shallow place in the celestial stream where there is not enough water to float the boat, or even to allow it to be towed; moreover, the serpent Neḥa-ḥrā opposes the advance of the god. In this difficulty Isis, the great enchantress, enters the boat, and standing in the bows utters the words which make it proceed on its way. Neḥa-ḥrā, as we see from the illustrated edition of the hour, is seized by Serqet and Ḥer-ṭesu-f, () and held in bonds, and is transfixed to the ground by six knives; thus Rā, with the serpent Mehen over him in the form of a canopy, moves on without let or hindrance. Behind the monster serpent stand four goddesses, each armed with a huge knife, whose duty it is to guard the tombs of the four forms of Osiris; the names of the four goddesses are:—Temṭith, () , Tenith, () , Nākith, () , and Ḥetemitet, () . Their duty was to drive away the enemies of Rā, and to hack in pieces with their awful knives the fiend Āpep every day. The four tombs of Osiris are rectangular buildings, and inside each is a bed or small mound of sand whereunder lie the dead souls of the god, which are known by the names Tem, Kheperā, Rā, and Osiris. At each end of each tomb is a human head, which is said to come forth from the tombs whenever it hears the voice of Rā, and after he has passed “they eat their own forms,” i.e., the heads disappear from sight. It was, no doubt, a custom in predynastic times to slay slaves at the graves of kings and nobles, just as in many parts of the world it has been the custom to kill human beings and to lay their bodies beneath the foundations of buildings which were to



The Seventh Hour of the Night.

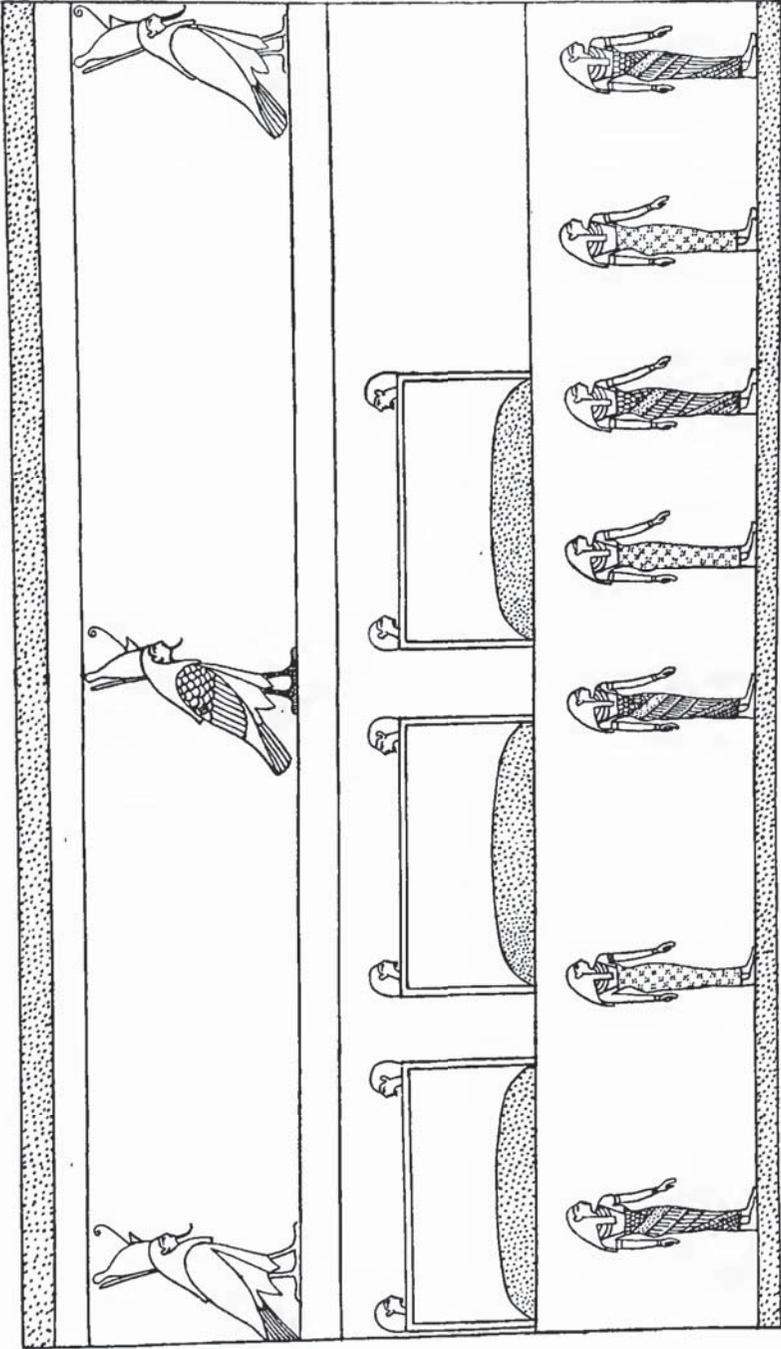
be erected in order that the souls of the slaughtered might protect them and keep away evil spirits. The human heads on the tombs of Osiris probably represent a tradition that, when Osiris was buried, human sacrifices were offered at his tomb for this or for some similar purpose.<sup>1</sup> This view has been well discussed by M. Lefébure, who has done so much to illustrate the religious and funeral customs of the ancient Egyptians,<sup>2</sup> and some allusion to it is probably made by Horapollon,<sup>3</sup> who says that when they wanted to represent φυλακτήριον they were wont to draw two human heads, one male and the other female, that of the male looking inwards, and that of the female outwards. These heads would keep away the attack of any evil spirit, even if no inscription was placed with them.

The other illustrations of this hour show us the god Áf-Ásar, , i.e., "Flesh of Osiris," seated under a canopy made by the body of a form of the serpent Mehen called Ānkh-áru-tchefau, , with the human-headed serpent Ānkhthith, , and the lion-headed goddess Hekenth, , behind him; a little further behind is the god Shepes, , a form of Thoth. Before the god kneel three figures, whose heads have been cut off by a cat-headed god, and lying on the ground are three beings who have been fettered by the god Ānku, , these represent the enemies of Osiris whose souls have been plucked out, and whose shadows have been hacked in pieces because they rebelled against the lord of the Tuat. Before these are three human-headed hawks wearing double crowns, and they represent the souls of the "living;" and on a serpent near is seated on a throne the god Áf-Tem, , i.e., "Flesh of Tem." Among the other gods in this hour is "Horus on his throne," and before him are a company of gods who have been

<sup>1</sup> See Maspero, *Les Hyrogées*, p. 104; Jéquier, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

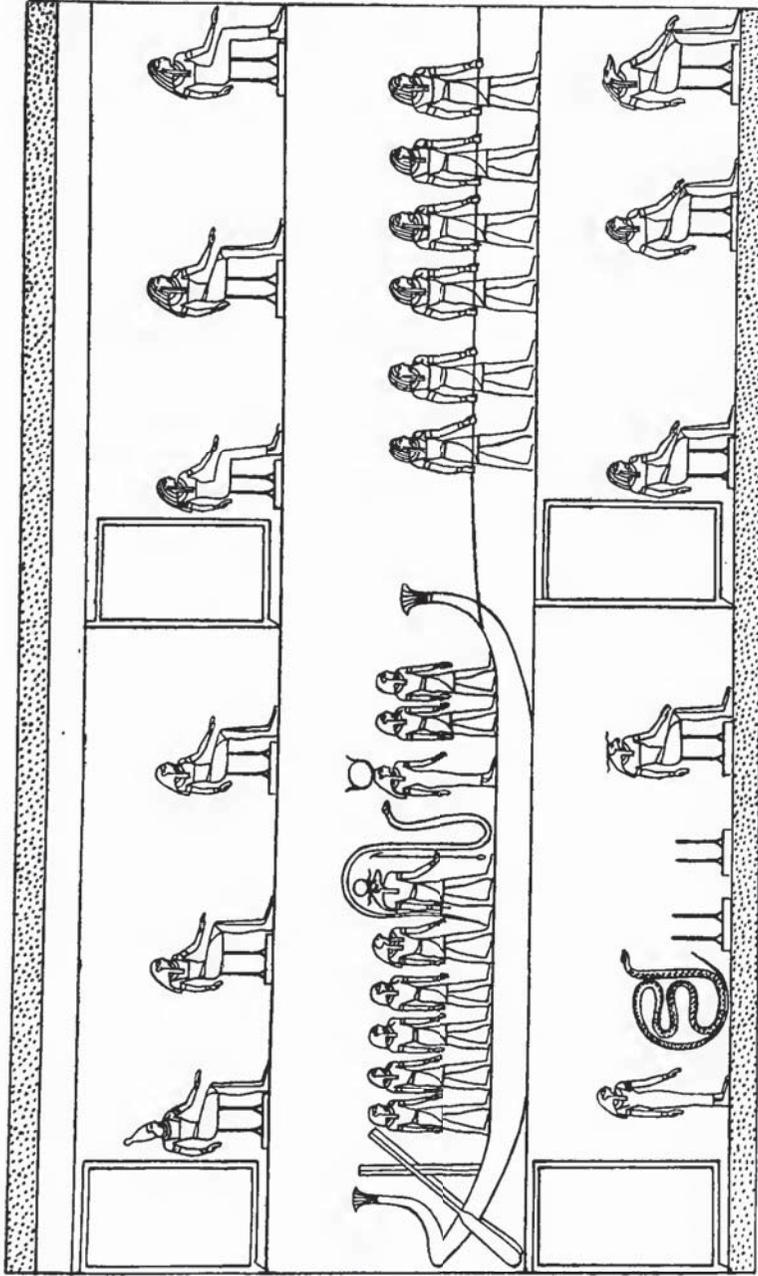
<sup>2</sup> *Rites Égyptiens*, pp. 4 ff., 18 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Φυλακτήριον δὲ γραφεῖν βουλόμενοι, δύο κεφαλὰς ἀνθρώπων ζωγραφούσι, τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἄρσενος ἔσω βλέπουσαν, τὴν δὲ θηλυκὴν ἔξω. οὕτω γὰρ φασι οὐδὲν τῶν δαιμονίων ἐφαψεται, ἐπειδὴ καὶ χωρὶς γραμμάτων, κ.τ.λ. *Hieroglyphica*, i. 24.



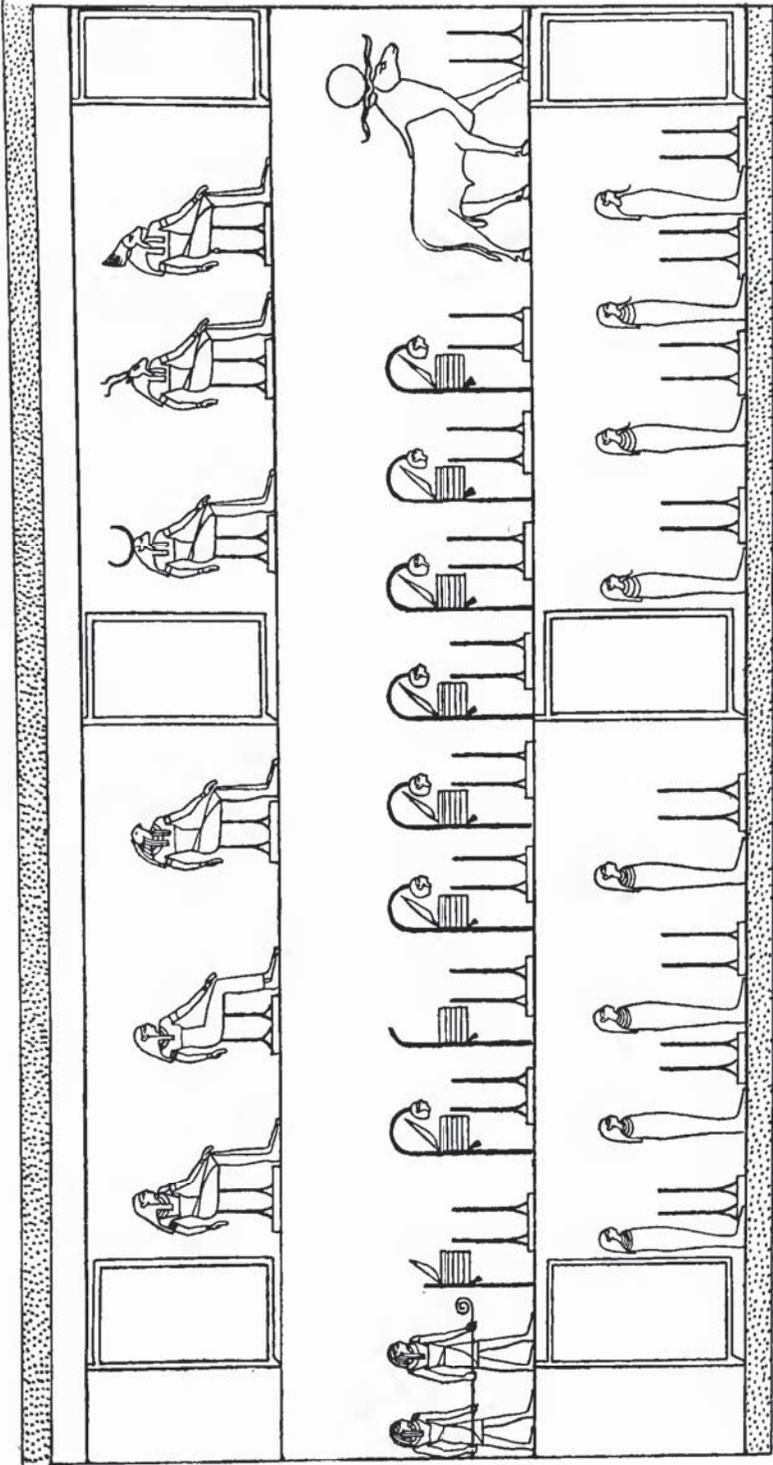
The Seventh Hour of the Night.



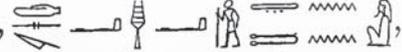


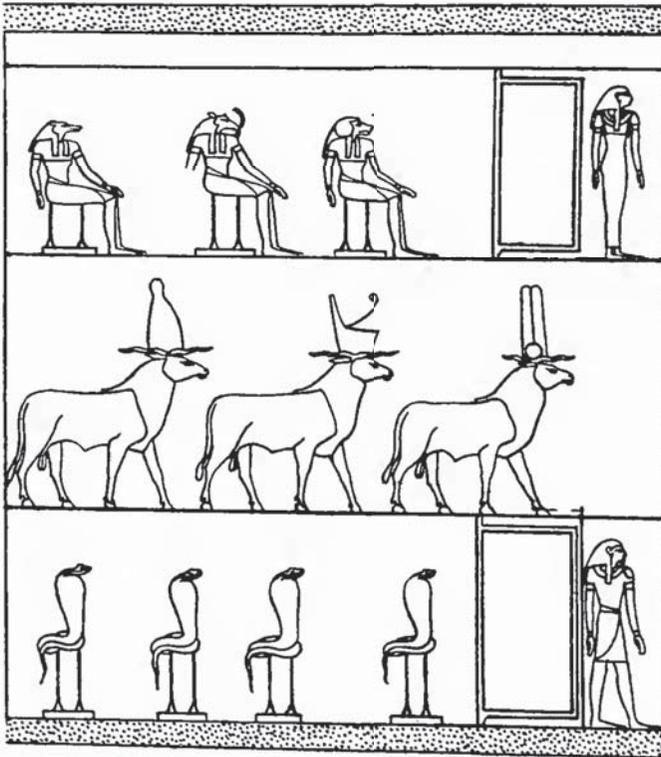
The Eighth Hour of the Night.



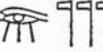
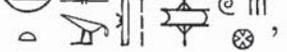


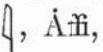
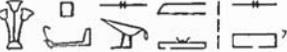
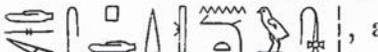
The Eighth Hour of the Night.

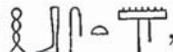
Tuat,  $\star$ , is called Tēs-āhā-Ta-thenen, , and shuts in the images of Tefnut, Seb, and Nut; when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which resembles that of weeping women. The door of the third Circle, Ās-neteru, , is called Tēs-khem-baiu, , and shuts in the images of Osiris, Isis, and Horus; when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which resembles that of men who moan. The door of of

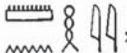


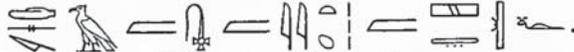
The Eighth Hour of the Night.

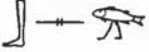
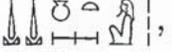
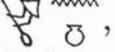
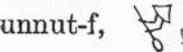
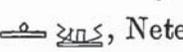
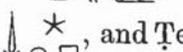
the fourth Circle, Āakebi, , is called Tēs-sheta-em-thehen-neteru, , and shuts in the images of Ka-Āmentet, , Ba-neteru, , and Rem-neteru, ; when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like that of bulls and men when they make lamentation. The door of the fifth Circle, Nebt-semu-nefu, ,

is called *Ṭes-sma-kekui*, , and shuts in the images of *Khatri*, , *Āñi*, , and *Ārānbfī*, ; when *Rā* speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like unto that of him that maketh supplication in terror. These five Circles are shut in by a door called *Ṭes-khaibit-tuatiu*, . The door of the sixth Circle is called *Ṭes-ermen-ta*, , and shuts in some divine beings whose attributes are not yet all clearly defined; when *Rā* speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like that of male cats when they mew. The door of the seventh Circle, *Ḥetemet-khemiu*, , is called *Ṭes-Rā-khefti-f*, , and shuts in *Nut*, *Ta*, and *Sebeq-hrā*, ; when *Rā* speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like the roar of the living. The door of the eighth Circle, *Ḥap-semu-s*, , is called *Ṭes-sekhem-āru*, , and shuts in four gods;<sup>1</sup> when *Rā* speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like the shouts of war heard in the battle of *Nu*. The door of the ninth Circle, *Seḥert-baiu-s*, , is called *Ṭes-sept-nestu*, , and shuts in four gods;<sup>2</sup> when *Rā* speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like that of the cry of the divine hawk of *Horus*. The door of the tenth Circle, *Āāt-setekau*, , is called *Ṭes-khu*, , and shuts in four gods in the form of uraei

<sup>1</sup> , *Ḥebset*; , *Senket*; , *Ṭebat*; and *Temṭet*, .

<sup>2</sup> , *Keku*; , *Menḥi*; , *Tcher-khu*; and , *Khebs-ta*.

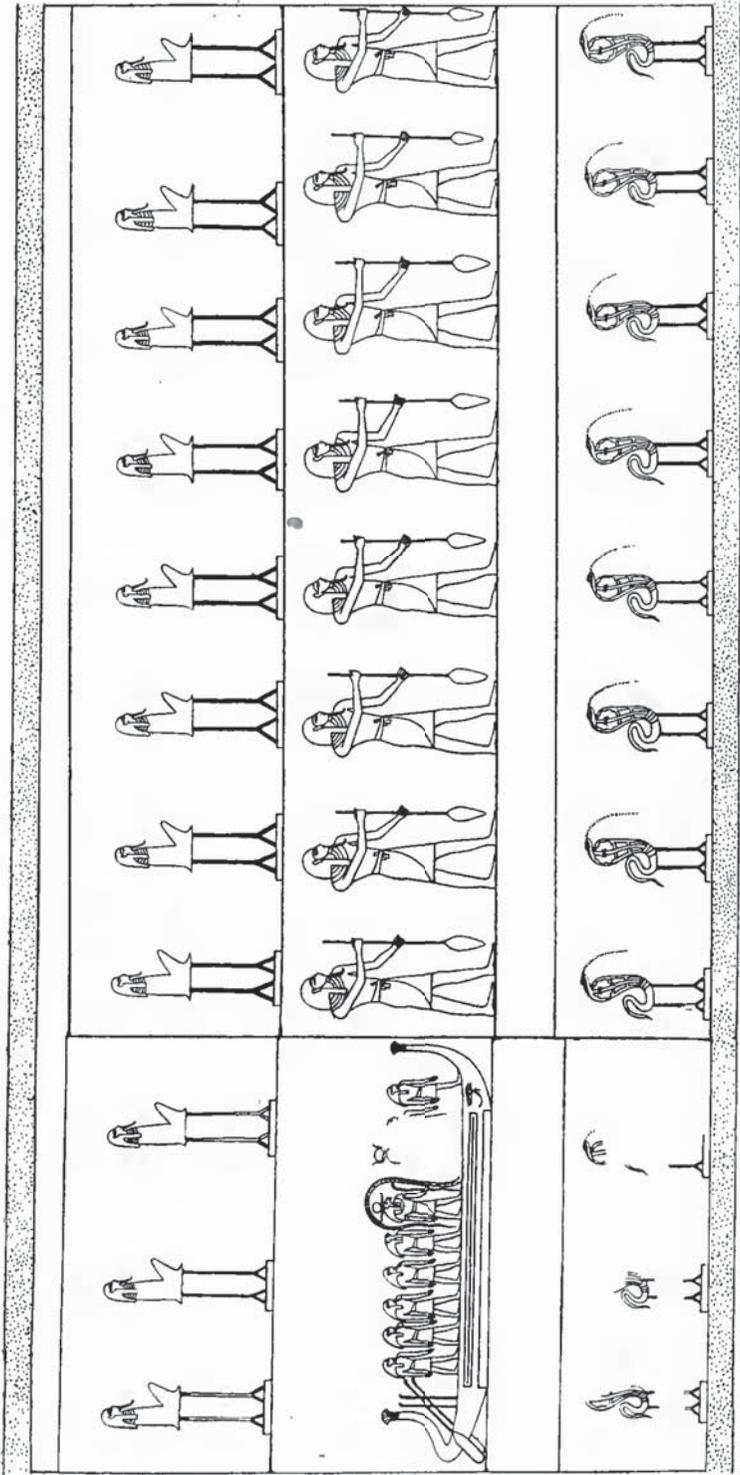
who rest upon ; when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like the twittering and chattering of water-fowl on a lake. The last five Circles are shut in by a door called Ṭes-am-mit-em-sheta-f, .

The NINTH HOUR, which is called ṬUATET-MĀKET-NEB-S,<sup>1</sup> brings us into a country which is called the "hidden Circle of "Āmentet"; the name of the city is Bes-āru, , ,<sup>2</sup> and the name of its pylon is Sa-Aḳeb, . "When the great god arriveth in this "Circle he addresseth from his boat the gods who are therein, and "the sailors who are in his boat are content with this city." The man who shall make a copy of the scenes of this Hour, and shall know the names of the gods and their places in Āmentet shall attain to a position in Āmentet, and he shall stand up in the presence of the lord of affairs and shall enjoy the power of making what he says to come to pass with the divine assessors, , on the day of reckoning up accounts by Per-āa (Pharaoh). The illustrated edition of this Hour shows us the boat of the god travelling on as before, and in front of it are twelve divine rowers, each with his paddle; among these are Khenu, , Ākhem-sek-f, , Ākhem-urt-f, , Ākhem-ḥemi-f, , Ākhem-khemes-f, , Khen-unnut-f, , Hāpti-ta-f, , Hetep-uāa, , Neter-neteru, , Tcha-Ṭuat, , and Ṭepi, .

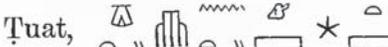
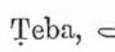
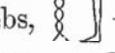
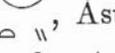
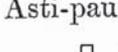
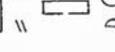
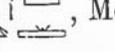
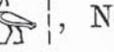
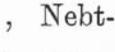
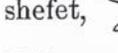
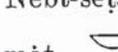
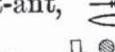
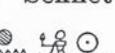
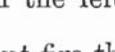
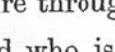
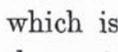
The duty of these sailors is not only to row, but also to throw water with their paddles upon the spirits who stand on each bank of the river whereon the god sails, and they have to lead the soul of Rā to the place where he will reanimate the disk. Before these sailors, resting on baskets, are the three gods who give abundant

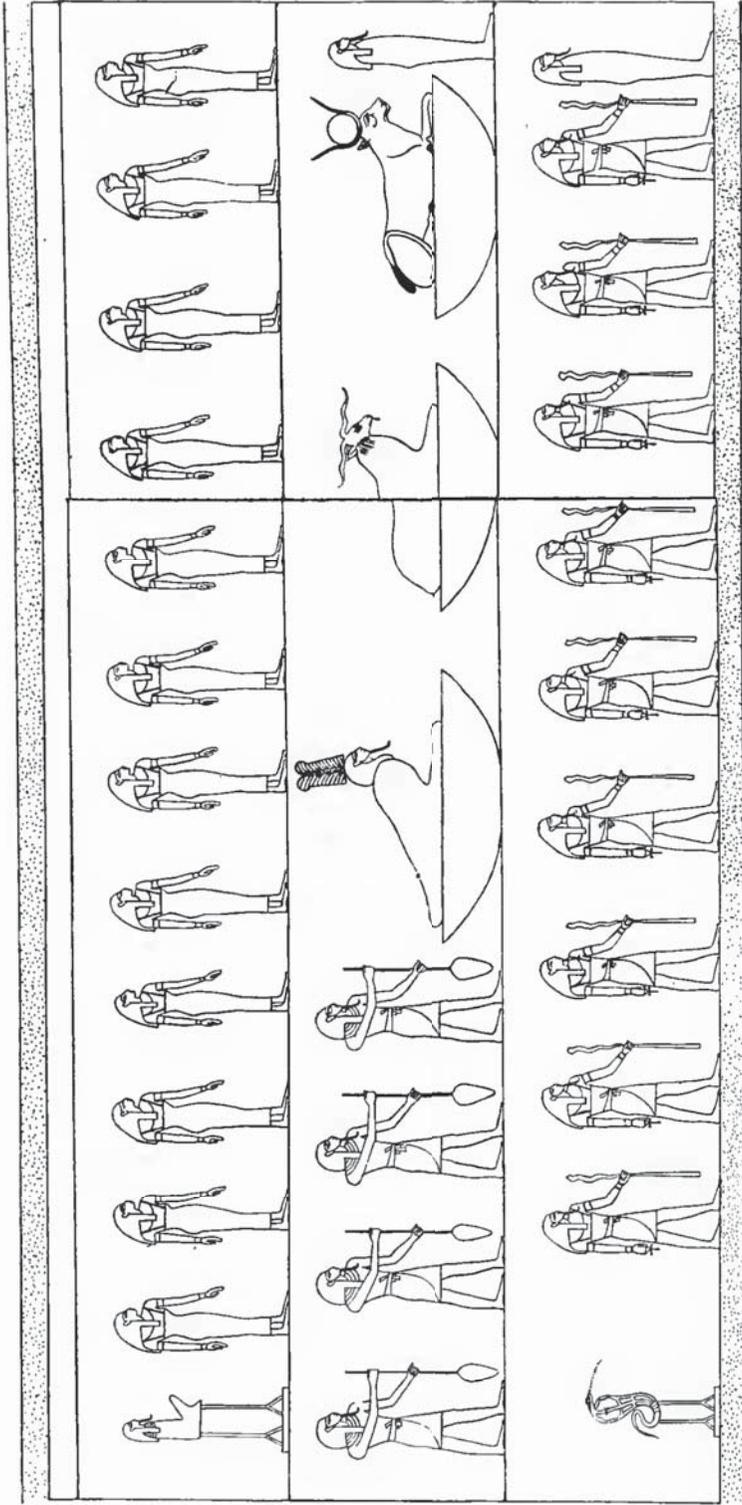
<sup>1</sup> \* .

<sup>2</sup> Some copies add .

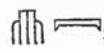
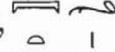
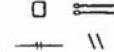
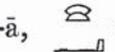
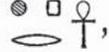
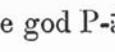


The Ninth Hour of the Night.

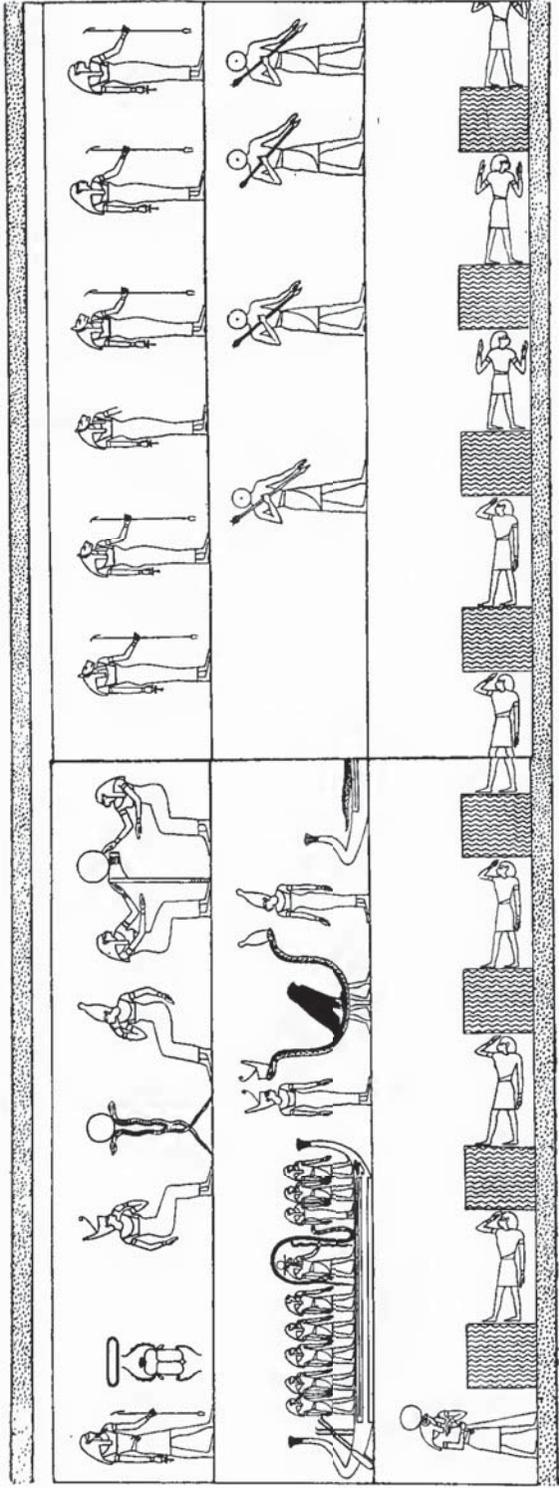
offerings, Muti-khenti-Ṭuat, , Nesti-khenti-Ṭuat, , and Nebt-āu-khent-Ṭuat, . On the right the boat of Rā passes twelve gods, each seated on , and twelve goddesses; these last are said to breathe after he has saluted them, and after they have heard his voice, and their duty is to utter words of power wherewith they are to surround the hidden soul, and thereby to cause life and strength to rise up in Osiris. The names of these are:—Nehata, , Ṭeba, , Ariti, , Menkhet, , Hebs, , Nebti, , Āsti-neter, , Āsti-paut, , Hehemet-khu, , Neb-pāt, , Ṭemṭu, , Men-ā, , Perit, , Shemat-khu, , Nebt-shāt, , Nebt-shef-shefet, , Āat-āaṭet, , Nebt-seṭau, , Hehnt-nut-s, , Nebt-māt, , Ṭesert-ānt, , Āat-khu, , Sekhet-meṭu, , Netert-en-khentet-Rā, . On the left are twelve uraei, each of whom rests on , and sends out fire through his mouth; they are said to kindle the fire for the god who is in the Ṭuat with the fire which is in their mouths, and when the god has passed on his way they eat up the fire which they poured forth before Rā went by. The object of the fire was, of course, to show light on his path. Before these uraei come the nine gods of cultivation and of husbandry, who are under the direction of a god in mummified form; these nine are the *sekhtiu*, , or “field-labourers,” of the god Heh-she-ṭuati, , their leader, and they perform all the works connected with the ploughing and watering of the fields.



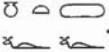
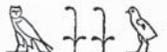
The Ninth Hour of the Night.

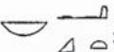
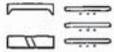
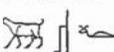
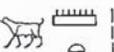
The Tenth Hour, which is called TĒNṬIT-UḤESQET-KHAṬ-ĀB,<sup>1</sup> brings Rā in his boat to the city called Metchet-qat-uṭebu, , with its pylon called Āa-kheperu-mes-āru, . The boat of the sun travels on as before, but Rā again holds a serpent in his hand after the manner of a staff. Immediately in front is the serpent Thes-ḥrāu, , with a head at each end of his body; on one head is the white crown, and on the other the red crown; he has two pairs of human legs, one pair turned towards the right, and the other pair towards the left. His body is bent in the form of a pair of horns, and in the curve stands Khent-Ḥeru, , in the form of a black hawk; on the left is the goddess of the north, Neith, with her two bows, , and on the right is the goddess Ḥert-ermen, . Next comes a boat containing the serpent Ānkh-ta, and before it are three groups, each containing four gods. The gods of the first group have solar disks for heads, and are armed with arrows, and are called Tēptherā, , Sheserā, , Tēmau, , and Uṭu, . The gods of the second group carry each a javelin, and are called Setu, , Rāu, , Khesfu, , and Nekenu, ; and the gods of the third group carry each a bow, and are called Pesthi, , Shemerthi, , Tḥesu, , and Khā-ā, . All these gods accompany Rā as he goes towards the east, and they slay all his enemies who live in the darkness, and wreak special vengeance on the serpent Neḥa-ḥrā; they escort the god to the very limits of the Hour, and form part of his train in the eastern part of the sky. The name of the region traversed by Ra in this Hour is Āḳert, . As the boat of Rā passes the god sees the "living beetle," , born in the presence of the god P-ānkhī, , and sees how he

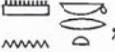
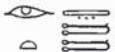
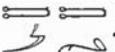
<sup>1</sup>  \*.



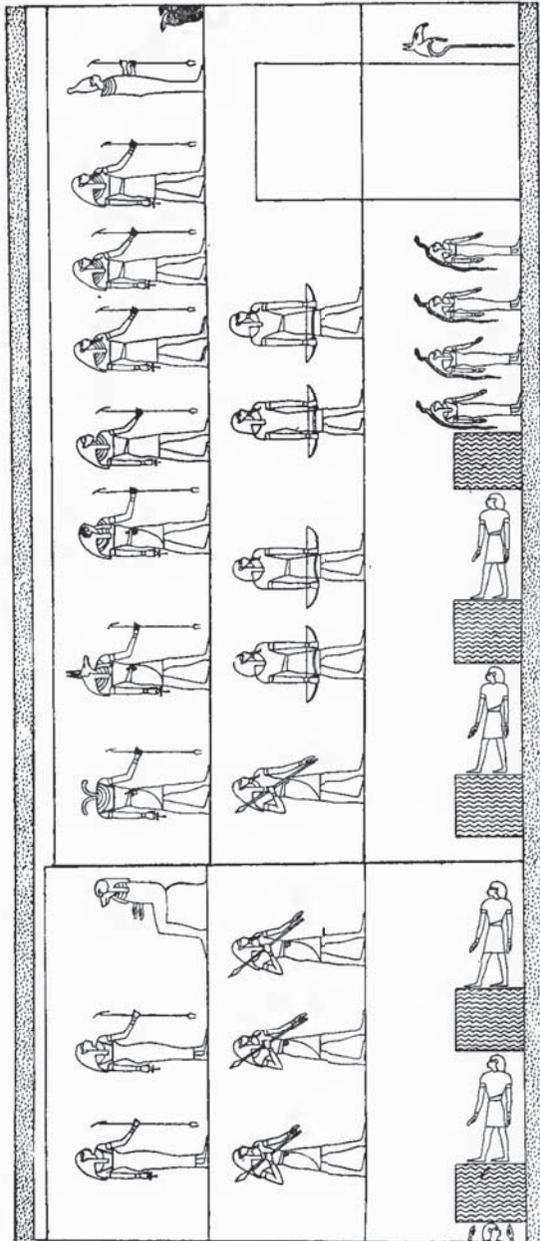
The Tenth Hour of the Night.

pushes before him his zone, . Next we have the two serpents, Menenui, , standing on their tails, and holding on their bent necks a solar disk; and two seated personifications of the South and North; and the two goddesses, Netheth, , and Kenát, , one of whom supports the hatchet, and the other the solar disk, which rests upon it, . From the serpents go forth two goddesses, those of the East and West; and from the axe, called Sefít, , go forth the goddesses of the East and West also; i.e., these goddesses are the souls of the serpents and of the axe, which come forth to look upon the Sun-god, and as soon as he has passed they return into their material bodies.

Next Rā sees eight<sup>1</sup> goddesses advancing to a seated dog-headed god, who presents to them the Eye of Horus, , and their duty is to see that it is in good condition, and to take care of it and protect it, so that it may shine daily. Besides these there come the eight gods called Ermenui, , Neb-āqet, , T̄ua-khu, , Her-she-taiu, , Sem-Ĥeru, , T̄ua-Ĥeru, , Khenti-āst-f, , and Khenti-ment, ; the duty of these gods, who lived by the breath of the great god, was to wreck the bodies and scatter the swathings of the enemies of Rā. On his left hand Rā passed in his journey through this Hour Horus, and twelve beings who dive and swim and perform evolutions in tanks of water. These are said to beat the water in their attempts to recover their breath, and Rā calls upon them to fill themselves with the water of the celestial Nile, and promises that their members shall not suffer corruption, and that their bodies shall not perish; he decrees that they shall

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Sekhet, , Menkert, , Ĥuntheth, , Usit, , Ābet-neteru-s, , Āritatheth, , Āhāt, , and Themath, .

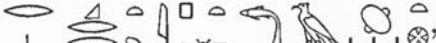
be masters of their own arms in their water because they are the denizens of Nu, and that their souls shall live. Beyond these are



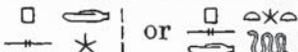
The Tenth Hour of the Night.

four goddesses, each with a serpent hanging down her back with its head above her own, and with them is a standard surmounted

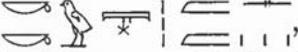
by the head of Set, . This god was the guardian of the Tenth Hour, and when Rā was about to pass from it into the eastern part of the sky, Set was believed to reuse himself and to make the journey with him. The four goddesses "who lived by their heads," shed light on the path of Rā.

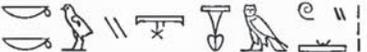
The ELEVENTH HOUR, which is called SEBUIT-NEBT-UĀA-KHESFET-SEBĀU-EM-PERT-F,<sup>1</sup> brings us to a city called Re-querert-āpt-khat, , with a pylon bearing the name of Sekhen-ṭuatiu, ; the object of

the texts and the illustrations which accompany it was to enable the spirits of the dead to become participators with the gods, and to provide them with such things as were necessary for their equipment both in heaven and upon earth. Rā stands as usual in his boat, but he has changed the serpent which he held in his hand

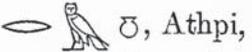
as a sceptre for the ordinary sceptre, , and on the bows of the boat we see a solar disk, surrounded by a serpent; the name of this disk is , Pestu or Pestet, and it is probably

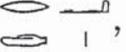
connected with some well-known star which rose heliacally at certain seasons of the year. The duty of the disk was to guide the boat of the great god along the paths which led to that part of the Ṭuat, at the end of the Eleventh Hour, where the darkness faded away; the texts call the darkness at this point *keku keskesu*,

, i.e., the opposite of the *kekui samui*,

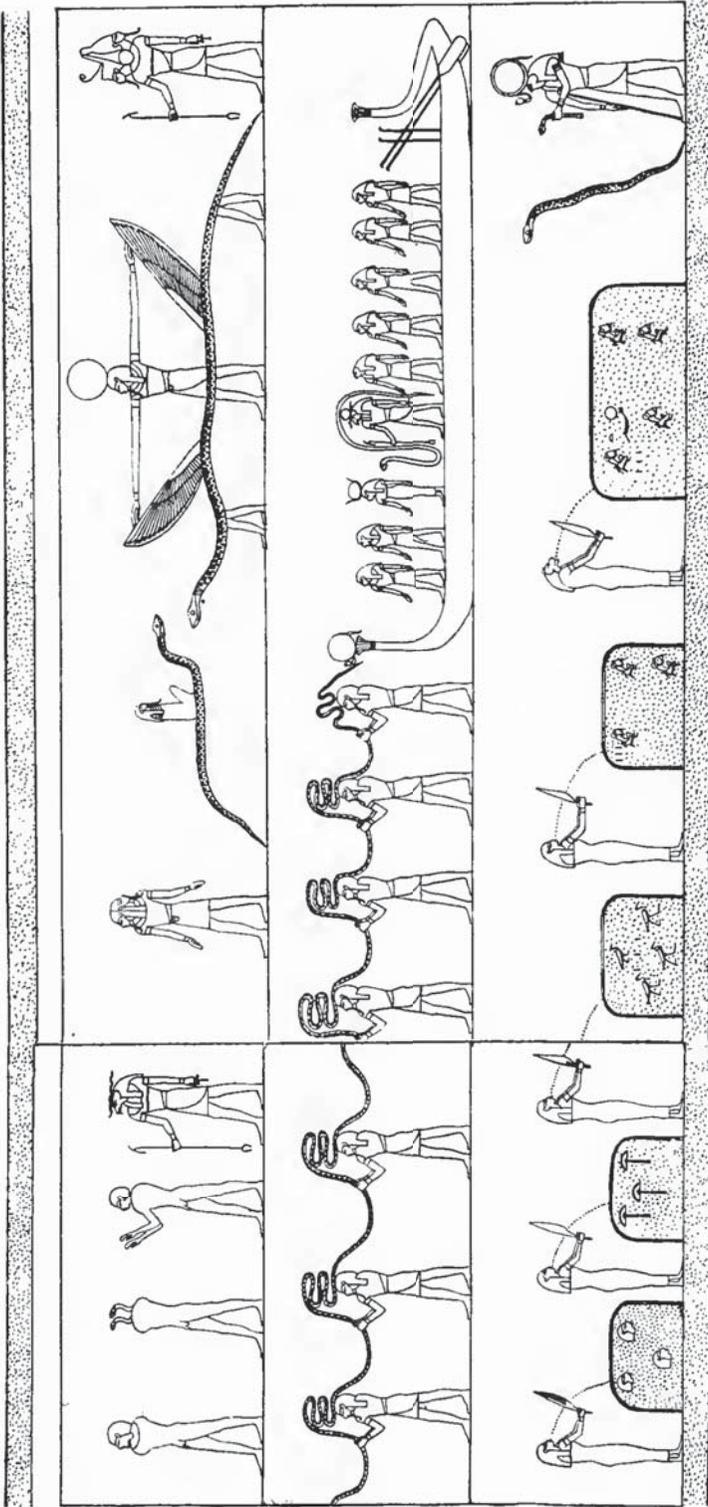
, or the thick, solid darkness which filled the greater part of the Ṭuat. Before the boat of Rā are

twelve gods, who carry upon their heads the serpent Mehen to the eastern part of the sky; their names are:—Fa, , Ermenu,

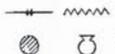
, Athpi, , Neṭru, , Shepu, ,

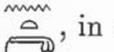
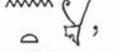
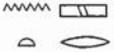
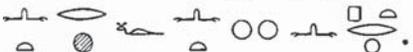
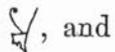
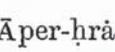
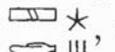
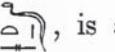
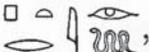
Reṭā, , Amu, , Āma, , Sheṭu,

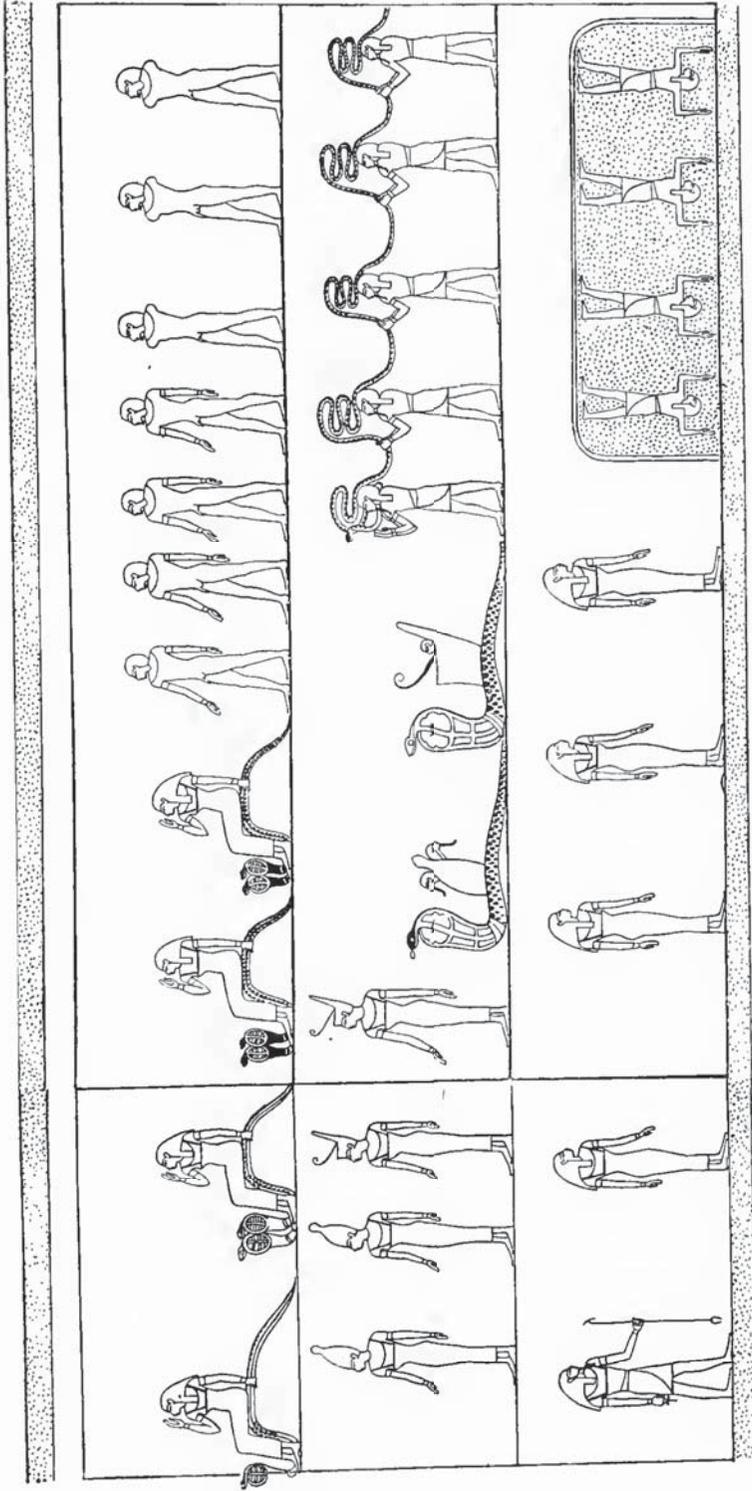
<sup>1</sup> 



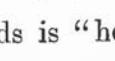
The Eleventh Hour of the Night.

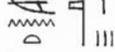
 , Sekhenu,  , Semsem,  , and Mehni,  .  
 Before these are :—1. A uræus wearing the crown of the North and a human head ; and, 2. A uræus from the back of which emerges the white crown, with a human head on each side of it.

The first of these is called Sem-shet,  , and the second Sem-Nebt-het,  ; the human heads on the white crown only come forth when Rā is passing by, and when he has departed they disappear. Next we have figures of the four forms of the goddess Neith, two of them wearing the white crown, and two the red ; they are called Neith the fecundator,  , in allusion to the belief that this goddess begat herself, Neith of the red crown,  , Neith of the white crown,  , and Neith the child,  ; these goddesses came into being as soon as they heard the voice of Rā, and their duty was to guard the gate of Saïs,  , the unknown, the unseen, the invisible,  . This Circle of the Tuat through which the god travels to appear in the mountain of the sunrise contains many wonderful beings, and it is said to “swallow always the forms therein in the presence of “the god who knoweth,  , who is in this city, and afterwards “it giveth them for the births of those who are to come into being “on this earth.” Among these are:—A god with the solar disk for a head ; from it project two human heads, one wearing  , and the other  . He is called Āper-hrā-neb-tchetta,  , and stands facing a god having two heads, but without crowns, whose name is Tēpui,  . In the space between we see a serpent provided with a pair of wings and four human legs and feet, facing the serpent Sheṭu,  , upon the back of which is seated a god ; the heads of both serpents are among a number of stars. Standing by the side of the winged serpent, which is called Tchet-s,  , is a god called Petrà,  , with his arms stretched out in such a way as to keep the wings wide apart ; he has on his head a disk, and his neck is between the double *utchat*,

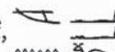
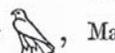
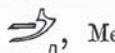
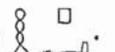


The Eleventh Hour of the Night.

. The descriptive text says that the god with a disk and two heads is "he who stands, , by Rā,"<sup>1</sup> and that he never leaves his place in the Tuat. The god who stands by the winged serpent is Temu, who springs out of the reptile's back when Rā addresses it; but as soon as the words cease Temu disappears into the serpent. The second serpent is the constellation Shetū, i.e., the Tortoise, and its soul appears in human form on its back as soon as Rā addresses it, but when the words have ceased like Temu it disappears into its body. The duty of Shetū was to "emit life for Rā every day."

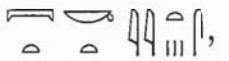
Before these march Khnemu and ten gods, five of whom have no arms; from the neck of one of these project the heads of two serpents.<sup>2</sup> From the descriptive text we learn that the souls of these gods lived on the hidden light of Rā; that the breath of his mouth gave them life, and that their souls fed upon the provisions which were stored in his boat; their chief duty was to be with and in attendance upon the god. Besides these gods we also have in this Hour four goddesses, each of whom sits upon the bodies of two uraei, which are bent upwards in such a way as to form a seat; the heads of each pair of uraei are reared up in front of the knees of the goddess, who is sitting on their backs, and whose feet rest upon their necks. Each goddess has her right hand raised as if to hide her face, and with her left she grasps the body of one of the uraei. It is possible that the uraei are only four in number, and that they are two-headed; the goddesses are called Nebt-ankhiu, . Nebt-khu, , Nert, , and Hent (?)-neteru, . The descriptive text says that the arms of these beings are on earth, and their feet in the thick

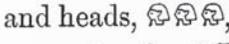
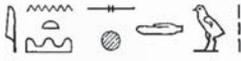
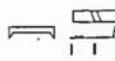
<sup>1</sup> M. Maspero speaks of him as the "agathodemon" of Rā.

<sup>2</sup> The names are:—Khnem-renit, , Nerta, , Āāiu-f-em-kha-nef, , Apt-tai, , Mer-en-āāui-f, , Āunāāuif, , Rest-f, , Tua-Ĥeru, , Maā, , Meskhti, , and Ĥepā, .

darkness, and as long as the god is speaking to them they utter cries and acclaim him; they never move from their places, and their souls live upon the voices of the uraei which go forth from their feet daily. When the shadows depart the winds which arise in the T̄uat are diverted from the faces of the four goddesses by their hands, which they hold up. In this statement we seem to have an allusion to the keen, fresh wind of dawn with which all travellers in the desert are well acquainted, and which usually blows about one hour before sunrise.

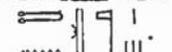
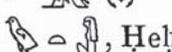
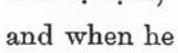
In the region on the left hand side of Rā we see how punishment is inflicted upon the enemies of Rā, and in it we have a country of blazing fire. At one end stands Horus with a disk, surrounded by a uraeus, upon his head, holding in his left hand a boomerang, one end of which terminates in the head of a serpent; the idea here suggested is that the weapon held by the god is a real serpent, which when thrown at an enemy will suddenly attach itself to his body after the manner of the vicious uraeus. The right arm of Horus rests on a staff wherewith the god usually supports himself, and before him rears itself a huge serpent called "Set of millions of years," , the duty of which was to devour any of the enemies of Rā, i.e., the dead, who succeeded in making their escape from the fires of the country of the Eleventh Hour. In front of these were the five awful chambers, or pits in the sky, which were filled with the red-hot materials of blazing fires, and employed to consume the enemies of Rā.

The first chamber or pit,  , was filled with the bodies of fiends who were dashing out their own brains with axes, , and was under the charge of a lion-headed goddess, called H̄ert-Ketit-s, , who stood by its side and belched fire into it through her mouth; when the fire had done its work on the wretched creatures they were hacked to pieces by the huge knife which she held in both her hands. The second chamber or pit was also filled with the bodies of fiends, and was under the charge of a woman called H̄ert-H̄anṭuā, , who spat fire upon them and who was armed with a monster knife.

The third chamber or pit was filled with the souls, , of the fiends, and was under the charge of a woman called Hert-Nekeuit, , who spat fire upon them and who was similarly armed. The fourth and fifth chambers, which were under the charge of similar women, called Hert-Nemmät-set, , and Hert-sefu-s, , contained the shadows, , and heads, , of the damned. Passing by these chambers we come to the "Valley of those who are cast down headlong," , which is represented by a large hollow wherein four men are standing on their heads, ; next to this are four goddesses of the desert, each of whom has upon her head the emblem of desert; their names are Pesi, , Rekhit, , Her-shā-s, , and Sait, . Each name has a meaning something like "fiery," and refers to the goddesses in their character of mistresses of the blazing desert. Finally, behind these comes the god Her-ut-f, , who was in some way connected with the embalming of the dead. The descriptive text which accompanies these scenes makes the great god Rā command "his father Osiris to hack in pieces the bodies of "the enemies and of the dead who are cast down headlong."

Then, addressing the enemies themselves, he tells them that when his father Osiris hath smitten them for destruction, and hath cut in pieces their spirits and souls, and hath rent asunder their shadows, and hath cut off their heads in such a way that existence in the future will be impossible for them, they will be cast down headlong into burning furnaces from which there is neither escape nor deliverance, and Set the everlasting snake will drive his flames against them, and the Lady of furnaces, and the Lady of fiery pits, and the Lady of slaughtering blocks, and the Lady of swords, will drive against them the flames which come forth from their mouths, that they will hack them in pieces in such wise that the wretched beings will never again see those who live upon the earth. The slaughter of the enemies is ordered to be performed by Horus, the god of those who are in the T̄uat, and it is curious to note that the

gods his companions are said to live upon the voices of the enemies who are slain, and on the shrieks and cries of the souls and shadows which are cast down into the blazing, fiery pits.

The TWELFTH HOUR, MAA-NEFERT-RĀ,<sup>1</sup> brings the god Rā into the Circle which is on the confines of thick darkness, and to a city called Khepert-kekui-khāāt-mest, , with its pylon called Then-neteru, . In this region the god is born under the form of Kheperā, , and Nu, , and Nut, , and Heḥu, , and Heḥut, , come into the Circle when he is born, and when he goeth forth from the Tuat and resteth in the Māntit, , boat, and when he riseth on the body<sup>2</sup> of Nut. Rā journeys in his boat, as before, but the solar disk which was at the bows in the Eleventh Hour is no longer there, and its place is occupied by the beetle of Kheperā, the forerunner of the rising sun.<sup>3</sup> Twelve gods tow the boat, not over a river or over the back of a serpent or serpents, but completely *through* a serpent; in front the tow-rope is held by the hands of twelve women. This serpent is called Ka-en-Ānkh-neteru, , i.e., “the life of the gods,” and the gods who draw Āf, that is to say, Rā, through it are his “loyal servants,” , *Āmḫiu*. The boat enters the serpent at his tail in deep darkness, and passing through his body emerges through the mouth into the light of day; the god in his boat enters the snake in the form of a dead, old Sun-god, and he comes forth not only alive, but made young again, and appears in the sky under the form of Kheperā. The “loyal servants” of Rā are the souls of the blessed which have been so fortunate as to obtain admission into his boat; they were his devout adorers when upon earth, and the reward which they

<sup>1</sup> .

<sup>2</sup> , a word sometimes rendered by *vulva*, *pubis*, and *flank*.

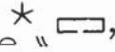
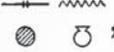
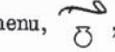
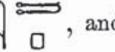
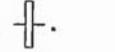
<sup>3</sup> See Lanzone, *Domicile des Esprits*, pl. v.

obtain for their fidelity is renewed youth and a new birth upon the earth. What they are to do upon earth is not made clear, but it is evident that they cannot remain there for an indefinite period, for since their master needs to be re-born daily they also must need re-birth each day. It is doubtful, if we judge by some passages, if they came to the earth at all, and it is far more likely that their enjoyment consisted in journeying about at will through the sky and looking down from some portion of it upon the scenes of their old life than in making hurried visits to the earth daily.

When the boat of Rā has passed through the serpent the twelve women or goddesses, mentioned above, take the rope from the gods and haul it on to the paths of the sky. The god is accompanied through the Twelfth Hour by:—1. Twelve goddesses, each bearing a serpent on her head and shoulders, and 2. Twelve gods, or men, with their hands raised in adoration; all these are on the right hand side. Each deity has a name, which is written in front of his or her figure. The uraei of the goddesses are said to proceed from them, and the flames which drive away Āpep come forth from their mouths. The goddesses travel with the god until he rises on this earth, but after this they return to their places. The duty of the twelve gods is to praise Rā. On the left of the boat we have the gods Nū, , Nuth, , , Heḥu,  , Heḥut,                  ; these gods are “in their own bodies,”                        and they go to Rā in heaven, to receive this great god as he cometh forth to them in the eastern part of heaven daily. They live in their *ārrit*, i.e., hall of the horizon, but their forms,                  , of the Tuat belong to this Circle. Next we have two human-headed gods, a bird-headed god called Nehui,                     , a god with two birds' heads called Ni,       , the serpent Nesmekhef,                , and four human-headed gods; all these carry paddles on their right shoulders. The duty of the gods is to raise up,              the disk of the sun daily, but the serpent Nesmekhef slaughters the enemies of Rā; they travel with Rā and receive their spirits,         , in this

Circle. Before these are ten gods, with hands raised in adoration,<sup>1</sup> who are described as the *hentiu*, , of the forms of Osiris, the Governor of the thick darkness, , and they say to him, "Live, thou Governor of thy "darkness! Live, O thou who art great in all things! Live, O "thou Prince of Āmentet, Osiris, thou Governor of those who are "in Āmenti! Mayest thou live, mayest thou live, O thou who "art Governor of the Tuat, the wind of Rā is to thy nostrils, "the breath of Kheperā is with thee, thou livest and they live. "Hail, Osiris, lord of the living ones; the gods who are with "Osiris are those who were with him at the first time," etc.

The allusion here is to the death and burial of Osiris, when Horus carried out the arrangements which had to be made for the performance of the general ceremonies, and when every detail connected with mummification, etc., was thought out by the loving care of the son of Osiris. In the illustrated version of the Twelfth Hour, published by Signor Lanzone (tav. vii.), we have represented the semi-circular wall of thick darkness which forms the end of the Tuat and the division between it and this world. Against this wall, in the lower part of it, lies a mummied form, representing Osiris, and called Sem-Āf, , i.e., the "Image (or Form) of "Āf"; this is the object of the praises which the last two groups of gods lavish upon him. The descriptive text says concerning the mummy, "He who is in this picture in the hidden form of Horus of "thick darkness is the secret image which Shu makes to be under "Nut, and which cometh forth from Kēb-ur on earth in this form."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tuati, , Tes-khu, , Themaru, , Āākhbu, , Sekhenu, , Ermenu, , Khennu, , Bunāu, , Āuru, , Athep, , and Ām....., .

<sup>2</sup> 

In the middle of the wall of thick darkness is a red disk, from which proceeds a human head; this is the "image of Shu," , who extends his arms along the vaulted wall, and of whose body one part is in the Tuat and the other in this world. Immediately above the head of the god is the beetle of Kheperā, here spelt , which makes its way into this world through the opening which the head and shoulders of Shu have made in the wall of thick darkness. Through this opening the boat of Rā also was enabled to pass into this world, and the god continued his journey with the help of the deities who towed him along; there is no doubt about this because the tow-line is prolonged to the wall of thick darkness. As Áf, the dead body of Rā, passes into our world, his new life begins, and for men and women the night passes away, and a new day is born.

We have now traced the passage of the Sun-god through the Tuat as it was imagined by those who believed in the absolute supremacy of Osiris, and as it was described by the author of the BOOK OF PYLONS, and we have briefly passed through its divisions as described in the BOOK OF THAT WHICH IS IN THE TUAT, throughout which the absolute supremacy of Rā is maintained. It is now easy to see that these two works represent two opposite and conflicting theories as to the future life. The heaven of the devotees of Osiris was originally most materialistic, and the life which was led in it by the beatified was, to all intents and purposes, merely a continuation of the life led by men and women upon earth; the heaven of the priests of Rā was of a more refined character, and it lacked the grosser characteristics of the dwellers in the Elysian Fields of Osiris. Some have argued from the facts about the Tuat given above that the Egyptians believed in the existence of purgatory, and in the everlasting punishment of the wicked in a hell of fire, and in the reincarnation of souls, and in many other things which would presuppose the holding by them of doctrines which are commonly thought to be the products of the minds of modern nations; but the facts do not support these beliefs. Whichever doctrine of the future life we take, whether that of Osiris or that of Rā, we find no room in it for a purgatory.

In the Judgment which took place before Osiris only the righteous were permitted to enter into the Elysian Fields, and the wicked were destroyed immediately; in other words, annihilation was the punishment for sin. The Egyptians believed largely in the efficacy of works, and in addition to the deeds of love and charity which they performed in all periods, strict care concerning the ceremonies of religion, worship, and of the funeral, and a proper respect and reverence for words of power, and amulets, and sacred writings, and figures were demanded from them by priests and religious teachers at all times. There was, of course, a large class of people who could not afford costly burials, and who were too poor to buy even cheap amulets, but they were not condemned in the Judgment because of their poverty; on the contrary, they escaped annihilation and were admitted by Osiris into the first division of the *Ṭuat*, where, however, they were compelled to stay because they did not know the words of power which would enable them to continue their journey through the remaining divisions of the Underworld. But there was no punishment inflicted upon them because they had been both poor and ignorant in this world; they merely remained in the place to which their religious qualifications enabled them to attain, and each evening, or each night, they were made glad by the sight of the great god *Rā* as he sailed through the *Ṭuat* in his boat, and they rejoiced in his daily visit.

The beings in the *Ṭuat* of Osiris upon whom punishment was inflicted were the "enemies of Osiris," and these were usually the "enemies of *Rā*"; but in no text is it said that the punishment which they had to endure there ever obliterated their guilt, whatever it might be, or that when the proper time had arrived they would be allowed to proceed into another division of the *Ṭuat* where their punishment would be lighter, or where they would undergo none at all. Though a man could earn happiness in the realm of Osiris or in that of *Rā* by his good works on earth, and by ceremonies performed at his funeral by duly qualified priests, and by the presence of copies of religious texts which were buried with him, there is no reason to think that when once his soul reached the Underworld it could ever better its position there either by suffering punishment or by the performance of good

works. The offerings made at the tombs of the dead were for the benefit of the *ka* or double, and perhaps for the animal soul which was at one time believed to exist in the human body, but neither the offerings nor the prayers which accompanied them seem to have been able to remove the spirits and souls of the dead from one division of the *Tuat* into another, or to modify the state or condition which had been decreed for them. Similarly, there is no evidence that prayers for the dead or offerings would ameliorate the condition of those who had successfully passed the ordeal of the Judgment, and had been sent by Osiris into one or other of the habitations of his kingdom.

## CHAPTER VI

## HELL AND THE DAMNED

**I**F we examine the doctrine concerning the future life according to the priesthoods of Rā we find still less room for a purgatory in their theological system. According to this the souls of the dead assembled in Amentet, i.e., the "hidden" region, the Egyptian Hades, where they waited for the boat of Rā to pass by. When the god appeared those who had been his worshippers and adorers on earth, and who were fortunate enough to have secured the words of power which would enable them to enter the boat did so, and they made their journey with him through the Tuat. Under his protection they passed through all the dangers which threatened to destroy them, and continued their journey through the realms of Osiris and Seker, and at length appeared with Rā in the eastern horizon of heaven at daybreak. Once there they were able to wander about heaven at will, and they did so, presumably, until the time of sunset, when they rejoined the god in his boat, and again made the journey through the Tuat with him. Each division of the Tuat, apparently, contained a host of beings who wished to enter the boat of Rā, but could not do so, either for want of the necessary words of power, or because they had reached the place to which their qualifications entitled them; these all, however, received great benefit from the nightly visit of Rā, and as he left each division to enter the next they were filled with great sorrow, and many of them ceased to exist until the following night, when they renewed their life for a brief period. Many divisions of the Tuat contained enemies of Rā, who were, of course, destroyed without mercy by the followers of the god; but there is no reason whatsoever for the view that these enemies were the

damned, or that they were doomed to eternal punishment. At the end of the Tuat was a region where certain goddesses presided over pits of fire and superintended the destruction of the bodies, and spirits, and shadows, and heads of numbers of such enemies, and it would seem, judging by the knives in their hands, that they hacked the bodies to pieces before they were burnt. But even these were not punished eternally, for as soon as the god had passed through their region the fires went out, and the mere fact that he was able to appear in the eastern sky proved that all his enemies were destroyed. Each night and morning Rā destroyed the hosts of enemies who attempted to bar his progress, for such enemies perished instantly by the flames which went forth from the divine beings whom he had created.

Originally, too, such enemies were only the personifications of the powers of nature, such as twilight, darkness, night, gloom, the blackness of eclipses, fog, mist, vapour, rain, cloud, storm, wind, tempest, hurricane, and the like, which were destroyed daily by Rā and his fiery beams. Many, in fact the greater number of such personifications, were endowed by Egyptian artists with human forms, and the pictures of the scenes of their destruction by fire were supposed by many to represent the burning of the souls of the damned. The ignorant and the superstitious did not understand that the Sun-god slew and burned with fire the enemies of each night and morning during that same night and morning; each rising of the sun was the result of the annihilation of his foes of that day. It may be urged that these foes were always the same because they were always of the same kind, but the Egyptians did not think so, and they believed that a new host of foes appeared to attack Rā each night and morning. But even had they thought so, the punishment was only intermittent, and it was only renewed during that part of each night which immediately preceded the dawn, and during the interval between dawn and sunrise. The souls of the damned could have done nothing to hinder the progress of Rā, and the Egyptians never imagined that they did, but it is possible that in late dynastic times certain schools of theological thought in Egypt, being dissatisfied with and unconvinced of the accuracy of the theory of

the annihilation of the wicked, assigned to evil souls dwelling-places with the personifications of the powers of nature already mentioned in the *Tuat*. The spears which pierced the enemies of Rā were the fiery rays of the sun, and the knives which hacked their bodies in pieces were his flames of fire; and the lakes and pits of fire were suggested to the minds of the primitive Egyptians by the fiery splendour which filled the eastern heavens at sunrise. They certainly did not believe in everlasting punishment, and there is nothing in the texts which will support the view that they did; in fact, the doctrines of purgatory and hell which were promulgated during the Middle Ages in Europe with such success find no equivalents in the ancient Egyptian religion. Apart from the general characteristics of their religion the Egyptians were too practical to entertain the idea of repeated destructions or consumings by fire of the same body, but had they done so we should certainly have found some texts which had been composed to avert such an awful doom. They mummified the bodies of their dead in the earliest times because they expected them to rise again, and they did so in later times because they believed that a spiritual body would grow out of them; they never expected to obtain a second physical body in the Underworld, and therefore they took the greatest care to preserve, by means of magical ceremonies and words, the bodies in which they lived in as complete a form as possible. The destruction of the body involved the ruin of the *ka*, or double, and of the shadow, and of many of the mental and spiritual constituents of man; and the Egyptians regarded the death of the body with such dismay that, fearing lest the spiritual body which sprang from it after death might be in danger of dying, they caused prayers to be composed for the purpose of averting from it the "second death" and the possibility of its dying a second time.

We may see, however, that although the Egyptians had no hell for souls in the mediaeval acceptance of the term, their fiery pits, and fiends, and devils, and enemies of Rā formed the foundations of the hells of later peoples like the Hebrews, and even of the descendants of the Egyptians who became Christians i.e., the Copts. Many proofs of this fact may be found in Coptic

literature as the following instances will show. In "Pistis Sophia,"<sup>1</sup> we have the Virgin Mary asking Jesus, her Lord, to give her a description of "outer darkness,"<sup>2</sup> and to tell her how many places of punishment there are in it. Our Lord replies, "The outer darkness is a great serpent, the tail of which is in its mouth, and it is outside the whole world, and surroundeth the whole world; in it there are many places of punishment, and it containeth twelve halls wherein severe punishment is inflicted. In each hall is a governor, but the face of each governor differeth from that of his neighbour. The governor of the first hall hath the face of a crocodile, with its tail in its mouth. From the mouth of the serpent proceed all ice, and all dust, and all cold, and every kind of disease and sickness; and the true name by which they call him in his place is ENKHTHONIN. And the governor of the second hall hath as his true face the face of a cat, and they call him in his place KHARAKHAR. And the governor of the third hall hath as his true face the face of a dog, and they call him in his place ARKHARÔKH. And the governor of the fourth hall hath as his true face the face of a serpent, and they call him in his place AKHRÔKHAR. And the governor of the fifth hall hath as his true face the face of a black ox,<sup>3</sup> and they call him in his place MARKHOUR. And the governor of the sixth hall hath as his true face the face of a goat, and they call him in his place LAMKHAMÔR. And the governor of the seventh hall hath as his true face the face of a bear, and they call him as his true name LONKHAR. And the governor of the eighth hall hath as his true face the face of a vulture, and they call him in his place LARAÔKH. And the governor of the ninth hall hath as his true face the face of a basilisk, and they call him in his place ARKHEÔKH. And in the tenth hall there are many governors, and there is there a serpent with seven heads, each head having its [own] true face, and he who is over them all in his place they call XARMARÔKH. And in the eleventh hall there are many

<sup>1</sup> See *Pistis Sophia. Opus Gnosticum Valentino adjudicatum*, ed. Schwartz, Berlin, 1851.

<sup>2</sup> ΠΚΔΚΕ ΕΤ ΖΙ ΒΟΖ.

<sup>3</sup> ΟΥΖΟ ΜΕΛΑΧΕ Ν ΚΑΜΕ.

“governors, and there are there seven heads, each of them having  
 “as its true face the face of a cat, and the greatest of them, who is  
 “over them, they call in his place ΡΗΘΚΗΑΡ. And in the twelfth  
 “hall there are many great governors, and there are there seven  
 “heads, each of them having as its true face the face of a dog, and  
 “the greatest, who is over them, they call in his place ΚΗΡΕΜΑΘΡ.  
 “These twelve governors are in the serpent of outer darkness, and  
 “each of them hath a name according to the hour, and each of  
 “them changeth his face according to the hour.”<sup>1</sup>

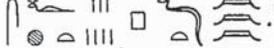
It is quite clear that in the above extract from the famous Gnostic work we have a series of chambers in the outer darkness which has been borrowed from the twelve divisions of the Egyptian *Tuat* already described, and the reader has only to compare the vignettes to Chapters cxliv. and cxlv. of the *Book of the Dead* with the extract from “*Pistis Sophia*” to see how close the borrowing has been. An examination of another great Gnostic work, generally known as the “*Book of Ieu*,”<sup>2</sup> proves that the Underworld of the Gnostics was nothing but a modified form of the *Âmentet* or *Âmenti* of the Egyptians, to which were added characteristics derived from the religious systems of the Hebrews and Greeks. The Gnostic rivers and seas of fire are nothing but equivalents of those mentioned in the *Book of the Dead*, and the beings in *Âmenti*, and *Chaos*, and *Outer Darkness* are derived, in respect of form, from ancient Egyptian models. The great dragon of *Outer Darkness* and his twelve halls, and their twelve guardians or governors who change their names and forms every hour are, after all, only modifications of the old Egyptian system of the *Twelve Pylons* or *Twelve Hours* which formed the Underworld. The seven-headed serpent of the Gnostic system has his prototype in the great serpent *Nāu*,  which is called the “bull of

“the gods,” and has “seven serpents on his seven necks,”  
  
;<sup>3</sup> the seven-headed serpent, *Nāu-shesmā*,

<sup>1</sup> *Pistis Sophia*, Coptic text, p. 319 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in Koptischer Sprache*, Leipzig, 1892.

<sup>3</sup> *Tetá*, I. 307.

, also had seven uraei for heads, and he had authority over seven archers, or seven bows,   
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Of Ămentet and the Țuat in general we find many traces in the martyrdoms of Coptic saints, but, as was to be expected, the writers have made the demons and the pits of fire of the Egyptian Underworld instruments of punishment for the souls of those who did not embrace Christianity when upon this earth. Thus the writer of the Martyrdom of George<sup>2</sup> of Cappadocia makes the saint to raise up from the dead a pagan called Boês, who had been dead two hundred years, and who told Dadianus, the governor, that he had been on earth a worshipper of the “stupid, dumb, deaf, and “blind Apollo,” and that when he departed this life he went to live in “a place in the river of fire until such time as I went to “the place where the worm dieth not.” According to another writer, Macarius of Antioch restored to life a man who had been dead for six hours, and who stated that his miseries during that short time had been greater than those which he had endured throughout all his life upon earth. He confessed that he had been a worshipper of idols, and then went on to say that when he was dying the fiends crowded upon him, and that these had the faces of serpents, lions, crocodiles, and, curiously enough, of bears. They tore his soul from his body with great violence, and fled with it to a great river of fire wherein they plunged it to a depth of four hundred cubits; then they drew it out and set it before the Judge of Truth,<sup>3</sup> who passed sentence upon it. After this was done they took it to a “place of darkness, wherein there was no “light whatsoever, and they cast it down into the cold where “there was gnashing of teeth. Here,” said the wretched man, “I “saw the worm which never slumbereth, and his head was like “unto that of a crocodile. He was surrounded by serpents of “every kind which cast souls before him, and when his own mouth

<sup>1</sup> Tetá, l. 306.

<sup>2</sup> See my *St. George of Cappadocia*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> ΠΙΚΡΙΤΗΣ ἄληθι. The word ἄληθι is the old Egyptian , maâ, which is commonly rendered by “law, right, truth, true, just,” and the like.

“ was full he allowed the other creatures to eat ; in that place  
 “ they tore us to pieces, but we could not die. After that they  
 “ took me out of the place and carried me into Āmenti, where I  
 “ was to stay for ever.”<sup>1</sup> In another work<sup>2</sup> a nameless mummy is  
 made to tell how before he died the avenging angels came about  
 him with iron knives and pointed goads, which they thrust into  
 his sides, and how other angels came and tore his soul from his  
 body, and having tied it to the similitude of a black horse they  
 carried it off to Āmentet. Here he was tortured in a place filled  
 with noxious reptiles, and having been cast into the outer darkness  
 he saw a pit more than two hundred feet deep, which was filled  
 with reptiles, each of which had seven heads, and had its body  
 covered with objects like scorpions. In this place were several  
 other terrible serpents, and to one of these, which had teeth like  
 iron stakes, the poor soul was given to be devoured ; this monster  
 crushed the soul for five days of each week, but on Saturday and  
 Sunday it had respite. This last sentence seems to suggest that  
 the serpent respected the Sabbath of the Jews and the Sunday of  
 the Christians.

In all these examples, and even in the words of Isaiah,  
 who says (lxvi. 24), “ their worm shall not die, neither shall  
 “ their fire be quenched,” we have a direct allusion to the great  
 serpent of the Egyptian Underworld, which was, in all periods  
 of history, the terror of the worshippers of the Sun-god, and  
 which was known by many names. The allies and companions  
 of this serpent were serpents like itself, and to nearly every  
 power which was hostile to the dead or the living the form of  
 a snake or serpent was attributed. The type and symbol of all  
 enmity to Rā, whether of a physical or moral character, was the  
 arch-serpent Āpep or Āpepi, which attacked him daily, and was  
 overcome daily. To this monster we have several allusions in the  
*Book of the Dead*, but these do not adequately convey an idea of  
 the terror with which he was regarded, at all events in the latter  
 part of the dynastic period.

<sup>1</sup> Hyvernat, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte*, p. 56 f.

<sup>2</sup> Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, p. 167.

From a papyrus preserved in the British Museum<sup>1</sup> we learn that a special service was in use in Upper Egypt for the purpose of destroying the power of Āpepi and of making his attacks on the sun to have no effect. This service consisted of a series of chapters which were to be recited at certain times of the day during the performance of a number of curious ceremonies of a magical character. Thus one rubric orders that the name of Āpepi shall be written in green colour upon a piece of new papyrus, and that a wax figure of the fiend shall be made and his name inlaid upon it with green colour. Both papyrus and wax figure were to be burnt in the fire, the belief being that as the wax figure melted and as the sheet of papyrus burnt, the fiend Āpepi would also decay and fall to pieces. Whilst the wax figure was melting in the fire it was to be spit upon several times each hour, and when it was melted the refuse of it was to be mixed with dung and again burnt. It was imperative to do this at midnight, when Rā began his return journey in the Tuat, towards the east, and at dawn, and at noon, and at eventide, and in fact at any and every hour of the day. This might also be done with advantage whenever storm clouds appeared in the sky, or whenever the clouds gathered together for rain. The following extract will give an idea of the general import of the service for the destruction of Āpepi. The deceased says: "Āpepi hath fallen into the flame, a knife is stuck "into his head, his name no longer existeth upon this earth. It is "decreed for me to inflict blows upon him, I drive darts into his "bones, I destroy his soul in the course of every day, I sever his "vertebræ from his neck, cutting into his flesh with a knife and "stabbing through his skin. He is given over to the fire which "obtains the mastery over him in its name of 'Sekhet,' and it "hath power over him in its name of 'Eye burning the enemy.' "Darts are driven into his soul, his bones are burnt with fire, and "his limbs are placed therein. Horus, mighty of strength, hath "decreed that he shall come in front of the boat of Rā; his fetter "of steel tieth him up and maketh his limbs so that they cannot "move; Horus repulseth his moment of luck during his eclipse, "and he maketh him to vomit that which is inside him. Horus

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæologia*, vol. lii.

“fettereth, bindeth, and tieth up, and Aker taketh away his strength so that I may separate his flesh from his bones; that I may fetter his feet and cut off his two hands and arms; that I may shut up his mouth and lips, and break in his teeth; that I may cut out his tongue from his throat, and carry away his words; that I may block up his two eyes, and carry off his ears; that I may tear out his heart from its seat and throne; and that I may make him so that he existeth not. May his name never exist, and may what is born to him never live; may he never exist, and may his kinsfolk never exist; may he never exist, and may his relatives never exist; may he never exist, and may his heir never exist; may his offspring never grow to maturity; may his seed never be established; moreover, may his soul, and body, and spirit, and shade, and words of power, and his bones, and his skin, never more exist.”

The Rubric runs: “This Chapter is to be said over a figure of Āpepi, inscribed upon new papyrus with green ink, and placed inside a covering on which his name hath been written, and thou shalt tie these round tightly with cord, and put such a figure and covering into the fire every day. Thou shalt stamp upon it and defile it with thy left foot, and thou shalt spit upon it four times during the course of every day, and when thou hast placed it upon the fire thou shalt say, ‘Rā triumpheth over thee, Āpepi, and Horus triumpheth over his enemies, and P-āa (i.e., the deceased) triumpheth over his enemies.’ Next thou shalt write down the names of all the male and female devils of which thy heart is afraid, the names of all the enemies of P-āa, in death, and in life, and the names of their father, mother, and children, [and place the papyrus] inside the covering, together with a wax figure of Āpepi. These shall then be placed in the fire in the name of Āpepi, and shall be burnt when Rā riseth in the morning; this thou shalt repeat at noon and at evening when Rā setteth in the land of life, whilst there is light at the foot of the mountain. Over each figure of Āpepi thou shalt recite the above chapter, in very truth, for the doing of this shall be of great benefit [for thee] upon earth and in the Underworld.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *On the Hieratic Papyrus of Nesi-Amsu*, p. 52 (*Archæologia*, vol. lii.).

To destroy the fiends which were associated with Āpepi it was necessary to make figures of them in wax, and having inscribed their names upon them to tie them round with black hair, and then to cast them on the ground, and kick them with the left foot, and pierce them with a stone spear. To obtain the full benefit of all the names of Āpepi a man had to make the figure of a serpent with his tail in his mouth, and having stuck a knife in its back, and cast it down upon the ground, to say, "Āpep, Fiend, "Betet." The faithful follower of Rā is also bidden to "make "another serpent with the face of a cat, and with a knife stuck in "his back, and call it HEMHEM. Make another with the face of "a crocodile, and with a knife stuck in his back, and call it "HAUNA-ĀRU-ĤER-ĤRĀ; make another with the face of a duck, "and with a knife stuck in his back, and call it ALUTI. Make "another with the face of a white cat, and with a knife stuck in "his back, and tie it up and bind it tightly, and call it 'Āpep "the Enemy.'" The papyrus which contains these interesting passages was written about B.C. 312-311, though the compositions in it are very much older, but it shows that, even at that period, when the Macedonians had begun to reign over Egypt, and Greek influence was making itself supreme in the country, the old beliefs still held sway over the minds of the Egyptians. In fact, in this matter as in nearly all others, they clung most tenaciously to the views and opinions of their forefathers.

The primitive Egyptians feared snakes and propitiated them, and the earliest dynastic people of the country employed charms, and incantations, and magical formulae to keep snakes, and serpents, and reptiles of every kind from their dead; the priests of Heliopolis respected the prevailing views of their countrymen, and ancient formulae against snakes were copied into their funeral texts. Every Recension of the *Book of the Dead* contained Chapters which were written to preserve the dead from the attacks of snakes; it is tolerably certain that some of them contain formulae which are not older than dynastic times, and these show that the fear of serpents was as great as ever, although these reptiles cannot have been so numerous as formerly. The priests of Āmen made snakes to play very prominent parts in the Under-

world, and, curiously enough, they thought that the dead Sun-god, or the "Flesh of Rā," was re-born into the life of a new day, only after he had been drawn in his boat through the body of a serpent. The Egyptians usually had some reason for the things they said, and wrote, and depicted, and although it is not easy to find the reason in every case, there is, fortunately, little doubt about it here. They observed that snakes sloughed their skins from time to time, and that their bodies were much improved in appearance as the result, and it is pretty certain that they had this habit of snakes in their minds, when they made their god Rā as a new being to emerge in his boat out of the great serpent which lay in deep undulations between the end of the Ṭuat and this world.

Reference has already been made to the influence upon the hell of the Copts of the old Egyptian mythology about the Ṭuat, and it is right here to point out that the Hebrews appear to have borrowed from it many of their ideas concerning the abodes of the dead in the Underworld. It is quite certain that the hell of which they conceived the existence was not derived from the Babylonians, for we know from the story of Ishtar's descent into the "land of no return" that, although it had Seven Gates, it contained no pits of fire or monster serpents. Ishtar, we are told, found it to be a place of darkness, and she saw that the beings in it were dressed in garments of feathers, and that dust and mud were their food.<sup>1</sup> The commonest of the names which the Hebrews gave to the abode of the damned is GÊ HINNOM,<sup>2</sup> or Gehenna, which was originally the Valley of Hinnom, that lay quite near to Jerusalem,<sup>3</sup> where children were sacrificed to the god Moloch;<sup>4</sup> this name passed into the New Testament under the form Γέεννα, and into Arabic literature as "Jahannam."<sup>5</sup> The portion of the Valley of Hinnom where the sacrifices were burnt was called "Tôpheth." According to the Rabbis "Gehenna" was created on the second day of creation, with the firmament and the angels, and just as there were an Upper and a Lower Paradise so there were also two

<sup>1</sup> See L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 179 f.

<sup>2</sup> גֵּי הִנּוֹם <sup>3</sup> Now generally identified with the Wādī er-Rabābī.

<sup>4</sup> See 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

<sup>5</sup> جهنم

Gehennas, one in the heavens and one on the earth. As to the size of Gehenna we read that Egypt was 400 parassangs<sup>1</sup> long and 400 parassangs wide, i.e., about 1,200 miles long by 1,200 miles wide; that Nubia (כּוּשׁ) was sixty times as large as Egypt; that the world was sixty times as large as Nubia, and that it would require 500 years to travel across either its length or its breadth; that Gehenna was sixty times as large as the world; and that it would take a man 2,100 years to reach it.<sup>2</sup>

In Gehenna, as in Paradise, there were seven "palaces" (היכלות), and the punishments which were meted out to their inhabitants varied both in kind and in intensity. In each palace there are 6,000 houses, or chambers, and in each house are 6,000 boxes, and in each box are 6,000 vessels fitted with gall. Gehenna is so deep that it would take 300 years to reach the bottom of it; according to another opinion it is 300 miles long, 300 miles wide, 1,000 miles thick, and 100 miles deep. The fire in each palace is fiercer and more destructive than that in the palace preceding, and the flames of the deepest portion of it are able to consume human souls utterly, which fire upon earth can never do. Each palace is, according to one view, under the command of an angel, who is subservient to Dûmâh, the prince of Gehenna, and who has with him tens of thousands of angels who are occupied in judging sinners and sealing their doom; but according to another the seven mansions are ruled, under Dûmâh, דּוּמָה, by three angels called Mashkhîth, Af, and Khêmâ. The voices of the beings in Gehenna rise up to heaven mingled with the cries of the wicked. Dûmâh, the prince of Gehenna, seems to have been of Egyptian origin, for we read, "At the time when Moses said, 'I will perform judgments on all the gods of Egypt,' Dûmâh, the prince of Egypt, went 400 miles and God said unto him, 'This decree is decreed by me, even as it is written, I will visit the host of the height in the height;'<sup>3</sup> and in that same hour sovereignty was taken away from him, and he was appointed prince over Gehenna, and some say that he was set over the dead."

<sup>1</sup> The parassang = 30 stadia, and the stadion = 202 yards.

<sup>2</sup> Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, part ii., p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah xxiv. 21.

Another prince of Gehenna was called 'Arsiél, and his duty was to stand before the souls of the righteous to prevent them from praying to God on behalf of the wicked. Opinions vary as to the number of gates or doors which are in Gehenna, some saying there are 50, others 8,000, and others 40,000; but the writers who followed the best traditions fixed the number at seven, and this agrees with the best Muḥammadan tradition also. Finally, as a river runs through the Tuat so a river or canal flows through Gehenna. The first division of Gehenna is 100 miles long and 50 miles wide, and it contains several pits wherein fiery lions dwell; when men fall into the pits the lions consume parts of them and the fire devours the remainder, but soon afterwards they come into being again and have to pass through the fire which is in the second division, when they are again consumed and again come to life. In this way they have to pass through the fire of all the seven divisions. According to another opinion one half of Gehenna is fire and the other half hail, and the angel who is in charge drives the souls of the damned from the fire into the hail and from the hail into the fire without ceasing. Another writer says that each of the seven divisions of hell contains seven streams of fire and seven streams of hail, and that each division is sixty times as large as that which is immediately above it. In each division are 7,000 small chambers, and in each chamber 7,000 clefts, and in each cleft 7,000 scorpions, and in each scorpion seven joints, and in each joint 1,000 vessels of gall; through it flow seven rivers filled with deadly poison, and the damned have to pass one half of the year in the fire, and the other half in the hail and snow, which are far more terrible than the fire. Moreover, from under the throne of God Almighty there goes forth a river of fire which empties itself upon the heads of the wicked, but most of these have a rest from their punishment for one hour and a half three times a day, i.e., at the times of morning, mid-day, and evening prayer, and they have rest the whole of each Sabbath and of each festival of the new moon. Some of the Rabbis believed that the punishment of the wicked would last for ever, but others thought that a period of punishment six or twelve months in length would suffice for their purification.

Those who are damned shall not remember the names which they bore upon earth, and although the angels beat them and call upon them to declare their names, they shall not be able to do so; this view was clearly held by the Egyptians, for we are specially told in the text of Pepi I. (line 169), "Pepi is happy with his name," . From the facts recorded above it is easy to see how much the Hebrews were indebted to the Egyptians in the construction of their Gehenna, and how closely they fitted native beliefs into a framework of foreign conceptions. Some of their writers seem to have possessed a better insight into such matters than others, whilst a few of them unconsciously reproduced the original conception of the Tuat as the place of destruction for the enemies of the god, and believed that Gehenna, or hell, would be abolished. These thought that at some future time God would remove the sun from its place and would place it in the second firmament, in a hollow place or chamber specially prepared for it, and that having judged and condemned the wicked He would send them into this chamber, where the burning heat of the sun would consume them.<sup>1</sup> The Rabbis generally took no pains to say either how the fires of Gehenna were started, or how they were maintained, but Rabbi Yannai and Rabbi Shim'on ben-Lakish evidently thought it out, and so reduced Gehenna, unintentionally, to the place where a physical sun supplied the consuming fire, and did for the damned among the Hebrews exactly what it did for the enemies of Rā among the Egyptians.

It must be noted that the Gehenna of the Hebrew lacked the serpents of the Egyptian Tuat, but when we consider the difference between the physical characteristics of Egypt and those of Syria and Palestine this is not to be wondered at. In predynastic times Egypt was filled with serpents of every kind, and the terror which they inspired lived in the minds of the people of dynastic times long after the country had been practically cleared from these reptiles. In Palestine and Syria snakes were never very plentiful, but in the region of Southern

<sup>1</sup> Eisenmenger, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

Babylonia, whence came Abraham and his companions, they must have existed in large numbers. It is a curious fact that the Hebrews, who borrowed so largely in their cosmogony from Babylonian sources, did not also borrow in some form or other the monster Tiamat, which played in their mythology the same part that Āpep or Āpepi played among the Egyptian gods. The Babylonian Tiamat waged war against Marduk, the champion chosen by the gods, and was held to be the incarnation of all evil, both physical and moral; and although the Hebrews assigned to the serpent cunning and guile, and declared that he was "more subtle than any beast" (Gen. iii. 1), they hardly considered him to be a great physical power which waged war against the sun daily. Tiamat, as we learn from a cuneiform text,<sup>1</sup> was 50 *kasbu* long, and the height of its undulations was 1 *kasbu*; its mouth was one-half a *gar*, or six cubits wide, and it moved in water 9 cubits deep. Three other measurements are given, viz., 1 *gar*, 1 *gar*, and 5 *gar*, but as the text following them is broken it cannot be said to what they refer. Now, the *kasbu* was the distance usually passed over in a journey of two hours, and the cubit may be considered to be about 20 inches. Reckoning the *kasbu* at six miles we thus have a monster 300 miles long, which had a mouth 10 feet wide, and which moved in undulations six miles high! The measurements of 5 *gar* probably refers to its girth, and if this be so the creature was 100 feet round its body.

When Tiamat had been slain we are told that its blood flowed from its body for three years, three months, and one day, and we are able to obtain an idea of its huge size from the statement that when Marduk had smashed in its skull with his club, and had slit the channels of its blood, he split it, like a flat fish, into two halves, one of which he made use of to form the "covering of the heavens."<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt that originally the Babylonian Tiamat was nothing but the rain clouds, and the mist and fog which lie over the Tigris and Euphrates in the early morning at certain seasons of the year, and which when looked at from the

<sup>1</sup> See King, *Cuneiform Inscriptions from Babylonian Tablets*, etc., part xiii., pl. 33 f., London, 1901; and King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. i., p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 77.

desert appear like a huge serpent stretched along the length of the stream, both up and down the river. The Hebrew Scriptures contain several allusions to a great nature serpent,<sup>1</sup> though he finds no place among the Seven Mansions of their hell. Thus the prophet Amos (ix. 3) refers to the serpent at the bottom of the sea, which Yahweh would command to bite the wicked if they attempted to hide there ; in Psalm lxxiv. 13 f. God is referred to as the breaker of the heads of Leviathan and of the dragons in the waters ; in Isaiah (li. 9) we have, "Awake, awake, put on strength, " O arm of Yahweh ! Awake, as in the ancient days, in the " generations of old ! Art thou not it that did slay the monster " Râhâbh, and wound the serpent (tannin) ? " Râhâbh may here, as some have argued, refer to Egypt, but if so, it is to Egypt as the home of the great serpent monster which we now know as Āpepi, and which was to the prophet Isaiah the type and symbol of the country, and not to the judgments which Yahweh meted out to that land.

The Hebrew writers refer to the nature serpent under several names, e.g., *tannîn*, *nâkhâsh*, *râhâbh*, but the monster referred to under them is, in reality, one and the same, i.e., Leviathan (לִיְיָתָן *livyâthân*), "the serpent of many twistings or folds," and both Nebuchadnezzar II. and the "King of Assyria" are identified with him (see Jeremiah li. 34 ; Isaiah xiv. 29). According to the Rabbis he was created on the fifth day of the week of creation,<sup>2</sup> and was hunted for slaughter by Gabriel, and with the assistance of Yahweh was slain by him ; here we have a series of close resemblances to the history of Tiamat, for Gabriel is in every way the counterpart of Marduk, and Yahweh takes the place of Anshar as the head of the gods. Finally, Leviathan was slain by Gabriel, just as Tiamat was killed by Marduk, and out of the skin of Leviathan Gabriel made a tent wherein the righteous might dwell,<sup>3</sup> and a covering for the walls of the city of Jerusalem. This

<sup>1</sup> See Goldziher, *Mythology of the Hebrews*, pp. 27, 28 ; King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Eisenmenger, *op. cit.*, p. 877.

<sup>3</sup> עתיד הקדוש ברוך הוא לעשות סוכה לצדיקים מעורו של ליתן : Eisenmenger, *op. cit.*, p. 888.



times any equivalent for the system of words of power which played such an important part in the magical side of the Egyptian religion. On the other hand, the Copts, at least those of them who belonged to Gnostic sects, retained the beliefs concerning the efficacy of magical words and names, and they introduced them into their writings in a remarkable manner. Thus in "Pistis Sophia" we are told<sup>1</sup> that after His resurrection Jesus stood up with His disciples by the sea, and prayed to His Father, whom He addressed by a series of magical names, thus:—ΑΕΕΙΟΥΘ, ΙΑΘ, ΑΟΙ, ΟΪΑΨΙΝΟΤΗΡ, ΤΗΡΝΟΨ, ΝΟΨΙΤΕΡ, ΖΑΓΟΥΡÊ, ΡΑΓΟΥΡÊ, ΝΕΤΗΜΟΜΑΘΗ, ΝΕΨΙΟΜΑΘΗ, ΜΑΡΑΧΑΧΗΘΑ, ΤΗΘΒΑΡΡΑΒΑΥ, ΤΗΑΡΝΑΧΑΧΑΝ, ΖΟΡΟΚΟΘΟΡΑ, ΙΕΟΥ, ΣΑΒΑΘΗ.<sup>2</sup> Whilst He was saying these names Thomas, Andrew, James, and Simon the Canaanite stood in the west with their faces towards the east; and Philip and Bartholomew stood in the south with their faces towards the north. In another passage<sup>3</sup> Jesus addresses His Father in these words and by these names:—ΙΑΘ ΙΟΥΘ, ΙΑΘ, ΑΟΙ, ΟΪΑ, ΨΙΝΟΤΗΡ, ΤΗΡΟΨΙΝ, ΟΨΙΤΗΡ, ΝΕΨΗΘΟΜΑΘΗ, ΝΕΨΗΟΜΑΘΗ ΜΑΡΑΧΑΧΗΘΑ, ΜΑΡΜΑΡΑΧΗΘΑ, ΙΕΑΝΑ ΜΕΝΑΜΑΝ, ΑΜΑΝÊΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ, ΙΣΡΑΙ ΗΑΜÊΝ ΗΑΜÊΝ, ΣΟΥΒΑΙΒΑΙ ΑΡΡΑΑΡ ΗΑΜÊΝ ΗΑΜÊΝ, ΔΕΡΑΑΡΑΙ ΗΑΡΑΗΟΥ ΗΑΜÊΝ ΗΑΜÊΝ, ΣΑΡΣΑΡΣΑΡΤΟΥ ΗΑΜÊΝ ΗΑΜÊΝ, ΚΟΥΚΙΑΜΙΝ ΜΙΑΙ ΗΑΜÊΝ ΗΑΜÊΝ, ΙΑΙ, ΙΑΙ, ΤΟΥΑ ΗΑΜÊΝ ΗΑΜÊΝ ΗΑΜÊΝ, ΜΑΙΝΜΑΡΙ, ΜΑΡΙÊ, ΜΑΡΕΙ ΗΑΜÊΝ ΗΑΜÊΝ ΗΑΜÊΝ.<sup>4</sup> In another place<sup>5</sup>

Ed. Schwartz, p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> ΑΕΗΙΟΥΘ ΙΑΘ ΑΩΪ ΩΪΑΨΙΝΩΘΕΡ ΘΕΡΝΩΨ ΝΩΨΙΤΕΡ ΖΑΓΟΥΡΗ ΡΑΓΟΥΡΗ ΝΕΘΟΜΑΘΕ ΝΕΨΙΟΜΑΘΕ ΜΑΡΑΧΑΧΘΑ ΘΩΒΑΡΡΑΒΑΥ ΘΑΡΝΑΧΑΧΑΝ ΖΟΡΟΚΟΘΟΡΑ ΙΕΟΥ ΣΑΒΑΘΕ :

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Schwartz, p. 375.

<sup>4</sup> ΙΑΘ ΙΟΥΘ ΙΑΘ ΑΩΪ ΩΪΑ ΨΙΝΩΘΕΡ ΘΕΡΩΨΗΝ ΩΨΙΘΕΡ ΝΕΨΗΘΟΜΑΘΕ ΝΕΨΗΟΜΑΘΕ ΜΑΡΑΧΑΧΘΑ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΑΧΘΑ ΙΕΑΝΑ ΜΕΝΑΜΑΝ ΑΜΑΝΗΪ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ΙΣΡΑΙ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΣΟΥΒΑΪΒΑΪ ΑΡΡΑΑΡ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΔΕΡΑΑΡΑΪ ΖΑΡΑΗΟΥ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΣΑΡΣΑΡΣΑΡΤΟΥ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΚΟΥΚΙΑΜΙΝ ΜΙΑΪ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΙΑΪ ΙΑΪ ΤΟΥΑΠ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΜΑΙΝ ΜΑΡΙ ΜΑΡΙΝ ΜΑΡΕΙ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ (p. 375).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 375.

He addresses those who forgive sins by their names thus:—SIPHIREPSNIKHIEU, ZENEI, BERIMOU, SOKHABRIKHÊR, EUTHARI, NANAÏ DIEISBALMÊRIKH, MEUNIPOS, KHIRIE, ENTAIR, MOUTHIOUR, SMOUR, PEUKHÊR, OUSKHOUS, MINIONOR, ISOKHOBORTHA;<sup>1</sup> and immediately afterwards He calls upon the Powers of His Father by these names:—ΑΥÊΡ, ΒΕΒΡÔ, ΑΘΡΟΝΙ, ÊΟΥΡΕΦΗ, ÊÔNE, ΣΟΥΦΗΝ, ΚΝΙΤΟΥΣΟΚΗΡΕÔΦΗ, ΜΑΥÔΝΒΙ, ΜΝΕΥÔΡ, ΣΟΥÔΝΙ, ΚΗÔΚΗΤΕÔΦΗ, ΚΗÔΚΗΕ, ΕΤΕÔΦΗ, ΜΕΜÔΚΗ, and ΑΝÊΜΦΗ.<sup>2</sup> An examination of the books of "Pistis Sophia" will show that many of the details of the "mysteries" which are there described are based upon ancient Egyptian beliefs, and that the whole of the doctrine of spiritual light which is expounded therein only represents a spiritualized conception of the far-reaching character of the powers of the light of the sun upon both the living and the dead, which the dynastic Egyptians recognized and described centuries before the Christian era. This was expressed in the terms of a highly artificial system wherein words of power, magical names, emanations, ranks of angels, gates, watchers, and purely Christian conceptions were mixed up together, with the Lord Christ as the central Figure. Much has yet to be done before all the comparisons and connections between the Egyptian and Christian systems can be fully worked out, but the facts quoted above will, perhaps, suggest the importance of the study.

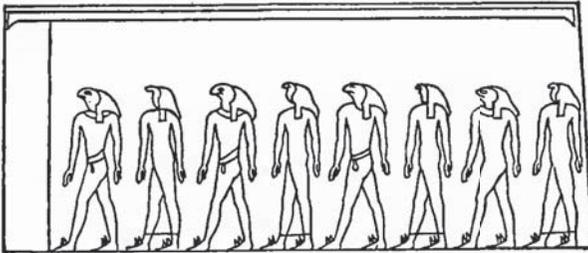
<sup>1</sup> σιφιρεψνικχιευ· ζενει· βεριμου· σοχαβριχνηρ· ευθαρι· ναναϊ· διεισβαλμηρικη· μευνιπος· χιριε· ενταιρ· μουθιουρ· σμουρ· πευχνηρ· ουσχοус· миониор· ισοχοβορθα (p. 376).

<sup>2</sup> αυηρ· βεβρω· αθρονη· ηουνεφ· ηωνε· σουφην· κνιτουσοκρεωφ· μαυωνβι· μνευωρ· σουωνι· χωχτεωφ· χωχε· ετεωφ· μεμωχ· ανημφ (p. 376).

## CHAPTER VII

THE OLDEST COMPANY OF THE GODS AND  
THE CREATION

**I**N the earlier chapters of this work mention has been made of three companies of gods, the existence of which was formulated by the priests of Heliopolis, and it has been shown that a company of gods usually consisted of four pairs of deities, four gods and four goddesses, and a president or chief of the same. We have also shown that a *paut* or company of gods did not necessarily contain nine deities only, and that it as often as not was supposed to include more than nine gods. Originally, how-



The Oldest Company of the Gods.

ever, the Heliopolitan priests, or the authors of the theological system exhibited in the Pyramid Texts, intended the *paut* to consist of nine gods, and it seems that they arrived at this decision as the result of the addition of their own local god Tem to a group of four pairs of deities, four gods and four goddesses, whom they had grouped together according to the plan followed by an older school of theologians in forming an older company of the gods. The company of the gods last mentioned is probably the oldest of all the companies in Egypt, although for various reasons it never seems to have attained to the popularity of the "great *paut* of the gods of Ænu," or to have enjoyed such a prominent position in the minds of the religious philosophers of Egypt. This is not to be wondered at, for whilst the Heliopolitan company of the gods included the Sun-god Rā-Tem, or Rā-Tem-Kheperā, and Osiris,

the god of the dead, the older company consisted of pairs of deities who represented religious conceptions, and faiths, and beliefs, which even at that remote period had been long dead, and the meaning of which had been forgotten. The very gods of the older company had been superseded, and their worship abolished, and the knowledge of their history and attributes was preserved only in the minds of priests and religious experts, who probably regarded the ancient views about these gods which had come down to them as the product of men belonging to a lower stage of civilization than their own. The older company of the gods here referred to have been described as personifications of aspects, or phases, or properties of primeval matter, and may be thus enumerated:—

NU,	NUT,
HEHU,	HEHUT,
KEKUI,	KEKUIT,
KERH,	KERHET,

The character of the first pair of gods can be readily determined by the hieroglyphics which form their names; thus the name NU, ,<sup>1</sup> is expressed by three vases of water which indicate the sound, and the outstretched heaven, , and the determinative for water, , and the sign for "god," all of which show that this deity was the god of the watery mass of the sky. The goddess NUT, , was merely his female counterpart, as the signs, , indicate. From various passages found in the religious, mythological, and funereal texts of all periods it is abundantly clear that in primeval times at least the Egyptians believed in the existence of a deep and boundless watery mass out of which had come into being the heavens, and the earth, and everything that is in them. The germs of all and every kind of life were in this watery mass, and they were supposed to have

<sup>1</sup> The old form is , or (Unâs 199, 399), or (Tetâ 78).

been there from the beginning. They do not seem to have formulated any exact ideas about the position of this watery mass in the sky or heaven, and they certainly did not attempt to assign to it dimensions which could be expressed by the ordinary methods of measurements; in later times, however, Nu was frequently identified with the sky, *pet* , and with the heaven above it, *nut*, , though, strictly speaking, he represented the watery mass which was supposed to exist between the two. It must also be noted that the ocean and also the Nile<sup>1</sup> were identified with Nu, whose characteristics appear to have changed during the latter part of the dynastic period. The name of this god has been compared with the Coptic word *νοῦν* "abyss," "deep," and the like, and it is possible that it may have some connection with it, but it is difficult to see how in that case it can mean "young," as the late Dr. Brugsch suggested.<sup>2</sup> The true meaning is much more likely to be suggested by the play on the words *Nu* and *nen* which we have on p. 309 in the passage, "I raised them up from out of the watery mass (*nu*) out of inactivity" (*nen*), i.e., Nu was the inert mass of watery matter from which the world was created. Of Nut, the female counterpart of Nu, little need be said here, except that she was regarded as the primeval mother, with whom in later dynastic times were identified several goddesses, e.g., Hathor, Mut, Nit, or Neith, and whose attributes were assigned to them. The forms in which Nu is depicted vary. Thus he is represented in human form holding a sceptre when he forms one of the company of the gods of Amen, but he is also represented with the head of a frog, which is surmounted by a beetle,<sup>3</sup> and even with the head of a snake. The goddess Nut is also represented in human form, but sometimes she has the head of a uraeus, surmounted by a disk,<sup>4</sup> and at other times she has the head of a cat.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Horapollon I. 21 (ed. Leemans; p. 28):—*Νείλον δὲ ἀνάβασιν σημαίνοντες, ὃν καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτισι Νοῦν*; attention was first drawn to this passage by Tattam.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pl. 167, No. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 170, No. 2.

The characteristics of the second pair of gods,  $\text{H}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}\bar{\text{u}}$ , , and  $\text{H}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$ , , are not easy to determine. According to Signor Lanzone they are personifications of male and female elements of fire,<sup>1</sup> and from the ancient pictures of them we see that the Egyptian artists regarded them from different points of view. Thus in one group of the eight primeval gods  $\text{H}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}\bar{\text{u}}$  is represented in one of the forms of Nu, i.e., frog-headed, already described, and  $\text{H}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$  in the form of Nut;<sup>2</sup> and in another group  $\text{H}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}\bar{\text{u}}$  has the head of a serpent, and  $\text{H}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$  that of a cat. According to the late Dr. Brugsch<sup>3</sup> the name  $\text{H}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}$  is connected with the word which indicates an undefined and unlimited number, i.e., *heh*, ; when applied to time the idea suggested is "millions of years," and  $\text{H}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}$  is equivalent to the Greek *αἰών*. In several passages quoted by Dr. Brugsch mention is made of a god  $\text{H}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}$ , who seems to be a personification of the atmosphere which exists between heaven and earth, and to be identical with Shu, and that distinguished Egyptologist went so far as to compare his functions with those which were exercised by Aiôn, Eros, and Pneuma in Greek systems of philosophy. In a small scene reproduced by Signor Lanzone<sup>4</sup> we see the god Harpocrates in his usual attitude, , just above what appears to be a small tree. On the right kneels the goddess  $\text{H}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$ , who is making her outstretched hand and arm a support for the left hand of the young god which rests upon it; on the other side kneels  $\text{H}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}\bar{\text{u}}$ , who is represented in the act of raising or supporting the feet of the god, above whose head are the beetle and disk.

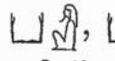
The characteristics of the third pair of gods,  $\text{K}\bar{\text{e}}\text{k}\bar{\text{u}}\text{i}$ , , and  $\text{K}\bar{\text{e}}\text{k}\bar{\text{u}}\text{i}\text{t}$ , , are easier to determine, and it is tolerably certain that these deities represent the male and female powers of the darkness which was supposed to cover over the primeval abyss of water; they have been compared by Dr. Brugsch with the Erebus of the Greeks. In some aspects they appear to represent both the night and the day, that is to

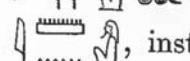
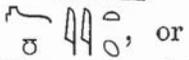
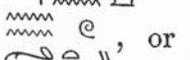
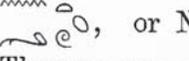
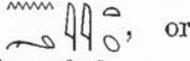
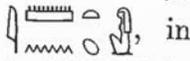
<sup>1</sup> Lanzone, *Dizionario*, page 685.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 168 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Religion*, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 685.

say, Kekui is called "the raiser up of the light," and Kekuit "the raiser up of the night." It is not difficult to see how these deities obtained these names, for Kekui represents that period of the night which immediately precedes the day, and Kekuit is that period of the night which immediately follows the day. At one period Kekui and Kekuit were considered to be gods of Elephantine, and their attributes were identified with those of the Nubian god Khnemu and his female counterpart Sati; but this, no doubt, was a result of regarding Kekui and Kekuit as personifications of the Nile-god Hāpi, whose hidden fountains lay beneath the rocks at some part of the Island of Elephantine. According to another view the crocodile-god Sebek, one of whose chief seats of worship was at Kom Ombo, was a personification of the old primeval god Kekui, and in any case Sebek was certainly considered to be one of the principal forms in which the soul of the primeval darkness loved to array itself.<sup>1</sup> In the scenes in which the forms of the oldest *paut* or company of the gods are represented Kekui is usually given the head of a serpent, but Kekuit has the head either of a frog or a cat.<sup>2</sup> In one scene Kekui and Kekuit are identified with KA and KAIT, , the former being called the "grandfather of all the gods," and the latter the "grandmother of the divine company," ; in this scene Ka or Kekui has the head of a frog surmounted by a beetle, and Kait or Kekuit the head of a serpent surmounted by a disk.

The characteristics of the fourth pair of gods, KERH, , and KERHET, , are not easy to define, and the texts in some places give quite different names where we should expect to find theirs; thus we have Ni, , or Nenu, , or Nut, , or Amen, , instead of Kerh, and Ennit, , or Nenuit, , or Nut, , or Nit, , or , instead of Kerhet. The common meaning of the word *kerh* is "night," and according

Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 168 ff.

to this the deities *Ḳerḥ* and *Ḳerḥet* would represent the male and female powers of night; on the other hand, the determinative , which occurs in each name, shows that these gods were regarded as personifications of some apparently inactive powers of the primeval watery abyss, and we may, therefore, regard them as types of powers of nature in a state of repose either before or after a state of activity. In the scenes in which the forms of the oldest company of the gods are represented, *Ni*, that is to say, *Ḳerḥ*, has the head of a frog, with or without a beetle upon it, or the head of a snake, and *Ennit*, that is to say, *Ḳerḥet*, has either the head of a frog or that of a cat.

It is not easy to reconcile the various views which Egyptologists have held about the above four pairs of deities, and it certainly appears as if the ancient Egyptians themselves had no very clear ideas as to their functions. As to their antiquity there is no room for doubt, for although the oldest pictures of their forms do not date from a period anterior to the reign of *Seti I.*, it is quite clear, from the way in which they are mentioned, that they represent traditional ideas of an extremely ancient character. One proof of this is the careful mention of the female counterparts of the four great primeval gods, for it was usual in the case of gods who were the product of the purely dynastic period to pay small attention to the goddesses who were regarded as their wives. Thus *Rā* and *Āmen* possessed female counterparts called *Rāt*, , and *Āment*, , but they play no prominent parts in Egyptian mythology, and are rarely mentioned in the texts. Man always has fashioned, and probably always will, fashion his god, or gods, in his own image, and he has always, having reached a certain stage in development, given to his gods wives and offspring; but the nature of the position taken by the wives of the gods depends upon the nature of the position of women in the households of those who write the legends and traditions of the gods.

The gods of the oldest company in Egypt were, the writer believes, invented by people in whose households women held a high position, and among whom they possessed more power than is usually the case with Oriental peoples. *Nut*, *Ḥeḥut*, *Kekuit*, and

Ḳerhet are the equals of the gods Nu, Heh, Kekui, and Ḳerh, and not merely the bearers of offspring as were the later goddesses. The general drift of the texts wherein the four pairs of gods are mentioned indicates that three pairs were qualities, or characteristics, or attributes of the fourth pair personified, although some would make the four pairs represent the male and female elements of the Four Elements, Earth, Air, Fire, and Water, and others would make them stand for the primeval Matter out of which all things have been made, and primeval Space, and primeval Time, and primeval Power. To say definitely and exactly what they represent is in the present state of Egyptological knowledge impossible, for the evidence which would enable us to arrive at a final decision in the matter is not forthcoming.

Before we pass on to the consideration of the events which resulted in the creation of the sun and later of the world, it will be interesting to compare with the above four pairs of gods the group of gods that we meet with in the "Seven Tablets of Creation,"<sup>1</sup> which are written in cuneiform, and contain the views and beliefs of the Assyrians as to the origin of the gods, and of the world, and of mankind. The old company of primeval gods mentioned in these Tablets are also eight in number, and they fall readily into four pairs. The first pair consisted of APZŪ-RISHTŪ, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, i.e., the "primeval abyss," and MŪMMU-TIAMAT, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. The meaning of the word *mūmmu* is unknown,<sup>2</sup> but Tiamat is the name of the female counterpart of Apzū-rishtū, and she became the mother of offspring by him. These two deities, then, represent the male and female powers of the watery mass which contained the germs of all life, and of every kind of life, and they existed at a time "when of the gods none had been called into being, and none bore a name, and "no destinies [were ordained]." When "their waters were

<sup>1</sup> The best copies of the cuneiform texts hitherto issued will be found in the publication of the Trustees of the British Museum, entitled *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, part xiii., London, 1901. These, with many additional texts, are given in Mr. L. W. King's *Seven Tablets of Creation* with transliterations, translations, notes, etc., London, 1902. (Vol I.)

<sup>2</sup> *Mūmmu* = the Μωῦμος of Damascus, and probably means "chaos."

“mingled together” then the work of creation began. We thus see that Apzû-rishtu and Mûmmu-Tiamat are the exact equivalents in the Babylonian cosmogony of Nu and Nut in the Egyptian, and that they are the originals of the Greek forms *Ἀπασών* and *Ταυθὲ*, which are given in the scheme of Damascius.<sup>1</sup>

The next pair of gods in the Assyrian texts are LAKHMU,  $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{EIII} \leftarrow \text{S}$ , and LAKHAMU,  $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{EII} \text{III} \leftarrow \text{S}$ , but of their functions we know nothing, any more than we do of the Egyptian primeval gods Hēh and Hēhut. The names of the third and fourth deities in the list of Damascius (ed. Kopp, p. 125) are *Δαχός* and *Δαχρή*, but these are clearly mistakes for *Δαχός* and *Δαχρή*, i.e., Lakhmu and Lakhamu.

According to the First Tablet of the Creation Series “ages increased,”<sup>2</sup> and then two more gods came into being, viz., ANSHAR,  $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{A}$ , and KISHAR,  $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{K} \text{EII} \text{A}$ , i.e., the *Ἀσσορός* and *Κισσαρή* of Damascius. Now up to this point the three pairs of gods of the Assyrians agree exactly with the first three pairs of gods of the oldest Egyptian company of the gods, and the points of resemblance are striking. We see from the table printed by Brugsch<sup>3</sup> that the Egyptian authorities differed as to the names of the god and goddess of the fourth pair of gods, some giving Kēḥ and Kēhet, others giving Āmen and Āment, and others giving Enen and Enenet-ḥemset, and others Ni and Ennit; all, however, agreed that a fourth pair of deities were necessary to complete the company, and that one must be a god and the other a goddess.

The First Tablet of the Creation Series mentions a seventh deity called ANU,  $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{II} \text{S}$ , who is clearly to be identified with the *Ἄνός* of Damascius, and an eighth deity called NUDIMMUD,  $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{S} \text{K} \text{EII} \text{I} \text{A}$ , which is a title of the god EA; the context which would probably have supplied us with the name of a ninth god is broken away, and at present there is no means of restoring

<sup>1</sup> He was born in Syria, probably at Damascus, in the last quarter of the Vth century of our era. He studied at Alexandria and at Athens, and was a pupil of Marinus and Zenodotus, and when Justinian closed the schools at Athens he went to the court of the Persian king Khusrau (Chosroës). The best edition of his work on “First Principles” is that of Kopp, published in 1828.

<sup>2</sup> King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 61.      <sup>3</sup> *Religion*, p. 127.

the passage. Both these deities are masculine, whereas one should be masculine and one feminine. In the list of the primeval gods given by Damascius following *Κισσαρή* we have *Ἄνός*, *Ἰλλινος*, and *Ἄός*; the first of these is, as we have said, ANU; the second is the god ENLIL,  $\gg\equiv\text{III} \equiv\text{III}$ ; and the third is EA,  $\gg\equiv\text{I} \equiv\text{III} \text{II}$ . But all these are gods, and there is no goddess among them, and it is difficult not to think that in making the recension of the story which is preserved in cuneiform the Assyrian editors substituted the three gods Anu, Bel, and Ea, who represented heaven, and earth, and the abyss respectively, for those who were in the older recension. The Assyrian copy which we now have was made during the reign of Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria from B.C. 668 to B.C. 626, presumably from a Babylonian archetype, but it is impossible to say to what period the actual version which it represents is to be assigned. The Seven Tablets of Creation contain several Assyrianized forms of ancient Sumerian words, a fact which proves that the original traditions incorporated in the work must be of Sumerian origin, and must have been formulated in remote antiquity. It is surprising therefore to find so much similarity existing between the primeval gods of Sumer and those of Egypt, especially as the resemblance cannot be the result of borrowing. It is out of the question to assume that Ashur-bani-pal's editors borrowed the system from Egypt, or that the literary men of the time of Seti I. borrowed their ideas from the *literati* of Babylonia or Assyria, and we are therefore driven to the conclusion that both the Sumerians and the early Egyptians derived their primeval gods from some common but exceedingly ancient source. The similarity between the two companies of gods seems to be too close to be accidental, especially as there is every possibility that the Sumerian system was taken into Egypt by the same people who carried into the country the art of making bricks, the use of the cylinder seal, and the like.<sup>1</sup> Be this as it may, it is certain that the company of primeval gods, which, as we have seen, was common to the Sumerians and Egyptians, was quite different from the companies of gods of which Osiris and Rā-Tem were the heads in Egypt, and also from those which were formed

<sup>1</sup> See my *Egypt in the Predynastic and Archaic Periods*, p. 41.

in Babylonia and Assyria when these countries were inhabited by Semitic populations.

Now the First Tablet of Creation gives us to understand clearly that the work of creation began when the waters, or essences, of the first pair of primeval gods, Apzû and Tiamat, were mingled together, and that the offspring of this union were Lakhmu and Lakhamu, Anshar and Kishar, etc. What the views of the ancient Egyptians on this subject were we do not know, but it is quite clear from the allusions in many texts that the second, third, and fourth pairs of the gods already mentioned were the offspring of the union of the first pair Nu and Nut, i.e., that they were their attributes. We may also conclude that Nu and Nut were the male and female powers of the vast and inert watery mass, with its male and female counterparts Ni and Ennit, and that the second pair of gods, Heh and Hehut, represented their eternal nature. The third pair of deities are nothing but the male and female counterparts of Darkness personified, and thus we have as the primeval material from which everything was made an eternal, boundless, watery mass wherein are the germs of life, male and female; this watery mass is, however, enveloped in thick darkness. The late Dr. Brugsch, basing his opinion upon certain statements made in the Egyptian texts, declared that the primeval spirit (Urgeist) felt the desire for creative activity, and that his word awoke the world to life in a form in which it had already been mirrored in his mind, and that the first act of creation began with the formation out of the primeval watery mass of an egg, wherefrom issued the light of day, i.e., Râ, which was the immediate cause of all life in the earthly world. In this light, that is to say, in the Rising Sun, the almighty power of the divine spirit incorporated itself in a brilliant form.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Der göttliche Urgeist, unzertrennlich von dem Urstoff des Urwassers, "fühlte das Verlangen nach schöpferischer Thätigkeit und sein Wort erweckte die "Welt zum Leben, deren Gestalt und formenreiche Gebilde sich in seinem Auge "vorher abgespiegelt hatten. Ihre körperlichen Umrisse und Farben entsprachen "nach ihrer Entstehung der Wahrheit d.h. der Urvorstellungen des göttlichen "Geistes über sein künftiges Werk. Der erste Schöpfungsact begann mit der "Bildung eines Eies aus dem Urgewässer, aus dem das Tageslicht (Râ), die un- "mittelbare Ursache (râ) des Lebens in dem Bereiche der irdischen Welt heraus- "brach. In der aufgehenden Sonne verkörperte sich die Allmacht des göttlichen "Geistes in ihrer glanzvollsten Gestalt" (*Religion*, p. 101).

The opinion of the great Egyptologist is of great weight on all matters of this kind, but it must be remembered that we have no authority in the texts for all the details of his narrative of the events which are supposed to have taken place before the appearance of the sun in the heavens, and that for many of the ancient Egyptian views on the subject of the Creation our only authorities are compositions which, in the forms in which we know them, are not older than the period of the end of the Middle Empire and that of the beginning of the New Empire, and many of the views and opinions expressed in them date from the same periods. That the sun was the product of the primeval watery mass of Nu the Egyptians believed beyond doubt, because they declared repeatedly that Rā came forth from Nu, but they did not, as far as we know, make it to be the dwelling-place of a primeval spirit (Urgeist) which designed and planned the future world in its mind before it began to create it, and which carried out the various works of creation on the lines which it had evolved in its consciousness long before the darkness which lay on the watery mass was pierced by the light of the sun. We know that the priesthood of Hermopolis, the Khemennu of the Egyptian texts, i.e., the "city of the Eight Gods," where Nu, Nut, Hēhu, Hēhut, Kekui, Kekuit, Kēḥ, and Kēhet were worshipped, placed at the head of their divine company the god Thoth, to whom certainly in later times were ascribed many of the attributes which Dr. Brugsch's "Urgeist" possessed. But there is no proof whatsoever that Thoth was the original leader of this company of gods; on the contrary, there is reason for thinking that if the Eight ever had a leader in the beginning of their existence he must have been a form of the Sun-god. The fact is that as the priests of Heliopolis formed their companies of gods from systems already in existence, and placed their own local gods at the head of them, so the priests of Hermopolis for some reason unknown to us adopted the primeval company of Eight, and appointed their own local god Thoth to be their head. The attempt to find any equivalent of the "spirit of Elohim," which, according to the Book of Genesis, moved, or brooded, on the face of the waters before the creation of light, has nothing to support it in the Egyptian texts.

✓ But although we do not know what the primitive Egyptians imagined to be the means by which the Sun came into being, we have a very good idea of what they thought about the creation of the gods, and of the world, and of the animals, birds, trees, fish, reptiles, etc., which are in it, and by whose agency it was brought about. We owe our knowledge of these things to a papyrus preserved in the British Museum (No. 10,188), which was written for a priest of Panopolis (the modern Akhmim), of high rank and lineage, called Nes-Āmsu, or Nes-Min, during the thirteenth year of the reign of "Alexander, the son of Alexander," i.e., about B.C. 312. This remarkable document contains, among other valuable compositions, a series of Chapters of a long magical work which was written with the object of effecting the destruction of the arch-fiend Āpepi and his fiends and devils of darkness, and of keeping storms and hurricanes out of the sky; many of the Chapters are followed by rubrics which, as we have already shown in the description of the Tuat given above, contain directions for the performance of the ceremonies which were to accompany the recital of the words. Where the Chapters were to be recited is not clear, but as two out of three works in the papyrus were chanted in the temple of Amen-Rā, the king of the gods, at Thebes, we shall not be far wrong if we assume that the third was a service which was performed in the temple from time to time. The first work, the "Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys," was a very important service, and the second, the "Lamentations of Isis," was probably a supplement to it; two priestesses, who dressed in the characters of Isis and Nephthys, and personified these goddesses, sang the sections, or "houses," of the Festival Songs in turn on the great commemorative festivals of Osiris, and as the "Lamentations" were rhythmical they were probably sung at the same service.

The rubric of the "Festival Songs" orders that they be sung in the temple of Āmen-Rā, and as the third work, the "Book of Overthrowing Āpepi," was devoted to the protection of the Sun-god Rā, the great lord of the temple, provision must have been made for reciting it there. Be this as it may, our present interest in the papyrus centres in the fact that it contains two copies of

the story<sup>1</sup> of the Creation which are of the greatest interest. Curiously enough, each copy is inserted among the Chapters in the main body of the work, and it seems as if they represent two distinct versions, although in many places the text in each is identical. Each copy is entitled, "The Book of knowing the Evolutions of Rā, and of Overthrowing Āpepi." The word here rendered by "Evolutions" is *kheperu*, , being derived from the root *kheper*, , which means "to make, to fashion, to produce, to form, to become," and in a derived sense "to roll," so that the title might be translated the "Book of knowing the Becomings of Rā," i.e., the things which were made, or created, or came into being through Rā. In the text the words are placed in the mouth of the god Neb-er-tcher, , the lord of the universe and a form of the Sun-god Rā, who says, "I am he who came into being in the form of the god Kheperā, , "and I was the creator of that which came into being, that is to say, I was the creator of everything which came into being; now when I had come into being myself, the things which I created and which came forth from out of my mouth were very many." In these words Neb-er-tcher, or Rā, says that he took upon himself the form of Kheperā, i.e., that he was the god who was most intimately connected with the creation of things of every kind. Kheperā was symbolized by a beetle which belonged to the class of "Coprophagi," or "dung-eaters," which having laid its eggs in masses of dung rolled them about until they became circular in form. These balls, though made of dead, inert matter, contained the germs of life, which, under the influence of warmth and heat, grew, and in due course developed into living creatures which could move about and seek their food. At a very early period in their history the Egyptians associated the sun's disk with the dung ball of the beetle, partly on account of its shape, and partly because it was the source of heat, and light, and life to man, even as the dung ball was to the young beetles. Having once got the idea that the disk of the sun was like the ball of the beetle, they went a step farther, and imagined that it must be pushed across the sky

<sup>1</sup> The first copy is in column xxvi. and the second in column xxviii.

by a gigantic beetle just as the dung ball was rolled over the ground by a beetle on earth, and in pictures of the sunrise we actually see the disk being pushed up or forward into the sky by a beetle. Gradually the ideas of new life, resurrection, life in a new form, and the like, became attached to the beetle, and the god with the attributes of the beetle, among which in later days was included the idea of self-production, became one of the most important of the forms of Rā, and the creator of heaven, and earth, and the Tuat and all that is in them.

Having declared under what form he had come into being Kheperā goes on to say that his power was not exhausted by one creative act, but that he continued to create new things out of those which he had already made, and he says that they went forth from his mouth. The word "mouth" may be here a figurative expression, but judging from other parts of the text we are probably intended to understand it literally. The god continues his narrative thus:—"Heaven did not exist, and earth had not come into being, and the things of the earth (plants?) and "creeping things had not come into existence in that place (or, at "that time), and I raised (or, built up) them from out of Nu from "a state of inactivity." Thus it is clear that Kheperā himself was the one thing besides the watery abyss of Nu which was then in existence, and it is evident that we are to understand that he performed the various acts of creation without the help of any female principle, and that Nu had nothing to do with them except to supply the primeval matter, the "Urstoff" of Brugsch, from which all things were made. The word rendered above by inactivity is *enen*, ; and it ought to refer to the things which Kheperā says he raised up out of Nu, in which case we must understand that everything in heaven and in earth was at that time existing in a quiescent state in the watery mass of Nu.

The narrative continues: "I found no place there whereon I "could stand. I worked a charm upon my own heart (or, will), "[and] I laid a foundation in Maā, [and] I made every form (or, "attribute). I was one by myself, [for] I had not emitted from "myself the god Shu, and I had not spit out from myself the goddess

“Tefnut; there was no other being who worked with me.” The things made clear by this passage are that Kheperā alone was the creator, and that he had no place to stand upon in performing the various acts of creation. The words, *Khut-nā em āb-ā*, here rendered “I worked a charm upon my heart,” present difficulty, but this or something very like must be their meaning.

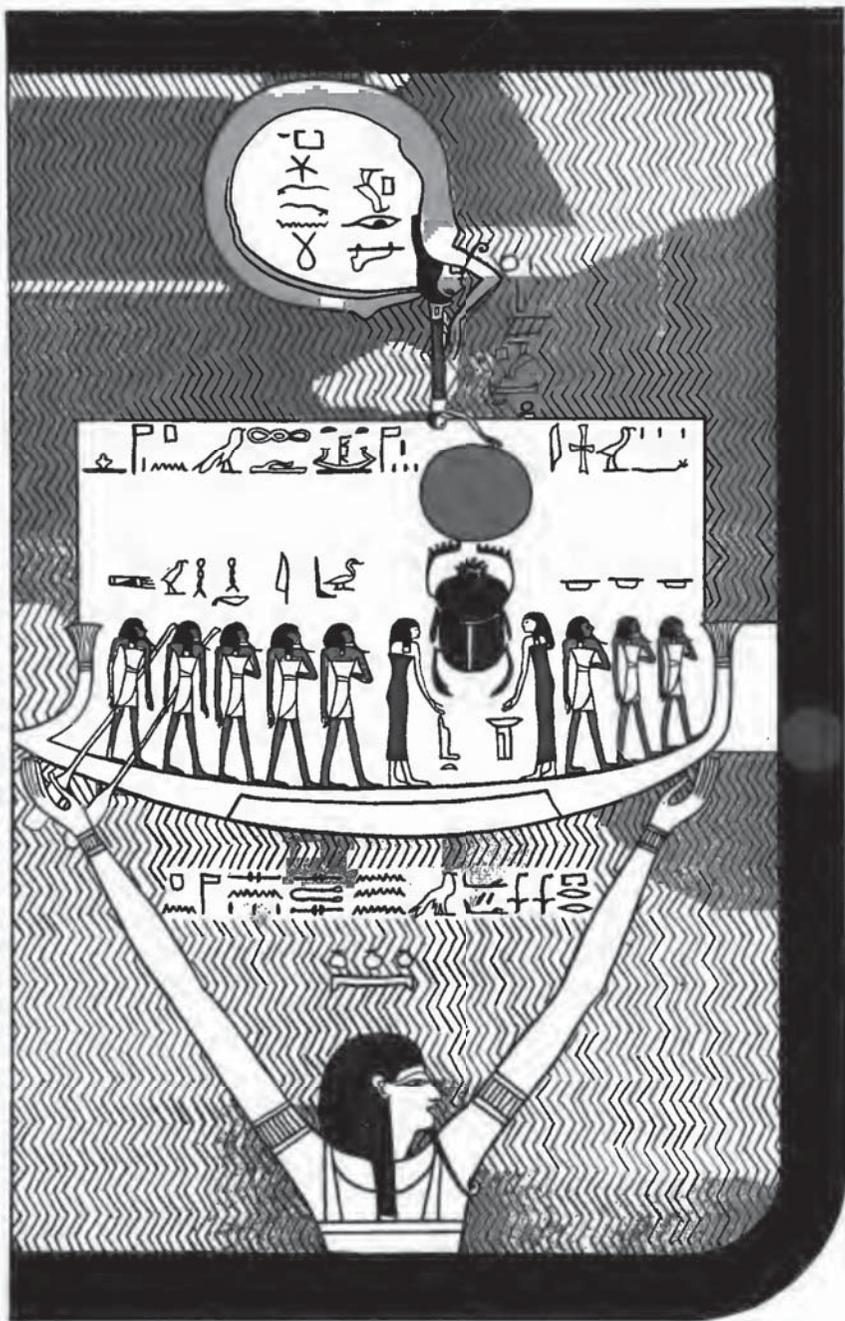
The word  in texts of the kind generally means “to perform a magical rite or ceremony,” and the author of the story of the creation before us found himself obliged to make the god resort to magical powers to get himself out of a difficulty; that Kheperā worked in some way and by some means upon his heart or will is clear, and as a result he laid a foundation for himself and the work which he was about to do in Maā. The name  may be read either as Maā or Shu, but Shu cannot be the reading here because in the next sentence Kheperā tells us that he had not at that time emitted Shu from himself. From the texts of all periods we learn much about the conceptions which the Egyptians had arrived at concerning Maā, and it is clear that the word primarily meant “what is straight,” and that it also came to mean “straightness, rectitude, uprightness, right, law, order, “regularity, justice,” and other significations of like character; the goddess Maāt, , was the personification of “Truth.” The idea which the text is intended to convey here is that Kheperā laid the foundation of the future world according to a clear, well-defined, and unalterable plan, wherein there was no error; *Maā* was with Kheperā exactly what ḤOKHMĀH, חֲכִמָּה (a word somewhat inadequately rendered “wisdom” in Proverbs viii. 2 ff.), was to Yahweh. Wisdom says that she was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was, when there were no depths, before the mountains were settled, and before the hills was she brought forth when as yet Yahweh had made neither the earth, nor the fields, nor the highest part of the dust of the earth, and that she was there when he prepared the heavens and placed a circle upon the face of the depth (Proverbs viii. 23 ff.).

The narrative continues: “I made a foundation in (or, by) “my own heart, and there came into being multitudes of things,

“of things from the things of what was produced from the things “which they produced.” This sentence is both involved and redundant, but about its meaning there is fortunately no difficulty, for the writer only makes the god assert in an emphatic manner that everything that is came into being as a result of the act of the god in laying a foundation in his own heart, and that when once the creative processes had been set in motion they continued their operation of their own accord, apparently without any direct interference from the original creative power. In the next sentence we have a reference to a curious belief which was already current in the VIth Dynasty, but at that period it had reference to the god Tem and not to Kheperà, and occurs with the following context:—“This Pepi washeth himself in the Lake of Áaru wherein “Rā washeth himself; Horus hath brought the back of this Pepi, “and Thoth hath brought his legs, and Shu hath lifted him up “to heaven; O Nut, stretch out thy hand to Pepi. Tem hath “departed to Ánnu to satisfy his love of pleasure; he hath thrust “his member into his hand, and hath performed his desire, and “hath produced the two children Säu and Tefnut,<sup>1</sup> and these two “children put Pepi between them, and they set him among the “gods which are in Sekhet-hetepet.” In the story of the creation Kheperà is made to say, “I had union with my hand, and I “embraced my shadow in a love embrace; I poured seed into my “own mouth, and I sent forth from myself issue in the form of “the gods Shu and Tefnut.” Now a myth of this character can only be the product of a people at a low level of civilization, and it is difficult to understand the character of the mind of an author who in one sentence helps Kheperà out of a difficulty by ascribing to him the possession and use of magical powers, and in another reduces him to the necessity of committing an act of masturbation in order to begin the generations of the gods, and yet assigns to







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counterpart of Shu, represents rain, dew, and moisture. We have already seen that these twin gods proceeded from Kheperà, and the words which are used to express the idea of emission, i.e., *ashesh* , and *tef* , indicate the processes by which they came into being as separate entities. The creation of Shu made a space between the heavens and the earth into which the Eye of Nu could rise from out of the waters and shine, and because the sunlight immediately followed the creation of Shu that god is sometimes identified with light, and is regarded as its personification. The general sense of the passage under discussion makes it necessary to assume that Nu is identified with Kheperà, and *vice versa*.

The next passage refers to the creation of man, and the god, presumably Kheperà, says, "Now after these things, I united my members, and I wept over them, and men and women came into being from the tears which came forth from my eye." Of this passage there are two interpretations possible. We may either assume that the tears which fell from the Eye of Nu, or Kheperà, are the rays of light which fell from the sun, and that men and women are the offspring of the light, or what is far more probable; that men and women are the product of the tears of water which fell from the eye of the god upon his members,<sup>1</sup> and that they turned into human beings straightway. Meanwhile the god Nu or Kheperà had made another Eye, by which we are, no doubt, to understand the Moon, and it is said that when the first Eye found that a second had been made it raged at the god; now when the god saw this he endowed the second Eye with some of the power (or, splendour) which he had made, and having made it take up its position in his face it henceforth ruled the whole earth. After this the god brought about the creation of plants, and herbs, and reptiles, and creeping things. Finally, the gods Shu and Tefnut produced the gods and goddesses Seb and Nut, Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys, and Heru-khent-ân-maati, i.e., the "Blind Horus," one after the other at one birth, and these deities multiplied

<sup>1</sup> 

offspring in this earth. Thus we have a complete account of how a male god who existed alone in the watery abyss of Nu produced from himself by unnatural means a pair of deities, one male and one female, and how this pair produced three other pairs, i.e., three gods and three goddesses, and one male deity in addition, in fact the *paut* or company of the great gods of Heliopolis, which in this instance was made to include ten gods. It is interesting to note the order in which the acts of creation took place. The self-existent god who had lived for ever created: 1. The light. 2. The firmament, or home of moisture, i.e., clouds and rain. 3. Mankind. 4. The second (?) Eye, i.e., the Moon (?). 5. Plants, and herbs, and reptiles, and creeping things. 6. Seven deities, four being male and three female.

In the second version of the story of creation which we shall now describe some interesting variants will be found, and we shall see that the god Osiris is made to usurp the position which in the first version is occupied by the god Kheperà. The opening words are:—Neb-er-tcher saith, “I am the creator of what hath come into being, and I myself came into being under the form of the god Kheperà, and I came into being in primeval time. I came into being in the form of Kheperà, and I was the creator of what came into being, that is to say, I formed myself out of the primeval matter, and I formed myself in the primeval matter.” My name is  $\text{AUSÀRES}$ ,  $\text{𓂏} | \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  (i.e., Osiris), [who] is the primeval matter of primeval matter. I have done all my will in this earth, I have spread abroad therein, and I have made strong (or, lifted up) my hand.” In this passage we have Neb-er-tcher, who came into being in the form of Kheperà, identifying himself with Osiris, who is described as the *pautet pautti*,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , i.e., the very essence of primeval matter, and the source of all created things. This is a remarkable attribute to ascribe to the god of the dead, and it is only understandable when we remember that it was a common belief of the Egyptians that life rose out of death. The narrative continues, “I was alone, for they (i.e., the gods) were not born, and I had emitted from myself neither Shu nor Tefnut. I brought my name into my

“own mouth, that is to say [I uttered it as] a word of power,  
 “ hekau, and I forthwith came into being under  
 “the form of things which were created and under the form of  
 “Kheperâ.”

Here we have an interesting statement, for the god tells us how he came into being, and he is not content with merely saying that he existed. We know from the literature of Egypt how great a part words of power played in its magical and religious systems, and how the believer hoped to obtain all his desires by the utterance of special names, or words, or formulæ. Here, however, we have the god Osiris transforming himself from the essence of primeval matter into the active principle of creation by merely uttering his own name. The belief in the potency of certain names is very old in Egypt, and rests upon a still older idea that no creature, animate or inanimate, could be said to have an existence until it possessed a name, an idea with which every one is familiar from Genesis ii. 19 f., where we read that Adam gave names to every beast of the field and to every fowl of the air, and to all cattle. Every god and goddess and supernatural being were believed to possess a hidden name by, and through, and in which he and she lived. The man who could find out these names was able to command the help of the gods who bore them, and the man who could obtain by any means a hidden name for himself thought he would be the equal of the gods. On the other hand, to destroy or “blot out” a name was to wipe out of existence the being who bore it, and it was for this reason that in the earliest days of civilization in Egypt services in which the name, or names, of the dead were commemorated, and were mentioned with laudatory epithets, were established. We may note in passing that one of the greatest gifts which was to be given to the true believers of the Church of Pergamcs was “a white stone, and in “the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he “that receiveth it” (Revelation ii. 17). Here is a direct allusion to the old belief in the efficacy of an amulet which was made of a certain stone, and inscribed with a name, by and through and in which its owner would enjoy life and happiness.

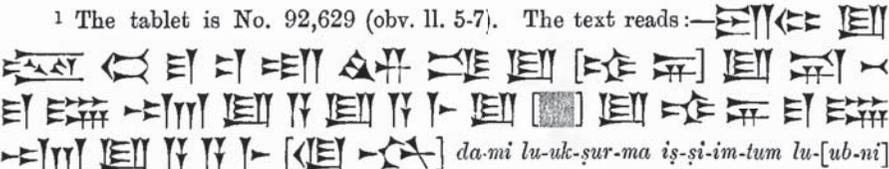
Returning to our narrative we find that the god continues, "I came into being from primeval matter, and I appeared under the form of multitudes of things from the beginning. Nothing existed at that time, and it was I who made whatsoever was made. I was alone, and there was no other being who worked with me in that place. I made all the forms under which I appeared by means (or, out of) the god-soul which I raised up out of Nu, , out of a state of inertness (or, out of the inert mass)." In this passage we have a new element introduced, that is, a "god-Soul," , or, in other words, the Soul which possessed the quality of *neter*, and was existent in a quiescent state in the inactive watery mass of Nu. When we consider the general ideas of the Egyptians about the soul this statement need not surprise us, for we know that they endowed every object in nature with a soul, and if they assumed the existence of a mass of primeval matter they were bound, logically, to give it a soul. Thus we have in the second version of the story of the creation an idea which is wholly wanting in the first. We next read, "I found there (i.e., in Nu) no place wherein I could stand. I worked a spell on my heart, and I laid a foundation before me, and I made whatsoever was made. I was alone. I laid a foundation in (or, by) my heart, and I made the other things which came into being, and the things of Kheperà which were made were manifold, and their offspring came into existence from the things to which they gave birth. It was I who emitted Shu, and it was I who emitted Tefnut, and from being one god (or, the one god) I became three, that is to say, the two other gods who came into being on this earth came from myself, and Shu and Tefnut were raised up from out of Nu wherein they had been. Now, behold, my Eye,  (i.e., the Sun), did they bring to me (or, I brought to them) after a double *hen* period [had passed since] they went forth from me. I gathered together my members which came forth from my own person after I had union with my hand, and my heart (or will) came unto me from out of my hand. The seed fell into my mouth, and I sent forth from myself the gods Shu and Tefnut, and from





so far south as the Sixth Cataract, and, as we have already said, the legend as to the origin of the gods Shu and Tefnut is far more likely to have been the product of some indigenous dark-skinned race than of the group of mixed peoples whom we call Egyptians. It will be noticed that only the Egyptians, or offspring of Rā, are said to have been produced by the tears of Rā, which are the same as the tears of the Eye of Horus, i.e., the sun.

According to one version of the story of the creation, men and women were created *after* the gods Shu and Tefnut, and *before* the plants and reptiles, but according to the other, they were created *after* the plants and reptiles; neither version mentions the creation of beasts and cattle. A point of interest is that men and women were not fashioned by Kheperā, or Neb-er-tcher, himself, and that they seem to have come into being almost, as it were, by accident; in making the gods Kheperā showed both will and design, but men and women were only the tears which fell, apparently without volition, from his Eye. But it must also be noted that in both versions of the Egyptian creation legends it is Rā the Sun-god, the Eye of Temu, who is in reality the creator of man, and this is exactly what we find in the Mesopotamian creation legends. After Marduk had defeated Tiamat and her eleven fiends, and had split up her body, like a fish, and made heaven out of one half of her skin, he conversed with Ea, the lord of the great deep, and declared his intention of making man, in the following words:—  
 “My blood will I take, and bone will I build up, and I will make  
 “man, that man may . . . ; and I will build up man who  
 “shall inhabit [the earth].” This very important passage proves that the statement of Berossus to the effect that man was made out of the blood of Bel, i.e., Marduk, was based upon a genuine Assyrian tradition; unfortunately the cuneiform text,<sup>1</sup> which was

<sup>1</sup> The tablet is No. 92,629 (obv. ll. 5-7). The text reads:—  
  
 da-mi lu-uk-ṣur-ma iṣ-ṣi-im-tum lu-[ub-ni]  
 lu-ush-ziz-maa amēla[a] lu a-me-lu [. . .] lu-ub-ni-ma amēla[a] a-shib irṣitim. See  
 L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. i., pp. 86 ff., and vol. ii., pl. xxxv.

first identified by Mr. L. W. King, is incomplete, but when the inevitable duplicate is found we shall probably find the equivalent of the rest of the story according to Berossus, who says that the blood of which man was made was obtained from Bel himself after his head had been cut off.

The passage which follows the mention of the creation of man in the Egyptian story refers to the Eye of Nu, which, Kheperà says, he endowed with power or splendour, or with the serpent *khut*, , which possessed both these attributes. The Eye raged at him when it found "another growth" in its place, by which, apparently, the moon is referred to, and it made an onslaught upon the "bushes," i.e., the light clouds, which Kheperà had placed over it to adorn it, or to keep order in it; but finally it took up its position in the god's face, and henceforth ruled the whole earth. The text concludes with the statement that Shu and Tefnut gave birth to Seb, Nut, Osiris, Heru-khenti-ân-maati, Set, Isis, and Nephthys, and that their offspring increase and multiply in the earth, and that they invoke the name of Kheperà and so overthrow their enemies, and that they create words of power, , whereby they overthrow Āpepi. We may now summarize briefly the results of the two versions, and we shall find that the Egyptians thought that a self-begotten and self-existent god lived alone in a primeval watery mass, which was itself part male and part female, and which was the abode of two living powers, the one male and the other female, and also of a soul, and that this mass was of unlimited extent, and was eternal, and was enveloped in thick darkness. The self-existent god, at some unknown time and for some unknown reason, uttered his own name as a word of power, and he straightway came into being under the form of the god Kheperà. He next roused the soul of the watery abyss out of inactivity, and then having brought some influence, probably by the utterance of certain words; to bear upon his heart, he produced some material place, probably the earth, whereon he could stand. From this place he produced the gods Shu and Tefnut, which act resulted in the immediate creation of light and in the dispersion of darkness, and in the formation of the

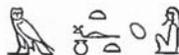
sky or firmament. These acts were followed either by the creation of men and women, or by the creation of vegetation and creeping things and reptiles of every kind; of the creation of stars and of birds and beasts nothing is said. The above statement represents one of the earliest of the opinions of the Egyptians about the creation in its simplest form, the one in fact which was first adopted by the priests of Heliopolis, and was then modified to suit the theological system which they formulated. The texts on which it was based are transcribed into hieroglyphics with interlinear transliterations and translations in the following chapter.





  
tef-nā

had I emitted

  
em Tefnut

Tefnut,<sup>1</sup>

  
an

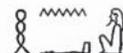
not

  
kheper

existed

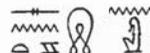
  
ki

another

24.    
āri-nef henā-ā

who worked

with me.

  
senti-nā

I made a foundation

   
em ābt-ā tches-ā

in my heart my own,

(or, by means of my own will)

  
kheper

[and] there came  
into being

  
āsht

the multitudes  
of things

  
kheperu

which came  
into being

  
nu kheperu

of the things which  
came into being

  
em

from out of

  
kheperu

the things which came  
into being

  
nu

of

  
mesu

births,

  
em

from out of

  
kheperu

the things which  
came into being

  
nu

of their births.

  
mesu-sen

I, even I,

  
ānuk pu

I, even I,

  
hat-ā

had union

  
em

with my clenched hand,

  
khefā-ā

  
tataāt-nā

I joined myself in an  
embrace

Col. xxvii. 1.

  
em

with

  
kharibit-ā

my shadow,

  
kher-nā

I poured seed

  
em re-ā

into my mouth

  
tches-ā

my own,

<sup>1</sup> I.e., I had not sent forth from my body the emanation which took the form of Shu, nor the moisture which took the form of Tefnut.



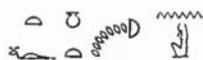
*ashesh-na*

I sent forth issue



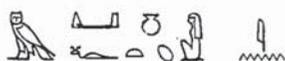
*em Shu*

in the form of Shu,



*tefnet-na*

I sent forth moisture



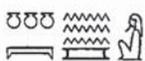
*em Tafnut an*

in the form of Saith  
Tefnut.



*atef-ai*

my father



*Nu*

Nu,



*satet-sen*

“They make to  
be weak



*maat-ai em-sa-sen*

my eye behind them,



*tcher henhenti*

because for double *henti*  
periods



*uau-sen*

they proceeded



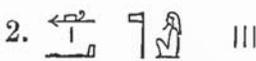
*er-ai em-khet*

from me after



*kheper-ai em neter*

I became from god



*ua neter khemt*

one gods three,



*pu er-ai*

that is from out of  
myself,



*kheper-na em ta pen*

[and after] I came in  
into being



*em ta pen*



*haa*

this. Were raised up



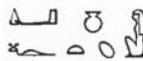
*aref*

therefore



*Shu*

Shu



*Tafnut*

[and] Tefnut



*em*

in



*enenu*

the inert watery mass



*un-sen ami - f*

wherein they were,



*an-sen na*

brought they to me



*maat-ai*

my eye



*em khet-sen*

in their train.



*em-khet*

After



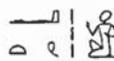
*aref*

therefore



*sam-na*

I had united



*at-ai*

my members



<i>tchetfet</i>	<i>nebt</i>	<i>kheper</i>	<i>nebt</i>	<i>am-sen</i>
creeping things	all,	[and] things which	all	[are] in them.
		came into being		

		5.		
<i>mesu an</i>	<i>Shu Tāfnut</i>	<i>henā</i>	<i>Nut</i>	<i>mesu an</i>
Give birth	Shu [and] Tefnut	[Seb] and	Nut.	Give birth

<i>Seb Nut</i>	<i>Asar</i>	<i>Her Khent-an-maa</i>	<i>Set</i>	<i>Ast</i>
Seb and Nut	to Osiris,	Horus-Khent-an-maati,	Set,	Isis,

<i>Nebt-het</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>khat</i>	<i>uā</i>	<i>em-sa</i>	<i>uā</i>	<i>am-sen</i>
Nephthys	from	the womb,	one after the other			of them,

<i>mes-sen</i>	<i>asht-sen</i>	<i>em ta</i>	<i>pen</i>
they give birth	[and] they multiply	in earth	this.

THE HISTORY OF THE CREATION OF THE GODS AND OF THE WORLD. VERSION B.

xxviii. 20.					
<i>Shāt</i>	<i>ent</i>	<i>rekh</i>	<i>kheperu</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>Rā</i>
The Book	of	knowing	the evolutions	of	Rā

<i>sekher</i>	<i>Apep</i>	<i>tchettu</i>	<i>Neb-er-tcher</i>	<i>tchet-f</i>
[and] of over-	Apep.	The words	of Neb-er-tcher.	He says :—
throwing				







"I was (or, the creator of what came into being) I came into being in  
 became) into being.



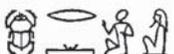





the forms of Kheperá coming into being in primeval time.





I came into being in the forms of Kheperá. I was (or, became)






the creator of what came into being, that is to say, I produced myself






from the primeval matter [which] I made. I produced myself







from primeval matter. My name is Osiris,







the primeval matter of primeval matter. I have done my will all








in earth this, [and] I have spread abroad in it; I raised up



*tet-ā*

my hand.



*uāu-kuā*

I was alone ;



*ān*

not



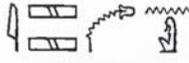
*mes-sen*

born [were] they.



*ān*

Not



*āshesh-nā*

had I spit



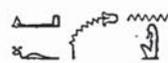
*em Shu*

in the form of Shu,



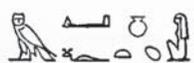
*ān*

not



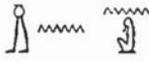
*ṭāf-nā*

had I emitted



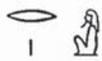
*em Ṭāfnut*

Tefnut



*ān-nā*

I brought [into]



*re-ā*

my mouth



*tches-ā*

my own my name,



*ren-ā*



*pu*

that is to say,



*hekau*

a word of power,



*ānuk pu kheper - nā*

and I, even I, came into being



*em*

in the form



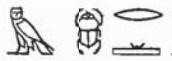
*kheperu*

of things which  
came into being,



*kheper-kuā*

and I came  
into being



*em*

in



*kheperu*

the forms



*en*

of



*Kheperā*

Kheperā.



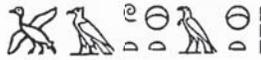
*kheper-nā*

I came into being



*em*

from



*pautti*

the primeval matter,



*kheper*

coming into being



*āsht*

[in] multitudes



*kheperu*

of forms



*em*

from



*tep-ā*

the beginning.



*ān*

Not



*kheper*

existed



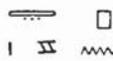
*kheperu*

created things any



*nebt*

in



*em ta*

land



*pen*

this;



*āri-nā*

I made



*āri*

whatsoever was made

THE CREATION



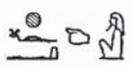
hat-nā

I had union



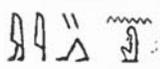
em

with



khefā-ā

my clenched hand,



i-nā

came to me (?)



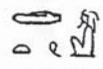
āb-ā

my heart (or, will)



em

out of my hand.



let-ā



āāāā

The seed



kher

[which] fell into

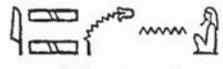


em



re-ā

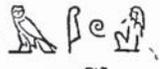
my mouth,



āshesh-nā

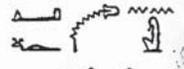
I spat

Col. xxix. 1.



em Shu

in the form of Shu, I emitted water

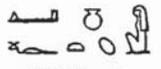


tāf-nā



em

in the form of Tefnut,



Tāfnut



kheper-nā

I became



em

from [being] god



neter



uā



neteru

gods



khemt

three,



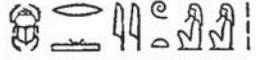
pu

that is to say,



er-ā

from myself



kheperiut

two gods came into being



em

on



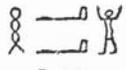
ta

earth



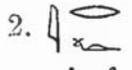
pen

this.



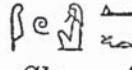
hāā

Were raised up



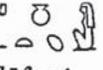
āref

therefore



Shu

Shu and Tefnut



Tāfnut



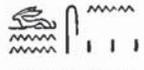
em

from out of



Nu

Nu (i.e., the inert primeval watery abyss)



unen-sen

wherein they were.

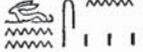


āmi



ān

Saith

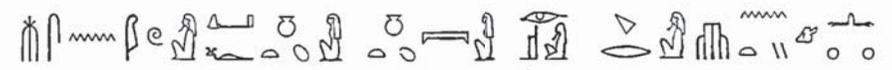
<sup>1</sup> The paragraph beginning  and ending with 

 is repeated, apparently by inadvertence, in the papyrus.




  
*khenti aref ast-s hri-ä heq-nes ta tcher-f*

Ruling therefore [on] its seat in my face it ruleth the whole earth.

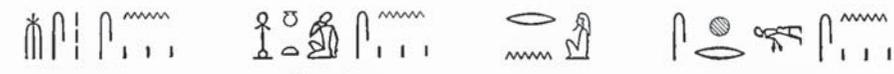

  
*mes en Shu Tāfnut Nut Āsar Heru-khenti-än-maati*

Gave birth Shu [and] Tefnut to Nut, Osiris, Heru-khenti-än-maati,


  
*Set Āst Nebt-het än mesu-sen*
  
 Set, Isis, Nephthys, [and] behold, their children


  
*gemam-sen kheperu äsht em ta*
  
 they create beings manifold in earth


  
*pen em kheperu nu mesu em kheperu nu*
  
 this from the beings of children, from the beings of


  
*mesu-sen shent-sen ren-ä sekher-sen*
  
 their children. They invoke my name, they overthrow


  
*kheft-sen gemam-sen hekau en*
  
 their enemies, they create words of power for


  
*sekher Āpep äu-f her sau her ääui*
  
 the overthrow of Āpep, who is to be bound by the two hands

*en Aker an un aaui - f an un retui - f*
  
 of Aker, not may be his two hands, not may be his two feet,

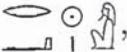
*satet - f en ast ua ma hu Ra setchebu-f*
  
 may he be chained to one place even as inflicteth Ra his blows

*utu-nef au sekher-tuf her sati-f pui tu*
  
 decreed for him. He is overthrown on his back wicked,

8. 
  
*senpu hra-f her ari-nef meni su*
  
 slit is his face for what he hath done, and he remaineth

*au sati - f pui tu*
  
 upon his back evil.

## CHAPTER IX

RĀ, THE SUN-GOD, , AND HIS FORMS

RĀ is the name which was given by the Egyptians of the dynastic period to the god of the sun, who was regarded as the maker and creator of everything which we see in the visible world around us, and of the gods in heaven, as well as of heaven itself, and of the Tuat or underworld and the beings therein; the original meaning of his name is unknown, but at one period of Egyptian history it seems to have been thought that the word *rā* indicated “operative and creative power,” and that as a proper name it represented in meaning something like “Creator,” this epithet being used much in the same way and with the same idea as we use the term when applied to God Almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth and of all things therein. The worship of the sun in Egypt is extremely ancient and appears to have been universal; at a very early period adoration of him was associated with that of the hawk-god Heru, who was the personification of the “height” of heaven, and who appears to have been a type and symbol of the sun. The worship of the hawk-god Heru, , is the oldest in Egypt, and, strictly speaking, he should have been discussed before Rā, but as Rā and the personifications of his various forms are the greatest of the gods of the Egyptians, he must be regarded as the true “father of the gods,” and his attributes, and the myths which grew up round him must be considered before those of Horus. The god Rā is usually depicted with the body of a man and the head of a hawk, but sometimes he is represented in the form of a hawk; on his head he wears his symbol, , i. e., the disk of the sun encircled by

the serpent *khut*, , of which mention has already been made. When he has a human body he holds the emblem of life, , in his right hand, and a sceptre, , in his left, and from the belt of his tunic hangs down the tail, which is a survival of the dress of men in predynastic times, and probably later. Viewed from a practical point of view Rā was the oldest of all the gods of Egypt, and the first act of creation was the appearance of his disk above the waters of the world-ocean; with his first rising time began, but no attempt was ever made to say when, i.e., how long ago, his first rising took place. When the Egyptians said that a certain thing had been in existence "since the time of Rā"<sup>1</sup> it was equivalent to saying that it had existed for ever.

The Egyptians, knowing that the sun was a fire, found a difficulty in assuming that it rose directly into the sky from out of the watery mass wherein it was brought forth, and they, therefore, assumed that it must make its journey over the waters in a boat, or boats, and as a matter of fact they believed that it passed over the first half of its course in one boat, and over the second half in another. The morning boat of the sun was called Mātet,   , i.e., "becoming strong," and the name of the evening boat was Semktet,   , i.e., "becoming weak"; these are appropriate names for the rising and the setting sun.<sup>2</sup> The course which Rā followed in his journey across the sky was thought to have been defined at creation by the goddess called Maāt, who was the personification of the conceptions of rectitude, straightness, law, order, unfailing regularity, and the like, and there is no doubt that it was the regular and unfailing appearance of the sun each morning, as much as its light and heat, which struck wonder into primitive man, and made him worship the sun. In passing through the *Ṭuat*, or underworld, at night Rā was supposed to be obliged to leave his boat at certain places, and to make use of others, including even one which was formed by the body of a serpent; according to one opinion he changed his

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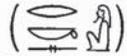
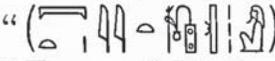
<sup>2</sup> See Unās, I. 292.

boat every hour during the day and night, but the oldest belief of all assigned to him two boats only. Rā was accompanied on his journey by a number of gods, whose duties consisted in navigating the boat, and in helping it to make a successful passage from the eastern part of the sky to the place where the god entered the Tuat; the course was set by Thoth and his female counterpart Maāt, and these stood one on each side of Horus, who acted as the steersman and apparently as captain also. Before the boat of Rā, one on each side, swam the two pilot fishes called Ābtu,  , and Ānt,  , respectively.<sup>1</sup> But, judging from the religious and mythological texts which have come down to us, not all the power of Rā himself, nor that of the gods who were with him, could ward off the attacks of certain fiends and monsters which endeavoured to obstruct the passage of his boat.

Chief among such were the serpent Āpep,   , and Sebāu,    , and Nāk,   , and of these the greatest and most wicked was Āpep. In dynastic times Āpep was a personification of the darkness of the darkest hour of the night, against which Rā must not only fight, but fight successfully before he could rise in the east in the morning; but originally he was the thick darkness which enveloped the watery abyss of Nu, and which formed such a serious obstacle to the sun when he was making his way out of the inert mass from which he proceeded to rise the first time. In the *Book of the Dead* he is frequently mentioned,<sup>2</sup> but rather from a moral than a physical point of view. Thus in the xxxixth Chapter the deceased says: "Get thee back, "Fiend, before the darts of his beams. Rā hath overthrown "thy words, the gods have turned thy face backwards, the Lynx " (Maftet,    ), hath torn open thy breast, the "Scorpion goddess,    ), hath cast fetters upon thee, and "Maāt hath sent forth thy destruction. Those who are in the "ways have overthrown thee; fall down and depart, O Āpep,

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Dead.* (*Papyrus of Ani*, pl. 1, line 15.)

<sup>2</sup> See the *Vocabulary* to my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, under Āpep (p. 61).

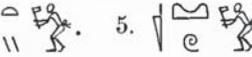
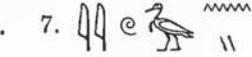
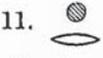
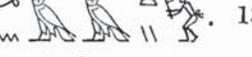
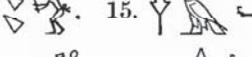
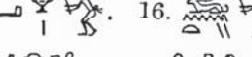
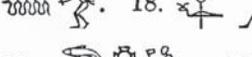
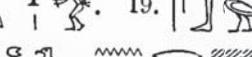
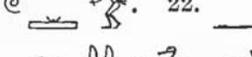
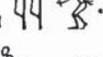
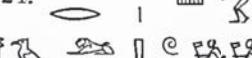
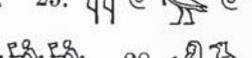
“thou Enemy of Rā.” A little further on the deceased says: “I have brought fetters to thee, O Rā, and Āpep hath fallen because thou hast drawn them tight. The gods of the South, and of the North, of the West and of the East have fastened chains upon him, and they have fastened him with fetters; the god Rekes () hath overthrown him, and the god Hertit () hath put him in chains. O Āpep, thou Enemy of Rā, thou shalt never partake of the delights of love, thou shalt never fulfil thy desire! He maketh thee to go back, O thou who art hateful to Rā; he looketh upon thee, get thee back. He pierceth thy head, he slitteth up thy face, he divideth thy head where its bones join and it is crushed in thy land, thy bones are smashed in pieces, thy members are hacked off thee, and the god Aker () hath passed sentence of doom upon thee.”

From the “Books of Overthrowing Āpep,”<sup>1</sup> we obtain further information as to the destruction of the monster, and we find that this work was recited daily in the temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes. The first Book was divided into Chapters, which were entitled:—1. Chapter of spitting upon Āpep. 2. Chapter of defiling Āpep with the left foot. 3. Chapter of taking a lance to smite Āpep. 4. Chapter of fettering Āpep. 5. Chapter of taking a knife to smite Āpep. 6. Chapter of putting fire upon Āpep. The following Books describe with great minuteness the details of the destruction which was to fall upon Āpep, and they are insisted on to a wearisome degree; according to these the monster, which is referred to at one time as a crocodile and at another as a serpent, is first to be speared, then gashed with knives, and every bone of his body having been separated by red-hot knives, and his head, and legs, and tail, etc., having been cut off, his remains were to be scorched, and singed, and roasted, and finally shrivelled up and consumed by fire. The same fate was to come upon Āpep’s confederates, and everything which formed parts of him and of them, i.e., their shadows, souls, doubles, and spirits, were to be

<sup>1</sup> See *Archaeologia*, vol. lii. (*The Papyrus of Nesi-Āmsu*).

wiped out of existence, including any offspring which they might possess. Not content with reciting the words of power which would have the effect of destroying Āpep and his fiends, great care was taken to perform various ceremonies of a magical character, which were supposed to benefit not only Rā, but those who worshipped him on earth. Āpep was both crafty and evil-doing, and like Rā, he possessed many names; to destroy him it was necessary to curse him by each and every name by which he was known. To make quite sure that this should be done effectively the Papyrus of Nesi-Āmsu adds a list of such names, and as they are the foundation of many of the magical names met with in later papyri they are here enumerated:—1. NESHT. 2. TUTU. 3. HAU-HRĀ. 4. HEMHEMTI. 5. QETTU. 6. QERNERU. 7. IUBANI. 8. ĀMAM. 9. HEM-TAIU. 10. SĀĀTET-TA. 11. KHERMUTI. 12. KENEMEMTI. 13. SHETA. 14. SEREM-TAUI. 15. SEKHEM-HRĀ. 16. UNTI. 17. KARĀU-ĀNEMEMTI. 18. KHESEF-HRĀ. 19. SEBA-ENT-SEBA. 20. KHAK-ĀB. 21. KHAN-RU . . . . UĀA. 22. NĀI. 23. ĀM. 24. TURRUPA (?) 25. IUBAU. 26. UAI. 27. KHARUBU, THE FOUR TIMES WICKED. 28. SAU. 29. BETESHU.<sup>1</sup>

In the Egyptian texts we have at present no account of the

1.  2.  3.  4.   
 5.  6.  7.  8.   
 9.  10.  11.   
 12.  13.  14.   
 15.  16.  17.   
 18.  19.   
 20.  21.   
 22.  23.   
 24.  25.   
 26.  27.   
 28.   
 29.  28.   
 29.  See my paper in *Archaeologia*, vol. lii., pp. 202-204.

first fight which took place between Rā and Āpep, but it is clear from several passages in the "Books of Overthrowing Āpep" that such a thing must have occurred, and that the means employed by the Sun-god for destroying his foe resembled those made use of by Marduk in slaying Tiamat. The original of the Assyrian story is undoubtedly of Sumerian origin, and must be very old, and it is probable that both the Egyptians and the Sumerians derived their versions from a common source. In the Assyrian version<sup>1</sup> Marduk is armed with the invincible club which the gods gave him, and with a bow, spear, net, and dagger; the lightning was before him, and fierce fire filled his body, and the four-fold wind and the seven-fold wind went with him. Marduk grasped the thunderbolt and then mounted his chariot, drawn by four swift and fiery horses which had been trained to beat down under their feet everything which came in their way. When he came to the place where Tiamat was, Kingu, whom she had set over her forces, trembled and was afraid, but Tiamat "stood firm with unbent neck." After an exchange of words of abuse the fight began, and Tiamat pronounced her spell, which, however, had no effect, for Marduk caught her in his net, and drove the winds which he had with him into her body, and whilst her belly was thus distended he thrust his spear into her, and stabbed her to the heart, and cut through her bowels, and crushed her skull with his club. On her body he took his stand, and with his knife he split it "like a flat fish into two halves," and of one of these he made a covering for the heavens. With the exception of the last, every detail of the Assyrian account of the fight has its equivalent in the Egyptian texts which concern Rā and Āpepi. An allusion to the fight is found in the apocryphal work of "Bel and the Dragon," wherein we are told that both the god and the monster were worshipped in Babylon; but the narrative says that the dragon was destroyed by means of lumps of pitch, and fat, and hair seethed together, and that these having been pushed into the creature's mouth he burst asunder. In Egyptian papyri Āpep is always represented in the form of a serpent, in each undulation of which a knife is stuck,

<sup>1</sup> See King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 71 ff.

𓂏𓂏𓂏; in the "Book of the Gates" (see above p. 197) we see him fastened by the neck with a chain (along which is stretched the scorpion goddess Serqet), the end of which is in the hands of a god, and also chained to the ground by five chains.

It has already been said that Rā was the "father of the gods," and we find that as early as the Vth Dynasty a female counterpart, who was the mother of the gods, was assigned to him. This goddess is called in the text of Unās (l. 253) Rāt, , and in later times her title appears to have been "Rāt of the two lands, the 'lady of heaven, mistress of the gods,'" ; she is also called "Mistress of Heliopolis." Her full name was, perhaps, Rāt-taiut, , i.e., "Rāt of the world." She is depicted in the form of a woman who wears on her head a disk with horns and a uraeus, and sometimes there are two feathers above the disk;<sup>1</sup> the attributes of the goddess are unknown, but it is not likely that she was considered to be more important than any other great goddess.

The home and centre of the worship of Rā in Egypt during dynastic times was the city called Ānu, , or Ān by the Egyptians, On by the Hebrews, and Heliopolis by the Greeks; its site is marked by the village of Maṭariyeh, which lies about five miles to the north-east of Cairo. It was generally known as Ānu meḥt, i.e., Annu of the North, to distinguish it from Ānu Qemāu, i.e., Annu of the South," or Hermonthis. Among the early Christians great store was set upon the oil made from the trees which grew there, and in the famous "Fountain of the Sun" the Virgin Mary is said to have washed the garments of her Son; the ancient Egyptians also believed that Rā bathed each day at sunrise in a certain lake or pool which was in the neighbourhood. Of the origin and beginnings of the worship of Rā at Heliopolis we know nothing, but it is quite certain that under the Vth Dynasty, about B.C. 3350, the priests of Rā had settled themselves there, and that they had obtained great power at that remote period. The

<sup>1</sup> See Lanzzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 186, Nos. 1-4.



THE GODDESS RĀT.

evidence derived from the Westcar Papyrus<sup>1</sup> indicates that User-ka-f, the first king of the Vth Dynasty, was the high-priest of Rā, and that he was the first to add "son of the Sun" to the titles of Egyptian monarchs. Up to that time a king seems to have possessed:—1. A name as the descendant or servant of Horus. 2. A name as the descendant or servant of Set. 3. A name as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchit, . 4. A name as king of the North and South, . User-ka-f, however, introduced the title of "son of the Sun," , which was always followed by a second cartouche, and it was adopted by every succeeding king of Egypt. According to the Westcar Papyrus User-ka-f and his two immediate successors Sahu-Rā and Kakaā were the sons of the god Rā by Ruṭ-ṭeṭeṭ, the wife of a priest of the god Rā of Sakhabu,   ; these were brought into the world by the goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Meskhenet, and Heqet, and by the god Khnemu, and it was decreed by them that the three boys should be sovereigns of Egypt.

This legend is of importance, not only as showing the order of the succession of the first three kings of the Vth Dynasty, but also because it proves that in the early Empire the kings of Egypt believed themselves to be the sons of Rā, the Sun-god. All chronological tradition affirms that Rā had once ruled over Egypt, and it is a remarkable fact that every possessor of the throne of Egypt was proved by some means or other to have the blood of Rā flowing in his veins, or to hold it because he was connected with Rā by marriage. The bas-reliefs of Queen Hātshepset at Dêr al-Bahārî, and those of Āmen-ḥetep III. at Luxor, and those of Cleopatra VII. in the temple at Erment (now destroyed, alas!) describe the process by which Rā or Āmen-Rā became the father of the kings and queens of Egypt. From these we see that whenever the divine blood needed replenishing the god took upon himself the form of the reigning king of Egypt, and that he visited the queen in her chamber and became the actual father of the child who was subsequently born to her. When the child was born it

<sup>1</sup> See Erman, *Westcar Papyrus*, pl. ix. ff.

was regarded as a god incarnate, and in due course was presented, with appropriate ceremonies, to Rā or Āmen-Rā, in his temple, and this god accepted it and acknowledged it to be his child. This clever priestly device gave the priests of Rā great power in the land, but their theocratic rule was not always the best for Egypt, and on one occasion they brought about the downfall of a dynasty. The first rise to power of the priests of Rā took place at the beginning of the Vth Dynasty, when the cult of Rā became dominant in the land. About the time of Userkaf we find that a number of shrines, which united the chief characteristics of the low rectangular tomb commonly known by its Arabic name of *mastāba*, i.e., "bench," and of the pyramid, , were built in honour of the god;<sup>1</sup> but, according to Prof. Sethe, the custom of building such only lasted for about one hundred years, i.e., from the reign of Userkaf to that of Men-kau-Ĥeru. Be this as it may, the priesthood of Heliopolis succeeded in making their worship of Rā to supersede generally that of almost every other god of Egypt, and in absorbing all the local gods of importance throughout the country into their theological system, wherein they gave them positions subordinate to those of Rā and his company of gods.

Originally the local god of the city was Tem, who was worshipped there in a special temple, but they united his attributes to those of Rā and formed the double god Rā-Tem,  (Unās, l. 222). With the close of the VIth Dynasty the power of the priests of Rā declined, and it was not until the reign of Usertsen I., about B.C. 2433, that the sanctuary at Heliopolis was rebuilt, or perhaps entirely refounded. This king dedicated the temple which he built there to Rā and to two forms of this god, Horus and Temu, who were supposed to be incarnate in the famous Bull of Mnevis, which was worshipped at Heliopolis as Apis was worshipped at Memphis. In front of the temple he set up two massive granite obelisks, each 66 feet high, the pyramidions of which were covered with copper; these were still *in situ* about A.D. 1200. Between the XIIth and the XXth Dynasties we hear little of Heliopolis, but

<sup>1</sup> See an interesting paper on this subject by Sethe in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1889, p. 111 ff. (*Die Heiligtümer des Re' im alten Reich*).



AMEN-RĀ - ḤERU - KHUTI.

AMEN-RĀ - (HARMACHIS).



“the king himself. He then admonished the priests [saying], ‘I have set [my] seal here, let no other king enter herein [or] stand here.’ And they cast themselves on their bellies before his majesty, saying, ‘May Horus who loveth Ännu (Heliopolis) be firm and stable, and may he never come to an end.’ And the king went into the Temple of Tem, and he performed all the ceremonies and service connected with the worship of father Tem-Kheperä, , the prince of Ännu.”

From the above it is certain that the sacred boats of Rā were kept in a sort of wooden tabernacle with two doors, , that could be fastened by a bolt, and from what we know from pictures of these boats it is equally certain that the Mätet boat contained a hawk-headed figure of Rā, and that the Sektet boat contained a man-headed figure of Rā. The text says that the tabernacle, , was situated on the top of a flight of steps, and this is what we should expect, for we know that the support was intended to represent the high ground in or near the city of Khemennu,  (Hermopolis), whereon Rā established himself on the day when he proceeded from the watery abyss of Nu, before the pillars of Shu were set up. In the *Book of the Dead* this high ground is called “Qaqa in Khemennu,” . During the period of the Persian invasion the prosperity of the priesthood of Heliopolis declined, and it is said that later, during the reign of Ptolemy II. (B.C. 285-247) many of its members found an asylum at Alexandria, where their reputation for learning caused them to be welcomed. A tradition says Solon, Thales, and Plato all visited the great college at Heliopolis, and that the last-named actually studied there, and that Manetho, the priest of Sebennytus, who wrote a history of Egypt in Greek for Ptolemy II., collected his materials in the library of the priesthood of Rā. Some time, however, before the Christian era, the temple buildings were in ruins, and the glory of Heliopolis had departed, and it was frequented only by those who went there to carry away stone or anything else which would be useful in building or farming operations.

We have now to consider briefly what was the nature of the doctrine which was the distinguishing characteristic of the teaching of the priests of Heliopolis. In the first place it proclaimed the absolute sovereignty of Rā among the gods, and it made him the head of every company of the gods, but it did not deny divinity to the older deities of the country. The chief authorities for the Heliopolitan doctrine are the Pyramid Texts, to which allusion has so often been made, and from these we see that the priests of Rā displayed great ingenuity and tact in absorbing into their form of religion all the older cults of Egypt, together with their magical rites and ceremonies. Apparently they did not attempt to abolish the old, indigenous gods; on the contrary, they allowed their cults to be continued, provided that the local priest-hoods would make their gods subordinate to Rā. Thus Osiris and Isis, and their companion gods, were absorbed into the great company of the gods of Heliopolis, and the theological system of the priests of Osiris was mixed with that of the priests of Rā. Nothing is known of the origin of Osiris worship, but the god himself and the ceremonies which accompanied the celebration of his festivals suggest that he was known to the predynastic dwellers in Egypt. The belief in the efficacy of worship of the Man-god, who rose from the dead, and established himself in the underworld as judge and king, was indelibly impressed on the minds of the Egyptians at a very early period, and although the idea of a heaven of material delights which was promised to the followers of Osiris did not, probably, commend itself in all particulars to the imaginations of the refined and cultured folk of Egypt, it was tacitly accepted as true and was regarded as a portion of their religious inheritance by the majority of the people. On the other hand, the priests of Rā declared that the souls of the blessed made their way after death to the boat of Rā, and that if they succeeded in alighting upon it their eternal happiness was assured. No fiends could vex and no foes assail them successfully, so long as they had their seat in the "Boat of Millions of Years;" they lived upon the food on which the gods lived, and that food was light. They were apparelled in light, and they were embraced by the god of light. They passed with Rā in his boat through all the dangers





THE GOD KHEPERA SEATED IN HIS BOAT.

*versá*; it is, then, most probable that the doctrine of Rā as taught by the priests of Heliopolis was a mixture of Egyptian and Western Asiatic doctrines, and that it was the Asiatic element in it which the Egyptians resisted. It could not have been sun-worship which they disliked, for they had been sun-worshippers from time immemorial.

The above paragraphs contain a statement of the facts concerning the worships of Rā and Osiris which appear to be fairly deducible from the extant religious literature of the Egyptians, but it is time to let the hymns to these gods declare the attributes which were assigned to them during the most flourishing period of Egyptian history. More hymns were addressed to these two than to any other gods, a fact which proves that they were considered to be the chief means of salvation for the Egyptians. The following hymns are taken from the Papyri of Hunefer, and Ani, and Nekht<sup>1</sup>:—

“Homage to thee, O thou who art Rā when thou risest, and  
 “Temu when thou settest. Thou risest, thou risest, thou shinest,  
 “thou shinest, thou who art crowned king of the gods. Thou art  
 “the lord of heaven, thou art the lord of earth; thou art the  
 “creator of those who dwell in the heights and of those who  
 “dwell in the depths. Thou art the God One who didst come  
 “into being in the beginning of time. Thou didst create the earth,  
 “thou didst fashion man, thou didst make the watery abyss of the  
 “sky, thou didst form Ḥāpi (the Nile), thou didst create the  
 “watery abyss, and thou dost give life unto all that therein is.  
 “Thou hast knit together the mountains, thou hast made mankind  
 “and the beasts of the field to come into being, thou hast made  
 “the heavens and the earth. Worshipped be thou whom Maāt  
 “embraceth at morn and at eve. Thou dost travel across the sky  
 “with heart swelling with joy; the Lake of Testes becometh  
 “contented thereat. The serpent-fiend Nāk hath fallen, and his  
 “two arms are cut off. The Sektet boat receiveth fair winds, and  
 “the heart of him that is in the shrine thereof rejoiceth. Thou art  
 “crowned prince of heaven, and thou art the One dowered [with

<sup>1</sup> See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Translation), pp. 8, 36.

“all attributes] who comest forth from the sky. Rā is he whose  
 “word when uttered must come to pass. O thou divine Youth,  
 “thou heir of everlastingness, thou self-begotten one, thou who  
 “didst give thyself birth! O thou One, thou mighty [one] of  
 “myriad forms and aspects, King of the world, Prince of Annu  
 “(Heliopolis), lord of eternity and ruler of everlastingness, the  
 “company of the gods rejoice when thou risest and when thou  
 “sailst across the sky, O thou who art exalted in the Sektet  
 “boat.” (From the Papyrus of Hunefer, sheet 1.)

“Hail, thou Disk, thou lord of rays, who risest on the horizon  
 “day by day! Homage to thee, O Heru-khuti, who art the god  
 “Kheperā, the self-created; when thou risest on the horizon and  
 “sheddest thy beams of light upon the lands of the North and  
 “of the South, thou art beautiful, yea beautiful, and all the gods  
 “rejoice when they behold thee, the King of heaven. The goddess  
 “Nebt-unnut is stablished upon thy head; and her uraei of the  
 “South and of the North are upon thy brow; she taketh up her  
 “place before thee. The god Thoth is stablished in the bows of  
 “thy boat to destroy utterly all thy foes. Those who are in the  
 “Tuat come forth to meet thee, and they bow in homage as they  
 “come towards thee to behold thy beautiful form. And I have  
 “come before thee that I may be with thee to behold thy Disk  
 “every day. May I not be shut up in [the tomb], may I not be  
 “turned back, may the members of my body be made new when I  
 “view thy beauties, even as [are those of] all thy favoured ones,  
 “because I am one of those who worshipped thee upon earth. May  
 “I come in unto the land of eternity, may I come even unto the  
 “everlasting land, for behold, O my lord, this hast thou ordained  
 “for me.

“Homage to thee, O thou who risest in the horizon as Rā,  
 “thou restest upon law unchangeable and unalterable. Thou  
 “passest over the sky, and every face watcheth thee and thy  
 “course, for thou hast been hidden from their gaze. Thou dost  
 “show thyself at dawn and at evertide day by day. The Sektet  
 “boat, wherein is thy Majesty, goeth forth with light; thy beams  
 “are upon all faces; the [number] of thy red and yellow rays  
 “cannot be known, nor can thy bright beams be told. The lands

“ of the gods, and the lands of Punt must be seen, ere that which  
“ is hidden [in thee] may be measured. Alone and by thyself thou  
“ dost manifest thyself when thou comest into being above Nu.  
“ May I advance, even as thou dost advance; may I never cease to  
“ go forward as thou never ceasest to go forward, even though it be  
“ for a moment; for with strides thou dost in one little moment  
“ pass over the spaces which would need millions and millions of  
“ years [for men to pass over; this] thou doest and then thou dost  
“ sink to rest. Thou putttest an end to the hours of the night, and  
“ thou dost count them, even thou; thou endest them in thine  
“ own appointed season, and the earth becometh light. Thou  
“ settest thyself therefore before thy handiwork in the likeness of  
“ Rā [when] thou risest on the horizon.

“ Thou art crowned with the majesty of thy beauties; thou  
“ mouldst thy limbs as thou dost advance, and thou bringest them  
“ forth without birth-pangs in the form of Rā, as thou dost rise  
“ up into the upper air. Grant thou that I may come unto the  
“ heaven which is everlasting, and into the mountain where dwell  
“ thy favoured ones. May I be joined unto those shining beings,  
“ holy and perfect, who are in the Underworld; and may I come  
“ forth with them to behold thy beauties when thou shinest at  
“ eventide and goest to thy mother Nu. Thou dost place thyself  
“ in the west, and my two hands are [raised] in adoration of thee  
“ when thou settest as a living being. Behold, thou art the  
“ maker of eternity, and thou art adored when thou settest in the  
“ heavens. I have given my heart unto thee without wavering,  
“ O thou who art mightier than the gods. A hymn of praise to  
“ thee, O thou who risest like unto gold, and who dost flood the  
“ world with light on the day of thy birth. Thy mother giveth  
“ thee birth, and thou dost give light unto the course of the Disk.  
“ O thou great Light, who shinest in the heavens, thou dost  
“ strengthen the generations of men with the Nile-flood, and thou  
“ dost cause gladness in all lands, and in all cities, and in all  
“ temples. Thou art glorious by reason of thy splendours, and  
“ thou makest strong thy Double with divine foods. O thou  
“ mighty one of victories, thou who art the Power of Powers, who  
“ dost make strong thy throne against evil fiends; who art glorious

“in majesty in the Sektet boat, and who art exceedingly mighty  
 “in the Ātet boat, make thou me glorious through words which  
 “when spoken must take effect in the Underworld; and grant thou  
 “that in the nether world I may be without evil. I pray thee to  
 “put my faults behind thee; grant thou that I may be one of thy  
 “loyal servants who are with the shining ones; may I be joined  
 “unto the souls which are in Ta-tchesertet, and may I journey  
 “into the Sekhet-Āaru by a prosperous and happy decree.” (From  
 the *Papyrus of Ani*, sheet 20 f.)

“Homage to thee, O thou glorious being, thou who art  
 “dowered with all attributes, O Tem-Ḥeru-khuti, when thou risest  
 “in the horizon of heaven, a cry of joy cometh forth to thee from  
 “the mouth of all peoples. O thou beautiful being, thou dost  
 “renew thyself in thy season in the form of the Disk within thy  
 “mother Hathor; therefore in every place every heart swelleth  
 “with joy at thy rising for ever. The regions of the North and  
 “South come to thee with homage, and send forth acclamations at  
 “thy rising in the horizon of heaven; thou illuminest the two  
 “lands with rays of turquoise light. O Rā, thou who art Ḥeru-  
 “khuti, the divine man-child, the heir of eternity, self-begotten  
 “and self-born, king of earth, prince of the Tuat, governor of  
 “the regions of Āukert; thou comest forth from the water, thou  
 “hast sprung from the god Nu, who cherisheth thee and ordereth  
 “thy members. O thou god of life, thou lord of love, all men live  
 “when thou shinest; thou art crowned king of the gods. The  
 “goddess Nut doeth homage unto thee, and Maāt embraceth thee  
 “at all times. Those who are in thy following sing unto thee  
 “with joy and bow down their foreheads to the earth when they  
 “meet thee, thou lord of heaven, thou lord of earth, thou king of  
 “Right and Truth, thou lord of eternity, thou prince of ever-  
 “lastingness, thou sovereign of all the gods, thou god of life, thou  
 “creator of eternity, thou maker of heaven wherein thou art firmly  
 “established.

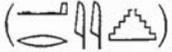
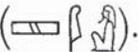
“The company of the gods rejoice at thy rising, the earth is  
 “glad when it beholdeth thy rays; the peoples that have been  
 “long dead come forth with cries of joy to see thy beauties every  
 “day. Thou goest forth each day over heaven and earth and art

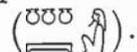
“made strong each day by thy mother Nut. Thou passest  
 “through the heights of heaven, thy heart swelleth with joy; and  
 “the Lake of Testes is content thereat. The Serpent-fiend hath  
 “fallen, his arms are hewn off, the knife hath cut asunder his  
 “joints. Rā liveth by Maāt the beautiful. The Sektet boat  
 “draweth on and cometh into port; the South and the North, the  
 “West and the East turn to praise thee, O thou primeval  
 “substance of the earth who didst come into being of thine own  
 “accord. Isis and Nephthys salute thee, they sing unto thee  
 “songs of joy at thy rising in the boat, they protect thee with their  
 “hands. The souls of the East follow thee, the souls of the West  
 “praise thee. Thou art the ruler of all the gods, and thou hast  
 “joy of heart within thy shrine, for the serpent fiend Nāk hath  
 “been condemned to the fire, and thy heart shall be joyful for  
 “ever.” (From the *Papyrus of Nekht*, sheet 21.)

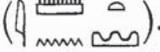
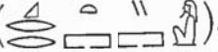
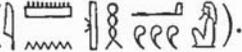
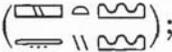
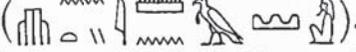
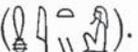
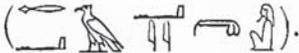
Even more instructive, however, than these are the Seventy-five Praises of Rā which are found inscribed on the walls of royal tombs of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties at Thebes. In these we find enumerated a large number of most remarkable epithets and attributes, some idea of the meaning of which will be gathered from the following rendering:—

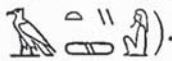
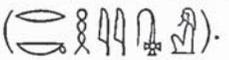
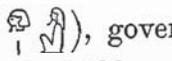
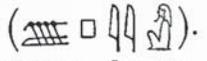
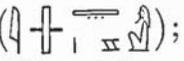
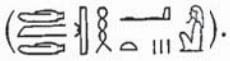
1. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem,<sup>1</sup> lord of the hidden  
 “circles [of the Tuat], bringer of forms, thou restest in secret  
 “places and makest thy creations in the form of the god Tamt  
 “(, i.e., the universal god).
2. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, thou creative force  
 “(, who spreadest out thy wings, who restest in  
 “the Tuat, who makest the created things which come forth  
 “from his divine limbs.
3. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Ta-thenen, begetter  
 “of his gods. Thou art he who protecteth what is in him, and  
 “thou makest thy creations as Governor of thy Circle.
4. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, looker on the  
 “earth, and brightener of Āmenti. Thou art he whose forms

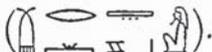
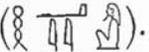
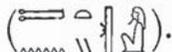
<sup>1</sup> Literally, “Power.”

- “(  ) are his own creations, and thou makest thy  
 “creations in thy Great Disk.
5. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the Word-soul,  
 “that resteth on his high place. Thou art he who pro-  
 “tecteth thy hidden spirits (  ), and they have form  
 “in thee.
6. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, mighty one, bold of  
 “face, the knitter together of his body. Thou art he who  
 “gathereth together thy gods when thou goest into thy hidden  
 “Circle.
7. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem. Thou dost call to  
 “thine Eye, and dost speak to thy head, and dost give breath  
 “to the souls in their places, and they receive it and have  
 “their forms in him.
8. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, destroyer of thy  
 “enemies; thou art he who doth decree destruction for the  
 “dead (  ).
9. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the sender forth  
 “of light into his Circle; thou art he who maketh the  
 “darkness to be in his Circle and thou coverest those who are  
 “therein.”
10. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the illuminer  
 “of bodies in the horizons; thou art he who entereth into  
 “his Circle.
11. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, support (  )  
 “of the Circles of Āment; thou art indeed the body of Temu  
 “(  ).
12. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the hidden support  
 “of Ānpu (  ); thou art indeed the body of  
 “Kheperā (  ).
13. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, whose duration of  
 “life is greater than that of her whose forms are hidden;  
 “thou art indeed the bodies of Shu (  ).
14. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the guide

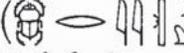
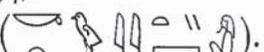
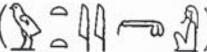
- “ ( \* *sebi*) of Rā to his members; thou art indeed the  
 “ bodies of Tefnut ().
15. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou dost make  
 “ to be abundant the things which are of Rā in their seasons,  
 “ and thou art indeed Seb ().
16. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the mighty one  
 “ who doth keep count of the things which are in him; thou  
 “ art indeed the bodies of Nut.
17. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the lord who  
 “ advancest; thou art indeed Isis ().
18. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, whose head  
 “ shineth more than the things which are in front of him;  
 “ thou art indeed the bodies of Nephthys ().
19. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, united is he in  
 “ members, One, who gathereth together all seed; thou art  
 “ indeed the bodies of Horus ().
20. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, thou shining one  
 “ who dost send forth light upon the waters of heaven; thou  
 “ art indeed the bodies of Nu ().
21. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the avenger of Nu  
 “ who cometh forth from what is in him; thou art indeed the  
 “ bodies of the god Remi ().
22. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the two  
 “ Uraei who bear their two feathers [on their heads]; thou art  
 “ indeed the bodies of the god Hūaaiti ().
23. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou goest in  
 “ and comest out and thou comest out and goest in to thy  
 “ hidden Circle, and thou art indeed the bodies of Āaṭu  
 “ ().
24. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the Soul who  
 “ departeth at his appointed time; thou art indeed the bodies  
 “ of Nethert ().
25. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, who standeth up,

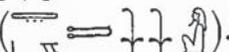
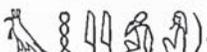
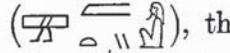
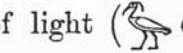
- “ the Soul One, who avengeth his children; thou art indeed  
 “ the bodies of Netuti (.
26. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou raisest thy  
 “ head and thou makest bold thy brow, thou ram, mightiest  
 “ of created things.
27. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the light of Shu at  
 “ the head of Ākert (.
- “ of Āment (.
28. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the soul that  
 “ seeth, the governor of Āment; thou art indeed the bodies  
 “ of the double Circle (.
29. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art  
 “ the Soul that mourneth, and the god that crieth  
 “ (.
- “ Āakebi (.
30. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou makest thy  
 “ hand to pass and praisest thine Eye, and thou art indeed  
 “ the bodies of the god of hidden limbs (.
31. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the Soul  
 “ exalted in the double hidden place (.
- “ indeed Khenti-Āmenti (.
32. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, of manifold  
 “ creations in the holy house; thou art indeed the bodies of  
 “ the god Kheprer (.
33. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou placest  
 “ thine enemies in their strong fetters, and thou art indeed the  
 “ bodies of Māti (.
34. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou givest forth  
 “ light in the hidden place, and thou art the bodies of the god  
 “ of generation (.
35. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the  
 “ vivifier of bodies; thou makest throats to inhale breath, and

- “thou art indeed the bodies of the god Ṭebati (  
 “.
36. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou assemblest  
 “bodies in the Ṭuat, and they gain the form of life, thou  
 “destroyest foul humours, and thou art indeed the bodies of  
 “the god Serqi (.
37. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Hidden-face  
 “() Seshem-Nethert (); thou  
 “art indeed the bodies of Shai (.
38. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, lord of might;  
 “thou embracest the Ṭuat and thou art indeed the bodies of  
 “Sekhen-Ba (.
39. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou hidest thy  
 “body in that which is within thee, and thou art indeed the  
 “bodies of Āmen-khat (.
40. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, more strong of  
 “heart than those who are in his following; thou sendest fire  
 “in the house of destruction, and thou art indeed the bodies  
 “of the Fire-god Rekhi (.
41. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou sendest forth  
 “destruction, and thou makest beings to come into existence  
 “in thy creations in the Ṭuat, and thou art the bodies of  
 “Ṭuati (.
42. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Bua-ṭep (  
 “) governor of his Eye; thou sendest forth light into  
 “the hidden place, and thou art indeed the body of Shepi  
 “(.
43. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Ṭemṭ-ḥātu,  
 “stablisher of Āmta (); thou art indeed the bodies  
 “of Ṭemṭ-ḥātu (.
44. “Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, creator of hidden

- “ things, generator of bodies ; thou art indeed the bodies of  
 “ the god Seshetai (.
45. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou providest  
 “ those who are in the T̄uat with what they need in the  
 “ hidden Circles, and thou art indeed Āper-ta (.
46. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thy limbs rejoice  
 “ when they see thy body, O Uash-Ba (,  
 “ when thou enterest thy body, and thou art indeed the bodies  
 “ of H̄ai (.
47. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, aged one of the  
 “ pupil () of the Utchat, Bai (); thou  
 “ makest full thy splendour, and thou art indeed the bodies of  
 “ Thenti (.
48. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou makest  
 “ straight ways in the T̄uat, and openest up roads in the  
 “ hidden place, and thou art indeed the bodies of Maā-uat  
 “ (.
49. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou art the Soul  
 “ who movest onwards, and thou hastenest thy steps, and  
 “ thou art indeed the bodies of Ākhpā (.
50. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou sendest  
 “ forth thy stars and thou illuminest the darkness in the  
 “ Circles of those whose forms are hidden, and thou art indeed  
 “ the god H̄etchiu (.
51. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou art the  
 “ maker of the Circles, thou makest bodies to come into being  
 “ by thine own creative vigour. Thou, O Rā, hast created  
 “ the things which exist, and the things which do not exist,  
 “ the dead () , and the gods, and the spirits ; thou art  
 “ indeed the body that maketh Khati () to come  
 “ into being.



60. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Āuau  
 " () , who hidest in purity ; thou hast gained  
 " the mastery over the souls of the gods, and thou art indeed  
 " the bodies of Āuai.
61. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Oldest one  
 " () , Great one, Governor of the Ṭuat, Creating  
 " one () ; thou didst create the two Setchet  
 " () , and thou art indeed the bodies of the two  
 " Setchet gods () .
62. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Mighty One of  
 " journeyings ; thou orderest thy steps by Maāt, thou art the  
 " Soul that doeth good to the body, thou art Senk-ḥrā  
 " () , i.e., Face of Light), and thou art indeed the  
 " bodies of Senk-ḥrā.
63. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou dost protect  
 " (or, avenge) thy body, and thou dost hold the balance  
 " [among] the gods as the hidden Amā () , [and]  
 " as Ām-ta () , and thou art indeed the bodies of  
 " the double god Amā-Āmta () .
64. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou art the lord  
 " of the fetters of thine enemies, the One, the Prince of the  
 " Apes () , and thou art indeed the bodies of  
 " Āntetu () .
65. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou sendest  
 " forth flames into thy furnaces () , and thou  
 " cuttest off the heads of those who are to be destroyed  
 " () , and thou art indeed the bodies  
 " of the two gods Ketuit () .
66. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou art the  
 " god of generation () , thou destroyest [thy]  
 " offspring, thou art One, thou stablishest the two lands by

- “ [thy] spirit () , and thou art indeed the bodies  
 “ of the god Ta-Thenen ().
67. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou stablishest  
 “ the gods who watch the hours () on their  
 “ standards, and who are invisible and secret, and thou art  
 “ indeed the bodies of the Watcher gods ().
68. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou art the  
 “ double Tchent god () of heaven, and the gate of  
 “ the Țuat, and the god Besi () [with] his  
 “ spiritual bodies () , and thou art the bodies  
 “ of Besi.
69. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou art the  
 “ Apes () . . . . , and thou art the true creative  
 “ Power of [thy] divine attributes () , and  
 “ thou art indeed the bodies of the Ape-god in the Țuat.
70. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou makest new  
 “ the earth, and thou openest a way for that which is therein,  
 “ thou that art the Soul which giveth names unto his limbs,  
 “ and thou art indeed the bodies of Sma-ta ().
71. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou art Neḥi  
 “ () who burnest up thine enemies, the Fire-  
 “ god Setcheti () , who burneth up fetters, and  
 “ thou art indeed the bodies of Neḥi ().
72. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou art the god  
 “ of motion () , the god of light () ,  
 “ who travelleth, thou makest the darkness to come into  
 “ being after thy light, and thou art indeed the bodies of  
 “ Shemti.
73. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem ; thou art the lord  
 “ of souls who art in the house of thy obelisk () ,  
 “ thou art the chief of the gods who are supreme in their





THE GOD TEMU.

incarnation of Rā, it is easy to understand how he came to have the power to rise from the dead, and to act as the judge of the dead on behalf of his father Rā.

TEM, or TEMU,  or ĀTEM, .

TEM, or TEMU, or ĀTEM, was originally the local god of the city of Ānnu, or Heliopolis, and in the dynastic period at all events he was held to be one of the forms of the great Sun-god Rā, and to be the personification of the setting sun. In the predynastic period, however, he was, as M. Lefébure has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> the first man among the Egyptians who was believed to have become divine, and who was at his death identified with the setting sun; in other words, Tem was the first *living* man-god known to the Egyptians, just as Osiris was the first *dead* man-god, and as such was always represented in human form and with a human head. It is important to note this fact, for it indicates that those who formulated the existence of this god were on a higher level of civilization than those who depicted the oldest of all Egyptian gods, Horus, in the form of a hawk, or in that of a hawk-headed human body. In the papyri and on the monuments he usually wears , the crowns of the South and North, upon his head, and he holds , the emblem of life, in his right hand, and the sceptre, , in his left. In the boat of Rā he is depicted in human form even when Rā is symbolized by a disk which is being rolled along by a beetle, and the god Kheperā is represented by a beetle, and the rising sun Heru-Khuti is shown under the form of a hawk's head, from which fall rays of light.<sup>2</sup> Tem was, in fact, to the Egyptians a manifestation of God in human form, and his conception in their minds marks the end of the period wherein they assigned animal forms to their gods, and the beginning of that in which they evolved the idea of God, almighty, inscrutable, unknowable, the maker and creator of the universe. It is useless to attempt to assign a date to the period when the Egyptians began to worship

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Soc. Eibl. Arch.*, ix., p. 175.

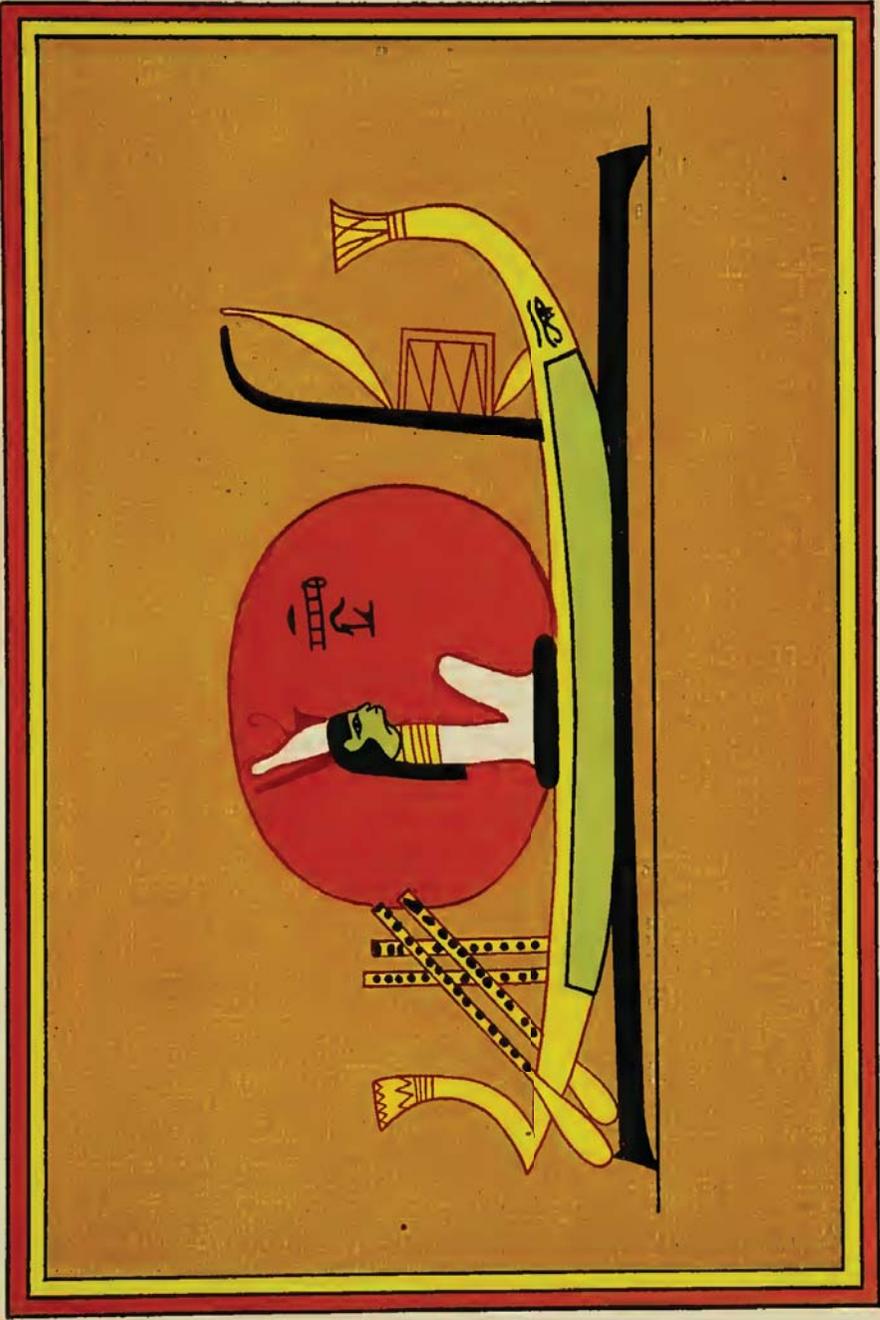
<sup>2</sup> Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 398.

God in human form, for we have no material for doing so; the worship of Tem must, however, be of very great antiquity, and the fact that the priests of Rā in the Vth and VIth Dynasties united him to their god under the name of Rā-Tem,  $\odot \overset{\text{𓆎}}{\underset{\text{𓆏}}{\text{𓆐}}}$ , proves that his worship was wide-spread, and that the god was thought to possess attributes similar to those of Rā.

The Pyramid Texts show that the attributes of Temu were confounded with those of Rā, and that the protection and favour of this god were all essential for the well-being of the deceased in the Underworld; indeed, it is Tem the father who stretches out his hand to Pepi I. and sets him at the head of the gods, where he judges the great and the wise.<sup>1</sup> This passage shows that Tem was regarded as the father of the human race, and as he was also divine his powers to help the dead were very great. In many respects he was held to be the equal of Rā, and the prayers and hymns which were addressed to him frequently show that the Egyptians were very anxious to propitiate him. This is not difficult to understand if we remember the dogmas of the Heliopolitan priesthood about the means by which the souls of the blessed departed from this world. They taught that souls when they left this world went to the region which lay between the earth and the beginning of the Valley of the Tuat, and which was called Amentet, and that they waited there until the Boat of the Setting Sun, i.e., the boat of Rā in his form of Temu, made his appearance there; as soon as it arrived the souls flocked to it, and those who had served Rā upon earth and whose bodies had been buried with the orthodox rites, and ceremonies, and prayers of the priesthood of Rā, and were, therefore, provided with the necessary words of power, were admitted to the boat of Tem, where they enjoyed the protection and favour of the god in his various forms to all eternity.

There was, moreover, another aspect of Tem which gave the god a position of peculiar importance in the minds of the Egyptians,

<sup>1</sup>  (Pepi I., l. 201).

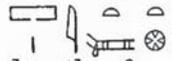
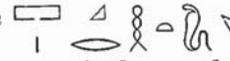
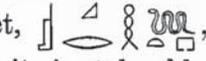


THE GOD TEM SEATED IN HIS BOAT.

i.e., he was identified not only with the god of the dead, Osiris, but also with the young Horus, the new and rising sun of the morrow. All these ideas are well expressed in a hymn to Tem which is found in the Papyrus of Mut-ḥetep (Brit. Mus., No. 10,010, sheet 5), and which was composed to enable every spirit who recited it to "come forth by day" and in any form he pleased and to have great power in the Țuat. The lady Mut-ḥetep says, "O Rā-Tem, in thy "splendid progress thou risest, and thou settest as a living being "in the glories of the western horizon; thou settest in thy "territory which is in the Mount of Sunset (Manu, ). "Thy uraeus is behind thee, thy uraeus is behind thee. Homage "to thee, O thou who art in peace; homage to thee, O thou who "art in peace. Thou art joined unto the Eye of Tem, and it "chooseth its powers of protection [to place] behind thy members. "Thou goest forth through heaven, thou travellest over the earth, "and thou journeyest onward. O Luminary, the northern and "southern halves of heaven come to thee, and they bow low in "adoration, and they do homage unto thee, day by day. The "gods of Amentet rejoice in thy beauties, and the unseen places "sing hymns of praise unto thee. Those who dwell in the Sektet "boat go round about thee, and the Souls of the East do homage "to thee, and when they meet thy Majesty they cry: 'Come, "come in peace!' There is a shout of welcome to thee, O lord "of heaven and governor of Amentet! Thou art acknowledged "by Isis who seeth her son in thee, the lord of fear, the mighty "one of terror. Thou settest as a living being in the hidden "place. Thy father [Ta-]tunen raiseth thee up and he placeth "both his hands behind thee; thou becomest endowed with divine "attributes in [thy] members of earth; thou wakest in peace and "thou settest in Manu. Grant thou that I may become a being "honoured before Osiris, and that I may come to thee, O Rā-Tem! "I have adored thee, therefore do thou for me that which I wish. "Grant thou that I may be victorious in the presence of the "company of the gods. Thou art beautiful, O Rā, in thy western "horizon of Amentet, thou lord of Maāt, thou being who art "greatly feared, and whose attributes are majestic, O thou who art "greatly beloved by those who dwell in the Țuat! Thou shinest



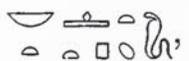
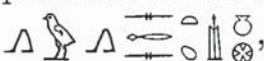
“It is Rā when at the beginning he rose in the city of Suten-  
 “henen, crowned like a king in rising. The pillars of Shu were  
 “not as yet created when he was upon the high ground of him  
 “that dwelleth in Khemennu” (i.e., Thoth). Thus it is clear that  
 the Heliopolitans made out that it was Tem who was the first  
 god to exist in primeval matter, and they consistently coupled  
 him with Harmachis, , and with  
 Kheperā, , as forms of the rising sun; on the other  
 hand, they often, with fine inconsistency, identified him with the  
 setting sun, and made the wind of evening, which gave refreshment  
 to mortals and breath to the dead, to go forth from him,

It is difficult to say definitely where the original shrine of  
 Tem was situated, but it appears to have been in the Eighth  
 Nome of Lower Egypt, (, Nefer Ābt, the Heroopolites of  
 the Greeks), at the place which is called both Thuket, , and  
 Pa-Ātemt, , and it is described as the “gate of the  
 East.” Under the form “Pithom” the sacred name of the city  
 Pa-Ātemt is familiar to all from the Bible. The site of Pa-Ātemt or  
 Pithom was long thought to be buried beneath the ruins called by the  
 Arabs Tell al-Maskhūtah,<sup>1</sup> which are situated close to the modern  
 village of Tell el-Kebīr, and the excavations made on the spot by  
 M. Naville prove that this view is correct. The inscriptions prove  
 beyond all doubt that the great god of Pithom was Tem, and from  
 the allusions which are made in them to the “Holy serpent”  
 therein, and from the fact that one part of the temple buildings was  
 called Pa-Qerhet,<sup>2</sup> , or Āst-qerhet, ,  
 that is, “the house of the snake-god Qerhet,” it is tolerably  
 certain that one of the forms under which Tem was worshipped  
 was a huge serpent. A town situated as Pithom was on the large  
 canal joining the Red Sea and the Nile, and on the highway from  
 Arabia to Heliopolis must have contained a very mixed population,  
 which would include a number of merchants and others from Western  
 Asia. These probably brought in with them a number of strange

<sup>1</sup> تل المسخوطة.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Pi-hahiroth of the Bible.

practices connected with the worship of their own gods, which having been adopted by the indigenou peoples in the district modified their worship. From a passage in the Pyramid Texts already quoted it seems that the original form of the worship of Tem was phallic in character, but if it was nothing is known about it; some scholars have regarded obelisks as phallic emblems, and have pointed to their earliest forms, in which their tops were surmounted by disks, in proof of the correctness of their view.

Attached to the god Tem were two female counterparts called respectively IUSĀASET, , and NEBT-ḤETEP, , and they formed members of the company of the gods of Heliopolis, being mentioned with Tem, lord of the two lands of Ānnu, Rā, and Ḥeru-khuti.<sup>1</sup> Iusāaset, the *Σαωσις* of Plutarch, is called the "mistress of Ānnu," and the "Eye of Rā," , and she is regarded as the mother, and wife, and daughter of Tem according to the requirements of the texts;<sup>2</sup> as the wife of Tem she is said to be the mother of Shu and Tefnut. She is depicted<sup>3</sup> in the form of a woman who holds the sceptre, , in her right hand, and "life," , in her left; on her head she wears the vulture head-dress surmounted by a uraeus, and a disk between a pair of horns. In this form she is called the "mistress of Ānnu," , and was the wife of Tem-Ḥeru-khuti. The goddess Nebt-ḥetep appears to have been nothing but a form of Iusāaset, for in the scene in which she is represented in the form of a cow she is called "mistress of the gods, Iusāaset-Nebt-ḥetep."

According to Brugsch<sup>4</sup> Tem was joined to the god Osiris under the phase Tem-Āsār, and formed with Hathor of Ānnu, or Ānt, , and Ḥeru-sma-tai, , the head of the triad of Heroopolis. As local forms of the god Tem-Rā he enumerates Khnemu in Elephantine, Khnemu-Ḥeru-shefit in Heracleopolis Magna, and Khnemu-Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭet in Mendes.

<sup>1</sup> *Great Harris Papyrus*, sheet i., line 4.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 290.



THE GODDESS ISĪSET.

KHEPERÁ  — .

The third form of Rā, the Sun-god, was KHEPERÁ KHEPER-TCHESSEF,  —   — , i.e., Kheperá the self-produced, whose type and symbol was a beetle; he is usually represented in human form with a beetle upon the head, but sometimes a beetle takes the place of the human head. In one scene figured by Lanzone he is represented seated on the ground, and from his knees projects the head of the hawk of Horus, which is surmounted by , "life."<sup>1</sup> In the section which treats of the Creation we have already translated and discussed the text which tells how the Sun-god Rā came into being under the form of Kheperá from out of the primeval watery mass of Nu, and how by means of his soul, which lived therein with him, he made a place whereon to stand, and straightway created the gods Shu and Tefnut, from whom proceeded the other gods. The worship of the beetle was, however, far older than that of Rā in Egypt, and it is pretty certain that the identification of Rā with the beetle-god is only another example of the means adopted by the priests, who grafted new religious opinions and beliefs upon old ones. The worship of the beetle, or at all events, the reverence which was paid to it, was spread over the whole country, and the ideas which were associated with it maintained their hold upon the dynastic Egyptians, and some of them appear to survive among the modern inhabitants of the Nile valley. The particular beetle which the Egyptians introduced into their mythology belongs to the family called *Scarabæidae* (Coprophagi), of which the *Scarabæus sacer* is the type. These insects compose a very numerous group of dung-feeding Lamellicorns, of which, however, the majority live in tropical countries; they are usually black, but many are adorned with bright, metallic colours. They fly during the hottest hours of the day, and it was undoubtedly this peculiarity which caused the primitive Egyptians to associate them with the sun. Thus as far back as the VIth Dynasty the dead king Pepi is said "to fly like a bird, and to alight like a

<sup>1</sup> Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 329.





THE GOD KHEPERA.

was a beetle, not only produced himself, but also begot, conceived, and brought forth two deities, one male (Shu), and the other female (Tefnut).

In the Egyptian texts Kheperà is called the "father of the gods," , and in the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 116) the deceased addresses him, saying, "Hail, Kheperà in thy boat, the "double company of the gods is thy body," but the form of the Sun-god with which he is most closely allied is that of H̄eru-khuti, or Harmachis. In the *Book of the Dead* Kheperà plays a prominent part in connection with Osiris; he is called the "creator of the gods" (Ani, 1, 2); "H̄eru-khuti-Temu-H̄eru-Kheperà" (Qenna, 2, 15), and whatever forms he takes, or has taken, the deceased claims the right to take also. Moreover, the god Kheperà becomes in a manner a type of the dead body, that is to say, he represents matter containing a living germ which is about to pass from a state of inertness into one of active life. As he was a living germ in the abyss of Nu, and made himself to emerge therefrom in the form of the rising sun, so the germ of the living soul, which existed in the dead body of man, and was to burst into a new life in a new world by means of the prayers recited during the performance of appropriate ceremonies, emerged from its old body in a new form either in the realm of Osiris or in the boat of Rā. This doctrine was symbolized by the germs of life rolled up in the egg-ball of the beetle, and the power which made those to become living creatures was that which made man's spiritual body to come into being, and was personified in the god Kheperà. Thus Kheperà symbolized the resurrection of the body, and it was this idea which was at the root of the Egyptian custom of wearing figures of the beetle, and of placing them in the tombs and on the bodies of the dead; the myriads of scarabs which have been found in all parts of Egypt testify to the universality of this custom. As to its great antiquity there is no doubt whatsoever, for the scarab was associated with burial as far back as the period of the IVth Dynasty. Thus in the Papyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus., No. 10,477, sheet 21) we are told in the Rubric that Chapter lxiv. of the *Book of the Dead* was found inscribed in letters of

real lapis-lazuli inlaid in a block "of iron of the south" under the feet of the god (i.e., Thoth), during the reign of Men-kau-Rā (Mycerinus), by the prince Ḥeru-ṭā-ṭā-f in the city of Khemennu.

At the end of the second paragraph this Chapter is ordered to be recited by a man "who is ceremonially clean and pure, who hath not eaten the flesh of animals or fish, and who hath not had intercourse with women." The text continues, "And behold, thou shalt make a scarab of green stone, with a rim of gold, and this shall be placed in the heart of a man, and it shall perform for him the 'Opening of the Mouth.' And thou shalt anoint it with *ānti* unguent, and thou shalt recite over it the following words of power." The "words of power" which follow this direction form Chapter xxxv. of the *Book of the Dead*, wherein the deceased addresses the scarab as "my heart, my mother; my heart, my mother! My heart whereby I came into being." He then prays that it will not depart from him when he stands in the presence of the "guardian" of the Balance wherein his heart is to be weighed, and that none may come forward in the judgment to oppose him, or to give false or unfavourable evidence against him, or to "make his name to stink." Curiously enough he calls the scarab "his double" (*ka*). Another Rubric makes the lxivth Chapter as old as the time of Ḥesepti (SEMṬI), the fifth king of the Ist Dynasty, and the custom of burying green basalt scarabs inside or on the breasts of the dead may well be as old as his reign. Be this as it may, scarabs were worn by the living as protective amulets, and as symbols of triumphant acquittal in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, and as emblems of the resurrection which was to be effected by the power of the god Kheperā whom they represented, and the words of power of Chapter xxxv made them to act the part of the *ka* or double for the dead on the day of the "weighing of words" before Osiris, and his officers, and his sovereign chiefs, and Thoth the scribe of the gods, and the two companies of the gods. If scarabs were placed under the coffin no fiend could harm it, and their presence in a tomb gave to it the protection of the "father of the gods."

## CHAPTER X

## THE MYTHS OF RĀ

IN the preceding pages it has been shown how among theologians and thoughtful Egyptians Rā was regarded as God, but among certain classes, that is to say magicians, and astrologers, and soothsayers, quite other views were held about his nature and attributes. It will be remembered that among such men in ancient times it was customary to prescribe as antidotes to poison and sicknesses the recital or wearing of certain magical texts; the power of such texts was thought to be very great, especially if it contained a narrative of how some god or divine being had been delivered by the power of a great being from death by poison or by a sickness caused by poison. We may note in passing that such beliefs were not confined to the Egyptians, and that we find exactly the same ideas existent in Babylonia and Assyria; this is illustrated by the following interesting extract from a Babylonian tablet recently published by Mr. R. Campbell Thompson.<sup>1</sup> The text reads:—"From Anu [came the heavens], the heavens created [the earth], the earth created the rivers, the rivers created the canals, the canals created the marshes, and the marshes created the Worm. Then came the Worm before Shamash, the Sun-god, weeping, and before Ea came up her tearful plaint, [saying], "What wilt thou give me to eat? What wilt thou give me to gnaw?" [The gods said], 'I will give thee dry bones [to eat], and the pungent *khaskkhar* wood.' [The Worm said], 'What are thy dry bones to me? Or, what is thy *khaskkhar* wood to me? Let me drink among the teeth [of men], and give me my place in [their] gums, that I may suck the blood of the teeth,

<sup>1</sup> *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, part xvii., pl. 50; and see R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vol. i., Introduction, at the end.

“ ‘and that I may tear asunder the flesh of the gums. In this wise  
 “ ‘I shall have power over the bolt of the door’ (i.e., the mouth of a  
 “ man). Therefore, O sick man, shalt thou say the following words,  
 “ ‘O Worm, may Ea smite thee with all his might.’ ” Following  
 these words come the rubrical directions which order the patient to  
 mix together a prescription compounded of beer, oil, and the juice  
 of a certain plant, and when the incantation has been recited over  
 the man with the toothache three times, the mixture is to be rubbed  
 on the tooth. In the one case the object of the narrative was to cure  
 the man who had been bitten by a venomous serpent, and in the  
 other to ease the pain in the teeth and the inflammation of the  
 gums which were supposed to be caused by a worm, a descendant  
 of the original Worm which claimed before Ea the right to make  
 teeth decay and to suck the blood of the gums.

The Egyptian texts which were written for magical purposes  
 have preserved for us some very curious and interesting myths of Rā,  
 and among these may be quoted the following story about him and  
 the goddess Isis.<sup>1</sup> The title reads:—“The Chapter of the divine  
 “ god, the self-created being, who made the heavens and the earth,  
 “ and the winds which give life, and the fire, and the gods, and men,  
 “ and beasts, and cattle, and reptiles, and the fowl of the air, and the  
 “ fish of the sea; he is the king of men and of gods, he hath but  
 “ one period to his life, and with him a double *hen* period (i.e., one  
 “ hundred and twenty years) is as a single year; his names are  
 “ manifold and unknown, the gods even know them not.” The  
 story runs:—“Now Isis was a woman who possessed words of  
 “ power; her heart was wearied with the millions of men, there-  
 “ fore she chose the millions of the gods, but she esteemed more  
 “ highly the millions of the spirits. And she meditated in her  
 “ heart, saying, ‘Cannot I by means of the sacred name of God  
 “ ‘make myself mistress of the earth and become a goddess of like  
 “ ‘rank and power to Rā in heaven and upon earth?’ And

<sup>1</sup> The hieratic text will be found in Pleyte and Rossi, *Le Papyrus de Turin*, 1869-1876; pls. 31-37, and 131-138; and a transcript into hieroglyphics with a transliteration and translation in my *First Steps in Egyptian*, 1895, pp. 241-256. A French translation by Lefébure was published in *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1883, pp. 27 ff.; and for English renderings see my *Papyrus of Ani*, 1895, p. lxxxix., and *Egyptian Magic*, p. 137.

“ behold, each day Rā entered at the head of his holy mariners  
 “ and established himself upon the throne of the two horizons;  
 “ but the divine one (i.e., Rā) had grown old, he dribbled at the  
 “ mouth, his spittle fell upon the earth, and his slobbering dropped  
 “ upon the ground. And Isis kneaded [some] thereof with earth  
 “ in her hand, and formed therewith a sacred serpent in the form  
 “ of a dart; she did not set it upright before her face, but let it  
 “ lie upon the ground in the path whereby the great god went  
 “ forth, according to his heart's desire, into his double kingdom.  
 “ Now the holy god arose, and the gods who followed him as  
 “ though he were Pharaoh went with him; and he came forth  
 “ according to his daily wont; and the sacred serpent bit him.  
 “ The flame of his life departed from him; and he who dwelt  
 “ among the cedars was overcome. The holy god opened his  
 “ mouth, and the cry of his majesty reached unto heaven; his  
 “ company of the gods said, ‘What hath happened?’ and his  
 “ gods exclaimed, ‘What is it?’ But Rā could not answer, for  
 “ his jaws trembled and all his members quaked, the poison spread  
 “ swiftly through his flesh just as Nile rusheth through all his  
 “ land. When the great god had stablished his heart, he cried  
 “ unto those who were in his train, saying, ‘Come unto me, O ye  
 “ ‘ who have come into being from my body, ye gods who have  
 “ ‘ come forth from me, make ye known unto Kheperā that a dire  
 “ ‘ calamity hath fallen upon me. My heart perceiveth it, but my  
 “ ‘ eyes see it not; my hand hath not caused it, nor do I know  
 “ ‘ who hath done this unto me. Never have I felt such pain,  
 “ ‘ neither can sickness cause more woe than this. I am a prince,  
 “ ‘ the son of a prince, the sacred essence which hath proceeded  
 “ ‘ from God. I am the great one, the son of the great one, and  
 “ ‘ my father planned my name; I have multitudes of names, and  
 “ ‘ multitudes of forms, and my being is in every god. I have  
 “ ‘ been proclaimed by the heralds Temu and Horus; and my father  
 “ ‘ and my mother uttered my name; but it hath been hidden  
 “ ‘ within me by him that begat me, who would not that the words  
 “ ‘ of power of any seer should have dominion over me. I came  
 “ ‘ forth to look upon that which I had made, I was passing through  
 “ ‘ the world which I had created, when lo! something stung me,

“ ‘but what I know not. Is it fire? Is it water? My heart is  
 “ ‘on fire, my flesh quaketh, and trembling hath seized all my  
 “ ‘limbs. Let there be brought unto me my children, the gods  
 “ ‘who possess the words of power and magical speech, and mouths  
 “ ‘which know how to utter them, and also powers which reach  
 “ ‘even unto the heaven.’

“ ‘Then the children of every god came unto him uttering  
 “ ‘cries of grief. And Isis also came, bringing with her her words of  
 “ ‘magical power, and her mouth was full of the breath of life ; for  
 “ ‘her talismans vanquish the pains of sickness, and her words make  
 “ ‘to live again the throats of those who are dead. And she spake,  
 “ ‘saying, ‘What hath come to pass, O holy Father? What hath  
 “ ‘happened? Is it that a serpent hath bitten thee, and that a  
 “ ‘thing which thou hast created hath lifted up his head against  
 “ ‘thee? Verily it shall be cast down by my effective words of  
 “ ‘power, and I will drive it away from before the sight of thy  
 “ ‘sunbeams.’ The holy god opened his mouth and said, ‘I was  
 “ ‘passing along my path, and I was going through the two  
 “ ‘regions of my lands according to my heart’s desire, to see that  
 “ ‘which I had created, when lo! I was bitten by a serpent which  
 “ ‘I saw not. Is it fire? Is it water? I am colder than water,  
 “ ‘I am hotter than fire. All my flesh sweateth, I quake, mine  
 “ ‘eye hath no strength, I cannot see the sky, and the sweat  
 “ ‘rusheth to my face even as in the time of summer.’ Then said  
 “ ‘Isis unto Rā, ‘O tell me thy name, holy Father, for whosoever  
 “ ‘shall be delivered by thy name shall live.’ And Rā said, ‘I  
 “ ‘have made the heavens and the earth, I have knit together  
 “ ‘the mountains, I have created all that is above them, I have  
 “ ‘made the water, I have made to come into being the goddess  
 “ ‘Meht-urt, and I have made the Bull of his mother, from whom  
 “ ‘spring the delights of love, I have made the heavens, I have  
 “ ‘stretched out the two horizons like a curtain, and I have placed  
 “ ‘the souls of the gods within them. I am he who, if he openeth  
 “ ‘his eyes, doth make the light, and, if he closeth them, darkness  
 “ ‘cometh into being. At his command the Nile riseth, and the  
 “ ‘gods know not his name. I have made the hours, I have  
 “ ‘created the days, I bring forward the festivals of the year, I

“ ‘ create the Nile-flood. I make the fire of life, and I provide  
 “ ‘ food in the houses. I am Kheperá in the morning, I am Rā at  
 “ ‘ noon, and I am Temu at even.’ Meanwhile the poison was not  
 “ ‘ taken away from his body, but it penetrated deeper, and the  
 “ ‘ great god could no longer walk.

“ ‘ Then said Isis unto Rā, ‘ What thou hast said is not thy  
 “ ‘ name. O tell it unto me, and the poison shall depart; for  
 “ ‘ he shall live whose name shall be revealed.’ Now the poison  
 “ ‘ burned like fire, and it was fiercer than the flame and the  
 “ ‘ furnace, and the majesty of the great god said, ‘ I consent that  
 “ ‘ Isis shall search into me, and that my name shall pass from me  
 “ ‘ into her.’ Then the god hid himself from the gods, and his  
 “ ‘ place in the Boat of Millions of Years was empty. And when  
 “ ‘ the time had arrived for the heart of Rā to come forth, Isis spake  
 “ ‘ unto her son Horus, saying, ‘ The god hath bound himself by  
 “ ‘ oath to deliver up his two Eyes (i.e., the Sun and the Moon).’  
 “ ‘ Thus was the name of the great god taken from him, and Isis,  
 “ ‘ the lady of words of magical power, said, ‘ Depart, thou poison,  
 “ ‘ go forth from Rā. O Eye of Horus, go forth from the god, and  
 “ ‘ shine outside his mouth. It is I who work, it is I who make to  
 “ ‘ fall down upon the earth the vanquished poison, for the name  
 “ ‘ of the great god hath been taken away from him. Let Rā live,  
 “ ‘ and let the poison die! Let the poison die, and let Rā live!’  
 “ ‘ These are the words of Isis, the mighty lady, the mistress of the  
 “ ‘ gods, who knew Rā by his own name.’” The above text was to  
 be recited over figures of Temu, “ the Bull of his mother,” and  
 Horus, and Isis and Horus, and there is little doubt that these  
 figures were made to represent the various scenes which took  
 place when Rā was poisoned, and when the goddess Isis succeeded  
 in taking from him his name.

Another myth of Rā of considerable interest is that which  
 describes the destruction of mankind, and tells how men scorned  
 the great Sun-god because he had become old; <sup>1</sup> the text of this,

<sup>1</sup> For the hieroglyphic text see Lefébure, *Tombeau de Seti I.*, part iv., pl. 15-18; Brugsch, *Die neue Weltordnung*, Berlin, 1881; Naville in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, iv., pp. 1 ff.; viii., pp. 412 ff.; Bergmann, *Hist. Inschrift.*, pl. 75-82; and my *First Steps in Egyptian*, pp. 218-230.

in a mutilated condition, is found inscribed upon the walls of the tombs of Seti I. and Rameses IV. at Thebes, and from it the following is clear. “ [Rā is] the god who created himself after he “ had risen in sovereignty over men, and gods, as well as over “ things, the One. And mankind was uttering words of complaint, “ saying, ‘ Behold now, his Majesty, life, strength, and health [to “ ‘ him]! hath become old, his bones are like silver, his limbs are “ ‘ like gold, and his hair is like unto real lapis-lazuli.’ Now his “ majesty heard the words which mankind spake [concerning “ him], and he said unto those who were following him, ‘ Cry out, “ ‘ and bring ye unto me mine Eye, and Shu, and Tefnut, and “ ‘ Seb, and Nut, and the fathers and the mothers who were with “ ‘ me when I was in Nu, together with my god Nu. Let him “ ‘ bring his ministers with him, and let them be brought silently, “ ‘ so that mankind may not perceive it and take to flight with “ ‘ their hearts. Come thou with them to the Great House, and “ ‘ let them declare their plans, for I will go forth from Nu unto “ ‘ the place wherein I performed creations, and let those [gods] be “ ‘ brought unto me there.’ Now the gods were on both sides of “ Rā, and they bowed down even to the ground in presence of his “ Majesty, and he spake his words in the presence of the father of “ the firstborn gods, the maker of men, and the king of those who “ have knowledge. And they spake before his Majesty, [saying], “ ‘ Speak unto us, for we are listening’; and Rā spake unto Nu, “ saying, ‘ O thou firstborn god, from whom I came into being, O “ ‘ ye gods [my] ancestors, behold ye what mankind is doing, they “ ‘ who were created by mine Eye are uttering murmurs against “ ‘ me. Give me your attention, and seek ye out a plan for me, “ ‘ and I will not slay them until ye shall say [what I am to do] “ ‘ concerning it.’

“ Then the Majesty of the god Nu, the son of Rā, spake “ [saying], ‘ Thou art the god who art greater than he that made “ ‘ thee, and who art the sovereign of those who were created by “ ‘ him, thy throne is set, and the fear of thee is great; let “ ‘ then thine Eye be upon those who have uttered blasphemies “ ‘ against thee.’ And the Majesty of Rā spake [saying], “ ‘ Behold ye how they have taken flight into the mountain!

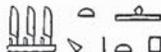
“ ‘Their hearts are afraid because of what they have said.’  
 “ ‘Then the gods spake before his Majesty, saying, ‘Make  
 “ ‘thine Eye to go forth, and let it destroy for thee those who  
 “ ‘utter evil words of blasphemy against thee. There is not an  
 “ ‘eye upon all this earth which can resist thine when it  
 “ ‘descendeth in the form of Hathor.’ And the goddess [Hathor]  
 “ ‘went forth and slew the people on the mountain, and the Majesty  
 “ ‘of this god spake, [saying], ‘Come, come in peace, Hathor, the  
 “ ‘work is accomplished.’ And the goddess said, ‘Thou livest for  
 “ ‘me. When I had gained the mastery over men it was well  
 “ ‘pleasing to my heart.’ And the Majesty of Rā spake, [saying],  
 “ ‘I will gain the mastery over them as king, and [I] will destroy  
 “ ‘them’; and it came to pass that Sekhet waded about in the  
 “ ‘night season in their blood, beginning at Suten-ḥenen (Herakleo-  
 “ ‘polis Magna). Then the Majesty of Rā spake, [saying], ‘Cry out  
 “ ‘and fetch me swift and speedy messengers who can run like the  
 “ ‘wind’; and straightway one brought these messengers. And  
 “ ‘the Majesty of this god spake, [saying], ‘Let them go to Ābu  
 “ ‘(Elephantine), and bring me mandrakes in great number’; and  
 “ ‘one brought to him these mandrakes, and the Majesty of this god  
 “ ‘gave them to Sekhet who [dwelleth] in Ānnu (Heliopolis) to  
 “ ‘crush. And behold, when the women were crushing the barley  
 “ ‘to [make] beer, he placed these mandrakes in the vessels which  
 “ ‘were to hold the beer, and some of the blood of the men [who  
 “ ‘had been slain]. Now they made seven thousand vessels of  
 “ ‘beer.

“ ‘Now when the king of the South and North, Rā, had come  
 “ ‘with the gods to look at the beer, and the daylight appeared  
 “ ‘after the goddess had slaughtered mankind in their season as she  
 “ ‘sailed up the river, the Majesty of Rā said, ‘It is doubly good,  
 “ ‘but I must protect mankind against her.’ And Rā spake,  
 “ ‘[saying], ‘Let them take up the vases and carry them to the  
 “ ‘place where men and women are being slaughtered.’ Then the  
 “ ‘Majesty of the king of the South and North, Rā, commanded  
 “ ‘them to pour out from the vessels during the [time of the]  
 “ ‘beauty of the night the beer which made [men] wish to lie down,  
 “ ‘and the regions of the four heavens were filled therewith even

“according to the Will of the Majesty of this god. Now when the goddess Sekhet came in the morning and found the regions flooded, her face beamed with joy, and she drank of the beer and blood, and her heart was glad, and she became drunk, and she took no further heed of mankind. And the Majesty of Rā spake unto this goddess, [saying] ‘Come, come in peace, O fair and gracious goddess;’ [and henceforth] there were young and beautiful women in the city of Amen.<sup>1</sup> Then the Majesty of Rā said unto this goddess, ‘There shall be prepared for thee vases of drink which shall make thee wish to sleep at every festival of the New Year, and the number thereof shall be in proportion to the number of my handmaidens;’ and from that day until this present men have been wont to make on the occasions of the festival of Hathor vases of beer which will make them sleep, in number according to the number of the handmaidens of Rā. And the Majesty of Rā spake unto this goddess, [saying], ‘Behold, the pain of the burning heat of sickness hath come upon me; whence cometh [this] pain?’ Then the Majesty of Rā said, ‘I am alone, but my heart hath become exceedingly weary of being with them (i.e., with men); I have slain [some of] them, but there is a remnant of worthless ones, and the destruction which I wrought among them was not commensurate with my power.’ And the gods who were in his train said [unto him], ‘Tarry not in thy weariness, for thy might is in proportion to thine own will.’ Then the Majesty of this god said unto the Majesty of Nu, ‘For the first time my limbs have lost their power, and I will never permit this thing to happen a second time.’”

At this point the inscription becomes much broken, and it is difficult to make out the general meaning which is to be attached

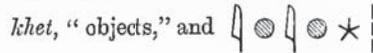
<sup>1</sup> Here there is a pun on the appellation of the goddess *Amit* , and on the name of the city Amen, , i.e., the capital of the nome, , Ament, where the goddess Hathor was worshipped. The city is also called , and the “city of Apis.”

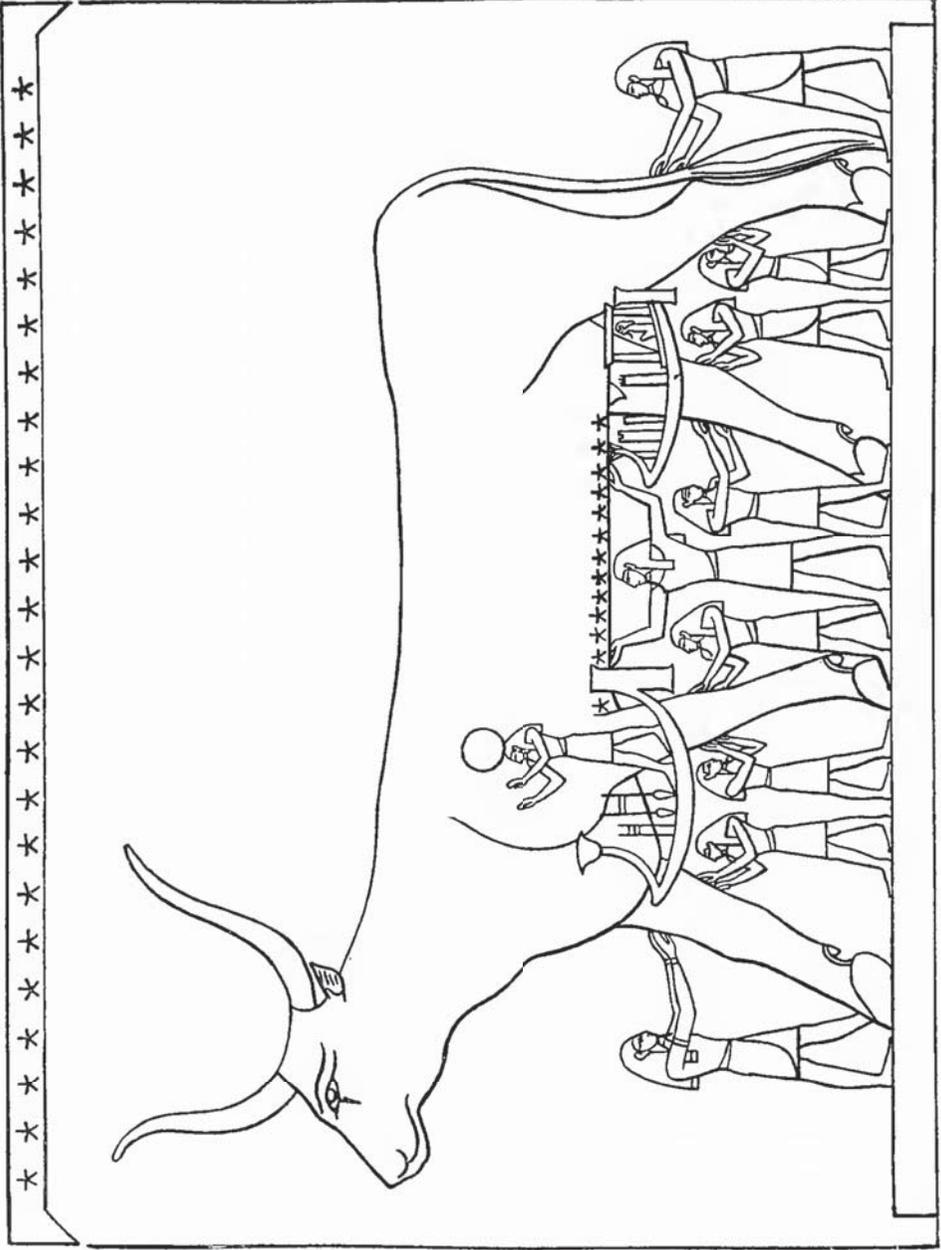
to the scattered words; according to the late Dr. Brugsch,<sup>1</sup> the myth ends somewhat as follows:—When Rā had described his weariness to Nu, this god commanded Shu to perform the work of Rā and to take the place of his Eye, and directed the sky goddess Nut to help Rā. Nut asked Nu how this was to be done, and he told her to take Rā upon her back; thereupon Nut took the form of a cow, and Rā seated himself upon her back. In due course mankind saw Rā on the back of Nut, and they were filled with remorse at their former behaviour towards him, and they wished to see slain his enemies who had blasphemed him, but his Majesty did not tarry, and he went on into the temple. On the following day as soon as the morning had come, men went forth armed with bows and spears in order to do battle with the enemies of Rā, and as soon as the god saw this he said to them, “Your sins are “forgiven you, for the sacrificial slaughters which ye have made “have done away with the murders [which mine enemies have “committed].” Then Rā raised himself from the back of the goddess Nut into the sky, where he made for himself a kingdom in which all people were to be assembled. Finally he ordered a Field to come into being,  *hetep sekhet*, and straightway the Field of Hetep (“Peace”),  *Sekhet-hetep*,<sup>2</sup> came into being, and the Majesty of the god said, “I will plant “( *áarat-á*, literally, I will make to grow) “green herbs therein,” and straightway there came into being *Sekhet-áaru*,<sup>3</sup>  “and I will plenish “it with objects which sparkle,<sup>4</sup> that is to say with stars.” Thereupon the goddess Nut quaked in all her members, and Rā declared that he would make supports to come into existence to strengthen her, and straightway supports appeared. Rā next

<sup>1</sup> *Die Neue Weltordnung nach Vernichtung des sündigen Menschengeschlechtes*, von H. Brugsch, Berlin, 1881, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Note the jingle in the words *sekhet* and *hetep*.

<sup>3</sup> Note the play on the verbal *áarat-á* and the noun *áaru*.

<sup>4</sup> Note the jingle in  *khet*, “objects,” and  “things which sparkle.”



The Cow-goddess Nut.

ordered his son Shu to place himself beneath the goddess Nut, who was trembling, in such a way as to support her body, and he ordered him to take heed to the supports, or pillars, whereon the goddess rested, and to protect them, and to keep Nut stayed upon his head.

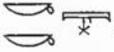
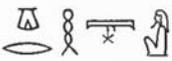
Near this place in the text we have a representation of the great cow-goddess Nut, i.e., the heavens and the sky (see opposite). Along the belly of the cow, which is emblematic of the sky, and is supported by the god Shu, are thirteen stars, and immediately below are the two boats of the Sun-god. In the Mātet boat stands a figure of Rā as god of the day, with a disk upon his head, and in the Sektet boat we see the god seated in a shrine; the former boat is between the fore-legs of the cow of Nut, and the latter by her udders. Each leg of the cow is supported by two gods, one in front and one behind, and each god who is with the cow has a special name, which is duly set forth in the text which runs in vertical columns on each side of the scene.<sup>1</sup>

When the narrative recommences (line 56) we are told that the Majesty of the god Rā commanded Thoth to give the order that the god Seb, or Sab,   (whom Brugsch calls "Keb"), should come into his presence forthwith, and when he had done so, and Seb had appeared before him, Rā told him that strife had arisen by reason of the worms (or snakes),   , which were in his (i.e., Seb's) territory, and, he added, "May they fear me as long as I am alive." Rā also told him to find out what their plans were, and then to go to the place wherein was his father Nu, and to warn him to be careful about what was on the earth and in the water. The text which immediately follows is full of difficulty, but its general meaning seems to be that Rā expects Seb to keep watch on the serpents in the earth, and that although he is about to betake himself to the uppermost regions of heaven his light will find them in their holes, and will watch them. Moreover, Rā promises that he will give the men who have knowledge of words of power,                  , dominion over them, and that he

<sup>1</sup> See Lefébure, *Tombeau de Seti I.*, part iv., pl. 16, ll. 47 ff.

will furnish them with spells and charms which shall draw them from their holes. After these things the Majesty of the god Rā ordered that Thoth should come into his presence speedily, and when he had arrived he said to him, "Come, let us depart " from heaven, and from my place, because I am about to create " a thing of light (), of the god of light (), " in the T̄uat (), and in the Land of Babat (). " And there thou shalt write down for punishment among the " dwellers therein those who have committed deeds of rebellion, " and those whom my heart hateth. And thou shalt be in my " place ( *ast*), and thou shalt be called Āsti (), " that is to say, the deputy of Rā. And it shall be permitted to " thee to send for thy messenger ( *hab*), and at " these words the ibis ( *habi*), which is the envoy " of Thoth, came into being." Rā next tells Thoth that he will give him the power to lift up his hand before the great companies of the gods, , and makes a play on the words *khen* , and *Tekhni* , a bird sacred to Thoth; he also promises to make Thoth to embrace *ānh*, the two heavens with his beauties, and straightway the Moon, , came into being. Thoth is to drive back, *ān*, the H̄a-nebu, , and straightway the Ape, *ānān*, of the god came into being; and finally Thoth is to be wholly the representative of Rā upon earth.

From the observations which follow the words of Rā we can see how holy these words were considered to be. Any one who wished to repeat them must anoint his face with oil, and rub his hands and the places behind his ears with incense, and cleanse his mouth with natron, and wash his new apparel in Nile water, and put on white sandals, and lay a figure of Maāt upon his tongue; and he must cleanse himself with a sevenfold cleansing each day for three whole days. Finally, the king (Seti I.) for

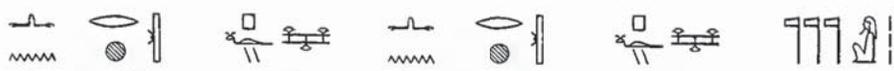
whom these texts were written declares that his soul is the soul of Shu, and [Khnemu], and Neheh, , and Kek, , and Kerh, , and Nu, and Rā, and Āsar-Ba-Ṭetṭet, and the souls of the Sebāk gods, , and of the Crocodiles, and the soul of every god in the form of a serpent, , and the soul of Āpep, and of Rā in all the earth.

## CHAPTER XI

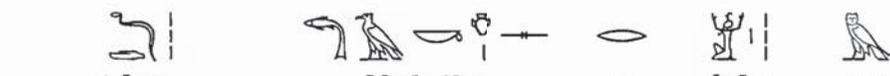
## THE LEGEND OF RĀ AND ISIS

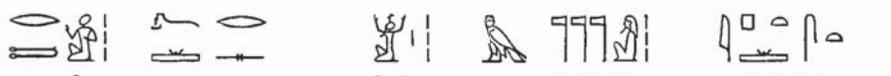
HIEROGLYPHIC TEXT WITH TRANSLITERATION AND  
TRANSLATION

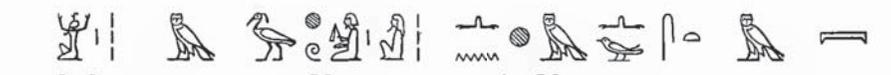
								
<i>Re</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>neter</i>	<i>neterti</i>	<i>kheperu</i>	<i>tchesef</i>	<i>ari</i>		
Chapter	of	the god	divine (?)	self-produced,	the maker			
								
<i>pet</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>māu</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ānkh</i>	<i>lchet</i>			
of heaven,	[and] earth,	[and] the breath	of	life,	of fire,			
								
<i>neteru</i>	<i>reth</i>	<i>āut</i>	<i>menmen</i>	<i>tchetfet</i>				
of gods,	of men,	of beasts,	of cattle,	of reptiles and creeping things,				
								
<i>apt</i>	<i>remu</i>	<i>suten</i>	<i>reth</i>	<i>neteru</i>	<i>em</i>			
of the fowl of the air,	[and] of fishes,	the king	of men [and]	of gods, in				
								
<i>kher</i>	<i>uā</i>	<i>henti</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>renput</i>	<i>āsh</i>	<i>renu</i>		
form	one, [to whom]	periods [are]	as	years, of many	names,			
		of 120 years						


  
*ân*    *rekh*    *pefi*    *ân*    *rekh*    *pefi*    *neteru*
  
 not known is that [god], not known is that [god to] the gods.


  
*âstu*    *Ast*    *em*    *set*    *saa*    *en*
  
 Behold, Isis was in the a woman [who was] skilled in


  
*tchetu*    *khak-âb-s*    *er*    *hehu*    *em*
  
 words (i.e., matters). Her heart rebelled at the millions of


  
*reth*    *setep eres*    *hehu*    *em*    *neteru*    *âpt-set*
  
 men, she chose rather the millions of the gods, and she esteemed


  
*hehu*    *em*    *khu*    *ân khem set*    *em*    *pet*
  
 the millions of the spirits "Could she not be in heaven

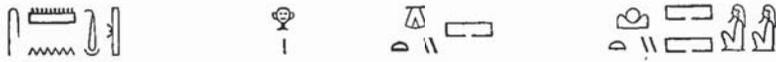

  
*ta*    *mâ*    *Râ*    *âri*    *kert*    *ta*
  
 [and] earth like Râ [and] make herself mistress of the earth


  
*nertert*    *ka-set*    *em*    *âb-set*    *er*    *rekh*
  
 and a goddess," she meditated in her heart, "by knowing


  
*ren*    *neter*    *shepsi*
  
 the name of the god holy?"


  
*āstu      āq en      Rā      hru neb      em hāt      get - [f]*

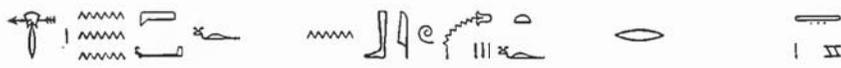
Behold, came in Rā every day in front of [his] sailors,


  
*smen-thā      her      nest      khuti*

and was established upon the throne of the two horizons.


  
*āaut      netri      ennu - nef re - f*

Had become old the divine one, he dribbled at his mouth,


  
*sat - f      nebaut - f      er      ta*

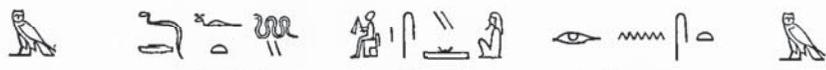
he poured out his exudations upon the ground,


  
*pek as en su      sekher      her      sat      sek-nes Ast*

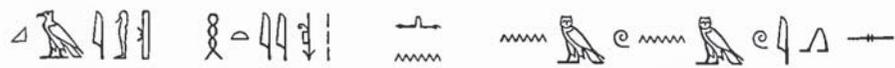
and his spittle fell upon the earth. Isis she kneaded [it]


  
*em      tet-set      henā ta      unenet      her-set      get-nes-set*

in her hand with earth which was on it, she fashioned it


  
*em      tchetfeti      shepsi      āri en set      em*

in the form of a serpent sacred, [and] she made [it] in


  
*qaā      heti      ān      nemunemuā-s*

the form of a dart. Not did it move along

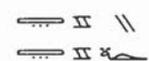




  
*ānkh-thā*      *er kheft-set*      *khaā-set*      *ḥamu*      *ḥer*  
 alive      before her,      [and] she left [it]      lying      on



  
*uat*      *āpep neter āa ḥer-s*      *er āba - f*  
 the path whereon journeyed the great god according to his desire


  
*em khet*      *tauī - f*  
 through his two lands.

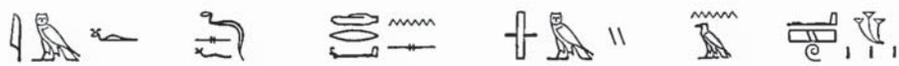


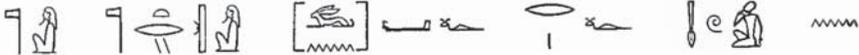
  
*neter shepsi khā - f*      *er ḥa*      *neteru*  
 The god holy rose up, behind the gods

  
*em Aa-perti ānkh utcha senb em khet - f*  
 in the great double house, life, strength, health! [were] following him,

  
*seftseft - f mā hru neb unkhū-set em*  
 [and] he marched on as [he did] every day [when] bit [him]

  
*tchetfeti shepsi khet ānkhēt per-thā*  
 the serpent sacred; the fire of life was coming out

  
*ām - f tcheseḥ ter-nes āmi na āshu*  
 from him himself, it destroyed the dweller in the cedars.

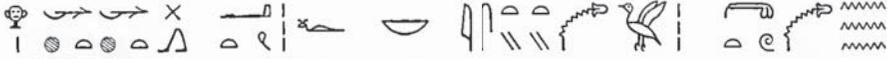
  
*neter*      *netri*      [*un*] - *f*      *re* - *f*      *kheru*      *en*  
 The god      divine      he opened      his mouth,      the voice      of

  
*hen* - *f*      *ā. u. s.*      *peḥ*-*nef*      *er*      *pet*      *Paut*  
 his Majesty      L. S. H. !      reached      unto      heaven.      The company

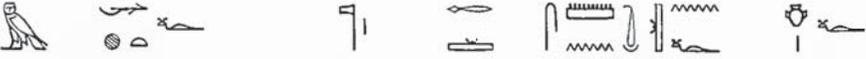
  
*neteru*      *tuf*      *her*      *mā pu-u*      *neteru* - *f*  
 of the gods      was      for [saying],      "What is it?"      His gods [were]

  
*her*      *petrā-u*      *an*      *gem* - *f*  
 for [saying]      "What is the matter?"      Not      found he

  
*mettu*      *er*      *ushebt*      *her* - *f*      *arti-fi*  
 words      to      answer      about it.      His two jaws

  
*her khetkhet*      *āt* - *f*      *neb*      *astiti*      *metu*  
 rattled,      his limbs      all      trembled,      the poison

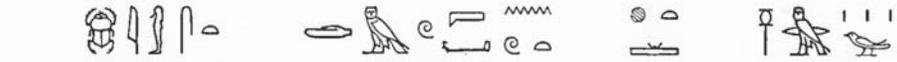
  
*thetet-nef*      *em aūfi*      *mā*      *thetet*      *Hāp*  
 took possession      of his body      as taketh possession      the Nile

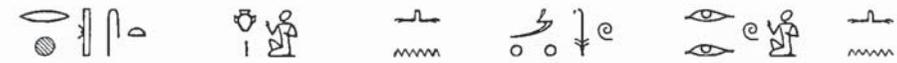
  
*em khet* - *f*      *neter*      *āu*      *smen-nef*      *ab* - *f*  
 of his river bed.      The god      great      stablished      his heart,


  
 [nās] - f er āmiu khet - f māi-ten nā
   
 he [cried] out to those in his train :— “Come to me,

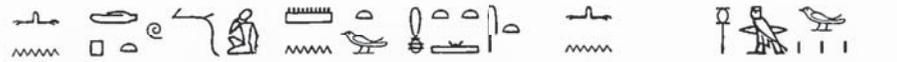

  
 khepert em hāt-ā neteru
   
 O ye who have come into being from my members, [ye] gods


  
 peru em-ā tāt rekhten
   
 who have proceeded from me, and I will make you to know


  
 kheperā-set temu-entu khet meru
   
 what hath happened : I am wounded by something deadly,


  
 rekhten āb-ā ān maa su maa-ā ān
   
 knoweth it my heart. Not have seen it my eyes, not


  
 āri set tet-ā ān rekhten em āri-nā nebt
   
 made it my hand, not know [I] it who hath done [this] to me
   
 anyone,


  
 ān teptu-ā ment mātet-set ān meru
   
 not have I tasted pain like it, never was deadly [anything]


  
 er-s ānuk ser sa ser
   
 more than it. I am a prince, the son of a prince,

*mu*

the divine issue

*kheperu*

produced

*em*

by a god.

*neter**anuk*

I am

*ur*

a great one,

*sa*

the son of a great one,

*ur**maut*

thought out

*en**atef-ā*

my father

*ren-ā*

my name.

*anuk*

I am

*āshu*

of many

*rennu*

names,

*āshi*

of many

*kheperu*

forms (or, existences)

*āu*

is

*kheperā-ā*

my form (or existence)

*unu*

living

*em*

in god

*neter*

every.

*neb**nās-ā-tu*

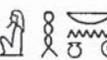
I have proclaimed

*Temu*

Temu and

*Heru*

Heru

*hekennu*

Hekennu.

*āu*

Have uttered

*atef-ā*

my father

*mut-ā*

and my mother

*ren-ā*

my name,

*āmen-set*

hidden was it

*em*

in

*khat-ā*

my body

*er*

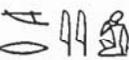
by

*mes-ā*

my begetter

*en*

who wished

*meri**tem*

not

*ertāt kheperu*

to let have

*pehti*

power

*hekau-ā*

him who would enchant me

*en*

by

*hekai*

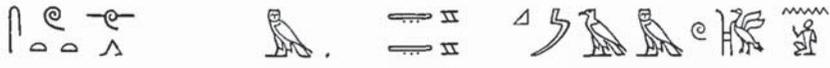
enchancements

*er-ā*

over me.


  
*peru-k*      *er*      *ha*      *er*      *maa ari-nā*

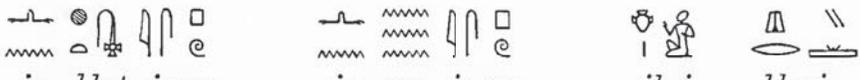
I had come forth from the abode to see what I had made


  
*sutet*      *em*      *taxi*      *gemamu-nā*

[and] was being led through the lands [which] I had created,


  
*em*      *tchetem*      *kher-ā*      *an*      *rekh-ā*      *su*

when [something] aimed a blow at me [and] I know not what it is.


  
*an khet as pu*      *an mu is pu*      *ab-ā*      *kheri*

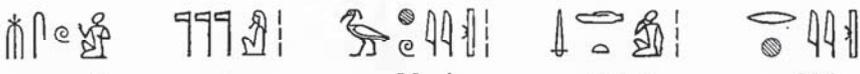
Behold it is not fire, behold it is not water. My heart contains


  
*[khet]u*      *hāt-ā*      *āstiti*      *āt-[ā]*      *kheri*

fire, my limbs [are] trembling, [my] members contain


  
*mesu*      *hesiu*      *ammā*      *antu-nā*

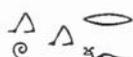
the children of quakings. I pray you let be brought to me


  
*mesu-ā*      *neteru*      *khui*      *metet*      *rekhi*

my children, the gods mighty of words, skilful


  
*re-sen*      *sart-sen*      *peh-sen*      *her*

with their mouths, their powers, they reach to heaven.

*iu-eref*

Came to him

*mesu*

[his] children,

*neter*

god

*neb*

every

*ām*

there

*kheri*

with

*ākebu-nef*

his cries of weeping.

*iu en Ast*

Came Isis

*kheri*

with

*khet-set*

her power

*āst re-set*

and her skilled mouth,

*em*

with

*nifu*

the breath of

*en*

of

*ānkh*

life,

*thes-set*

her incantations

*her ter ment*

destroy diseases,

*mettu-set*

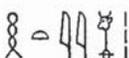
her word

*sānkh*

maketh to live

*ka*

stinking

*heti*

throats

(i.e., throats of the dead).

*tchet-set*

She said,

*mā pu-u*

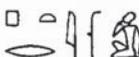
What is this,

*ātef*

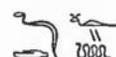
O father

*neter*

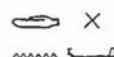
god?

*petrā*

What is it?

*tchetfi*

A snake

*ten*

hath shot sickness

*mennu*

into thee.

*ām-k*

A thing

*uā*

made by thee

*mes-k**fa*

hath lifted up

*tef-f*

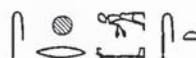
its head

*erek*

against thee.

*ka*

Verily

*sekher-set*

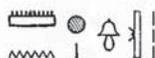
it shall be overthrown

*em*

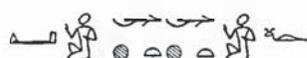
by

*hekaiu*

words of power

*menkhiu*

beneficent,

*tā-ā khetkhet-f*

I will make it to depart

*er*

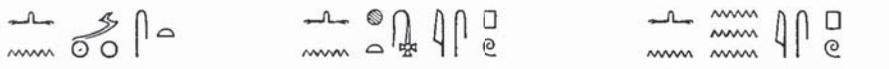
from


  
*maa*      *sati-k*      *neter*      *tcheseri*      *āpu-nef*      *re-f*
  
 the sight   of thy rays.   The god   holy   opened   his mouth:


  
*ānuk*   *pu*   *shemi*      *her*      *uat*      *sutut*      *em*
  
 I   was passing   over   the way   going   through

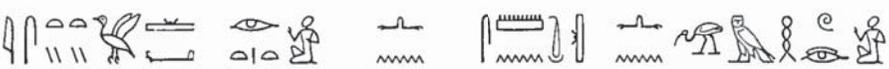

  
*tavi*      *set-ā*      *āba*      *en*      *āb-ā*      *er*      *maa*
  
 the two lands   of my country,   wished my heart to   see


  
*gemamu-nā*      *khu'en-nā*      *em*      *tchetfi*
  
 what I had created   [when] I was bitten   by   a snake

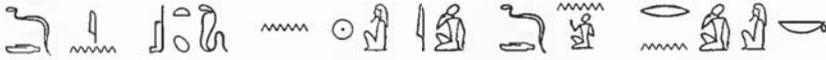

  
*ān*   *maa set*      *ān*   *khet*   *ās pu*      *ān*   *mu*   *ās pu*
  
 invisible.   Behold it is not fire,   behold it is not water.


  
*qebbh-kuā*      *er*      *mu*      *shemem-kuā*      *er*
  
 I am colder   than water,   I am hotter   than


  
*seshet*      *hāt-ā*      *neb*      *er*      *kheri*      *fetet*      *tuā*
  
 fire,   my limbs   all   are full of   sweat,   I


  
*āstīti*      *maat-ā*      *ān*      *smen*      *ān*      *gemhu-ā*
  
 tremble,   my eye is without stability,   I cannot see


  
*pet hu mu her hra-i em shemu*
  
 the heavens, bursteth out water on my face [as] in summer.


  
*tchet an Ast en Ra a tchet-na ren-k*
  
 Said Isis to Rā, O tell me thy name,


  
*atef neter ankh sa temu-tu her*
  
 father god; liveth the person who hath declared


  
*ren - f anuk ari pet ta*
  
 his name. [Said Rā] I am the maker of heaven [and] earth,


  
*thes tuu gemamu unnet*
  
 the knitter together of the mountains, the creator of what exists


  
*her - f nuk ari mu khepertu*
  
 upon it. I am the maker of the water making to exist


  
*Meht-ur ari ka en mut - f kheperu*
  
 Meht-ur, acting [as] bull of his mother, the creator


  
*netchem netchemiu nuk ari pet sesheta*
  
 of the joys of love. I am the maker of heaven and have covered over

  
*khuti tā-ā ba nu neteru em-khennu-set*

the two horizons, I have set the soul of the gods within them

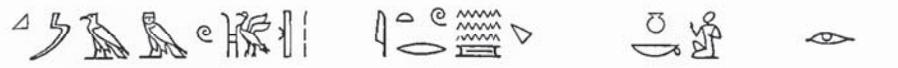
  
*ānuk un maati-f kheperu hetsetchtu*  
 I am he who openeth his eyes, becometh the light;

  
*ākhennu maati-f kheperu kekui hu nu*  
 shutteth [he] his eyes, becometh the dark. Riseth the flood

  
*Hāp kheft utu-nef ān*  
 of Hāp (Nile) when he giveth the command, not

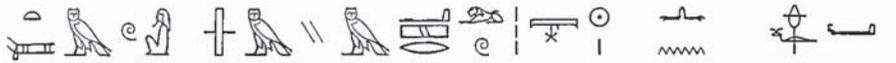
  
*rekh en neteru ren - f nuk āri unnu*  
 know the gods his name. I am the maker of hours,

  
*kheperu hru nuk āpu hebu renpit*  
 the creator of days, I am the opener of the festivals of the year,

  
*gemamu ātru nuk āri*  
 the creator of streams of water. I am the maker

  
*khet ānket er sekheperu kat en amu*  
 of flame of life making to be performed works in the houses.


  
*nuk*      *Kheperā*      *em*      *tuauu*      *Rā*      *em*      *āḥāu-f*
  
 I am      Kheperā      in the morning,      Rā      in      his noontide,


  
*Temu*      *āmi*      *māsheru*      *ān*      *khesef*
  
 Temu      in the evening.      [But] not      was driven


  
*met*      *em*      *shemí-set*      *ān*      *netchem*      *neter āa*
  
 the poison      out of      its course,      not      was relieved      the great god.


  
*tchet ān*      *Ast*      *en*      *Rā*      *ān*      *ren-k*      *āpu*
  
 Said      Isis      to      Rā :—Thy name is not enumerated


  
*em*      *na*      *tchetu-k-nā*      *ā*      *tchet-k*      *set*      *nā*
  
 among the things which thou hast      O      tell thou      it to me,

said to me ;


  
*peri*      *ta*      *metu*      *ānkh*      *sa*
  
 and shall come out      the      poison.      Shall live      a person


  
*temu-tu*      *ren-f*      *metu*      *tchetemu-set*
  
 having uttered      his name.      The poison      it burned


  
*em*      *tchetemu*      *sekhemu-nes*      *er*      *nebāu*      *en*
  
 with      burnings,      it was stronger      than      the flame      of





*shept metu per em Rā maat Heru*  
Run out, poison, come forth from Rā, Eye of Horus,



*peri em neter nubāu en re - f*  
come forth from the god, and shine without his mouth.



*nuk āri-ā nuk hau er māāi her ta*  
I, I have worked, I make to fall down upon the ground



*er metu sekhemu māki uthes en neter*  
the poison which is defeated, verily was removed from the god



*āa ren - f Rā ānkh - f met mit*  
great his name. Rā may he live, the poison may it die



*thes rer men mes en ment*  
and conversely. A certain one, the son of a certain woman,



*ānkh - f metu mit tchet en Ast ur*  
may he live, the poison may it die. [Thus] said Isis, great lady,



*hent neteru rekh Rā em ren - f tcheseḥ*  
mistress of the gods, who knew Rā by his name his own.


  
*tchet her tut en Temu henā Heru-hekennu*
  
 Tobesaid over an image of Temu and Heru-hekennu,


  
*erpit Ast nut Heru*
  
 and [over] a figure of Isis, and an image of Horus.

## CHAPTER XII

## THE DESTRUCTION OF MANKIND

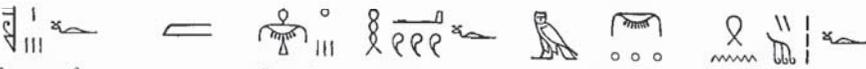
## EGYPTIAN TEXT WITH TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION


  
 . . . . . *neter*      *kheper*      *tchese*      *em-khet*      *un-nef*      *em*
  
 . . . . . god, who created himself. After he was in


  
*sutenit*      *reth*      *neteru*      *em khet*
  
 the sovereignty      of men,      and of gods,      and of creation,


  
*Uäti*      *un*      *än*      *reth*      *her*      *kat*      *metet*
  
 the One,      men and women were blaspheming      and saying,


  
*ästu*      *eref*      *hen*      *änh*      *ntcha*      *senb*      *äauu*
  
 Behold, his majesty, life, strength, health, has grown old,


  
*kesu-f*      *em*      *hetch*      *häu-f*      *em*      *nub*      *sheni-f*
  
 his bones are like silver, his limbs like gold, his hair


  
*em*      *khesbet*      *maät*      *un*      *än*      *hen-f*      *her setem*
  
 is like lapis-lazuli real ;      was his majesty listening to

me tet an   
 reth   
 tchet an   
 hen-f   
 an kh utcha   
 senb  
 what said    mankind.    Said    his majesty, life, strength, health,

er enti   
 emkhetti-f   
 nas   
 mā-nā   
 er maat-ā  
 to    those    who were in his train.    Call, bring me    my Eye,

er Shu   
 Tefnut   
 Seb   
 Nut   
 henā   
 ātefru   
 mut  
 and Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, and the father and mother gods

uneniu   
 henā-ā   
 āstu-ā   
 em   
 Nu   
 henā   
 kher  
 who lived    with me    when behold I was in    Nu, together with

neter-ā   
 Nu   
 an-nef   
 shenthi - f   
 henā - f  
 my god    Nu.    Let him bring    his ministers    with him.

an-nek   
 set   
 em   
 ketket   
 ām   
 maa  
 Bring thou    them    in    silence,    that not    may see

reth   
 ām   
 uār   
 āb-sen   
 i-k  
 mankind,    not    may flee    their hearts.    Come thou

henā-sen   
 er   
 het-āat   
 tchet-sen   
 sekheru-sen  
 with them    into the great temple, let them declare    their counsel








  
*neteru*    *tep-āu*                      *mā-ten*                      *reth*                      *kheperu*

and ye ancestor gods, take ye heed to mankind who came into being



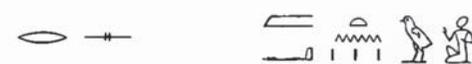




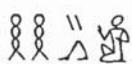
  
*em*    *maat-ā*                      *ka-en-sen*                      *metet*                      *er-ā*                      *tchet-nā*

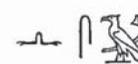
from my eye, they speak words against me. Tell me




  
*ārit-ten*                      *er-s*                      *mā-ten-uā*

[what] ye would do about it, take ye heed to it for me,

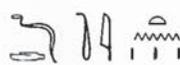






  
*hehi-ā*                      *ān*                      *sma-nā*                      *set*                      *er*                      *setemu-ā*

seek out a plan for me. Not will I slay them until I hear

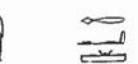





  
*tchet-thā ten*                      *er-s*                      *tchet ān hen*                      *en*                      *Nu*

what ye say concerning it. Said the majesty of Nu,




  
*sa*                      *Rā*                      *neter*                      *āa*                      *er*                      *āri su*

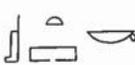
the son of Rā:— God greater than he who made him,





  
*ur*                      *er*                      *gema[m]-iu-su*                      *hems*

mightier than those who were created with him, sit on







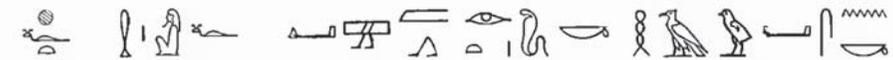
  
*āst-k*                      *ur*                      *sent-k*                      *āu*                      *maat-k*                      *er*

thy throne, great is the fear of thee, let thine Eye be upon


  
*uaiu*                      *am-k*                      *tchet an hen*                      *en*                      *Rā*
  
 those who blaspheme thee.                      Said the majesty                      of                      *Rā* :—


  
*mā-ten*                      *set*                      *uār*                      *er*                      *set*                      *āb-sen*
  
 Behold ye                      them                      fleeing                      into                      the mountain,                      their hearts


  
*senfu*                      *her*                      *tchet en sen*                      *tchet an-sen*
  
 are afraid                      because of                      what they have said.                      They said

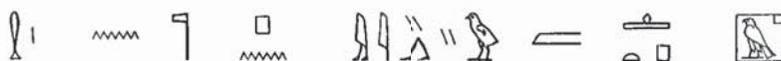

  
*kheft*                      *hen-f*                      *tā shem*                      *maat-k*                      *hau-s-nek*
  
 before his majesty :—                      Let go forth                      thine Eye, let it destroy for thee


  
*set*                      *uaiu*                      *em*                      *tu*                      *an maat*
  
 those                      who blaspheme                      with                      wickedness,                      not an eye


  
*khenti am-s*                      *er*                      *hu . . . .-k*                      *set*                      *ha-s*
  
 can precede it                      in                      resistance . . . . . [when] it goeth down


  
*em*                      *Het-Hert*                      *iu an*                      *eref*                      *netert*                      *ten*
  
 in the form of                      Hathor.                      Went forth                      then                      goddess                      this,


  
*smam-nes*                      *reth*                      *her*                      *set*                      *tchet an*
  
 she slew                      mankind                      on                      the mountain.                      Said

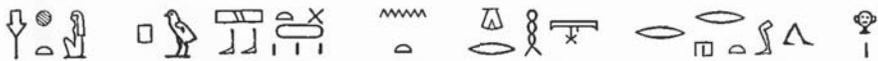

  
*hen en neter pen iai-ui em hetep Het-Hert*
  
 the majesty of this god:— Come, come in peace, Hathor,

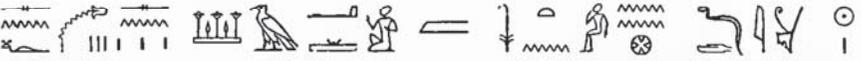

  
*arit en arit tchet an netert ten ankh-k na*
  
 for the deed is done. Said this goddess:—Thou gavest me life,

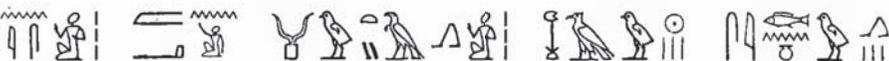

  
*au sekhem-na em reth au netchem her*
  
 when I had power over mankind it was pleasing to


  
*ab-a tchet an hen en Rā au-a er sekhem*
  
 my heart. Said the majesty of Rā:— I will be master


  
*em sen em suten em san-tu-set kheper*
  
 over them as king destroying them. It came to pass that


  
*Sekhet pu shebet ent kerh er rehet her*
  
 Sekhet of the offerings of the night waded about in


  
*senf-sen shaā em Suten-henen tchet an Rā*
  
 their blood beginning in Suten-henen. Said Rā:—


  
*nās mā-nā āputi khau sāmmu*
  
 Call, bring to me messengers swift [and] speedy,

sekhsēkh-sen     
 
 shut     
 
 en     
 
 khat  
 they shall run      [like] the wind      of      the body ;

an     
 
 an-tu     
 
 enen     
 
 aputi     
 
 apen     
 
 her     
 
 āui  
 one brought      messengers      these      straightway.

tchet     
 
 an     
 
 hen     
 
 en     
 
 neter pen     
 
 sha-sen     
 
 er  
 Said      the majesty      of      this god :—      Let them go      to

Abu     
 
 an     
 
 na     
 
 tātāt     
 
 er     
 
 ur  
 Elephantine      [and] bring      me      mandrakes      in great number.

an     
 
 an-tu     
 
 nef     
 
 enen     
 
 tātāt     
 
 ertāt an     
 
 hen  
 One brought      to him      these      mandrakes,      gave      the majesty

en     
 
 neter pen     
 
 Sektet     
 
 enti     
 
 em     
 
 Annu     
 
 her     
 
 netch  
 of      this god      to Sektet      who is      in Heliopolis      to      crush

tātāt     
 
 apen     
 
 astu     
 
 kher     
 
 hent     
 
 her     
 
 tesh  
 mandrakes      these.      Behold, when      the women      were bruising

pertu     
 
 er     
 
 heqt     
 
 ertā an-tu     
 
 tātāt     
 
 apen  
 the barley      for      beer,      and they were placing      mandrakes      these



*her shebebet*

in the beer vessels,



*ten senf*

[they became] blood



*en*

*reth*

of men.



*arit-an-tu*

Having been made



*heqt*

*arnet*

of beer

vessels



7000

seven thousand,



*iu an*

came



*eref*

therefore



*hen*

the majesty

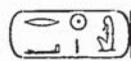


*en*

of the king of the South  
and North



*suten bat*



*Rā*

Rā



*henā*

with



*neteru*

gods



*āpen*

these



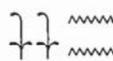
*er*

to



*maa*

see



*enen*

this



*heqt*

beer.



*āstu*

Behold,



*hetch ta*

when it was dawn,



*en*

after had slaughtered



*smama*



*reth*

men



*ān*

the

goddess



*netert*

during



*em*

their period

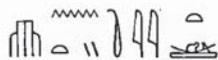


*sesu-sen*

of sailing up the river,



*nu*



*khentithit*



*metch ān*

said



*hen*

the majesty



*en*

of



*Rā*

—



*neferui set*

It is good, it is good.



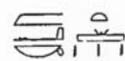
*āu-ā*

I am



*er*

for



*māket*

protecting



*reth*

mankind against her.



*her-s*



*tchet ān*

Said

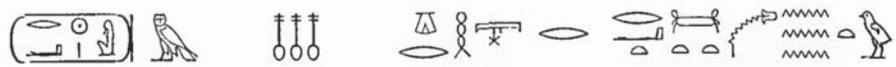


*Rā*

—

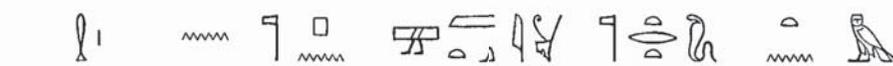

  
*fai mā set er bua nes sma*  
 Let them carry and bring them to the place she slew

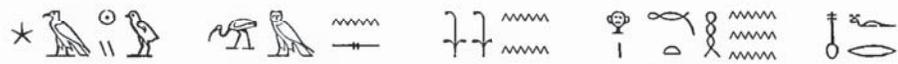

  
*reth ām hep ān hen en suten bāt*  
 mankind therein. Commanded the majesty of the king of the South and North


  
*Rā em neferu kerē er erāt satet-tu*  
 Rā during the beauties of the night to cause to be poured out


  
*enen setchert un ān aḥet enti*  
 these vases of sleep-causing beer, were the fields of

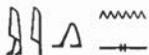

  
*pet ftu her meḥ em nu em bain en*  
 heaven the four filled with water by the Will of


  
*hen en neter pen shemt ān netert ten em*  
 the majesty of this god. Came goddess this in  
 (i.e., Sekhet)


  
*tuairu gem-nes enen her meḥt nefer*  
 morning, found she this [heaven] flooded, joyful


  
*ān hrā-set ām un ān set her surā*  
 was her face because of it, was she drinking,




  
*nefer*      *her ab-set*      *i-nes*      *tekh-tha*

merry was her heart, she came to a condition of drunkenness,







  
*an*      *sa-nes*      *reth*      *tchet an*      *hen*      *en*      *Ra*  
 not      knew she      mankind.      Said the majesty of      *Ra*



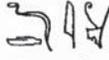




  
*en*      *netert*      *ten*      *it-wi*      *em*      *hetep*      *Amit*  
 to      goddess this:— Come, come in peace, O Beautiful one;





  
*kheper*      *nefert*      *em*      *Am*      *tchet an*  
 and there became beautiful young women in Am. Said









  
*hen*      *en*      *Ra*      *en*      *netert*      *ten*      *ari*      *en*      *set*  
 the majesty of *Ra* to goddess this:— Let be made for her





  
*setchertet*      *em*      *traiu*      *renpet*      *apen*  
 vases of sleep-causing beer at seasons of the year these;





  
*set*      *er*      *hent-a*      *kheper*      *arit*  
 they [shall be] in proportion to my handmaidens. There were made




  
*setchert*      *pu em*      *apt*      *hent*  
 vases of sleep-causing beer according to the number of the handmaidens


  
*heb en Het-hert an reth neb tcher hru*
  
 of the festival of Hathor by mankind all since the day


  
*tēpi tchet an hen en Rā en netert ten*
  
 first. Said the majesty of Rā to goddess this:—


  
*an au mer en hel en mer kheper*
  
 Behold a pain of fire of sickness hath come [on me],


  
*kher tra-ui an mer tchet an hen en*
  
 whence, O whence is the pain? Said the majesty of


  
*Rā ankh-nā au ab-i urtu ur unen*
  
 Rā:— I live, [but] my heart is very weary of being

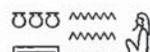
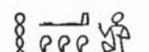

  
*henā-sen smam-ā set sep en*
  
 with them. I slew them, [but] there remain of


  
*āti an un ānt ārtu*
  
 the worthless, for not was the destruction as wide-spreading


  
*ā-ā tchetet en neteru enti am- khet-f*
  
 [as] my power. Said the gods who were in his train:—

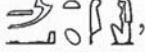
				
<i>em beh</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>urt-k</i>	<i>au-k</i>	<i>sekhem-tha</i>
Tarry not	in	thy weariness	[for] thou art	mighty

					
<i>em</i>	<i>merret-k</i>	<i>tchet an</i>	<i>hen</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>neter pen</i>
according to	thy will.	Said	the majesty	of	this god

						
<i>en</i>	<i>hen</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>Nu</i>	<i>hau-a</i>	<i>ahet</i>	<i>em</i>
to	the majesty	of	Nu:—	My members	are weak	for

		
<i>sep tepi</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>an</i>
the first time,	not	.....

## CHAPTER XIII

THOTH  (TEHUTI), AND MAĀT, , AND  
 THE OTHER GODDESSES WHO WERE  
 ASSOCIATED WITH HIM

THE hymns to Rā which are found in the *Book of the Dead* and in other funeral works of the ancient Egyptians state that the deities THOTH and MAĀT stand one on each side of the great god in his boat, and it is clear that they were believed to take some important part in directing its course; and as they were with Rā when he sprang up from the abyss of Nu their existence must have been coeval with his own. The conceptions which the Egyptians formed about Thoth and Maāt were both material and spiritual, and it is impossible to arrive at any conclusion concerning the functions of these deities without enumerating the facts about them which may be derived from the texts; speaking generally, Maāt may be considered the female counterpart of Thoth. In the Pyramid Texts, our earliest authorities, the functions of Thoth are of a purely funereal character, that is to say, he appears only as a god who is willing to be a helper of the deceased kings, and, although it is certain from many passages that his assistance was eagerly awaited by souls in the Underworld, there is no description given in these early works of the functions of the god. We must, then, rely upon the inscriptions of the later dynastic period for our knowledge of the powers of Thoth, and from these we learn that he was called, "Lord of Khemenu, self-created, to whom none hath given birth, god "One;" "he who reckons in heaven, the counter of the stars, the "enumerator of the earth and of what is therein, and the measurer "of the earth;" and the "heart of Rā which cometh forth in the



THOTH, THE SCRIBE OF THE GODS.

“form of the god Thoth.”<sup>1</sup> The chief shrine of the god was in Khemennu, , called Hermopolis by the Greeks, and Eshmûnên by the Arabs, but he also had shrines in Abydos, Hēsert, , Urit, , Per-āb, , Rehui, , Ta-ur, , Sep, , Hāt, , Pselket, , Talmis, , Āa-tcha-Mutet, , Bāh, , Āmen-heri-āb, , and Ta-kens, . As lord of these places he was “lord of divine words,” , “lord of Maāt,” , and “judge of the two combatant gods,”  , i.e., Horus and Set; and among other titles we find him called “Twice great,” , and “Thrice great,” . From this last were derived the epithets “Trismegistos” and “ter maximus” of the classical writers.

The above facts prove that Thoth was regarded as a god who was self-begotten and self-produced, that he was One, that he made the calculations concerning the stablishing of the heavens, and the stars, and the earth, that he was the heart of Rā, that he was the master of law both in its physical and moral conceptions, and that he had the knowledge of “divine speech.” From many passages we see also that he was the inventor and god of all arts and sciences, that he was the “lord of books,” and the “scribe of the gods,” and “mighty in speech,” i.e., his words took effect, and he was declared to be the author of many of the funeral works by which the deceased gained everlasting life. In the *Book of the Dead* he plays a part which gives him a unique position among the gods, and he is represented as the possessor of powers which are greater than those of Osiris, and even those of Rā himself. Before, however, we go on to consider these the forms in which he appears on the monuments must be mentioned. Usually he appears in human form with the head of an ibis, but he also appears as an ibis. When in human form he holds in his hands

<sup>1</sup> See Lanzone, op. cit., p. 1265.

the sceptre and emblem of "life" common to all gods, but his headdress varies according to the particular form of the god in which the artist wishes to depict him. As the reckoner of times and seasons he has upon his head the crescent moon and disk, ☉; as a form of Shu and Ân-Her he wears the headdresses of these gods; he is also seen wearing the *atef* crown, , and the united crowns of the South and the North.<sup>1</sup> In the *Book of the Dead* he appears as the "scribe of Maât of the company of the gods," , and then he holds in his hands the writing reed and palette of the scribe; but his connection with Rā and his first rising in primeval times is indicated sometimes by the *utchat* , i.e., the power or strength, of the Eye of Rā, which he is seen carrying along in his hands.

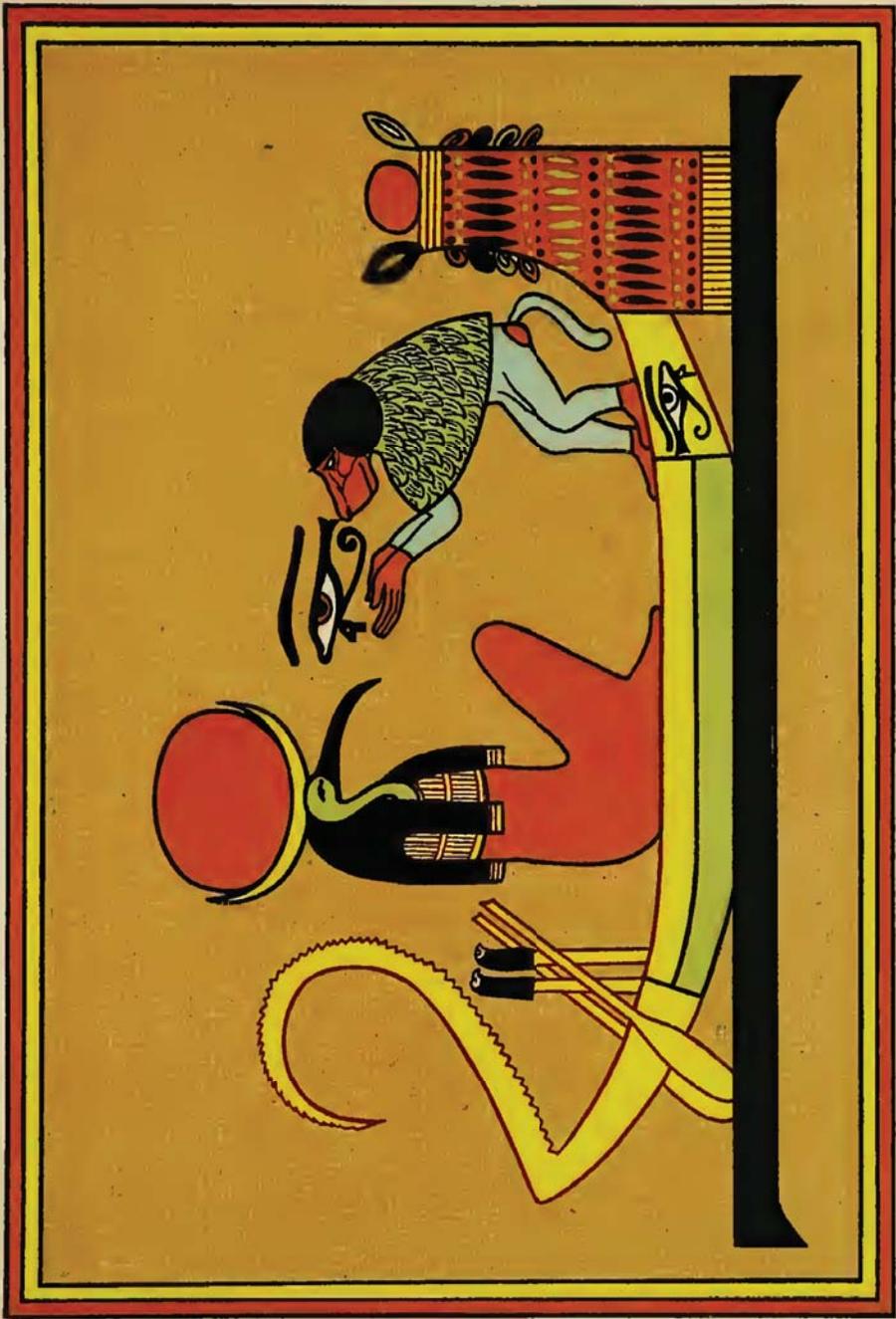
The name of the god Thoth, , Tehuti, appears to be derived from the supposed oldest name of the ibis in Egypt, i.e., *tehu*, to which the termination *ti* has been added, with the idea of indicating that the king called Tehuti possessed the qualities and attributes of the ibis.<sup>2</sup> A derivation of the name which appears to have been favoured by the Egyptians connected it with the word *tekh*, , "a weight," and in passages quoted by Lanzone<sup>3</sup> we find the god actually called *tekh*, . Now the determinative for the word *tekh*, a weight, is the sign for "heart," , and we know that the bird called *tekh* or *tekhnu*, which closely resembled the ibis, the bird sacred to Thoth, was in the opinion of some ancient writers connected with the heart. Thus Horapollo says (i. 36) that when the Egyptians wish to write "heart" they draw an ibis, for this bird was dedicated to Hermes (i.e., Thoth) as the lord of all knowledge and understanding; and Ælian (*De Nat. Animal.* x. 29) supports his testimony by adding several curious and interesting facts about the habits of the ibis. Other names given to Thoth were,<sup>4</sup> , , and Sheps, lord of Khemennu, , , Khenti, , Mehi, .

<sup>1</sup> See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 402 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 1265.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 439.

<sup>4</sup> See Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 441.



ĀĀĪ-TEĪUTI AND HIS ASSOCIATE THE APE.

etc. The commonest name given to Thoth is *hab*,   , "ibis," a word which finds its equivalent in the Coptic  $\chi\iota\beta\omega\iota$ , and one of his commonest forms is the dog-headed ape, , which occupies such a prominent position in the Judgment Scene in the *Book of the Dead*. Here we see him seated on the top of the support of the beam of the Balance in which the heart of the deceased is weighed, where his duty is to watch the pointer, and tell the ibis-headed Thoth when the beam is exactly level; according to Brugsch, this ape is a form of Thoth as the god of "equilibrium,"<sup>1</sup> and he appears to be a symbol of the equinoxes. The ape *āān* is also connected with the moon, for he is often seen with the lunar crescent and disk, , upon his head; but there is no doubt that he represented Thoth in his character of "lord of divine words and the scribe [of the gods]," for in a scene reproduced by Lanzone<sup>2</sup> we see him holding in one paw the god's palette and writing reeds, and these titles are given to him. Besides these forms of Thoth may be also mentioned those in which he possesses the attributes of other gods. Thus as a god of Mendes he has a human body with the head of a bull surmounted by a disk and uraeus; as Shu he is depicted in the form of a man wearing the crown of Shu; as *Ān-ḥer* he is depicted in the form of a man wearing the crown of this god; as Sheps he has the head of a hawk;<sup>3</sup> the ibis and the ape *āān* are his commonest forms.

The principal seat of the worship of Thoth was Khemennu, or Hermopolis, a city famous in Egyptian mythology as the place containing the "high ground,"    , on which Rā rested when he rose for the first time. Here he was regarded as the head of the company of the gods of the city, who were eight in number: Nu and Nut, *Ḥeḥu* and *Ḥeḥut*, Kek and Keket, and *Ḳerḥ* and *Ḳerhet* (or Nau and Nait), i.e., four pairs of deities, each pair consisting of a male and a female deity. As to the importance of this company of the gods two eminent Egyptologists have held directly opposite opinions, for the late Dr. Brugsch thought that

<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. 404, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pll. 402 ff.

the four pairs of deities formed the oldest example of the *ogdoad*, while M. Maspero is of opinion that we must join the four pairs to Thoth, when the nine gods will form an independent *part*, constructed partly on the model of the *part* of Heliopolis. Dr. Brugsch thought that the eight gods of Hermopolis were primordial deities, but M. Maspero thinks that their character is entirely artificial, and that they are only "gods formed according to the laws of grammar, "four being masculine, and four feminine."<sup>1</sup> The latter argues that because the high priest of Hermopolis was called by a title which indicates that he served "him that is chief of five," the gods of the city were only five in number, i.e., Thoth and the four gods of the cardinal points; to the four gods of the cardinal points were then assigned female counterparts, hence the "Eight gods"

. Thoth, according to M. Maspero, is to these what Tem or Rā-Tem was to the *part* of Heliopolis, and the Hermopolitan *part* was constructed after the model of the Heliopolitan *part*; thus Nu and Nut = Shu and Tefnut, Hehu and Hehut = Seb and Nut, Kek and Keket = Osiris and Isis, and Kerh and Kerhet (or, Nau and Nait) = Set and Nephthys. This view is, however, not supported by the evidence of the texts, which, in the writer's opinion, indicates, as has already been said, that the four pairs of gods of Hermopolis belong to a far older conception of the theogony than that of the company of gods of Heliopolis. Another point to be remembered is that Thoth was intimately associated with the ape, as were also the gods of his company; this takes us back to a very remote period when supernatural powers were assigned to the particular class of ape which was the companion of Thoth, and when the primitive Egyptian regarded the knowledge and cunning of the dog-headed ape as proofs of his divine nature. Between the period when this took place and the development of the Heliopolitan theogony, a very long interval of time must have passed; the two conceptions belong not only to different stages of civilization, but probably to two distinct races of men.

One of the most interesting titles of Thoth is "Judge of the

<sup>1</sup> *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 257.



temple where a net was preserved and venerated, but the questions naturally arise, what was this net, and what was its signification? We know from the two versions of Chapter cliii. of the *Book of the Dead* that a net was supposed to exist in the Underworld, and that the deceased regarded it with horror and detestation. Every part of it, its poles, and ropes, and weights, and small cords, and hooks, had names which he was obliged to learn if he wished to escape from it, and would make use of it to catch food for himself, instead of being caught by "those who laid snares." Thus in a prayer we read, "Hail, thou 'god who lookest behind thee,' thou 'god who 'hast gained the mastery over thine heart,' I go a-fishing with "the cordage of the 'uniter of the earth' (Horus?), and of him "that maketh a way through the earth. Hail, ye fishers who have "given birth to your own fathers, who lay snares with your nets, "and who go round about in the chambers of the waters, take ye "not me in the net wherewith ye ensnared the helpless fiends, and "rope me not in with the rope wherewith ye roped in the "abominable fiends of earth, which had a frame which reached "unto heaven, and weighted parts that rested upon the earth." From this passage it is clear that the Egyptians possessed a legend in which one power or the other in the mythological combats was armed with a net wherein he tried to ensnare his adversary. In Chapter cxxxiii. the deceased says, "Lift thyself up, O thou Rā, "who dwellest in thy divine shrine, draw thou into thyself the "winds, inhale the north wind, and swallow thou the *begesu* " (𓄏 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏) of thy net (𓄏 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏) on the day wherein thou "breathest Maāt." The meaning of *begesu* is not quite clear in this passage, because from its determinative, 𓄏, we should naturally connect it with some organ of the human body, but it is evident from its context that Rā possessed a net, and we are certain from the former extract that it was one of the weapons which he employed in his war against the god and fiends of darkness.

An interesting parallel is afforded by the Assyrian and Babylonian versions<sup>1</sup> of the fight between the Sun-god Marduk and the monster Tiamat and her fiends, for it is said in them,

<sup>1</sup> See L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 71.

“ He (i.e., Marduk) set the lightning in front of him, with burning fire he filled his body. He made a net to enclose the inward parts of Tiamat, the Four Winds he set so that nothing of her might escape; the South wind, and the North wind, and the East wind, and the West wind, he brought near to the net which his father Anu had given him.” It is interesting to note that in the passage from the cxxxiiiird Chapter the winds are also mentioned in connexion with the net of Rā, and it is difficult not to arrive at the conclusion that the use to which the Sun-god put his net was the same in each legend; whether this be so, however, or not matters little for our purpose here. It is quite clear that in the Egyptian legend the god Thoth was supposed to have some connexion with the net of Rā, and it is equally clear that in his temple, which was called the Temple of the Net, the emblem of a net, or perhaps even a net itself, was venerated.

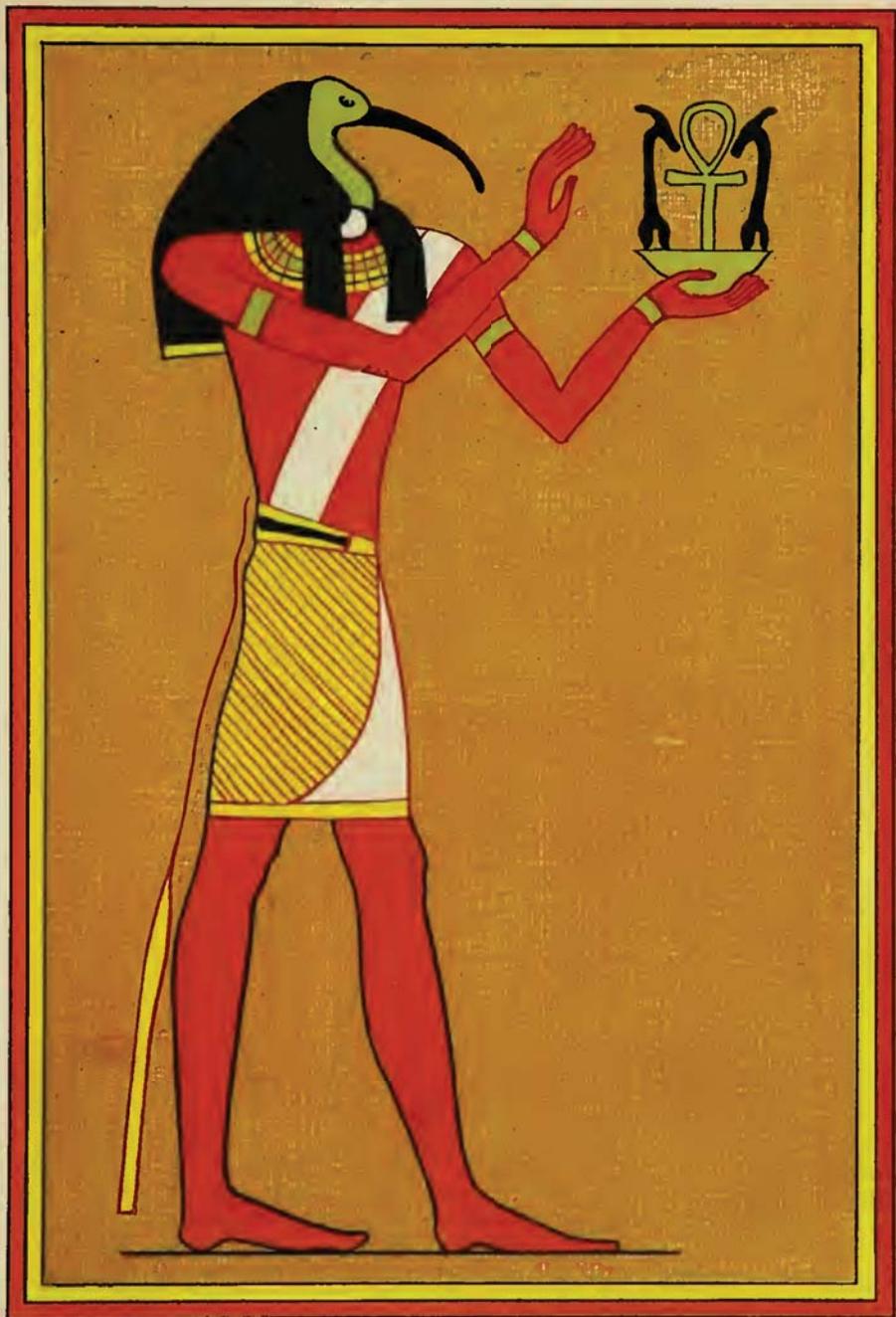
We are now able to sum up the attributes ascribed to Thoth, and to consider how he employed them in connection with the dead. In the first place, he was held to be both the heart and the tongue of Rā, that is to say, he was the reason and the mental powers of the god, and also the means by which their will was translated into speech; from one aspect he was speech itself, and in later times he may well have represented, as Dr. Birch said, the λόγος of Plato. In every legend in which Thoth takes a prominent part we see that it is he who speaks the word that results in the wishes of Rā being carried into effect, and it is evident that when he had once given the word of command that command could not fail to be carried out by one means or the other. He spoke the words which resulted in the creation of the heavens and the earth, and he taught Isis the words which enabled her to revivify the dead body of Osiris in such wise that Osiris could beget a child by her, and he gave her the formulæ which brought back her son Horus to life after he had been stung to death by a scorpion. His knowledge and powers of calculation measured out the heavens, and planned the earth, and everything which is in them; his will and power kept the forces in heaven and in earth in equilibrium; it was his great skill in celestial mathematics which made proper use of the laws (*maāt*  ) upon which the foundation and

maintenance of the universe rested; it was he who directed the motions of the heavenly bodies and their times and seasons; and without his words the gods, whose existence depended upon them, could not have kept their place among the followers of Rā. He was the "scribe of the gods," and possessed almost unlimited power in the Underworld; the god Osiris was in many ways wholly dependent upon his good offices, and the ordinary mortal sought his words and help with great earnestness. In the Judgment Scene in the *Book of the Dead* it is Thoth who acts the part of the recording angel, and it is his decision which is accepted by the gods, who ratify the same and report it to Osiris; for when once Thoth said that the soul of the deceased had been weighed, and that it had been found true by trial in the Great Balance, and that there was no wickedness whatsoever in it, the gods could not fail to answer, "That which cometh forth from thy mouth is true, "and the deceased is holy and righteous"; and in consequence they straightway award him a place with Osiris in the Sekhet-Hetepu, or Elysian Fields. Thoth as the great god of words was rightly regarded as the judge of words, and the testing of the soul in the Balance in the Hall of Osiris is not described as the judging or "weighing of actions," but as the "weighing of words,"

utchā meṭet.<sup>1</sup>

To words uttered under certain conditions the greatest importance was attached by the Egyptians, and in fact the whole efficacy of prayer appears to have depended upon the manner and tone of voice in which the words were spoken. Thoth could teach a man not only words of power, but also the manner in which to utter them, and the faculty most coveted by the Egyptian was that which enabled him to pronounce the formulae and Chapters of the *Book of the Dead* in such a way that they could not fail to have the effect which the deceased wished them to have. After the names of deceased persons we always find in funeral papyri the words *maā lheru* , or , which mean "he whose word is *maā*," that is to say, he whose

<sup>1</sup> See the passages enumerated in my *Vocabulary to the Book of the Dead*, p. 96.



THOTH, THE SCRIBE OF THE GODS.

words possess such power that whenever they are uttered by him the effects which he wished them to produce unfaillingly come to pass. The words, however, here referred to are those which must be learned from Thoth, and without the knowledge of them, and of the proper manner in which they should be said the deceased could never make his way through the Underworld. The formulae of Thoth opened the secret pylons for him, and provided him with the necessary meat, and drink, and apparel, and repelled baleful fiends and evil spirits, and they gave him the power to know the secret or hidden names of the monsters of the Underworld, and to utter them in such a way that they became his friends and helped him on his journey, until at length he entered the Fields of Peace of Osiris or the Boat of Millions of Years. These are the words referred to in the title of Thoth, "lord of divine words," or "lord of the words of god." The whole of the *Book of the Dead* was assumed to be the composition of Thoth, and certain chapters of it he "wrote with his own fingers." In the late work called the "BOOK OF BREATHINGS" it is said, "Thoth, the most mighty god, "the lord of Khemennu, cometh to thee, and he writeth for thee "the 'BOOK OF BREATHINGS' with his own fingers. Thus thy "soul shall breathe for ever and ever, and thy form shall be "endowed with life upon earth, and thou shalt be made a god "along with the souls of the gods, and they shall be the heart "of Rā, and thy members shall be the members of the great god."<sup>1</sup> In later times the epithet *maā kheru* appears to have had a somewhat different meaning from that given to it above, and at times it may well be rendered "he whose word is right," and have reference to the words of Thoth in the Judgment, when he informs the gods that the heart of Osiris has been weighed with the strictest care on the part of himself and his ape, which sits on the support of the Balance, and that at the weighing the heart in one pan of the Scales was able to counterbalance exactly the feather of Right or the Law in the other, and that the case of the individual under examination was a "right" one.

From many passages in the *Book of the Dead* we learn of the

<sup>1</sup> *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Translation), p. cxcvii.

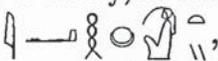
services which Thoth performed for Osiris, and which he was to repeat for the benefit of every man who was acquitted in the Judgment. In the xviiiith Chapter is a list of calamities which were averted from Osiris by Thoth, who gave words to the dead god and taught him to utter them with such effect that all the enemies of Osiris were vanquished. Thus he made him to triumph (semaā-kheru ) "in the presence of the great assessors "of every god and of every goddess; in the presence of the assessors "who are in Ānnu on the night of the battle and of the overthrow "of the Sebāu-fiend in Ṭaṭtu; on the night of making to stand up "the double Ṭeṭ in Sekhem; on the night of the things of the "night in Sekhem, in Pe, and in Ṭepu; on the night of stablishing "Horus in the heritage of the things of his father in Rekhti; on "the night when Isis maketh lamentation at the side of her "brother Osiris in Ābṭu; on the night of the Haker festival when "a division is made between the dead and the spirits who are on "the path of the dead; on the night of the judgment of those who "are to be annihilated at the great [festival of] the ploughing and "the turning up of the earth in Ān-ruṭ-f in Re-stau; and on the "night of making Horus to triumph over his enemies." In the clxxxiiiird Chapter the deceased Hunefer says to Osiris, "I have "come unto thee, O son of Nut, Osiris, Prince of everlastingness; "I am in the following of the god Thoth, and I have rejoiced at "every thing which he hath done for thee. He hath brought unto "thee sweet (i.e., fresh) air for thy nose, and life and strength to "thy beautiful face, and the north wind which cometh forth from "Tem for thy nostrils, O lord of Ta-tchesert. He hath made the "god Shu to shine upon thy body; he hath illumined thy path "with rays of splendour; he hath destroyed for thee [all] the evil "defects which belong to thy members by the magical power of "the words of his utterance. He hath made the two Horus "brethren to be at peace for thee; he hath destroyed the storm- "wind and the hurricane; he hath made the Two Combatants to be "gracious unto thee, and the two lands to be at peace before thee; "he hath put away the wrath which was in their hearts, and each "hath become reconciled unto his brother."

In the xcivth Chapter the deceased addresses the "guardian of the book of Thoth," and says, "I am endowed with glory, I am "endowed with strength, I am filled with might, and I am "supplied with the books of Thoth, and I have brought them to "enable me to pass through the god Aker, who dwelleth in Set. "I have brought the palette and the ink-pot as being the objects "which are in the hands of Thoth; hidden is that which is in "them! Behold me in the character of a scribe! O Heru-khuti, "thou didst give me the command, and I have copied what is "right and true, and I do bring it unto thee each day." In the vignette of the chapter we see the deceased seated with a palette and an ink-pot before him.

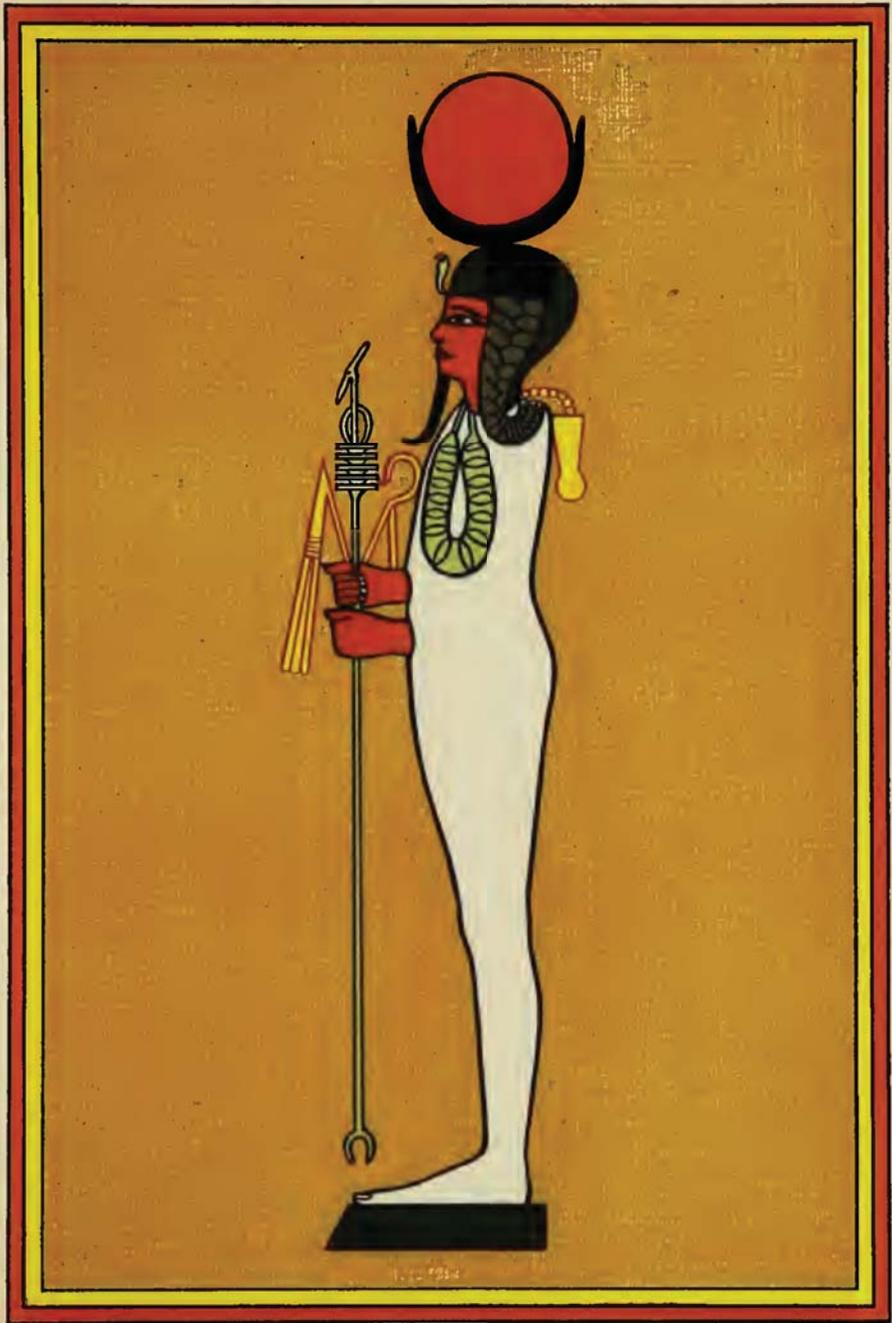
In the Pyramid Texts there is evidence<sup>1</sup> that Thoth was connected with the western sky just as Horus was identified with the eastern sky, and this idea is amplified in an interesting fashion in the clxxvth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, where we find that the deceased addresses Thoth both as Thoth and as Temu, the setting sun, or god of the west. He is disturbed about that which "hath happened to the divine children of Nut," for "they have done "battle, they have upheld strife, they have done evil, they have "created the fiends, they have made slaughter, they have caused "trouble; in truth, in all their doings the mighty have worked "against the weak . . . . And thou regardest not evil, nor art "thou provoked to anger when they bring their years to confusion "and throng in and push to disturb their months; for in all that "they have done unto thee they have worked iniquity in secret." The deceased adds, "I am thy writing palette, O Thoth, and I "have brought unto thee thine ink-jar," and as he declares that he is not one of those who work iniquity in secret places, at the same time he clearly dissociates himself from those who do. These words are followed by a very remarkable passage in which the deceased, addressing Thoth under the name of Temu, asks the god what the place is into which he has come, and he says that it is without water, that "it hath not air, it is depth unfathomable, it "is black as the blackest night, and men wander helplessly therein.

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 451.

“In it a man may not live in quietness of heart; nor may the longings of love be satisfied therein.” A little further on in the Chapter he asks the lord Tem, i.e., Thoth, “How long have I to live?” i.e., how long will my existence in this new world be? and the god replies, “Thou art for millions of millions of years, a period of life of millions of years,” . It is a remarkable fact that it is not Osiris, the lord of life everlasting, but Temu-Thoth who promises the deceased this coveted gift.

In the first part of the Chapter from which the above extracts have been made Thoth is, clearly, appealed to in his capacity of measurer and regulator of times and seasons, that is to say, as the Moon-god, who is commonly called *ĀĀḤ-TEḤUTI*, , or , “the great god, the lord of heaven, the king of the gods,” and “the maker of eternity and creator of everlastingness.” Under this form the god Thoth is depicted:—1. As a mummy, standing upon the symbol of *maāt* , and holding in his hands the emblems of “life,” , “stability,” , “sovereignty and dominion,” , and the sceptre ; on his head is the crescent moon, , and by the side of his head he has the lock of hair, symbolic of youth, . 2. As a bearded, mummied human figure with the crescent moon on his head, and the lock of hair symbolic of youth. The head, however, has two faces, which are intended, presumably, to represent the periods of the waxing and the waning of the moon.<sup>1</sup> In some scenes we have *Āāḥ-Teḥuti* represented in the form of a disk resting between the horns of the crescent moon, and placed upon a pedestal in a boat similar to that in which *Rā* is usually seen; sometimes an *utchat*, , is placed over each end of the boat. In one interesting scene the god *Āāḥ-ḥetep* is represented with the head of an ibis surmounted by the lunar disk and crescent seated in a boat, and a dog-headed ape stands before him and presents an *utchat*; it is noteworthy that the curved end of the boat is notched like the notched palm branch which symbolizes “years,” . In the narrowest sense

<sup>1</sup> For the figures see Lanzoni, op. cit., pll. 36 ff.



THE MOON GOD ĀĀH.



is, of course, the sun. Thus we see that Thoth not only brought the Eye of Rā to the god, as we have already said, but that he also established the Eye of the Moon-god, who was indeed only a form of himself, and that Thoth was also in certain aspects identified with Osiris, , and with Horus, , and with Tem, and therefore with Kheperā. One other attribute of Thoth remains to be noticed, i.e., that which is made known to us by the xcvi<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, wherein the deceased says, "I am he who sendeth forth terror into the powers of rain and thunder, . . . I have made to flourish my knife along with the knife which is in the hand of Thoth in the powers of rain and thunder." The short composition in which this passage occurs is called the "Chapter of being nigh unto Thoth," and in the vignette the deceased is seen standing before Thoth with both hands raised in adoration.

From the above facts it is quite clear that the Greeks were generally correct in the statements which they made about the wisdom and learning of Thoth, whom they identified with their own Hermes. They described him as the inventor of astronomy and astrology, the science of numbers and mathematics, geometry and land surveying, medicine and botany; he was the first to found a system of theology, and to organize a settled government in the country; he established the worship of the gods, and made rules concerning the times and nature of their sacrifices; he composed the hymns and prayers which men addressed to them, and drew up liturgical works; he invented figures, and the letters of the alphabet, and the arts of reading, writing, and oratory in all its branches; and he was the author of every work on every branch of knowledge, both human and divine. According to Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata*, vi.) the "Books of Thoth"<sup>1</sup> were forty-two in number, and they were divided into six classes; books i.-x. dealt with the laws, and the gods, and the education of

<sup>1</sup> On the Books of Thoth, see some interesting remarks by Brugsch in *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 448 ff.; this distinguished Egyptologist thought he had discovered the original hieroglyphic titles of many of these inscribed on the walls of the temple of Edfū.

the priests; books xi.-xx. treated of the services of the gods, i.e., sacrifices, offerings, forms of worship, etc.; books xxi.-xxx. related to the history of the world, geography, and hieroglyphics; books xxxi.-xxxiv. formed treatises on astronomy and astrology; books xxxv. and xxxvi. contained a collection of religious compositions; and books xxxvii.-xlii. were devoted to medicine. An attempt was made some years ago to include the *Book of the Dead* among the "Books of Thoth," but it is now quite certain that, although Thoth was declared to have written some of its Chapters, it must be regarded as an entirely separate work and as one which enjoyed a much greater reputation than they. How Thoth was able to perform all the various duties which were assigned to him by the ancients it is difficult to understand, until we remember that according to the Egyptian texts he was the heart, i.e., the mind, and reason, and understanding of the god Rā. The title given to him in some inscriptions, , "three times great, great," from which the Greeks derived their appellation of the god ὁ τρισμέγιστος, or "ter maximus," has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and at present the exact meaning which the Egyptians assigned to it is unknown.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, quite clear that Thoth held in their minds a position which was quite different from that of any other god, and that the attributes which they ascribed to him were unlike the greater number of those of any member of their companies of the gods. The character of Thoth is a lofty and a beautiful conception, and is, perhaps, the highest idea of deity ever fashioned in the Egyptian mind, which, as we have already seen, was somewhat prone to dwell on the material side of divine matters. Thoth, however, as the personification of the mind of God, and as the all-pervading, and governing, and directing power of heaven and of earth, forms a feature of the Egyptian religion which is as sublime as the belief in the resurrection of the dead in a spiritual body, and as the doctrine of everlasting life.

<sup>1</sup> A number of valuable facts have been collected on the subject generally by Pietschmann, in his *Hermes Trismégistus, nach ägyptischen, griechischen und orientalischen Ueberlieferungen*, 1875.

THE GODDESS MAĀ, OR MAĀT, , OR ,  
OR .

Closely connected with Thoth, so closely in fact that she may be regarded as the feminine counterpart of the god, is the goddess *Māat*, who stood with Thoth in the boat of Rā when the Sun-god rose above the waters of the primeval abyss of Nu for the first time. The type and symbol of this goddess is the ostrich feather, , which is always seen fastened to her head-dress, and is sometimes seen in her hand. She is represented in the form of a woman seated, or standing, , and she holds the sceptre, , in one hand, and , the emblem of "life," in the other; in many pictures of her she is provided with a pair of wings which are attached one to each arm, and in a few cases she has the body of a woman with an ostrich feather for a head.

The reason for the association of the ostrich feather with *Maāt* is unknown, as is also the primitive conception which underlies the name, but it is certainly very ancient, and probably dates from predynastic times. The hieroglyphic , which also has the phonetic value of *Maāt*, is described by some as a "cubit," i.e., the measure of a cubit, and by others as a "flute," which would, presumably, be made of a reed. We see, however, that the god Ptah usually stands upon a pedestal made in the shape of , and that figures of the god Osiris stand upon pedestals of similar form, and as we have no reason for supposing that the figures of these two gods were placed upon flutes it is tolerably certain that  must mean something else besides flute. We know that Ptah of Memphis was the god of artificers in general and of workers in metal and of sculptors in particular; it is far more likely that the form of his pedestal, , was intended to represent some tool which was used by sculptors and carvers, e.g., a chisel, or the identification of the object as a "cubit" may be correct if it means that it was some instrument used for measuring purposes. About the meaning of the word *maāt* , there is, fortunately, no difficulty, for from many passages in texts of all periods we







THE GODDESS MAAT.

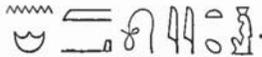
Even when the deceased had satisfied the Forty-two Assessors he could not pass out of the Hall of Maāti unless he knew the magical names of the various parts of the door which opened into the regions of the blessed. In the address which he makes to the gods collectively, and which is usually considered to have been made after the Negative Confession, he summarizes his good deeds, and declares to the god Osiris, whom he calls the "lord of the *Atef* crown," that he has done *Mcāt*, and purified himself with *Maāt*, and that none of his members lack *Maāt*. He tells how he has been to the "Field of the Grasshoppers," and how he has bathed in the pool wherein the sailors of Rā bathe, and describes all the things which he has done, including the finding of a sceptre of flint in the "furrow of Maāt." Finally, having satisfied all the various parts of the door by declaring to them their magical names, he comes to the god MĀU-TAUI, , who acts as guardian of the Hall of Maāti, and who refuses to allow him to pass unless he tells his name. The deceased says, "Thy name is Sa-ābu-tchār-khat," , and demands to be admitted, but the god is not satisfied, and asks him, "Who is the god that dwelleth in his hour?" In reply the deceased utters the name MĀU-TAUI, whereupon he is at once asked by the god, "And who is this?" and in answer the deceased says, "Māu-taui is Thoth." On this Thoth asks the reason of his coming to the Hall, and when the deceased has told him that he has come because he wished his name to be written down by him, Thoth questions him further as to the fitness of his condition and as to the identity of the being "whose heaven is of fire, whose walls are living uraei, "and the floor of whose house is a stream of water." In answer to these questions he says that he is "purified from evil things," and that the being whose house is described is Osiris, whereupon Thoth calls upon him to enter, saying that his name shall be "mentioned" or recorded.

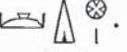
Thus we see how closely the attributes of Maāt merge into those of Thoth, and how the fate of the deceased depends ultimately upon these deities. It was not, however, sufficient for him to pass the Assessors, for beyond them stood Thoth with his final, search-

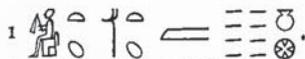


THE GODDESS NEKHEMĀUIT.

ing questions ; Thoth spake the word which caused the universe to come into being, and it was he who had the power to utter the name of the deceased in such a way that his new spiritual body would straightway come into being in the realm of Osiris. Thoth in one respect was greater than Rā, and in another he was greater than Osiris, but both from a physical and a moral point of view he was connected inseparably with the Maāt, which was the highest conception of physical and moral law and order known to the Egyptians.

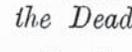
THE GODDESS NEHEMĀUAIṬ 

Now besides Maāt or the Maāti goddesses we find that there were other goddesses who were associated with Thoth in different parts of Egypt, and among these is NEHEMĀUAIṬ, who is described as the dweller in Āat-tchamutet, , and as the “holy and mighty lady in Khemennu” (Hermopolis),<sup>1</sup> and the “mistress of Per-Khemennu,” and the “lady of Bāḥut,” , and “the dweller in Dendera,” . Thus we see that she was the goddess of the great temple in the city of Thoth, i.e., Hermopolis, and that she had a shrine in Dendera, and in the metropolis of the fifteenth nome of Lower Egypt, which is here mentioned under its civil name “Bāḥut” ; the sacred name of the city was Per-Teḥuti-āp-reḥuṭ, , i.e., “Temple of Thoth, the judge between the *Reḥui* (Horus and Set).” The texts described her as the “daughter of Rā,” and the manner in which she is depicted proves that she was regarded as a form of the goddess Hathor. In the examples given by Signor Lanzone<sup>2</sup> she has the form of a woman, and she wears upon her head either the sistrum, , or a disk resting between a pair of horns ; in one picture a papyrus sceptre, , rests on the palm of her right hand, and a figure of Maāt, , on that of her left. A very interesting

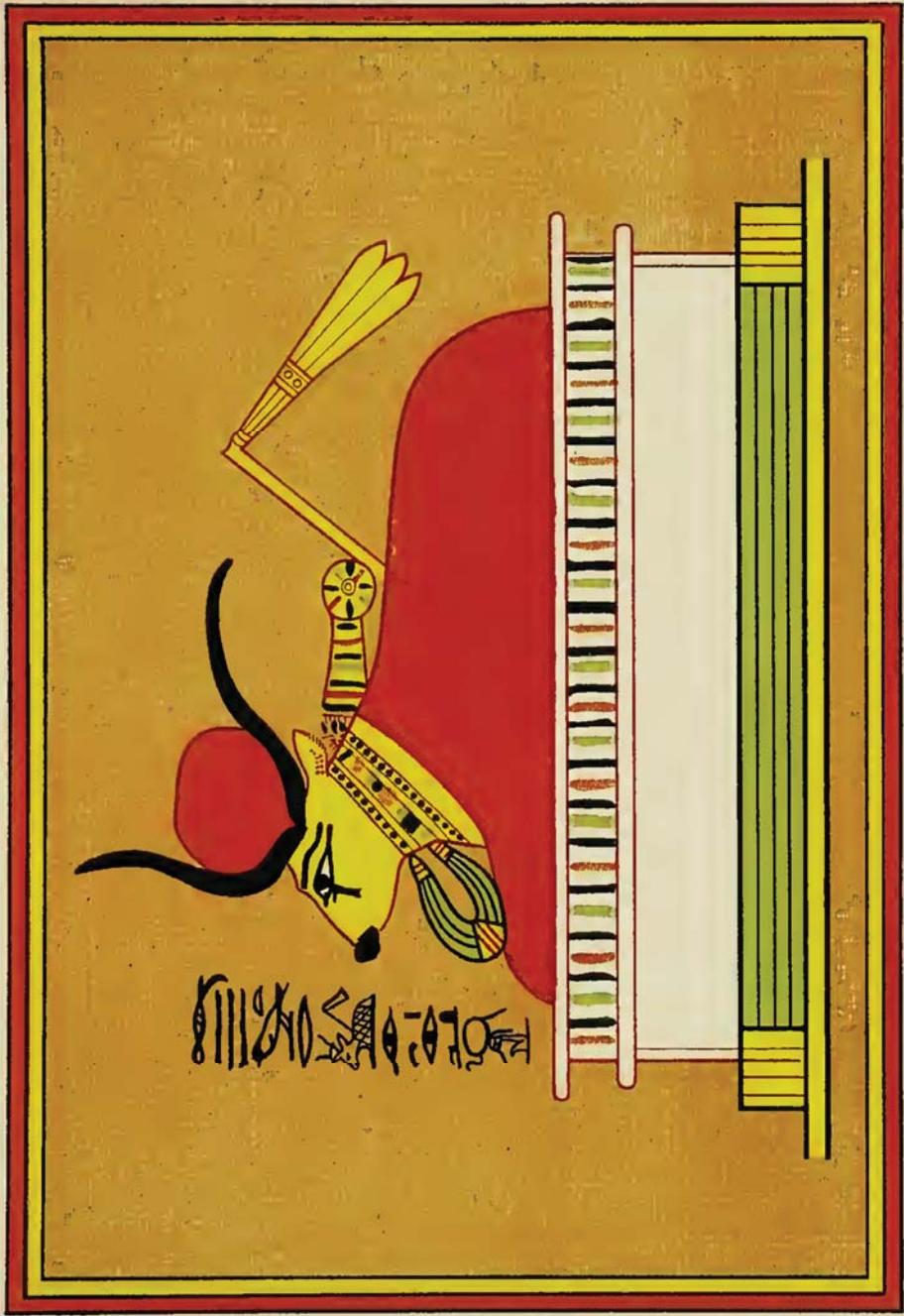
<sup>1</sup> 

<sup>2</sup> *Dizionario*, pl. 174 ; and see Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 471.

sketch also given by Signor Lanzone shows that her emblem was a Hathor-headed standard, on the top of which was a sistrum; on each side of the sistrum is a uraeus with a disk on its head, , and from each side of the face of the goddess hang two similar uraei. The standard is held up in a vertical position by two men who stand one on each side. Plutarch, as Brugsch has noted, says that Typhon was driven away by a sistrum, which seems to indicate that the rattling of the wires produced a sound that had a terrifying effect upon that evil beast; ladies of high rank and priestesses are often depicted with sistra in their hands, and though this fact is usually explained by assuming that those who hold sistra assisted in the musical parts of the services in the temples, it is very probable that they carried them both as amulets and as musical instruments. Dr. Brugsch quotes two passages from texts in which a royal personage declares that demoniacal powers are kept away from him by means of the sistrum which he holds in his hand. Nehemāuait is not mentioned in the *Book of the Dead*, and it seems that she is not an ancient deity; she is probably a comparatively modern form of some well known older goddess.

From the texts of the late dynastic period we find that she was identified with MEḤ-URT<sup>1</sup> and with the goddess whose name is variously read Sefekh-āabu and Sesheta. Meḥ-urt,  , is mentioned but rarely in the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 76, 79; lxxi. 13; cxxiv. 17), but the passage in the xviiith Chapter tells us exactly who she is. The deceased says there, "I behold Rā who was born yesterday from the buttocks of "the goddess Meḥ-urt," and as answer to the question, "What "then is this?" we have the words, "It is the watery abyss of "heaven, or (as others say), It is the image of the Eye of Rā in "the morning at his daily birth. Meḥ-urt is the Eye (Utchat) of "Rā." Meḥ-urt was originally a female personification of the watery matter which formed the substance of the world, and her name, which means "mighty fulness," indicates that she was the

<sup>1</sup> The Methyer (Μεθύερ) of Plutarch.



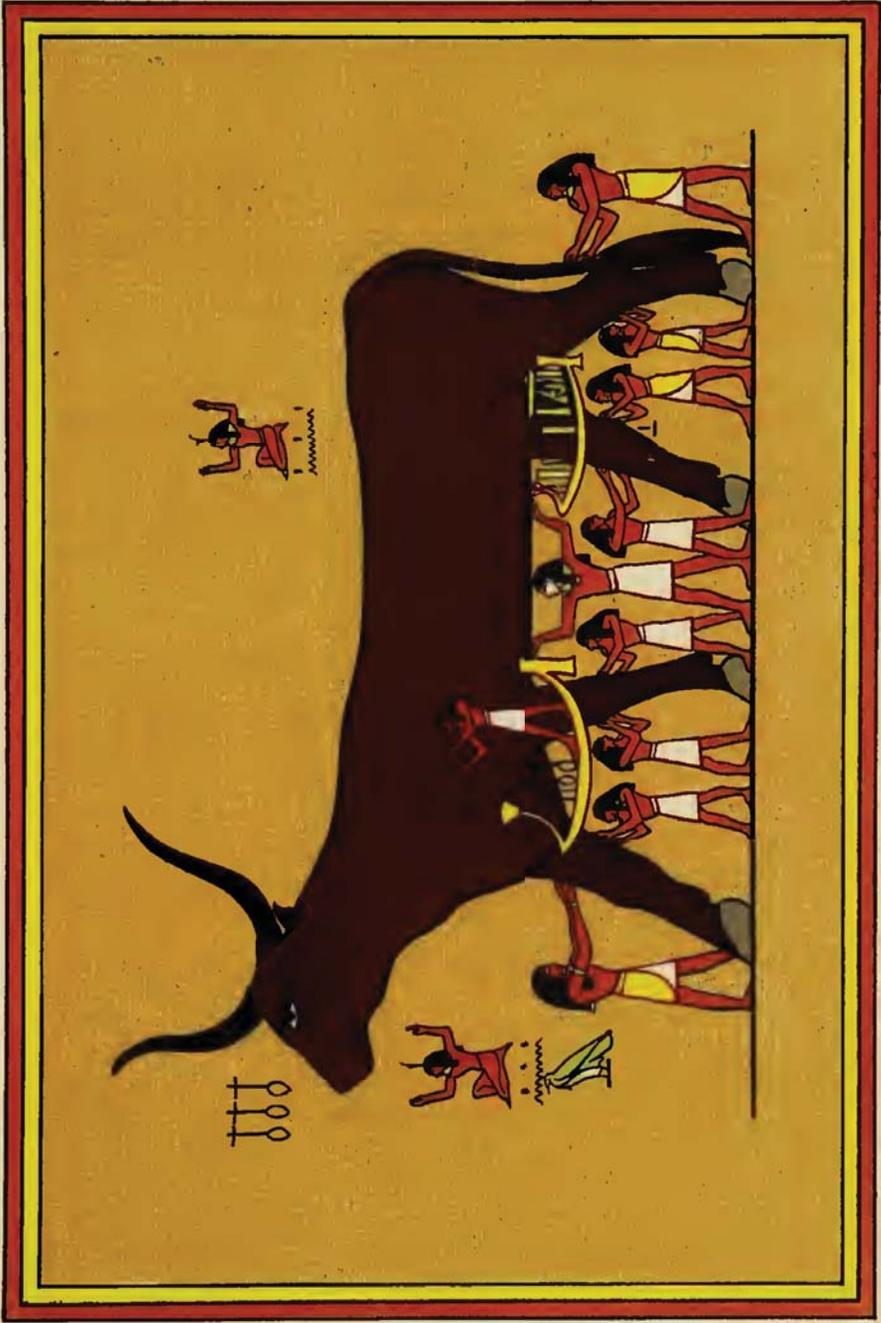
THE GODDESS MEH-URIT.

abundant and unfailing source of the matter of every kind which was fecundated by the male germs of life of every kind; she was, in fact, a form of the primeval female creative principle, and in some aspects was identified with Isis and Hathor. She, of course, is a later conception than Nut, or Nit (Neith), of both of whom she was also a form. In one of the representations of the goddess figured by Signor Lanzone<sup>1</sup> she is depicted in the form of a pregnant woman with full, protruding breasts, emblem of fertility, but she usually appears as the great cow of the sky, either in the form which is illustrated on p. 368, or in that given in the accompanying plate. Sometimes she has the body of a woman and the head of a cow, and then she holds in her right hand a sceptre round which is twined the stalk of a lotus flower which she appears to be smelling; the flower itself is between ☉, the symbols of the South and the North, and is supposed to represent the great world lotus flower, out of which rose the sun for the first time at the Creation. The usual titles of the goddess are "lady of heaven, "mistress of all the gods, mistress of the two lands," but she is also said to have "existed from the beginning," and to have helped Thoth to create the first things which appeared in Khemennu or Hermopolis. In primitive times the "weighing of words," i.e., the examination and judgment of the dead, was believed to take place in the Hall of Meḥ-urt, which seems to prove that in very early times the attributes of Maät were ascribed to the great goddess, whose form was the cow, and that the souls of the dead were thought to be judged in the sky. The first conception of the Judgment was probably physical, and it was not until the period when the cult of Osiris became predominant that it assumed the character with which we are familiar from the *Book of the Dead*. It would seem that in the very ancient times it was the body and not the soul that was the subject of examination by the celestial powers, and this is what is to be expected in predynastic times when the theory of the resurrection then current demanded a renewed or revived physical body.

Closely associated with Thoth in the performance of certain of

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pl. 131 ff.

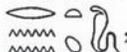


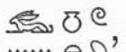
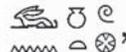
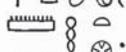
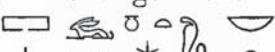


NUT, THE GODDESS OF HEAVEN, AS A COW.

seated upon  $\ominus$ , the emblem of "eternity," and from the upper end hangs the symbol of the double Set festival, . Thus she appears in the character of the chronographer and chronologist; the use of the notched palm-branch as a symbol of the counting of years takes us back to a custom which was probably prevalent in predynastic times. In yet another scene we find the goddess standing before a column of hieroglyphics meaning "life," and "power," and "thirty-year festivals," which rest upon a seated figure who holds in each hand  $\dagger$ , "life," and who typifies "millions of years." In connection with this must be noted a passage in a text in which she declares to a king that she has inscribed on her register on his behalf a period of life which shall be "hundreds of thousands of thirty-year periods," and has ordained that his years shall be upon the earth like the years of Rā, i.e., that he shall live for ever. In the *Book of the Dead* (lvii. 6) the deceased says, "My mouth and my nostrils are opened in Ṭaṭṭu, and I have "my place of peace in Ānnu, wherein is my house; it was built "for me by the goddess Sefekh-āābut (or Sesheta), and the god "Khnemu set it up for me upon its walls." And again he says (clii. 3), "The goddess Sefekh-āābut hath brought the god Nebṭ, "and Ānpu (Anubis) hath called unto the Osiris Nu (i.e., to me) "to build a house on the earth. Its foundation is in Kher-āḥa, "its shrine is the god Sekhem, who dwelleth in Sekhem, according "to that which I have written the renewal thereof, and men and "women bring offerings, and libations, and ministrants. And "Osiris saith unto all the gods who are in his train, and who "journey [with him], 'Behold ye the house which hath been built "for a spirit who is well-equipped, and who cometh daily to "'renew himself among you.'" In the clxixth Chapter (line 18) the goddess is said to be seated before the deceased, and the goddess Sa protects his members.

These passages show that Sefekh-āābut was supposed to be the "goddess of construction," , and she would thus be a suitable counterpart of Thoth, and one fitted to carry out his commands concerning the Creation. It is, however, certain from many passages that her chief duties were connected with the writing

of history, and happy was the king who was fortunate enough to have his deeds recorded by the fingers of the goddess herself, and his abode in the next world built on the plan which she drew up in accordance with her attributes as the inventor of letters, the lady of the builder's measure, and the founder of architecture.<sup>1</sup> In a text quoted by Brugsch she declares to Seti that her words concerning him shall never be gainsaid, that her hand shall set down in writing his fame after the manner of her brother Thoth, and all according to the decree of Tem. She was identified with the goddess Renenet, , and with Isis, and at Dendera she is called the "daughter of Nut;" at Lycopolis she was regarded as the sister of Osiris, and the mother of Heru-nub, , or the "Horus of gold."

Yet another goddess must be mentioned in connection with Maät and Thoth, that is to say, UNNUT, , the lady of Unnu, , who must not be confused with Unnut, the goddess of the hours, who is depicted in the form of a woman with a star upon her head. The former goddess has, on the other hand, the body of a woman with the head of a hare, and she usually holds in each hand a knife, ;<sup>2</sup> sometimes she holds a sceptre in one hand, and , "life," in the other. One aspect of her, i.e., that of the goddess who destroys with her knives, was identified with Sekhet, , and in this form she was the deity of the city Menhet, . From a passage in the cxxxviiiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* we may gain some idea of the antiquity of the goddess Unnut, for towards the end of the rubric (line 38) it is said that the Chapter was found in the handwriting of the god Thoth in the temple of "Unnut, lady of Unnu,"  by Heru-ṭātā-f, the son of Khufu, i.e., Cheops, a king of the IVth Dynasty. Thus it is clear that even in that remote period a temple in honour of the goddess existed at Unnu, i.e., Hermopolis, or the city of Thoth. Unnu, as we know, was the chief city of the nome Un, the chief local god of which

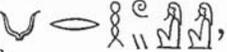
<sup>1</sup> See Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 474.

<sup>2</sup> See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 52.



THE GODDESS SESHETA.

was depicted in the form of a hare, , and Unnut is the female counterpart of the god Unnu, and was the old local goddess of the metropolis of the nome.

In the vignette of the cxxth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (Papyrus of Ani, pl. 35) we see the deceased standing with hands raised in adoration before three seated deities, the first having the head of a hare, the second that of a snake, and the third that of a bull; behind him stands the god Thoth with palette and reed, but whether he is in any way connected with the three gods cannot be said. A hare-headed god is also seen as one of the group of three gods who preside over one of the Ārits in the Underworld; according to the Papyrus of Ani it is the first Ārit, and according to the Papyrus of Nu it is the second. At Dendera a hare-headed god is seen wrapped in mummy swathings, with his hands in such a position that they suggest his identification with Osiris, and an attempt has been made<sup>1</sup> to show in connexion with this representation that the hare-headed god was called UN, that this name appears in the compound name "Un-nefer," the well-known title of Osiris, that the hare-god Un was only another form of Osiris, and that the name Un was applied to Osiris because he "sprang up," like the hare, which, as the rising sun, is said to be the "springer." According to this view the goddess Unnut would be a female form of the hare-god Un or Unnu, but Brugsch's opinion which makes her to be the goddess of the city of Unnu, or Hermopolis, is more correct, especially when we remember that the cities Ān, and Āpt, and Beḥuṭet, etc., possessed goddesses of the city which were called Ānit, and Āpit, and Beḥuṭit. We have already seen that the goddess Maāt had two forms, i.e., Maāt of the South and Maāt of the North, and similarly we find that Unnut had two forms, one of which belonged to Hermopolis of the South, and the other to Hermopolis of the North, the  *Unnu meht* of the text, i.e., Hermopolis Parva, wherein Thoth was worshipped under the form of ĀP-REḤUI, , together with his female counterpart Neḥemāuait.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Renouf in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. ix., pp. 281-294.

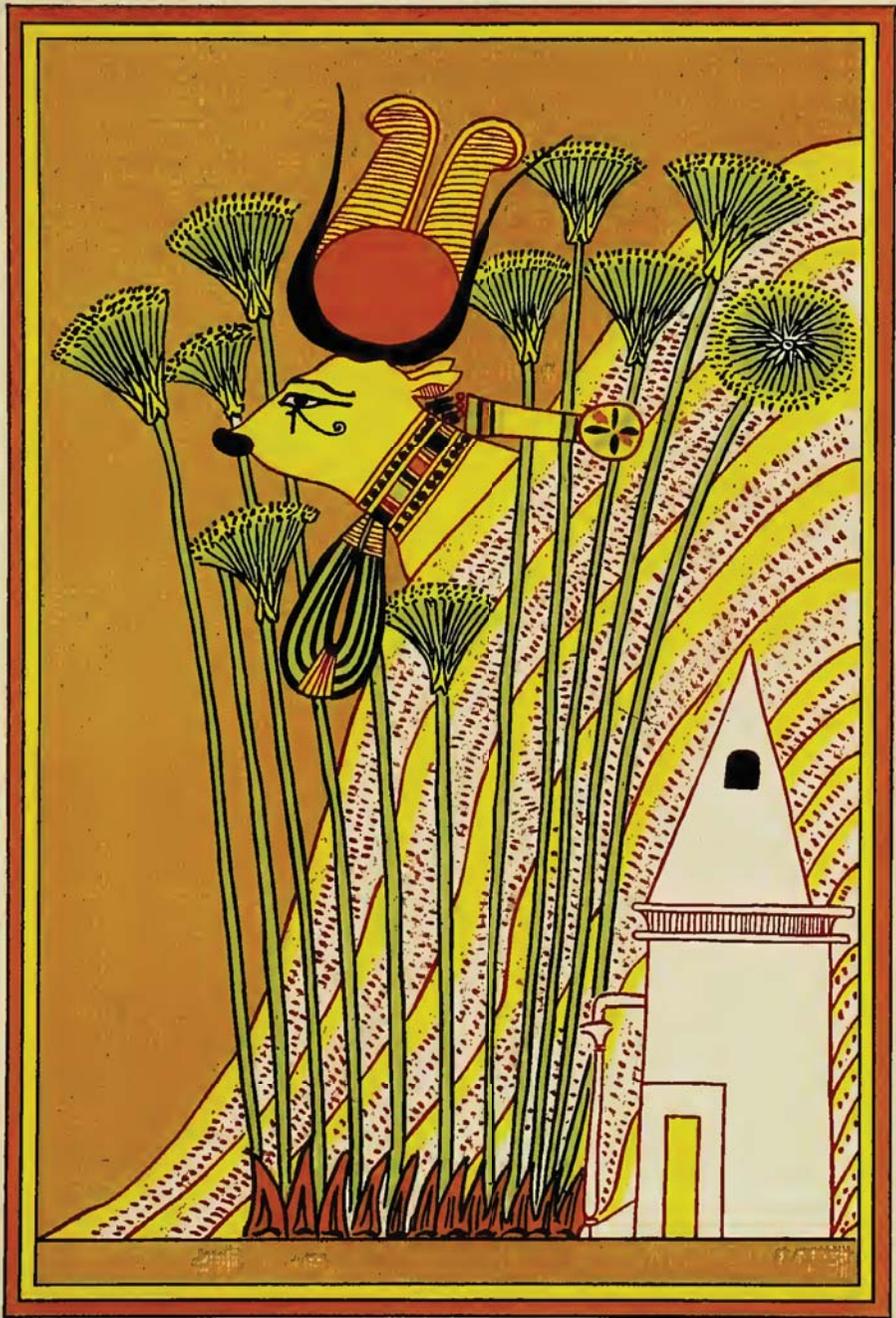
<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 477; de Rougé, *Géographie*, pp. 30, 102.

## CHAPTER XIV

HATHOR, , HET-HERT, AND THE  
HATHOR GODDESSES

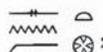
THE goddess HATHOR is one of the oldest known deities of Egypt, and it is certain that, under the form of a cow, she was worshipped in the early part of the archaic period, because a flint model of the head and horns of the cow, which was her type and symbol, has been found among the early archaic, or late predynastic flints in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The forms in which the goddess is depicted are numerous, but this is not to be wondered at, because during the course of the dynastic period she was identified with every important local goddess, and all their attributes, of whatever class and kind, were ascribed to her. The oldest form of all is probably that of the cow, and this was preserved, though chiefly in funeral scenes and in the *Book of the Dead*, until the beginning of the Roman period. HET-HERT, , the name of the goddess, means the "House above," i.e., the region of the sky or heaven, and another form of it, , which is to be read HET-HERU, and which means "House of Horus," shows that she was a personification of the house in which Horus the Sun-god dwelt, and that she represented the portion of the sky through which the course of the god lay. In the earliest times Hathor, the *Ἄθωρ* of the Greek writers, typified only that portion of the sky in which Horus, the oldest form of the Sun-god, had been conceived and brought forth, and her domain was in the east of the sky; but at length she came to represent the whole

<sup>1</sup> This is preserved in the British Museum, No. 32,124.



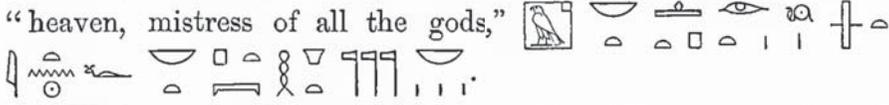
(HET-HERT) HATHOR THE COW-GODDESS LOOKING FORTH FROM THE FUNERAL MOUNTAIN AT THEBES.

sky, and in so doing, she, no doubt, absorbed many of the attributes of predynastic goddesses. In the text of Pepi I. (line 593) it is said, "Every god will take the hand of Rā-meri in heaven, and "they will conduct him to Het-Heru () which is in the "heaven of Qebḥu () and his double shall be able "to make his voice (or word) take effect upon Seb." From this passage it seems as if the House of Horus was only one special part of the great watery mass of heaven which is generally known by the name of "Qebḥ."

At the time when the Egyptians first formulated their theogony Hathor was certainly a cosmic goddess, and was associated with the Sun-god Rā, of whom she was the principal female counterpart. In the theological system of the priests of Heliopolis she became, as Brugsch says,<sup>1</sup> the "mother of the light," the birth of which was the first act of creation; her next creative act was to produce Shu and Tefnut, that is to say, certain aspects of these gods, for according to a very old tradition Temu was their begetter and producer. Of the various forms in which Hathor is depicted may be mentioned the following<sup>2</sup>:—As the "chief-tainess," , of Thebes and the mistress of Amentet she is usually represented in the form of a woman who wears upon her head a pair of horns within which rests the solar disk; as the lady of Hetepet, , she wears the vulture tiara, with a uraeus in front and five uraei on the top of it; as the lady of Senemet, , she appears in the form of a woman with the headdress , or with plumes and horns; as the lady of Abshek, , she wears a disk between horns; as the great goddess of Dendera, , she appears in the form of a lioness, with a uraeus on her head, and as a woman wearing , or , or , or , or , or the sistrum, , or , or , or , or , and , and she usually carries a sceptre, , or .

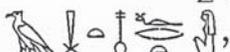
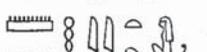
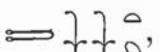
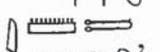
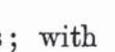
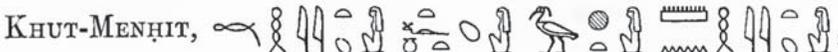
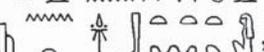
<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 312.

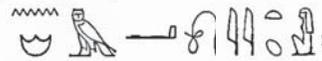
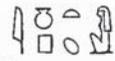
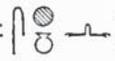
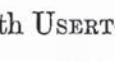
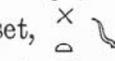
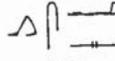
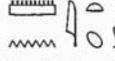
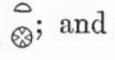
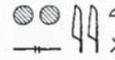
<sup>2</sup> Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 314 ff.

in one hand, and "life," , in the other; as the lady of the "southern sycamore," , she has the head of a cow; as the lady of Ánnu she has on her head ; as the goddess of turquoise [land], i.e., the Sinaitic Peninsula, called "Māfek," , she wears the crown of the north, , or  and ; and in another form she wears the vulture head-dress surmounted by a tiara formed of uraei, and above these is a pylon set among a mass of lotus flowers and buds. As the "lady of the Holy Land," i.e., the Underworld, and Ámentet, , she appears in the form of a cow walking out from the funeral mountain, and she is sometimes represented in the form of a cow standing in a boat surrounded by papyrus plants which are growing up to a considerable height above her body. As the cow-goddess of the Underworld, however, she wears a long, pendent collar, and on the back of her neck is the *Menät*, , an emblem of joy and pleasure. On her back also is a kind of saddle-cloth with a linear design, and the whole of her body is sometimes marked with crosses, which are probably intended to represent stars. Two other interesting forms of the goddess which are illustrated by Signor Lanzone<sup>1</sup> represent her holding in her hand the notched palm branch, which is usually the characteristic of the goddess Sefekh-āabut, who acted as assistant chronographer and chronologist to the god Thoth, and from this point of view Hathor must be regarded as a female counterpart of Thoth. Finally, she is represented as a sphinx, wearing on her head the vulture head-dress, with uraeus and disk; the side of her body is made to resemble a part of a *menät*, and she rests upon a pylon. The titles which accompany this last form call her "lady of Hētep, the eye of Rā, dweller in his disk, lady of "heaven, mistress of all the gods," 

We have already seen that the worship of Horus was universal in Egypt, probably from the earliest period, and that in dynastic times shrines which were specially consecrated to his worship were

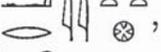
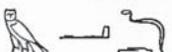
<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pl. 325 ff.

common throughout the country; the texts prove that the worship of Hathor was also universal, and that her shrines were even more numerous than those of Horus. She was, in fact, the great mother of the world, and the old, cosmic Hathor was the personification of the great power of nature which was perpetually conceiving, and creating, and bringing forth, and rearing, and maintaining all things, both great and small. She was the "mother of her father, "and the daughter of her son," and heaven, earth, and the Underworld were under her rule, and she was the mother of every god and every goddess. In all the important shrines of the local goddesses she was honoured with them, and she always became the chief female counterpart of the head of the company or triad in which she had been allowed to enter as a guest. A clear proof of this fact is given in the list compiled by the late Dr. Brugsch, which showed the various names and forms she took in all the large cities in Upper and Lower Egypt, and from this we see that she was identified with SATET, , and ĀNQET, , in Elephantine; with TA-SENT-NEFERT, , in Ombos; with BEḤUTET, , in Apollinopolis Magna; with NIT, , NEBUUT, , and MENḤIT, , in Latopolis; with MUT, , and NEKHEBET, , in Eileithyiaspolis; with RĀT-TAUT, , and THENENET, , in Hermonthis; with MUT, , and ĀMENTHET, , in Thebes; with ḤEQET, , in Apollinopolis Parva; with ISIS, , and ĀNIT, , in Coptos; with SEFKHET-ĀĀBUT, in Diospolis Parva; with MEḤIT-TEFNUT-KHUT-MENḤIT, , in This; with ISIS and KHENT ĀBTET, , in Panopolis; with ḤEQET and ĀNTHĀT, , in Aphroditopolis; with NIT, UATCHET, , SEKHET, , etc., in Hypselis; with Maät and Isis in Hierakonpolis; with Mut and

Sefkhet-āābut in Lycopolis; with Sekhet and Maāt in Cusae; with NEHEMĀUAIT, , and Sefkhet-āābut, and Meh-urt, , in Hermopolis; with Heqet and ASHET, , in Ibiu; with PAKHTH, , at the Speos Artemidos; with ĀNPET, , in Cynopolis; with UATCHET in Alabastronpolis; with HATHOR of Oxyrinchus; with ĀNTHĀT and MERSEKHENT , in Herakleopolis Magna; with RENPIT, , in Crocodilopolis; with KHERSEKHET in Ptolemaïs; with Isis and TEP-ĀHET in Aphroditopolis; with Bast, , Sekhet, and Renpit in Memphis; with NEBUAREKHT-ĀAT, , in Letopolis; with USERT-HEQET, , in Prosopis; with Nit (Neith) in Saïs; with Urt-Āpset, , in Xoïs; with Isis in Canopus; with Uatchet in Buto; with Tefnut in Pa-Tem (Pithom); with TAṬET or TAIT, , in Busiris; with KHUIT, , in Athribis; with TETET, daughter of Rā, , and Tefnut, in the form of a lion, , and HERT, , i.e., the female counterpart of Horus, and NESERT, ; with IUSĀSET, , and NEBT-HEȚEP, , and MENĀT, , and REPIT, ; with KHENT-ĀBTET, , in Sele (?); with Nehemāuit, Tefnut, and Isis in Hermopolis; with HĀT-MEHIT, , in Mēndes; with Mut, Tefnut, and Khent-Ābtet, in Diospolis; with Bast, , in Bubastis; with Isis and Uatchet in Āmmet, , and with Septit, , and Khekhsit, , in the nome of Sept. It is, then, quite certain that in late dynastic times, at least, Hathor became the representative of all the great goddesses in Egypt, and that shrines in her honour were built in most great cities there. In his valuable *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia* (p. 875), Signor

Lanzone has collected the names of a number of cities which contained shrines of Hathor, but the enumeration of them all<sup>1</sup> here would serve no useful purpose, because the identifications of the goddess described above are sufficient to indicate the universality of her worship.

A little consideration of the texts shows us that it was quite impossible for any worshipper of Hathor, however devout, to enumerate all the forms of the goddess which existed, and also that some of them were considered of greater importance than the others; as a result we find that at a comparatively early period a selection of the Hathors was made, and that it usually contained seven. The SEVEN HATHORS who were worshipped at Dendera were:—1. Hathor of Thebes, . 2. Hathor of Heliopolis, . 3. Hathor of Aphroditopolis, . 4. Hathor of the Sinaitic Peninsula, . 5. Hathor of Momemphis (Ammu), . 6. Hathor of Herakleopolis, . 7. Hathor of Keset, . These were represented<sup>2</sup> in the form of young and handsome women arrayed in close-fitting tunics, and wearing

<sup>1</sup> The following selection may, however, be of interest:—Ārit, , Ākent, , Sekhet-Rā, , Keset, , Senmet, , Khauit, , , Māchet, , Sheṭenu, , Āḳenu, , Khakhat (?), , She-Ṭasher, , Kepenut (in Syria), , , Per-ṭennu in Ānh-tait, , Reḥesu, , Feka, , Ṭep-āhet, , Alkat, , Ān-Menthu, , Maāti, , Sebti, , Kenu, , Tcherutet, , Sek, , Per-Utchat, , Hes, , Kenset, , Neferus, , Khekhuīt, , Āntet, , Sennut, .

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Mythologische Inschriften*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 801 ff.

vulture head-dresses surmounted by ☉, and holding tambourines in their hands. In the "Tale of the Two Brothers"<sup>1</sup> we find the Seven Hathors acting the part of prophetic fairies, for in that entertaining narrative they are made to come and look upon the wife whom Khnemu had fashioned for the younger brother Bata, and who "was more beautiful in her person than any other woman "in all the earth, for every god was contained in her;" but when they had looked upon her, they said with one voice, "Her death will be caused by the knife." Unfortunately we do not know the districts which these Seven Hathors, , represented. The Seven Hathors mentioned by Mariette<sup>2</sup> comprise the Hathors of Dendera, , Keset (Cusae), Nehet , the Two Mountains,  (i.e., the modern Gebelên), Eileithyiaspolis, , and Māfek (Sinai), Kepenut  (Byblos), and Hēt-seshesh,  (Diospolis Parva); thus it is clear that the company of the Seven Hathors did not always include the same forms of the goddess. In the Litanies of Seker<sup>3</sup> we have also a "Litany of the Hathors," wherein are mentioned the Hathors of:—1. Tēp-āhet. 2. Māfek and Thebes. 3. Thebes. 4. Nebt-hetep. 5. Suten-henen. 6. Memphis. 7. She-Teshher; here, then, is a different group of Seven Hathors. In the six lines of text which follow, Hathor is identified with the goddesses:—1. Bast. 2. Sati. 3. Uatchet. 4. Sekhet. 5. Lady of Ammu. 6. Nit (Neith); and after this we have addresses to the Hathors of Thebes, Suten-henen, Tēp-āhet, Nehau, Rehsau, Shet-Teshert, Māfek, Āneb, Uaua, Ammu, Amem, and Hathor, lady of the "City of Sixteen," , i.e., Lycopolis, in all Twelve Hathors. If we had full information on the subject we should probably find that each great city possessed its own selection of Hathors, and that the forms of the goddess whose names were inscribed on funeral papyri were only those which were popular with those who caused such documents to be made.

<sup>1</sup> Page ix., l. 8. (Birch, *Select Papyri*.)

<sup>2</sup> See *Denderah*, tom. 1, pl. 27; Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 972.

<sup>3</sup> See my paper in *Archaeologia*, vol. lii. (Papyrus of Nesi-Amsu).



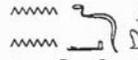
THE GODDESS HATHOR.

The Greeks identified Hathor with their goddess Aphrodite, and there are many passages in the Egyptian texts which show that they were justified in doing so. She represented not only what was true, but what was good, and all that is best in woman as wife, mother, and daughter; she was also the patron goddess of all singers, dancers, and merry-makers of every kind, of beautiful women, and of love, of artists and artistic works, and also of the vine and wine, and ale and beer, and, in fact, of joy and happiness, and of everything which contributed thereto. She was identified astronomically with the star Sept,  $\overline{\text{A}}^*$ , or Sothis, which was called the "second sun" in heaven, she was thereby connected with the rise of the Nile preparatory to the Inundation, and she appeared in the form of this star in the heavens in the neighbourhood of the sun in the second half of July. Sothis rose heliacally on the first day of the Egyptian New Year, and when the Sun-god Rā had entered his boat, Hathor, the goddess of the star Sothis, went with him and took up her place like a crown upon his forehead.<sup>1</sup> She was, as we have seen, both the wife of Rā, and the daughter of Rā; she herself was brought forth by the goddess Nut in the form of a black-skinned,  $\overline{\text{A}}^*$ , or blackish-red skinned child and received as her name that of the last hour of the day, Khnemet-ānkh,  $\overline{\text{A}}^*$ , or  $\overline{\text{A}}^*$ , or  $\overline{\text{A}}^*$ .<sup>2</sup> Hathor, as lady of the Underworld, played a very prominent part in connection with the welfare of the dead, for without her friendly help and protection the deceased could never attain to everlasting life.

The position which Hathor held among the gods of the Underworld is well illustrated by the following passages from the *Book of the Dead*. In his hymn to Rā the deceased officer Nekht says, "O thou beautiful being, thou dost renew thyself in thy "season in the form of the Disk within thy mother Hathor," with which words he refers to the goddess as a nature power. In the Judgment Scene we find that she is one of the company of the gods who watch the "weighing of words," and who afterwards decree joy and felicity for the heart which has been weighed and

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 318; Lanzone, *op. cit.*, p. 865.

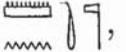
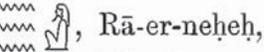
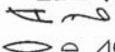
<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Mythologische Inschriften*, p. 844 (Twelfth Hour of the Day).

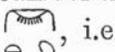
found just. When the deceased is face to face with the monster  $\bar{A}$ pep, Hathor is one of the group of gods consisting of  $\bar{N}$ ETCHEB- $\bar{A}$ B-F, , Tem, Nentchā, , Seb, Nut, and Kheperā, who encourage the deceased to do battle with him, and she cries out to the deceased, "Take your armour;" but she, like the deceased, is in terror of  $\bar{A}$ pep and "she quaketh" thereat (xxxix. 22). In the Chapter (xlii.) which describes the deification of the members of the deceased, she becomes his two eyes, and he declares, "My eyes are the eyes of Hathor." Now Hathor was, according to one myth, the star Sotāis,  $\Delta_{\Delta}^{\star}$ , *Sept.*, and she took up her place in the face of Horus or Rā as his right eye; another myth which made her the night sky also made her the moon therein; hence the eyes of Hathor are the sun and moon, and the deceased regards these as his own eyes in the text. In other Chapters (lii., lxiii.A, lxviii.), she appears as the goddess who provides the deceased with meat and drink, and thus we find the following:—"Let me eat my food under the sycamore tree of my "lady Hathor, and let my times be among the divine beings who "have alighted thereon;" and again, "In a clean place I shall sit "on the ground beneath the foliage of the date palm of the goddess "Hathor, who dwelleth in the spacious Disk as it advanceth to "Ānnu, having the books of the divine words of the writings of "the god Thoth;" and again, "Let me have power over cakes, "and let me eat of them under the leaves of the palm tree of the "goddess Hathor, who is my divine lady" (lxxxii. 7).

In the Hall of Maāti the name of the left foot of the deceased was "Staff of Hathor" (cxxv. 35), and a special Chapter (ciii.) was composed with the view of enabling the deceased to "be among those who are in the following of Hathor." Thus we see that she was held to be sufficiently important to have a train of attendant gods, or ministering angels, about her. In the vignette of Chapter cxxxiv. Hathor forms one of the company of the gods of Heliopolis, which here consists of Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Hathor, and Horus, the last named taking the place of Set or Suti; and in Chapter cxl. Hathor, with Tem, Utchatet, , Shu, Seb, Osiris, Suti, Horus,

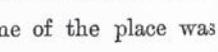


THE GODDESS HET-HERT (HATHOR).

Menth, , Bäh, , Rā-er-neheh, , , Thoth, Nāau-tchetta (?), , Nut, Isis, Nephthys, Nekht, , Mert, (?), , Maät, Anep, and Tā-mes-tchetta, , are said to be "the soul and body of Rā." In Chapter cli. A Nephthys addresses the deceased and says, "Rā hearkeneth unto thy cry; thou, O daughter of Hathor, art "made to triumph, thy head shall never be taken away from thee, "and thou shalt be made to rise up in peace." It was Hathor in the form of a cow who received the dead when they entered the Underworld, she gave them new life, and celestial food wherewith to maintain it, and in the Roman period the personality of the deceased is merged in that of the goddess in the funeral texts, just as during the dynastic period it was merged in that of Osiris. Finally, it is said in a passage quoted from a papyrus by M. Maspero<sup>1</sup> which prescribes the placing of the "swathing of Hathor" on the face of the deceased, "She (i.e., Hathor) shall make thy face "perfect among the gods, she shall make thy thighs large among "the goddesses, she shall open thine eye so that thou shalt see "each day, she shall enlarge thy place in Amentet, she shall make "thy voice to prevail over thy adversaries; and she shall make "thy legs to walk with ease in the Underworld in her name of "Hathor, lady of Amentet."

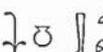
In an interesting text in the Ptolemaic temple at Dêr al-Medîna,<sup>2</sup> on the western bank of the Nile opposite Thebes, we find that Hathor is called NUBT, , i.e., the "Golden One," and that she is addressed as the "queen of the gods," and her adorer says, "thou standest high in the south as the lady of Teka (Eileithyias-polis), and thou illuminest the west as lady of Saïs. Thou "appearest and thou art commemorated in festivals as Hathor, "the great lady, the beloved of Rā in [thy] seven forms." Thoth, we are told, comes to look upon her face, and he praises her according to her desire, and she is built up by his words. As

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, Paris, 1875, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> The Egyptian name of the place was , Kheft-hrā-en-neb-s, and the Greek Pasêmis; Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 574.

NEBT-ḤETEPET she is glorious in heaven, and mighty upon earth, and queen of the Underworld. As the goddess TEMT she is the lady of the "two lands," and of the red covering, and she shines in the cities of Buto and Bubastis. It is evident from the above that as the goddess of the Underworld Hathor was identified with the four great and ancient goddesses, Nekhebet of Nekhebet (Eileithyiaspolis), Uatchet of Per-Uatchet, Bast of Bubastis, and Nit (Neith) of Saïs, i.e., with the four typical goddesses of the four quarters of the world and of the four cardinal points, and it is also quite evident that this identification is the product of a late period, when the earliest attributes of Uatchet and Nekhebet, etc., were forgotten. It is, however, convenient to consider these goddesses under the head of Hathor, and they will, therefore, be described here, not because the writer regards the Ptolemaic identification as the correct one, but because there is something to be said for it.

NEKHEBET, , THE GODDESS OF THE SOUTH.

From the hieroglyphic inscriptions which belong to the archaic period we find that the kings of Egypt were in the habit of placing before their names the sign , by which they intended to indicate their sovereignty over the South and the North; it is uncertain how these signs are to be read, but there is no doubt whatsoever about their meaning. The vulture is the symbol of the goddess of the South, and the uraeus is the symbol of the goddess of the North, and down to very late dynastic times the kings of Egypt gloried in declaring that they were sovereigns of the country by virtue of the favour of the goddesses whose emblems were the vulture and uraeus. It is tolerably certain that in predynastic times the vulture was worshipped generally throughout Upper Egypt, and that a particular form of the serpent was venerated in the Delta; the centre of the worship of the vulture was in the city called Nekhebet, , or, , which was named Eileithyiaspolis by the Greeks, and "Civitas Lucinae" by the Latins, and formed the capital of the third nome of Upper Egypt, and the centre of the worship of the serpent was



THE GODDESS NEKHEBIT.

Per-Uatchet, , the *Βούτρος* of the Greeks and the Buto of the Latins, and the capital of the seventh nome of Lower Egypt. Nekhebet was declared to be the daughter of Rā, , and also the "divine wife of Khent Ámenti," . The shrine of the goddess was Nekhent, , or, , or, , and its site is represented by the modern Arab village of El-Kâb; in late times Nekhebet lost all its political importance, and the neighbouring towns of Áni, , and Senit, , came into prominence in its place.<sup>1</sup> Nekhen, also written, , i.e., the "White Nekhen," was the town which contained the sanctuary of the "venerable (or, holy) vulture," , and the vulture goddess Nekhebet in the land of the South is distinctly, in later texts, identified with Hathor.<sup>2</sup>

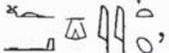
Nekhebet is usually represented in the form of a woman who wears on her head the vulture head-dress surmounted by the white crown, , the sign of sovereignty over Upper Egypt, to which are attached two plumes; sometimes she holds in one hand the sceptre, , and sometimes , and in the other we see the symbol of "life," . Occasionally the sceptre is formed of a long-stemmed flower, which seems to be a water-lily, with a serpent twined round it; this serpent is none other than the winged serpent, with the crown of the South upon its head, which is as symbolic of the goddess as the vulture. Nekhebet is also represented in the form of a woman with the head of a vulture, and in a picture of her reproduced by Signor Lanzone<sup>3</sup> she stands upon *maût* , and holds a bow and an arrow in her left hand. In the form of a uraeus Nekhebet took her place, with her twin sister Uatchet, upon the brow of Rā, and both goddesses devoted themselves to destroying the enemies of the god; this idea is alluded to in the winged disks which are seen

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 352 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. 348.

sculptured over the doors of temples in Egypt, for on each side is a serpent, that on the right, or south side, being Nekhebet, and that on the left, or north side, being Uatchet. Nekhebet was, astronomically, the western or right eye of the sun during his journey in the Underworld, and Uatchet was his eastern or left eye. As a nature power Nekhebet was a form of the primeval abyss which brought forth the light,<sup>1</sup> and she is therefore called the "father of fathers, the mother of mothers, who hath existed from "the beginning, and is the creatrix of the world." In the bas-reliefs in Egyptian temples she is usually represented with her twin sister Uatchet, and also in coronation scenes, for it was most important for a king to be crowned with the double crown, , by these deities.

According to Brugsch, special rooms or chambers were set apart in the temples of Egypt, near the sanctuaries of the gods wherein Uatchet and Nekhebet were supposed to abide; the chamber of the former was on the west, or right side of the sanctuary, and was called *per nesert* , or "house of fire," and that of the latter was on the east, or left side of the sanctuary, and was called *per ur*, or "great house," . And it is very probable that at the time of the coronation of a king priestesses dressed themselves in the character of the two goddesses, and that the one declared the South had been given to him whilst the other asserted the same concerning the North. In coloured pictures of Nekhebet Fākit, , we find that she is painted of a light yellow, or almost white colour, which is probably intended to represent the colour of the desert regions of the South, and of the white light of the newly risen sun or moon. From one aspect she was identified with Isis, the fertile nature goddess, just as Uatchet was identified with Nephthys, who was supposed to act the part of nurse to the offspring whom Isis brought forth; in other words, Nekhebet was the mother of the Sun-god, and therefore also of the king of Egypt, his son, and Uatchet was his nurse. A passage in the text of Mer-en-Rā

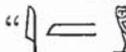
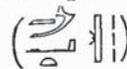
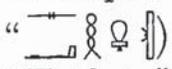
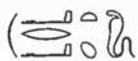
<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 324.



THE GODDESS UATCHIT.

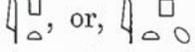




one;” “Uatchet, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods;”  
 “Uatchet, lady of Nebiui, , lady of Neter-  
 “ta, , lady of Per-Menät, , and lady of Ämemt,  
 “.” Besides her shrines in these last named cities  
 one built in her honour seems to have existed in Sept, . The  
 views held about the goddess in connexion with the dead are well  
 illustrated by certain allusions made to her in the *Book of the Dead*.  
 In the xviiith Chapter she is mentioned in connexion with a god  
 called Rehu, , and she is definitely identified with Isis  
 who is said to have protected her son Horus by shaking her hair out  
 over him, although Uatchet appears in the form of a serpent twined  
 round the stalk of a papyrus plant and is called the “eye of Rā.”  
 In the xliiind Chapter the shoulder of the deceased is said to  
 be the shoulder of Uatchet; in the lxvith Chapter the deceased  
 says, “I have knowledge. I was conceived by Sekhet, and the  
 “goddess Nit (Neith) gave me birth. I am Horus, and I have  
 “come forth from the Eye of Horus (i.e., Rā). I am Uatchet who  
 “came forth from Horus. I am Horus, and I fly up and perch  
 “myself upon the forehead of Rā in the bows of his boat which is  
 “in heaven.” In Chapter cxxxvi.A the deceased is said to be  
 the “lord of Maät () which the goddess Uatchet worketh;”  
 in Chapter cxxxvi.B he says, “I am the spiritual body (*sāh*  
 “) of the lord of Maät which is made by the goddess  
 “Uatchet;” and in Chapter clxxix. he says, “The Enemy hath  
 “come to an end beneath me in the presence of the Assessors,  
 “and I eat him in the great field on the altar of Uatchet;”  
 finally, in Chapter clxxii. (l. 19) certain bones in the head of  
 the deceased are identified with those of the Uatchti goddesses,  
 i.e., Nekhebet and Uatchet. During the ceremonies connected  
 with embalming, the operator or priest addressed the mummy,  
 saying, “The goddess Uatchet cometh unto thee in the form of the  
 “living Uraeus (, *Ärät*), to anoint thy head with their

<sup>1</sup> Their = Uatchet and Nekhebet.

“flames. She riseth up on the leſt ſide of thy head, and ſhe  
 “ſhineth from the right ſide of thy temples without ſpeech; they  
 “riſe up on thy head during each and every hour of the day, even  
 “as they do for their father Rā, and through them the terror  
 “which thou inſpireſt in the holy ſpirits is increased, and becauſe  
 “Uatchet and Nekhebet riſe up on thy head, and becauſe thy brow  
 “becometh the portion of thy head whereon they eſtabliſh them-  
 “ſelves, even as they do upon the brow of Rā, and becauſe they  
 “never leave thee, awe of thee ſtriketh into the ſouls which are  
 “made perfect.”<sup>1</sup>

In the *Book of the Dead* Uatchet generally plays the part of deſtroyer of the foes of the deceased, but her connexion with Maāt ſhows that ſhe was identified with ſome one of the female counterparts of Thoth. In a calendar published by Brugsch<sup>2</sup> we ſee that under the name of Āpt, , or, , Uatchet was regarded as the goდეſs of the eleventh month of the Egyptian year (Epiphi).

BAST,  , THE LADY OF THE EAST.

BAST was the goდეſs *par excellence* of the eaſtern part of the Delta, and the centre of her worſhip was at Per-Baſt, or Pa-Baſt,  , or,   , or Bubaſtis, the capital of the Ām-khent,  , the ſeventh nome (Bubaſtites) of Lower Egypt; this city is often referred to by claſſical writers (Herodotus ii. 137, 156; Diodorus 16, 51; Strabo xvii.; Pliny v. 9), and is mentioned in the Bible under the name Pibeſeth, פִּיבֶּסֶת (Ezekiel xxx. 17). The ſite is marked by the ruins at Tell-Baſta which were carefully excavated by M. Naville, who made ſome intereſting diſcoveries concerning the great antiquity of the city of Bubaſtis, and who published the inſcriptions which are ſtill to be found upon the ruins of the great buildings which once ſtood there.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Mémoire ſur quelques Papyrus*, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *Astronomische und Astrologische Inſchriften*, p. 473, No. 11.

<sup>3</sup> See *Bubaſtis*, Eighth and Tenth Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1891 and 1892.



THE GODDESS BAST.

In the version of Manetho according to Julius Africanus (Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 98), it is said that in the reign of Boethus, the first king of the IIInd Dynasty, a chasm opened at Bubastis, and that many persons perished, but M. Naville found no historical remains so old as this period on the site; he has, however, discovered on blocks of stone there the names of Khufu and Khāf-Rā, kings of the IVth Dynasty, written in such a way as to prove that the inscriptions were cut during the period of the Early Empire. Of the kings of the VIth Dynasty only the name of Pepi I. is found at Bubastis, and in connection with this king it is interesting to note that in his funeral inscription (line 569) his heart is said to be the heart of Bestet, i.e., Bast, . This fact shows that the worship of Bast was already very old in Egypt, at all events in the Delta, and that a definite position was assigned to her in the theological system of the priests of Heliopolis. In the text of Pepi II. () (), it is said, "O god of the double town () the double of Pepi is for thy "two fingers; Pepi hath swept off towards the heavens like a crane, "Pepi hath scented out the heavens like a hawk, Pepi hath flown "up to heaven like the grasshopper of Rā; Pepi must not be "repulsed, O king, there is no green herb for Pepi, O Bast " () , and none hath made dances for Pepi [who "standeth] like a great man at the door" (line 869). To find the name of Bast in the Pyramid Texts is natural enough, for their Heliopolitan editors introduced many local, and even foreign deities into the companies of their gods; in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, however, Bast and her city are very rarely mentioned, and her name is entirely omitted from the list of the gods mentioned in connexion with the deification of members (Chapter xlii.).

In the "Negative Confession" (line 16) of the cxxvth Chapter we have the mention of the assessor called Thenemi, , i.e., he who goes backwards, who is said to come forth from Bast, , and an assessor called Basti,  (line 26), is said to come forth from the city of Shetait.

The goddess Bast is usually represented in the form of a woman with the head of a cat, but she also has, at times, the head of a lioness surmounted by a snake; in her right hand she holds a sistrum, and in her left an aegis with the head of a cat or lioness on the top of it. The form in which the goddess was worshipped in the earliest times was that of a cat, and her identification with a lioness probably belongs to a comparatively late period. From the inscription we find that she was also identified with Rāt, , the female counterpart of Rā, and with Temt,  , the female counterpart of Tem; she is often called the "eye of Rā," and the "eye of Tem," and the Shetat, , i.e., the "Hidden one." According to one legend Bast was the personification of the soul of Isis,    , and was worshipped as such in Bubastis, and it was only at "Bubastis of the South,"   , i.e., Dendera, that she was regarded as the female counterpart of Tem. From the fact that she is associated with the god Sept, "the lord of the East," it is tolerably certain that in one aspect at least she was regarded as a foreign goddess, whose attributes and characteristics had been transferred to her. As Temt,  , at Dendera, she was said to be the mother of the lion-headed god Āri-ḥes,  , the lord of Aphroditopolis, , the holy Sekhem,  , who dwelt in the temple of Bast of Dendera;<sup>1</sup> her husband in this case was the god Ān, , who was a form of Osiris.

At Thebes Bast was identified with Mut, the lady of Asheru; at Memphis with Mut and Uatchet, at Heliopolis with Iusāaset, and in Nubia with Sekhet and Menḥet, at a town in the Delta called Sekhet,  , her name appears to have been Bare-Āst,    . <sup>2</sup> If we are to seek for the derivation of the name Bast in Egyptian we must connect it with the word for

<sup>1</sup> See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 208; *Religion*, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Lanzone, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

“fire,” *bes* and regard the goddess as a personification of a power of the sun which made itself manifest in the form of heat. That this view is correct is certain from several passages in Egyptian texts, wherein both Bast and Sekhet are described as closely connected forms of a female personification of the heat and light of the Sun-god, and wherein they are made to act as the destroyers both of the enemies of the Sun-god, and of the deceased. Thus of Sekhet it is said in the “Book of Overthrowing Āpep” (xxvii. 15), “The Eye of Horus falls upon him cutting and “hacking his head from his neck; the goddess Sekhet tears out “his intestines and kicks them on the fire with her left leg; she “places them on the fire and burns into him in her name of ‘Set-“usert-āa’ (); she burns into him and “drives out his soul from his body; she obtains the mastery over “him in her name of ‘Sekhet’ (); and she overpowers “him in her name of ‘Khut-nebāt’ (), “i.e., Eye of Flame); she consumes his interior and blazes in it “with the flame of her mouth.” Speaking generally, Sekhet personified the burning, fiery, and destructive heat of the sun, and Bast represented the milder heat which at certain periods of the day and year encouraged the growth of vegetation, and the germination of seeds.

That Sekhet and Bast are goddesses of fire is quite clear, for they accompany Hathor in her character of the “Eye of Rā,” and as forms of the Sun-god they symbolize the heat of the late and early summer respectively. It has already been said that Bast is identified with Mut at Thebes, but we also find that at Thebes Mut-Bast<sup>1</sup> is depicted as Isis, and we see her wearing upon her head the feathers of the god Shu, and horns with the sun's disk between them. The god of whom she is the female counterpart is in this case Āmen-Rā-Temu-Kheperā-Heru-khuti, who is represented with the head of a hawk wearing the crown of Shu; the offspring of the two deities is Khensu, . These

<sup>1</sup> See Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 334.

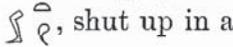
considerations lead us to the conclusion that Bast was, at all events in dynastic times, a personification of the moon, especially when we remember that Khensu was a lunar god. With the head of a lioness, which is usually painted green, she symbolized the sunlight, but when she is given the head of a cat her connexion with the moon is undoubted; Dr. Brugsch refers to Plutarch's remark that the pupils of the eyes of cats become full and very large at the time of the full moon, and it is probable that the primitive Egyptians held the same view, and that as a result they identified the cat-headed goddess Bast with the moon. From another aspect Bast was regarded as exercising a special influence over women who were with child, and she appears on several occasions as one of the goddesses of the birth-chamber; her son Khensu was declared "to make women fruitful, and make the human germ to grow in his mother's womb," and he was supposed to do this especially in his character of the "moon, the light-bearer."

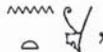
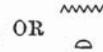
According to the Stele of Canopus, the chief festivals of the goddess Bubastis were celebrated in the months of April and May, and of one of these Herodotus (ii. 60) furnishes some interesting information. He says:—"Such of this people as with entyre and affectionate zeale most religiously obserue the feast at Bubastis, behaue and beare themselues on this maner. Certayne shippes being addressed, wherein infinite numbers of men and women sayle towards the city, in the meane season whiles they be in voiage on ye water, certaine of the women play upon drums and tabers, making a great sound and royse, ye men on pipes. Such as want these implements, clap their hands and straine their uoice in singing to ye highest degree. At what city soeuer they ariue, happely some of the women continue their mirth and disport on ye timbrels, some others raile, reuile, and scold at the dames of ye city beyond measure: many trauisse and daunce minionly: other cast up their clothes, and openly discouer and bewray their shame, doing this in all those cittes yt are neere adioyning to the riuers side. Being assembled and gathered together at Bubastis, they honour the feast day with principall solemnity, making large offerings to Diana, wherein is greater

" expence and effusion of grape wine than all the yeare besides.  
 " To this place by the voice of ye countrey are wont to repayre  
 " 7000 men and women, besides children, and thus they passe the  
 " time at Bubastis."<sup>1</sup> Of the city of Bubastis itself the same  
 writer says <sup>2</sup> (ii. 137, 138):—" The noble city of Bubastis seemeth  
 " to be very haughty and highly planted, in which city is a temple  
 " of excellent memory dedicate to the goddesse Bubastis, called in  
 " our speech Diana, then the which, albeit there be other churches  
 " both bigger and more richly furnished, yet for the sightly grace  
 " and seemelynesse of building, there is none comparable unto  
 " it. Besides, the very entrance and way that leadeth unto the  
 " city, the reste is in forme of an Ilande, inclosed round about with  
 " two sundry streames of the river Nilus, which runne to either  
 " side of the path way, and leauing as it were a lane or causey  
 " betweene them, without meeting, take their course another way.  
 " These armes of the flood are each of them an hundred foote  
 " broade, beset on both sides the banckes with fayre braunched  
 " trees, ouershadowing ye waters with a coole and pleasant shade.  
 " The gate or entry of the city is in heighth 10. paces, hauing in  
 " the front a beautifull image, 6. cubites in measure. The temple  
 " it selfe situate in the middest of ye city, is euermore in sight to  
 " those yt passe to and fro. For although ye city by addition of  
 " earth was arrered and made higher, yet ye temple standing as it  
 " did in ye beginning, and neuer mooued, is in maner of a lofty  
 " and stately tower, in open and cleare viewe to euery parte of ye  
 " city. Round about the which goeth a wall, ingrauen with  
 " figures and portraitures of sundry beasts. The inner temple is  
 " enuironed with an high grove of trees, set and planted by the  
 " hande and industrie of men: in the whiche temple is standing an  
 " image. The length of the temple is in euery way a furlong.  
 " From the entrance of the temple Eastward, there is a fayre large  
 " causey leading to the house of Mercury, in length, three furlongs  
 " and four acres broade, all of faire stone, and hemmed in on each  
 " side with a course of goodly tall trees planted by the hands of  
 " men, and thus as touching the description of ye temple."

<sup>1</sup> B. R.'s Translation, fol. 86*a*.

<sup>2</sup> B. R.'s Translation, fol. 108*a*.

According to Brugsch,<sup>1</sup> the great triad of the city of Bubastis consisted of Osiris, Bast, and their offspring, who was called *Heru-hekenu*, , or *Nefer-Tem*, or *Bast*; their equivalents in Heliopolis were *Tem*, *Iusāaset*, and *Nefer-Tem*; in Memphis, *Ptah-Sekhet*, and *Nefer-Tem*; in Thebes, *Āmen-Rā-Heru-khuti*, and *Mut-Bast*, and *Khensu*, or *Horus*, or *Neb-āut-āb*; in Aphroditopolis, *Osiris-Ān*, and *Bast-Temt*, and *Āri-ḥes*. In the Bubastite nome were many temples and localities in which the worship of Bast was paramount, and among such may be mentioned *Bairāst*, , the modern *Belbēs*, and *Netert*, , or , where was preserved a thigh of Osiris, , shut up in a "hidden chest."<sup>2</sup>

NET, , OR , OR , OR ,

THE LADY OF THE WEST.

NET, or NEITH, was one of the oldest of all the Egyptian goddesses, and it is tolerably certain that her worship was widespread even in predynastic times; many attempts have been made to arrive at a decision about her earliest attributes by means of etymological processes, but they are unsatisfactory because they only illustrate the views which the Egyptians held concerning her in comparatively late dynastic times, and several of them only explain the objects which the goddess is seen holding in her hands in pictures. The examples reproduced by Lanzone represent the goddess in the form of a woman, who wears upon her head the crown of the North, ; she often holds a sceptre, , or , in one hand, and the symbol of life in the other, but sometimes the hand which holds the sceptre also grasps a bow and two arrows, which are her characteristic symbols. She once<sup>3</sup> appears in the form of a cow with eighteen stars on one side, and a collar round her neck from which hangs ; on her back is a ram-headed lion with horns and plumes, , upon his head. The cow stands in a boat, the

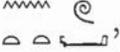
<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> See de Rougé, *Géographie*, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. 175 ff.

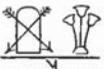


THE GODDESS NIT (NEITH).

prow of which terminates in a lion's head with a disk upon it, and is provided with wings; the stern of the boat terminates in a ram's head, and by the fore feet of the cow, which is described as "Net, the Cow, which gave birth to Rā," , is an *utchat*, . In one scene she is represented with a crocodile sucking at each breast.<sup>1</sup> In late dynastic times there is no doubt that Net or Neith was regarded as nothing but a form of Hathor, but at an earlier period she was certainly a personification of a form of the great, inert, primeval watery mass out of which sprang the Sun-god Rā, and it is possible, as Brugsch has suggested, that the name Net may be akin in meaning to Nut. On the other hand, if we connect her name with the root *netet*, , "to knit, to weave," and the like, we may accept the view of those who describe Net as the goddess of weaving, and who identify the signs, , and , which are often seen upon her head, with a shuttle. It is, however, quite clear that the oldest and most characteristic symbols of the goddess were two arrows and a shield, which at a very early period became the recognized emblems, not only of Net herself, but also of the city in which her chief temple was situated, and they also served as the symbols which formed the name of the nome of which the city Saïs was the capital. Now since Net was represented by a bow and two arrows, there is no good reason for doubting that she was originally either a goddess of war or of the chase, and it is probable that she was identified with a local wood-spirit, or hunting-spirit, which was worshipped in the east of the Delta in the predynastic period. In any case it is quite certain, when we consider the attributes which are ascribed to her in the texts, that she represents several goddesses who were the conceptions of quite different periods of history and of stages of civilization. Thus, at times, her attributes cannot be distinguished from those of Isis, Uatchet, Sekhet, Bast, Mut, Nekhebet, and other goddesses, and she was identified with one and all of them by turns.

The most ancient and famous sanctuary of Net was at Saïs, , *Saut*, the capital of the fifth nome of Lower Egypt,

<sup>1</sup> Lanzzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 175, No. 3.

which bore the name of  "Säpi-meht," i.e., "Säpi of the North," and which was also called **H**et Net,   , i.e., "House of Net," and "Äst-Net,"   , i.e., "The seat of Net;" a rare name of the city quoted by Brugsch<sup>1</sup> and de Rougé<sup>2</sup> is "Säpi,"   , or  . The texts often mention the "temples of Net,"  , that is to say, the temples of the gods who were worshipped with Net at Saïs; the names of these temples are:—**H**et-khebit,  , Resenet and Mehenet,  ,  , Per-Rä,  , and Per-Tem,  . The great temple of Net at Saïs must, of course, not be confounded with that of Saïs of Upper Egypt, i.e., Esneh, which was called Per-Net-mut-kheperhetch,        ; the names of Esneh are Äni,    , and Seni,  . At Saïs was held the great annual festival in honour of Isis-Net, as recorded by Herodotus (ii. 59), and it is this which is described by the same writer (ii. 62) in the following words<sup>3</sup>:—"In like manner meeting (as before) at the city Saïs, "there to accomplishe the rites and ceremonies due to the day, at "the approche and neere poynt of the euening, they furnish and "beset their houses with torches and lampes, which being replenished with pure oyle mingled with salte, they giue fire to the "weike, and suffer them to continue burning till the next "morning, naming the day by the feast of lampes. Such as "resort not to this feast, do neuerthesse at their owne homes giue "due honour to the night, placing in euery corner of theyr house "an infinite number of tapers and candles, the custome being not "only kept at Saïs, but spread and scattered throughout the "whole region. But for what ende this night is held solemne by "lighting of lampes, a certayne mysticall and religious reason is "yeilded which we must keepe secret."

After describing the place in the temple of Saïs where Apries

<sup>1</sup> *Dict. Géog.*, p. 1323.

<sup>2</sup> *Géographie de la Basse Égypte*, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> B. R.'s translation, fol. 86b.

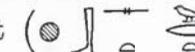
was buried, and mentioning the "fayre Chamber builte of stone, "beautified with sundry Pyllers ingrauen like unto Palme-trees, "being otherwyse very sumptuously and royally garnished," and the two "mayne posts in the middest of the chamber, betweene "the which standeth a Cophine," and the "tounge in the same, "the name whereof," he says, "I may not descry without breache "of Religion," Herodotus goes on to speak of other matters connected with Saïs, and says (ii. 170):—"At Saïs in the Temple "of Minerva, beneath the Church and neere unto the walle of "Minerva, in a base Chappell, are standinge certayne greate "brooches of stone, whereto is adioyninge a lowe place in manner "of a Dungeon, couered over wyth a stone curiously wroughte, the "vaute it selfe being on euery side carued with most exquisite "arte, in biggnesse matchinge with that in Delos, which is called "Trochoïdes. Herein euery one counterfayteth the shadowes of "hys owne affections and phantasies in the nyghte season, which "the Aegyptians call Mysteryes; touchinge whiche, God forbid, I "should aduenture to discouer so much as they vouchsafed to tell "mee."<sup>1</sup> The "Mysteries" here referred to were probably the ceremonies performed in connexion with the annual commemoration of the sufferings and death of Osiris, who, according to an old legend, was buried at Saïs.

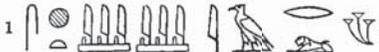
Passing now to consider the antiquity of the cult of Net at Saïs we find much to prove that the worship of this goddess dates from the latter part of the predynastic period. The earliest form of Net's name is found on an ivory cover of a box and on an ivory vase,<sup>2</sup> where it occurs in connexion with *hetep*, and so serves as a constituent part of the proper name Net-*hetep*, . Now, Net-*hetep*, we know, was connected with the early king SMA, and she appears to have been the wife of king   $\bar{A}\bar{H}\bar{A}$ , who has been commonly, but on insufficient evidence, identified with Menâ, the first historical king of Egypt. But whether  $\bar{A}\bar{H}\bar{A}$  is Menâ or not matters little for our purpose here, for it is quite certain that both he and SMA flourished about the beginning of the period of the

<sup>1</sup> B. R.'s translation, fol. 116b.

<sup>2</sup> See Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, ii., pp. 4-20, and pl. ii.



of linen was intended to serve as an amulet, and to bring to the mummy the protection of Net, who is referred to under the name of Isis. In the text of Unäs (line 597) we have the following address:—"Homage to thee, O Horus, in the regions of Horus; "homage to thee, O Set, in the regions of Set; homage to thee, "O Áarer () in Sekhet-Áarer;<sup>1</sup> homage to thee, O "Netetthááb () , thou son of these four gods who are in "the Great Temple, wherefrom the voice of Unäs goeth not out. "Take off your apparel in order that Unäs may see you as "Horus seeth Isis, and that Unäs may see you as Nehebu-kau " () seeth Selqet; and that Unäs may "see you as Sebek seeth Net, and that Unäs may see you as Set "seeth Netetthááb." A little further on (lines 620-627) we have another reference to Net and her son Sebek in these words, "Unäs "hath come in the form of Khent-em-meht-aḳebâ () " () , and this Unäs is Sebek with the green "feather () , who watcheth and who raiseth up his "forehead, and who is the white one who cometh forth from the "thigh[s] of Khebsert-urt () , who is in the light. "Unäs hath come to his pools which are on the banks of the canal " () of Meht-urt () , at the place where "offerings flourish, and in the fields which are in the horizon, and "he hath made to flourish his garden on the banks of the horizon. "Unäs hath brought the crystal () to the Great "Eye which is in the field. Unäs hath taken his place in the "horizon, he riseth like Sebek, the son of Net () , he "eateth with his mouth, he voideth water," etc. In the text of Tetâ (line 204) Net is mentioned in connection with Isis, Nephthys, and Serqet-Ĥetu, , as one of the four goddesses who shot forth flame, ,

<sup>1</sup> 

and worked "protection," , on behalf of the god Nu, , when he was seated on his throne.

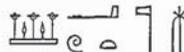
These same four goddesses also appear in connection with the Four Children of Horus, whom they assisted in protecting by magical means the various parts of human bodies which were placed in "Canopic jars." Thus Isis says, "I conquer the foe, I make protection for Âmseth who is in me"; Nephthys says, "I hide the hidden thing, and I make protection for Hâpi who is in me"; Net says, "I pass the morning and I pass the night of each day in making protection for T̄uamutef who is in me"; Serqet says, "I employ each day in making protection for Qeb̄h-sennuf who is in me."<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian word used here to express the meaning of "protection" is *sa*, , and the character represents a knot of a peculiar kind; the part which knots and cords tied in various ways have always played in magical ceremonies is too well known to need description, and it need only be pointed out here that the sign  indicates that the protection which Net exercised on behalf of the dead must have been of a magical character. This view is supported by a passage in the text of Unâs (l. 271 ff.) in which we find Net mentioned in connection with the goddesses Ânâ,    , Urt,  , Nesert,  , and Urt-ḥekau,    ; now Urt-ḥekau is distinctly said to be the "protective power of the Eye of Horus," and thus the attributes of Net and of the other goddesses must be of a kindred nature. In the text of Pepi I. (l. 572), in the passage relating to the deification of the members of the deceased it is said that the thighs of Pepi are "Net and Serqet,"     ; but in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* (Chapter xlii. 11), it is the fore-arms of the deceased which are identified with the fore-arms of the lady of Saïs, i.e., Net. In the Theban Recension the deceased declares (lxvi. 2) that he was conceived by the goddess Sekhet, and that the goddess Net gave birth to him. In Chapter lxxi. 15, we read, "Behold, the god of One Face is with me. The god Sebek hath stood up within his

<sup>1</sup> For the texts see my *Mummy*, p. 199 ff.



THE GODDESS SEBEK-NIT SUCKLING HORUS.

“ground, and the goddess Net hath stood up within her plantation”; and elsewhere (cxiv. 5; cxvi. 2) we read that she shineth in the city of Matchat, or Mentchat. In Chapter cxvi. 4, the deceased says, “O ye gods who dwell in Khemennu, ye know me even as I know the goddess Net”; and in Chapter cxlv. 81, he says, “I have entered into the house of Astes, and I have made supplication to the Khati gods and to Sekhet in the Temple of Net.” In the Rubric to Chapter clxiii., which has for its vignette a serpent on legs, and two *utchats* on legs, it is ordered that in the pupil of one *utchat* there shall be drawn a figure of the “god of the lifted hand” with the face of Net, and having plumes and a back like unto a hawk. From one aspect at least it is clear that Net must have been a form of the power of the Eye of Horus, as well as of Isis, his mother; her son Sebek is a local form of Horus, and it is probable that the two crocodiles, which are seen accompanying her, and which have been already mentioned, are in some way connected with the god Henti, , whose symbols are two crocodiles. Henti, there is every reason to believe, was a form of Osiris. It is, however, possible that one of the crocodiles may represent Horus, or Osiris, and the other Hetch-nefer-Sebeq, , the son of Net.

We have, unfortunately, no description of the ceremonies connected with the worship of Net, but there is good reason for believing that they were of a mystic character, and that they were modified from time to time in accordance with the change of beliefs of the priests in respect of the attributes of the goddess. Originally its chief characteristics must have been those of a local Delta or Libyan goddess of nature, and it is probable that it included ceremonies which were intended to represent the various processes of generation and reproduction. This view is supported by several of the titles which are given in Egyptian texts to her and to her kindred goddesses. Thus as Isis she was the first to give birth to a god, ;<sup>1</sup> as Hathor she was the “great cow which gave birth to Rā;” and she is called “the great goddess, the mother

<sup>1</sup> See Mallet, *Le Culte de Neit*, p. 140.

“of all the gods,” and “Rāt (i.e., the female Sun), the lady of heaven, the mistress of all the gods, who came into being in the beginning.” In a text quoted by M. Mallet she is actually called “ONE,” , a fact which proves that at a certain period of her history she was to goddesses what Rā was to gods. A certain amount of light is thrown upon the history of Net by the inscription<sup>1</sup> on the famous shrine-bearing statue of Utchat-Ḥeru now preserved in the Vatican, but it must be remembered that this monument is not older than the early part of the Persian period. Utchat-Ḥeru was an official of very high rank in Saïs, and he was high-priest of Net, and as such bore the official title of *Ur-sun*,  , i.e., “great one of knowledge.” He was commander of the vessels of Āāḥmes II. (Amasis), and when Cambyses came to Egypt and visited Saïs after his conquest of the country, it was Utchat-Ḥeru who received him, and explained to him the antiquity and greatness of the goddess Net, and conducted him through the various sanctuaries which were grouped together in her temple. In the course of his conversation with the king he told him that it was Net, the mighty mother, who had given birth to Rā, and that she was the first to give birth to anything, and that she had done so when nothing else had been born, and that she had never herself been born. For some reason or other Utchat-Ḥeru found favour in the sight of Cambyses, and the text tells us that the king made offerings “even as every other good king had done.” The funds provided by Cambyses were spent by Utchat-Ḥeru in reviving the schools which had fallen into decay, and in refounding colleges for the priests of Saïs. The fame and traditions of the antiquity of Net and her worship were current among the late Greek writers, and it will be remembered that Plutarch (*De Iside et Osir.*, ix.) refers to an inscription on a statue of Pallas which he renders, “I am everything which hath been, and which is, and which shall be, and there hath never been any who hath uncovered (or revealed) my veil.”<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere (Chapter lxii.) he

<sup>1</sup> See Revillout in *Revue Égyptologique*, tom. i., p. 72 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐγὼ εἶμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς, καὶ ὄν, καὶ ἐσόμενον, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς ποῦ ἀπεκάλυψεν.

says that the Egyptians often called Isis by the name Athene, which signifies, "I have come from myself."<sup>1</sup>

Up to the present no hieroglyphic inscription has been found which can be regarded exactly as the original of the Greek words, but there is no doubt that Plutarch only turned into words the opinions about the goddess Net which were current when he wrote his famous treatise on Isis and Osiris. In a passage of Proclus, who gives a Greek rendering of an Egyptian text in terms closely resembling those of Plutarch, after the words *Τὸν ἐμὸν χιτώνα οὐδεὶς ἀπεκάλυψε*, the goddess Net is made to say, *ὄν ἐγὼ καρπὸν ἔτεκον, ἥλιος ἐγένετο*, which beyond all doubt reflects with considerable exactitude the meaning of the Egyptian title of "Net, the mighty mother, who gave birth to Rā."<sup>2</sup> The words put into the mouth of the goddess, "I am what has been, what is, and what shall be," are, as M. Mallet has remarked,<sup>3</sup> only a development of a play upon her name Net and the word *ent* , or *entet* , i.e., a person or thing which is, or which exists, or which has being. In other words, the Egyptians regarded Net as the "Being" *par excellence*, i.e., the Being who was eternal and infinite, and was the creative and ruling power of heaven, earth, and the underworld, and of every creature and thing in them. Plutarch, however, was not without authority when he made Net say, *καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πω ἀπεκάλυψε*, for in an Egyptian text published by Pierret<sup>4</sup> under the title of "lady of the sycamore house,"

, the goddess Net is addressed in the following words:—

					
<i>ā</i>	<i>mut</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>ān</i>	<i>sefekh</i>	<i>mesu-s</i>
Hail,	mother	great,	not	hath been uncovered	thy birth!

<sup>1</sup> ἦλλον ἀπ' ἐμαντῆς.

<sup>2</sup>  *Net urt mut mes Rā.*

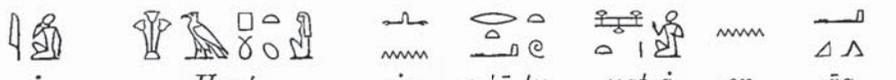
<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> *Études Égyptologiques, etc.*, Paris, 1873, p. 45 ff.

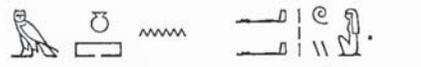

  
*à netert āat em khen en Tuaut shetat sep sen*
  
 Hail, goddess great, within the underworld which is doubly hidden,


  
*ätet rekhs- à netraï urt än*
  
 thou unknown one! Hail, thou divine one great, not

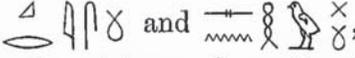

  
*sefelkh-tu qeräs-s à sefelkh senhu-s*
  
 hath been unloosed thy garment! O unloose thy garment.


  
*à Hapt än er'ä-tu uat-ä en āq*
  
 Hail, Hapt (Hidden one), not is given my way of entrance


  
*er-es määät shept ba en Äsar khwi-s*
  
 to her, come, receive thou the soul of Osiris, protect it


  
*em khen en āāui*
  
 within [thy] two hands.

These lines form a prayer which is put into the mouth of Änkh-f-en-Khensu, and, in the form in which we have it here, is not older than the Saïte period, i.e., about B.C. 550; but the petition refers very distinctly to the mysterious character of the births of Net, and to her attribute of inscrutability in the doubly hidden underworld, and whilst the deceased declares that none has ever penetrated the cloak wherewith she is shrouded, he beseeches her to unloose it for him. Two words are used to express "cloak,"

i.e., *gerās* and *senhu* , a fact which calls to mind the two words *πέπλος* and *χιτῶν* which are used by Plutarch and Proclus respectively to express the same word. It is, however, quite certain that the ideas and beliefs expressed in the above prayer are far older than the time of the Psammetici, and in one form or other they may be actually traced back to the period of the Early Empire.

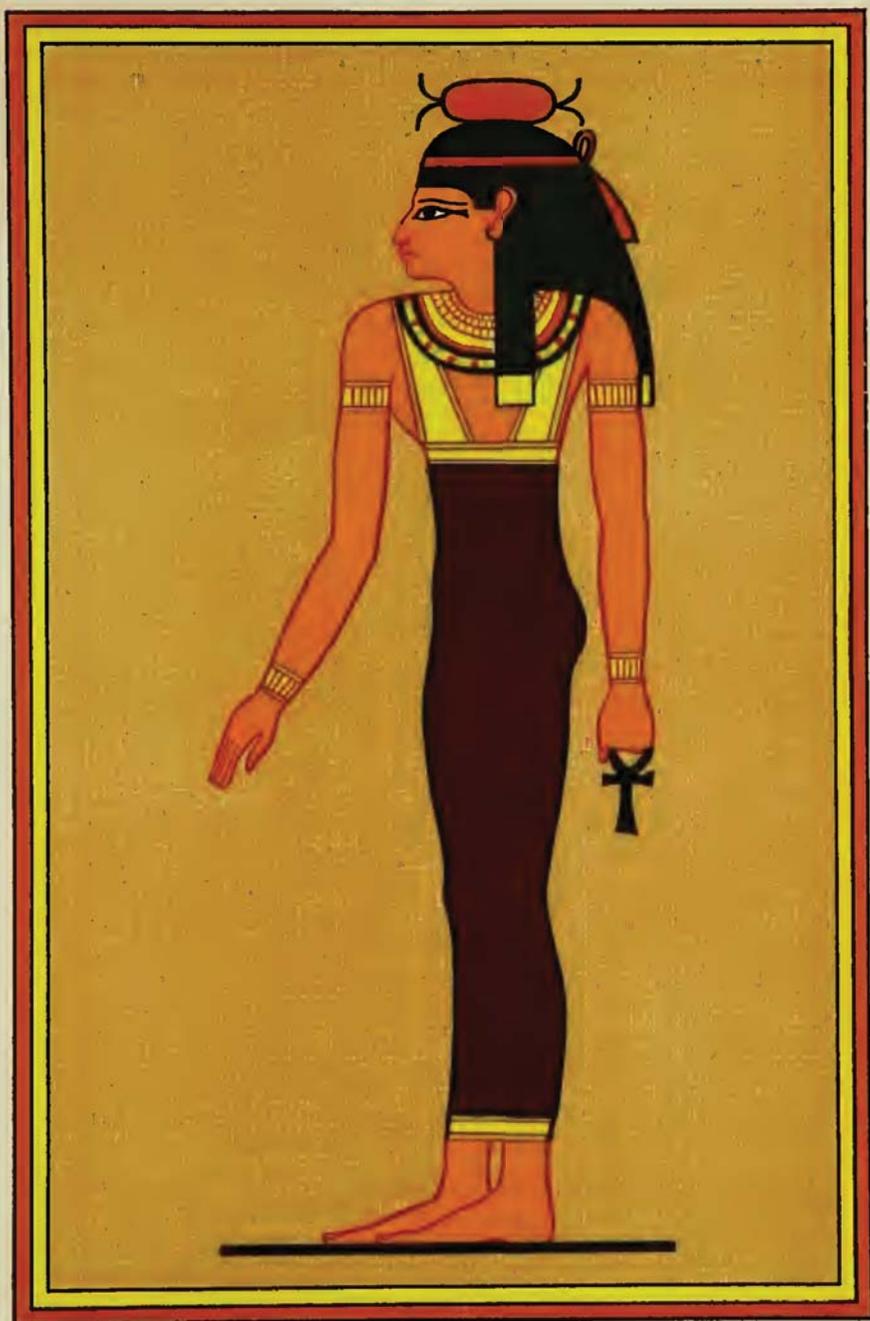
Another proof of the mysterious and remarkable powers which were attributed to Net by Greek writers is given by Horapollon, who in his "Hieroglyphica" (i. 12) says that when the Egyptians wish to depict a figure of Hephaistos they draw a scarab and a vulture, and when they want to represent Athene (i.e., Net) they draw a vulture and a scarab, for they believe that the world is composed of two elements, the one male and the other female, these two being the only gods whom they believe to be both male and female.<sup>1</sup> We have already seen that the god Kheperā was supposed to possess the powers of begetting and conceiving, and giving birth, and, in fact, to be at once both male and female, "and other forms of the Sun-god were said to be self-begotten, self-produced, and self-born;" these characteristics are, however, not applied to any goddess except Net. Since the Egyptians declared that she was eternal, and was self-produced, it followed as a matter of course that both a masculine and a feminine nature must be attributed to her. We have already described how Kheperā produced his son Shu and his daughter Tefnut, the information on these points being derived from ancient Egyptian writings, but details of the birth of Rā by Net have not come down to us, and as far as can be seen the Egyptian conception of the manner in which this goddess exerted her reproductive powers is of a far loftier character than that which appertained to the creation of Shu and Tefnut by Kheperā. It is customary to say that the Egyptians possessed no philosophical conceptions until the arrival of the Greeks in their country, but this view is a mistaken one, for there is much evidence extant which proves that already under the Early Empire Egyptian philosophers were constantly engaged in thinking out the

<sup>1</sup> οἱτοὶ γὰρ μόνου θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀρσενοθήλεις ὑπάρχουσι (ed. Leemans, p. 19).

problems which are connected with cosmogony and theogony. The reason why they did not advance as a nation further in such matters is that they allowed themselves to be hampered by traditional opinions and beliefs, and by the rituals and ceremonies which the people in general demanded should be integral portions of the public worship of the gods. The statements of Greek writers, taken together with the evidence derived from the hieroglyphic texts, prove that in very early times Net was the personification of the eternal female principle of life which was self-sustaining and self-existent, and was secret, and unknown, and all-pervading; the more material thinkers, whilst admitting that she brought forth her son Rā without the aid of a husband, were unable to divorce from their minds the idea that a male germ was necessary for his production, and finding it impossible to derive it from a power or being external to the goddess, assumed that she herself provided not only the substance which was to form the body of Rā but also the male germ which fecundated it. Thus Net was the prototype of partheno-genesis.

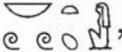
When, however, as Horapollo says, the Egyptians represented Net by a vulture they referred to her in her character of the universal mother, and as such many allusions are made to her in the texts. Certain passages, it is true, speak of her having set her arrow to her bow,<sup>1</sup> and of her enemies falling daily under her darts, but usually she is said to provide clothing for the dead, just as the house-mother arrays her dead in linen. Thus in the form of Mehenit, , she brought linen apparel and coverings of white, green, red, and purple linen to deck the face of the deceased, and an ancient legend declared that she arrayed Osiris in the apparel which had been specially woven for him by the two Rekhti goddesses, , i.e., Isis and Nephthys. And because of the part which she had taken in arraying Osiris in his grave-clothes Net was made to preside over the "good house," , i.e., the chamber in which the dead were embalmed and swathed in linen, and over the chambers of the temples in which the unguents which were employed in public worship were

<sup>1</sup> See Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 340.

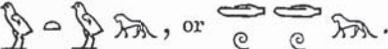


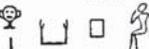
THE GODDESS NIT (NEITH).

compounded. The unguents which she mixed for Osiris proved to be the means by which the body of the god was preserved from destruction and made young again, and happy were the dead who were able to secure the ministrations of Net. We must note in connexion with these facts that many of the attributes of Net as a goddess of the dead were assigned to her because of her association with Osiris, and it is clear from the texts of the late dynastic period that Net was regarded in the light of a mother of Osiris, and Saïs was actually called the city of Osiris. At certain seasons of the year, festivals were celebrated there in commemoration of the embalming, and bandaging, and burial of this god, and the great feast of lamps, which is also referred to by Herodotus, was one of the most important. Another very important festival was that kept in the spring, on the birthday of Osiris, the son of Isis-Net, which the late Dr. Brugsch identified with the birthday of the spring sun.<sup>1</sup>

In Upper Egypt Net was chiefly worshipped at Seni (Esneh), the Latopolis of the Greeks, which is called in the texts, "the house of Net in the land of the south." Here she was identified with Nebuut, , Menhit, Sekhet, and Tefnut, and was represented with the head of a lioness painted green; and her titles were, "Father of fathers, and Mother of mothers," and "Net-Menhit, the great lady, lady of the south, the great cow "who gave birth to the sun, who made the germ of gods and "men, the mother of Rā, who raised up Tem in primeval time, "who existed when nothing else had being, and who created that "which exists after she had come into being." The people of Seni (Latopolis) assigned to her as husband the ram-headed god Khnemu, , the lord of the First Cataract, and she became therefore "lady of Ābu" (Elephantine), and the mother of TUTU, a form of the god Shu, whose symbol was a lion walking. TUTU, ,<sup>2</sup> is also known by the names HER-KA, ,<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> Variants, .

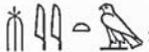
<sup>3</sup> Or,  *Her-ka-p-khart*.





## CHAPTER XV

## THE HORUS GODS

IT has already been stated that the hawk was probably the first living creature which was worshipped generally throughout Egypt, and that as the spirit of the heights of heaven, and as the personification of the god who made the sky he was called HĒRU, , i.e., "he who is above," or, "that which is above." It appears, however, that at a very early period this conception of HĒru was partly lost sight of, and whether as a result of the different views held by certain early schools of thought, or whether due to the similarity in sound between the name "HĒru" and the word for "face," HĒr or HĒrà, the idea which became associated with the god HĒru was that he represented the Face of heaven, i.e., the Face of the head of an otherwise unknown and invisible god. We can see that this view was an ancient one even in the time when the Pyramids were built, for several allusions are made in the funeral texts of the Vth and VIth Dynasties to the "hair" or "tresses," , of the Face of HĒru as the Face of heaven, and four gods who are called the "children of Horus," ,<sup>1</sup> are declared to have their abodes in these tresses.<sup>2</sup> The Face of heaven was supported by the four gods by means of the four sceptres which they held in their hands, and these four sceptres took the place of the four pillars, , of the god Shu which, according to an older myth, supported the four corners, i.e., the four cardinal points of the great iron plate that formed the floor

<sup>1</sup> Pepi I., ll. 593, 600; and see Masperc, *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> The "Children of Horus" will be described later.



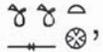
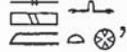
THE GOD HERU-UR.

of heaven and the sky above the earth. That the heavens, or the skies, were considered to be a Face is evident from many allusions. Thus the Sun is frequently called "Eye of Horus," and the Moon is also an "Eye of Horus," the Sun being the right eye, and the Moon the left; a well known title of the Face is "Horus of the

Two Eyes," , and when neither Eye is visible it is called

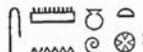
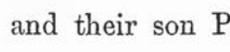
"Horus dwelling without Eyes," .

The forms of Horus mentioned in Egyptian texts are numerous, but the following are the most important :—

1. HĒRU-UR, , i.e., "Horus the elder" (or the "aged"), the Ἀρωήρις of the Greeks, so called to distinguish him from HĒRU-pa-khart, or, "Horus the younger." He is depicted in the form of a man with the head of a hawk, and also as a lion with the head of a hawk; he usually wears the crowns of the South and North united, but he is once seen with the horns of Khnemu upon his head, and above them are a crown with plumes, uraei, disks, etc.<sup>1</sup> According to the Egyptian texts HĒru-ur was the son of Rā and Hathor; the Hathor here referred to is the form of the goddess which was specially worshipped at Qesqeset, , i.e., Apollinopolis Parva; but Plutarch declared him to be the son of Kronos and Rhea, i.e., Seb and Nut, and therefore the brother of Osiris. This statement was probably correct enough in late dynastic times, when men had wholly identified Horus, the son of Isis, with Horus the Elder. Originally HĒru-ur represented a phase or aspect of Horus, the Face of heaven, and it was he who was the twin god of Set; HĒru-ur was the Face by day and Set the Face by night. There was also a HĒru-ur of the South, as we learn from the picture of the god given by Lanzone,<sup>2</sup> the seat of whose worship was at Mākhenut, , near El-Kāb in Upper Egypt, and a HĒru-ur of the North, the seat of whose worship was at Sekhemet, , or , or Seshemet, , the Latopolis of the Greeks, and the οὐρυεα of the Copts, which lay a

<sup>1</sup> See Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 226.

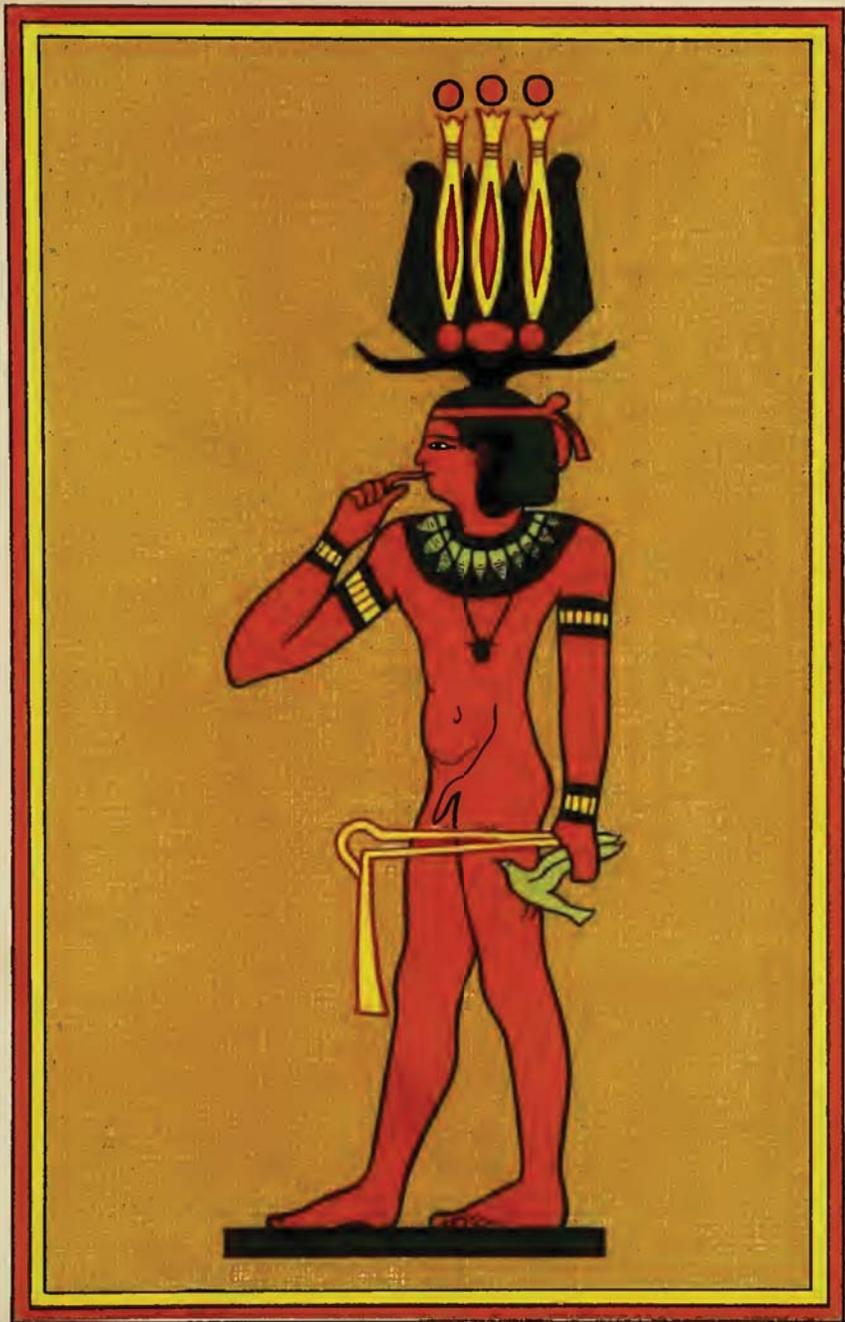
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3.

few miles to the north of Memphis; other shrines of H̄eru-ur were at Ombos, , at Smennut, , and at Apollinopolis. The most important shrine of the god was at Sekhem, where stood the sanctuary Pa-Āit, ; in its shrine was preserved the shoulder, *mākhaq*, , of the god Osiris, and close by grew the famous Nebes, , and Shent, , trees. H̄eru-ur of Sekhem is called "lord of the *Utchati*, , i.e., lord of the Sun and Moon. In the *Book of the Dead* (xviii.c) it is said that the sovereign princes in Sekhem are H̄eru-khent-ān-maati and Thoth, but it is clear that locally the great gods of the city were Isis, Osiris, and Horus. The form in which H̄eru-ur was worshipped at Sekhem and other places was a lion. The inscriptions on the walls of the temple at Ombos<sup>1</sup> prove that he was called the "lord of the south," the "lord of Nubti (Ombos)," and that he was identified with Shu, son of Rā; with "H̄eru-temā, the "great god and lord of heaven, of two-fold strength, mighty one "among all the gods, whose power hath vanquished the foes of his "father Rā"; with Āmen-ur, or Āmen the Elder; and in fact with several gods who were regarded as gods of light and of aspects of the rising Sun, and also with the various gods who were connected with them. At Ombos H̄eru-ur was the head of a triad which consisted of himself, and his female counterpart, TA-SENT-NEFERT, , and their son P-reb-tai, ,<sup>2</sup> who is sometimes called "the child," . The third member of this triad wears a disk upon his head, and has a lock of hair at the side of his face like Harpocrates, and he is called the "young sun," and the general titles which are given to H̄eru-ur and Ta-sent-nefert indicate that in later days they were considered to be identical with Shu and Tefnut.

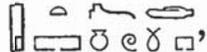
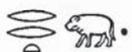
2. H̄ERU-P-KHART, , i.e., "Horus the Younger" (or, the "Child"), the *Ἀρποκράτης* of the Greeks, so called to

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 539.

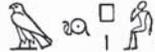
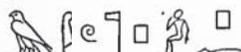
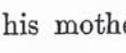
<sup>2</sup> See de Morgan, *Kom Ombos*, pp. 156, 181 ff.

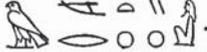


HERU-PA-KHRAT (HARPOCRATES).

distinguish him from Ḥeru-ur, or Horus the Elder. In Egyptian pictures he is represented in the form of a youth wearing a lock of hair, the symbol of youth, on the right side of his head; sometimes he wears the triple crown with feathers and disks, and the like, and sometimes a disk with plumes, , but usually his crown is formed by the united crowns of the South and North, . In one scene he is seated inside a box which rests on the back of a lion.<sup>1</sup> Ḥeru-p-khart was the son of a Horus god by the goddess Rāt-tait, , who is said to have brought him forth in the temple of Ḥet-ennuṭ, , in Hermonthis, in a birth chamber, , in the precincts of the building Qemqem, ; the goddess seems to have been worshipped here under the form of a hippopotamus, .

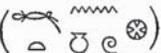
Ḥeru-p-khart, or Harpocrates, was a form of the rising sun and represented his earliest rays; the Egyptians distinguished seven forms or aspects of the god, which may be thus enumerated:—

1. Ḥeru-Rā-p-khart, , the dweller in Hermonthis. 2. Ḥeru-Shu-p-khart the great, ; his father was Sāaba, , and his mother Anit, . 3. Sma-tai-p-khart [son] of Hathor, . 4. Ḥeru-p-khart, the dweller in Busiris, . 5. Āḥi, , son of Hathor. 6. Ḥaq-p-khart, , the son of Sekhet. 7. Ḥeru-Ḥennu, , i.e., "Horus the Child."<sup>2</sup>

3. ḤERU-MERTI, . In this form the god is represented as a man with a hawk's head, above which are the horns of the god Khnemu and the solar disk encircled by a uraeus; in his hand he bears the Utchati, . A passage in a

<sup>1</sup> Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 328.

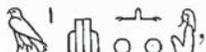
<sup>2</sup> See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 348.

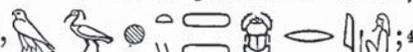
papyrus quoted by Lanzone<sup>1</sup> calls him "Horus of the Two Eyes," for this is what the name means, "lord of Sheṭennu () , Amseti-Āāḥ () , in the city of Āpu," i.e., Panopolis, and this seems to show that Ḥeru-merti was a local form of the god Āmsu, or Khem, or Min, as the Moon.

4. ḤERU-ĀN-MUT-F, , was a local form of Horus which was worshipped at Āteb, , i.e., Edfū, but the exact characteristics of the god here are unknown.

5. ḤERU-NUB, . This was the form of the god which was worshipped at Hierakonpolis, Per-Ḥeru-nubt, , and he was depicted as a hawk seated on the head of an antelope, which, according to Brugsch,<sup>2</sup> commemorates his triumphant victory over Set, the murderer of Osiris.

6. ḤERU-KHENTI-KHAT, . In this form the god is represented with a human body and the head of a crocodile, on which he wears the horns of Khnemu, and the triple crown and plumes;<sup>3</sup> this form of Horus does not appear to be ancient.

7. ḤERU-KHENTI-ĀN-MAATI, , i.e., "Horus at the head of sightlessness," or the "Blind Horus;" he appears to represent the god when neither of his eyes was visible.

8. ḤERU-KHUTI, , i.e., "Horus of the two horizons," or the Harmachis of the Greeks. He was one of the chief forms of the Sun-god Rā, and, speaking generally, represented the sun in his daily course across the skies from the time he left the Mount of Sunrise (Bakhau) to the time when he entered the Mount of Sunset (Manu). Thus he combined in his own person the god Rā and several of his forms, and in the *Book of the Dead* and other funeral works he is joined to Temu, , and to Kheperā, ;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p. 617.

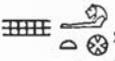
<sup>2</sup> *Religion*, p. 664.

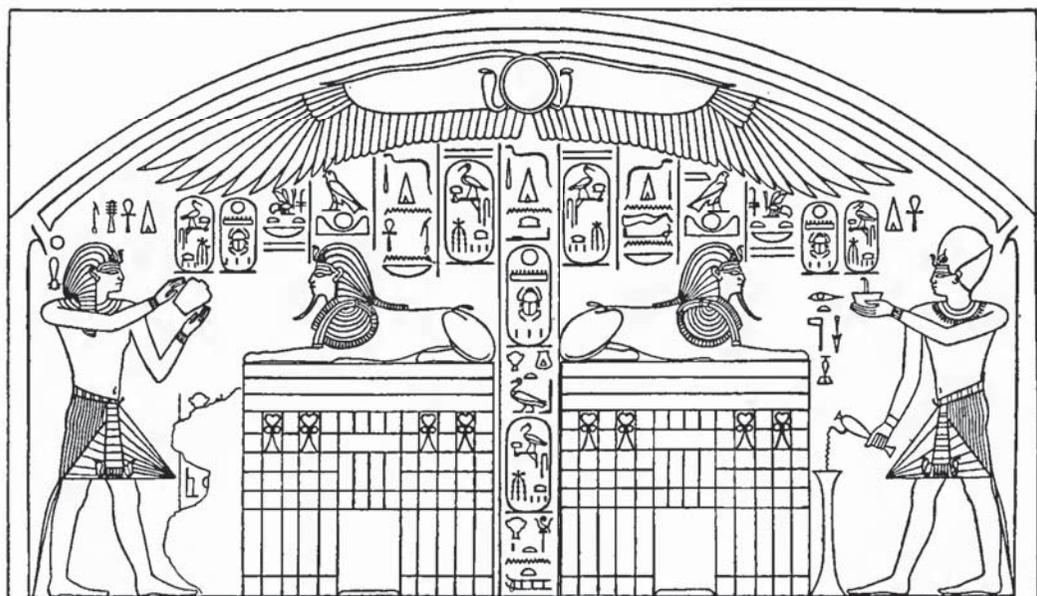
<sup>3</sup> See Lanzone, p. 622, pl. 17; Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 606.

<sup>4</sup> For the passages see my *Vocabulary to the Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, p. 225.



HERU KHUTI (HARMACHIS).

Temu here indicates the god of the setting sun, and Kheperà the god of the sun when he is about to rise. When H̄eru-khuti was identified with the various forms of the Sun-god he was also supposed to possess their particular attributes, and thus it happens that he is said to have produced himself, and it is this fact which supplies the reason why hymns addressed to him are found. In the texts he is called the "lord of heaven," "the great god, lord of Sept-H̄āt," , a city or district near the First Cataract, "the governor of the Āat of Rā,"  (Heliopolis),



Thothmes IV. making offerings to the Sphinx.

"H̄eru-khuti-Tem, the lord of the two lands of Ānu," and the "dweller in Beh̄utet." The chief shrines of the god were, however, situated at Ānu and at Apollinopolis, and the greater of these was Ānu, or Heliopolis, where he was identified with the forms of Rā which were worshipped there. The largest known monument or figure of H̄eru-khuti is the famous SPHINX, near the Pyramids of Gīzeh, which was his type and symbol. This marvellous object was in existence in the days of Khā-f-Rā, or Khephren, the builder of the Second Pyramid at Gīzeh, and it is probable that it is a very great deal older than his reign, and

that it dates from the end of the archaic period. No mention, however, is made of the Sphinx in the inscriptions until the time of Thothmes IV., when we are told in the text inscribed on the stele between the paws of the Sphinx, that the image had become entirely covered over with sand. To this king the god of the Sphinx, Heru-khuti-Rā-Temu-Kheperá, appeared one day when he was sleeping his midday sleep, and promised to give him the crown of Egypt if he would clear away the sand from his image, and restore his temple. Thothmes IV. carried out the wishes of the god, and having excavated the Sphinx, and rebuilt the temple between his paws, Thothmes set up an inscribed stele to commemorate his work. Judging by the silence of the ancient monuments about the Sphinx this figure of Heru-khuti cannot have been popular in dynastic times, and if this was so it is possible that it was due to the fact that the Sphinx was thought to be connected in some way with foreigners or with a foreign religion which dated from predynastic times. A recent but fanciful theory makes the Sphinx to be the work of Amenemhāt, a king of the XIIth Dynasty; its name in Egyptian was Ḥu, . The forms in which Heru-khuti is represented are many, but whether in human form or not, he usually has the head of a hawk; in the examples collected by Signor Lanzoni<sup>1</sup> we see him wearing on his head the solar disk encircled with a uraeus or the triple crown, , or the *atef* crown. In one scene he is depicted as a double man with a head having the faces of two hawks, one looking to the right, and the other to the left, and above this two-faced head is an *utchat*, ; in another scene he has the head of a ram, which identifies him with Khnemu, the god of the First Cataract, and in another he is seated on a throne which is carried on poles by two snake- and two beetle-headed gods.

9. HERU-SMA-TAUI, , i.e., "Horus, the uniter of the South and North." He is said to be the son of Hathor; his chief places of worship were Aat-hehu, , a district near Herakleopolis Magna, and Ant, , i.e., Denderah, and the city

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pll. 229 ff.

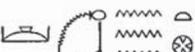


HERU - SMA - TAU.

of Khaṭāt, , and the creatures in which he was thought to be incarnate were the hawk and a species of serpent. He is usually depicted with the body of a man with the head of a hawk, or serpent, or man, and he wears as head-dresses, , , and ; in one scene he is represented as a hawk,<sup>1</sup> and he wears upon his head a disk and plumes, . In this form Horus was believed to spring into existence out of a lotus flower which blossomed in the heavenly abyss of Nu at dawn at the beginning of the year.

10. HERU-HEKENNU, . He is said to have been the son of the goddess Bast, and the seats of his worship were the towns of Netert, , and Het-Nefer-Tem; he is usually depicted in the form of a hawk-headed man, with the solar disk encircled by a serpent on his head. The exact attributes of the god are unknown.

11. HERU-BEHUTET, . This is one of the greatest and most important of all the forms of Horus, for he represents that form of Heru-khuti which prevailed in the southern heavens at midday, and as such typified the greatest power of the heat of the sun. It was under this form that Horus waged war against Set or Typhon, and the inscriptions are full of allusions to the glorious victory which the god of light gained over the prince of darkness and his fiends.

The principal shrines of the god were at Mesen, , and Qem-baius, , Áat-áb,  (Philae), and Tebt,  (Tanis); in the last named place he was worshipped under the form of a lion, which wears the triple crown upon its head, and is depicted in the act of trampling upon its enemies. The god is, however, usually depicted with the head of a hawk, and carrying in his hands some weapon which indicates his character as a destroyer. Thus, in one illustration given by Signor Lanzone,<sup>2</sup> we see him holding a weapon like a club or mace

<sup>1</sup> See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pll. 242 ff.

in his right hand, and a bow and three arrows in his left<sup>1</sup>; in another he is about to club an ass-headed man in fetters with the club, <sup>2</sup>; in another we see him standing on an oryx or antelope, and holding a long hawk-headed spear in his right hand, and three cords, to each of which is attached a prisoner, . Elsewhere we see him depicted with the head of a lion, which seems to have been the form in which he was worshipped at Tchar,   , or Tanis, in the Delta, and in one place he is seated on a throne which rests on the back of a lion. As the god

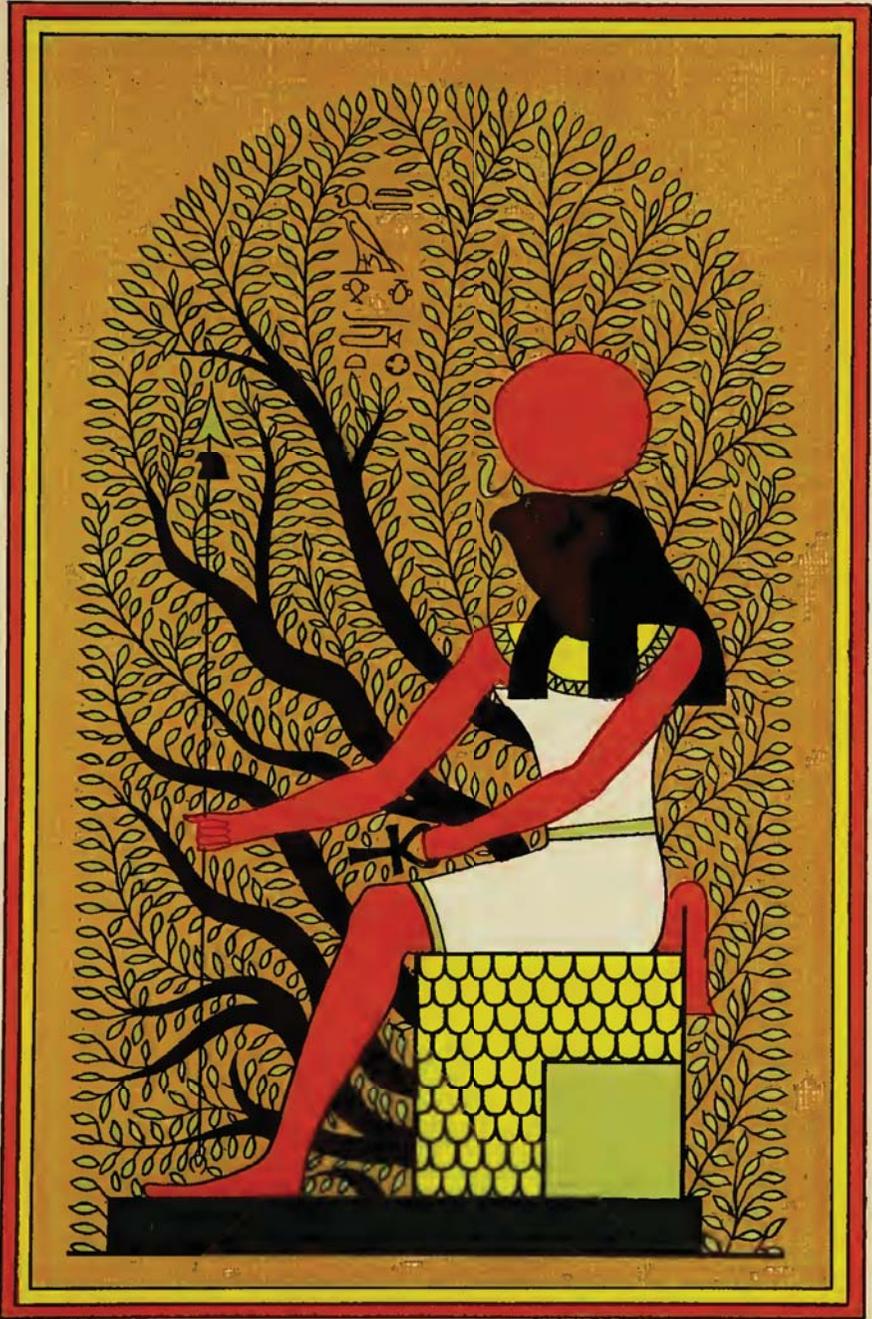


Horus of Behutet armed with a bow and arrows and a club.

of generation and reproduction he appears as a hawk with a phallus terminating in the head of a lion, and in a scene of the late period he is represented with the body of a man, and the head and wings of a hawk, kneeling upon two crocodiles; on his head he wears , and in his left hand he holds a scorpion, .

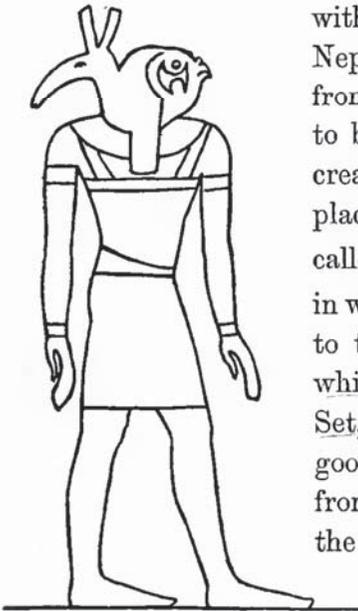
<sup>1</sup> He is here called .

<sup>2</sup> He is here called "smiter of the rebel," .



RĀ-HERU-KHUTI, THE DWELLER IN BEHUTET.

In an extract from a text inscribed on a wall of the temple of Edfu given by Dr. Brugsch,<sup>1</sup> Heru-behutet is described as the power which dispels darkness and night, and drives away clouds, rain, and storms, and fills all heaven and the world with his brilliance and light; he rises with golden disk as the holy beetle of gold, and he is declared to be the lord and creator of the gods. He created himself, there is none like unto him, he renews his birth daily, and year by year he performs his appointed course in the heavens, bringing in his train the seasons, and their proper produce. In one of his aspects he is identified

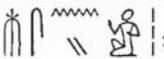
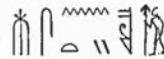
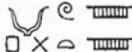


The double god Horus-Set.

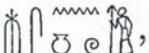
with Osiris, and then the goddesses Isis and Nephthys are said to help him to emerge from the abyss of Nu; he made the heavens to be the dwelling-place for his soul, and he created the deep that it might serve as a place wherein to hide his body, which is here called Un-nefer, . But the forms in which Heru-behutet appealed most strongly to the mind of the Egyptians were those in which as the god of light he fought against Set, the god of darkness, and as the god of good against the god of evil. We know from a passage in the xviiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (line 66) that in very early times a combat took place between Horus and Set, wherein the former destroyed the virility of Set,

and the latter cast filth in the face of Horus, and it is this form of the traditional fight between the two "Combatants," or Rehui, , which is the base of the narrative inscribed on the walls of the great Temple of Edfu. There was, however, one very great difference between the fight of Horus and Set of predynastic times and that described between the Horus and Set known at Edfu; in the former fight the two combatants were unarmed, but in the latter Horus was armed with weapons of iron, and he was

<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 548.

accompanied by a number of beings who are called *mesniu*, , or *mesnitu*, .<sup>1</sup> It is pretty certain from **ⲠⲀⲘⲚⲈⲦ**, the Coptic equivalent of the word *mesneti*, that the *mesniu* were workers in metal, and that this name was first applied to them as blacksmiths, and that at a later period the *mesniu* were men armed with weapons made of metal. The place where metal work was done, i.e., where the ore was smelted and the weapons were forged, was called *mesnet*, , the "foundry," and the worshippers of Horus of Behutet never tired of describing their god as the "lord of the forge-city," i.e., Edfû, the place where tradition declared he first established himself as the great master blacksmith. And Edfû itself was regarded as the foundry wherein the great disk of the sun was forged, as we see from a passage quoted by Dr. Brugsch, in which it is said "when the "doors of the foundry are opened the Disk riseth up,"  .<sup>2</sup>

In support of this tradition we find that a certain chamber in the temple of Edfû, which lay just behind the sanctuary, was called *mesnet*, , and it was here that the "blacksmiths" waited in attendance to usher forth the image of the god in his temple. From the representations of the "blacksmiths" given on the walls of the temple of Edfû<sup>3</sup> we see that they were originally men with shaven heads who wore a short tunic and a deep collar, and that in their right hands they carried a spear inverted, , and in their left a metal instrument, . In the same scene in which these occur Horus of Behutet is represented standing in a boat, dressed like his followers, and driving a long spear into the head of a hippopotamus beneath the boat with his right hand, and holding the monster in restraint by a double chain which he grasps in his left hand. In the bows of the boat kneels Isis, who also holds the hippopotamus by a chain in each hand, and we may note that

<sup>1</sup> Variants are ,  .

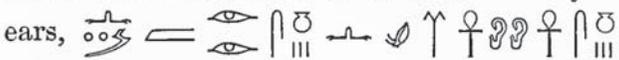
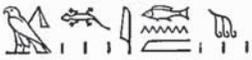
<sup>2</sup> *Wörterbuch*, p. 703.

<sup>3</sup> See Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, Geneva, 1870, pl. 7.



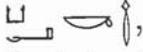
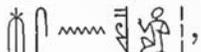
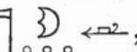
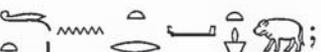
HERU-NETCH-TEF-F.

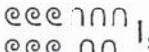
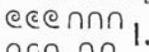
the tackle of the boat consists of chains, presumably of iron, and not of ropes. In another place<sup>1</sup> Horus stands on the back of the hippopotamus, the legs of which are tied together by chains, and the lower jaw of which is held fast by a chain. The story of the defeat of Set by Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet is told in the texts on the walls of the temple of Edfû substantially as follows:—In the year 363,  III, of Rā-Ḥeru-khuti, ), the king of the South and North who liveth for ever and ever, his Majesty found himself in the country of Ta-kens (, or Nubia), for he had gone to the district of Uauat,<sup>2</sup> because certain folk had conspired against their lord. Having suppressed the rebellion he returned to Edfû, and deputed his son Ḥeru-beḥuṭet to continue the war on his behalf; this god had observed how men had conspired against his father, and he was ready to carry out his behests. Thereupon Ḥeru-beḥuṭet flew up to heaven in the form of a winged disk, , and ever after he was called “great god, lord of heaven.”

From the height of heaven he was able to see his father's enemies, and he chased them in the form of a great winged disk; he attacked them with such wrath and vigour, that they lost their senses and could see neither with their eyes nor hear with their ears, , and every man fell upon his neighbour and slew him, and in a moment all were dead. And straightway Horus, with many-coloured shapes and feathers, , returned to his form as a winged disk and took up his position in the boat of Rā. At this juncture Thoth declared that Horus, son of Rā, should be called Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet, and Beḥuṭet (Edfû) should be called the city of Horus; and Rā referred with pleasure to the blood which his son had shed and which he likened to grapes. Then Horus suggested that Rā should come and look upon his dead enemies, and Rā, escorted by

<sup>1</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, pl. 9.

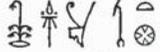
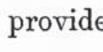
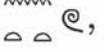
<sup>2</sup> Note the pun on the name Uauat, , and the verb “to murmur, conspire,” .

Hathor, and followed by the goddess Āstherṭet, , who is described as the "mistress of horses," , and who in the form of a woman with the head of a lioness is seen standing in a chariot, agrees to his son's proposal. The chariot of the goddess is drawn by four horses, which trample upon the foes of Rā, who lie upon the ground bound with fetters. When Rā saw this he said to Horus, "This is a very pleasant life," , and therefore the temple of Horus was called "Pleasant Life," from that day. Then Thoṭh observed, "This was the spearing of my foes," and therefore Edfū was called Ṭeb, , from that day; and he further said to Horus, "Thou art a great protector," , and straightway the boat of Horus was called "Great Protector." After this Rā proposed that they should journey upon the water, and his enemies also went to the water, and as soon as they had entered it they turned into crocodiles, *emsuḥu* , and hippopotamuses, , *tepu*, and when they were near enough to him they opened their mouths intending to swallow up the god. Then Horus came along with his "blacksmiths," , each having a spear made of divine iron, , and a chain, , in his hand, and they slew the crocodiles, and the hippopotamuses, and they brought in 651<sup>1</sup> enemies, , immediately. Rā-Ḥeru-khuti next ordered that statues of himself should be set up in the land of the south in the place called Ḥet-ā-nekht, , and Thoṭh applauded Horus because he had made use of the formulae which were to be found in the Book of the slaughter of the Hippopotamus, ; from that day the blacksmiths of Ḥeru-Behutet have existed at Edfū.

<sup>1</sup> Naville gives (pl. xiii., l. 8) , but Brugsch (*Abhandlungen Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Bd. xiv., p. 216) and Wiedemann both give 381, i.e., they read .



HERU-NETCH-HRĀ-TEF.-F.

And Horus once again took the form of a winged disk, and placed himself in the bows of the boat of Rā, and he took with him the two goddesses Nekhebet, , and Uatchit, , in the form of two serpents, that they might destroy the crocodiles and the hippopotamuses in their dens. As soon as the enemies of Rā perceived that they were being followed they turned round and fled to the south, but they were overtaken by Horus and his blacksmiths, each with his spear and his chain in his hands, and a mighty slaughter took place on a plain which was situated to the south-east of Thebes, , and which on account of the terrible scenes of carnage that were enacted there was called Tchetemet, , i.e., "slaughter." This was the second slaughter of the foes of Rā, and after this they retreated northwards, to the region of the Mediterranean Sea, and they were utterly disheartened and in fear of Horus; but this god followed after them in the boat of Rā, and with him were his companions who were provided with spears and chains, Horus himself was provided with a battle spear, , and a chain, , and blacksmiths, , and when he had waited a whole day he saw his foes to the north-east of Dendera, , and having attacked them he made a third great slaughter,  *khai*, among them; the name of the place where the enemy was defeated was called "Divine Slaughter," , and it was situated quite close to Dendera. Heru-Behutet was made the god of the region, and the acacia, , and the sycamore, , were sacred to him.

Once more the enemy fled to the north and was pursued closely by Horus, who was armed as before; for four whole days and nights, , he saw nothing whatsoever of the enemy, for they had changed themselves into crocodiles and hippopotamuses, but when he did see them he attacked them with great vigour and slew them in large numbers. One hundred and forty-two of them he bound in chains and dragged on to the boat of Rā, and he

captured also a "male hippopotamus,"  ; all the fiends he slew, and he gave their entrails to his companions, and their bodies to the gods and goddesses who were in the boat of Rā near the town of Heben,   . As a proof of his victory he got up and stood upon the back of the hippopotamus, and as a result he was called "Her-pest," i.e., "He who is on the back." All these things took place on the piece of ground which formed the temple estate of the town of Heben, and which measured 342 *khet*,                           

their position near Rā, and the young god drove his weapon,  $\overline{\text{nn}}$   $\overleftarrow{\text{māb}}$ , into Set, at a place called "She-nu-āḥa,"  $\overline{\text{w}}$   $\overline{\text{b}}$   $\overline{\text{h}}$ , i.e., "Lake of Battle," or, "She-neter,"  $\overline{\text{w}}$   $\overline{\text{t}}$   $\overline{\text{e}}$ , i.e., "Lake of God;" he next cut off his head, and the heads of his followers, in the presence of Rā and the great company of the gods, and then dragged his body through the length and breadth of his land with his spear thrust through his head and his back.

Then Rā ordered that Horus, the son of Isis, should drag the body of the monster about, and because of this "dragging" the place was called "Āḥa,"  $\overline{\text{h}}$   $\overline{\text{a}}$ , ever after. At this juncture the divine Isis asked her father Rā that the winged sun-disk,  $\overline{\text{w}}$ , might be given to her son Horus as a talisman, because he had cut off the heads of the fiend and his companions, and as a result Heru-behutet and Horus, son of Isis, together pursued the foe Set, and both gods were of the same form and appearance. They had the bodies of men, and the heads of hawks, and they wore the White and Red Crowns, with plumes, and uraei. All these events took place on the seventh day of the month Tybi,  $\overline{\text{t}}$   $\overline{\text{y}}$   $\overline{\text{b}}$   $\overline{\text{i}}$ , and the place wherein they happened was called Āat-shatet,  $\overline{\text{a}}$   $\overline{\text{t}}$   $\overline{\text{s}}$   $\overline{\text{h}}$   $\overline{\text{a}}$   $\overline{\text{t}}$   $\overline{\text{e}}$   $\overline{\text{t}}$ .

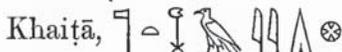
After these things Set changed himself into a serpent which hissed loudly, and he sought out a hole for himself in the ground wherein he hid himself and lived, whereupon Rā said, "the monster "Ba ( $\overline{\text{b}}$   $\overline{\text{a}}$ ), hath turned himself into a hissing serpent, let "Horus, the son of Isis, set himself above his hole in the form of a "pole on the top of which is the head of Horus, ( $\overline{\text{h}}$   $\overline{\text{a}}$ ), so that he "may never again come forth therefrom." As the result of this the serpent of that town was called "Hisser" or "Roarer,"  $\overline{\text{h}}$   $\overline{\text{e}}$   $\overline{\text{m}}$   $\overline{\text{h}}$   $\overline{\text{e}}$   $\overline{\text{m}}$   $\overline{\text{e}}$   $\overline{\text{t}}$ , Hemhemet, and Horus the son of Isis stood upon him in the form of a pole, or staff, on the top of which was the head of a hawk. When all these things were done the boat of Rā arrived at Per-āḥa,  $\overline{\text{p}}$   $\overline{\text{e}}$   $\overline{\text{r}}$   $\overline{\text{a}}$   $\overline{\text{h}}$   $\overline{\text{a}}$ , or "House of Battle"; the fore part of the boat was made of acacia wood, and the after part of sycamore wood, and both kinds of wood were, henceforth, holy.



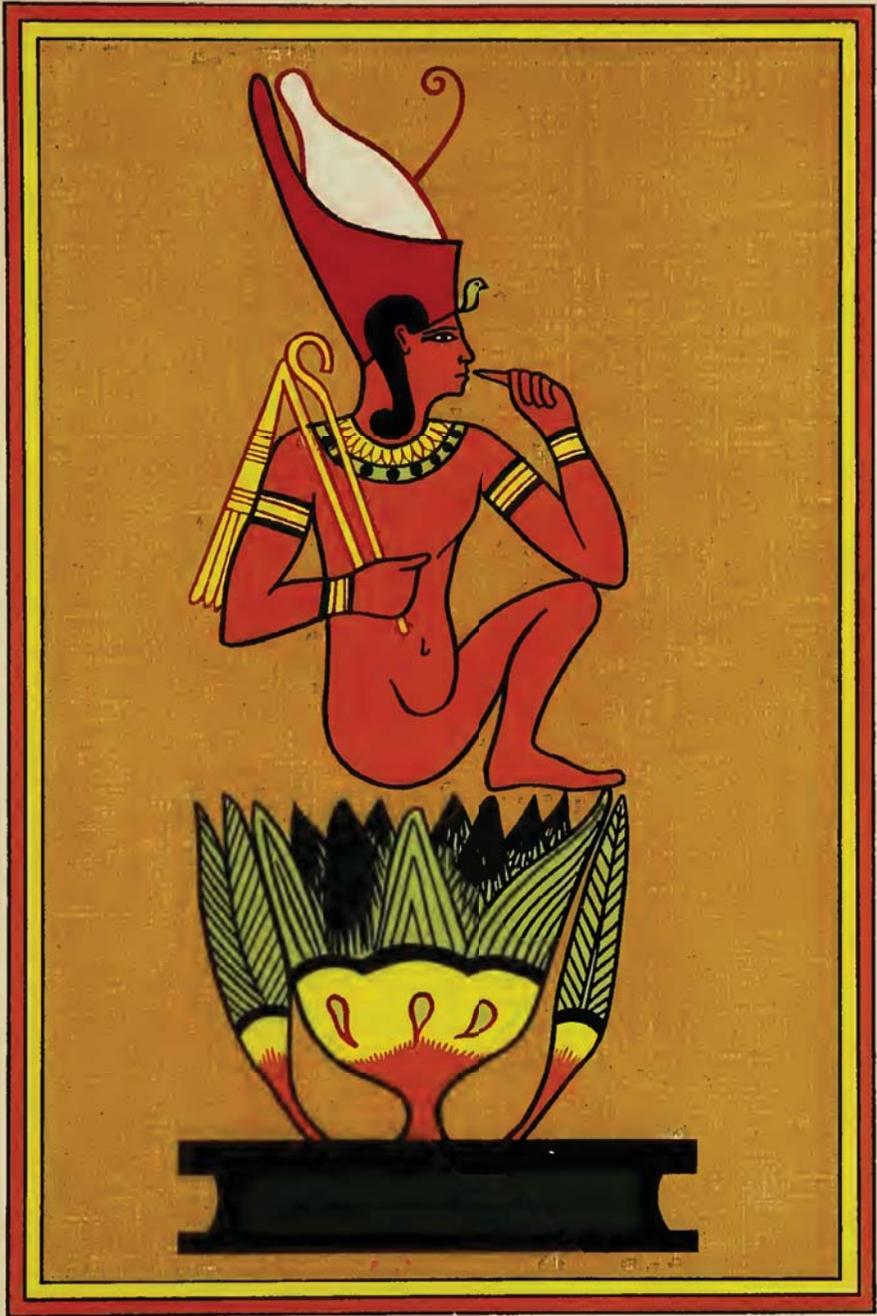
returned to Egypt, travelling by night. Finally, Horus and his companions went back to Nubia, to the town of Shâshertet, ; where he destroyed the rebels of Uauat, and their ablest soldiers. When this was done Horus changed himself once more into the form of the winged sun-disk with uraei, and took with him the goddesses Nekhebet and Uatchit in the form of two serpents, that they might consume with fire any rebels who still remained. When the gods who were in his boat saw this they said, "Great indeed is that which Horus hath done by means of his double snake diadem; he hath smitten the enemy who were afraid of him!" And Horus said, "Henceforward let the double snake diadem of Heru-Behutet be called Ur-uatchiti ();" and it was so. After these things Horus journeyed on in his ship, or boat, and arrived at Apollinopolis Magna (Edfû) , and Thoth decreed that he should be called the "Light-giver, who cometh forth from the horizon ();" hereupon Horus commanded Thoth that the winged sun-disk with uraei, , should be brought into every sanctuary wherein he dwelt and in every sanctuary of all the gods of the lands of the South and of the North, and in Amentet, in order that they might drive away evil from therein. Then Thoth made figures of the winged sun-disk with uraei, and distributed them among the temples, and sanctuaries, and places wherein there were any gods, and this is what is meant by the winged disks with uraei which are seen over the entrances of the courts of the temples of all the gods and goddesses of Egypt. The snake goddess on the right hand side of the disk is Nekhebet, and that on the left is Uatchit.<sup>1</sup>

The above legend is very important for the study of Egyptian mythology, notwithstanding the fact that in its form here described it belongs to a very modern period. The fundamental facts of the story are very old, for they belong to the earliest period of

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the legend summarized above see Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, pll. xii. ff.; and for a translation, with transliteration of text and commentary, see Brugsch, *Die Sage von der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe* in the *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Society of Sciences in Göttingen (Phys. Classe, Bd. xiv., p. 173 ff.).

Egyptian history, and are derived from the old nature myth of the combat between Light and Darkness. With these, however, we have mingled another element, which is apparently historical, and is also of very great antiquity. In the original fight between Rā and Āpep, or Horus and Set, the Sun-god was accompanied by his followers, whose duties, apparently, consisted in watching the combat, and who were, like Rā himself, unconnected with the earth. But in the fight of Hēru-Behūtet with Set, the companions of the gods were beings in the forms of men who were armed with spears and chains for fettering purposes, and they were rewarded by him after the manner of men. The god himself was armed with a very long spear made of "iron of the god" or "divine iron," and with a chain of unusual length, and his method of fighting was to hurl his spear at his foes, and when it had struck home, he fettered them with his chain, and having dragged them to his boat, slaughtered them at leisure. The first great defeat of the enemy took place at Āat-Tchetemi, , near Thebes; the second took place at Neter-Khaitā, , near Dendera, and was followed by the overthrow of small bodies of them in the neighbouring nomes going towards the north; and the last great conquest was effected by the god, who took the form of a lion, at Tchar, , or Tanis, in the east of the Delta, not far from the modern Suez Canal.

All these facts indicate that we are not dealing entirely with mythological events, and it is nearly certain that the triumphant progress ascribed to Hēru-Behūtet is based upon the exploits of some victorious invader who established himself at Edfū in very early times, and then made his way with his followers northwards, beating down all opposition as he went. It is pretty clear that he owed his success chiefly to the superiority of the weapons with which he and his men were armed, and to the material of which they were made; given equality of bravery in two bodies of men opposed each to the other, troops armed with weapons of flint would not long oppose successfully those armed with weapons of iron. In other words, the followers of Horus, who are called



HORUS, THE SON OF ISIS, THE SON OF OSIRIS.

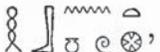
*mesniti* in the text, as we have already shown, were actually workers in metal, or, "blacksmiths," and men who knew how to smelt iron ore and to forge the metal into weapons of offence and defence. These men called their workshop or foundry *mesnet* or *mesnit*, and later, when their leader and themselves had become deified, and priests had been appointed to perform the worship of the god, the portion of the temple which was set apart for them was also called *mesnet* or *mesnit*, and when the metal statue of the god of the rising sun, Heru-Behutet, was brought out by them from their chamber the god was said to issue from the foundry wherein he had been cast, and the *mesnet* was identified with that portion of the sky from which the Sun-god appeared.

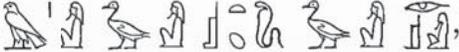
It is, of course, impossible to say who were the blacksmiths that swept over Egypt from south to north, or where they came from, but the writer believes that they represent the invaders in predynastic times, who made their way into Egypt, from a country in the East, by way of the Red Sea, and by some road across the eastern desert, e.g., that through the Wâdi Hammâmât, or that which touches the Nile a little to the south of Thebes. They brought with them the knowledge of working in metals and of brick-making, and having conquered the indigenous peoples in the south, i.e., those round about Edfû, they made that city the centre of their civilization, and then proceeded to conquer and occupy other sites, and to establish sanctuaries for their god or gods.<sup>1</sup> In later times the indigenous priesthoods merged the legendary history of the deified king of the blacksmiths in that of Horus, the god of heaven in the earliest times, and in that of Râ, which belonged to a later period. The priests of Edfû found many parts of this mixed history very difficult to explain, and they endeavoured to get out of their difficulties by the fabrication of foolish etymologies and puns, whereby they sought to elucidate events and names. These, however, have a certain importance, for they at least prove that parts of the legends were not understood when the puns or plays on words were made, and that the

<sup>1</sup> The historical element in the legend was long ago recognized by Maspero; see *Les Forgerons d'Horus et la Légende de l'Horus d'Edfou* (in *Bib. Egypt.*, tom. ii., pp. 313 ff.).

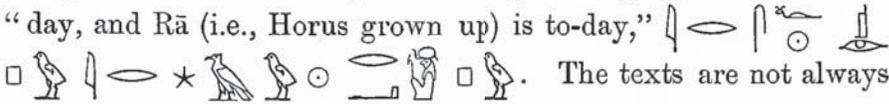
legends themselves are of great antiquity; another point is also made clear by them, i.e., that the Egyptians themselves were not better informed on such subjects than we are.

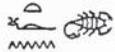
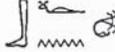
12. HĒRU-THEMĀ, , i.e., "Horus the piercer." This form of Horus is that in which the god attacked Set, the murderer of his father Osiris, with his long spear with a sharp-pointed iron head; he is represented in the form of a hawk-headed man in the act of driving his long spear into some unseen foe on or below the ground.

13. HĒRU-HĒBENU, , i.e., Horus of Hebenu, or Hebennut, , the metropolis of the sixteenth nome of Upper Egypt.<sup>1</sup> He is mentioned in the myth of HĒRU-BĒHUṬET, with whom he is often identified, and he is usually depicted in the form of a hawk-headed man standing upon the back of an antelope; this animal was supposed to be connected with Set, and Horus of HĒBENU mounted upon his back as a symbol of his sovereignty over the god of darkness and all his host.

14. HĒRU-SA-ĀST-SA-ĀSĀR, , i.e., "Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris," like many other forms of Horus, represented in general the rising sun, and appears to have been to the Egyptians exactly what Apollo was to the Greeks in this respect; the aspects of this god were many, and in consequence his shrines were very numerous both in the South and in the North. In him were at one time or another included all the various Horus gods, beginning with HĒRU, , the god of the heights of heaven, and Horus the Elder, and ending with the least important Horus, i.e., the god of some provincial town. His principal aspects were, however, two, i.e., he represented the new Sun which was born daily, and which was the successor of HĒRU-KHUTI or of RĀ, and he was also the offspring of the dead man-god Osiris and his lawful successor. Horus, the son of Isis and of Osiris, was a god whose attributes appealed strongly to the Egyptians from one end of Egypt to the other, because in him

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 490; and Brugsch, *Religion*, pp. 558 ff.

every man and woman saw the type of what he or she wished to possess, that is to say, renewed life, and life as opposed to death, and movement as opposed to inactivity, and intercourse with the living instead of with the dead. In a way Osiris and Horus were complements, each of the other, but the chief difference was that Osiris represented the past, and Horus the present, or, as we have it expressed in the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 15), "Osiris is Yesterday, and Rā (i.e., Horus grown up) is to-day," . The texts are not always consistent in the matter of the paternity of Horus, for though Isis is invariably regarded as his mother, his father is sometimes said to be Osiris, and sometimes Rā; but this inconsistency is easily accounted for by remembering that Osiris is, under one aspect, a form of the dead Sun-god. Of the circumstances under which Horus was begotten we gain a good idea from a hymn to Osiris in which the sorrow of his mother Isis at the death of her husband is described. The goddess was greatly distressed, but she was equipped with mighty words of power, and she knew how to utter them so that they might have the greatest effect, and she set out in search of the dead body of Osiris and never rested until she had found him. With her hair she made light, and with her wings she stirred the air as she made lamentation for her brother Osiris, and at length she brought his body into a state of activity, and was then united to him; thus she became with child by him, and her son Horus was born in a secret place where she suckled him and reared him.<sup>1</sup>

This spot appears to have been situated among the papyrus swamps in the Delta, and the event is alluded to in many scenes in which the goddess is seen, suckling her child amidst a dense mass of papyrus plants. Soon after the birth of her child she was persecuted by Set, who kept herself and Horus prisoners in a house, but by the help of Thoth she escaped with her child one evening, and set out on her way under the protection of seven scorpions called Tefen, , Befen, , Mestet,

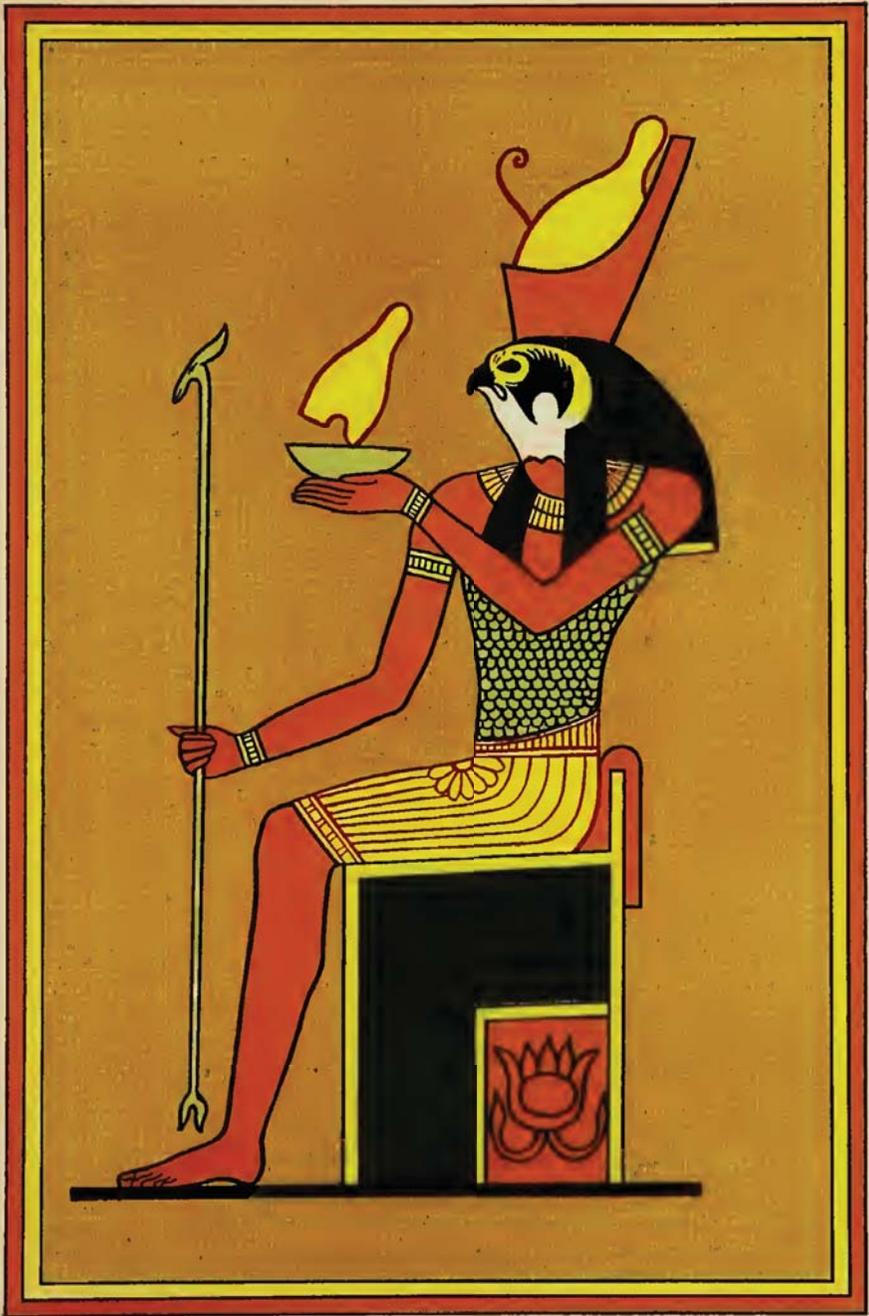
<sup>1</sup> See Chabas, *Revue Archéologique*, 1857, p. 65; Ledrain, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. 22 ff.

 Mestetef,  Petet,  Thetet,  Matet, . These scorpions probably represent the seven stars of the constellation Canis Major, in which the stars of Isis and Sothis were situated. The last three scorpions showed Isis the way and led her to the town of Per-Sui, <sup>1</sup>, or Crocodilopolis, and then on to the city of Thebti, the city of the Two Sandals-Goddesses, , where the swamp country begins. Whilst Isis was absent one day Horus was stung by a scorpion, and when she came home she found him lying on the ground, and the foam was on his lips, and his heart was still, and there was not a muscle or limb of him which was not rigid; she had protected him against Set, and against the possibility of attack by any being in the papyrus swamps, but a scorpion had stung the child, and he was dead. Whilst Isis was lamenting his death her sister Nephthys came with Serqet, the scorpion goddess, and advised her to cry out to heaven for help, and she did so, and her cry penetrated to Rā in his "Boat of Millions of Years." The great god stopped his boat, and Thoth came down with words of power, and by means of these her son was once more raised to life and health. Soon after these things had taken place Horus set to work to avenge the death of his father Osiris, and it was under his form of "Horus, the avenger of his father,"  <sup>2</sup>, that he appealed so strongly to the imagination of the Egyptians.

According to a notice in the Calendar given in the Fourth Sallier Papyrus (Brit. Mus., No. 10,184), Horus began his fight with Set, which lasted three days, on the 26th day of the month of Thoth, and the two gods fought in the form of two men. Isis was present at the fight and, because she in some way supported Set against Horus, her son turned upon her with the fury of a "panther of the south," and cut off her head. Thoth, however, seeing what had been done, took the head of the goddess, and by

<sup>1</sup> The story is told on the *Metternichstele*, ed. Golénischeff, Leipzig, 1877, pl. iii., ll. 46 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For references to him in the *Book of the Dead* see my *Vocabulary*, p. 225.



HERU-NETCH-TEF-RĀ.

means of his words of power transformed it into the head of a cow, and then fixed it upon the body of Isis.<sup>1</sup> According to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*), Isis found that her son Horus had succeeded in fettering Set and in binding him in chains, but not wishing that he should perish she loosed his fetters and set him at liberty; then it was that Horus tore off her head the symbols of sovereignty which were upon it. We have no means of assigning a date to the composition of the above legend, but it must be very old, and it is easy to see that it is only a version of the older legend of the combat between Rā and Āpep, and Heru-ur and Set, and Heru-Beḥuṭet and Set, and it is, of course, one of the sources of all the post-Christian legends of the overthrow of dragons by kings and heroes, e.g., Alexander the Great and Saint George. When Horus had overcome Set he succeeded to the inheritance of his father, and took his seat upon the throne of Osiris, and reigned in his stead; and, in the words addressed to Osiris by the official Hunefer, "Horus "is triumphant in the presence of the whole company of the gods, "the sovereignty over the world hath been given unto him, and his "dominion is in the uttermost parts of the earth. The throne of "the god Seb hath been adjudged unto him, along with the rank "which hath been founded by the god Temu, and which hath been "stablished by decrees in the Chamber of Books, and hath been "inscribed upon an iron tablet according to the command of thy "father Ptah-Tanen, on the great throne. . . . Gods celestial and "gods terrestrial transfer themselves to the service of thy son "Horus, and they follow him into his hall, [where] a decree is "passed that he shall be lord over them, and they perform the "decree straightway."<sup>2</sup>

Now, besides the fight in which he engaged with Set, Horus performed many other filial duties which endeared him to the Egyptians. Thus he took the greatest care that every ceremony which could possibly benefit the deceased was performed on his father's behalf, and every detail of the mummification of the god, and of the method of swathing, and of the placing of amulets, etc., upon the body was watched by him with loving attention, and his

<sup>1</sup> Chabas, *Calendrier*, Paris, 1863, pp. 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Book of the Dead*, Chap. clxxxiii., ll. 12 ff.

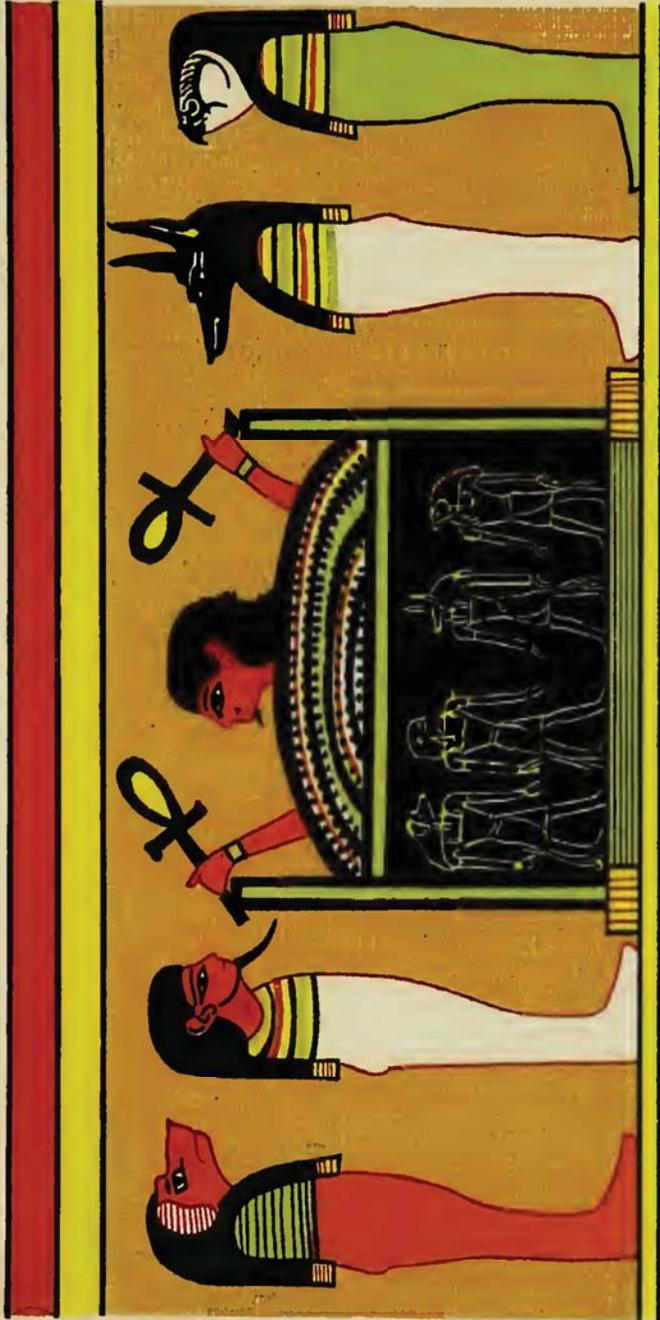
filial affection became the pattern which was followed by every pious Egyptian from time immemorial. We find, however, that Horus was believed to help the dead generally, even as he helped Osiris, and all men hoped that he would come to their assistance after death, and act as a mediator between the judge of the Underworld and themselves. In the Judgment Scene in the *Book of the Dead* (Papyrus of Ani, plates 3 and 4), Horus, the son of Isis, leads the deceased, after his heart has been weighed, into the presence of Osiris, and he says to his father, "I have come to thee, "O Un-nefer, and I have brought unto thee Osiris Ani," and then goes on to say that Thoth has weighed Ani's heart in the Balance according to the decree of the gods, and has found it right and true. He also asks Osiris that Ani may be allowed to appear in his presence, and that cakes and ale may be given to him, and that he may be among the followers of Horus for ever. In none of the variants of the Judgment Scene do we find that the place of Horus as introducer of the dead is taken by any other god, and there is no doubt that this duty was assigned to him because it was believed that Osiris would favourably receive those who were led into his presence by the son who had done so much for him. From the Pyramid Texts we learn that, at the time when man believed that it was necessary to have a ladder in order to ascend into heaven from the earth, Horus was regarded as the god of the ladder, and that he was entreated to set up the ladder and to hold it in place whilst the deceased climbed up it. Sometimes Rā held one side of it whilst Horus held the other, and sometimes its supporters were Horus and Set, but even so the deceased seems sometimes to have experienced difficulty in ascending it, for we read that Horus had to give him a push upwards with his two fingers.<sup>1</sup>

More than this, however, was done for the deceased by Horus, for he took the bodies of the dead under his care just as he took the body of his father Osiris into his own hands, and superintended the performance of his funeral rites and ceremonies. In this great work he was assisted by a number of beings called HERU-SHEMSU,

<sup>1</sup> English renderings of the passages will be found in my *Egyptian Magic*, pp. 52 ff.

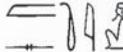
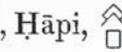
THE FOUR CHILDREN OF HORUS, OR THE GODS OF THE CARDINAL POINTS.

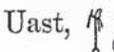
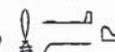
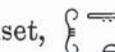
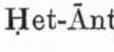
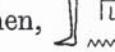
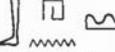
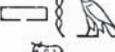
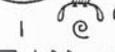
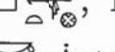
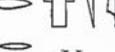
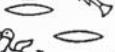
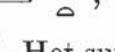
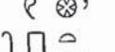
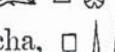
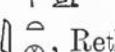
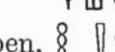
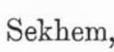
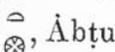
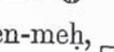
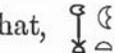
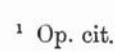
HĀPI. MESTHĀ. TUAMUTEF. QEBHSENNUF.



THE DECEASED RISING FROM THE FUNERAL CHEST, WHICH IS THE TYPE OF THE AAT OF ABYDOS WITH THE SYMBOL OF LIFE IN EACH HAND.

, i.e., "Followers of Horus." Now we know from several passages in the *Book of the Dead* that Osiris, Rā, Nefer-Tem, Neb-er-tcher, Mehi, Hathor, and, in fact, all great gods were ministered to by a number of lesser gods, but none of these are of the importance of the followers of Horus, and none of them are as old. We have already seen that the original Horus-god, , who represented the face of heaven, was supposed to have long hair which hung down from his face, and which probably supported it, and that in the myth of Shu the supports of this god, i.e., the four pillars, , which held up the vast, rectangular, iron plate that formed the floor of heaven were placed in the tresses of Horus. At a later period, when the four followers of Horus, son of Isis, were identified with the followers of the older Horus, these gods were made to dwell near the pillars of Shu and to have dominion over them, and also over the four quarters of heaven, and they took the place of the earlier gods of the cardinal points. In the *Book of the Dead* these four children of Horus play very prominent parts, and the deceased endeavoured to gain their help and protection at all costs, both by offerings and prayers. In the pictures of the funeral procession four men draw along the coffin containing the mummied intestines of the deceased, four animals are taken for sacrifice, and all the instruments used in the ceremony of "opening the mouth," as well as the vases, and boxes of unguents, etc., are in quadruplicate. Even prayers and formulae are said four times over, e.g., in Chapter xl., the deceased in addressing the Eater of the Ass says, "I know thee," four times; and in Chapter cxxiv., he says, "I am pure," four times. Most important of all, however, it was to remember that the four children of Horus shared the protection of the body of the deceased among them, and as far back as the Vth Dynasty we find that they presided over his life in the underworld. The names of the four gods are:—Hāp, , Ṭuamutef, , Āmset, , , and Qebḥsennuf, ; this is the order in which they are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, but in

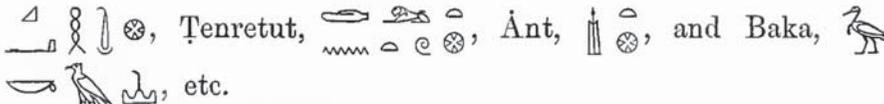
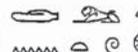
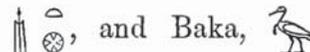
later times the order of the names and the spelling vary thus:—  
 Mesthá, , Hāpi, , Ṭuamutef, ,  
 and Qebḥ-sennuf, . The two arms of the de-  
 ceased were identified with Hāpi and Ṭuamutef, and his two legs  
 with Āmset and Qebḥsennuf; and when he went into the Sekhet-  
 Āaru they were his guides and went in with him, two on each side.  
 Hāpi represented the north and protected the small viscerae of the  
 body; Ṭuamutef represented the east, and protected the heart and  
 lungs; Āmset represented the south, and protected the stomach  
 and large intestines, and Qebḥsennuf represented the west, and  
 protected the liver and the gall bladder. Associated with the four  
 gods, perhaps as female counterparts, were the goddesses Nephthys,  
 Neith, Isis, and Selqet, or Serqet.

As Horus, son of Isis, was so thoroughly identified with  
 Horus the Elder, and with other forms of the rising sun, it is  
 not surprising to find that the sanctuaries of the god were very  
 numerous, and that they existed in all parts of the country; the  
 names of a great many of these have been collected by Signor  
 Lanzone,<sup>1</sup> and from them we learn that Horus, dweller in the two  
 Egypts, , was lord of Nubti,  (Ombos), and lord of  
 Uast, , (Thebes), and of Māām, , Kenset, ,  
 Het-Ānt, , Re-ur, , Pe, , Behen, ,  
 Nekhen, , Per-netchem, , Re-āu, ,  
 Hurent, , Ka-qem, , Reqetit, ,  
 Therer, , Bak, , Āat-āat, , Hu, ,  
 Tchart, , Āat-āb, , Hut, , Het-suten, ,  
 Petchatcha, , It, , Rethma, , Heben, ,  
 Sekhem, , Ābṭu, , Shes-en-meh, ,  
 Het-neh, , Hebt, , Shep, , Khat, , Qāh,

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 569.



THE GOD COMPREHENDING ALL GODS.

 Tenretut,  Ant,  Baka,  etc.

The forms in which Horus, son of Isis, is depicted are both numerous and interesting, and they show how completely he absorbed the attributes of all the other Horus gods. Thus he is represented as a child seated on a lotus flower, with one of his forefingers touching his lips, and with the lock of hair on the side of his head; he wears the crowns of the South and North, and holds both  and .<sup>1</sup> In another section he stands on the back of a hippopotamus, into the head of which he is driving a spear; in this instance he is clearly identified with Heru-Behutet. In late dynastic times the god was depicted in a great many fantastic forms, and the various attributes which were ascribed to him are indicated in many curious ways. Thus as guardian of the funeral coffer of Osiris he has the head of a hawk, on which is the triple crown, with the body of a lion, and a tail in the form of a head and neck of some unknown animal. Elsewhere he is represented with seven heads, among which are those of a bull, a ram, a cat, and a crocodile, and with the body of a man, ithyphallic, and the legs and hoofs of a bull, and the wings of a bird; in one hand he holds a knife, and in the other a serpent.

But besides the attributes of the other Horus gods, Horus, son of Isis, was endowed with many of the characteristics of other gods. Thus with the god Anpu or Anubis, he becomes Heru-em-Anpu, i.e., Horus as Anubis, and is said to dwell in the "divine hall," ; he recalls under this name the god "Hermanubis," who is mentioned by Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 61) and by Diodorus (lines 18, 87). This dual god is represented in the form of a man with the head of a jackal, and it is impossible to distinguish him by his picture from the two jackal gods Anpu, or Anubis, and Ap-uat, who are only two forms of one and the same god. Strictly speaking, Anpu is the "opener of the roads of the South, the power of the two lands," , and Apuat is the "opener of the roads of the North, the power of

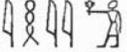
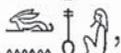
<sup>1</sup> See Lanzzone, *op. cit.*, pll. 214 ff.





HORUS, THE SON OF ISIS, THE SON OF OSIRIS.

mentioned the goddess HETEP-SEKHUS, , who is identified either with the Eye of Rā or with the flame which follows Osiris to burn up his enemies, and the assessors of that section of the Underworld which is called Ān-āareretef, , or Ān-āretf, , i.e., the "place where nothing grows," the chief of whom was HERU-NETCH-HERĀ - ĀTEF - F, , or "Horus, the avenger of his father."

15. HERU-PA-KHART, , i.e., "Horus the Child." We have already described Horus the Child, who was the son and successor of Horus the Elder, and brief mention must be made of Horus the Child who was the son and successor of Osiris. The greater number of the attributes which belonged to the old Horus gods were transferred to the son of Isis and Osiris, especially in late dynastic times when the worship of Osiris was dominant in Egypt, and Horus the Child became the type of the new birth, and new life, the first hours of the day, and the first days of the month, and the first months of the year, and in fact of everything which was young and vigorous. Soon, however, the characteristics of the great forms of the Sun-god were added to his own, and his original conception as Horus the Child was somewhat forgotten; at times it is very difficult to distinguish in the texts exactly which Horus is referred to. In all the great sanctuaries of Egypt, from the period of the New Empire onwards, we find that Horus the Child, or Harpocrates, was identified by the priests of the local gods as a form of their principal deities in which the chiefs of the companies or triads of gods had renewed and rejuvenated themselves. The late Dr. Brugsch collected a large number of examples of this fact,<sup>1</sup> and he proved that as Heru-sma-tai-pa-khart he was identified with Tem, and was said to be son of Heru-khuti and Hathor; that joined with Āhi, , Harpocrates became a form of Rā, and was called "son of Hathor, to whom Isis gave birth," and was regarded as the offspring of Un-nefer, ,

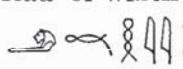
<sup>1</sup> *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 373.

i.e., of Osiris; and that he was also made to be the renewed form of the gods Shu, Seb, Khensu, and Āmsu, or Min.

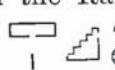
In connexion with Horus, son of Isis, in one or other of his forms must be mentioned the interesting legend which is preserved in the cxiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, and which has reference to the district or place called Khat, , of the dweller in Khat, in the city of Ānpet, , in the nome of Hā-

mehit, , i.e., the sixteenth nome of Lower Egypt. Strictly speaking, Ānpet was the name of the temple and quarter of the

city of Mendes, the local triad of which consisted of Ba-neb-Ṭeṭet,

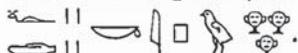
, Hā-mehit, , and Heru-pa-kharṭ.

Mendes was full of associations with the worship of the god Osiris, for in the temple there were preserved the phallus and the backbone of Osiris; the temple was called Hēt-baiut, , i.e.,

“House of the Rams,” and the place where the relics were found Per-khent, .<sup>1</sup> The rams here referred to recall the legend

in which the Ram of Mendes was said to unite within himself the souls of Rā, Osiris, Shu, and Kheperā, and he was known as the

“Ram with four heads upon one neck,” .<sup>2</sup>

It is possible that he is also referred to in the text of Pepi I. (line 419) where a god with four faces is mentioned, .

In the Chapter above mentioned the deceased is made to ask a number of gods, “Do ye know for what reason the city of Pe hath

“been given unto Horus?” and he goes on to say, “I, even I, “know it though ye know it not. Behold, Rā gave the city to him

“in return for the injury to his Eye; for which cause Rā said to “Horus, ‘Let me see what is coming to pass in thine eye,’ and

“forthwith he looked thereat. Then Rā said unto Horus, ‘Look “at that black pig,’ and he looked, and straightway an injury was

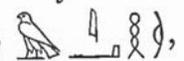
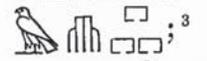
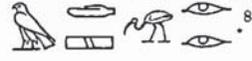
“done unto his eye, that is to say, a mighty storm [took place

<sup>1</sup> 

<sup>2</sup> See de Rougé, *Géographie Ancienne*, p. 114.

“therein]. Then said Horus unto Rā, ‘Verily, my eye seems as if  
 “it were an eye upon which Suti had inflicted a blow’; and [thus  
 “saying] he ate his heart.<sup>1</sup> Then said Rā to those gods, ‘Place ye  
 “him in his chamber, and he shall do well.’ Now the black pig  
 “was Suti (Set) who had transformed himself into a black pig, and  
 “he it was who had aimed the blow of fire which struck the eye of  
 “Horus. Then said Rā unto those gods, ‘The pig is an abominable  
 “‘thing unto Horus; but he shall do well, although the pig is an  
 “‘abomination unto him.’ Then the company of the gods, who  
 “were among the divine Followers of Horus when he existed in  
 “the form of his own child, said, ‘Let sacrifices be made of his  
 “bulls, and of his goats, and of his pigs.’ Now the father of  
 “Mesthi, Hāpi, Ṭuamutef, and Qebḥ-sennuf is Horus, and their  
 “mother is Isis. Then said Horus to Rā, ‘Give me two divine  
 “‘brethren in the city of Pe and two divine brethren in the city of  
 “‘Nekhen, who [have sprung] from my body and who shall be with  
 “‘me in the guise of everlasting judges, and then shall the earth  
 “‘blossom and thunder-clouds and rain be done away.’ And the  
 “name of Horus became Ḥer-uatch-f, .

In addition to the forms of Horus mentioned in the above paragraphs the Pyramid Texts make known the following:—

1. ḤERU-ĀĀḤ, , i.e., Horus, the Moon-god;<sup>2</sup> 2. ḤERU-KHENT-PERU, ;<sup>3</sup> 3. ḤERU-ĀM-ḤĒNNU, ; <sup>4</sup> and ḤERU OF ṬAT, .<sup>5</sup> According to the same authorities Horus possessed one white eye and one black, ,<sup>6</sup> which king Unās is said to have taken to illumine his face; and two other titles of the god are “Horus of the two blue eyes,” ,<sup>7</sup> and “Horus of the two red eyes,” .<sup>8</sup> In the Theban Recension of the

<sup>1</sup> I.e., he lost his temper and raged.

<sup>2</sup> , Tetá, l. 365.

<sup>3</sup> Unās, l. 202.

<sup>4</sup> Unās, l. 211.

<sup>5</sup> Unās, l. 218.

<sup>6</sup> Unās, l. 37.

<sup>7</sup> Unās, l. 369.

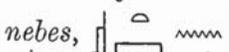
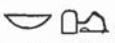
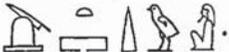
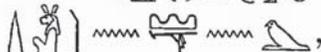
<sup>8</sup> Unās, l. 869.





THE GOD SEPT.

“strengtheners of Egypt, and the protectors of the temples of the gods.”<sup>1</sup>

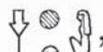
The principal seat of the worship of the god was in the metropolis of the nome, i.e., at Per-Sept, ; if K̄esem, , was a distinct city from Per-Sept a temple to the god may have stood there also. The female counterpart of H̄eru-Sept was a form of the goddess Hathor to whom, in the twentieth nome of Lower Egypt, the name SEPTIT, , was given; his sanctuary contained some fine *nebes*<sup>2</sup> trees, hence its name *ist nebes*, , “house of *nebes* trees.” As the “lord of battle,” , Sept is depicted in the form of a hawk-headed lion with the tails of a lion and a hawk, and in his hands, which are those of a man, he holds a bow and a club; on his head are a disk<sup>3</sup> and plumes. Sept is mentioned even in the *Book of the Dead* with the attributes of a god of war, and in Chapter xvii. (line 30) he is said to “thwart the acts of the foes of Neb-er-tcher.” In the xxxiind Chapter the deceased drives away the Crocodile of the South, and says, “I am Sept”; and in the cxxxth Chapter (line 11) we read of the “slaughtering block of the god Septu,” . Up to the present no satisfactory explanation has been given of the object  which is the symbol of the god Sept, but it appears to have been some kind of a triangle; a figure or model of it was preserved at Âmen-kheperutet, , which is described in the Edfû list as , i.e., “the hidden  of Khas (?) en-Sept.”

<sup>1</sup> De Rongé, *Géographie Ancienne*, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> The *Cordia Sebestena*, or *Zizyphus Lotos* W., according to Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 567.

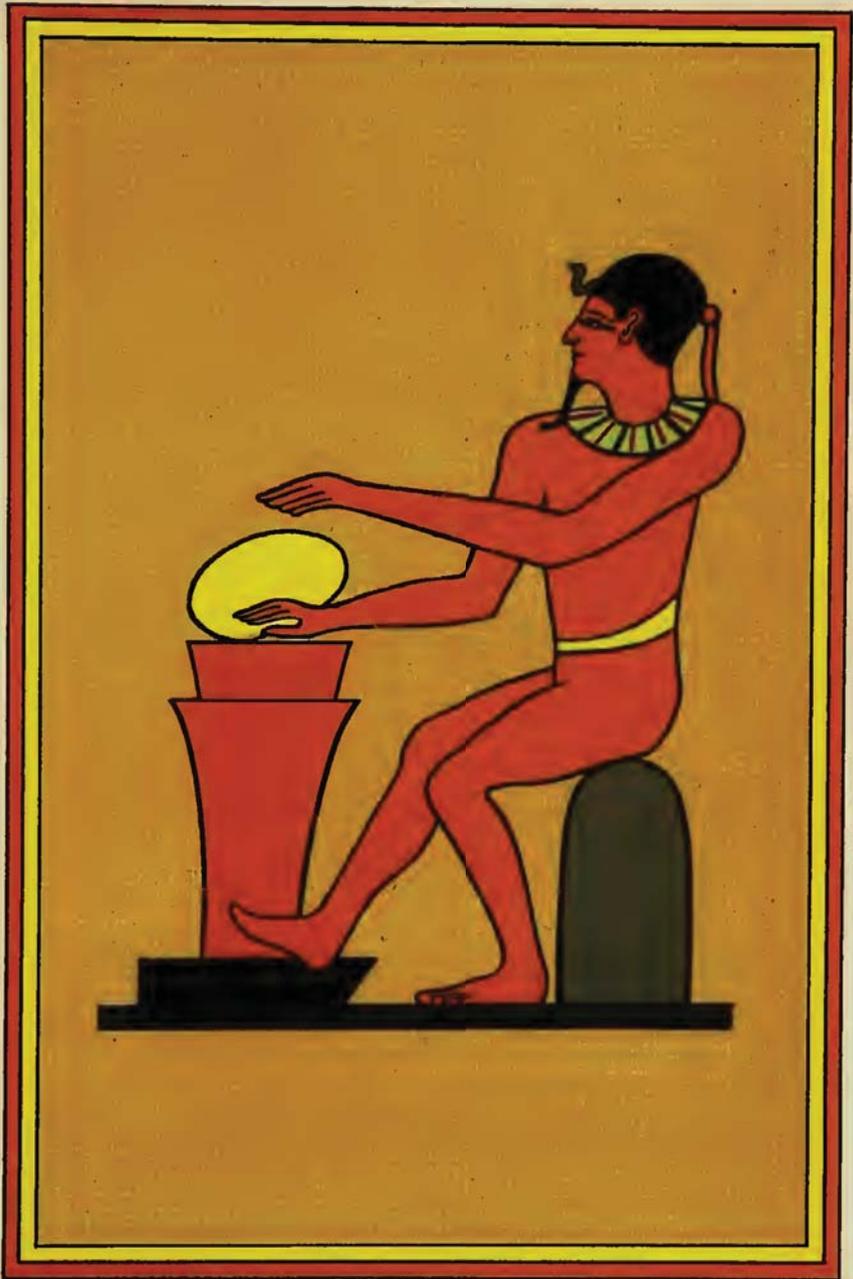
<sup>3</sup> Lanzone, *op. cit.*, p. 1048.

## CHAPTER XVI

THE GREAT TRIAD OF MEMPHIS, PTAḤ, ,  
SEKHET, , AND I-EM-HETEP, .

THE greatest of all the old gods of Memphis was undoubtedly PTAḤ, , or PTAḤ-NEB-ĀNKH, , and his worship, in one form or another, goes back to the earliest part of the dynastic period. He has usually been regarded as a form of the Sun-god, and as the personification of the rising sun, either at the time when it begins to rise above the horizon or immediately after it has risen. The name has often been explained to mean "Opener," and to be derived from a root which was cognate in meaning with the well-known Semitic root *pāthakh*, פתח, in fact Ptaḥ was thought to be the "Opener" of the day just as Tem was considered to be the "Closer" of the day. The chief drawback, however, to the acceptance of this derivation is the fact that Ptaḥ never forms one of the groups of the chief forms of the Sun-god in the texts, and his attributes are entirely different from those of Kheperā, Tem, Ḥeru, and Rā. Moreover, although the word *ptah*, , is found in Egyptian it never has the meaning "to open," in the sense of opening a door, and the determinative which follows it,<sup>1</sup> , proves conclusively that although it does mean "to open" it is always in the sense of "to engrave, to carve, to chisel," and the like; compare Heb. פתח "engraving, sculpture." The meaning proposed for the name "Ptaḥ" by Dr. Brugsch is "sculptor, engraver," and many passages in the texts of all periods make it plain that Ptaḥ was the chief god of all handicraftsmen,

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 528.



PTAH FASHIONING THE EGG OF THE WORLD UPON A POTTER'S WHEEL, WHICH HE WORKS WITH HIS FOOT.

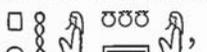


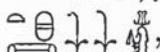
iron slab which formed the floor of heaven and the roof of the sky was beaten out by Ptaḥ, and he and his assistants made the stays and supports which held it in position. In the character of architect of the universe he partakes of the nature of Thoth, especially in respect of his title "lord of Maāt;" and, as the god who beat out the iron firmament with a hammer and supported it, his attributes resemble those of Shu. In other capacities he was supposed to be endowed with powers which we are wont to associate with other gods, and thus we find enumerated in religious and funeral texts PTAḤ-ĀSĀR (Ptaḥ-Osiris), PTAḤ-HĀPI, PTAḤ-NU, PTAḤ-SEKER, PTAḤ-SEKER-ĀSĀR, PTAḤ-SEKER-TEM, PTAḤ-TANEN, and the like. The part which Ptaḥ in his various forms plays in the *Book of the Dead* is well illustrated by the following:—In Chapter iv. he is said to come forth from the Great Temple of the Aged One in Ānnu; in Chapter xi. the deceased says, "I shall stand up like Horus, I shall sit down like Ptaḥ, I shall be mighty like Thoth, and I shall be strong like Tem." From Chapter xxiii. we learn that Shu or Ptaḥ performed the ceremony of "opening the mouth" of the gods with an iron knife; in Chapter xlii. the feet of the deceased are identified with the feet of Ptaḥ; in Chapter lxiv., line 8, he is said to have covered his sky with crystal; Chapter lxxxii. is a text by the use of which a man transforms himself into Ptaḥ, when his tongue becomes like that of the god; in Chapter cxlv., line 67, the "writings of Ptaḥ" are referred to; in Chapter cli. a Mestā tells the deceased that he has "stablished his house firmly according to what Ptaḥ hath commanded;" and in Chapter cliii., line 6, the "hook of Ptaḥ" is mentioned; in Chapter clxvi. Ptaḥ is said to overthrow the enemies of the deceased (see also Chapter clxxii. 10). In Chapter cli. the hair of the deceased is compared to that of Ptaḥ-Seker, and in Chapter clxx. this god is said to give him help with his *khakernu*, , weapons from his divine house. In a hymn to Osiris (Chapter xv.) Osiris is addressed as Un-nefer Ḥeru-khuti, and as "PTAḤ-SEKER-TEM, , in Ānnu, the "lord of the hidden place, and the creator of Ḥet-ka-Ptaḥ (i.e., "the House of the Double of Ptaḥ," or Memphis);" finally, Ptaḥ-



THE GOD PTAH-SEKER.

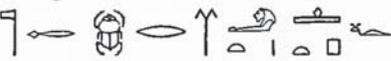
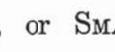
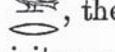
Tanen is mentioned in Chapter clxxxiii., line 15, as having caused to be inscribed certain decrees concerning Horus upon an "iron tablet."

The commonest form in which Ptaḥ is represented is that of a bearded man with a bald head who is shrouded in a close-fitting garment, from an opening in the front of which project his two hands; from the back of his neck hangs the *menät*, symbol of pleasure and happiness, and in his hands he holds a sceptre, , and the emblems of "life," , and "stability," . When standing upright his feet rest upon a pedestal made in the shape of the sign *maät* , and when seated his throne rests upon a pedestal of similar shape. At the back of standing figures of the god we sometimes see an obelisk, , or the *teṭ*, , which symbolizes both "stability" and the tree trunk in which the body of Osiris was hidden by Isis. Ptaḥ under his forms of PTAḤ-NṬ, , and PTAḤ-ḤĀPI, , merely represents the union of the great celestial workman and architect with the primeval elements of earth and water, and there are no representations specially set apart for these forms.

On the other hand, his forms of PTAḤ-SEKER, or PTAḤ-SEKER-ĀSĀR, , , and PTAḤ-TANEN,  , must be specially considered. PTAḤ-SEKER represents a personification of the union of the primeval creative power with a form of the inert powers of darkness, or in other words, Ptaḥ-Seker is a form of Osiris, that is to say, of the night sun, or dead Sun-god. SEKER is depicted in the form of a hawk-headed man in mummied form resembling that of Ptaḥ, and his hands project from the front of his close-fitting garment and hold the emblems of sovereignty and dominion, , , ; sometimes he has the head of a man and holds in each hand a knife.<sup>1</sup> Seker was originally a power of darkness, or of the night, which in later times was identified with forms of the night sun like Tem. He is

<sup>1</sup> Lanzzone, op. cit., pl. 368, No. 4.



called "the great god, who came into being  
 "in the beginning, he who resteth upon the  
 "darkness,"   
. In the xviiith Chapter of the  
*Book of the Dead* (line 113) occurs a petition  
 in which the deceased begs to be delivered  
 from the "great god who carrieth away  
 "the soul, who eateth hearts, and who  
 "feedeth upon offal, the guardian of the  
 "darkness, the god who is in the Seker  
 "boat, , and in the explanation  
 of the passage which is given in answer to  
 the question, "Who is this?" the god who is  
 in the Seker boat is said to be either SUTI,  
, or SMAM-UR,   
, the soul of Seb. Thus it is clear that

Seker was an ancient spirit or god whose attributes were such that he might well be represented by Set, or Suti, the enemy of Rā, or by the soul of the earth-god Seb. In comparatively early dynastic times Seker was exalted to the position of god of that portion of the Underworld which was allotted to the souls of the inhabitants of Memphis and the neighbourhood, and it is tolerably certain that he was regarded as the tutelary deity of the necropolis of Šak-kāra.



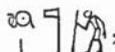
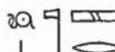
Ptolemy Suergetes and the Henu Boat.



THE ARK OF THE GOD SEKER ON ITS SLEDGE.

The SEKER BOAT which has been mentioned above is often represented on sepulchral monuments and papyri, and it was certainly made to play a very prominent part in certain solemn, sacred ceremonies. It was not made in the form of an ordinary boat, but one end of it was very much higher than the other, and was made in the shape of the head of some kind of gazelle or oryx; the centre of the boat was occupied by a carefully closed coffer which was surmounted by a hawk with protecting wings stretched out over the top of it. This coffer contained the body of the dead Sun-god AF, or of Osiris, and it rested upon a framework or sledge which was provided with runners. On the great day of the festival of Seker which was celebrated in many places throughout Egypt, the ceremony of placing the Seker boat upon its sledge was performed at sunrise, at the moment when the rays of the sun were beginning to spread themselves over the earth. The whole ceremony was under the direction of the high priest of Memphis, whose official title was "Ur kherp hem," , "i.e., great chief of the hammer"; this official was expected to lift the Seker Boat upon its sledge, and to march at the head of the procession of priests which drew the loaded sledge round the sanctuary. By this action the revolution of the sun and other celestial bodies was symbolized, but no texts explaining the symbolism have come down to us. From the inscriptions which are found at Memphis and in the neighbourhood we know that the office of high priest of Ptah was considered to be a most honourable position, and that many men of noble family and of high rank held it as far back as the period of the II<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. Now since the priestly office existed in those remote times it is only reasonable to assume that the Seker Boat also existed, and that the ceremonies with which it was used in the later period were also performed in the earlier; the god Seker was, even when the Pyramids were built, an ancient god, and the chief characteristics of his worship must be as old as the god himself.

The name given to the Seker Boat is "Hennu," , and it is mentioned several times in the *Book of the Dead*, and sometimes in connexion with traditions of great importance.

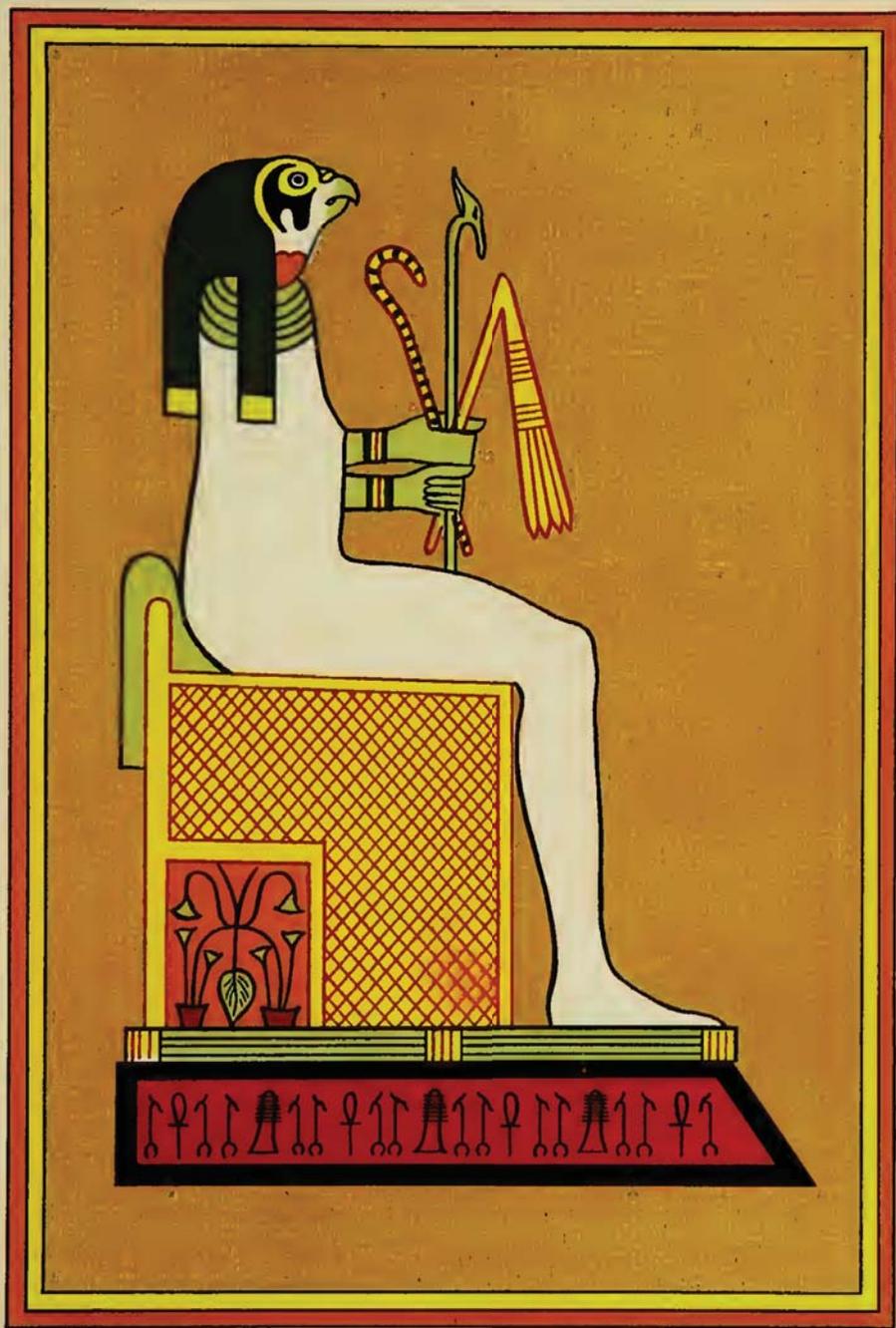
Thus after the lxivth Chapter we have a rubric which states that the composition was found in the masonry below the shrine of Henu during the reign of Senti (Hesepti) a king of the Ist Dynasty; now Henu can only be the god of the Henu boat, and the shrine of Henu must be the place where it was kept. A most valuable proof of the antiquity of this boat is found on an ebony tablet in the British Museum<sup>1</sup> which was made for the royal chancellor Hemaka, who flourished during the reign of Senti, whose Horus name was TEN. On this we see a representation of the king dancing before Osiris, who is seated within a shrine on the top of a flight of steps, and in the register immediately below it is a figure of the Henu Boat. The Seker or Henu Boat was probably a form of the SEKTET BOAT, i.e., the boat in which the sun sailed over the sky during the second half of his daily journey, and in which he entered the Underworld in the evening, for Rā the Aged, , is said to be like Horus, and Rā the Babe, , to be like Seker. The sanctuaries of Seker must have been extremely numerous<sup>2</sup> in Lower Egypt in very early dynastic times, but it appears that before the great development of Rā worship took place, the god Seker was already identified with and merged in Ptaḥ, and that these gods were adored together in one temple. The forms in which Ptaḥ-Seker is represented are interesting, for they illustrate the attributes of the double god, and prove that it was Ptaḥ who usurped the characteristics of Seker, and that Seker was the older god. Ptaḥ-Seker is often depicted in the form of a man who wears upon his head a crown composed of disk, plumes, horns, and uraei with disks on their heads, ; a cognate form is perhaps that reproduced by Lanzone<sup>3</sup> in which the god, who in this case is called "Ptaḥ whose double plumes are lofty," has upon his head horns, plumes, and a uraeus, and a uraeus upon his forehead. Another interesting form is that of a mummy with a disk and the two feathers of Maāt, , upon his head.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere he is found in the usual form of Ptaḥ seated upon

<sup>1</sup> No. 32,650.

<sup>2</sup> See a list given by Lanzone, *op. cit.*, p. 1117.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. 94, No. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 95.

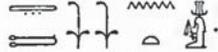


SEKER

a throne behind Osiris and followed by Anubis, Horus, son of Isis, and Hathor.

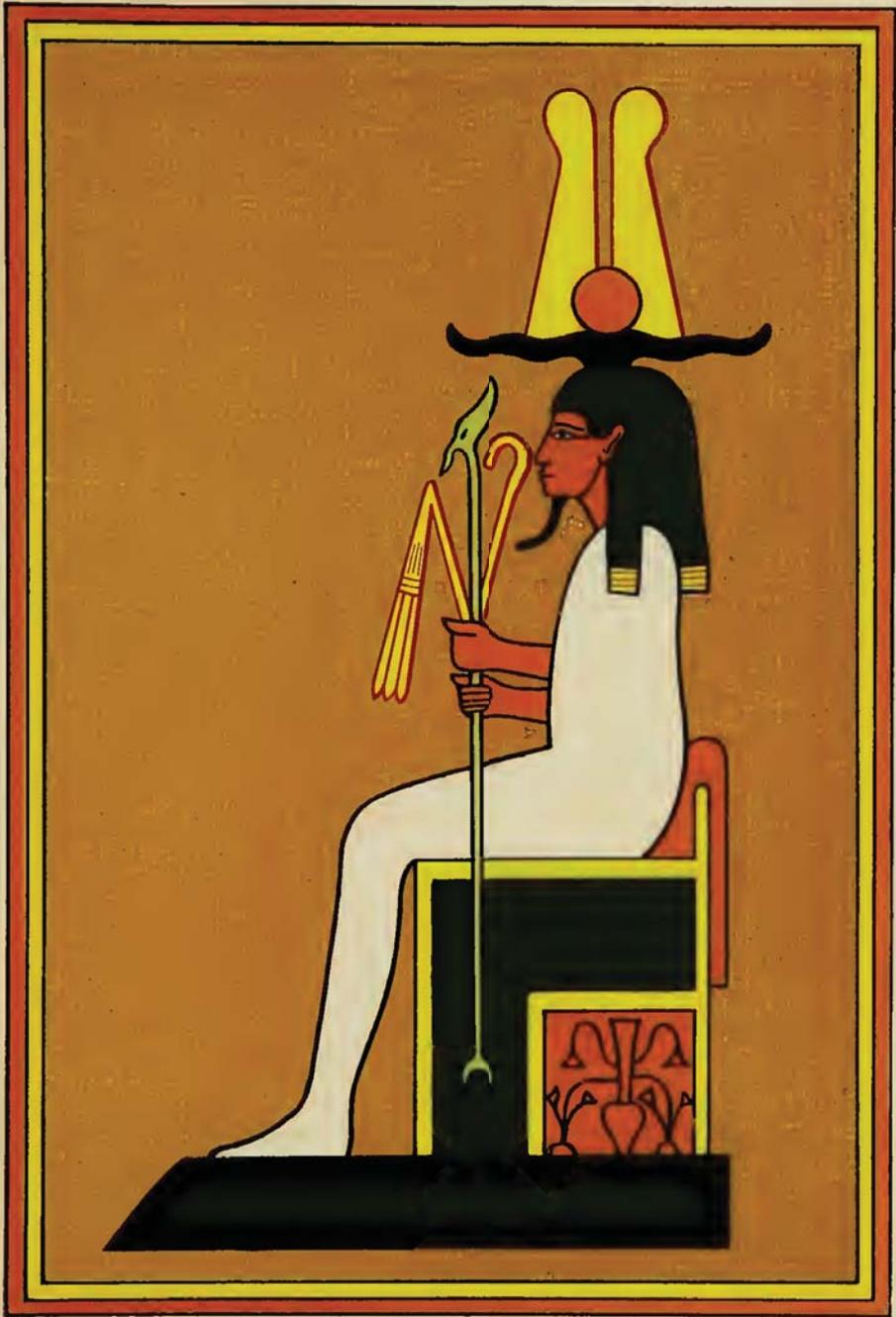
Under the name of PTAḤ-SEKER-ĀSĀR we find Ptaḥ and Seker united with Osiris to form a remarkable triad, which is depicted in various ways. A common representation of the god is the hawk, with the White Crown and plumes upon his head, standing upon a low pedestal, from the front of which projects a serpent; in this form he is often met with on painted coffins and sepulchral chests. In the Papyrus of Ānhai (Brit. Mus., plate 5) the god is seated within a shrine in human form with the crown, , upon his head; behind him stand Isis and Nephthys. The titles here given to him are, "Dweller in the secret place, great god, lord of Ta-tchesertet, king of eternity, governor of everlastingness," . Before the god is the skin of the pied bull, of which the head has been cut off, with blood dripping from it into a bowl, and perched on the side of the throne is his son Horus in the form of a hawk. The cornice of the shrine in which the god is seated is composed of uraei with disks on their heads, and before it stand the Mer goddess of the South, , wearing a red garment, and the Mer goddess of the North, , wearing a blue garment, and it is quite clear from the general arrangement of the vignette that in the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty Ptaḥ-Seker-Āsār was wholly identified with Osiris. A very interesting form of the triune god is that in which he appears as a squat pigmy with a large, bald head, and thick limbs; on the top of his head he usually has a beetle, but occasionally plumes are given to him. An examination of the variants of this form proves that he was supposed to possess all the virile power of Āmsu, or Min, and the creative power of Kheperā, which is symbolized by the beetle, and the youth and vigour of Harpocrates, which is represented by the lock of hair on the right side of his head; and as sometimes he stands upon a crocodile, and holds a serpent in each hand, he must have possessed besides the powers of several of the great solar gods. Ptaḥ-Seker-Āsār is, then, like Osiris, the type and symbol of the resurrection

from the dead, and he has been fittingly described as the "triune god of the resurrection"; that he was the outcome of some local Memphite belief, or the result of some compromise between the priests of Osiris and the priests of the old Memphite god is tolerably certain, but there is no evidence to show exactly what belief, or doctrine, or dogma was associated with this mysterious god who united within himself the attributes of Seker, and those of Ptaḥ the architect and builder of the material world, and of Kheperā the self-begotten and self-born, and Osiris the giver of everlasting life.

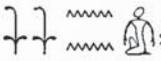
Finally must be mentioned Ptaḥ in his connexion with the primeval god TENEN, , or TA-TU-NEN, , or TA-THUNEN, , or TA-THU-NENET, . This god is represented in the form of a man, either sitting or standing, who wears on his head the crown, , and holds in his hands the symbols of sovereignty and dominion, , , and ; in a figure reproduced by Lanzone<sup>1</sup> we see him seated upon the oval object, . Another figure represents the god seated with a potter's wheel before him, which he works with his foot, and on the upper part of it is the egg of the world which he is fashioning with his hands; elsewhere he is depicted with a scimitar in his right hand, which suggests that in one form he was regarded as a destructive power of nature, or as a warrior-god. Tenen, or Ta-Tenen, must have been one of the earliest gods of Lower Egypt, and have been a personification of a nature power, the exact attributes of which appear to have been unknown even to the Egyptians. In the early part of the dynastic period it was thought that Ptaḥ, the local god of Memphis, might be fittingly identified with Tenen, or Ta-Tenen, and his name was, therefore, joined to that of the older god, just as in later days the name of Amen was joined to that of Rā; later Tenen and Ta-tenen were merely forms and names of Ptaḥ. From a hymn to Ptaḥ-Tenen,<sup>2</sup> which is probably a product of the XXth or XXIst Dynasty, we may gain some

Op. cit., pl. 401, No. 3.

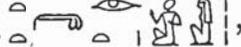
<sup>2</sup> For the hieratic text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vi., pl. 118.



TATENEN

idea of the meaning of the name Ta-tenen, "Ta," , is of course "earth," and "Tenen," , is probably to be connected with the word, , *enen*, or *nen*, which means "inertness, inactivity, rest, motionless," and the like, and if this derivation be correct Ta-Tenen must be the god of the inert but living matter of the earth.

The passage on which this view is based is a very difficult one, and appears to read, "There was given to thee a SEKHEM (i.e., Power) upon the earth in its things which were in a state of inactivity, and thou didst gather them together after thou didst exist in thy form of Ta-Tenen, in thy becoming the 'Uniter of the two lands,' which thy mouth begot and which thy hands fashioned."<sup>1</sup> It is, as Dr. Brugsch suggested, quite possible that in this passage the writer was not discussing the derivation of the name Tenen, or Ta-Tenen, seriously, and was only making a play upon the words of similar sound. In the hymn to Ptaḥ-Tenen already mentioned we find the following address to the god and titles:—"Homage to thee, O Ptaḥ-Tenen, thou great god, whose form is hidden! Thou openest thy soul and thou wakest up in peace, O father of the fathers of all the gods, thou Disk of heaven! Thou illuminest it with thy two Eyes, and thou lightest up the earth with thy brilliant rays in peace."

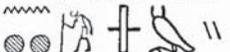
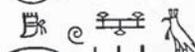
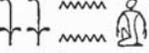
 In the lines which follow he is called the "begetter of men," , the "maker

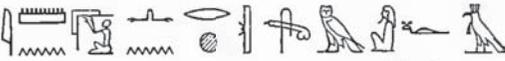




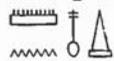


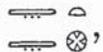
“The winds come forth from thy nostrils, and the celestial water  
 “from thy mouth, and the staff of life (i.e., wheat, barley, etc.),  
 “proceeds from thy back; thou makest the earth to bring forth  
 “fruit, and gods and men have abundance, and they see Meḥ-urit  
 “cattle in thy field. When thou art at rest the darkness cometh,  
 “and when thou openest thy two eyes beams of light are produced.  
 “Thou shinest in thy crystal form according to [the wont of]  
 “thy majesty. . . . The company of the gods of thy supreme  
 “company praise thee, and they acclaim thee at thy rising and  
 “hymn thee at thy setting in the land of life.” A few lines lower  
 down Ptaḥ-Tenen is called the “great god who stretched out the  
 “heavens, who maketh his disk to revolve in the body of Nut and  
 “to enter into the body of Nut in his name of RĀ, Moulder of  
 “gods, and of men, and of everything which is produced, maker of  
 “all lands, and countries, and the Great Green Sea in his name of  
 “KHEPER-TA () , Bringer of Ḥāpi () from his  
 “source, making to flourish the staff of life, maker of grain which  
 “cometh forth from him in his name Nu the Aged () ,  
 “who maketh fertile the watery mass of heaven, and maketh to  
 “come forth the water on the mountains to give life to men  
 “and women () in his name of ĀRI-ĀNKH  
 “() , Maker of the Ṭuat with all its arrangements,  
 “who driveth away the flame from those who live in their corners  
 “in his name of SUTEN-TAUI () , King of eternity  
 “and everlastingness, and lord of life.” Among other titles of the

god in this hymn we have:—“Babe, born daily,”   
; “Aged one on the borders of eternity,”   
; “Aged one traversing eternity,”   
; “Inert one passing over all his aspects,”   
; “Exalted one without his strength,” 

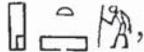
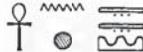
; "Lord of the hidden throne, hidden is he,"  
; "Hidden one, whose eternal  
 "form is unknown," ; "Lord  
 of years, giver of life at will," .

The above extracts are sufficient to show the importance of the god Ptaḥ-Tenen in the eyes of the Egyptians about B.C. 1100, at which time, if we may judge from palaeographical evidence, the hymn was probably written, and there is no reason for supposing that he was thought less of during any period of Egyptian history. The papyrus upon which the text is inscribed is said to have been found at Thebes, and there is no doubt that the style of writing closely resembles the fine bold hand of the great papyrus of Rameses III., king of Egypt about B.C. 1200, which also was discovered at Thebes; we should not, however, expect to find, in the city of Amen-Rā, the king of the gods, papyri containing hymns to Ptaḥ-Tenen, the god of Memphis, in which this god is made to possess all the attributes of all the great gods of Egypt, yet such has been, undoubtedly, the case. The fact that the triad of Ptaḥ, Sekhet, and Nefer-Tem was worshipped at Thebes is another proof of the influence which the priests of Heliopolis exerted over the religious views of the Thebans in almost every period of Egyptian history after the VIth Dynasty.

Returning now to the consideration of Ptaḥ in his simplest form, it must be noted that the principal centre of his worship was in the city of Men-nefer, , i.e., Memphis, the capital of

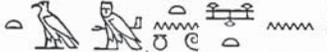
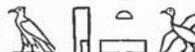
Aneb-ḥetch, , the first nome of Lower Egypt. The commonest names for Memphis in the religious texts are:—1. Hā-nefer, . 2. Het-ka-Ptaḥ,<sup>1</sup> , from which the Greek name for Egypt, Ἄιγυπτος, has been commonly derived. 3. Khut-tai, , i.e., "horizon of the two lands."

<sup>1</sup> I.e., "House of the Double of Ptaḥ."

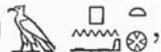
4. *Het-ka-khnem-neteru*,<sup>1</sup> , i.e., the "city of walls." 5. *Ānebu*, , i.e., "the balance of the two lands." 6. *Makha-tauī*, , i.e., "the balance of the two lands." In the city of Memphis or its neighbourhood were the temples of *Ptaḥ*, *Sekhet*, *Bast*, *Hathor*, *Osiris*, *Seker*, and *I-em-ḥetep*, the most important being the *Het-āa*, , "the house of the Aged One," i.e., *Rā*. In the temple called *Ānkh-tauī*, , were the sacred perseae



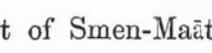
Āsār-Ĥāpi (Serapis).

and acacia trees; in *Hekennut*, , Osiris was worshipped; in *Het-utet*, , i.e., "house of the begetter," the cult of *Khnemu* was observed; another sacred place was called the "Path of Anubis," ; and another *Ta-ḥet-pa-Āten*, , i.e., the "House of the Disk"; and in *Tepeḥ-tchat*, , was yet another sacred tree.<sup>2</sup>

The Serapeum, which was discovered by M. Mariette in 1868, was known by the name of "Neter-ḥet per en Āsār-Ĥāp,"

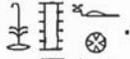
; a district called *Baḥtet*, , was the centre of the worship of *Seker*; the district of *Pa-penāt*, ,

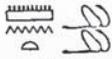
was the centre of the worship of *Bast*; *Osiris*

was adored in the district of *Hekennut*, ; *Hathor* was adored in the district of *Smen-Maāt*, ; *Khnemu* was adored at *Uafet*, ; and *Ptaḥ* and *Sekhet* and their son *I-em-ḥetep* appear to have possessed temples wherein they were worshipped exclusively. The city of Memphis is often called in the hieroglyphic texts "Āneb," a name which is written ,

<sup>1</sup> I.e., "House of the Double which uniteth the gods."

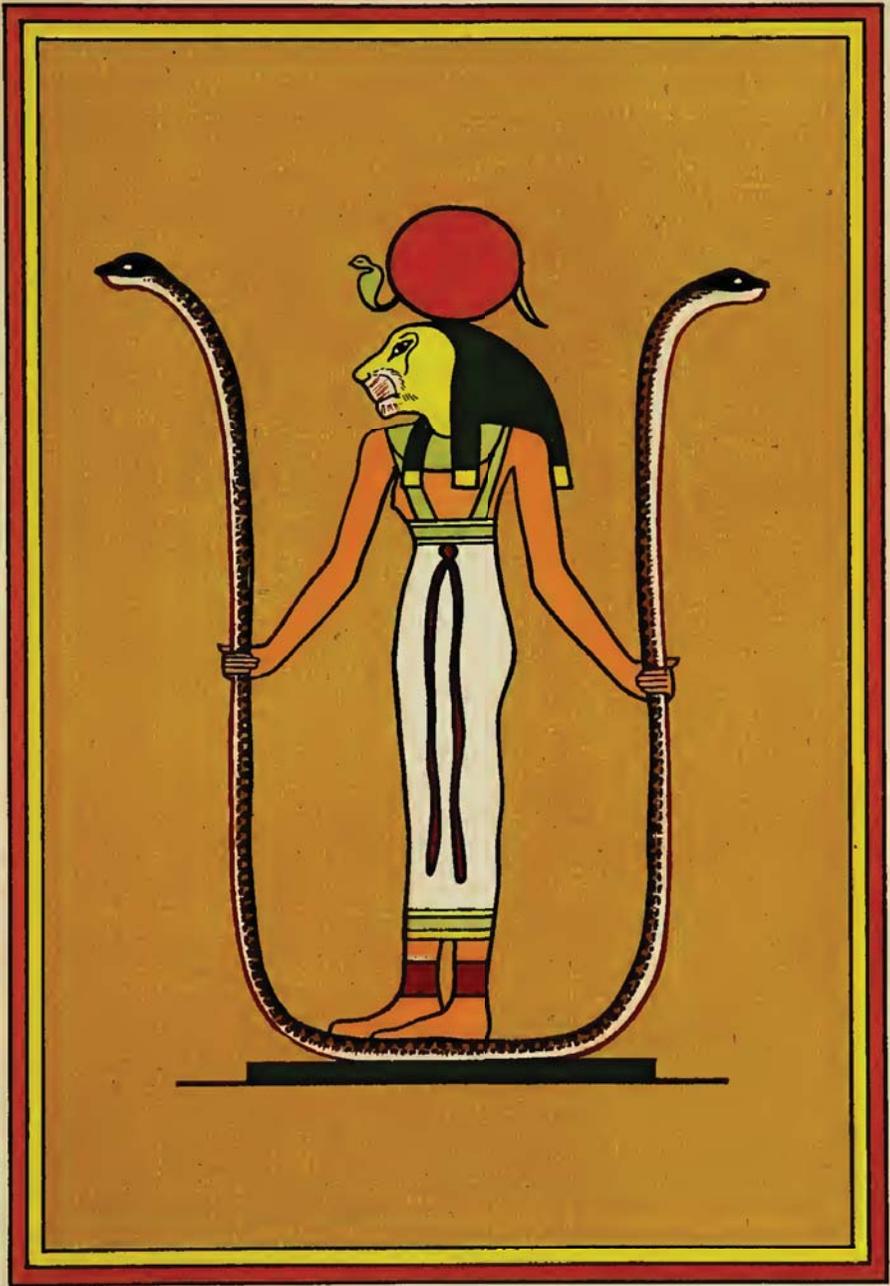
<sup>2</sup> See de Rougé, *Géographie*, pp. 4 ff.

or , or ,<sup>1</sup> and there is no doubt that the appellation of "Walls" was given to it because of its strong fortifications. Once a year the priests of Ptaḥ-Seker-Āsār formed a solemn procession, and led by the Sem-priest, , and usually accompanied by the king, they marched all round the walls of Memphis; it is probable that the image of this triune god was carried in the procession. The god Ptaḥ himself was worshipped in a temple on the eastern side of the city called "Āneb-ābt," ; the temple of Tenen bore the name of "Āneb Āthi," ; and Ptaḥ-Seker-Āsār was adored in a temple on the south side of the city called "Āneb-rest-f," i.e., "his southern wall," . The whole city was known by the name of "White Wall," , to which reference is made by Herodotus<sup>2</sup> (iii. 91).

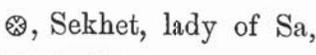
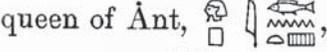
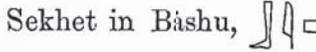
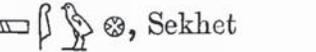
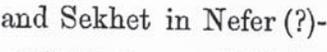
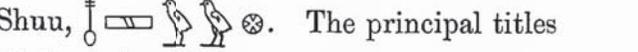
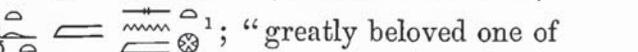
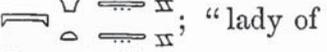
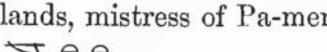
The principal female counterpart of Ptaḥ was the goddess SEKHET, , who was at once his sister and wife, and the mother of his son NEFER-TEM, and a sister-form of the goddess Bast. She is generally depicted in the form of a woman with the head of a lioness which is surmounted by the solar disk encircled by an uraeus, , but sometimes the disk is omitted, and a uraeus only is seen upon her head. The name of the goddess appears in the Pyramid Texts (Unās, line 390), where after the statement that Unās hath proceeded from the thighs of the company of the gods,  , he is said to have been conceived by Sekhet, , and by Sheskhetet, , and by Sothis, . In comparatively late dynastic times Sekhet and Bast were identified with forms of Hathor, and were regarded as the goddesses of the West and the East respectively, just as Nekhet and Uatchet were the goddesses of the South and the North respectively. Each goddess had the head of a lioness, but the body of Sekhet is said to have been draped in a red garment whilst that of Bast was arrayed in a green garment. Several special forms of Sekhet are known to have existed, viz., Sekhet, lady of Reht,

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ Τείχεϊ τῷ ἐν Μέμφι.



THE GODDESS SEKHET.

 Sekhet, lady of Sa,  Sekhet, lady of Rehesau,  Sekhet, the great lady, the queen of Ant,  Sekhet in Bashu,  Sekhet in Sah,  Sekhet-Nut in Het-khät,  and Sekhet in Nefer (?) - Shuu, . The principal titles of Sekhet were "Mighty lady, lady of Flame, Tefnut in Senemet," ; "greatly beloved one of Ptaḥ, lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands," ; "lady of Tep-nef," ; "lady of Tchär," ; and of Sehert, ; "chief of the Libyan lands, mistress of Pa-mertet," .

The name "Sekhet" appears to be derived from or connected with the root *sekhem*, , "to be strong, mighty, violent," and the like, and as she was the personification of the fierce, scorching, and destroying heat of the sun's rays, these attributes would be very suitable for her character. In the form of the serpent-goddess Mehenet, , she took up her position on the head of her father Rā, and poured out from herself the blazing fire which scorched and consumed his enemies who came near, whilst at those who were some distance away she shot forth swift fiery darts which pierced through and through the fiends whom they struck. In a text quoted by Dr. Brugsch<sup>2</sup> she is made to say, "I set the fierce heat of the fire for a distance of millions of cubits between Osiris and his enemy, and I keep away from him the evil ones, and remove his foes from his habitation." One of the commonest names of the goddess is "Nesert," i.e., Flame, as a destroying element, and in texts of all periods she plays the part of a power which protects the good and annihilates the wicked.

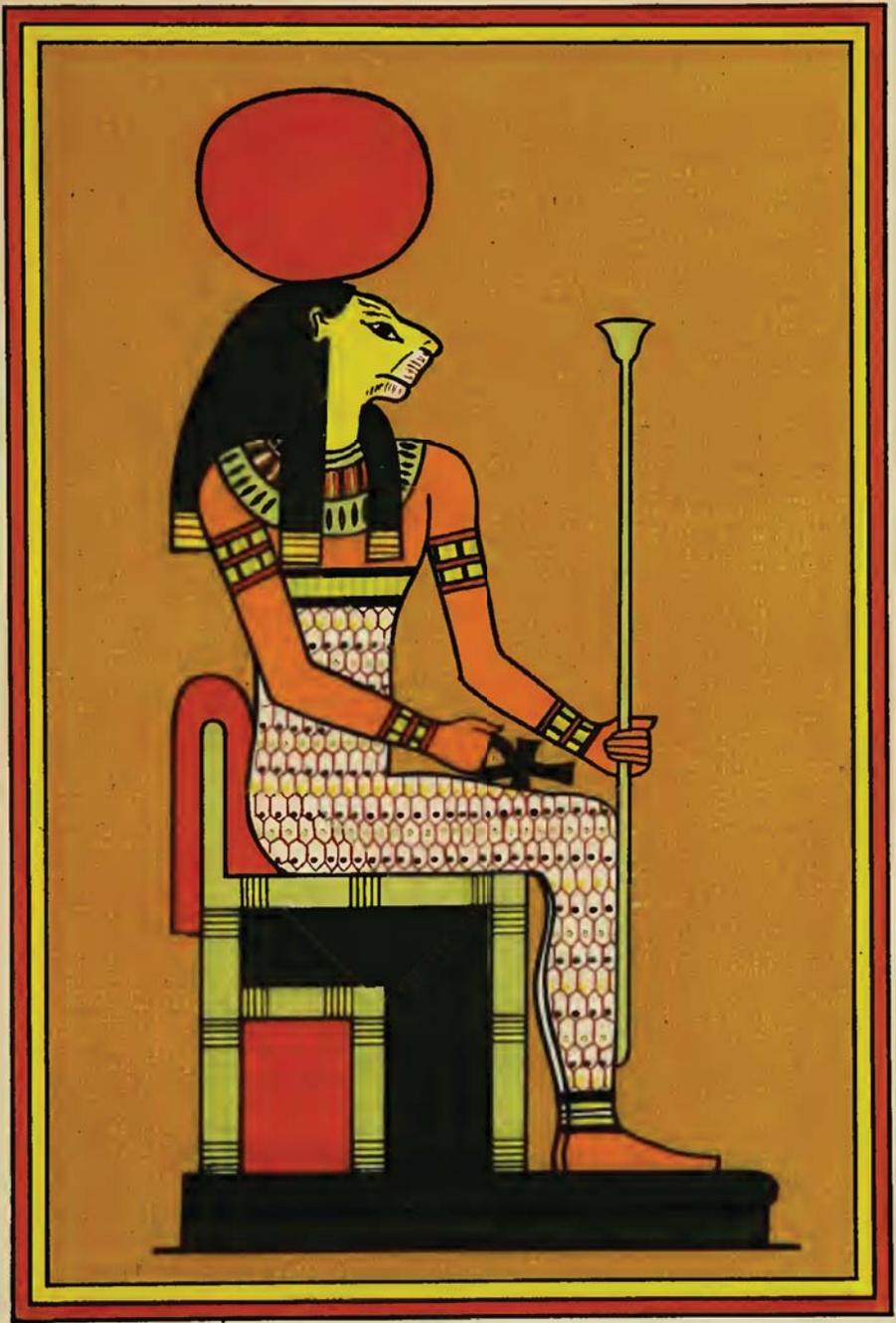
<sup>1</sup> Var. 

<sup>2</sup> *Religion*, p. 520.

In some aspects she may be compared with Uatchet, of whom a well-known name is "Lady of flame." We have already said that in some respects Sekhet may be regarded as a form of Hathor and Net, and indeed several of the titles of the last named goddesses are bestowed upon her, e.g., "Lady of Ámentet, lady of Manu" (i.e., the mountain of the setting sun), the queen of the Libyan "lands," etc.; these appear to suggest a western or Libyan origin for the goddess.

In connexion with Sekhet and her relationship with Hathor, Net, and Maät must be mentioned the Seven Wise Ones of the goddess Meḥ-urt, who together with Thoth, , ṬEKH, planned the world; they were born of Meḥ-urt, , at the feet of Nu, , in their home in Nehet-rest, , and they came forth from the water, from the pupil of the Eye of Rā, and they took the form of seven hawks and flew upwards, and together with ÁSTEN, , a form of Thoth, they presided over learning and letters. The names of these Seven Wise Ones, , are:—NEFER-HĀTI, ĀPER-PEHUI, NEB-ṬESHERU, KA, BĀK, KHEKH, and SĀN.<sup>1</sup> Ptaḥ, as the master architect and workman who carried out the designs of Thoth and his Seven Wise Ones, partook, in some respects, of the characteristics of them all, and as Sekhet was his female counterpart she appears to have acquired some of their attributes also, because Thoth was in reality only a personification of the intelligence of Ptaḥ. It is in this way that Sekhet becomes identified with the goddess Maät, for Maät was the inseparable companion of Thoth, and inasmuch as Thoth was contained in Ptaḥ, Maät became the female counterpart of Ptaḥ and a sister form of Sekhet. In one of the titles of Sekhet given above, the goddess is identified with Tefnut, the female counterpart of Shu;

<sup>1</sup> ; see Dümichen, *Tempelinschriften*, pl. 25; Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 522.



THE GODDESS SEKHET.

this need cause no surprise, because Thoth was only the Hermetopolitan form of Shu, and Tefnut was therefore his female counterpart, and as Ptaḥ absorbed Thoth, that is to say, Shu, the female counterpart of Ptaḥ (i.e., Sekhet) absorbed the female counterpart of Thoth, or Shu (i.e., Tefnut). In many texts Sekhet is called the "Eye of Rā,"                                            

Hathor, and also with a form of Sekhet. In the great inscription of Beni Hasan (line 18) we find the mention of Horus Pakht, , and we may therefore assume that Pakht was in some way connected with one of the forms of Horus, and that she was a local deity of great importance.

It is probable that Bast was a female counterpart of the triune god Ptaḥ-Seker-Āsar, and that she possessed attributes which cannot at present be clearly defined. As a nature power she represented the gentle, fructifying heat of the sun, and its regenerative influence in the most comforting form. In late dynastic times Bast, and Sekhet, and Rā formed a deity whose existence is made known to us by a Chapter in the *Book of the Dead* (clxiv.). In the vignette Sekhet-Bast-Rā is represented as a woman with a man's head, and wings attached to her arms, and the heads of two vultures springing either from her head or neck; she has the phallus of a man and the claws of a lion. One vulture's head is like that of PEKHAT, , and has plumes upon it, and the other is like that of an ordinary vulture, and appears to have plumes upon it also; the man's head has upon it the united crowns of the South and North, and taken together with the phallus they indicate that the body of the woman, who is here called Mut, was supposed to possess the generative and procreative powers of Rā.

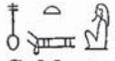
The text which forms the chapter is a very interesting one, and reads:—"Homage to thee, O Sekhet-Bast-Rā, thou mistress  
 "of the gods, thou bearer of wings, thou lady of the red apparel  
 " ( *ines*), queen of the crowns of the South and North,  
 "only One, sovereign of her father, superior to whom the  
 "gods cannot be, thou mighty one of enchantments (or, words  
 "of power) in the Boat of Millions of Years, thou who art pre-  
 "eminent, who risest in the seat of silence, mother of PASHAKASA  
 " (, queen of PAREHAQA-KHEPERU  
 " (, mistress and lady of  
 "the tomb, Mother in the horizon of heaven, gracious one, beloved,  
 "destroyer of rebellion, offerings are in thy grasp, and thou art



THE GODDESS SEKHET.



, and she is said to be the emanation of Mut, “ who  
 “ maketh souls to be as gods, who maketh bodies to be sound, and  
 “ who delivereth them from the abode of the fiends which is in the  
 “ chamber of the evil one.” According to the Rubric, the deceased  
 for whom pictures of the goddess and the two dwarfs were made  
 would become like the immortals, and worms would not eat his  
 body, and his soul would never be fettered, and he would drink  
 water at the source of the river, and would have a homestead of  
 his own in Sekhet-Āanre, and he would become a star of heaven,  
 and he would fight and overcome the fiends TAR, ,  
 and NEKĀU, .

The third member of the Memphite triad is NEFER-TEM,  
, or NEFER-TEMU, , who is the son of Ptaḥ and  
 Sekhet, or of Ptaḥ and Pakht, or of Ptaḥ and Bast. He is usually  
 represented in the form of a man who holds in his hands either  
 the *tchām* sceptre, , and the symbol of life, or the lotus  
 sceptre surmounted by plumes, ; in these forms he is called  
 “NEFER-TEM KHU TAUJ,” and “NEFER-TEM KHU TAUJ ĀNKH  
 REKHIT,” , and . The small  
 blue and green glazed porcelain statues of the god make him to stand  
 upon a lion, and sometimes he appears in religious scenes with the  
 lotus flower, or the lotus flower and plumes upon his head.<sup>1</sup> In  
 some cases Nefer-Tem has the head of a lion, and his body has the  
 form of a mummy, and consistently with this his hands project  
 from a close-fitting garment, and he holds in them the *tchām*  
 sceptre and flail, . In the earliest times the lotus flower was  
 associated with Nefer-Tem, and in the Pyramid Texts we find  
 allusions to this fact. Thus in the text of Unās (line 392) the  
 dead king is compared to a lotus at the nostrils of the Great  
 Sekhem, , and a line or two further  
 on it is said, “Unās hath risen like Nefer-Tem from the lotus to

<sup>1</sup> See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 147 and 148.



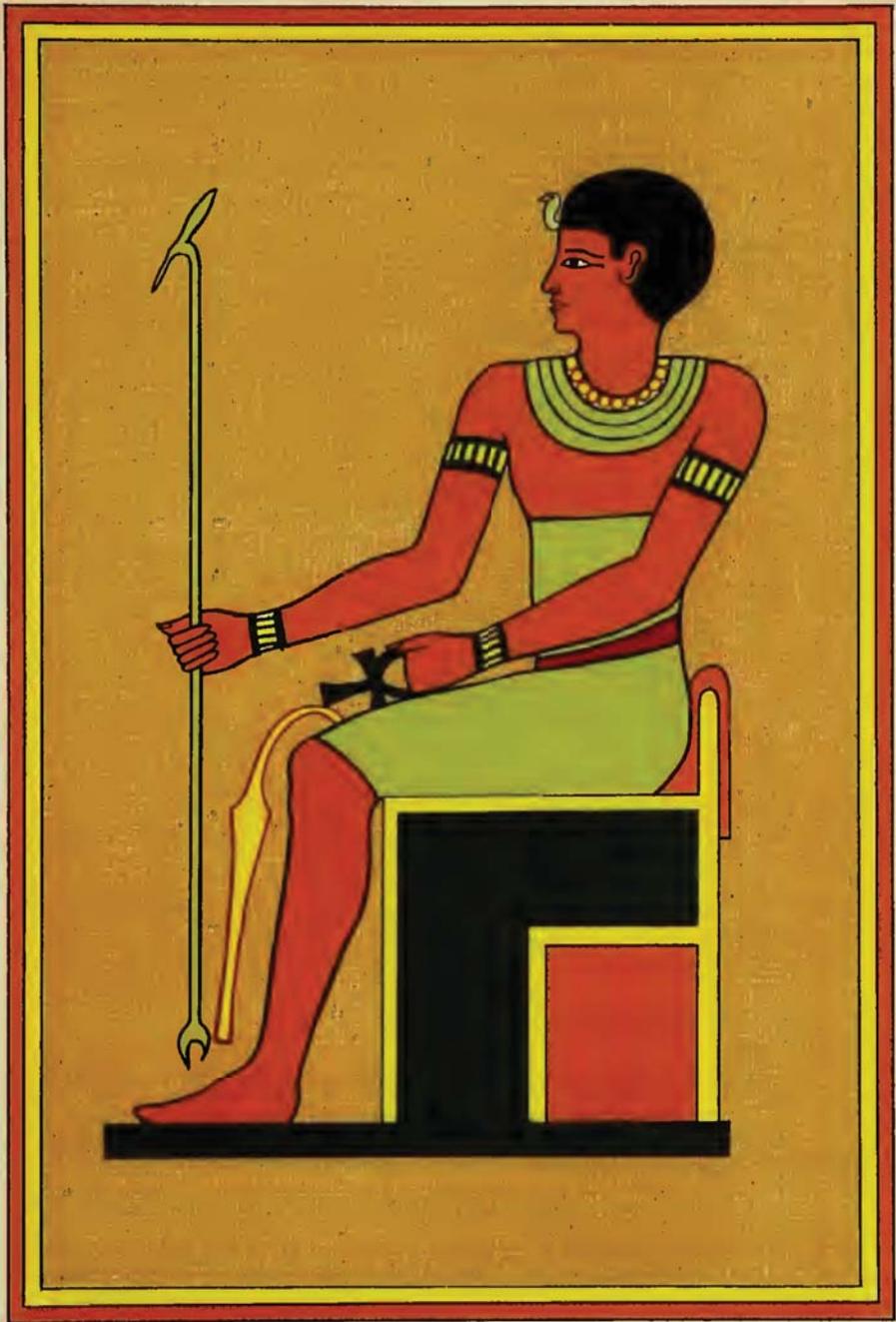
THE GOD NEFER-TEMU.



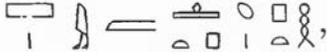
“Nefer-Tem! I am he who knoweth you, and I know your names among the gods, the lords of the Underworld, and I am one of you.” The vignette of the first version is a lotus, and that of the second is a lotus plant with a flower and buds growing out of a pool of water, and out of the flower springs a human head, i.e., the head of the deceased.

The idea conveyed by the last vignette seems to have originated in the mind of some early writer who was accustomed to see the sun rise over the flooded lands of the Delta where the lotus grew in abundance. In Chapter clxxiv. 19, the deceased says, “I rise like Nefer-Tem, who is the lotus at the nostrils of Rā, when he cometh forth from the horizon each day,” and in Chapter clxxviii. 36, Nefer-Tem has the same title. We must also note that he is the thirty-fourth Assessor in the Hall of Maāti and that the deceased makes the following address to him:—“Hail, Nefer-Tem, who comest forth from Ḥet-ka-Ptaḥ (Memphis), I have not acted with deceit, and I have not worked wickedness.” In the late Egyptian texts Nefer-Tem is identified with a number of gods, all of whom are practically forms of Horus and Thoth, and in consequence the mother of each of these gods becomes his mother.

The Egyptian texts prove that besides Nefer-Tem another son of Ptaḥ called I-EM-ḤETEP, , was regarded as the third member of the great triad of Memphis; he was called Ἴμοῦθης by the Greeks, and possessed many attributes in common with their god Aesculapius. The name of I-em-ḥetep means, “He who cometh in peace,” and is appropriate to the god who brought the art of healing to mankind. The god is represented like Ptaḥ, with a bald head, and he is depicted in a seated position with a roll of papyrus open upon his knees; he was a god of study and learning in general, but he owed his great power to the knowledge of medicine which he possessed. As a god of learning he partook of some of the attributes of Thoth, and he was supposed to take the place of this god in the performance of funeral ceremonies, and in superintending the embalming of the dead; in later times he absorbed the duties of Thoth as “scribe of the gods,” and the



THE GOD I-EM-HETEP (MOUTHIS).

authorship of the words of power which protected the dead from enemies of every kind in the Underworld was ascribed to him. In certain aspects the god had a funeral character which somewhat resembled that of Ptaḥ-Seker-Āsār, although he is not mentioned in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*. In the "Ritual of Embalmmment"<sup>1</sup> it is said to the deceased, "Thy soul uniteth itself to I-em-ḥetep whilst thou art in the funeral valley, and thy heart rejoiceth because thou dost not go into the dwelling of Sebek, and because thou art like a son in the house of his father, and doest what pleaseth thee in the city of Uast (Thebes)." The oldest shrine of the god was situated close to the city of Memphis, and was called "the Temple of I-em-ḥetep, the son of Ptaḥ,"  to which the Greeks gave the name, τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον;<sup>2</sup> it stood well outside the city, and lay quite near the Serapeum, on the edge of that portion of the desert which formed the necropolis of the city. Under the Ptolemies a small temple was built in honour of I-em-ḥetep on the Island of Philae; the hieroglyphic inscriptions are those of Ptolemy IV., Philopator, but the Greek text over the door was placed there by the command of Ptolemy V., Epiphanes. From one of the former we learn that the god was entitled, "Great one, son of Ptaḥ, the creative god, made by Thenen, begotten by him and beloved by him, the god of divine forms in the temples, who giveth life to all men, the mighty one of wonders, the maker of times (?), who cometh unto him that calleth upon him wheresoever he may be, who giveth sons to the childless, the chief *k'her-ḥeb* (, i.e., the wisest and most learned one), the image and likeness of Thoth the wise."<sup>3</sup>

I-em-ḥetep was the god who sent sleep to those who were suffering and in pain, and those who were afflicted with any kind of disease formed his special charge; he was the good physician both of gods and men, and he healed the bodies of mortals during life, and superintended the arrangements for the preservation of the same after death. If we could trace his history to its

<sup>1</sup> See Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 1098.

<sup>3</sup> See Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 783; *Religion*, p. 527; Sethe, *Imhotep*, 1903.

beginning we should find probably that he was originally a very highly skilled "medicine man" who had introduced some elementary knowledge of medicine amongst the Egyptians, and who was connected with the practice of the art of preserving the bodies of the dead by means of drugs, and spices, and linen bandages. He was certainly the god of physicians and of all those who were occupied with the mingled science of medicine and magic, and when we remember that several of the first kings of the Early Empire are declared by Manetho, whose statements have been supported by the evidence of the papyri, to have written, i.e., caused to be edited, works on medicine, it is clear that the adoration of the god of medicine was in Memphis as old as the archaic period. In the songs which were sung in the temple of Āntuf, the writer says, "I have heard the words of I-em-ḥetep and of Ḥeru-ṭāṭā-f, ()", which are repeated over and over "again, but where are their places this day? Their walls are "overthrown, their seats (or places) have no longer any being, and "they are as if they had never existed. No man cometh to declare "unto us what manner of beings they were, and none telleth us "of their possessions," etc. Ḥeru-ṭāṭā-f, as we know from later texts, was a very learned man, even though his speech could only with difficulty be understood, and we also know the prominent part which he took as a recognized man of letters in bringing to the court of his father, Khufu, the magician Teṭṭeta, and how his name is associated with the "finding" of certain Chapters of the *Book of the Dead*. Of the sage I-em-ḥetep, who is mentioned in connexion with him, it is difficult not to think that he was famous as a skilled physician whose acts and deeds were worthy of being classed with the words of Ḥeru-ṭāṭā-f.

From the manner in which these great and wise men are referred to it is clear that they, who were the chosen representatives of the ablest and most learned among men, had become, even at the time when the Songs of Āntuf were composed, mythical beings in whole or in part, and there is no good reason why I-em-ḥetep, the third member of the triad of Memphis, should not be a deified form of a distinguished physician who was attached to the

priesthood of Rā, and who flourished before the end of the rule of the kings of the IIIrd Dynasty. The pictures and figures of the god suggest that he was of human and of strictly local origin, but it is not evident how he came to usurp the place of Nefer-Tem at Memphis, especially as he was not the son of Ptaḥ by Sekhet, or Bast, or any form of these goddesses. The worship of I-em-ḥetep was commoner in the Saïte and Ptolemaïc periods than in the Early and Middle Empires, and all the bronze figures of the god belong to a period subsequent to the XXIIInd Dynasty. The titles given to him in the inscriptions at Philae may, it is true, represent ancient beliefs, but it is improbable, and as he does not appear in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* it is tolerably certain that his worship was as popular and fashionable at Memphis immediately before and during the Ptolemaïc period as that of Āmen-ḥetep, the son of Ḥāpu, the famous sage who had seen and conversed with the gods, was at Thebes about the same time.

THE  
GODS OF THE EGYPTIANS  
OR  
STUDIES IN  
EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY

BY

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KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES  
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

WITH 98 COLOURED PLATES  
AND 131 ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

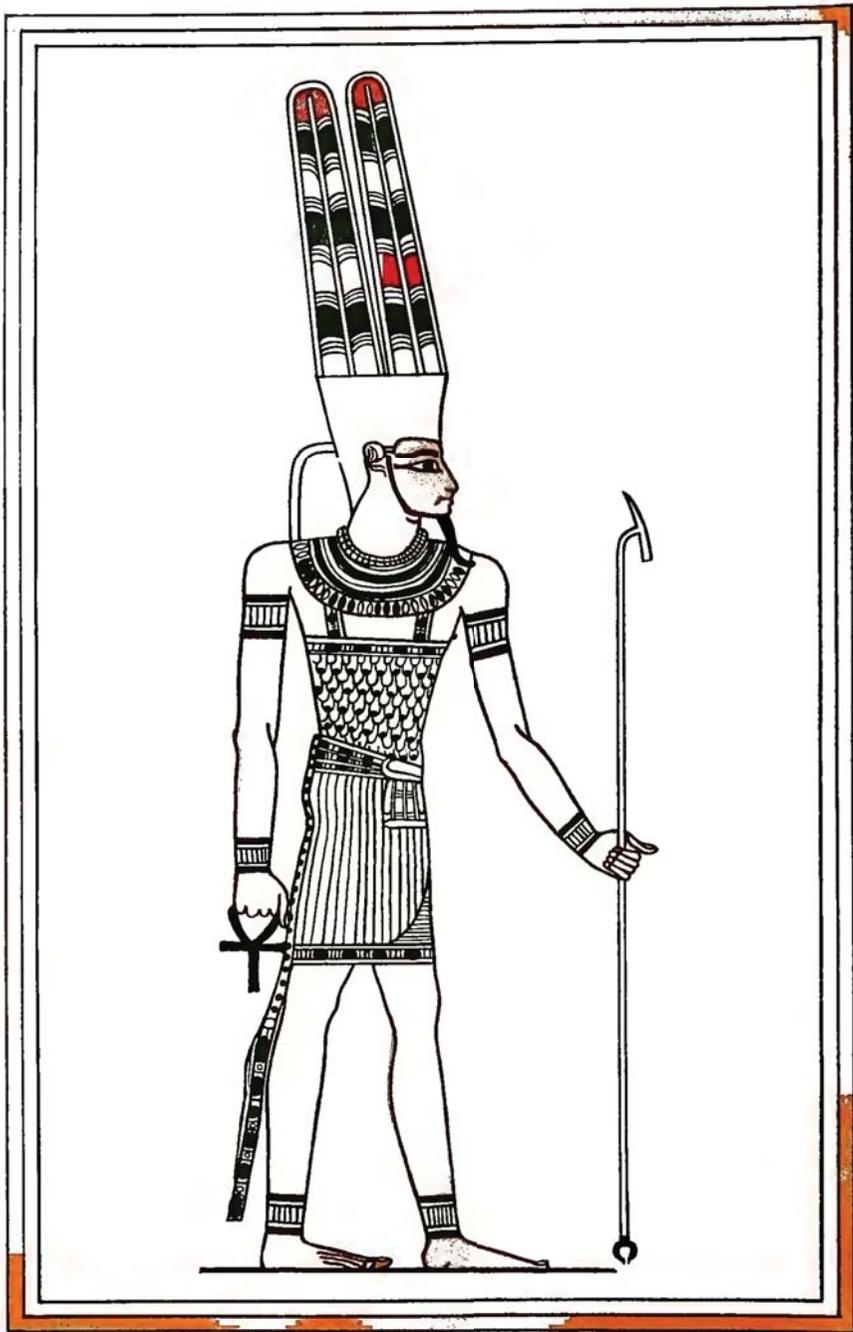
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AMEN-RĀ, THE KING OF THE GODS, THE LORD OF HEAVEN.

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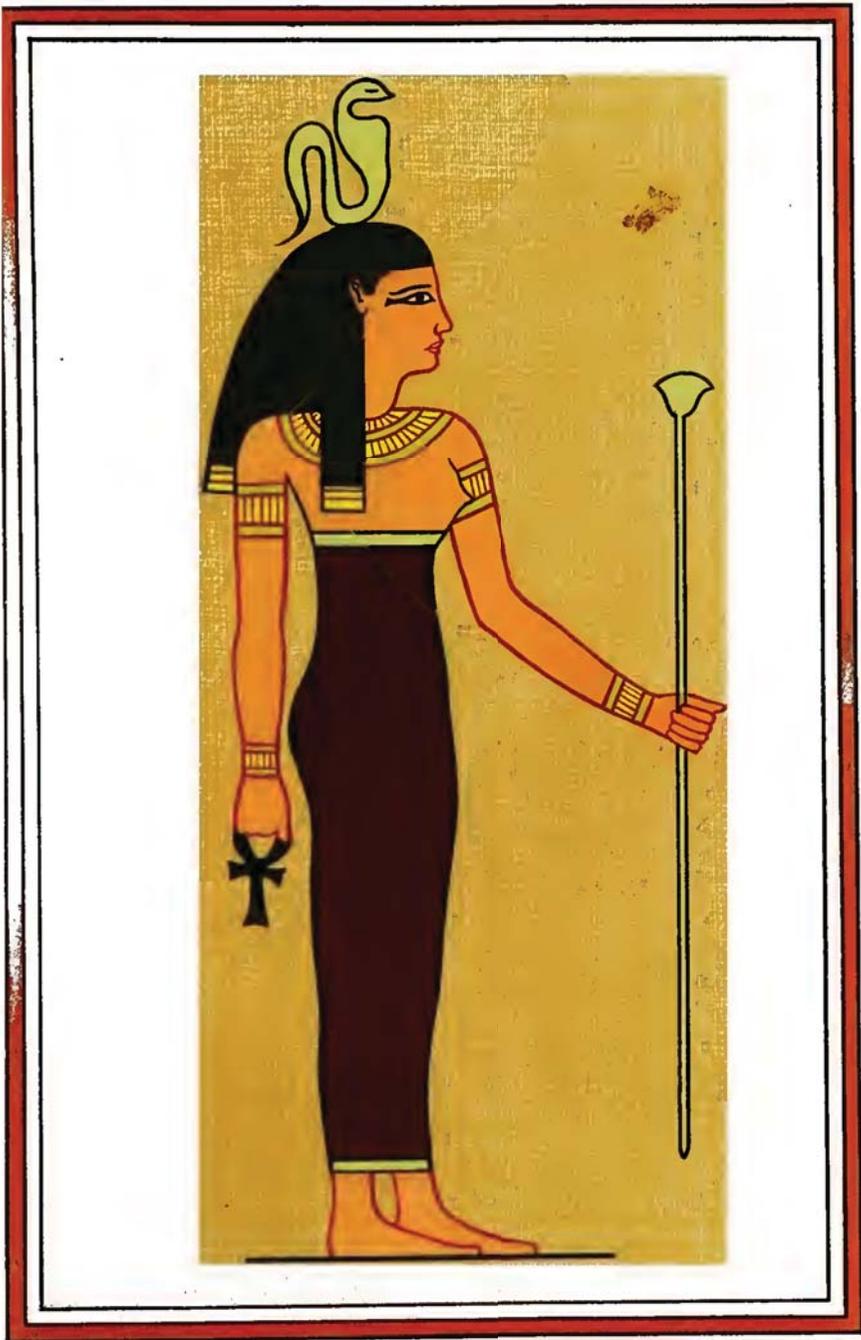
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THE GODDESS APIT.

Of the early history of the worship of Amen we know nothing, but as far as the evidence before us goes it appears not to have been very general, and in fact, the only centre of it of any importance was the city of Thebes. Under the XIIth Dynasty we find that a sanctuary and shrine were built in honour of Amen at Thebes in the northern quarter of the city which was called  $\dot{A}PT$ ,  $\begin{array}{c} \square \\ \square \\ \square \end{array} \Delta$ , later,  $\begin{array}{c} \square \\ \square \\ \square \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \square \\ \square \\ \square \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \square \\ \square \\ \square \end{array} \otimes$ ; from this word, with the addition of the feminine article T, the Copts derived their name for the city Tape, **Ταπε**, and from it also comes the common name "Thebes." Over  $\dot{A}pt$  the quarter of the city there presided a goddess also called  $\dot{A}pt$ ,  $\begin{array}{c} \square \\ \square \\ \square \end{array} \Delta$ , who was either the personification of it, or a mere local goddess to whom accident or design had given the same name as the quarter; it is, however, most probable that the goddess was the spirit or personification of the place. In the reliefs on which she is represented we see her in the form of a woman holding the sceptre,  $\begin{array}{c} \text{f} \\ \text{f} \end{array}$ , and "life,"  $\begin{array}{c} \text{f} \\ \text{f} \end{array}$ , in her hands, and wearing upon her head the disk and horns,  $\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{V} \end{array}$ , which rest upon  $\Delta$ , the hieroglyphic which has for its phonetic value  $\dot{A}pt$ , and stands for the name of the goddess. The disk and the horns prove that the tutelary goddess of Thebes was a form of Hathor.

Up to the time of the XIIth Dynasty Amen was a god of no more than local importance, but as soon as the princes of Thebes had conquered their rival claimants to the sovereignty of Egypt, and had succeeded in making their city a new capital of the country their god Amen became a prominent god in Upper Egypt, and it was probably under that dynasty that the attempt was made to assign to him the proud position which was afterwards claimed for him of "king of the gods." His sanctuary at Karnak was at that time a comparatively small building, which consisted of a shrine, with a few small chambers grouped about it and a forecourt with a colonnade on two sides of it, and it remained, practically, in this form until the rise to power of the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is difficult to decide if the sanctuary of Amen at Thebes was a new foundation in that city by the kings of the XIIth Dynasty, or whether the site had been previously occupied by a temple to the god; the probability is that the god

possessed a temple in Àpt from the earliest times, and that all that they did was to rebuild Àmen's sanctuary. As soon as the Theban princes became kings of Egypt their priests at once began to declare that their god was not only another form of the great creative Sun-god who had been worshipped for centuries at Ànnu, or Heliopolis, in the North of Egypt, under the names of Rā, Temu, Kheperà, and H̄eru-khuti, but that all the attributes which were ascribed to them were contained in him, and that he was greater than they. And as Thebes had become the capital instead



Horus and H̄ekan presenting Àmen-hotep III., when a babe, and his double, to Àmen-Rā, lord of the thrones of Egypt, king of the gods.

of Memphis, it followed as a matter of course that all the attributes of all the great gods of Memphis were contained in Àmen also. Thus by these means the priests of Àmen succeeded in making their god, both theologically and politically, the greatest of the gods in the country.

Owing to the unsettled state of Egypt under the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties, and under the rule of the Hyksos, pretensions of this kind passed unchallenged, especially as they were supported by arms, and by the end of the XVIIth Dynasty Àmen had attained to an almost unrivalled position among the gods of the

land. And when his royal devotees in this dynasty succeeded in expelling the Hyksos from the land, and their successors the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty carried war and conquest into Palestine and founded Egyptian cities there, the power and glory of Amen their god, who had enabled them to carry out this difficult work of successful invasion, became extraordinarily great. His priests began by asserting his equality with the other great gods of the old sanctuaries of Heliopolis, Memphis, Herakleopolis, and other ancient cities, and finally they satisfied, or, at all events, attempted to do so, all worshippers of every form of the Sun-god Rā by adding his name to that of Amen, and thus forming a great god who included within himself all the attributes of the primeval god Amen and of Rā. The highest conception of Amen-Rā under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties was that of an invisible creative power which was the source of all life in heaven, and on the earth, and in the great deep, and in the Underworld, and which made itself manifest under the form of Rā. Nearly every attribute of deity with which we are made familiar by the hymns to Rā was ascribed to Amen after his union with Rā; but the priests of Amen were not content with claiming that their god was one of the greatest of the deities of Egypt, for they proceeded to declare that there was no other god like him, and that he was the greatest of them all.

The power and might ascribed to Amen-Rā are well described in hymns which must be quoted in full. The first of these occurs in the Papyrus of Hu-nefer (Brit. Mus., No. 9,901, sheet i.), where it follows immediately after a hymn to Rā; this papyrus was written in the reign of Seti I., and it is interesting to observe that the two gods are addressed separately, and that the hymn to Rā precedes that to Amen-Rā. The text reads:—"Homage to thee, "O Amen-Rā, who dost rest upon Maāt; as thou passest over the "heavens every face seeth thee. Thou dost wax great as thy "majesty doth advance, and thy rays [shine] upon all faces. "Thou art unknown, and no tongue hath power to declare thy "similitude; only thou thyself [canst do this]. Thou art One, "even as is he that bringeth the *tenā* basket. Men praise thee in "thy name, and they swear by thee, for thou art lord over them. "Thou hearest with thine ears and thou seest with thine eyes.

“ Millions of years have gone over the world, and I cannot tell the  
 ‘ number of those through which thou hast passed. Thy heart  
 “ hath decreed a day of happiness in thy name of ‘ Traveller.’  
 “ Thou dost pass over and dost travel through untold spaces  
 “ [requiring] millions and hundreds of thousands of years [to pass  
 “ over]; thou passest through them in peace, and thou steerest  
 “ thy way across the watery abyss to the place which thou lovest ;  
 “ this thou doest in one little moment of time, and then thou dost  
 “ sink down and dost make an end of the hours.” How far the  
 attributes ascribed to Amen-Rā in this hymn represent those  
 generally bestowed upon the god in the XIXth Dynasty is  
 unknown, but the points chiefly dwelt upon are the unity, and the  
invisibility, and the long duration of the existence of the god ;  
 nothing is said about Amen-Rā being self-begotten and self-born,  
 or of his great creative powers, or of his defeat of the serpent-fiend  
 Nāk, and it is quite clear that Hu-nefer drew a sharp distinction  
 between the attributes of the two gods.

The following hymn,<sup>1</sup> which was probably written under the  
 XXth or XXIst Dynasty, well illustrates the growth of the power  
 both of Amen-Rā and of his priests:—“ Praise be to Amen-Rā, the  
 “ Bull in Ānnu, the chief of all the gods, the beautiful god, the  
 “ beloved one, the giver of the life of all warmth to all beautiful  
 “ cattle.<sup>2</sup> Homage to thee, O Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the  
 “ two lands, the governor of the Āpts (i.e., Thebes, north and south),  
 “ thou Bull of thy mother, who art chief in thy fields, whose steps are  
 “ long, who art lord of the land of the South, who art lord of the  
 “ Māchau peoples, and prince of Punt, and king of heaven, and first-  
 “ born god of earth, and lord of things which exist, and stablisher of  
 “ creation, yea, stablisher of all creation. Thou art One among the  
 “ gods by reason of his seasons. Thou art the beautiful Bull of the  
 “ company of the gods, thou art the chief of all the gods, thou art  
 “ the lord of Maāt, and the father of the gods, and the creator of

<sup>1</sup> For the hieratic text see Mariette, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, pll. 11-13 ; and a French version of the hymn is given by Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Ra*, Paris, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> The word used here for cattle is *menmen*, and a play is intended upon it and the name *Amen*, who in his character of “ bull of Ānnu ” was the patron of cattle.

“men and women, and the maker of animals, and the lord of  
 “things which exist, and the producer of the staff of life (i.e.,  
 “wheat and barley), and the maker of the herb of the field which  
 “giveth life unto cattle. Thou art the beautiful Sekhem who wast  
 “made (i.e., begotten) by Ptaḥ, and the beautiful Child who art  
 “beloved. The gods acclaim thee, O thou who art the maker of  
 “things which are below and of things which are above. Thou  
 “illuminest the two lands, and thou sailest over the sky in peace,  
 “O king of the South and North, Rā, whose word hath unfailing  
 “effect, who art over the two lands, thou mighty one of two-fold  
 “strength, thou lord of terror, thou Being above who makest the



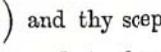
Amen-Rā, with his attributes.

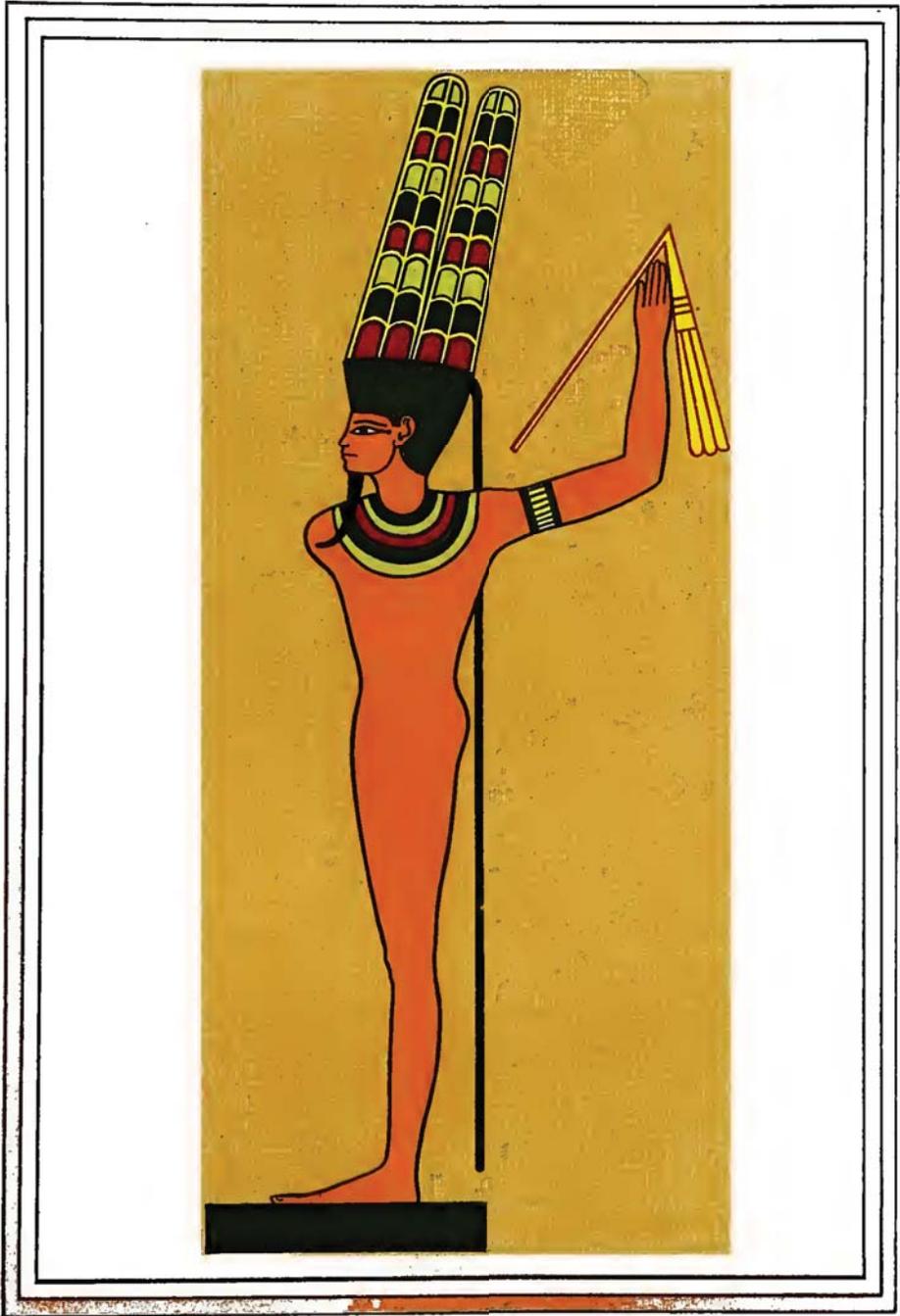
“earth according to thine own designs. Thy devices are greater  
 “and more numerous than those of any other god. The gods  
 “rejoice in thy beauties, and they ascribe praise unto thee in the  
 “great double house, and at thy risings in (or, from) the double house  
 “of flame. The gods love the smell of thee when thou comest from  
 “Punt (i.e., the spice land), thou eldest born of the dew, who  
 “comest from the land of the Māchau peoples, thou Beautiful  
 “Face, who comest from the Divine Land (Neter-ta). The gods  
 “tremble at thy feet when they recognize thy majesty as their  
 “lord, thou lord who art feared, thou Being of whom awe is great,  
 “thou Being whose souls are mighty, who hast possession of

“ crowns, who dost make offerings to be abundant, and who dost  
 “ make divine food (*tchefau*).

“ Adorations be to thee, O thou creator of the gods, who hast  
 “ stretched out the heavens and made solid the earth. Thou art  
 “ the untiring watcher, O Āmsu-Āmen (or Min-Āmen), the lord of  
 “ eternity, and maker of everlastingness, and to thee adorations  
 “ are paid as the Governor of the Āpts. Thou hast two horns  
 “ which endure, and thine aspects are beautiful, and thou art the  
 “ lord of the *wreret* crown () , and thy double plumes are  
 “ lofty, thy tiara is one of beauty, and thy White Crown ()  
 “ is lofty. The goddess Mehen () , and the Uatcheti  
 “ goddesses () , i.e., Nekhebet and Uatchet), are about  
 “ thy face, and the crowns of the South and North () , and the  
 “ Nemmes crown, and the helmet crown are thy adornments (?) in  
 “ thy temple. Thy face is beautiful and thou receivest the Atef  
 “ crown () , and thou art beloved of the South and the North ;  
 “ thou receivest the crowns of the South and the North, and thou  
 “ receivest the *amesu* sceptre () , and thou art the lord of the  
 “ *makes* sceptre () , and of the whip (or flail, ) .<sup>1</sup> Thou art  
 “ the beautiful Prince, who risest like the sun with the White  
 “ Crown, and thou art the lord of radiant light and the creator of  
 “ brilliant rays. The gods ascribe praises unto thee, and he who  
 “ loveth thee stretcheth out his two hands to thee. Thy flame maketh  
 “ thine enemies to fall, and thine Eye overthroweth the *Sebāu* fiends,  
 “ and it driveth its spear through the sky into the serpent-fiend  
 “ Nāk and maketh it to vomit that which it hath swallowed.

“ Homage to thee, O Rā, thou lord of Maāt, whose shrine is  
 “ hidden, thou lord of the gods ; thou art Kheperā in thy boat,  
 “ and when thou didst speak the word the gods sprang into being.

<sup>1</sup> In the text of Unās (l. 206 f.) we have, “ O Unās, thou hast not departed  
 “ as one dead, but as one living thou hast gone to sit upon the throne of Osiris.  
 “ Thy sceptre *āb* () is in thy hand, and thou givest commands to the living, thy  
 “ sceptre *mehes* () and thy sceptre *nehbet* () are in  
 “ thy hands, and thou givest commands to those whose places are hidden.”



THE GOD AMSU.

“Thou art Temu, who didst create beings endowed with reason;  
 “thou makest the colour of the skin of one race to be different  
 “from that of another, but, however many may be the varieties of  
 “mankind, it is thou that makest them all to live. Thou hearest  
 “the prayer of him that is oppressed, thou art kind of heart unto  
 “him that calleth upon thee, thou deliverest him that is afraid  
 “from him that is violent of heart, and thou judgest between the  
 “strong and the weak. Thou art the lord of intelligence, and  
 “knowledge is that which proceedeth from thy mouth. The Nile  
 “cometh at thy will, and thou art the greatly beloved lord of the  
 “palm tree who makest mortals to live. Thou makest every work  
 “to proceed, thou workest in the sky, and thou makest to come  
 “into being the beauties of the daylight; the gods rejoice in thy  
 “beauties, and their hearts live when they see thee. Hail, Rā,  
 “who art adored in the Āpts, thou mighty one who risest in the  
 “shrine: O Āni () , thou lord of the festival of the new  
 “moon, who makest the six days' festival and the festival of the  
 “last quarter of the moon. Hail, Prince, life, health, and strength,  
 “thou lord of all the gods, whose appearances are in the horizon,  
 “thou Governor of the ancestors of Aukert (i.e., the underworld),  
 “thy name is hidden from thy children in thy name ‘Āmen.’

“Hail to thee, O thou who art in peace, thou lord of joy of  
 “heart, thou crowned form, thou lord of the *wreret* crown, whose  
 “plumes are exalted, whose tiara is beautiful, whose White Crown  
 “is lofty, the gods love to look upon thee; the crowns of the  
 “South and North are established upon thy brow. Beloved art  
 “thou as thou passest through the two lands, as thou sendest  
 “forth rays from thy two beautiful eyes. The dead are rapturous  
 “with delight when thou shinest. The cattle become languid  
 “when thou shinest in full strength; beloved art thou when thou  
 “art in the southern sky, and thou art esteemed lovely when thou  
 “art in the northern sky. Thy beauties take possession of and  
 “carry away all hearts, and love for thee maketh all arms to relax,  
 “thy beautiful form maketh the hands to tremble, and all hearts  
 “melt at the sight of thee.

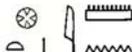
“Hail, thou FORM who art ONE, thou creator of all things;

" hail, thou ONLY ONE, thou maker of things which exist. Men  
 " came forth from thy two eyes, and the gods sprang into being  
 " as the issue of thy mouth. Thou makest the green herbs whereby  
 " cattle live, and the staff of life for the use of man. Thou makest  
 " the fish to live in the rivers, and the feathered fowl in the sky ;  
 " thou givest the breath of life to that which is in the egg, thou  
 " makest birds of every kind to live, and likewise the reptiles that  
 " creep and fly ; thou causeth the rats to live in their holes, and  
 " the birds that are on every green tree. Hail to thee, O thou  
 " who hast made all these things, thou ONLY ONE ; thy might  
 " hath many forms. Thou watchest all men as they sleep, and  
 " thou seekest the good of thy brute creation. Hail, Āmen, who  
 " dost establish all things, and who art Ātmu and Harmachis, all  
 " people adore thee, saying, ' Praise be to thee because of thy  
 " ' resting among us ; homage to thee because thou hast created  
 " ' us.' All creatures say, ' Hail to thee ' ! and all lands praise  
 " thee ; from the height of the sky, to the breadth of the earth,  
 " and to the depths of the sea thou art praised. The gods bow  
 " down before thy majesty to exalt the Will of their Creator ; they  
 " rejoice when they meet their begetter, and say to thee, ' Come  
 " ' in peace, O father of the fathers of all the gods, who hast spread  
 " ' out the sky, and hast founded the earth, maker of things which  
 " ' are, creator of things which exist, thou Prince (life, health, and  
 " ' strength [to thee !]), thou Governor of the gods. We adore thy  
 " ' Will (or, souls) for thou hast made us ; thou hast made us and  
 " ' hast given us birth.'

" Hail to thee, maker of all things, lord of Maāt, father of the  
 " gods, maker of men, creator of animals, lord of grain, who  
 " makest to live the cattle on the hills. Hail, Āmen, bull,  
 " beautiful of face, beloved in the Āpts, mighty of rising in the  
 " shrine, who art doubly crowned in Heliopolis ; thou art the  
 " judge of Horus and Set in the Great Hall. Thou art the head  
 " of the company of the gods, ONLY ONE, who hast no second,  
 " thou governor of the Āpts, Āni at the head of the company of the  
 " gods, living in Maāt daily, thou Horus of the East of the double  
 " horizon. Thou hast created the mountain, and the silver and  
 " real lapis-lazuli at thy will. Incense and fresh *ānti* are prepared

“for thy nostrils, O beautiful Face, who comest forth from the  
 “land of the Māṭchau, Āmen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two  
 “lands, at the head of the Āpts, Āni, the chief of thy shrine.  
 “Thou king who art ONE among the gods, thy names are manifold,  
 “and how many they are is unknown; thou shinest in the eastern  
 “and western horizons, and overthrowest thy enemies at thy birth  
 “daily. Thoth exalteth thy two eyes, and maketh thee to set in  
 “splendour; the gods rejoice in thy beauties which those who are  
 “in thy [following] exalt. Thou art the lord of the Sektet Boat  
 “and of the Ātet Boat, which travel over the sky for thee in  
 “peace. Thy sailors rejoice when they see Nāk overthrown,  
 “and his limbs stabbed with the knife, and the fire devouring  
 “him, and his filthy soul beaten out of his filthy body, and his  
 “feet carried away. The gods rejoice, Rā is content, and Ānnu  
 “(Heliopolis) is glad because the enemies of Ātmu are over-  
 “thrown, and the heart of Nebt-Ānkh (i.e., Isis) is happy because  
 “the enemies of her lord are overthrown. The gods of Kher-āḥa  
 “rejoice, and those who dwell in the shrine are making obeisance  
 “when they see thee mighty in thy strength. Thou art the  
 “Sekhem (i.e., Power) of the gods, and Maāt of the Āpts in thy  
 “name of ‘Maker of Maāt.’ Thou art the lord of *tchefau* food,  
 “the Bull of offerings (?) in thy name, ‘Āmen, Bull of his mother.’  
 “Thou art the fashioner of mortals, the creator, the maker of all  
 “things which are in thy name of Temu-Kheperā. Thou art the  
 “Great Hawk which gladdeneth the body; the Beautiful Face  
 “which gladdeneth the breast. Thou art the Form of [many]  
 “forms, with a lofty crown; the Uatcheti goddesses (i.e., Nekhebet  
 “and Uatchet) fly before his face. The hearts of the dead (?) go  
 “out to meet him, and the denizens of heaven turn to him; his  
 “appearances rejoice the two lands. Homage to thee, Āmen-Rā,  
 “lord of the throne of the two lands; thy city loveth thy radiant  
 “light.”

The chief point of interest in connexion with this hymn is the  
 proof it affords of the completeness with which Āmen had absorbed  
 all the attributes of Rā and of every other ancient form of the  
 Sun-god, and how in the course of about one hundred years he  
 had risen from the position of a mere local god to that of the

“king of the gods” of Egypt. In the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties the wealth of his priesthood must have been enormous, and the religious and social powers which they possessed made them, in many respects, as powerful as the reigning family. Thebes, the capital of Egypt and the centre of the worship of Āmen-Rā, was rightly called the “city of Āmen,” 

(the No-Amon of Nahum iii. 8), and there is reason to think that many of the great Egyptian raids in Syria and Nubia were made as much for the purpose of supplying funds for the maintenance of the temples, and services, and priests of Āmen-Rā as for the glory and prestige of Egypt. The slavish homage which the Thothmes kings, and the Āmen-ḥeteps, and the Ramesids paid to Āmen-Rā, and their lavish gifts to his sanctuaries suggest that it was his priests who were, in reality, the makers of war and peace. Under the XXth Dynasty their power was still very great, and the list of the gifts which Rameses III. made to their order illustrates their influence over this monarch. Towards the close of this dynasty we find that they had succeeded in obtaining authority from the feeble and incapable successors of Rameses III. to levy taxes on the people of Thebes, and to appropriate to the use of their order certain of the revenues of the city; this was only what was to be expected, for, since the treasury of the god was no longer supplied by expeditions into Syria, the priests found poverty staring them in the face. When the last Rameses was dead the high-priest of Āmen-Rā became king of Egypt almost as a matter of course, and he and his immediate successors formed the XXIst Dynasty, or the Dynasty of priest-kings of Egypt.

Their chief aim was to maintain the power of their god and of their own order, and for some years they succeeded in doing so; but they were priests and not warriors, and their want of funds became more and more pressing, for the simple reason that they had no means of enforcing the payment of tribute by the peoples and tribes who, even under the later of the kings bearing the name of Rameses, acknowledged the sovereignty of Egypt. Meanwhile the poverty of the inhabitants of Thebes increased rapidly, and they were not only unable to contribute to the maintenance

of the acres of temple buildings and to the services of the god, but found it difficult to obtain a living. These facts are proved by many considerations, but chiefly by the robberies which are described or referred to in several papyri of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes; and the discoveries of the royal mummies at Dêr al-Baharî shows that the Government of the period was unable either to protect the royal tombs or to suppress the gang of robbers who systematically pillaged them. The robberies were carried out with the connivance of several high officials, and it was to the interests of large numbers of the inhabitants of Thebes to make abortive the legal proceedings which were taken by the Government against them. Notwithstanding their growing poverty and waning influence the priests in no way abated the pretensions of their god or of themselves, and they continued to proclaim the glory and power of Âmen-Râ in spite of the increasing power of the Libyans in the Delta.

In a very remarkable document written for Nesi-Khensu, the daughter of one of the priest-kings of Âmen-Râ, the god is made to enter into an agreement to provide for the happiness and deification of the deceased in the Underworld, and the terms of this agreement are expressed with all the precision, and in the phraseology, of a legal document. This is interesting enough as illustrating the relations which the priests assumed to exist between themselves and their gods, but the introduction to the agreement is more important for our purpose here, because in it are enumerated all the chief attributes which were ascribed to Âmen-Râ under the XXIst Dynasty. The following is a rendering of this portion of the papyrus of Nesi-Khensu:—<sup>1</sup>

“This holy god, the lord of all the gods, Âmen-Râ, the lord of  
 “the thrones of the two lands, the governors of Âpt; the holy soul  
 “who came into being in the beginning; the great god who liveth  
 “by (*or* upon) Maât; the first divine matter which gave birth  
 “unto subsequent divine matter! <sup>2</sup> the being through whom every

<sup>1</sup> A hieroglyphic transcript of the hieratic text of this remarkable document, together with a French translation, has been published by Maspero in *Les Momies Royales de Dêr-el-baharî*, p. 594 f.

<sup>2</sup> Or, “the primeval *paut* which gave birth unto the [other] two *pautti*.”

“ [other] god hath existence ; the One One who hath made every-  
 “ thing which hath come into existence since primeval times when  
 “ the world was created ; the being whose births are hidden, whose  
 “ evolutions are manifold, and whose growths are unknown ; the  
 “ holy Form, beloved, terrible, and mighty in his risings ; the lord  
 “ of wealth, the power, Kheperà who createth every evolution of  
 “ his existence, except whom at the beginning none other existed ;  
 “ who at the dawn in the primeval time was Àtenu, the prince of  
 “ rays and beams of light ; who having made himself [to be seen,  
 “ caused] all men to live ; who saileth over the celestial regions  
 “ and faileth not, for at dawn on the morrow his ordinances are  
 “ made permanent ; who though an old man shineth in the form of  
 “ one that is young, and having brought (*or* led) the uttermost  
 “ parts of eternity goeth round about the celestial regions and  
 “ journeyeth through the T̄uat to illumine the two lands which he  
 “ hath created ; the God who acted as God, who moulded himself,  
 “ who made the heavens and the earth by his will (*or* heart) ; the  
 “ greatest of the great, the mightiest of the mighty, the prince who  
 “ is mightier than the gods, the young Bull with sharp horns, the  
 “ protector of the two lands in his mighty name of ‘ The everlast-  
 “ ing one who cometh and hath his might, who bringeth the  
 “ ‘ remotest limit of eternity,’ the god-prince who hath been prince  
 “ from the time that he came into being, the conqueror of the two  
 “ lands by reason of his might, the terrible one of the double  
 “ divine face, the divine aged one, the divine form who dwelleth in  
 “ the forms of all the gods, the Lion-god with awesome eye, the  
 “ sovereign who casteth forth the two Eyes, the lord of flame  
 “ [which goeth] against his enemies ; the god Nu, the prince who  
 “ advanceth at his hour to vivify that which cometh forth upon his  
 “ potter’s wheel, the disk of the Moon-god who openeth a way  
 “ both in heaven and upon earth for the beautiful form ; the  
 “ beneficent (*or* operative) god, who is untiring, and who is  
 “ vigorous of heart both in rising and in setting, from whose  
 “ divine eyes come forth men and women ; at whose utterance the  
 “ gods come into being, and food is created, and *tchefan* food is  
 “ made, and all things which are come into being ; the traverser of  
 “ eternity, the old man who maketh himself young [again], with

“myriads of pairs of eyes and numberless pairs of ears, whose  
 “light is the guide of the god of millions of years; the lord of  
 “life, who giveth unto whom he pleaseth the circuit of the earth  
 “along with the abode of his divine face, who setteth out upon his  
 “journey and suffereth no mishap by the way, whose work none  
 “can destroy; the lord of delight, whose name is sweet and  
 “beloved, at dawn mankind make supplications unto him the  
 “Mighty one of victory, the Mighty one of twofold strength, the  
 “Possessor of fear, the young Bull who maketh an end of the  
 “hostile ones, the Mighty one who doeth battle with his foes,  
 “through whose divine plans the earth came into being; the  
 “Soul who giveth light from his two Utchats (Eyes); the god  
 “Baiti who created the divine transformations; the holy one who  
 “is unknown; the king who maketh kings to rule, and who  
 “girdeth up the earth in its courses, and to whose souls the gods  
 “and the goddesses pay homage by reason of the might of his  
 “terror; since he hath gone before that which followeth endureth;  
 “the creator of the world by his secret counsels; the god Kheperā  
 “who is unknown and who is more hidden than the [other] gods,  
 “whose vicar is the divine Disk; the unknown one who hideth  
 “himself from that which cometh forth from him; he is the flame  
 “which sendeth forth rays of light with mighty splendour, but  
 “though he can be seen in form and observation can be made of  
 “him at his appearance yet he cannot be understood, and at dawn  
 “mankind make supplication unto him; his risings are of crystal  
 “among the company of the gods, and he is the beloved object of  
 “every god; the god Nu cometh forward with the north wind in  
 “this god who is hidden; who maketh decrees for millions of  
 “double millions of years, whose ordinances are fixed and are not  
 “destroyed, whose utterances are gracious, and whose statutes fail  
 “not in his appointed time; who giveth duration of life and  
 “doubleth the years of those unto whom he hath a favour; who  
 “graciously protecteth him whom he hath set in his heart; who  
 “hath formed eternity and everlastingness, the king of the South  
 “and of the North, Āmen-Rā, the king of the gods, the lord of  
 “heaven and of earth, and of the deep, and of the two mountains  
 “in whose form the earth began to exist, he the mighty one, who

## FORMS OF AMEN-RĀ

is more distinguished than all the gods of the first and foremost company."

The definiteness of the assertions of this composition suggest that it formed the creed of the worshippers of Amen-Rā, for every one of them appears to have been made with the express purpose of contradicting the pretensions urged by the priests of other gods, such as, Aten and Osiris; and an examination of the sentences will show that Amen is made to be the source of life of all things, both animate and inanimate, and that he is identified with the great unknown God who made the universe. It is, however, important to note that he is not in any way identified with Osiris in this text, a fact which seems to indicate that the national god of Resurrection in Egypt was ignored by the priests of Amen who composed the contents of Nesi-Khensu's papyrus. From what has been said above as to the importance of Amen-Rā it will be evident that a large number of shrines of this god must have existed throughout the country, but in nearly all of them he was an intruder, and his priests must have lived chiefly upon the lowments which the pious Egyptians had provided for gods other than he.

We may now consider the various forms<sup>1</sup> in which Amen-Rā is depicted on monuments and papyri. His commonest form is that of a strong-bearded man who wears upon his head lofty plumes, the various sections of which are coloured alternately red and green, or red and blue; round his neck he wears a deep collar or necklace, and his close-fitting tunic is supported by elaborately worked shoulder-straps. His arms and wrists are provided with armlets and bracelets, in his right hand he holds the symbol of life, and in his left the sceptre . Hanging from his tunic is the tail of some animal, the custom of wearing which by gods and kings was common in Egypt in the earliest times. In this form his title is "Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two gods," . Instead of the sign of life, , he sometimes holds the *khepesh* war knife, , in his right hand.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a number of them see Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 18 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 21.

At times he is given the head of a hawk which is surmounted by the solar disk encircled by a serpent, ☉; as "Āmen-Rā-Temu in Thebes" he has the head of a man surmounted by the solar disk encircled by a serpent; before him is the *ankh*, ☩, which is provided with human legs and arms, offering lotus flowers to the god.<sup>1</sup> Thus he becomes the god both of Heliopolis and Thebes." In many scenes we find Āmen-Rā with the head of a ram, when he usually wears the solar disk, plumes, and uraeus; at times, however, he wears the disk and uraeus, or the disk only. In this form he is called "Āmen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two lands, the "dweller in Thebes, the great god who appeareth in the horizon,"



Heru-sa-âtep, king of Ethiopia, adoring Āmen-Rā.

or "Āmen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two lands, governor of "Ta-Kenset (Nubia)." Another form of Āmen-Rā is that in which he is represented with the body of the ithyphallic god Āmsu, or Min, or Khem, i.e., as the personification of the power of generation. In this form he wears either the customary disk and plumes, or the united crowns of the South and North, and has one hand and arm raised to support  $\blacktriangle$ , which he holds above his shoulder; he is called "Āmen-Rā, the bull of his mother,"

, and possesses all the attributes of Fa-ā, i.e., the "god of the lifted hand," .

<sup>1</sup> Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 19.

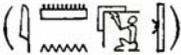
In one of the examples reproduced by Lanzone<sup>1</sup> Amen-Rā in his ithyphallic form stands by the side of a pylon-shaped building, on the top of which are two trees, one on each side of a large lotus flower; the lotus flower represents the rising sun, which was supposed to issue daily from between two persea trees. In another form Amen-Rā has the head of a crocodile, and he wears the crown which is composed of the solar disk, plumes, and horns, and is called the "disposer of the life of Rā and of the years of Temu." Finally, the god was sometimes represented in the form of a goose; the animal sacred to him in many parts of Egypt, and all over Nubia, was the ram. In very late dynastic times, especially in the Ptolemaic period, it became customary to make figures of Amen-Rā in bronze in which every important attribute of the god was represented. In these he has the bearded head of a man, the body of a beetle with the wings of a hawk, the legs of a man with the toes and claws of a lion, and is provided with four hands and arms, and four wings, the last named being extended. One hand, which is stretched along the wing, grasps the symbols  $\uparrow$ ,  $\text{☉}$ ,  $\text{☿}$ , and two knives; another is raised to support  $\text{^}$ , after the manner of the "god of the lifted hand;" a third holds the symbol of generation and fertility; and the fourth is lifted to his head. The face of the god is, in reality, that of the solar disk, from which proceed the heads and necks of eight rams. Resting on the disk is a pair of ram's horns, with a disk on each, and stretching upwards are the two characteristic plumes of the god Amen. From the tip of each of these projects a lion-headed uraeus which ejects moisture from its mouth. This form of the god was a production probably of the period immediately following the XXVIth Dynasty, but some modifications of it are not so old. The idea which underlies the figure is that of representing the *pant* or company of the gods, of which Amen was the chief, and of showing pictorially how every one of the oldest gods of Egypt was contained in him.

In the Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead* we find several passages relating to Amen, or Amen-Rā, which appear to

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pl. 20, No. 1.





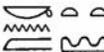
“ hast made for me a skin, and thou hast understood [my] speech,  
 “and thou knowest it exceedingly well. Hidden ()  
 “ is thy name, O Letasashaka ()  
 “ and I have made for thee a skin. Thy name is Ba-ire-qai  
 “ ()  
 “, thy name is Mārquthā ()  
 “ ()  
 “, thy name is Rerei ()  
 “, thy name is Nasa-  
 “ qebubu ()  
 “, thy name is Thānasa-  
 “ Thanasā ()  
 “, thy name is Sharshathākathā  
 “ ()

“ O Amen, O Amen, O God, O God, O Amen, I adore thy  
 “ name, grant thou to me that I may understand thee; grant  
 “ thou that I may have peace in the T̄uat (underworld), and that  
 “ I may possess all my members therein.” And the divine Soul  
 which is in Nut saith, “ I will make my divine strength to protect  
 “ thee, and I will perform everything which thou hast said.”  
 This interesting text was ordered to be recited over a figure of the  
 “ god of the lifted hand,” i.e., of Amen in his character of the god  
 of generation and reproduction, painted blue, and the knowledge  
 of it was to be kept from the god SUKATĪ ()  
 in the T̄uat; if the directions given in the rubric were properly  
 carried out it would enable the deceased to drink water in the  
 underworld from the deepest and purest part of the celestial  
 stream, and he would become “like the stars in the heavens  
 above.”

A perusal of the above composition shows that we are dealing  
 with a class of ideas concerning Amen, or Amen-Rā, which, though  
 clearly based on ancient Egyptian beliefs, are peculiar to the  
 small group of Chapters which are found at the end of the Saïte  
 Recension of the *Book of the Dead*. The forms of the magical  
 names of Amen are not Egyptian, and they appear to indicate,  
 as the late Dr. Birch said, a Nubian origin. The fact that the  
 Chapters with the above prayers in them are found in a papyrus  
 containing so complete a copy of the Saïte Recension proves that

they were held to be of considerable importance in the Ptolemaic period, and they probably represented beliefs which were widespread at that time. Long before that, however, Âmen-Râ was identified with Horus in all his forms, and Râ in all his forms, and Osiris in all his forms, and the fathers and mothers of these gods were declared to be his; he was also made to be the male counterpart of all the very ancient goddesses of the South and the North, and the paternity of their offspring was attributed to him.

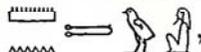
From what has been said above it is evident that the worship of Âmen-Râ spread through all the country both to the north and south of Thebes, and the monuments prove that it made its way into all the dominions of Egypt in Syria, and in Nubia, and in the Oases. In Upper Egypt its centres were Thebes, Hermonthis, Coptos, Panopolis, Cusae, Hermopolis Magna, and Herakleopolis Magna; in Lower Egypt they were Memphis, Saïs, Xoïs, Metelis, Heliopolis, Babylon, Mendes, Thmuis, Diospolis, Butus, and the Island of Khemmis; in the Libyan desert the Oases of Kenemet,

 (i.e., the Oasis of the South, or Al-Khârgeh), Tchestcheset,  
 (i.e., Oasis Minor, or Dâkhel), Ta-âhet,

 (i.e., Farâfra), and the great Oasis of Jupiter Ammon; in Nubia, Wâdî Sabû'a, Abû Simbel, Napata, and Meroë; and in Syria at several places which were called Diospolis.

The worship of Âmen-Râ was introduced into Nubia by its Egyptian conquerors early in the XIIth Dynasty, and the inhabitants of that country embraced it with remarkable fervour; the hold which it had gained upon them was much strengthened when an Egyptian viceroy, who bore the title of "royal son of Cush," was appointed to rule over the land, and no efforts were spared to make Napata a second Thebes. The Nubians were from the poverty of their country unable to imitate the massive temples of Karnak and Luxor, and the festivals which they celebrated in honour of the Nubian Âmen-Râ, and the processions which they made in his honour, lacked the splendour and magnificence of the Theban capital; still, there is no doubt that, considering the means which they had at their disposal, they erected temples for the worship of Âmen-Râ of very considerable

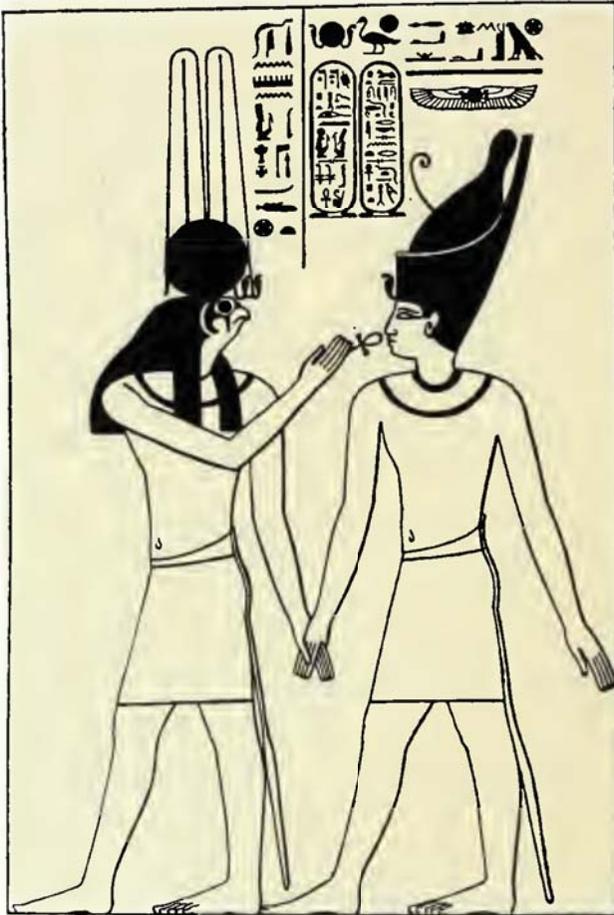
size and solidity. The hold which the priesthood of Amen-Rā of Thebes had upon the Nubians was very great, for in the troublous times which followed after the collapse of their power as priest-kings of Egypt, the remnant of the great brotherhood made its way to Napata, and settling down there made plans and schemes for the restoration of their rule in Egypt; fortunately for Egypt their designs were never realized. In Syria also the cult of Amen-Rā was introduced by the Egyptians under the XVIIIth Dynasty, a fact which is proved by the testimony of the Tell el-'Amarna tablets. Thus in a letter from the inhabitants of the city of Tunep,<sup>1</sup> , to the king of Egypt (i.e., Amen-ḥetep III. or his son Amen-ḥetep IV.) the writers remind him that the gods worshipped in the city of Tunep are the same as those of Egypt, and that the form of the worship is the same. From an inscription<sup>2</sup> of Thothmes III. at Karnak we know that in the 29th year of his reign this king offered up sacrifices to his gods at Tunep, and it is probable that the worship of Amen-Rā in Northern Syria dates from this time. On the other hand Akizzi, the governor of Ḳaṭna, in writing to inform Amen-ḥetep III. that the king of the Khatti had seized and carried off the image of the Sun-god, begs that the king of Egypt will send him sufficient gold to ransom the image, and he does so chiefly on the grounds that in ancient days the kings of Egypt adopted the worship of the Sun-god, presumably from the Syrians, and that they called themselves after the name of the god. To emphasize his appeal Akizzi addresses Amen-ḥetep III. as the "son of the Sun-god," a fact which proves that he was acquainted with the meaning of the title "sa Rā," i.e., "son of Rā," , which every Egyptian king bore from the time of the Vth Dynasty onwards. This evidence supports an old tradition to the effect that the Heliopolitan form of the worship of the Sun-god was derived from Heliopolis in Syria.

In connexion with Amen-Rā must be mentioned an important form of the Sun-god which was called MENTHU, ,

<sup>1</sup> See *The Tell el-'Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, pp. lxxv., lxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 13, l. 2.

or MENTHU-RĀ, ; though he was commonly described as "lord of Thebes," the chief seat of his worship was at Hermonthis, the Ānnu-Rest, , i.e., "Heliopolis of the South," of the hieroglyphic texts. Menthu was probably an old local god whose cult was sufficiently important to make it



Menthu giving "life" to Ptolemy Alexander.

necessary for the priests of Āmen to incorporate him with the great god of Thebes, and he appears to have been a personification of the destructive heat of the sun. The chief centres of his worship were Ānnu of the South, Thebes, Ānnu of the North, Tchertet,  (Edfû), Dendera, and perhaps the temples of



MENTHU, LORD OF THEBES.



“and the Little Companies of the gods. He riseth in the condition of a king, he entereth into heaven like *Āp-uat*, he hath received the White Crown and the Green Crown () , his club is with him, his weapon (or sceptre) *ams* () , is in his grasp, his mother is *Isis*, his nurse is *Nephthys*, and the cow *SEKHAT-ĤERU* () giveth him milk. Net is behind him, *Serqet* is on his two hands. . . . Let him pass, and let his flesh pass, let him pass, and let his apparel pass, for he hath gone forth as *MENTH* () , he hath gone down like *BA* () , and he hath hunted like *BA-ĀSHEM-F* () . Of the origin and early history of Menthu nothing is known, but his worship must have been very ancient if we are to judge by the passage quoted above from the text of king *Mer-en-Rā*, for, although mentioned with the two obscure gods *Ba* and *Ba-āshem-f*, it is quite clear that he was a great god and that the deceased hoped to resemble him in the Underworld. Menthu is twice mentioned in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, but curiously enough, only as one of a number of gods. Thus, in Chapter cxi. 6, together with *Rā*, *Tem*, *Uatchet*, *Shu*, *Seb*, *Osiris*, *Suti*, *Horus*, *Bāh*, *Rā-cr-neheh*, *Tehuti*, *Nāām*, *Tchetta*, *Nut*, *Isis*, *Nephthys*, *Hathor*, *Nekht*, *Mert(?)*, *Maāt*, *Ānpu*, and *Ta-mes-tchetta*, he is said to be the “soul and body of *Rā*,” and in Chapter clxxi. his name occurs among the names of *Tem*, *Shu*, *Tefnut*, *Seb*, *Nut*, *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Set*, *Nephthys*, *Ĥeru-khuti*, *Hathor*, *Kheperā*, *Āmen*, etc., who are entreated to bestow a garment of purity upon the deceased. Menthu is usually depicted in the form of a man with the head of a hawk, whereon he wears a crown formed of the solar disk with the uraeus and two high plumes; as such he is styled “lord of Thebes.”

In a figure reproduced by Lanzone <sup>1</sup> he has two hawks' heads, each of which is provided with the solar disk, two uraei, and two plumes; in his right hand Menthu grasps the scimitar, , which

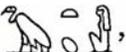
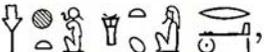
<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. 119, No. 3.

indicates that he was a god of war. Another proof of his warlike attributes is a scene<sup>1</sup> in which he is depicted, with a long spear having a bronze or iron head, in the act of spearing a foe, whose hands and feet are tied together. In the city of Tchet, , Menthu was worshipped under the form of a man with the head of a bull, but instead of the solar disk he wears on his head the lunar crescent and disk, sometimes with and sometimes without plumes. The warlike character of this local form of Menthu is indicated by the bow and arrows, and club, and knife which he holds in his hands, and we are justified in assuming that he was a personification of the fierce, destroying heat of the sun which warred against the enemies of the Sun-god, and smote them to the death with his burning rays which were like fiery spears and darts. In the narrative of the battle of Kadesh we are told that Rameses II. "rose up as Rā riseth, and took the weapons () "of father Menthu," and that when he saw the foe before him "he raged at them like Menthu, lord of Thebes, and took his "weapons in his hand," and that having become like "Bār () in his hour," he leaped into his chariot and drove headlong into the battle, wherein he, of course, gained a great victory. Elsewhere Menthu is often styled the "mighty bull," and it is possible that originally this god was nothing but a personification of the strength and might of the raging bull when fighting a foe, and that his worship in one form or another existed in predynastic times. It must, in any case, be very ancient, because when joined to Rā his name comes first in the compound name and we have "Menthu-Rā" instead of Rā-Menthu. The pictures of the god reproduced by Lanzone<sup>2</sup> prove that the god possessed other phases which are not at present well understood. Thus he is represented standing upright, with the head of a hawk, and he holds in the right hand what appears to be an ear of corn and in the left a vase, as if he were in the act of making offerings. In another scene the god, hawk-headed and wearing the solar disk encircled by a uraeus, is seated on a throne and is represented

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pl. 120, No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 120.

in the act of embracing a young Horus god who wears on his head the solar disk with plumes, and a tight-fitting cap with a uraeus in front of it, and who stands on the edge of the throne by the side of the god.

The principal female counterpart of Ámen-Rā, the king of the gods, in the New Empire was MUT, , whose name means "Mother," and in all her attributes we see that she was regarded as the great "world-mother," who conceived and brought forth whatsoever exists. The pictures of the goddess usually represent her in the form of a woman wearing on her head the united crowns of the South and the North, and holding in her hands the papyrus sceptre and the emblem of life. Elsewhere we see her in female form standing upright, with her arms, to which large wings are attached, stretched out full length at right angles to her body; at her feet is the feather of Maät. She wears the united crowns, as before stated, but from each shoulder there projects the head of a vulture; one vulture wears the crown of the North, , and the other two plumes, ,<sup>1</sup> though sometimes each vulture head has upon it two plumes, which are probably those of Shu or Ámen-Rā. In other pictures the goddess has the heads of a woman or man, a vulture, and a lioness, and she is provided with a phallus, and a pair of wings, and the claws of a lion or lioness. In the vignette of the clxivth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* she is associated with two dwarfs, each of whom has two faces, one of a hawk and one of a man, and each of whom has an arm lifted to support the symbol of the god Ámsu or Min, and wears upon his head a disk and plumes. In the text which accompanies the vignette, though the three-headed goddess is distinctly called "Mut" in the Rubric, she is addressed as "SEKHET-BAST-RĀ," , a fact which accounts for the presence of the phallus and the male head on a woman's body, and proves that Mut was believed to possess both the male and female attributes of reproduction.

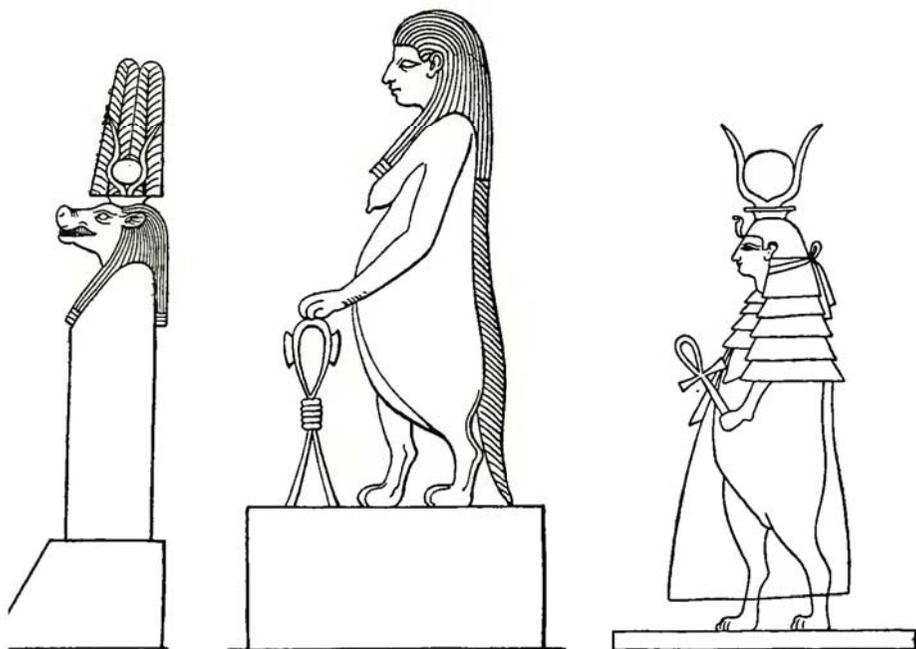
We have already seen that the originally obscure god Ámen was, chiefly through the force of political circumstances, made to

<sup>1</sup> Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 136.

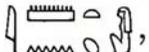
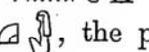


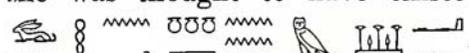
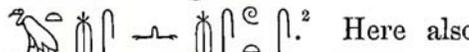
THE GODDESS MUT, THE LADY OF THEBES.

usurp the attributes and powers of the older gods of Egypt, and we can see by such figures of the goddess as those described above that Mut was, in like fashion, identified with the older goddesses of the land with whom, originally, she had nothing in common. Thus the head of the lioness which projects from one shoulder indicates that she was identified with Sekhet or Bast, and the vulture heads prove that her cult was grafted on to that of Nekhebet, and the double crowns show that she united in herself all the attributes of all the goddesses of the South and North.



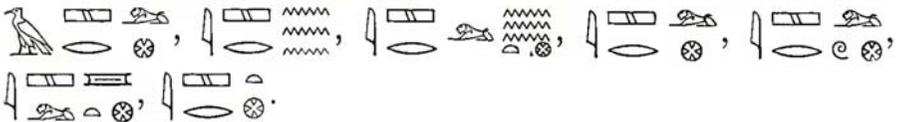
Āpet.

Thus we find her name united with the names of other goddesses, e.g., Mut-Temt, Mut-Uatchet-Bast, Mut-Sekhet-Bast-Menhit, and among her aspects she included those of Isis, and Iusāaset. Locally she usurped the position of ĀMENT, , the old female counterpart of Āmen and of ĀPET, , the personification of the ancient settlement Āpt, from which is derived the name "Thebes" (Ta-āpt); she was also identified with the goddess of Āmentet, i.e., Hathor in one of her forms as lady of the

Underworld; and with the primeval goddess *ÂMENT*, who formed one of the four goddesses of the company of the gods of Hermopolis, which was adopted in its entirety by the priests of *Âmen* for their gods; and with the predynastic goddess *TA-URT*, , or *ÂPT*, , (or, *ÂPT*, ); and, in short, with every goddess who could in any way be regarded as a "mother-goddess." The centre of the worship of Mut was the quarter of Thebes which was called *Âsher*, or *Âshrel*, or *Ashreht*,<sup>1</sup> and which probably derived its name from the large sacred lake which existed there; the temple of the goddess, , *Het-Mut*, with its sanctuary, , was situated a little to the south of the great temple of *Âmen-Râ*. From the inscriptions which have been found on the ruins of her temple we find that she was styled "Mut, the great lady of *Âshert*, the lady of heaven, the queen of the gods," , and that she was thought to have existed with *Nu* in primeval time, . She was, moreover, called "Mut, who giveth birth, but was herself not born of any," .<sup>2</sup> Here also we find her associated with several goddesses,<sup>3</sup> and referred to as the "lady of the life of the two lands," , and "lady of the house of *Ptah*, lady of heaven, queen of the two lands," etc.

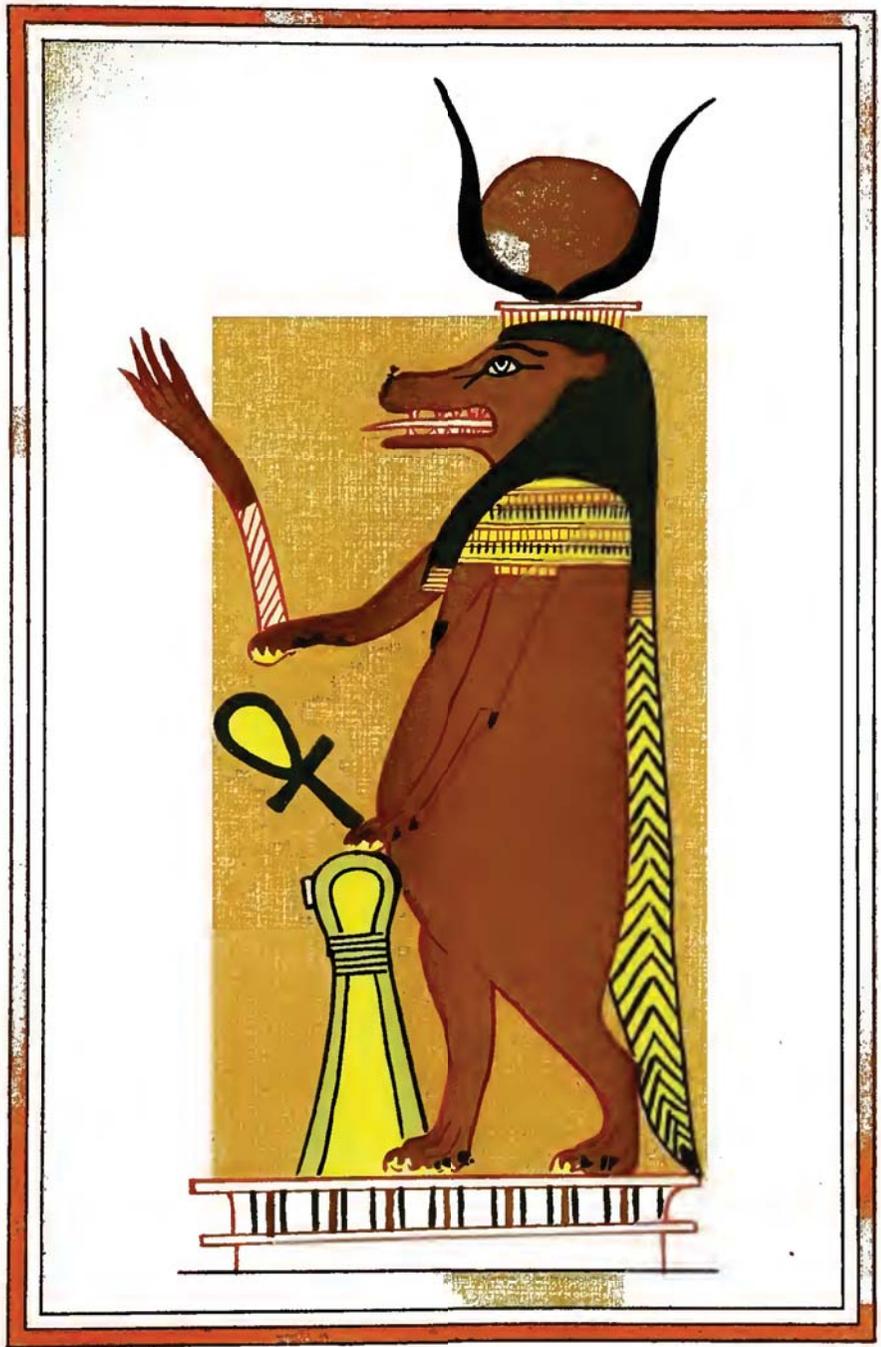
The great temple of Mut at Thebes was built by *Âmen-ÿetep III.*, about B.C. 1450, and was approached from the temple of *Âmen-Râ* by an avenue of sphinxes; the southern half of the

<sup>1</sup> The forms of the name given by Brugsch (*Dict. Géog.*, p. 73) are



<sup>2</sup> Champollion, *Notices*, ii., p. 207.



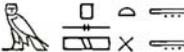
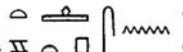


TA-URT (THOUERIS), THE ASSOCIATE OF HATHOR.

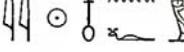
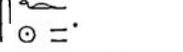


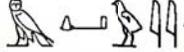
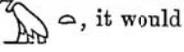
“country of Ān should form the frontier of the country on one side of it, and that it should be the frontier of the other also.”<sup>1</sup>

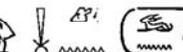
From what has been said above it appears that Mut was originally the female counterpart of Nu, and that she was one of the very few goddesses of whom it is declared that she was “never born,” i.e., that she was self-produced. Her association with Nu suggests that she must be identified with or partake of some of the characteristics of a remarkable goddess who is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (Unās, line 181) under the name of MUT, , a variant spelling of which is MĀUIT,<sup>2</sup> . Her name occurs in a passage in which a prayer is made on behalf of Unās that “he may see,” and following is the petition, “O Rā, be good to him on this day since yesterday” (*sic*);<sup>3</sup> after this come the words, “Unās hath had union with the goddess Mut,<sup>4</sup> Unās hath drawn unto himself the flame of Isis, Unās hath united himself to the lotus,” etc.<sup>5</sup> The only mention of Mut in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* is found in a hymn to Osiris,<sup>6</sup> which forms the clxxxiii<sup>rd</sup> Chapter; the deceased is made to say to the god, “Thou risest up like an exalted being upon thy standard, and thy beauties exalt the face of man and make long his footstep[s]. I have given unto thee the sovereignty of thy father Seb, and the goddess Mut, thy

<sup>1</sup>       
             
*Dict. Géog.*, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. iii., p. 197, note 1.

<sup>3</sup>     

<sup>4</sup> If , MUT, and , MĀUIT, and , MUIT, are the same goddess as , it would seem that her name was read as Mut, under the Early Empire.

<sup>5</sup>       
           

<sup>6</sup> *Papyrus of Hunefer*, Brit. Mus., No. 9,901, sheet 3.



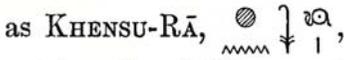
under the form of the moon. We have already referred to the great antiquity of the section of the text of Unās in which the hunting of the gods by the king is described, and there is every reason to believe that the existence of Khensu was formulated in the minds of the Egyptians in very primitive times, and that his name is older than the dynastic period. We may note in passing that the other gods mentioned in the section are Aker,   |, Tem, and Seb, all of whom are well known from texts of the dynastic period, and Tcheser-ṭep-f, Ḥer-Thertu, and Sheshemu,<sup>1</sup> who assist in marking, and snaring, and cutting up the gods. Among certain ancient Oriental nations the worship of the Moon always preceded that of the Sun, and there is reason for thinking that several of the oldest gods of Egypt were forms of the Moon in her various phases. In the theological system which the priests of Heliopolis succeeded in imposing upon the country some of these were preserved either by identification with the gods of the new scheme or by adoption, and comparatively fixed attributes were assigned to them. At a still later period, when the cult of Amen and Amen-Rā was common throughout the country, a further selection from the old gods was made, and some gods had positions apportioned to them in the company of the gods of Amen-Rā at Thebes. The priesthood of that city showed great astuteness in making Khensu, one of the most ancient forms of the Moon-god, to be the son of Amen-Rā, and in identifying him with the sons of the great cosmic gods Horus and Rā.

The chief centre of the worship of Khensu in the latter part of the dynastic period was Thebes, where Rameses III. built the famous "House of Khensu in Thebes,"       , or "House of Khensu in Thebes, Nefer-ḥetep,"       . As the great deity of his temple he was styled "great god, lord of heaven," "Khensu in Thebes, (surnamed) "Nefer-ḥetep, Horus, lord of joy of heart in the Apts," and the texts show that shrines were built in his honour at Bekhent,   

<sup>1</sup>                  



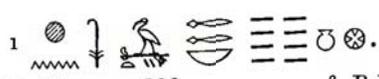
KHENSU IN THEBES, NEFER-HETEP.

in the Delta (?), at Shentu, , at Nubit,  (Ombos), at Behuțet,  (Edfû), at Sma-Behuțet, , and at Khemennu (Hermopolis). In the last-named place he was called "KHENSU-TEHUTI, the twice great, the lord of Khemennu,"<sup>1</sup> a fact which proves that in the late dynastic times he was wholly identified with Thoth; as Khensu-Tehuti he was also worshipped at Behuțet, or Edfû. In Thebes his name was united with that of Râ and of Shu, and we find such forms as KHENSU-RĀ, , and KHENSU-SHU, . The great temple of Khensu at Thebes appears to have contained three shrines, which probably corresponded to three aspects of the god, and we thus have:—

1. The Temple of Khensu.
2. The Temple of Khensu in Thebes, Nefer-hetep.
3. The Temple of Khensu, who worketh [his] plans in Thebes, .

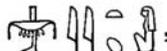
The forms of the god KHENSU-PA-KHART, , i.e., "Khensu the Babe," and KHENSU-HUNNU, , i.e., "Khensu the Child," were probably worshipped in the main portion of the temple, for they were purely forms of the Moon-god, and they bore the same relation to him that Heru-pa-khart (Harpocrates) and Heru-Hunnu bore to Horus the Great or to Râ.

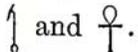
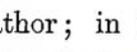
From a series of extracts quoted by Dr. Brugsch<sup>3</sup> from the inscriptions on the temple of Khensu at Thebes we find that he was the "lord of Maât," like Ptah, and the "moon by night"; as the new moon he is likened to a mighty, or fiery bull, and as the full moon he is said to resemble an emasculated bull. As Khensu-pakhart he caused to shine upon the earth the beautiful light of the crescent moon, and through his agency women conceived, cattle became fertile, the germ grew in the egg, and all nostrils and throats were filled with fresh air. He was the second great light in the heavens, and was the "first great [son] of Amen, the "beautiful youth, who maketh himself young in Thebes in the

<sup>1</sup> 

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 600.

<sup>3</sup> *Religion*, p. 360 f.

“ form of Rā, the son of the goddess Nubit, , a child in “ the morning, an old man in the evening, a youth at the beginning “ of the year, who cometh as a child after he had become infirm, “ and who reneweth his births like the Disk.”<sup>1</sup> From this passage it appears that Khensu-pa-khart was both the spring sun, and the spring moon, and also the moon at the beginning of each month, in fact, the symbol of the renewed light of the sun and moon, and the source of generation and reproduction. In these aspects he was readily identified with many forms of the young Sun-god, whether Horus or Rā, and with some of the gods of reproduction, e.g., Āmsu, or Min. As a Horus god he became the son of Osiris, the “ Bull of Āmentet,” and of one of the forms of Isis, and as the “ Bull of his mother,” , he was identified with ĀMSU-RĀ, , and was regarded as the brother of the Bull Osiris. As Dr. Brugsch pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the “ two Bulls ” mentioned in texts of the late period are Osiris and Khensu, and they represent the Sun and the Moon.

The forms in which Khensu is depicted on the monuments are of considerable interest, and may be thus described. Whether standing or seated on a throne he has usually the body of a man with the head of a hawk; sometimes, however, his head also is that of a man. He wears on his head the lunar disk in a crescent, ☾, or the solar disk with a uraeus, or the solar disk with the plumes and a uraeus. As “ Khensu of Behūtet, the great god, lord of heaven,” he is seen seated on a throne and holding in his hands . As Khensu Nefer-ĥetep he appears on the stele of Pai, , in the form of a mummied man seated on a throne;<sup>3</sup> over his forehead is the uraeus of royalty and by the side of his head is the lock of youth. Behind his neck hangs the *menāt* , and below his chin is the collar which is usually worn by Hathor; in his hands are . On the stele behind his back are two pairs of ears and two pairs of eyes,

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 511.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion*, p. 362.

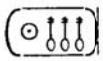
<sup>3</sup> See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 340.

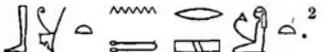


THE DUAL GOD KHENSU STANDING UPON CROCODILES.

, and the deceased is made to address the god as "lord of the gods, Khensu-NEFER-ḤETEP-TEḤUTI, lord of Ānnu "rest (i.e., Ānnu of the South), chief Mābi (), peace, "peace, O gracious one, who art at peace, and who lovest "peace." As "Khensu, the mighty, who cometh forth from Nu," , he is provided with two hawks' heads, one facing to the right and the other to the left, and four wings, and he stands with each foot upon the head of a crocodile; on his heads rest the lunar crescent and disk. In this form he represents both the sun at sunrise and the new moon, and the two crocodiles symbolize the two great powers of darkness over which he has triumphed. As "Khensu, the chronographer," , he wears the solar disk on his head and holds a stylus in his right hand, and as KHENSU-RĀ, , he wears the crown, .

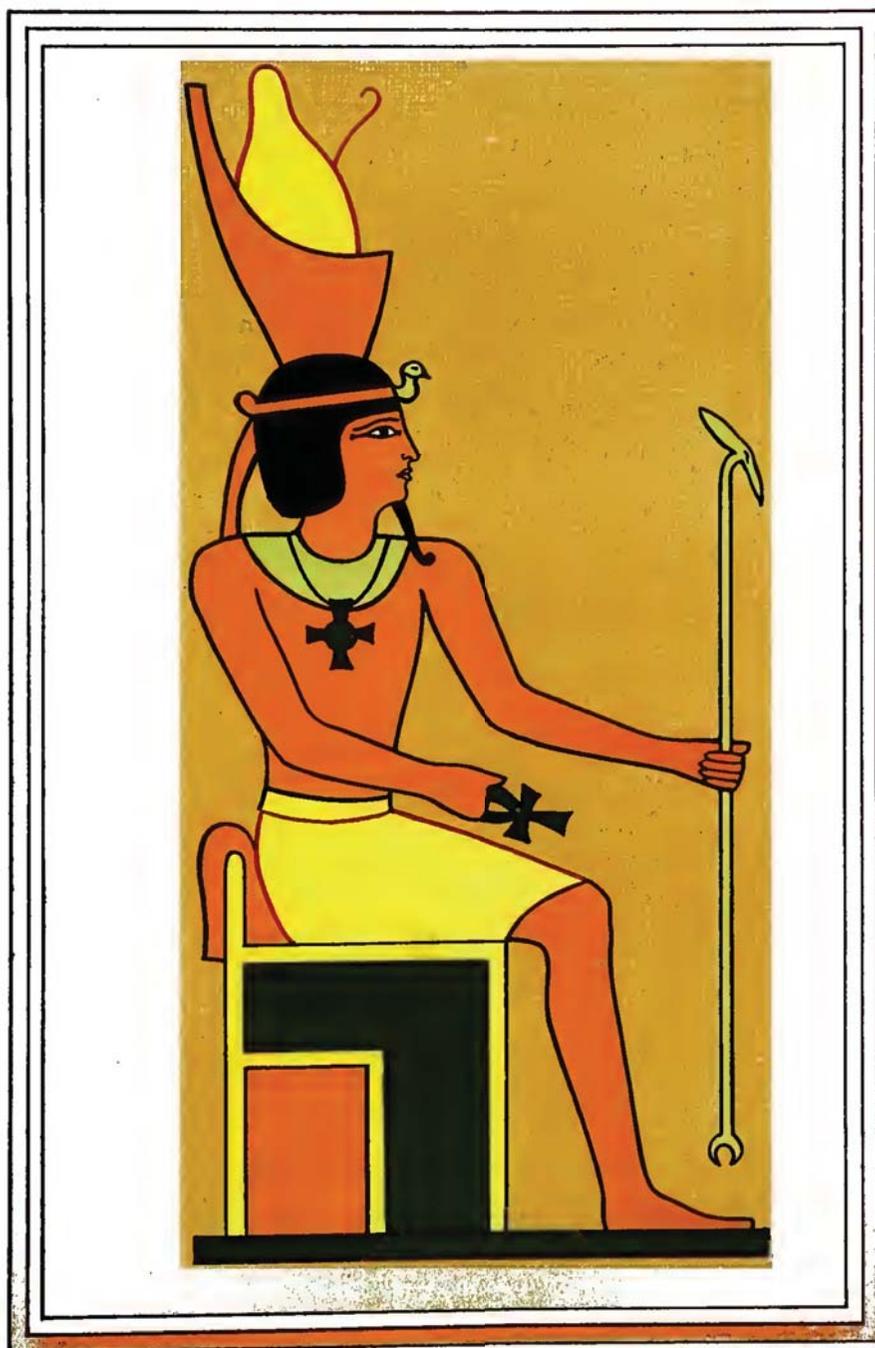
The phase of Khensu which appears to have been of the greatest interest to the Egyptians was that which was deified under the name of Khensu Nefer-ḥetep. This god not only ruled the month, but he was also supposed to possess absolute power over the evil spirits which infested earth, air, sea, and sky, and which made themselves hostile to man and attacked his body under the forms of pains, sicknesses, and diseases, and produced decay, and madness, and death. He it was, moreover, who made plants to grow, and fruit to ripen, and animals to conceive, and to men and women he was the god of love. We have no means of knowing what views the Egyptians held concerning the influence of the moon on the minds of human beings on the seventh, fourteenth, and twenty-first day of its age, but it is probable that, like the Arabs, they assigned to it different and special powers on each of these days. In the reign of Rameses III. a large temple was built at Thebes in honour of the Moon-god, and according to a tradition which his priests in very much later times caused to be inscribed upon a stone stele, the fame of his Theban representative was so wide-spread that it reached to a remote country called Bekhten, which was situated at a distance of a journey of seventeen months

from Egypt.<sup>1</sup> According to this tradition a king of Egypt, who was probably Rameses II., was in the country of Nehern, , i.e., a portion of Western Syria near the Euphrates, collecting tribute according to an annual custom, when the "prince of Bekhten" came with the other chiefs to salute his majesty and to bring a gift. The other chiefs brought gold, and lapis-lazuli, and turquoise, and precious woods, but the prince of Bekhten brought with his offerings his eldest daughter, who was exceedingly beautiful; the king accepted the maiden, and took her to Egypt, where he made her the chief royal wife and gave her the Egyptian name of Rā-neferu () , i.e., the "beauties of Rā," the Sun-god.

Some time after, that is to say, in the fifteenth year of the reign of the king of Egypt, the prince of Bekhten appeared in Thebes on the xxiind day of the second month of summer, and when he had been led into the presence he laid his offerings at the feet of the king, and did homage to him. As soon as he had the opportunity he explained the object of his visit to Egypt, and said that he had come on behalf of the young sister of Queen Rā-neferu, who was grievously sick, and he begged the king to send a physician to see his daughter Bent-Reshet, , or Bent-enth-reshet, .<sup>2</sup> Thereupon the king summoned into his presence all the learned men of his court, and called upon them to choose from among their number a skilled physician that he might go to Bekhten and heal the Queen's young sister; the royal scribe Teḥuti-em-ḥeb was recommended for this purpose, and the king at once sent him off with the envoy from Bekhten to that country. In due course he arrived there and found that the princess of Bekhten was under the influence of

<sup>1</sup> See Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, tom. ii., tav. 48; de Rougé, *Journal Asiatique*, 5<sup>e</sup> série, tom. viii., pp. 201-248; x., pp. 112-168; xi., pp. 509-572; xii., pp. 221-270; and my *Egyptian Reading Book*, pp. xxvii. ff. and 40 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of this name appears to be "daughter of joy," or "daughter of pleasure," *reshet* being a well-known word for pleasure, joy, and the like; the first part of the name *bent* must represent the Semitic word *bath*, בת, "daughter," from בַּת = בְּנֵת.

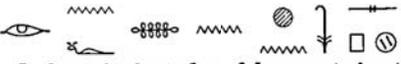


NEFER-HETEP.

some evil spirit, which he was powerless either to exorcise or to contend with in any way successfully. When the king of Bekhten saw that his daughter was in no way benefited by the Egyptian scribe, he despatched his envoy a second time to Egypt with the petition that the king would send a god to heal his daughter, and the envoy arrived in Thebes at the time when the king was celebrating the festival of Amen.

As soon as the king had heard what was wanted he went into the temple of Khensu Nefer-hetep, and said to the god, "O my fair Lord, I have come once again into thy presence [to entreat] thee on behalf of the daughter of the Prince of Bekhten"; and he entreated him to allow the god Khensu to go to Bekhten, and said, "Grant that thy magical (or, saving) power may go with him, and let me send his divine Majesty into Bekhten to deliver the daughter of the Prince of that land from the power of the demon." The king of Egypt, of course, made his request to a statue of the god Khensu Nefer-hetep, and the text of the stele affords reason for believing that the statue was provided with a moveable head, for after each of the petitions of the king we have the words *hen ur sep sen*  II, which mean that the god "nodded firmly twice" as a sign of his assent to the king's wishes. The head of the statue was worked by some mechanical contrivance which was in the hands of the priests, and there is little doubt that not only the head, but also the arms and hands of statues of the gods were made to move by means of cords or levers that were under the control of the high priest or priest in charge. When the god was unwilling to grant the request of the suppliant the head or limbs of his statue remained motionless. In the present case the king first asked Khensu-Nefer-hetep to send Khensu to Bekhten, and when the god had nodded his assent, he further asked him to bestow upon Khensu his *sa* , i.e., his magical, or divine, or saving power.

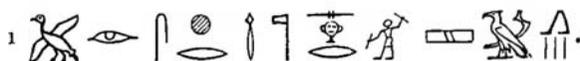
From this passage we learn that a god was able to transfer his power to work wonders from himself to a statue, and the text tells us that Khensu Nefer-hetep bestowed upon the statue of Khensu which was to go to Bekhten a fourfold portion of his

power and spirit, . How this was done is not stated, but it is tolerably certain that the statue of Khensu was brought near that of Khensu Nefer-ḥetep, and that the hands of the latter were made to move and to rest upon the head or shoulders of the former four times. That statues of gods were made to move their arms and hands on special occasions is well known, and in proof may be quoted the instance given in the Stele of the Nubian prince Nāstasenen. Before this prince was crowned king, we are told, he was one of those who were chosen by the priests of Āmen, the great god of Napata, to appear in the Temple of the Holy Mountain in order that their god might tell them which was to be king of those of the royal family who were claimants of the throne of Nubia. On a certain day all the young princes assembled in the chamber wherein was the statue of the god, and as they passed before it the arms and hands of Āmen-Rā extended themselves and took hold of the prince whom the god had chosen to be his representative upon the throne of Nubia, and he was forthwith acclaimed by the priests and generals of the soldiers, and in due course his coronation took place. It would be idle to assume that statues of gods with moveable heads and limbs were employed in this way in Nubia only, and we may be quite certain that the Nubian priests of Āmen-Rā merely followed the customs connected with the election of kings which were current in Egypt. The better informed among the people must have known that the limbs of the statue were moved by mechanism worked by the priests, but the ignorant, who believed that the doubles of the gods animated their statues, would assume that it was they who moved the head and limbs of the statues and gave them a voice to speak.<sup>1</sup>

Returning to the narrative of the Stele we find that the king of Egypt despatched Khensu to Bekhten, where the god arrived after a journey of seventeen months. As soon as he had been welcomed to the country by the Prince of Bekhten and his generals and nobles the god went to the place where the princess

<sup>1</sup> Compare also Maspero, *Annuaire*, 1897, Paris, 1896, pp. 15 ff.; and *Le Double et les Statues Prophétiques*, p. 88.

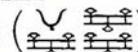
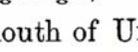
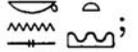
vas, and he found that Bent-reshet was possessed of an evil spirit; but as soon as he had made use of his magical power the demon left her and she was healed straightway. Then that demon spoke to Khensu, and acknowledged his power, and having tendered to him his unqualified submission he offered to return to his own place; but he begged Khensu to ask the Prince of Bekhten to make a feast at which they both might be present, and he did so, and the god, and the demon, and the Prince spent a very happy day together. When the feast was concluded the demon returned to his own land, which he loved, according to his promise. As soon as the Prince recognized the power of Khensu he planned to keep him in Bekhten, and the god actually tarried there for three years, four months, and five days, but at length he departed from his shrine and returned to Egypt in the form of a hawk of gold. When the king saw what had happened, he spoke to the priest, and declared to him his determination to send back to Egypt the chariot of Khensu, and when he had loaded him with gifts and offerings of every kind the Egyptians set out from Bekhten and made the journey back to Thebes in safety. On his return Khensu took all the gifts which had been given to him by the Prince of Bekhten, and carried them to the temple of Khensu Nefer-hetep, where he laid them at the feet of the god. Such is the story which the priests of Khensu under the New Empire were wont to relate concerning their god "who could perform mighty deeds and miracles, and vanquish the demons of darkness."<sup>1</sup>



## CHAPTER II

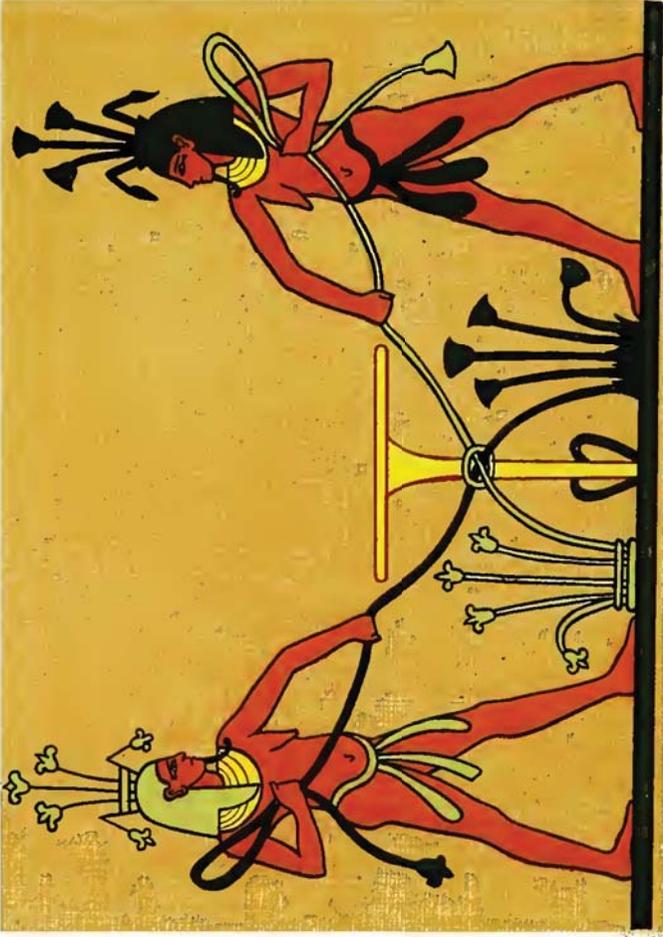
ḤĀP, , OR ḤĀPI, ,

THE GOD OF THE NILE

IT has already been said above that the god Osiris was probably in predynastic times a river-god, or a water-god, and that in course of time he became identified with ḤĀP, or ḤĀPI, the god of the Nile; when such an identification took place we have no means of knowing, but that such was undoubtedly the case is apparent from large numbers of passages in texts of all periods. The meaning of the name of the Nile-god has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and the derivation proposed<sup>1</sup> for it by the priests in the late dynastic period in no way helps us; it is certain that ḤEP, later ḤĀP, is a very ancient name for the Nile and Nile-god, and it is probably the name which was given to the river by the predynastic inhabitants of Egypt. One of the oldest mentions of Ḥep is found in the text of Unās<sup>2</sup> (line 187), where it is said, “Keep watch, O messengers of QA () , keep watch, “O ye who have lain down, wake up, O ye who are in Kenset, “O ye aged ones, thou Great Terror (, SETĀA-UR), who comest forth from ḤEP, thou Āp-uat () , who “comest forth from the Āsert Tree () , the mouth of Unās “is pure.” It is important to note that Ḥep is mentioned in connexion with Kenset, ; now Kenset here means the first nome of Egypt, in which were included the First Cataract

<sup>1</sup> *Hā-pu*, i.e., “this is the body”; see Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 638.

<sup>2</sup> See Tetà, l. 65.

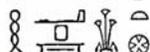


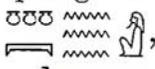
HĀPI, GOD OF THE NILE OF THE SOUTH.

HĀPI, GOD OF THE NILE OF THE NORTH.

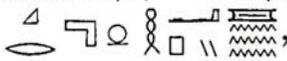
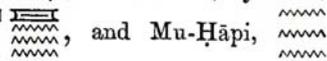
and its Islands Elephantine, Sâhel, Philae, Senmut, etc., and thus it would seem as if the Nile-god Hēp, and Āp-uat, "the opener of the ways," were even in the Vth Dynasty connected with the places in which in later times the Nile was thought to rise. In the lines which follow the extract given above there is an allusion to the food which Unās is to eat in the Underworld, and to the Sekhet-Āaru, or Elysian Fields, where he is to live, and it is clear that the Nile-god and Āp-uat were exhorted to send forth the waters of the river from Kenset in order that they might produce grain for the needs of the king. In another passage (Unās, line 431) the destroying power of Hēp is referred to, and it is said that the houses of those who would steal away the king's food shall be given to the thieves (?), and their habitations to GREAT HEP,



Hēp, or Hāpi, is always depicted in the form of a man, but his breasts are those of a woman, and they are intended to indicate the powers of fertility and of nourishment possessed by the god. As the Egyptians divided their country into two parts, the South and the North, so they divided the river, and thus there came into being the god of the Nile of the South and the god of the Nile of the North. An attempt has been made to show that the Nile of the South was that portion of the river which flowed from the Sûdân to Philae, but this is not the case, for the Egyptians believed that the Nile rose in the First Cataract, in the QERTI, , or "Double Cavern," and the Nile of the South was to them that portion of the river which extended from Elephantine to a place some little distance north of the modern Asyût. The god of the South Nile has upon his head a cluster of lotus plants, , whilst he of the North Nile has a cluster of papyrus plants, ; the former is called HĀP-RESET, , and the latter HĀP-MEHT, . When the two forms of Hēp or Hāpi are indicated in a single figure, the god holds in his hands the two plants, papyrus and lotus, or two vases, from which he was believed to pour out the two Niles. By a pretty device, in which the two Nile-gods are seen tying in a knot the stems of the lotus

and papyrus round , the emblem of union, the Egyptians symbolized the union of the South and North, and a slight modification of the design, , was cut upon the sides of the thrones of kings, from very early times, to indicate that the thrones of the South and North had been united, and that the rule of the sovereigns who sat upon such thrones extended over Upper and Lower Egypt. When once Hāpi had been recognized as one of the greatest of the Egyptian gods he became rapidly identified with all the great primeval, creative gods, and finally he was declared to be, not only the maker of the universe, but the creator of everything from which both it and all things therein sprang. At a very early period he absorbed the attributes of Nu, , the primeval watery mass from which Rā, the Sun-god, emerged on the first day of the creation; and as a natural result he was held to be the father of all beings and things, which were believed to be the results of his handiwork and his offspring. When we consider the great importance which the Nile possessed for Egypt and her inhabitants it is easy to understand how the Nile-god Hāpi held a unique position among the gods of the country, and how he came to be regarded as a being as great as, if not greater than Rā himself. The light and heat of Rā brought life to all men, and animals, and to every created thing, but without the waters of Hāpi every living being would perish.

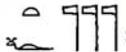
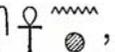
There was, moreover, something very mysterious about Hāpi, which made him to be regarded as of a different nature from Rā, for whilst the movement of the Sun-god was apparent to all men, and his places of rising and setting were known to all men, the source of the waters of the Nile-god was unknown. The Egyptians, it is true, at one period of their history, believed that the Nile rose out of the ground between two mountains<sup>1</sup> which lay between the Island of Elephantine and the Island of Philae, but they had no exact idea where and how the Inundation took place,

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus calls these mountains  $\text{K}\rho\acute{\omega}\phi\iota$  and  $\text{M}\acute{\omega}\phi\iota$ , which have, by some, been derived from Qer-Hāpi, , and Mu-Hāpi, .

and the rise and fall of the river were undoubtedly a genuine mystery to them. The profound reverence and adoration which they paid to the Nile are well expressed in the following extract from a hymn to the Nile, as found in a papyrus of the XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty, it reads:—"Homage to thee, O Hāpi, thou  
 "appearest in this land, and thou comest in peace to make Egypt  
 "to live. Thou art the Hidden One, and the guide of the dark-  
 "ness on the day when it is thy pleasure to lead the same. Thou  
 "art the Waterer (or Fructifier) of the fields which Rā hath  
 "created, thou givest life unto all animals, thou makest all the  
 "land to drink unceasingly as thou descendest on thy way from  
 "heaven. Thou art the friend of bread and of TCHABU (,  
 "i.e., the god of drink), thou makest to increase and be strong  
 "NEPRĀ (   ), i.e., the god of corn), thou makest pros-  
 "perous every workshop, O Ptaḥ, thou lord of fish; when the  
 "Inundation riseth, the water-fowl do not alight upon the fields  
 "that are sown with wheat. Thou art the creator of barley, and  
 "thou makest the temples to endure, for millions of years repose  
 "of thy fingers hath been an abomination to thee. Thou art the  
 "lord of the poor and needy. If thou wert overthrown in the  
 "heavens the gods would fall upon their faces, and men would  
 "perish. He causeth the whole earth to be opened by the cattle,  
 "and princes and peasants lie down and rest. . . . Thy form is  
 "that of Khnemu. When thou shinest upon the earth<sup>1</sup> shouts of  
 "joy ascend, for all people are joyful, and every mighty man  
 "receiveth food, and every tooth is provided with food. Thou art  
 "the bringer of food, thou art the mighty one of meat and drink,  
 "thou art the creator of all good things, the lord of divine meat  
 " (   ), pleasant and choice. . . . Thou makest the  
 "herb to grow for the cattle, and thou takest heed unto what is  
 "sacrificed unto every god. The choicest incense is that which  
 "followeth thee, thou art the lord of the two lands. Thou fillest  
 "the storehouses, thou heapest high with corn the granaries, and  
 "thou takest heed to the affairs of the poor and needy. Thou

<sup>1</sup> The form of Khnemu here referred to is Khnemu-Rā.

“makest the herb and green things to grow that the desires  
 “of all may be satisfied, and thou art not reduced thereby. Thou  
 “makest thy strength to be a shield for man.”

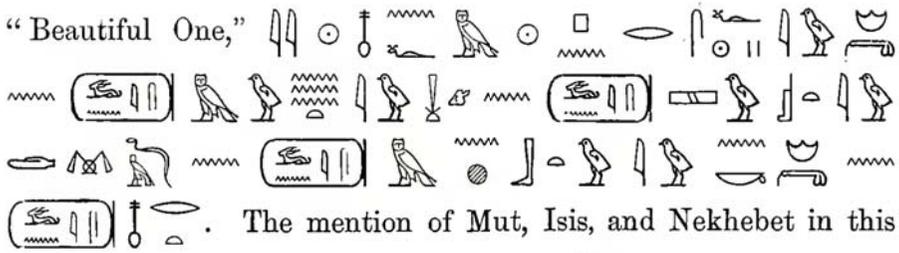
The following passage is of particular interest, for it proves that the writer of the hymn felt how hopeless it was to attempt to describe such a mighty and mysterious god as the Nile. “He cannot be sculptured in stone, he is not seen in the images on which are set the crowns of the South and the North and the uraei, neither works nor offerings can be made to him. He cannot be brought forth from his secret abodes, for the place wherein he is cannot be known. He is not to be found in inscribed shrines, there is no habitation which is large enough to contain him, and thou canst not make images of him in thy heart. . . . His name in the Tuat is unknown, the God doth not make manifest his forms, and idle are imaginings concerning them.”<sup>1</sup> From this passage it is clear that the Egyptians paid peculiar honour to Hāpi, and that he was indeed regarded as the “Father of the gods,” , and “the creator of things which exist,” , and that the epithet of “Vivifier,” , was especially suitable to him. It must be noted too that in one aspect Hāpi was identified with Osiris, and this being so Isis became his female counterpart, and it is probable that, when offerings were made to Osiris, i.e., Osiris-Apis, or Serapis, in late dynastic times, when every sanctuary of this double god was called



The hieratic text is published by Birch, *Select Papyri*, pll. xx. ff.; see also Maspero, *Hymne au Nil*, Paris, 1868; and my *First Steps in Egyptian*, p. 204.

a "Serapeum," Hāpi was held to be included among the forms of the god. From a number of passages found chiefly in comparatively late texts we learn that the festival of the annual rise of the Nile was celebrated throughout Egypt with very great solemnity, and statues of the Nile-god were carried about through the towns and villages that men might honour him and pray to him. When the inundation was abundant the rejoicings which took place after the performance of the religious ceremonies connected with it were carried out on a scale of great magnificence, and all classes kept holiday. The ancient Egyptian festival has its equivalent among the Muḥammadans in that which is celebrated by them about June 17, and is called *Lélet al-Nuḳta*, i.e., Night of the Drop, because it is believed that on that night a miraculous drop falls from heaven into the Nile and makes it to rise.

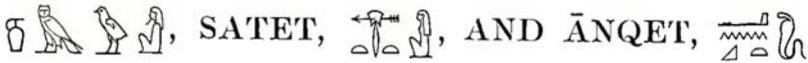
It has been said above that Osiris was identified with Hāpi, and this being so, Isis was regarded as the female counterpart of Hāpi, but there is little doubt that in very early dynastic times other goddesses were assigned to him as wives or sisters. Thus of Hāpi of the South the female counterpart was undoubtedly Nekhebet, but then this goddess was only a form of Isis in dynastic times, whatever she may have been in the predynastic period. In the north of Egypt the ancient goddess UATCH-URĀ, , appears to have been the equivalent of Nekhebet in the South. But Hāpi was also identified with Nu, the great primeval water abyss from which all things sprang, and as such his female counterpart was Nut, or one of her many forms. The oldest form of this goddess appears to be MUT, , or MĀUIT, , or MĀUIT, , who is mentioned in the text of Unās (line 181). The text generally shows that the deceased king is identified with Hāpi the Nile-god, and he thus became master of the Nile-goddesses of the South and North, for it is said, "O Rā, be thou good to Unās this day as yesterday. Unās has been united to the goddess MUT, and he hath breathed the breath of Isis, and he hath been joined to the goddess NEKHEBET, and he hath been the husband of the



connexion proves that all these three goddesses were intimately related, and it is clear that even when the text of Unâs was written the ancient goddesses Mut and Nekhebet were identified with Isis. We should expect Uatchet to appear in connexion with Nekhebet, but this goddess must have been absorbed in Isis long before the copies of the Pyramid Texts which we have were written.

## CHAPTER III

## THE TRIAD OF ĀBU (ELEPHANTINE), KHNEMU,


 The text shows three groups of hieroglyphs. The first group consists of a jar, a bird, and a hand holding a staff. The second group consists of a hand holding a staff and a hand holding a staff. The third group consists of a ram's head, a hand holding a staff, and a hand holding a staff.
 

SATET, ANQET, KHNEMU

**K**HNEMU, the first member of the great triad of Ābu, or Elephantine, is one of the oldest gods of Egypt, and we find him mentioned in the text of Unās in such a way as to show that even at the remote period of the reign of that king his cult was very old. The views which the Egyptians held concerning this god changed somewhat in the course of their long history, but the texts show that Khnemu always held an exalted position among the ancient gods of their country, and we know from Gnostic gems and papyri that he was a god of great importance in the eyes of certain semi-Christian sects for some two or three centuries after the birth of Christ. It is probable that Khnemu was one of the gods of the predynastic Egyptians who lived immediately before the archaic period, for his symbol was the flat-horned ram, and that animal appears to have been introduced into Egypt from the East; he disappears from the monuments before the period of the XIIth Dynasty. In the text of Unās the name of Khnemu is found in a section which contains twenty-five short paragraphs, the greater number of which must certainly date from a period far older than the reign of this king, for the forms of the words and the language are very archaic, and few of the names of the serpents which are addressed in them occur in later texts. Khnemu is represented on the monuments in the form of a ram-headed man who usually holds in his hands the sceptre , and the emblem of life, . He wears the White Crown, to which are sometimes attached plumes, uraei, a disk, etc.; in one example

quoted by Lanzone<sup>1</sup> he has the head of a hawk, which indicates that he possessed a solar aspect. As a water-god he is seen with outstretched hands over which flows water, and he is sometimes seen with a jug, , above his horns, which indicates his name. The name of Khnemu is connected with the root *khnem*,  , "to join, to unite," and with *khnem*,   , "to build"; astronomically the name refers to the "conjunction" of the sun and moon at stated seasons of the year,<sup>2</sup> and we know from the texts of all periods that Khnemu was the "builder" of gods and men. He it was who, according to the statements which were made by his priests at Elephantine, the chief seat of his worship, made the first egg from which sprang the sun, and he made the gods, and fashioned the first man upon a potter's wheel, and he continued to "build up" their bodies and maintain their life.

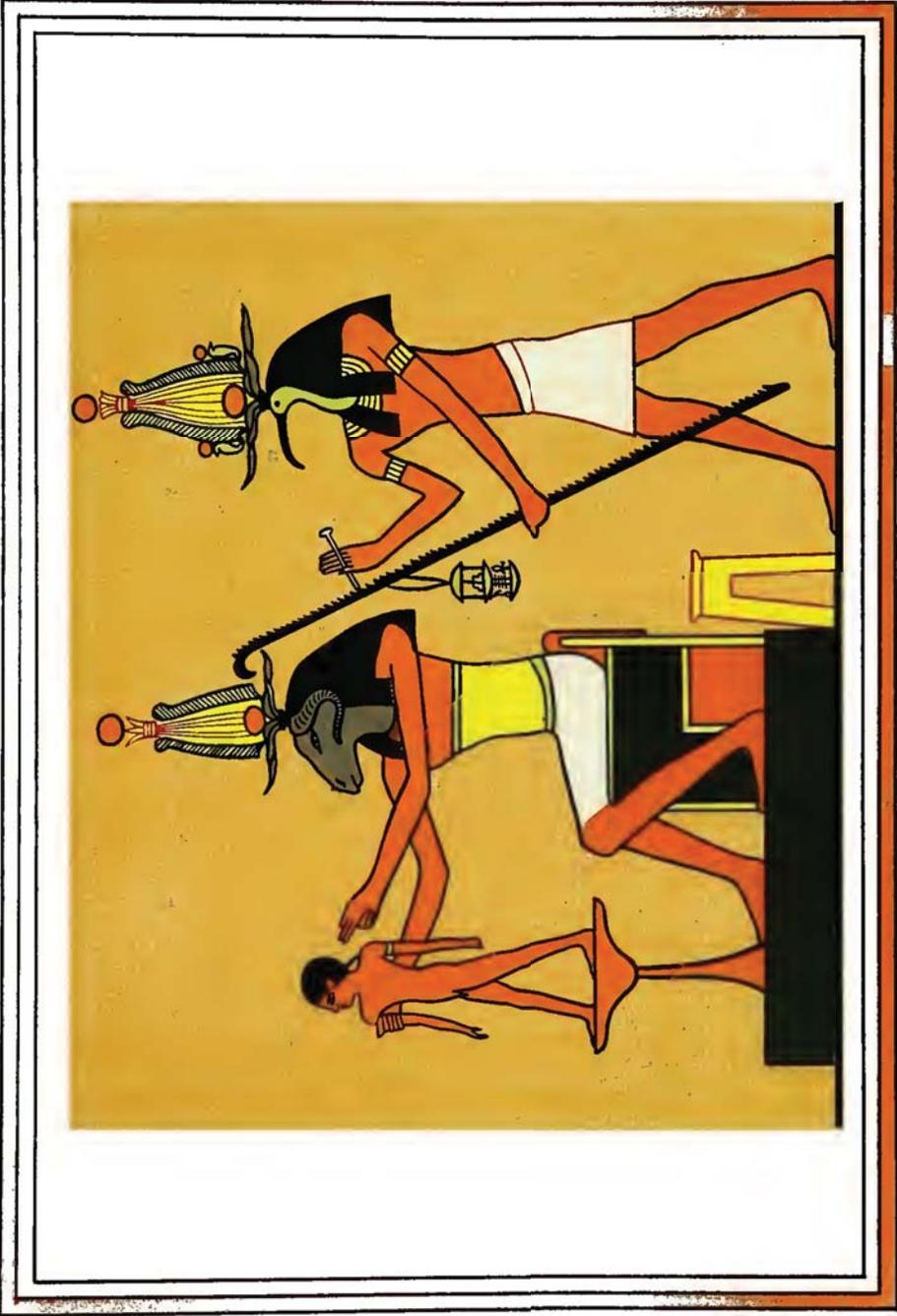
The portion of Egypt in which the worship of Khnemu was supreme extended from Thebes to Philae, but the principal sanctuaries of the god were at the two ends of the First Cataract, i.e., on Elephantine on the north and on Philae and the adjoining islands on the south. He was the god *par excellence* of the First Cataract, throughout which, with his female counterpart Satet and the local Nubian goddess Anqet, he was worshipped from the earliest dynasties; the goddess Satet was identified as a form of the star Sept,   , of Elephantine and of Menhet, lady of Latopolis. An examination of the texts makes it clear that Khnemu was originally a water or river-god, and that in very early times he was regarded as the god of the Nile and of the annual Nile-flood, and as such he bore the name of QEBH,  , and appeared as the ram-headed god, . In the passages quoted by Signor Lanzone<sup>3</sup> and Dr. Brugsch<sup>4</sup> he is called the "builder of men and the maker of the gods and the Father who was in the beginning,"      |    ; "maker of things which are, creator of things which shall be, the source

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pl. 336, No. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Dizionario*, p. 957.

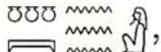
<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 290.

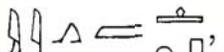
<sup>4</sup> *Religion*, p. 291.



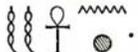
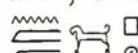
THE GOD KHNEMU FASHIONING A MAN UPON A POTTER'S TABLE, BEHIND HIM STANDS THOTH

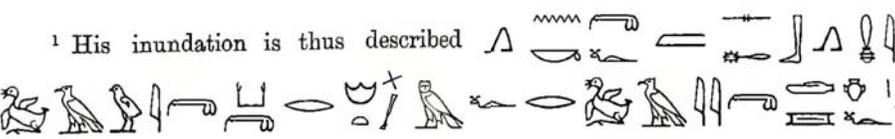


South of Egypt, and is associated with Isis, the great goddess of the South, and in fact is to the South of Egypt exactly what Ptaḥ-Tanen, who was associated with Nephthys, was to the Delta and the North of Egypt. To him was ascribed every attribute of Rā, and thus he is described as the god who existed before anything else was, who made himself, and who was the creative power which made and which sustains all things. When the cult of Khnemu-Rā became general in the south his priests increased the importance of their god by identifying him with Nu, , the great primeval god of the watery abyss, and from being the local river-god of the Nile in the First Cataract he became the god HĀP-UR, , or the Nile of heaven; in the latter aspect he was said to dwell in the Island of Senmut.

The views which were held about Khnemu-Rā as god of the earthly Nile are best illustrated by the famous inscription which was discovered on a rock on the Island of Sāhal in 1890 by the late Mr. Charles Wilbour. According to it, in the xviiiith year of king TCHESER () who has been identified with the third king of the IIIrd Dynasty, the whole of the region of the South, and the Island of Elephantine, and the district of Nubia were ruled by the high official Māter, . The king sent a despatch to Māter informing him that he was in great grief by reason of the reports which were brought to him into the palace as he sat upon his throne, and because for seven years there had been no satisfactory inundation of the Nile. As the result of this grain of every kind was very scarce, vegetables and garden produce of every kind could not be found, and in fact the people had very little food to eat, and they were in such need that men were robbing their neighbours. Men wished to walk out, but could not do so for want of strength; children were crying for food, young men collapsed through lack of food, and the spirits of the aged were crushed to the earth, and they laid themselves down on the ground to die. In this terrible trouble king Tcheser remembered the god I-em-ḥetep, , the son of Ptaḥ of the South Wall, who, it would seem, had once delivered Egypt from a

similar calamity, but as his help was no longer forthcoming Tcheser asked his governor Māter to tell him where the Nile rose, and what god or goddess was its tutelary deity. In answer to this despatch Māter made his way immediately to the king, and gave him information on the matters about which he had asked questions. He told him that the Nile flood came forth from the Island of Elephantine whereon stood the first city that ever existed; out of it rose the Sun when he went forth to bestow life upon man, and therefore it is also called "Doubly Sweet Life,"

 . The spot on the island out of which the river rose was the double cavern (?) Qerti, , which was likened to two breasts, , from which all good things poured forth; this double cavern was, in fact, the "couch of the Nile,"   
, and from it the Nile-god watched until the season of inundation drew nigh, and then he rushed forth like a vigorous young man, and filled the whole country.<sup>1</sup> At Elephantine he rose to a height of twenty-eight cubits, but at Diospolis Parva in the Delta he only rose seven cubits. The guardian of this flood was Khnemu, and it was he who kept the doors that held it in, and who drew back the bolts at the proper time. Māter next went on to describe the temple of Khnemu at Elephantine, and told his royal master that the other gods in it were Sept (Sothis), Ānuqet, Ḥāpi, Shu, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Horus, Isis, and Nephthys, and after this he enumerated the various products that were found in the neighbourhood, and from which offerings ought to be made to Khnemu. When the king heard these words he offered up sacrifices to the god, and in due course went into his temple to make supplication before him; finally Khnemu appeared before him, and said, "I am Khnemu the Creator. My hands rest upon thee to protect thy person, and to make sound thy body. I gave thee thine heart. . . . I am he who created himself. I am the primeval watery abyss, and I am Nile who riseth at his will

<sup>1</sup> His inundation is thus described 

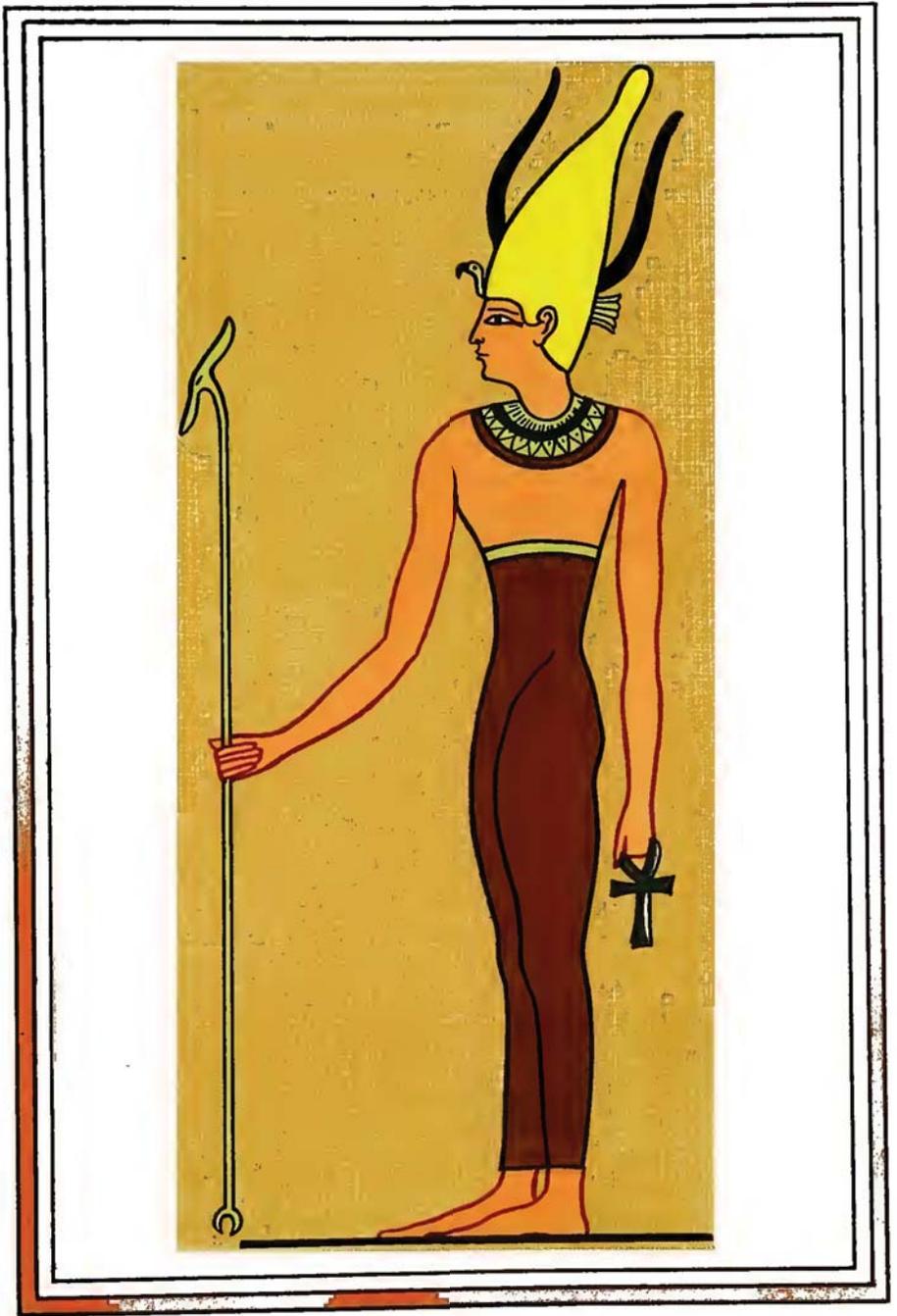
“to give health for me to those who toil. I am the guide and “director of all men, the Almighty, the father of the gods, “Shu, the mighty possessor of the earth.” Finally the god promised that the Nile should rise every year, as in olden time, and described the good which should come upon the land when he had made an end of the famine. When Khnemu ceased to speak king Tcheser remembered that the god had complained that no one took the trouble to repair his shrine, even though stone lay near in abundance, and he immediately issued a decree in which it was ordered that certain lands on each side of the Nile near Elephantine should be set apart for the endowment of the temple of Khnemu, and that a certain tax should be levied upon every product of the neighbourhood, and devoted to the maintenance of the priesthood of the god; the original text of the decree was written upon wood, and as this was not lasting, the king ordered that a copy of it should be cut upon a stone stele which should be set in a prominent place.<sup>1</sup> It is nowhere said that the god kept his promise to Tcheser, but we may assume that he did. The form of the narrative of the Seven Years’ Famine summarized above is not older than the Ptolemaic period, but the subject matter belongs to a much older time, and very probably represents a tradition which dates from the Early Empire.

We have seen that the spirit, or soul, of Khnemu pervaded all things, and that the god whose symbol was a ram was the creator of men and gods, and in connexion with this must be noted the fact that, together with Ptah, he built up the edifice of the material universe according to the plans which he had made under the guidance and direction of Thoth. As the architect of the universe he possessed seven forms which are often alluded to in texts; they are sometimes represented in pictures, and their names are as follows:—

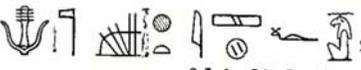
 , KHNEMU NEHEP, “Khnemu the Creator.”

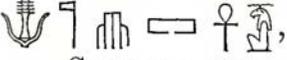
 , KHNEMU KHENTI-TAUI, “Khnemu, governor of the two lands.”

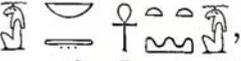
<sup>1</sup> For the hieroglyphic text see Brugsch, *Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*, Leipzig, 1891.

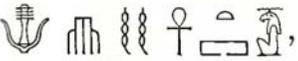


THE GODDESS SATI.

, KHNEMU SEKHET ĀSHSEP-F, "Khnemu, weaver of his light."

, KHNEMU KHENTI PER-ĀNKH, "Khnemu, Governor of the House of Life."

, KHNEMU NEB-TA-ĀNKHET, "Khnemu, lord of the Land of Life."

, KHNEMU KHENTI NETCHEMTCHEM ĀNKHET, "Khnemu, Governor of the House of Sweet Life."

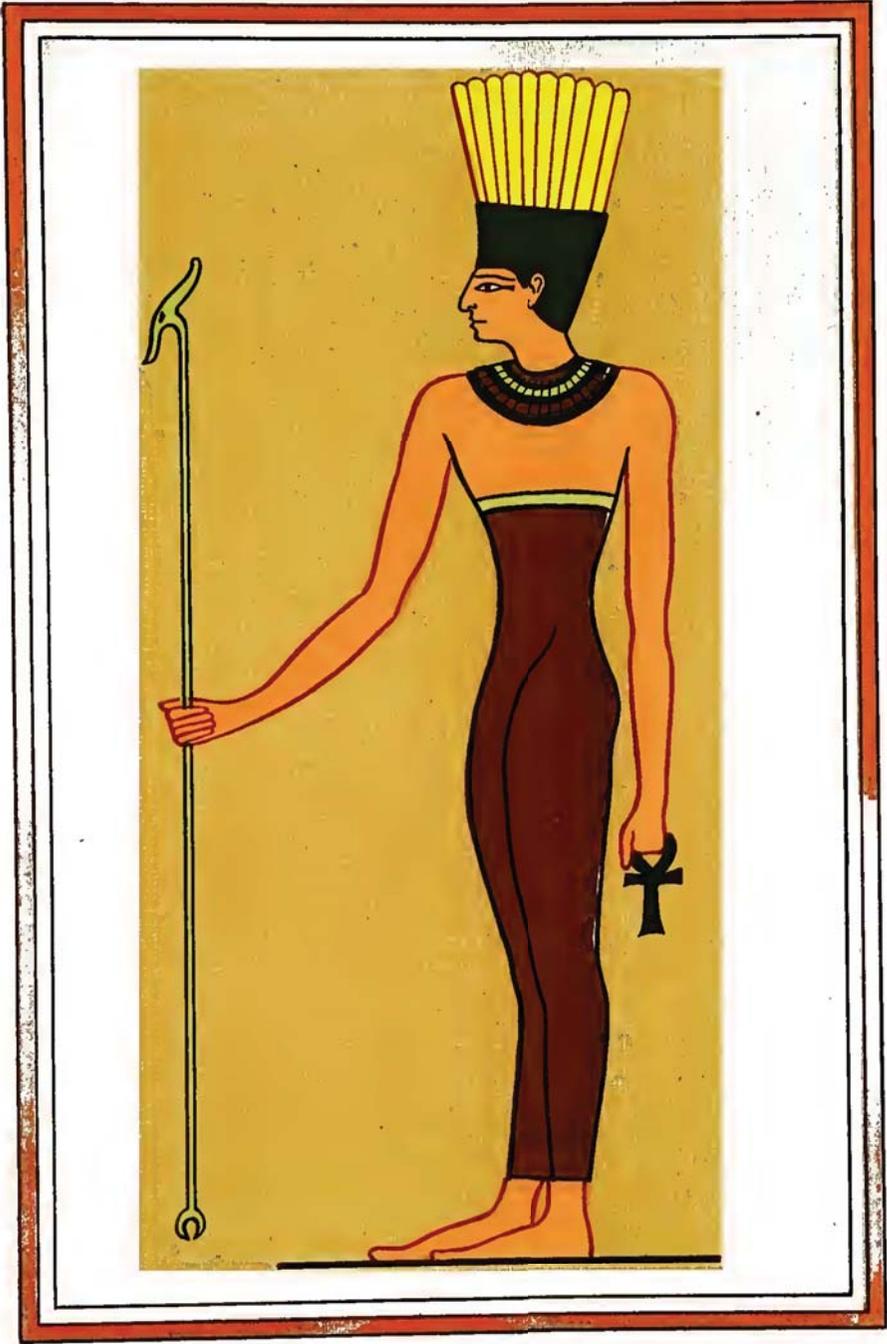
, KHNEMU NEB, "Khnemu, Lord."

SATI, , or SATET, ,<sup>1</sup> or, , was the principal female counterpart of Khnemu, and was worshipped with him at Elephantine, where she was a sister goddess of Ānket. Her name appears to be connected with the root *sat*, , "to shoot, to eject, to pour out, to throw," and the like, and *sat* is also used in connexion with the scattering abroad and sowing of seed, and with the sprinkling of water; thus at any rate at one period she must have been regarded as the goddess of the inundation, who poured out and spread over the land the life-giving waters of the Nile, and as the goddess of fertility. She sometimes carries in her hands a bow and arrows, a fact which suggests that in her earliest form she was a goddess of the chase; according to Dr. Brugsch, she was identified by the Greeks with their goddess Hera.<sup>2</sup> In many pictures of the goddess we see her wearing the crown of the South and a pair of horns, which prove that she was a form of ĀST-SEPT, , or ISIS-SOTHIS. At the time when the temple of Dendera was built she was identified with the local goddess Isis-Hathor of Dendera, with ĀMENT, , of Thebes, and MENĀT, , of Heliopolis, and RENPIT of

<sup>1</sup> This goddess must not be confounded with the SATET, , who is represented in the form of a woman, and bears upon her head the *Utchat* , and was a local Alexandrian form of Isis; see Lanzzone, *Dizionario*, p. 1124.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion*, p. 299.





THE GODDESS ANKET.

ĀNQET, , was the third member of the triad of Elephantine, which consisted of Khnemu, Sati, and Ānqet, and she seems to have possessed many of the attributes of her sister-goddess Sati. In pictures Ānqet is represented in the form of a woman who holds in her hands the sceptre , and the emblem of "life," ; she wears on her head a crown of feathers which are arranged in such a way as to suggest a savage origin. She appears to have been originally a goddess of some island in the First Cataract, but in early dynastic times she was associated with Khnemu and Sati, and her worship was common throughout Northern Nubia; later the centre of her worship was at Sâhal, and she was regarded as a goddess of that island, and was called "lady of Satet," , NEBT SATET. Her temple there seems to have been named "Āmen-heri-âb," , but it is clear from the appearance of Āmen's name in its title that it cannot be older than the XVIIIth Dynasty. At Philae another temple was built in her honour, and it bore the name of "Pa-mer," , and it seems that from this island southwards she was identified with Nephthys. In very early times Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys were associated in a triad, and as Osiris was a form of Khnemu, and Khnemu a form of Osiris, and Isis and Sati were sister goddesses, it followed as a matter of course that Ānqet should be identified with Nephthys. According to Dr. Brugsch,<sup>1</sup> the name "Ānqet" is derived from the root *ânq*, , "to surround, to embrace," and the like, and has reference to the goddess as the personification of the waters of the Nile which embrace, and nourish, and fructify the fields. Among the pictures of Ānqet reproduced by Signor Lanzone<sup>2</sup> is one in which the goddess is seen seated in a shrine with a table of offerings before her; the shrine is placed in a boat, at each end of which is an aegis of a goddess, who wears on her head a disk and horns, , and is probably Isis; the boat floats on a stream from which runs a small arm. The goddess is styled "Ānqet, lady of Satet (i.e.,

<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 302.

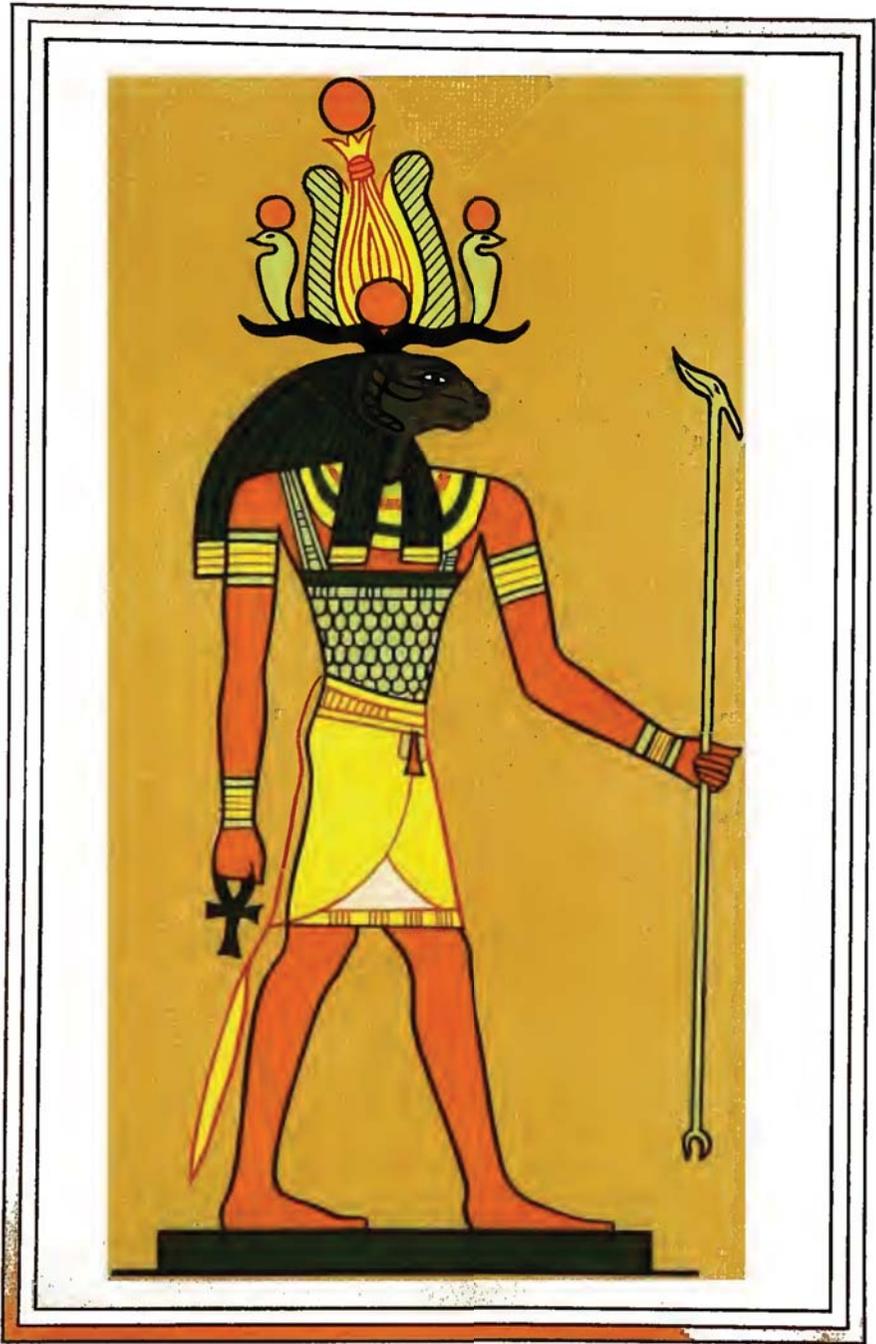
<sup>2</sup> *Dizionario*, pl. xliv. ff.

“the Island of Sâhal), lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods,”

In another picture she is seen suckling a young king whose neck she embraces with her left arm, and in a text which accompanies another representation she is described as the “giver of life, and of all power, and of all health, and of all joy of heart,”

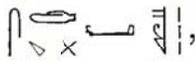
We have now to consider two very important forms of KHNEMU, that is to say, 1. Khnemu who, under the form of HER-SHEF, was worshipped at Herakleopolis Magna, and 2. Khnemu who, under the form of Osiris, was worshipped at Mendes.

1. Khnemu as HER-SHEF, or HER-SHEFT, , was worshipped at Suten-henen, or Hēnen-su, , or Het-Hēnen-su, , under the form of a horned, ram-headed man, and wore the White Crown with plumes, a disk, and uraei attached. The Greeks transcribed the name Her-shef by Ἄρσαφης, and as Plutarch says that it means “strength, bravery,” it is clear that in his time the latter portion of it, *shef* or *sheft*, was derived from *shef*, or *sheft*, “strength, power, bravery,” and the like. On the other hand two variant forms of the name of the god are:—HER-SHE-F, i.e., “He who is on his lake,” and HĒRI-SHĀ-F, i.e., “He who is on his sand.” The first form would connect the god with Lake Moeris, and the second refers to him as an aspect or phase of Osiris, who bears this title in Chapter cxli., line 109, and Chapter cxlii., line 24, of the *Book of the Dead*. In Chapter xlii., line 14, the god ĀA-SHEFIT, is mentioned, and it is probable that he also is to be identified with Osiris. Hēnen-su, the centre of the worship of Khnemu under the form of Her-shefi, is often referred to in the *Book of the Dead*, and a number of important mythological events are said to have taken place there. Thus it was here that Rā rose for the first time when the heavens and the earth were created (xvii. 7-9), and it was this rising which formed the first great act

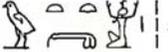
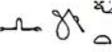
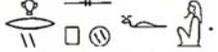


HERU-SHEFIT, THE LORD OF SUTEN-HENEN

of creation, because as soon as Rā rose he separated the earth from the sky. Osiris was here crowned lord of the universe, and here his son Horus assumed the throne of his father left vacant by the death of Osiris. When Rā ordered the goddess Sekhet to go forth and destroy mankind because they had mocked him and had spoken lightly of his age, she started on her journey from Hēnen-su. To this place also returned Set after his defeat by Horus, who had wounded him severely, and Osiris was believed to have taken a spade and covered over with earth the blood<sup>1</sup> which dropped from him and his fiends, and to have buried the bodies of those whom Horus had slain. It is this act which is alluded to by the deceased when he says (Chapter i., line 30), "I have grasped the spade on "the day of digging the earth in Suten-henen (or Hēnen-su)." Elsewhere (xvii. 49) we have an allusion to the "day of the union of the two earths," , *smat tawi*, which is explained by the stronger expression, "the completing of the two earths," , *temt tawi*. The text which follows says that it refers to "the mingling of earth with earth in the coffin of Osiris, "who is the Soul that dwelleth in Hēnen-su, and the giver of "meat and drink, and the destroyer of wrong, and the guide of "the everlasting paths, i.e., Rā himself." An entirely different matter in connexion with the two earths is mentioned in line 129, where there is an allusion to "Shu, the strengthener of the two "lands in Hēnen-su," , and there is little doubt that the words refer to the part which Shu played at the Creation, when he held up with his arms and hands the sky which Rā had made to separate it from the earth.

At Hēnen-su lived the Great BENNU, , (Chapter cxxv. 18), and in the neighbourhood dwelt the awful "CRUSHER OF BONES," , SET-QESU, who is mentioned in the Negative Confession, and in this place the souls of the beatified found a place of rest in the realm of Osiris in this

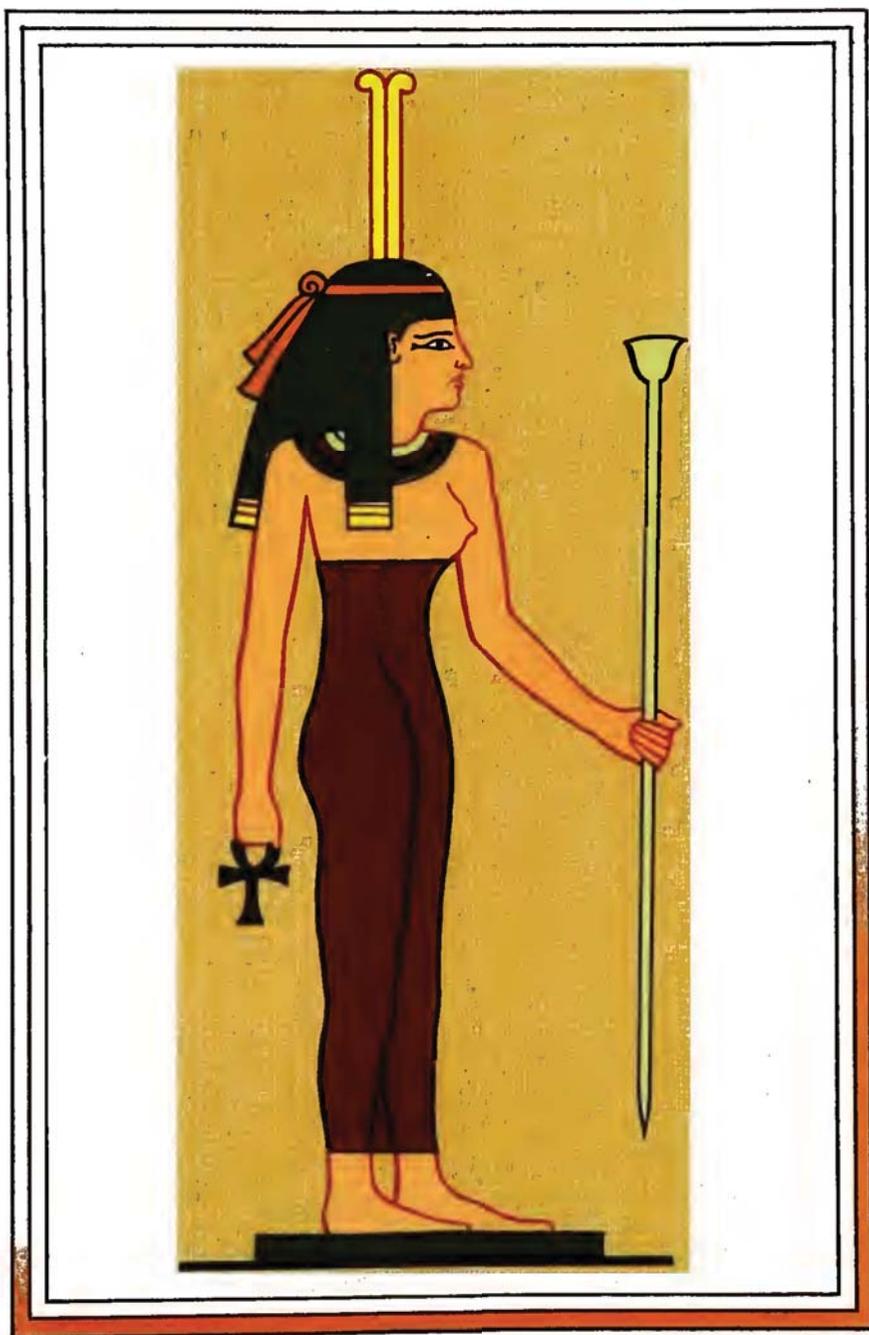
<sup>1</sup> Naville, *Heracleopolis*, p. 8.

place (cxxxvii.A, 25). Near Hēnen-su were the two great mythological lakes called HĒH, , and UATCH-URĀ, ; the variant forms of the first of these are:—SEMŪ - HĒH, , and UTET-HĒH, . The sanctuary of Osiris at Hēnen-su was called Nareref, , or "Ān-rut-f," , i.e., "the place where nothing groweth," and it was entered by a door on the south side called RE-STAU,  (Chapter xvii. 52); in some portion of the sanctuary was the Āat-en-shet, , or "region of fire," and near it was the torture chamber named "Sheni," . This chamber was guarded by a god with the face of a greyhound and the eyebrows of a man, and he sat watching at the "Elbow," , of the "Lake of Fire" for the dead who passed that way, and as he remained himself unseen he was able to seize upon them and tear out their hearts and devour them. The texts show that there was great difference of opinion about the name of this monster, which is given as MĀTES, , and BEBA, , and HĒRI-SEP-F, .

These facts, which are derived chiefly from the xvii th Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, prove that Hēnen-su, or Herakleopolis, possessed a system of theology of its own, and that this system must be very ancient, but whether it is older than that of Heliopolis it is impossible, at present, to say definitely. What is certain, however, is that the great local god Hēr-shef was sufficiently important to be regarded as a form of the great ram-god Khnemu. It must be noted also that Hēr-shef was a solar god, and that as such many of the titles of Rā were bestowed upon him; it is said that he lit up the world with his beams, that his right eye was the sun and his left eye the moon, that his soul was the light, and that the north wind which gave life to all came forth from his nostrils. He is said, moreover, like Rā, to be "One."<sup>1</sup> In a figure of the god reproduced by Lanzone<sup>2</sup> he has

<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> *Dizionario*, p. 552.



THE GODDESS ANIT.

four heads; one is the head of a bull, one that of a ram, and two are the heads of hawks. Above these are the characteristic horns of Khnemu which are surmounted by two plumes and four knives. These four heads represent the four gods who formed Khnemu of Hēnen-su, i.e., Rā, Shu, Seb, and Osiris, and thus he might be identified with Rā-Tem of Heliopolis, or Āmen-Rā of Thebes, and either of these compound gods might be worshipped as one of his forms.

The female counterpart of Her-shef possesses various names, and as she was identified with various goddesses this is not to be wondered at; her chief attributes were those of Hathor and Isis, and her local name was]  $\overline{\text{ĀTET}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𐀀𐀁𐀂}}$ , or MERSEKHNET,  $\overline{\text{𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄}}$ . Many of her attributes, however, were those of Net (Neith),  $\overline{\text{𐀀𐀁𐀂}}$ , and Meh-urt, and HEQET, and ĀNIT,  $\overline{\text{𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃}}$ ; as the last named goddess she, was the sister of KA-HEȚEP, i.e., Osiris. According to a text quoted by Dr. Brugsch,<sup>1</sup> Ātet, the local goddess of Hēnen-su, in the form of a cat slew Āpep, the great serpent of darkness. From this] it is clear that she was a female counterpart of Rā, who, as we knew from the xviiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, took the form of a cat, and slew Āpep, the prince of darkness, who had taken the form of a monster serpent. The text says, "I am the CAT (MĀU,  $\overline{\text{𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃}}$ ), which "fought (?) hard by the Persea Tree (Āsheȥ,  $\overline{\text{𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃}}$ ), in Ānnu, on "the night when the foes of NEB-ER-TCHER<sup>2</sup> ( $\overline{\text{𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃}}$ ) were "destroyed." The explanation of this statement which follows the question, "Who then is this?" is "The male CAT is Rā himself, "and he is called 'Māu' by reason of the words of the god SA,<sup>3</sup> "who said about him, '[Who] is like (māu,  $\overline{\text{𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃}}$ ), unto him?' "and thus his name became 'Māu' (i.e., Cat)." The fight here referred to is the first battle which the god of light waged against

<sup>1</sup> *Dict. Géog.*, p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> A form of Osiris, both as the lord of the universe, and as lord of his re-united body.

<sup>3</sup> The god of Reason, or Intelligence.

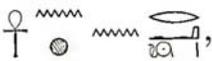


“god  $\dot{A}AR$  ( $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ), in Sekhet -  $\dot{A}arer$  ( $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ),  
 “ $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ). Homage to thee, NETETTHAB ( $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ),  
 “daughter of these four gods who are in the Great House. Even  
 “when the command of Unás goeth not forth, uncover yourselves  
 “in order that Unás may see you as Horus seeth Isis, as NEHEBU-  
 “KAU ( $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ) seeth Serqet, as Sebek seeth Net  
 “(Neith), and as Set seeth NETETTHAB.”

Among the greatest of the festivals at Hēnen-su were those in honour of Neheb-kau which, according to Dr. Brugsch,<sup>1</sup> were celebrated on the first of Tybi, that is to say, nine days after the “Festival of Ploughing the Earth,” KHEBS-TA,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , when men began to plough the land after the subsidence of the waters of the Inundation. Under the heading “Osiris” reference is made to the performance of the ceremony of “ploughing the earth,” which gave the name to the festival, but it may be noted in passing that it appears to have had a double signification, i.e., it commemorated the burial of Osiris, and it symbolized the ploughing of the land throughout the country preparatory to sowing the seed for the next year’s crop. Other festivals were those of Bast, which were celebrated in the spring of the Egyptian year, and those of the “hanging out of the heavens,”  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , i.e., the supposed reconstituting of the heavens each year in the spring. Finally, in connexion with Hēnen-su may be mentioned the God HĒNEB,<sup>2</sup>  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , for whom in the Saïte period the official Hēru planted two vineyards; of the attributes of this god we know nothing, but it is probable that he was supposed to preside over grain and other products of the land. In several passages of the *Book of the Dead* we have the word *henbet*  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , “corn-lands, provisions,” and the like, and in Chapter clxxx. line 29, a god called HĒNBI,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , is mentioned, and he appears to be identical with the HĒNEB of the stele of Hēru.

<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, pp. 852, 1364.

Coming now to the second great form of Khnemu, viz., that under which he was worshipped at Mendes, we find that at a very early date he was identified with the great god of that city, and was known as BA-NEB-ṬETṬU, , i.e., the Ram, lord of Ṭetṭu. Now as the word for "soul" in Egyptian was *Ba*, and as a name of the ram was also *Ba*, the title Ba-neb-Ṭetṭu was sometimes held to mean the "Soul, the lord Ṭetṭu," and this was the name at Mendes of the local form of Khnemu, whose symbol there, as elsewhere, was a ram. Ba-neb-Ṭetṭu, whose name was corrupted by the Greeks into *Μένδης*, and Tamai al-Amdid<sup>1</sup> by the Arabs, was said to be the "living soul of Rā, the holy Sekhem " who dwelleth within Hāt-mehit, , and the "life of Rā," , and he was worshipped throughout the sixteenth nome from the earliest times. He was regarded as the virile principle in gods and men, and is styled, "King of the South and " North, the Ram, the virile male, the holy phallus, which stirreth " up the passions of love, the Ram of rams, whose gifts are brought " forth by the earth after it hath been flooded by the Nile, the " Soul, the life of Rā, who is united with Shu and Tefnut, the One " god, who is mighty in strength, who riseth in the heavens with " four heads, who lighteth up the heavens and the earth (like Rā), " who appeareth in the form of the Nile like (Osiris), who vivifieth " the earth (like Seb), and who formeth the breath of life for all " men, the chief of the gods, the lord of heaven and the king of " the gods."<sup>2</sup> Ba-neb-Ṭetṭu was originally a local form of Rā, but he subsequently was made to include within himself not only the Soul of Rā, but the Souls of Osiris, and Seb, and Shu. These four Souls are reproduced by Signor Lanzone,<sup>3</sup> and appear in the form of four rams, the horns of each being surmounted by a uraeus; they are described as "The Soul of Seb, lord of Hēt-

<sup>1</sup> تمى الامديد. As a matter of fact the first portion of this name represents *Θμωίς*, the Greek name of one portion of the ancient city of Ṭetṭu, and the second—"al-Amdid"—is a corruption of Ba-neb-Ṭetṭu, which became Ba-neb-Ṭet, then Ba-n-Ṭet, and finally Man-Ṭet, Mendes.

<sup>2</sup> See Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> *Dizionario*, pl. 68.



THE GOD BA-NEB-TĀÏĀU, THE RAM GOD OF MENDES.



in Chapters cxli. and cxlii. of the *Book of the Dead*, and the popularity of his cult in the Delta was probably due to the elaborate phallic ceremonies which were celebrated at Mendes and in the neighbourhood annually.

Before the close of the Ptolemaic period, however, some calamity seems to have fallen upon Mendes, and her sanctuary was forsaken and her god forgotten; on the other hand, the portion of the city which was known by the name Thmuis, *Θμοῦις*, survived, and was sufficiently important in Christian times to possess a bishop of its own. The Copts called the place *Θμοῦεωσ*, or *†Βακι Θμοῦι*, and a Bishop of Thmoui was present both at the Council of Nice and the Council of Ephesus.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, we have to note that Khnemu as a form of Shu, i.e., as a personification of the wind, and atmosphere, and the supporter of heaven, and the light of the Sun and Moon, was worshipped at several places in Upper Egypt and in Heliopolis under the form of a ram; the centre of his worship at this last-named place was Het-Benben, or the "House of the Obelisk." At Latopolis he absorbed the attributes of Tem, and he was identified with Nu, the maker of the universe and creator of the gods; similarly, he was regarded as a form of Ptaḥ and of Ptaḥ-Tanen, and his female counterparts were Menhit, Sekhet, and Tefnut. In a hymn which is inscribed on the walls of the temple of Esna he is called, "The prop of heaven who hath spread out the same with his hands," and the sky is said to rest upon his head whilst the earth beareth up his feet. He is the creator of heaven and earth and of all that therein is, and the maker of whatsoever is; he formed the company of the gods, and he made man upon his potter's wheel. He is the One god, the source from which sprang the regions on high, the primeval architect, the maker of the stars, the creator of the gods, who was never born, and the begetter or maker of his own being, whom no man can understand or comprehend. Many other passages in the inscriptions at Esna ascribe to him naturally all the powers and attributes<sup>2</sup> of Ptaḥ. Among several interesting

<sup>1</sup> Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte*, p. 501.

<sup>2</sup> For the enumeration of several of them see Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 504.

addresses to the god may be mentioned that wherein it is said, "Thou hast raised up heaven to be a dwelling-place for thy soul, "and thou didst make the great deep that it might serve as a "hiding-place for thy body." Finally, it may be noted that as Khnemu-Shu absorbed the attributes of Nu, Rā, Ptah, Thoth, etc., so also several great goddesses, besides those already mentioned, were identified with his female counterparts, e.g., Nut, Net (Neith), Nebuut, etc.

## CHAPTER IV

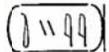
ĀTEN, , THE GOD AND DISK OF THE SUN

IN connexion with the Sun-gods of Egypt and with their various forms which were worshipped in that country must be considered the meagre facts which we possess concerning ĀTEN, who appears to have represented both the god or spirit of the sun, and the solar disk itself. The origin of this god is wholly obscure, and nearly all that is known about him under the Middle Empire is that he was some small provincial form of the Sun-god which was worshipped in one of the little towns in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis, and it is possible that a temple was built in his honour in Heliopolis itself. It is idle to attempt to describe the attributes which were originally ascribed to him under the Middle or Early Empire, because the texts which were written before the XVIIIth Dynasty give us no information on the subject. Under the XVIIIth Dynasty, and especially during the reigns of Āmen-ḥetep III. and his son Āmen-ḥetep IV., he was made to usurp all the titles and attributes of the ancient solar gods of Egypt, Rā, Rā-Ḥeru-khuti, Horus, etc., but it does not follow that they originally belonged to him. In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, which is based upon the Heliopolitan, we find ĀTEN mentioned by the deceased thus:—"Thou, O Rā, "shinest from the horizon of heaven, and Āten is adored when he "resteth (or setteth) upon this mountain to give life to the two "lands."<sup>1</sup> Hunefer says to Rā, "Hail, Āten, thou lord of beams "of light, [when] thou shinest all faces (i.e., everybody) live;"

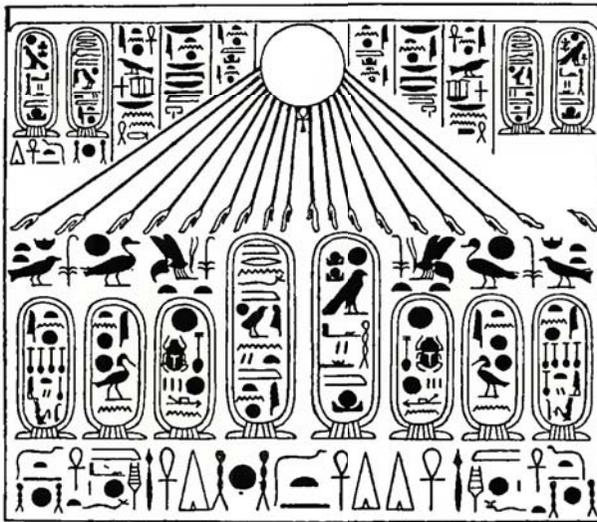
<sup>1</sup> See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Translation), p. 7; for the passages which follow see the *Vocabulary*, s.v. *aten*, p. 48.

Nekht says to Rā, "O thou beautiful being, thou dost renew thyself and make thyself young again under the form of Âten;" Ani says to Rā, "Thou turnest thy face towards the Underworld, and thou makest the earth to shine like fine copper. The dead rise up to see thee, they breathe the air and they look upon thy face when Âten shineth in the horizon;" ". . . I have come before thee that I may be with thee to behold thy Âten daily;" "O thou who art in thine Egg, who shinest from thy Âten," etc.

These passages show that Âten, at the time when the hymns from which they are taken were composed, was regarded as the material body of the sun wherein dwelt the god Rā, and that he represented merely the solar disk and was the visible emblem of the great Sun-god. In later times, owing to protection afforded to him by Amen-ḥetep III., the great warrior and hunter of the XVIIIth Dynasty, other views were promulgated concerning Âten, and he became the cause of one of the greatest religious and social revolutions which ever convulsed Egypt. After the expulsion of the Hyksos, Amen, the local god of Thebes, as the god of the victorious princes of that city, became the head of the company of the gods of Egypt, and the early kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty endowed his shrine with possessions, and gave gifts to his priesthood with a lavish hand. In spite of this, however, some of these kings maintained an affection for the forms of the Sun-god which were worshipped at Heliopolis, and Thothmes IV., it will be remembered, dug out the Sphinx from the sand which had buried him and his temple, and restored the worship of Rā-Harmachis, and he was not the only monarch who viewed with dismay the great and growing power of the priests of Âmen-Rā, the "king of the gods" at Thebes.

Âmen-ḥetep III., the son of Thothmes IV., held the same views as his father in this respect, and he was, apparently, urged to give effect to them by his wife Thi, () the daughter of Iuâa, , and Thuâu, , who was a foreigner and who was in no way connected with the royal house of Egypt. Having married this lady, he gave her as dowry the frontier city of Tchâru, , and her natural ability, coupled with the

favour of her husband, made her chief of all the royal wives, and a great power in the affairs of the government of the country. It has been thought by some that she was a native of the country near Heliopolis, and it is possible that she herself was a votary of *Âten*, but be that as it may, she appears to have supported the king in his determination to encourage the worship of this god. At an early period in his reign he built a temple in honour of *Âten* at Memphis, and later he built one at Thebes, quite close to the great sanctuary of *Âmen-Râ*, the priests of whom were, of course, powerless to resist the will of such an active and able king. Soon after

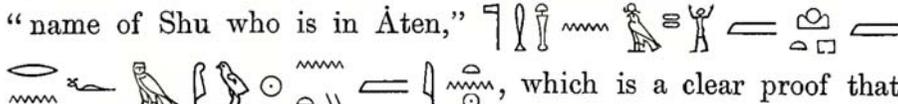


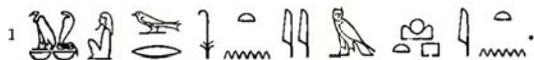
The beams of *Âten* illumining the names of *Khu-en-Âten* and his family.

his marriage with *Thi*, *Âmen-hetep* III. dug, in his wife's city of *Tchâru*, a lake, which was about 6000 feet long by 1000 feet broad,<sup>1</sup> and on the day of the festival when the water was allowed to flow into it, he sailed over it in a boat called "*Âten-neferu*," i.e., the "*Beauties of Âten*;" the name of the boat is a clear proof of his devotion to the god *Âten*. *Âmen-hetep* IV., the son of *Âmen-hetep* III. by the foreign lady *Thi*, not only held the religious views of his father, but held them very strongly, and his

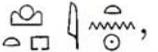
<sup>1</sup> i.e., "its length 3600 cubits, its breadth 600 cubits."

life shows that he must have been from his youth up an adherent of the worship of Äten; it is supposed, and with much probability, that the intensity of his love for Äten and his hatred for Ämen-Rä were due to his mother's influence.

Ämen-ĥetep IV. succeeded his father without difficulty, even though his mother was not a member of the royal family of Egypt, and for the first few years of his reign he followed the example of the earlier kings of his dynasty, and lived at Thebes, where he no doubt ruled according to his mother's wishes; he offered up sacrifices to Ämen-Rä at the appointed seasons, and was, outwardly at least, a loyal servant of this god, whose name formed a part of his name as "son of the Sun." We may note in passing, that he had adopted on his accession to the throne the title "High-priest of Rā-Ĥeru-khuti, the exalted one in the horizon, in his "name of Shu who is in Äten,"  which is a clear proof that he was not only a worshipper of Rā-Harmachis, another of the forms of the Sun-god of Heliopolis, but also that he endorsed the views and held the opinions of the old College of Priests at Heliopolis, which made Shu to be the creator of the gods, and which assigned the disk (Äten) to him for a dwelling-place. Ämen-ĥetep's titles as lord of the shrines of the cities of Nekhebet and Uatchet,<sup>1</sup> and as the Horus of gold<sup>2</sup> also prove his devotion to a Sun-god of the South whose attributes were the same as the Sun-god of Heliopolis. During the early years of his reign at Thebes he built a massive Benben, , in honour of Rā-Harmachis at Thebes, and it is probable that he took the opportunity of restoring or enlarging the temple of Äten which had been built by his father; at the same time we find that he worshipped both Ämen and Äten, the former in his official position as king, and the latter in his private capacity. It was, however,

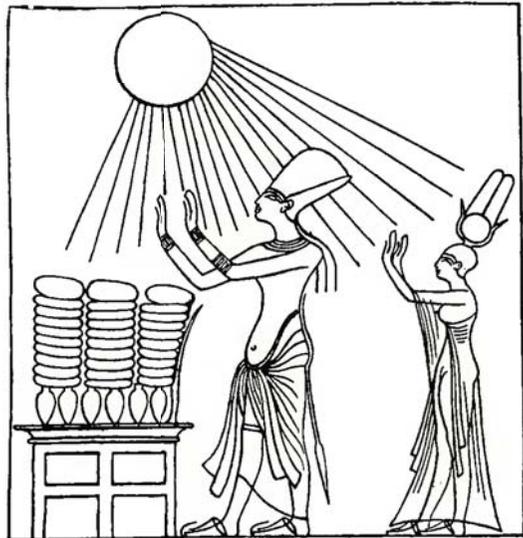
<sup>1</sup> .  
<sup>2</sup> .

impossible for the priests of Âmen-Râ to tolerate the presence of the new god Âten and his worship in Thebes, and the relations between the king and that powerful body soon became strained. On the one hand the king asserted the superiority of Âten over every god, and on the other the priests declared that Âmen-Râ was the king of the gods. As, however, Âmen-Râ was the centre of the social life of Thebes, and his priests and their relatives included in their number the best and greatest families of the capital city, it came to pass that the king found himself and the worship of Âten wholly unsupported by the great mass of its population, whose sympathies were with the old religion of Thebes, and by those who gained their living in connexion with the worship of Âmen-Râ. The king soon realized that residence in Thebes was becoming impossible, and in the fifth year of his reign he began to build a new capital on the east bank of the Nile, near a place which is marked to-day by the Arab villages of Haggi Kândil and Tell el-'Amarna; he planned that it should include a great temple to Âten, a palace for the king, and houses for all those who were attached to the worship of Âten and were prepared to follow their king there.

Whilst the new capital was building the dispute between the king and the priests of Âmen-Râ became more severe, and matters were much aggravated by Âmen-ĥetep IV. when he promulgated the edict for obliterating the name of Âmen and his figure from every monument in Egypt. At length the king left Thebes and took up his abode in his new capital, which he called "Khut-Âten,"  i.e., "Horizon of Âten," and as a sign of the entire severance of his connexion with the traditions of his house in respect of Âmen-Râ he discarded his name "Âmen-ĥetep" and called himself Khut-en-Âten , i.e., "Glory of Âten," or, "Spirit of Âten." At the same time he changed his Horus name of "Exalted One of the double plumes" to "Mighty Bull, beloved of Âten" (or, lover of Âten), and he adopted as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet the title of "Mighty one of sovereignty in Khut-Âten," and as the Horus of gold he styled himself, "Exalter of the name of Âten." The temple of Âten at

Khut-Âten was, like that at Heliopolis, called *Het Benben*, , a name which probably means "House of the Obelisk;" it was begun on a very large scale, but was never finished. It contained many altars whereon incense was burnt and offerings were laid, but no sacrifices of any kind were offered up on them. The high-priest of Âten assumed the title of the high-priest of Râ at Heliopolis, *Ur-maâu*, , and in many respects the new worship was carried on at Khut-Âten by means of many of the old forms and ceremonies of the Heliopolitan priesthood;

on stated occasions the king himself officiated. The worship of Âten as understood by *Âmen-hetep IV.* was, however, a very different thing from the ancient worship of Âten, for whereas that was tolerant the new worship was not. It is clear from the reliefs which have been found in the city of Khut-Âten that Âten was regarded as the giver



*Âmen-hetep IV. and his Wife adoring Âten.*

of life, and the source of all life on this earth, and that his symbols were the heat and light of the sun which vivified and nourished all creation. Âten was also the one physical body of the Sun, and the creed of Âten ascribed to the god a monotheistic character or oneness, of which it denied the existence in any other god. This being so, the new religion could neither absorb nor be absorbed by any other; similarly, Âten could neither absorb nor be absorbed by the other gods of Egypt, because he had nothing in common with them. Attempts have been made to prove that the Âten worship resembled that of the monotheistic worship of the Hebrews, and to show that Âten is only another form of the name

Âdôn, i.e., the Phœnician god 𐤀𐤃𐤍, whom the Greeks knew as Ἄδωνις; but as far as can be seen now the worship of Âten was something like a glorified materialism, which had to be expounded by priests, who performed ceremonies similar to those which belonged to the old Heliopolitan sun-worship, without any connexion whatsoever with the worship of Yahweh, and a being of the character of Âdôn, the local god of Byblos, had no place in it anywhere. In so far as it rejected all other gods, the Âten religion was monotheistic, but to judge by the texts which describe the power and works of Âten, it contained no doctrines on the unity or oneness of Âten similar to those which are found in the



Âmen-hotep IV. seated on his throne beneath the Disk.

hymns to Râ, and none of the beautiful ideas about the future life, with which we are familiar from the hymns and other compositions in the *Book of the Dead*.

The chief source of our knowledge of the attributes ascribed to Âten is obtained from the hymns to this god which Âmen-hotep IV. caused to be inscribed on his monuments, and from one of them which has twice been published in recent years<sup>1</sup> we

<sup>1</sup> First by Bouriant in *Mémoires de la Mission*, tom. i., pp. 2 ff., and later, with numerous corrections of Bouriant's text and a running commentary by Mr. Breasted, in *De Hymnis in Solem sub rege Amenophide IV. conceptis*, Berlin (no date).

obtain the following extracts. The hymn is prefaced by these words:—

“1. A hymn of praise to Heru-khuti (Harmachis), who “springeth up joyfully in the horizon in his name of ‘Shu who is “in the Disk,’ and who liveth for ever and for ever, Áten the “Living One, the Great One, he who is [celebrated] in the thirty “year festival, the lord of the orbit (☉<sup>~~~~~</sup>) of the sun, the lord “of the sun, the lord of heaven, the lord of earth, the lord of the “House of Áten in the city of Khut-Áten, 2. by the king of the “South and of the North, who liveth by Maāt, the Lord of the Two “Lands, (Nefer-kheperu-Rā-uā-en-Rā),<sup>1</sup> the son of the Sun, who “liveth by Maāt, the lord of crowns, (Khu-en-Áten),<sup>2</sup> who is great “in the duration of his life, 3. and by his great royal wife, his darling, “the Lady of the Two Lands, (Nefert-iti, Nefer-neferu-Áten),<sup>3</sup> “the living one, the strong one for ever.” The hymn proper begins after the words, “He (i.e., the king) saith, 4. ‘Thy rising is “‘beautiful in the horizon of heaven, 5. O thou Áten, who hadst “‘thine existence in primeval time. 6. When thou risest in the “‘eastern horizon thou fillest every land with thy beauties, 7. thou “‘art beautiful to see, and art great, and art like crystal, and art “‘high above the earth. 8. Thy beams of light embrace the lands, “‘even every land which thou hast made. 9. Thou art as Rā, “‘and thou bringest [thyself] unto each of them, 10. and thou “‘bindest them with thy love. 11. Thou art remote, but thy beams “‘are upon the earth. 12. So long as thou art in the heavens day “‘shall follow in thy footsteps. 13. When thou settest in the “‘western horizon the earth is in darkness, and is like a being that “‘is dead. 14. They lie down and sleep in their habitations, “‘15. their heads are covered up, and their nostrils are stopped, “‘and no man can see his neighbour, 16. and all their goods and

<sup>1</sup> These titles mean something like, “Beauty of the creations of Rā, the only one of Rā.”

<sup>2</sup> I.e., “Glory of Áten.”

<sup>3</sup> The proper name is Nefert-iti, and her title means “Beauty of the beauties of Áten.”

“ ‘ possessions may be carried away from under their heads without  
 “ ‘ their knowing it. 17. Every lion cometh forth from his den,  
 “ ‘ 18. and serpents of every kind bite; 19. the night becometh  
 “ ‘ blacker and blacker, 20. and the earth is silent because he who  
 “ ‘ hath made them hath sunk to rest in his horizon.

“ 21. When thou risest in the horizon the earth lightens, and  
 “ when thy beams shine forth it is day. 22. Darkness taketh to  
 “ flight as soon as thy light bursteth out, and the Two Lands keep  
 “ festival daily. 23. Then [men] wake up and stand upon their  
 “ feet because thou hast raised them up, 24. they wash themselves,  
 “ and they array themselves in their apparel, 25. and they lift up  
 “ to thee their hands with hymns of praise because thou hast risen.  
 “ 26. [Over] all the earth they perform their work. 27. All beasts  
 “ and cattle repose in their pastures, 28. and the trees and the  
 “ green herb put forth their leaves and flowers. 29. The birds  
 “ fly out of their nests, and their wings praise thy Ka as they fly  
 “ forth. 30. The sheep and goats of every kind skip about on  
 “ their legs, 31. and feathered fowl and the birds of the air also  
 “ live [because] thou hast risen for them. 32. The boats float  
 “ down and sail up the river likewise, 33. for thy path is opened  
 “ when thou risest. 34. The fish in the stream leap up towards  
 “ thy face, 35. and thy beams shine through the waters of the  
 “ great sea.

“ 36. Thou makest male seed to enter into women, and thou  
 “ causest the liquid seed to become a human being. 37. Thou  
 “ makest the man child to live in the body of his mother.  
 “ 38. Thou makest him to keep silent so that he cry not, 39. and  
 “ thou art a nurse to him in the womb. 40. Thou givest breath  
 “ that it may vivify every part of his being. 41. When he goeth  
 “ forth from the belly, on the day wherein he is born, 42. thou  
 “ openest his mouth that he may speak, 43. and thou providest  
 “ for him whatsoever is necessary. 44. When the chick is in the  
 “ the egg, and is making a sound within the shell, 45. thou givest  
 “ it air inside it so that it may keep alive. 46. Thou bringest it  
 “ to perfection so that it may split the eggshell, 47. and it cometh  
 “ forth from the egg to proclaim that it is a perfect chick,  
 “ 48. and as soon as it hath come forth therefrom it runneth

“about on its feet. 49. How many are the things which thou  
 “hast created!

“50. There were . . . . in the face of the One God, and his  
 “. . . . had rest. 51. Thou didst create the earth at thy will  
 “when thou didst exist by thyself, 52. and men and women, and  
 “beasts and cattle, and flocks of animals of every kind, 53. and  
 “every thing which is upon the earth and which goeth about on  
 “its feet, 54. and everything which is in the air above and which  
 “flieth about with wings, 55. and the land of Syria and Nubia,



Amen-hotep IV. and his Wife and Daughter.

“and Egypt. 56. Thou settest every man in his place, 57. and  
 “thou makest for them whatsoever they need. 58. Thou pro-  
 “videst for every man that which he should have in his storehouse,  
 “and thou computest the measure of his life. 59. They speak in  
 “tongues which are different [from each other], 60. and their  
 “dispositions (or characteristics) are according to their skins.  
 “61. Thou who canst discern hast made the difference between  
 “the dwellers in the desert to be discerned.

“62. Thou hast made Hapi (i.e., the Nile) in the Tuat, 63. and

" thou bringest him on according to thy will to make rational  
 " beings to live, 64. inasmuch as thou hast made them for thyself,  
 " 65. O thou who art the lord of all of them, and who dost remain  
 " with them. 66. Thou art the lord of every (?) land, and thou  
 " shinest upon them, 67. thou art Aten of the day, and art  
 " revered in every foreign land (?), 68. and thou makest their  
 " lives. 69. Thou makest Hāpi in heaven to come down to them,  
 " 70. and he maketh his rushing waters to flow over the hills like  
 " the great green sea. 71. and they spread themselves abroad  
 " and water the fields of the people in their villages. 72. Thy  
 " plans (or, counsels) are doubly beneficent. 73. Thou art the  
 " Lord of eternity, and thou thyself art the Nile in heaven, and  
 " all foreign peoples and all the beasts on all the hills 74. go about  
 " on their feet [through thee]. 75. Hāpi (i.e., the Nile) cometh  
 " from the Tuat to Egypt, 76. and thou givest sustenance to its  
 " people and to every garden, and 77. [when] thou hast risen they  
 " live for thee.

" 78. Thou hast made the seasons of the year so that they  
 " may cause the things which thou hast made to bring forth,  
 " 79. the winter season bringeth them cold, and the summer  
 " season fiery heat. 80. Thou hast created the heavens which are  
 " far extending that thou mayest rise therein and mayest be able  
 " to look upon all which thou didst create when thou didst exist  
 " by thyself, 81. and thou dost rise in thy creations as the living  
 " Aten, 82. and thou dost rise, and dost shine, and dost depart on  
 " thy path, and dost return. 83. Thou didst create [the forms]  
 " of created things in thyself when thou didst exist alone. 84.  
 " Cities, towns, villages and hamlets, roads and river[s], 85. from  
 " these every eye looketh upon thee, 86. for thou art the Aten of  
 " the day and art above the earth. 87. Thou journeyest through  
 " that which existeth in thine Eye. 88. . . . . 89.  
 " Thou art in my heart, 90. and none knoweth thee except thy  
 " son (Nēfer-kheperu-Rā-uā-en-Rā), 91. and thou makest him to  
 " be wise and understanding through thy counsels and through  
 " thy strength. 92. The earth is in thy hand, inasmuch as thou  
 " hast made them (i.e., those in it). 93. When thou risest man-

“kind live; and when thou settest they die. 94. As long as thou  
 “art in the sky they live in thee, 95. and the eyes of all are upon  
 “thy beauties until thou settest, 96. and they set aside their  
 “work of every kind when thou settest in the west. 97. Thou  
 “risest and thou makest to grow . . . . . for the king.  
 “98. . . . . from the time when thou didst lay the foundations  
 “of the earth, 99. and thou didst raise them up for thy son who  
 “proceeded from thy members.” [Here follow two lines wherein  
 the names and titles of the king are repeated.]

The above version of the hymn to Áten will serve to illustrate the views held by the king and his followers about this god, and may be compared with the hymns to Rā, which are quoted in the section on the forms of the Sun-god, when it will be seen that many of the most important characteristics of hymns to sun-gods are wanting. There is no mention of enemies or of the fiends, Ápep, Sebāu, and Nāk, who were overcome by Rā when he rose in the eastern horizon; no reference is made to Kheperā, or to the services which Thoth and Maāt were believed to render to him daily; and the frequent allusions to the Mātet and Sektet Boats in which Rā was thought to make his journey over the sky are wholly omitted. The old myths which had grown up about Rā are ignored, and the priests of Áten proclaimed with no uncertain voice the unity of their god in terms which provoked the priests of Ámen to wrath. Áten had existed for ever, they said, he was beautiful, glorious, and self-existent, he had created the sun and his path, and heaven, and earth, and every living being and thing therein, and he maintained the life in man and beast, and fed all creatures according to his plans, and he determined the duration of their life. Everything came from Áten, and everything depended upon him; he was, moreover, everlasting. From the absence of any mention of the “gods” or of the well-known great gods of Egypt it is evident that they wished to give a monotheistic character to the worship of Áten, and it was, manifestly, this characteristic of it which made the king and his god detested at Thebes; it accounts for the fact that Ámen-hetep IV. felt it to be necessary to build a new capital for himself and his god, and supplies us with the reason why he did not settle in one of the

ancient religious centres of his kingdom. We should expect that, as he styled himself the high-priest of Heru-khuti (i.e., Harmachis), he would have taken up his abode in Memphis or Heliopolis, where this god was greatly honoured, but as he did not, we are driven to conclude that there was in the worship of Âten and in the doctrines of his priests something which could neither brook nor tolerate the presence of another god, still less of other gods, and that that something must have been of the nature of monotheism.

Now although the hymn quoted above gives us an idea of the views held by Âmen-ĥetep IV. and his adherents concerning Âten, it is impossible to gather from it any very precise information about the details of the belief or doctrine of Âten, but it is clear that in practice the religion was of a sensuous character, and eminently materialistic. Incense was burnt freely several times in the day, and the hymns sung to Âten were accompanied by the sounds of the music of harps and other instruments, and the people vied with each other in bringing gifts of fruit, and flowers, and garden produce to lay on the altars which were never drenched with the blood of animals offered up for sacrifice. The worship of Âten was of a joyous character, and the surroundings among which it was carried on were bright and cheerful. The mural decorations in the temple were different from those of the older temples of Egypt, for they were less severe and less conventional, and they were painted in lively colours; in fact, the artists employed by Âmen-ĥetep IV. threw off many of the old trammels of their profession, and indulged themselves in new designs, new forms, new colours, and new treatment of the subjects which they wished to represent. We may see from the remains of their wall decorations that the artists of the city of Khut-Âten made one great step in advance, that is to say, they introduced shading into their painting, and it is greatly to be regretted that it was retraced later; it was only during the reign of Âmen-ĥetep IV. that the Egyptian artist ever showed that he understood the effects of light and shade in his work. The texts and inscriptions which were placed upon the walls relate to the glory and majesty and beneficence of Âten, and everywhere are seen representations of

the visible emblem of the god. The form in which he is depicted is that of the solar disk, from which proceed rays, the ends of which terminate in hands wherein are the emblems of life,  $\text{☉}$ , and sovereignty,  $\text{☸}$ ; in the bas-reliefs and frescoes we see these human-handed rays shining upon the king, and his queen and family, and upon the cartouches containing the names of himself and of his queen Nefert-ith. The simple interpretation of such scenes is that the sun is the source of all life and of everything which supports it upon earth, but it is probable that the so-called *Āten* heresy was in some way founded upon the views which the *Ātenites* held about this method of representing their god. Be this as it may, *Āmen-hotep IV.* loved to be depicted with the human-handed rays falling upon him, and whatever his doctrines of *Āten* were he preached them with all the enthusiasm of an Oriental fanatic, and on special occasions he himself officiated as high-priest of the cult. The wisdom of his policy is open to doubt, but there is no reason for regarding him as anything but an earnest and honest propagandist of a new creed.

Now, as the king changed his religion and his name, so he also caused his own form and figure when represented in bas-reliefs to be changed. In the earlier monuments of his reign he is depicted as possessing the typical features of his father and of others of his ancestors, but at Tell el-'Amarna his physical characteristics are entirely different. Here he is portrayed with a very high, narrow, and receding forehead, a large, sharp, aquiline nose, a thin, weak mouth, and a large projecting chin, and his head is set upon a long and extremely slender neck; his chest is rounded, his stomach inflated, his thighs are large and broad, and in many respects his figure resembles that of a woman. It is impossible that such representations of the king would be permitted to appear in bas-reliefs in his city unless he approved of them, and it is clear that he did approve, and that his officials understood that he approved of this treatment of his person at the hands of sculptors and artists, for some of the high officials were themselves represented in the same manner. Still, some of the drawings of the king must be

regarded as caricatures, but whether intentional or otherwise cannot be said.

For a few years Âmen-hetep IV. led a life of great happiness and enjoyment in his new capital, and his whole time seems to have been passed in adorning it with handsome buildings, fine sculptures, and large gardens filled with trees and plants of every kind; he appears to have bestowed gifts with a lavish hand upon his favourites, who it must be admitted, were his officials who seconded his wishes and gave effect to them. Life at Khut-Âten was joyous, and there is no evidence that men troubled themselves with thoughts about death or the kingdom of Osiris; if they did, they made no mention of them in their hymns and inscriptions.

On the other hand Âmen-hetep IV. did not, or could not, abolish the characteristic funeral customs and beliefs of his country, and the tombs of the adherents of Âten bear witness to the fact. The king caused a tomb to be hewn out of the rock in the mountains near the town, on its eastern side, and it contained, when discovered in 1892 by the natives, the things which are usually found in tombs of men of high rank. The sarcophagus was broken in pieces, but scattered about the mummy-chamber and along the corridor which led to it were numbers of objects and fragments of objects made of the beautiful purple and blue glazed faïence which is so characteristic of the reign of Âmen-hetep IV. The body of the king must have been mummified, and on it must have been laid the same classes of amulets that are found on the royal mummies at Thebes. Portions of several granite *ushabtiu* figures were also found, a fact which shows that those who buried the king assumed he would enjoy a somewhat material life in Sekhet-hetepet and Sekhet-Âarru in the kingdom of Osiris. That Âmen-hetep IV. thought little about his death and burial is proved by the state of his tomb, which shows that he made no attempt to prepare it for the reception of his body when the need should arise. This is the more strange because he had caused his eldest daughter Âten-merit, , to be buried in it, and he must have known from sad experience what great preparations

had to be made, and what complicated ceremonies had to be performed when a royal personage was laid to rest. The tombs of the adherents of Âten are very disappointing in many ways, though they possess an interest peculiar to themselves. From the scenes painted on their walls it is possible to obtain an idea of the class of buildings which existed in the city of Khut-Âten, and of the arrangements of its streets and gardens, and of the free manner in which the various members of the royal family moved about among the people. The king's tomb was never finished, and the remains of the greater number of the paintings on its walls show that they were executed not for him but for his eldest daughter, who has already been mentioned; the chief subject chosen for illustration is the worship of Âten, and both the scenes and the texts accompanying them represented that the god was adored by every nation in the world.

It is, unfortunately, not known how old the king was when he died, but he must have been a comparatively young man, and his reign could not have been so long as twenty years. In the ten or twelve years of it which he lived at Khut-Âten he devoted himself entirely to the building of his new capital and the development of the cult of Âten, and meanwhile the general condition of Egypt was going from bad to worse, the governors of Egyptian possessions in Syria and Palestine were quarrelling among themselves, strong and resolute rebels had risen up in many parts of these countries, and over and above all this the infuriated priesthood of Âmen-Râ were watching for an opportunity to restore the national god to his proper place, and to set upon the throne a king who would forward the interests of their brotherhood. This opportunity came with the death of Âmen-ĥetep IV., when Tut-ânkĥ-Âmen, a son of Âmen-ĥetep III. by a concubine, ascended the throne; he married a daughter of Âmen-ĥetep IV., who was called Ânkĥ-s-en-pa-Âten, but she changed her name into Ânkĥ-s-en-Âmen, and both the new king and queen were worshippers of the great god of Thebes. Tut-ânkĥ-Âmen at once began to restore the name and figure of Âmen which his father-in-law had cut out from the monuments, and began to build at Thebes; very soon after his accession he came to terms with the priests of Âmen, and in due course

removed his court to the old capital. On the death of Tut-ānkh-Āmen, a "superintendent of the whole stud of Pharaoh" of the name of Āi ascended the throne by virtue of his marriage with Thi, who was in some way related to the family of Āmen-ĥetep IV.; before Āi became king he was a follower of Āten, and built himself a tomb at Khut-Āten, which was ornamented after the manner of those of the adherents of this god, but as soon as he had taken up his abode at Thebes and begun to reign over Egypt he built another tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes.

The decoration of the sarcophagus which he placed in the latter tomb makes it quite certain that when he made it he had rejected the cult of Āten, and that he was, at all events outwardly, a loyal follower of the god Āmen-Rā. On the death of Āi several pretenders to the throne rose up in Egypt, and a period of anarchy followed. Of the details of the history of this period nothing is known, and the only certain fact about it is that the power of the XVIIIth Dynasty was broken, and that its downfall was certain. During the reigns of Tut-ānkh-Āmen and Āi the prosperity of the city Khut-Āten declined rapidly, and as soon as the period of anarchy which followed their reigns began its population left it, little by little, and its downfall was assured; the artists and workmen of all kinds who had obtained work there under Āmen-ĥetep found their occupation gone, and they departed to Thebes and the other cities whence they had come. Under the reign of Ĥeru-em-ĥeb the decay of the city advanced and it became generally deserted, and very soon after men came from far and near to carry off, for building purposes, the beautiful white limestone blocks which were in the temple and houses. Ĥeru-em-ĥeb was the nominee of the priests of Āmen-Rā, and he used all his power and influence to stamp out every trace of the worship of Āten, and succeeded. Thus Āmen-Rā conquered Āten, Thebes once more became the capital of Egypt, the priests of Āmen regained their ascendancy, and in less than twenty-five years after the death of Āmen-ĥetep IV. his city was deserted, the sanctuary of his god was desecrated, his followers were scattered, and his enemies were in undisputed possession of the country.

## CHAPTER V

THE GREAT COMPANY OF THE GODS OF  
HELIOPOLIS

**A** PERUSAL of the Pyramid Texts reveals the fact that the priests of Heliopolis believed in the existence of three companies of gods, and that to each company they assigned at least nine gods; in certain cases a company contained eleven, twelve, or more gods. In the text of Unās (line 222 ff.) we find a series of addresses to Rā-Tem, wherein are mentioned Set and Nephthys, , , Osiris, Isis, and Her-hepes, , , , , and Usert, , , , and Horus, which seems to show that one company of gods, of which the dual god Rā-Tem was the head, consisted of Set, Nephthys, Her-hepes, Osiris, Isis, Thoth, Anubis, Usert, and Horus, i.e., in all ten gods. In the next section but one of the same king's text (line 240 f.) the Great Company of the gods of Heliopolis are declared to be:—

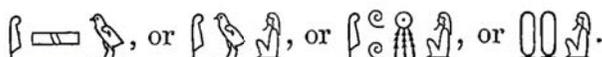
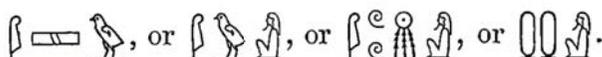
1. TEM, .
  2. SHU,  .
  3. TEFNUT, .
  4. SEB, .
  5. NUT, .
  6. ISIS, .
  7. SET, .
  8. NEPHTHYS, .
  9. THOTH, .
  10. HORUS, .
- Here again we have ten gods assigned to the divine company, but curiously enough the name of OSIRIS, one of the most important of the gods, is omitted. Following these ten names comes an address to the "Great Company of the Gods," , which clearly refers to the gods whose names we have mentioned. In the text of Pepi II. (line 665), the gods who are declared to form "the Great Company of the gods who are in Annu" are:—1. TEM. 2. SHU. 3. TEFNUT. 4. SEB. 5. NUT. 6. OSIRIS. 7. ISIS. 8. SET, , and 9.



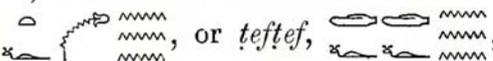
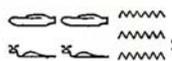
lesser gods whose worship was quite local, and in this way they succeeded in causing their doctrines to be accepted throughout the length and breadth of Egypt, and there is no doubt that the great theological system of Thebes under the Middle and New Empires was based entirely upon that of Heliopolis. We have now to describe the attributes of the gods of the Great Company, which for convenience may be assumed to consist of the following:—  
Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Set, and Nephthys.

1. TEM , or .

TEM was a form of the Sun-god, and was the great local god of Ánnu, and the head of the company of gods of that place. His name is connected with the root *tem*, , or *temem*, , “to be complete,” “to make an end of,” and he was regarded as the form of the Sun-god which brought the day to an end, i.e., as the evening or night sun. He is always depicted in the human form. The attributes of the god have been already described in the section which treats of the forms of the Sun-god Râ.

2. SHU, , or .

3. TEFNUT, .

SHU and his female counterpart TEFNUT may be considered together, because they are usually mentioned together, at all events in the texts of the later periods. The name Shu appears to be derived from the root *shu*, , “dry, parched, withered, empty,” and the like, and the name Tefnut must be connected with the root *tef*, , or *teftef*, , “to spit, be moist,” and the like; thus Shu was a god who was connected with the heat and dryness of sunlight and with the dry atmosphere which exists between the earth and the sky, and Tefnut was a personification of the moisture of the sky, and made herself

manifest in various forms. The oldest legend about the origin of the gods is contained in the text of Pepi I., wherein it is said (line 465) that once upon a time Tem went to the city of Ánnu and that he there produced from his own body by the irregular means of masturbation his two children Shu and Tefnut. In this crude form the myth is probably of Libyan origin, and it suggests that its inventors were in a semi-savage, or perhaps wholly savage, state when it was first promulgated. In later times, as we have already seen, the Egyptians appear to have rejected certain of the details of the myth, or to have felt some difficulty in believing that Shu and Tefnut were begotten and conceived and brought forth by Tem, and they therefore assumed that his shadow,  $\Delta \uparrow 1$ , *khaibit*, acted the part of wife to him; another view was that the goddess Iusaâset was his wife.<sup>1</sup>

The old ideas about the origin of the twin gods, however, maintained their position in the minds of the Egyptians, and we find them categorically expressed in some of the hymns addressed to Ámen-Râ, who under the New Empire was identified with Tem, just as at an earlier period Râ was identified with the same god. In two hymns quoted by Brugsch<sup>2</sup> we have the following:—  
 “O Ámen-Râ, the gods have gone forth from thee. What flowed  
 “forth from thee became Shu, and that which was emitted by thee  
 “became Tefnut; thou didst create the nine gods at the beginning  
 “of all things, and thou wast the Lion-god of the Twin Lion-gods,”  
 $\overline{\text{wavy}} \quad \text{lion} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{lion} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird}$ <sup>3</sup> The Twin Lion-gods are, of course, Shu and Tefnut, who are mentioned in the *Book of the Dead* in several passages.<sup>4</sup> In the second hymn to Ámen-Râ it is said,

<sup>1</sup> In the passage referred to the opening words are, “Tem came to take pleasure in himself,”  $\Delta \quad | \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird}$  *iu sa*, and M. Maspero thinks that the name of the goddess Iusaâset,  $\Delta \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird}$ , may be derived from them. See *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion*, p. 422.

<sup>3</sup> Brugsch, *Reise*, pl. 26, l. 26.

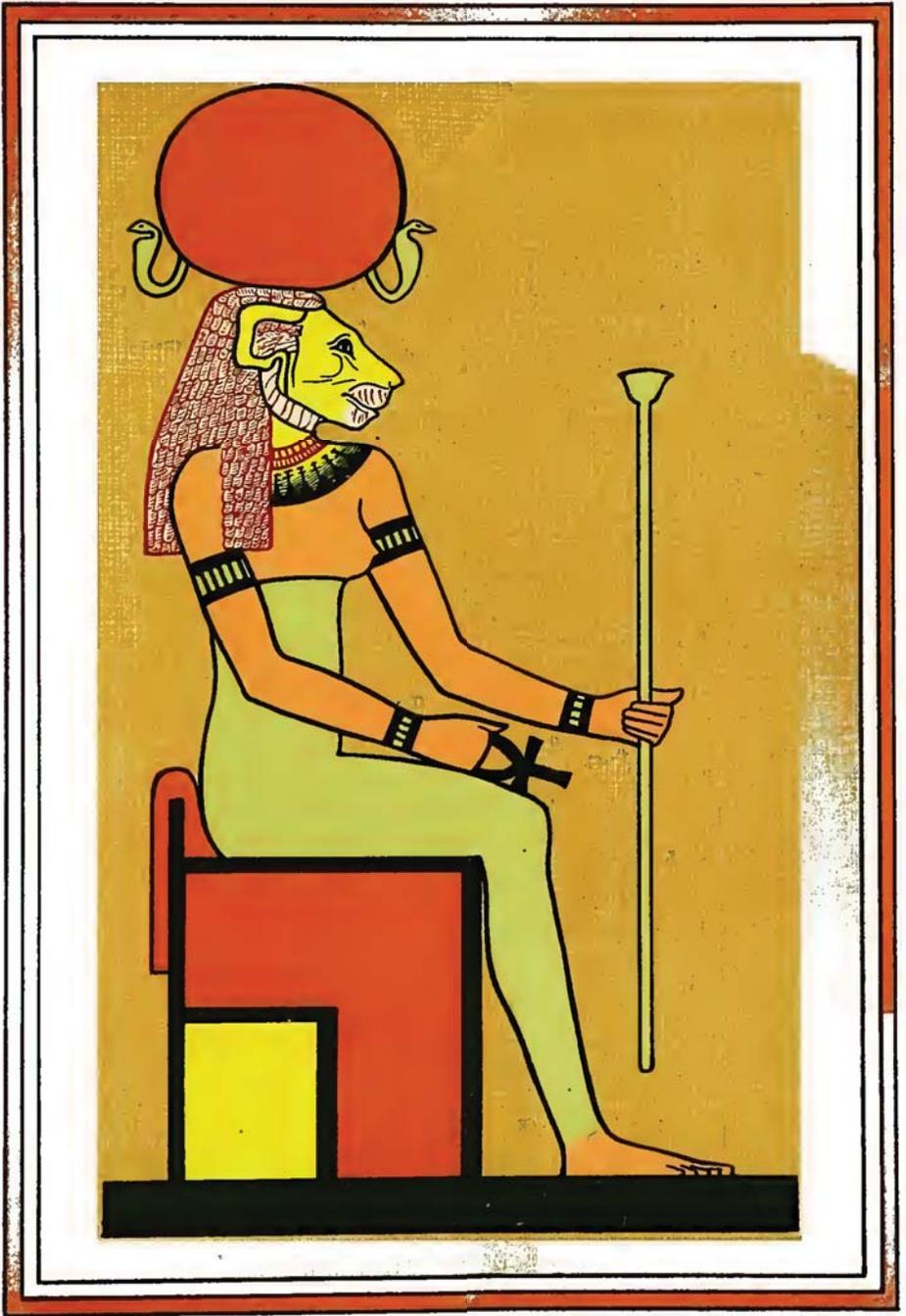
<sup>4</sup> The forms are  $\text{lion} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird}$ ,  $\text{lion} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird}$ ,  $\text{lion} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird}$ ,  $\text{lion} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{bird}$ ; see the list of passages given in my *Vocabulary to the Book of the Dead*, pp. 197, 198.



THE GOD SHU.

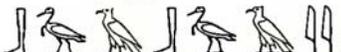






THE GODDESS TEFNUT.

From a number of passages examined by Dr. Brugsch<sup>1</sup> we find that Shu was a personification of the rays which came forth from the eyes of Rā, and that he was the soul of the god Khnemu, the great god of Elephantine and of the First Cataract; he also represented the burning, fiery heat of the sun at noon, and the sun in the height of summer.

In another aspect his abode was the region between the earth and the sky, and he was a personification of the wind of the North; Dr. Brugsch went so far as to identify him with the "spiritual Pneuma in a higher sense," and thought that he might be regarded as the vital principle of all living beings. He was certainly, like his father Tem, thought to be the cool wind of the North, and the dead were grateful to him for his breezes. Shu was, in fact, the god of the space which is filled with the atmosphere, even as Rā was the god of heaven, and Seb the god of the earth, and Osiris the god of the Underworld. From the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 16) we learn that Shu and Tefnut were supposed to possess but one soul between them, but that the two halves of it were identified with the soul of Osiris and the soul of Rā, which together formed the great double soul which dwelt in Ṭaṭṭu. The gate of Tchesert in the Underworld was called the "gate of the pillars of Shu" (xvii. 56), and Shu and Tefnut laid the foundations of the house in which the deceased was supposed to dwell. From the xviii<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* we find that the princes of Heliopolis were Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Osiris, and Thoth, and that Rā, Osiris, Shu, and Bebi were the princes of the portion of the Underworld which was known by the name of Anruṭ-f. We may note in passing that BEBI, , or BĀBĀ, , or , or BABA, , or BABAI, , was the first-born son of Osiris.

According to Dr. Brugsch, Baba was personified in the form of some Typhonic mythological animal, and was the god who presided over the phallus; the blood which fell from his nose grew up into plants which subsequently changed into cedars. Dr. Pleyte has

<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 432.

rightly identified Bebi or Baba with the *Bέβων* or *Βεβόνα* of Plutarch (*De Iside*, § 62) and with the *Βάβυς* of Hellanicus.<sup>1</sup> Bebôn was a name of Typhon, i.e., Set, and that he was represented by an animal is proved by the hieroglyphic form of his name, which is determined by the skin of an animal, 

In Chapter xxiii. the deceased prays that his "mouth may be unclosed by Shu with the iron knife wherewith he opened the mouth of the gods." From Chapters xxxiii. and xxxv. we learn that Shu was believed to possess power over serpents, and he it was who made the deceased to stand up by the Ladder which would take him to heaven (xcviii. 4). That souls needed a ladder whereby to mount from earth to heaven was a very ancient belief in Egypt. The four pillars which held up the sky at the four cardinal points were called the "pillars of Shu" (cix. 5, cx. 13), and Shu was the breath of the god Râ (cxxx. 4). The deceased was nourished with the food of Shu, i.e., he lived upon light; and in the Roman period Shu was merged in Râ, the god of light. The part played in Egyptian mythology by Tefnut is not easily defined, and but little is known about her. In the text of Unâs (line 453) she is mentioned together with the two Maât goddesses,



and with Shu, but curiously enough, she seems to appear as the female counterpart of a god called TEFEN, . The passage reads, "TEFEN and TEFNET have weighed Unâs, and the "Maât goddesses have hearkened, and Shu hath borne witness," etc. In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* she is mentioned a few times in connexion with Shu (Chapters xvii., cxxx., etc.), and she is one of the group of gods who form the divine company and the "body and soul of Râ" (cxl. 7), but she performs no service for the deceased beyond providing him with breath. She was originally a goddess of gentle rain and soft wind, but at a comparatively late period of Egyptian history she was identified with Nehemâuit at Hermopolis, with Menhit at Latopolis, with Sekhet in Memphis, and with Apsit in Nubia.

Unlike most of the gods of Egypt, Shu and Tefnut do not appear

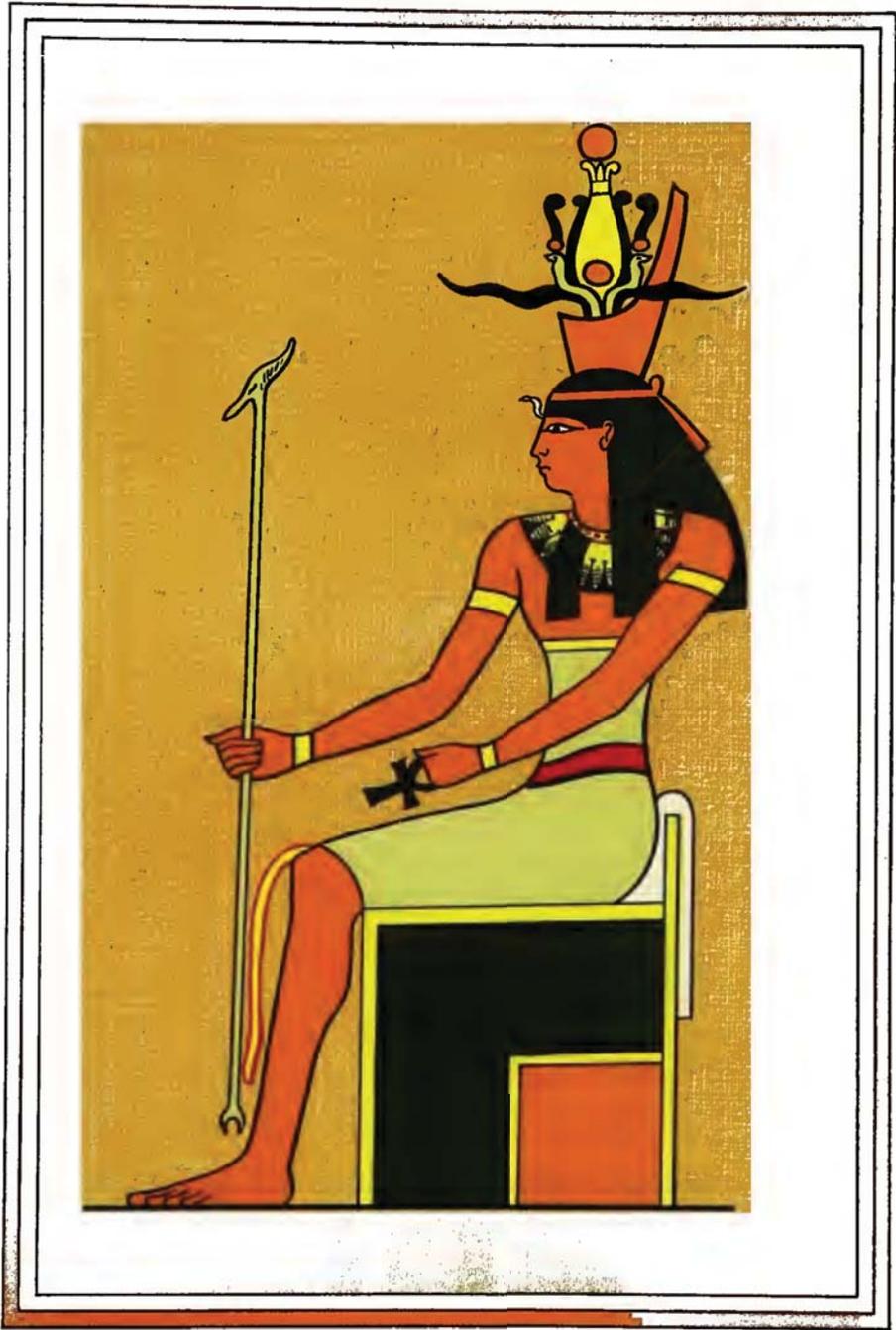
<sup>1</sup> *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1865, p. 55.



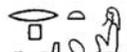
and when she returned Rā was well pleased with her. Soon after this he became wearied with the earth, and the goddess Nut having been turned into a cow he mounted upon her back and remained there, but before long the cow began to shake and to tremble because she was very high above the earth, and when she complained to Rā about it he commanded Shu to be a support to her, and to hold her up in the sky. In the picture of the cow which accompanies the text we see her body resting upon the head and the two raised hands and arms of the god. When Shu had taken up his place beneath the cow and was bearing up her body, the heavens above and the earth beneath came into being, and the four legs of the cow became the four props of heaven at the four cardinal points; and thus it came to pass that the god Seb and his female counterpart Nut began their existence.

SEB,  , or  , or  , or  , or  .

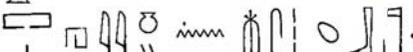
SEB was the son of Shu and Tefnut, and was the brother and husband of Nut, and the father of Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys, and some say of one of the Horus gods; according to the late Dr. Brugsch his name should be read Geb or Kēb, or Gebb, or Kēbb, and in very early times this undoubtedly seems to have been the correct form of the god's name. He is usually represented in the form of a man who bears upon his head either the white crown , or the crown of the North, to which is added the *Atef* crown, , or a goose, , of the peculiar species called *seb*. This bird was sacred to him because he was believed to have made his way through the air in its form. Seb was the god of the earth, and the earth formed his body and was called the "house of Seb," just as the air was called the "house of Shu," and the heaven the "house of Rā," and the Underworld the "house of Osiris." As the god of the surface of the earth from which spring up trees, and plants, and herbs, and grain he played a very prominent part in the mythology of the Underworld, and as the god of the earth beneath the surface of the ground he had authority over the tombs wherein the dead were laid. In hymns



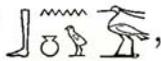
SEB, THE ERPĀ OF THE GODS.

and other compositions he is often styled the *erpāt*, , i.e., the hereditary, tribal chief of the gods, and he plays a very important part in the *Book of the Dead*. Thus he is one of the company of the gods who watch the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, and on his brow rested the secret gates which were close by the Balance of Rā, and which were guarded by the god himself (xii. 2).

The soul of Seb was called SMAM-UR, , (xvii. 116). The righteous who were provided with the necessary words of power were enabled to make their escape from the earth wherein their bodies were laid, but the wicked were held fast by Seb (xix. 14); Sekhet and Anpu were great helpers of the deceased, but it was Seb whom he asked to open wide his two jaws for him, whom he begged to open his eyes, and loose his legs which were bandaged (xxvi. 1). And of him the deceased said, "My father is Seb, and my mother is Nut" (xxx. 5). Like Shu the god Seb was appealed to by the deceased for help against serpents (xxxiii. 2), and he was never tired of boasting that his cakes were "on the earth with the god Seb" (liii. 4), and that the gods had declared that he was "to live upon the bread of Seb" (lxviii. 9). In a burst of joy, Nu, the overseer of the house of the overseer of the seal, is made to say, "The doors of heaven are opened for me, the doors of earth are opened for me, the bars and bolts of Seb are opened for me" (lxviii. 2), and "I exchange speech with Seb" (lxxviii. 12), I am decreed to be the divine heir of Seb, the "lord of the earth, and to be the protector therein. The god Seb refresheth me, and he maketh his risings to be mine" (lxxx. 11, 12).

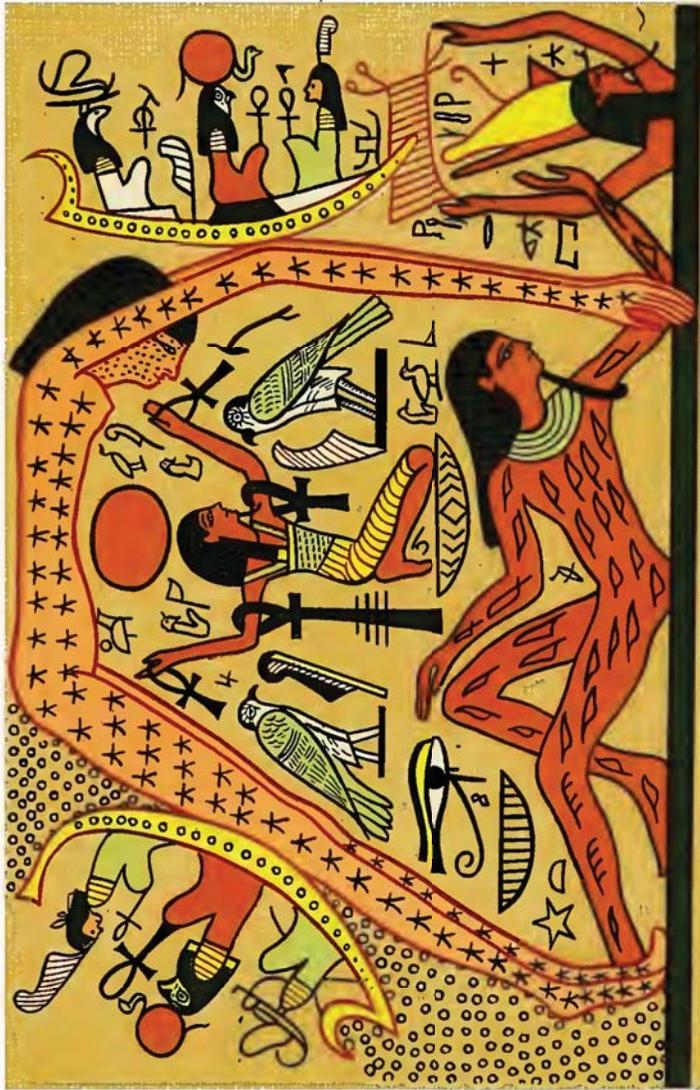
The religious texts show that there was no special city or district set apart for the god Seb, but a portion of the temple estates in Apollinopolis Magna was called the "Āat of Seb," , and a name of Dendera was "the home of the children of Seb," . The chief seat of the god appears to have been at Heliopolis, where he and his female counterpart Nut produced the great Egg whereout sprang the Sun-

god under the form of a phoenix.<sup>1</sup> Because of his connexion with this Egg Seb is sometimes called the "Great Cackler," KĒNĒEN-UR, . Thus the deceased says, "Hail, thou god Tem, "grant unto me the sweet breath which dwelleth in thy nostrils. "I embrace that great throne which is in the city of Hermopolis, "and I keep watch over the Egg of the Great Cackler (or, "according to another reading, I am the Egg which is in the "Great Cackler, and I watch and guard that mighty thing which "hath come into being wherewith the god Seb hath opened the "earth), I germinate as it germinateth; I live as it liveth; and "[my] breath is [its] breath" (*Book of the Dead*, Chapters liv., "lvi., lix.).

The name of the phoenix in Egyptian is "Bennu," , and this bird played a very prominent part in Egyptian mythology, but the texts do not bear out the extraordinary assertions which have been made about it by classical writers. According to the story which Herodotus heard at Heliopolis (ii. 73), the bird visited that place once every five hundred years, on its father's death; when it was five hundred, or fourteen hundred and sixty-one years old, it burnt itself to death. It was supposed to resemble an eagle, and to have red and gold feathers, and to come from Arabia; before its death it built a nest to which it gave the power of producing a new phoenix, though some thought that a worm crept out of its body before it died, and that from it the heat of the sun developed a new phoenix. Others thought that it died after a life of seven thousand and six years, and another view was that the new phoenix rose from the burnt and decomposing remains of his old body, and that he took these to Heliopolis where he burnt them.<sup>2</sup> All these fabulous stories are the result of misunderstandings of the Egyptian myth which declared that the renewed morning sun rose in the form of a Bennu, and of the belief which declared that this bird was the soul of Rā and also the living symbol of Osiris, and that it came forth from the very heart of the

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 577.

<sup>2</sup> See Lucian, *De Mort. Pers.*, xxvii.; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.*, iii. 49; Tzetzes, *Chiliar.*, v. 397; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, x. 2; Pomponius Mela, iii. 8.



THE GOD SEB SUPPORTING NUT ON HEAVEN.

god. The sanctuary of the Bennu was the sanctuary of Rā and Osiris, and was called Het Benben, , i.e., the "House of the Obelisk," and remembering this it is easy to understand the passages in the *Book of the Dead*, "I go in like the Hawk, and I come forth like the Bennu, the Morning Star (i.e., the planet Venus) of Rā" (xiii. 2); "I am the Bennu which is in Heliopolis" (xvii. 27), and the scholion on this passage expressly informs us that the Bennu is Osiris. Elsewhere the deceased says, "I am the Bennu, the soul of Rā, and the guide of the gods in the Tuat; (xxix.c 1); let it be so done unto me that I may enter in like a hawk, and that I may come forth like Bennu, the Morning Star" (cxxii. 6). On a hypocephalus quoted by Prof. Wiedemann,<sup>1</sup> the deceased is made to say, "I am in the form of the Bennu, which cometh forth from Het-Benbenet in Annu," and from many passages we learn that the Bennu, the Soul of Rā, which appeared each morning under the form of the rising sun, was supposed to shine upon the world from the top of the famous Persea tree wherein he renewed himself. We may note that a Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (lxxxii.) was written with the special object of enabling the deceased to transform himself into a Bennu bird if he felt disposed to do so; in it he identifies himself with the god Kheperā, and with Horus, the vanquisher of Set, and with Khensu.

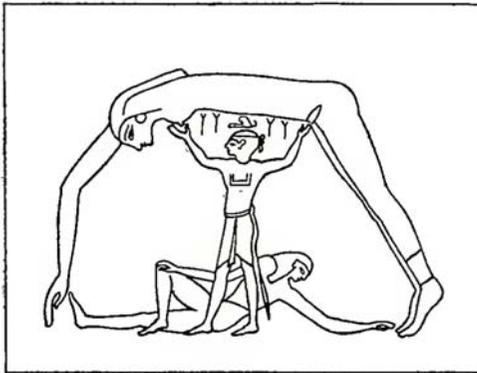
It has already been said that Seb was the god of the earth, and the Heliopolitans declared that he represented the very ground upon which their city stood, meaning that Heliopolis was the birthplace of the company of the gods, and in fact that the work of creation began there. In several papyri we find pictures of the first act of creation which took place as soon as the Sun-god, by whatsoever name he may be called, appeared in the sky, and sent forth his rays from the heights of heaven upon the earth, and in these Seb always occupies a very prominent position. He is seen lying upon the ground with one hand stretched out upon it, and the other extended towards heaven, which position seems to be referred to in the text of Pepi I., lines 338, 339, wherein we read,

<sup>1</sup> *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1878, p. 93.

“Seb throws out his [one] hand to heaven and his [one] hand  
“towards the earth,”

  By his side stands the god Shu, who supports on his upraised hands the heavens which are depicted in the form of a woman, whose body is bespangled with stars; this woman is the goddess Nut, who is supposed to have been lifted up from the embrace of Seb by Shu when he insinuated himself between their bodies and so formed the earth and the sky. This was the act of Shu which brought into being his heir Seb, and his consort Nut, and it was the heirship of this god which the kings of Egypt boasted they had received when they sat upon their thrones.

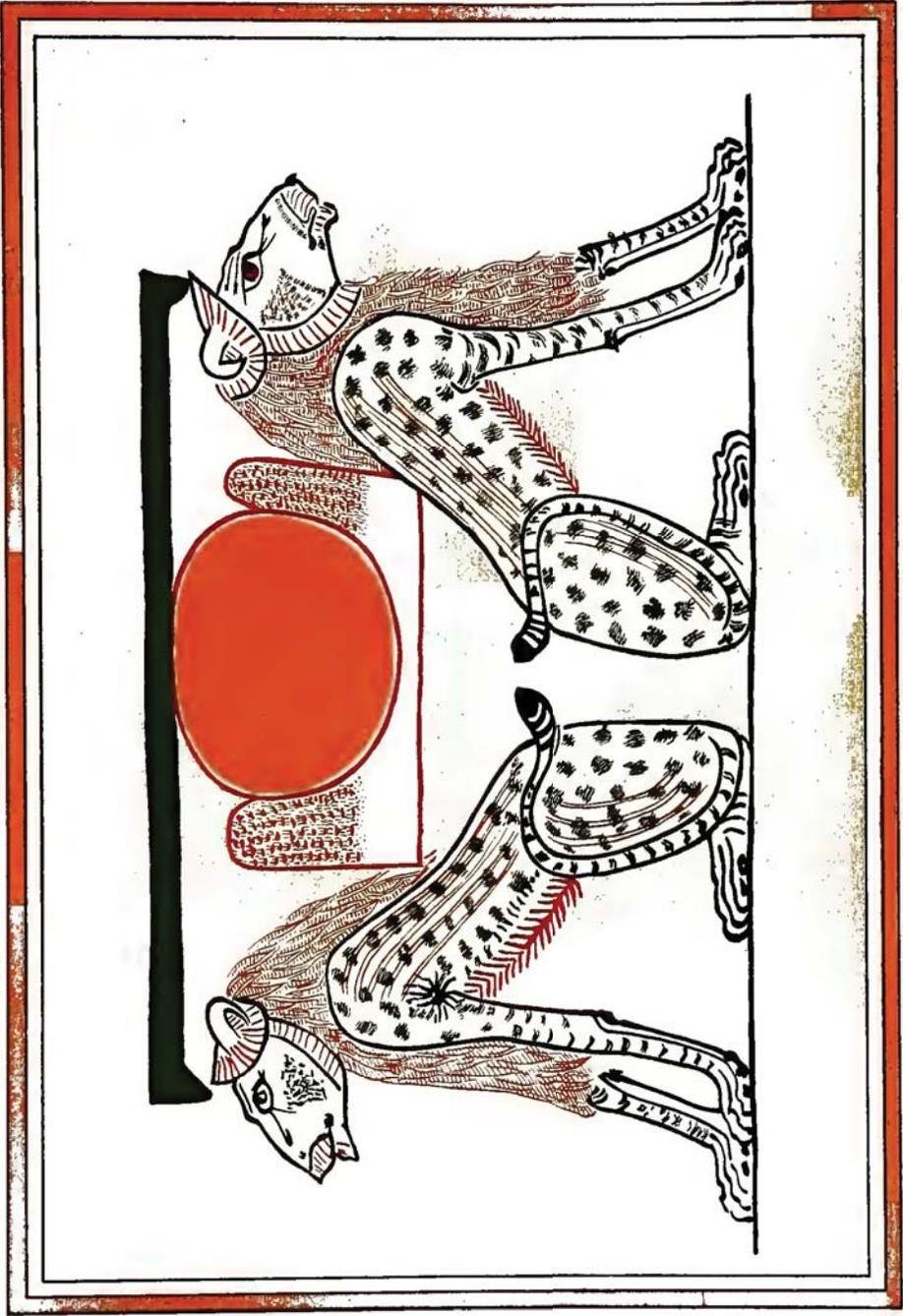
Seb was the hereditary tribal chief of the gods, and his throne



Seb and Nut.

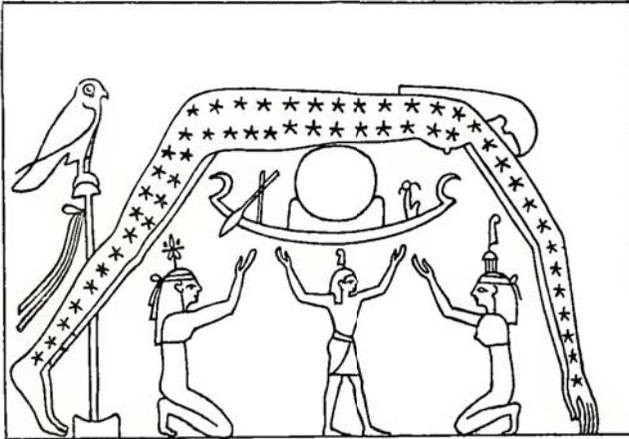
represented the sovereignty both of heaven and of earth; as a creative god he was identified with Tem, and so, as Dr. Brugsch pointed out, became the “father of his father.” As an elementary god he represented the earth, as Rā did fire, and Shu air, and Osiris water. In some respects the attributes of Nut were assigned

to him, for he is sometimes called the lord of the watery abyss, and the dweller in the watery mass of the sky, and the lord of the Underworld. He is also described as one of the porters of heaven’s gate, who draws back the bolts, and opens the door in order that the light of Rā may stream upon the world, and when he set himself in motion his movements produced thunder in heaven and quaking upon earth. He was akin in some way to the two AKERU gods, , who were represented as a lion with a head at each end of its body; this body was a personification of the passage in the earth through which the sun passed during the hours of night from the place where he set in the evening to that where he rose the next morning. The mouths of the lions formed



THE LION GODS OF YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY.

the entrance into and the exit from this passage, and as the head of one lion symbolized the evening and the west, and the other symbolized the morning and the east, in later days each lion's head was provided with a separate body, and the one was called SEF,  $\left| \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \circ \end{array} \right.$ , i.e., "Yesterday," and the other was called TUAU,  $\star \begin{array}{c} \text{bird} \\ \text{bird} \end{array} \circ$ , i.e., "To-day" (*Book of the Dead*, xvii., lines 14, 15). Though he was god of the earth Seb also acted as a guide to the deceased in heaven, and he provided him with meat and drink; numerous passages in the *Book of the Dead* refer to the gifts which he bestowed upon Osiris his son, and the deceased prayed fervently that he would bestow upon him the same protection and help which he had bestowed upon Osiris.



Shu supporting the boat of the Sun-god beneath the sky-goddess Nut.

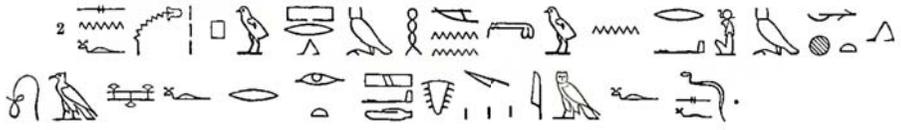
In two passages in the *Book of the Dead* (Chapter xxxi. 3 of the Saïte Recension; and Chapter lxix. 7, Theban Recension) we appear to have an allusion to a myth concerning Seb which is otherwise unknown. In the former the deceased says, "I, even I, am Osiris, who shut in his father Seb together with his mother Nut on the day of the great slaughter. My father is Seb and my mother is Nut"; and in the latter he says, "I, even I, am Osiris, who shut in his father together with his mother on the day of making the great slaughter," and the text adds, "now, the father is Seb, and the mother is Nut." The word used for "slaughter"

is *shāt*, , and there is no doubt whatsoever about its meaning, and according to Dr. Brugsch<sup>1</sup> we are to understand an act of self-mutilation on the part of Rā, the father of Osiris, similar to that which is referred to in the *Book of the Dead*, Chapter xvii., line 61. According to this passage the gods *ĀMMIU*,  ||   |, sprang from the drops of blood<sup>2</sup> which fell from Rā after the process of mutilation, and Dr. Brugsch compared the action of Osiris in shutting in,  , his father Seb with the punishment which Kronos inflicted upon his father Uranus because he threw the Cyclopes into Tartarus, and the *Āmmiu* gods had an origin somewhat similar to that of the *Erinnyes*.

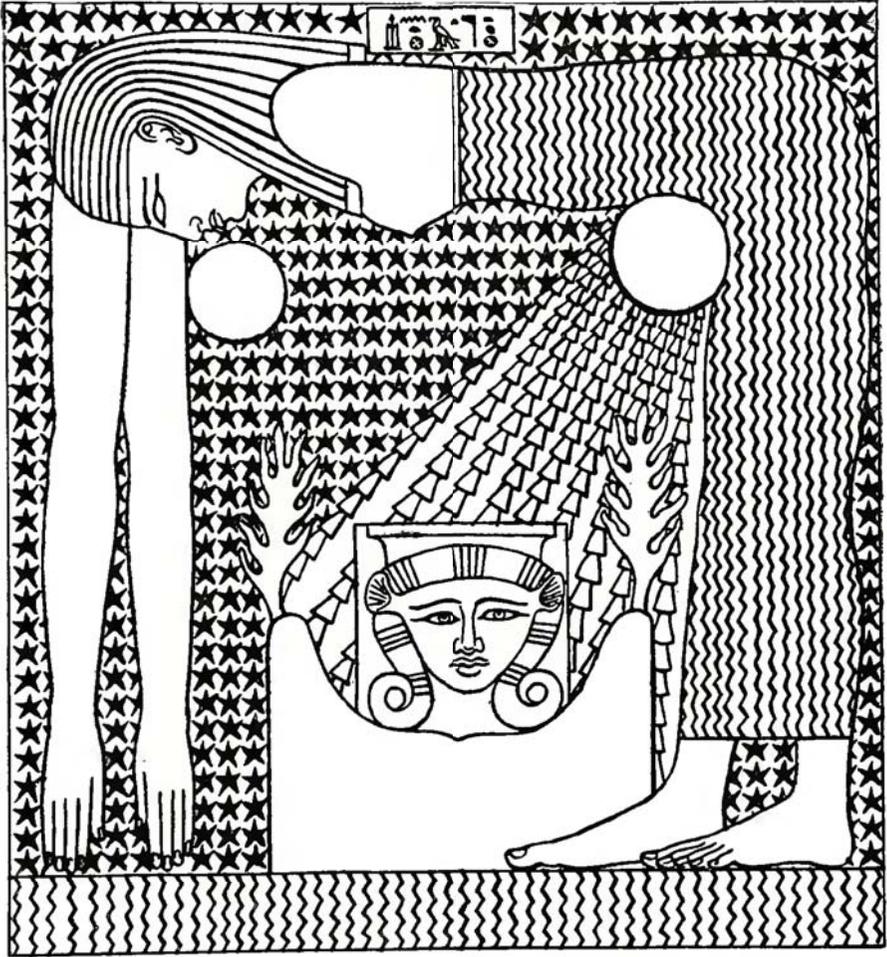
NUT, , or , or , or   .

The goddess NUT was the daughter of Shu and Tefnut, and the wife of Seb, the Earth-god, and the mother of Osiris and Isis, and Set and Nephthys; she was the personification of the heavens and the sky, and of the region wherein the clouds formed, and in fact of every portion of the region in which the sun rose, and travelled from east to west. As a goddess of the late historical period in Egypt Nut seems to have absorbed the attributes of a number of goddesses who possessed attributes somewhat similar to those of herself, and the identities of several old nature goddesses were merged in her. In the Pyramid Texts (e.g., Unās, line 452) Nut appears as the regular female counterpart of Seb, who is described as the “Bull of Nut,”  , i.e., he was either the father, or husband, or son of the goddess; her name is sometimes written without , the determinative for sky, e.g., in Pepi I., line 242, where it is said, “Nut hath brought forth her daughter Venus,”              . Properly

<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 581.



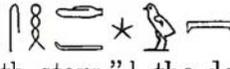
speaking, Nut,  $\overline{\text{N}}^{\text{U}}$ , is the personification of the Day-sky, i.e., of the sky which rests upon the two mountains of BAKHAU and Manu, that is, the Mountain of Sunrise and the Mountain of Sunset, but the Pyramid Texts prove that the Egyptians conceived the existence of a personification of the Night-sky, and it seems as if



Nut giving birth to the Sun, the rays of which fall on Hathor in the horizon.

this goddess and her male counterpart were entirely different beings from Seb and Nut, and had different names. In the text of Unâs (line 557) we find mentioned the two gods NÂU and NÂUR,

$\overline{\text{N}}^{\text{U}}$   $\overline{\text{N}}^{\text{U}}$   $\overline{\text{N}}^{\text{U}}$   $\overline{\text{N}}^{\text{U}}$   $\overline{\text{N}}^{\text{U}}$ , who are, however, regarded as one god

and are addressed accordingly. Thus it is said, "Thy cake is to thee, NĀU and NĀUT, even as one who uniteth the gods and who "maketh the gods to refresh themselves beneath their shadow." In this passage it is certainly right to assume that Nāut represents the Night-sky because of the determinative of the name , which is the sky, or heaven, inverted. In another passage (Tetâ, line 218) we read of the "star NEKHEKH of Nāut" (or Nut), , i.e., the "star Nekhekh in the Night-sky"; on the other hand too much stress must not be laid upon the determinative, because in the word , which seems to mean the "firmament strewn with stars,"<sup>1</sup> the determinative is that of the Day-sky.

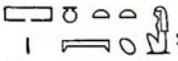
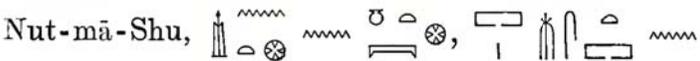
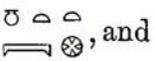
At a very early period, however, the difference between the Day-sky and the Night-sky was forgotten, at least in speaking, and it is chiefly from good funeral texts that we learn that a distinction between them was made in writing. In the Papyrus of Ani<sup>2</sup> are several examples of the name Nut written , or , and the latter form is several times found in the Papyrus of Nu, which dates from the first half of the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty; whenever one or other of these forms is found in good papyri it is the Night-sky which is referred to in the text. We have already seen in the paragraphs on the god Nu that he had a female counterpart called Nut, who represented the great watery abyss out of which all things came, and who formed the celestial Nile whereon the Sun sailed in his boats; this watery path was divided into two parts, that whereon the Sun sailed by day, and that over which he passed during the night. The goddess Nut, whom the texts describe as the wife of Seb, is for all practical purposes the same being as Nut, the wife of Nu; this fact is proved by her titles, which are, "Nut, the mighty one, "the great lady, the daughter of Rā"; "Nut, the lady of heaven, "the mistress of the gods"; "Nut, the great lady, who gave birth "to the gods"; "Nut, who gave birth to the gods, the lady of

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Recueil*, tom. v., p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Vocabulary to the Book of the Dead*, p. 159.

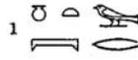


NUT, THE MOTHER OF THE GODS.

“heaven, the mistress of the Two Lands.”<sup>1</sup> The shrines of the goddess were not very numerous, but there was a Per-Nut, , in Memphis, and a Het-Nut, , in the Delta, and three portions of the temple territory in Dendera were called respectively Ant-en-Nut, Per-mest-en-Nut, and Per-netch-Nut-mā-Shu, , , and .<sup>2</sup> The goddess is usually represented in the form of a woman who bears upon her head a vase of water, , which has the phonetic value *Nu*, and which indicates both her name and her nature;<sup>3</sup> she sometimes wears on her head the horns and disk of the goddess Hathor, and holds in her hands a papyrus sceptre and the symbol of “life.” She once appears in the form of the amulet of the buckle, , from the top of which projects her head, and she is provided with human arms, hands, and feet; sometimes she appears in the form which is usually identified as that of Hathor, that is as a woman standing in a sycamore tree and pouring out water from a vase, , for the souls of the dead who come to her. The “sycamore tree of Nut,” , is mentioned in Chapter lix. of the *Book of the Dead*, and in the vignette we see the goddess standing in it.

On a mummy-case at Turin the goddess appears in the form of a woman standing on the



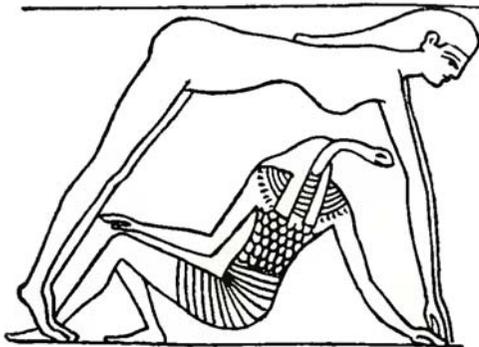
<sup>1</sup> ; ; ; .  


<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> For a good collection of figures of the goddess see Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 150 ff.

emblem of gold, . Above her head is the solar disk with uraei, and she is accompanied by the symbols of Nekhebet, Uatchet, and Hathor as goddess of the West; by her feet stand two snake-headed goddesses of the sky, each of whom wears the feather  $\beta$  on her head. The goddess herself wears the vulture crown with uraei, and above are the uraei of the South and North and the hawk of Horus wearing the white crown. Below her is the sycamore tree, her emblem, and in it sits the great Cat of Rā who is cutting off the head of Āpep, the god of darkness and evil. In the form in which she appears in this picture Nut has absorbed the attributes of all the great goddesses, and she is the type of the great mother of the gods and of the world.

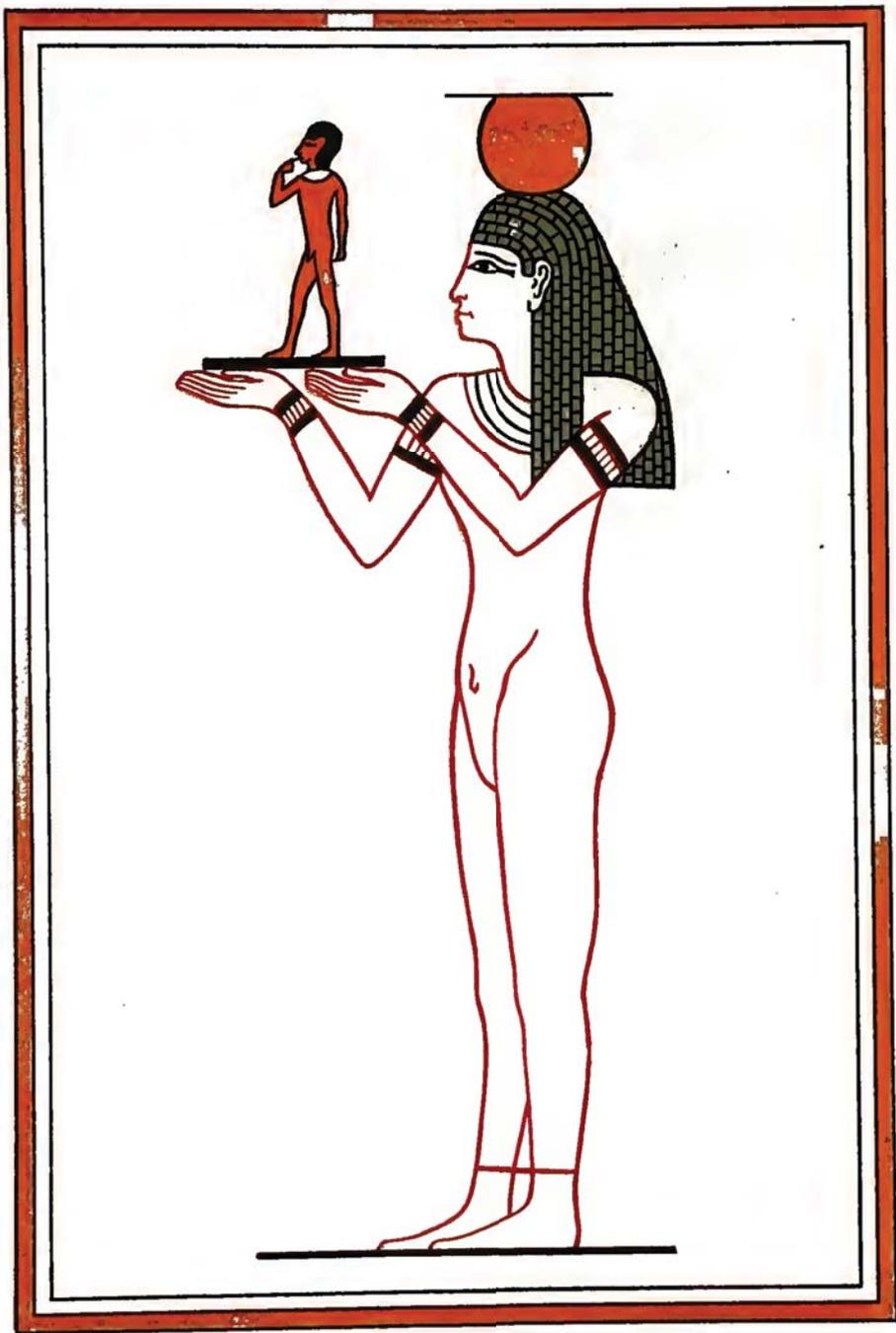
On coffins and in many papyri we find her depicted in the



Seb and Nut.

form of a woman whose body is bent round in such a way as to form a semi-circle; in this attitude she represents the sky or heaven, and her legs and arms represent the four pillars on which the sky was supposed to rest and mark the position of the cardinal points.

She is supported in her position by Shu, the son of Rā, who is supposed to have lifted her up from the embrace of Seb, and this last-named god is seen lying on the ground, with one hand raised to heaven and the other touching the earth. On each side of Shu is a hawk; the one represents the rising and the other the setting sun. According to one myth Nut gave birth to her son the Sun-god daily, and passing over her body he arrived at her mouth, into which he disappeared, and passing through her body he was re-born the following morning. Another myth declared that the sun sailed up the legs and over the back of the goddess in the Āṭet, or Māṭet Boat until noon, when he entered the Sektet boat and continued his journey until sunset. In the accompanying



THE GODDESS NUT HOLDING A TABLET ON WHICH STANDS HARPOCRATES.

picture we see Rā in his boat with Shu and Tefnut (?) sailing up through the watery abyss behind the legs of Nut, in the Ātet Boat, and sailing down the arms of the goddess in the Sektet Boat into the Ṭuat or Underworld; the whole of the body and limbs of the goddess are bespangled with stars. In another remarkable picture we see a second body of a woman, which is also bent round in such a way as to form a semi-circle, within that of Nut, and within this second body is the body of a man which is bent round in such a way as to form an almost complete circle. Some explain this scene by saying that the outer body of a woman is the heaven over which Rā travels, and that the inner body is the heaven over which the Moon makes her way at night, whilst the male body within them is the almost circular valley of the Ṭuat; others, however, say that the two women are merely personifications of the Day and Night skies, and this view is, no doubt, the correct one. The raising up of Nut from the embrace of Seb represented, as we have before said, the first act of creation, and the great creative power which brought it about having separated the earth from the waters which were above it, and set the sun between the earth and the sky, was now able to make the gods, and human beings, animals, etc. The Egyptians were very fond of representations of this scene, and they had many variants of it, as may be seen from the collection of reproductions given by Lanzone.<sup>1</sup> In some of these we find Shu holding up the Boat of Rā under the body of Nut, in others we see the two boats of Rā placed side by side on her back, the god in one boat being Kheperā, and the god in the other being Osiris. Shu is sometimes accompanied by Thoth, and sometimes by Khnemu; in one instance Seb has a serpent's head, and in another the goose, which is his symbol, is seen standing near his feet with its beak open in the act of cackling. The Egyptian artists were not always consistent in some of their details of the scene, for at one time the region wherein is the head of Nut is described as the east, , and at another as the west, ; at one time Seb lies with his head to the east, and at another to the west. Finally, the goddess once

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pll. 150 ff.

appears holding up in her hands a tablet, on which stands a youthful male figure who is probably intended to represent Harpocrates, or one of the many Horus gods; in this example she is regarded as the Sky-mother who has produced her son, the Sun-god. According to another myth Nut was transformed into a huge cow, the legs of which were held in position by the Four Children of Horus, whilst her body was supported by Shu, as the body of Nut when in the form of a woman was borne up by this god.

From a large number of passages found in texts of all periods we learn that, from first to last, Nut was always regarded as a friend and protector of the dead, and the deceased appealed to her for food, and help, and protection just as a son appeals to his mother. In the text of Tetā (line 175), it is said to the deceased, "Nut hath set thee as a god to Set in thy name of 'god,' and thy "mother Nut hath spread herself out over thee in her name of "Coverer of the sky,"  and in line 268 we have, "Nephthys hath united again for thee "thy members in her name of Sesheta, , the lady "of the buildings through which thou hast passed, and thy mother "Nut in her name of Qersut, , hath granted that she "shall embrace thee in her name Qersu, , and that she "shall introduce thee in her name of 'Door.'" In the text of Pepi I. (line 256) it is said, "Pepi hath come forth from Pe with "the spirits of Pe, and he is arrayed in the apparel of Horus, and "in the dress of Thoth, and Isis is before him and Nephthys is "behind him; Āp-uat hath opened unto him a way, and Shu "lifteth him up, and the souls of Ānnu make him ascend the "steps and set him before Nut who stretcheth out her hand to "him." In the *Book of the Dead* are several allusions to Nut and to the meat and drink which she provides for the deceased, and a chapter (lix.) is found which was specially composed to enable him to "snuff the air, and to have dominion over the waters in the



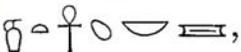
THE GODDESS MUT POURING OUT WATER FROM THE SYCAMORE  
TREE OVER THE DECEASED AND HIS SOUL.

“Underworld.” The text reads :—“Hail, thou sycamore of the goddess Nut! Grant thou to me of the water and of the air which dwell in thee. I embrace the throne which is in Unnu (Hermopolis), and I watch and guard the egg of the Great Cackler.<sup>1</sup> It groweth, I grow; it liveth, I live; it snuffeth the air, I snuff the air.” To make sure that the recital of these words should have the proper result they were accompanied by a vignette, in which the goddess is seen standing in a tree, out of which she reaches to the deceased with one hand a table covered with bread and other articles of food; with the other she sprinkles water upon him from a libation vase as he kneels at the foot of a tree.

The sycamore of Nut was situated at Heliopolis, and is often mentioned in mythological texts. According to the *Book of the Dead* (cix. 4) there were *two* turquoise-coloured sycamores at Heliopolis, and the Sun-god passed out between them each morning when he began his journey across the sky, and “strode forward over the supports of Shu (i.e., the four pillars,  $\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$ , which bore up the sky) towards the gate of the East through which Rā rose.” The sycamore of Nut was probably one of these, but in any case Āpep, the personification of darkness and evil, was slain at its foot by the Great Cat Rā, and the branches of this tree became a place of refuge for weary souls during the fiery heats of noonday in the summer time. Here they were refreshed with that food whereon the goddess herself lived, and here they participated in the life of the divine beings who were her offspring and associates. Since the mythological tree of Nut stood at Heliopolis and was a sycamore it may well have served as the archetype of the sycamore tree under which tradition asserts that the Virgin Mary sat and rested during her flight to Egypt, and there seems to be little doubt that many of the details about her wanderings in the Delta, which are recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels and in writings of a similar class, are borrowed from the old mythology of Egypt. Associated with the sycamore of Nut

<sup>1</sup> I.e., the Egg out of which sprang the Sun, which was produced by Seb and Nut.

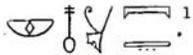
were the plants among which the Great Cackler Seb laid the Egg of the Sun, and these may well be identified with the famous balsam trees, from which was expressed the oil which was so highly prized by the Christians of Egypt and Abyssinia, and which was used by them in their ceremony of baptism; these trees were always watered with water drawn from the famous 'Ain Shems (a name really meaning the "Eye of the Sun"), i.e., the well of water which is fed by a spring in the immediate neighbourhood, and is commonly called the "Fountain of the Sun." We may note in passing another legend, which was popular among the Copts, to the effect that the Virgin Mary once hid herself and her Son from their enemies in the trunk of the sycamore at Heliopolis, and that it is based upon an ancient Egyptian myth recorded by Plutarch which declared that Isis hid the body of Osiris in a tree trunk.

In the later times of Egyptian history the priests of Dendera asserted that the home of Nut was in their city, and in an inscription on their temple<sup>1</sup> they recorded that it was the birthplace, , of Isis, and that it contained the birth-chamber, , wherein Nut brought forth the goddess in the form of a dark-skinned child, whom she called "Khnemmet-ānkhēt, the lady of love," , on the fourth of the five epagomenal days. When Nut saw her child, she exclaimed, "Ās (, i.e., behold), I have become thy mother," and this was the origin of the name Āst, or Isis. In Thebes Nut was identified with Isis, the god-mother, , the lady of Dendera, the dweller in Ānt, the goddess NUBT, , who was born in Per-Nubt, and gave birth to her brother Osiris in Thebes, and to her son Horus (the Elder) in Qesqeset, , and to her sister Nephthys in Het-Seshesh, ;<sup>2</sup> and in the same city she was regarded as a

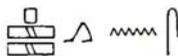
<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Astronomische und Astrologische Inschriften Altaegyptischer Denkmäler*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 101.

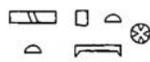
<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 865.

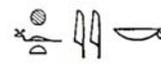


 <sup>1</sup> The part which Nut played in the Egyptian Underworld was a very prominent one, and from numerous passages in the *Book of the Dead* we can see that without her favour life would be impossible for those who have left this world, and have begun their journey through the *Ṭuat*. The care and protection which Nut exhibited towards her son Osiris caused her to be regarded as a tender and pitiful mother, and every pious Egyptian prayed that she might do for him even as she had done for Osiris, and hoped that through her he might shine in heaven like the star Sept ( $\Delta \overset{\circ}{\times}$ , Sothis), when it shines in the sky just before sunrise.

The favour of Nut gave the deceased the power to rise in a renewed body, even as Rā rose from the Egg which was produced by Seb and Nut, and it enabled him to journey with the Sun-god each day from sunrise to sunset, and to pass through the dreary habitations of the *Ṭuat* in safety. So far back as the time of Men-kau-Rā (Mycerinus) the Egyptians delighted to inscribe on the cover of the coffins of their dead a portion of the following extract:—

				
<i>peshesh-nes</i>	<i>mut-k</i>	<i>Nut</i>	<i>her-k</i>	<i>em</i>
Spreadeth herself	thy mother	Nut	over thee	in

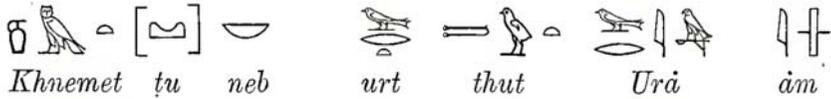
					
<i>ren-s</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>shet-pet</i>	<i>erṭā-s</i>	<i>un-nek</i>	<i>em</i>
her name	of	coverer of heaven,	she maketh	thee to be	as

						
<i>neter</i>	<i>ān</i>	<i>khefti-k</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>ren-k</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>neter</i>
a god	without	thine enemy	in	thy name	of	god,

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 481.



she withdraweth thee      from    thing    every    evil    in her name



of "Defender from every evil, great    lady; and from Ura whom



mesu-s

she hath brought forth ;"

and whenever it was possible they painted on them figures of the goddess, who was represented with her protecting wings stretched out over the deceased, and with the emblems of celestial water and air in her hands. They believed that the dead were safely under the protection of the goddess when a picture of her was painted on the cover of the coffin above them, and they rarely forgot to suggest her presence in one form or the other.

The following passages from the text of Pepi I. (line 100 ff.) illustrate other aspects of the goddess:—"Hail, Nut, in whose "head appear the Two Eyes (i.e., Sun and Moon), thou hast taken "possession of Horus and art his Urt-ḥekau (i.e., mighty one of "words of power), thou hast taken possession of Set and art his "Urt-ḥekau. Behold, O Nut, who didst decree that thou shouldst "be born in thy name of Pet-Ānnu (i.e., Sky of Heliopolis), decree "thou that this Pepi shall live, and that he may not perish. "O Nut, who hast risen as a queen that thou mayest take posses- "sion of the gods and of their doubles, and their flesh and their "divine food, and of everything whatsoever which they have, grant "thou that he may be without opposition, and that he may live, "and let thy life, O Nut, be the life of Pepi. Thy mother cometh "to thee and thou movest not. Nut cometh to thee and thou "movest not. The Great Protectress cometh to thee and thou

<sup>1</sup> See text of Tetá, ll. 175, 279; Pepi I., ll. 60, 103.

“movest not, but as soon as she hath bestowed her protection upon thee thou dost move, for she hath given thee thy head, she hath brought to thee thy bones, she hath collected thy flesh, she hath brought thee thy heart in thy body, thou livest according to thy precepts, thou speakest to those who are before thee, thou protectest thy children from grief, thou purifiest thyself with the purifications of all the gods, and they come to thee with their doubles.”

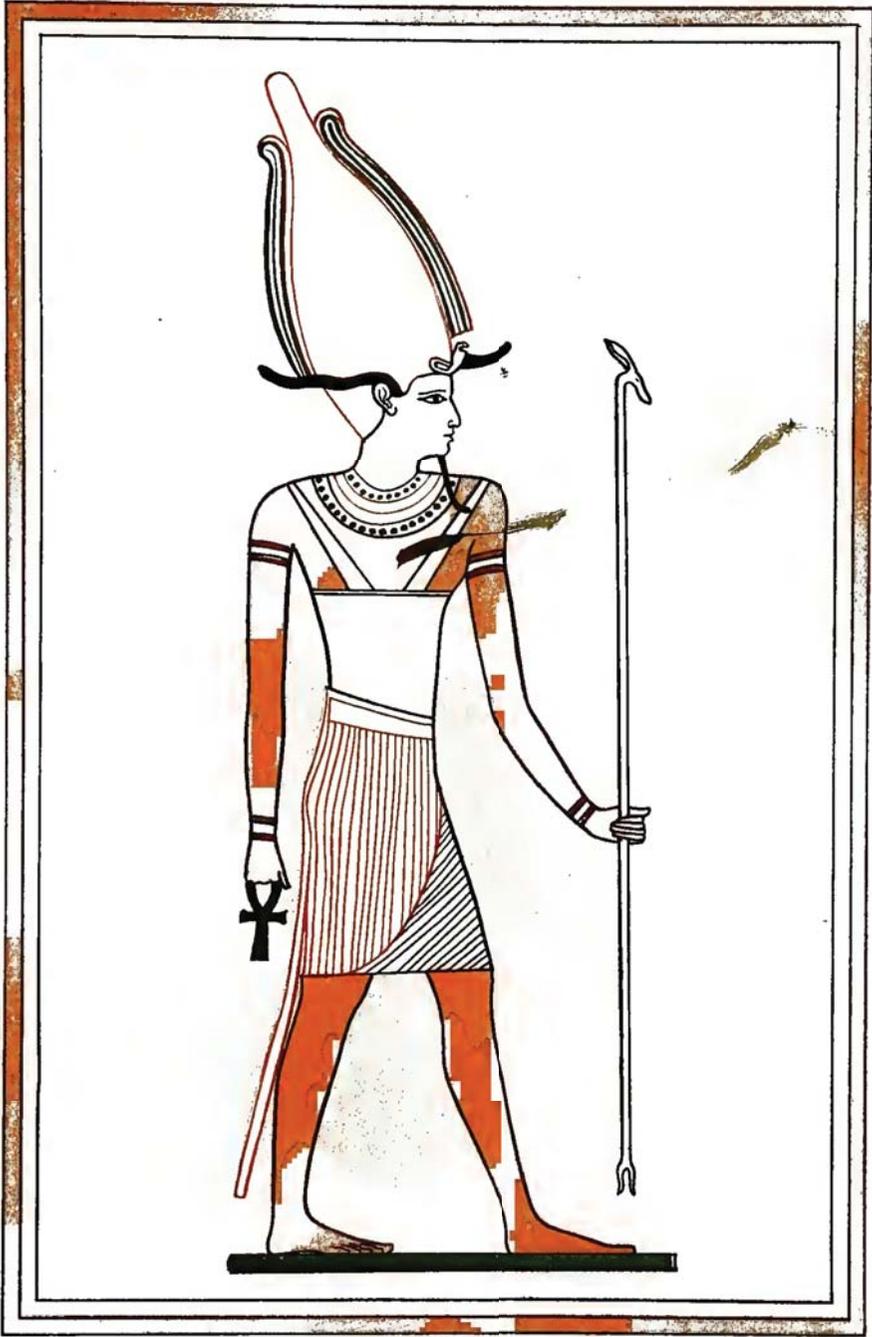
## CHAPTER VI

OSIRIS, , ĀS-ĀR, OR , , , , , <sup>1</sup>

**F**ROM the hieroglyphic texts of all periods of the dynastic history of Egypt we learn that the god of the dead, *par excellence*, was the god, whom the Egyptians called by a name which may be tentatively transcribed ĀS-ĀR, or US-ĀR, who is commonly known to us as "Osiris." The oldest and simplest form of the name is , that is to say, it is written by means of two hieroglyphics, the first of which represents a "throne" and the other an "eye," but the exact meaning attached to the combination of the two pictures by those who first used them to express the name of the god, and the signification of the name in the minds of those who invented it cannot be said. In the late dynastic period the first syllable of the name appears to have been pronounced *Āus* or *Us*, and by punning it was made to have the meaning of the word *usr*, "strength, might, power," and the like, and there is little doubt that the Egyptians at that time supposed the name of the god to mean something like the "strength of the Eye," i.e., the strength of the Sun-god Rā. This meaning may very well have suited their conception of the god Osiris, but it cannot be accepted as the correct signification of the name. For similar reasons the suggestion that the name ĀS-ĀR is connected with the Egyptian word for "prince," or "chief," *ser*, cannot be entertained. It is probable that the second hieroglyphic in the name ĀS-ĀR is to

<sup>1</sup> Other forms are , , *USR-RĀ*, , , *USER*, , , , *UASRI*, and , , , *ĀUSĀRES*.





OSIRIS - UNNEFER.

about the original meaning of the name *Ās-ār* as we do, and that they had no better means of obtaining information about it than we have.

Passing now to the consideration of the original characteristics and attributes of Osiris we find that the oldest religious texts known to us refer to him as the great god of the dead, and throughout them it is tacitly assumed that the reader will understand that he once possessed human form and lived upon earth, and that by means of some unusual power or powers he was able to bestow upon himself after his death a new life which he lived in a new body in a region over which he ruled as king, and into which he was believed to be willing to admit all such as had lived a good and correct life upon earth, and had been buried with appropriate ceremonies under the protection of certain amulets, and with the proper recital of certain "divine words" and words of power. The worship of Osiris is, however, very much older than these views, which, it is clear, could only belong to a people who had advanced to a comparatively high state of civilization and of mental development."

The oldest authorities for the religious views of the ancient Egyptians are the "Pyramid Texts," which are known to us from copies made in the IVth, Vth and VIth Dynasties, that is to say, in the period of their highest development; even at this remote time the priests of *Ānnu* had composed a system of theology which was supported by the authority of the king and his high officials, and there is no doubt that it was based upon older systems of religious thought and belief. What these may have been it is useless to speculate, and all that is certain about the Heliopolitan system is that, whilst proclaiming the supremacy of their local god *Tem* or *Rā-Tem*, its priests took care to include in it as many of the ancient provincial gods as possible, and to adopt wherever they were able to do so the ancient beliefs and traditions concerning them. Among such gods Osiris held a very prominent place, in fact he was in respect of the dead and of the Underworld what *Rā*, or *Rā-Tem* was to the living and to this world, and in some passages he is referred to simply as "god,"  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , without the addition of any name. No other god of the Egyptians was ever mentioned

or alluded to in this manner, and no other god at any time in Egypt ever occupied exactly the same exalted position in their minds, or was thought to possess his peculiar attributes.

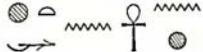
Up to the present no evidence has been deduced from the hieroglyphic texts which enables us to say specifically when Osiris began to be worshipped, or in what town or city his cult was first established, but the general information which we possess on this subject indicates that this god was adored as the great god of the dead by the dynastic Egyptians from first to last, and that the earliest dynastic centres of his worship were situated at Abydos in the South and at Tēttu (Mendes) in the North; in proof of these statements the following considerations are submitted. In a Rubric to one of the versions of the lxivth Chapter of the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* it is said that the Chapter was "found" during the reign of SEMTI,<sup>1</sup> that is to say, the Chapter was revised, or edited, or re-written, or received some kind of literary treatment, during the reign of the fifth king of the Ist Dynasty. If we look at the version of the Chapter to which this Rubric is appended we find this sentence:—"I am Yesterday, "and I am To-day; and I have the power to be born a second time. "I the hidden Soul create the gods, and I give sepulchral meals to "the divine beings in Amenti and in heaven." Osiris is mentioned by name in connexion with "his city," and Tem, Kheperā, Shu, the Urti goddesses, i.e., Isis and Nephthys, the goddess Aukert, the Chief of Re-stau, Hehi, the Bennu, and the 4,601,200 spirits, who are twelve cubits high, are referred to, and we see that the whole of the religious and mythological systems of the Egyptians as made known to us by texts of later periods were in a well-developed state even in the Ist Dynasty.

Confirmation of this fact is afforded by a small wooden plaque, in the British Museum, which was made for a "royal chancellor" called Hemaka, , who flourished in the reign of SEMTI, the king in whose reign the lxivth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* was "found." On the right-hand side of the plaque is a scene in which the king is represented in the act of dancing before a deity,

<sup>1</sup> His name was formerly read HĒSEPTL.

who wears the crown of the South and is seated within a shrine set upon the top of some steps; from various texts and scenes inscribed upon papyri and coffins, etc., of the New Empire we know that Osiris was called the "god on the top of the steps," and that he was depicted as a being seated in a shrine set on the top of a flight of steps, and there is no doubt that the god before whom SEMTI danced was Osiris. Immediately below the scene on the plaque described above is a representation of a ceremonial boat, and if we compare it with certain vignettes in the *Book of the Dead* and elsewhere we cannot fail to identify it as the well-known Henu Boat of the god Seker (Socharis). Now, in the Rubric of the Chapter already referred to, we are told that the Chapter was found "in the foundations of the shrine of Henu," and thus the Chapter and the god Henu, i.e., the god of the Henu Boat, were in existence in the Ist Dynasty, and they were in some way specially connected with king SEMTI—if we are to believe an Egyptian tradition which was current under the XVIIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 1600. Moreover, if the gods whom the Egyptians under the IVth and Vth Dynasties declared to belong to the company of Osiris existed under the Ist Dynasty, Osiris also must have existed, and the mention of the Underworld by the name of *Āmenti*, or *Āmentet*, presupposes the existence of its god and king, one of whose chief titles was KHENTI-ĀMENTI. It is important to note also that on the plaque of Hemaka Osiris wears the White Crown, or Crown of the South, a fact which suggests that at the time when it was made he was regarded as a god of the South, and to note that although in later times his cult was general throughout Egypt he was always represented with the White Crown on his head, and that it was one of his most characteristic attributes.

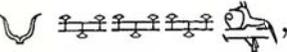
The plaque of Hemaka proves that a centre of the Osiris cult existed at Abydos under the Ist Dynasty, but we are not justified in assuming that the god was first worshipped there, and when we remember the frequent allusions in the Pyramid Texts to Pe and Tep, the two divisions of the city of Per-Uatchet in the Delta, it is difficult not to think that even under the Ist Dynasty shrines had been built in honour of Osiris at several places in Egypt. Dynastic tradition asserted that the head of Osiris was buried at

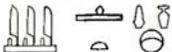
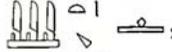
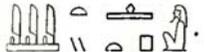
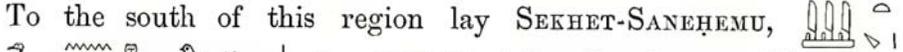
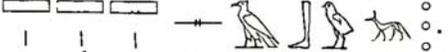
Abydos, and for this reason that city became of the first importance to worshippers of the god, but we know that the local god of the nome was AN-HER, and that his cult was thrust out by that of Osiris, who was adored under the title of "Osiris Khent-Âmenti;" there must then have been a time when Osiris was brought to Abydos, and it is probable that he was introduced into that city from the North, for the following reasons. In the Pyramid Texts, which are the oldest exponents of the religious system which made Osiris the supreme god of the dead, we have frequent allusions to the food and drink which the deceased enjoys, and to the apparel wherein he is arrayed in the Underworld. We find that he wears white linen garments and sandals, that he sits by a lake in the Field of Peace with the gods, and partakes with them of the tree of life, , and that he eats figs and grapes, and drinks oil and wine, and that he lives on the "bread of eternity," and the "beer of everlastingness," . His bread was made of the wheat which Horus ate, and the four children of Horus, Mesthâ, Hâpi, Tuamutef, and Qebhsennuf "appeased the hunger of his belly, and the thirst of his lips." He abhorred the hunger which he could not satisfy, and he loathed the thirst which he could not slake, and one of the greatest delights of his existence was the knowledge that he was "delivered from the power of those who would steal away his food."

Another source of great joy was the power which he possessed of washing himself clean, and he and his double are represented as sitting down to eat bread together, each having washed himself clean; yet another source of enjoyment was his journeying by water in a boat which was rowed by the mariners of the Sun-god Râ. All these and similar statements point clearly to the fact that the reward which Osiris bestowed after death upon his follower was a life which he led in a region where corn, and wine, and oil, and water were abundant, and where circumstances permitted him to wear white linen robes and white sandals, and where he was not required to do work of any kind, and where he was able to perform

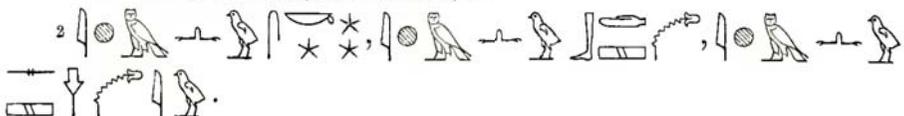
<sup>1</sup> See the Chapter "*Doctrine of Eternal Life*" in my *Papyrus of Ani*, London, 1894, pp. lxxv.-lxxvii.

his ablutions at will, and to repose whensoever it pleased him to do so. He possessed his own estate, or homestead, where he abode with his parents, and presumably with a wife, or wives, and family, and his heavenly life was to all intents and purposes nothing but a duplicate of his life upon earth. In several passages in the Pyramid Texts we also have allusions to a life in which his enjoyments and delights were of a more spiritual character, but it is evident that these represent the beliefs and doctrines of the priests of Rā, who declared that the blessed fed upon light, and were arrayed in light and became beings of light, and that the place wherein they lived was the boat of the Sun-god Rā, wherein they passed over heaven, and wherefrom their souls flew down to earth to visit the scenes of their former life. Thus, as far back as the period of the Vth Dynasty texts belonging to two distinct cults, i.e., the cult of Osiris and the cult of Rā, existed side by side, and no attempt appears to have been made to suppress either that of Osiris or that of Rā; in other words, the priests of Heliopolis had the good sense to allow the beliefs which were connected with the cult of Osiris to find expression in the great Recension of religious texts which they promulgated about B.C. 3500. The cult of Osiris was very ancient, and was universal, and they saw that the cult of Rā would not take its place in the minds of the Egyptians for a very considerable time, if ever.

From what has been said above it is quite clear that the followers of Osiris believed in a material heaven, and we have now to consider where that heaven was situated. In a passage in the text of Unās (line 191 ff.) the Angels of Thoth, , and the Ancient Ones, , and the Great Terrifier, , who cometh forth from the Nile, , Hāp, and ĀP-UAT, , who cometh forth from the tree ĀSERT, , are called upon to witness that the mouth of the king is pure, because he eats and drinks nothing except that upon which the gods live. The text says, "Ye have taken Unās "with you, and he eateth what ye eat, he drinketh that which ye "drink, he liveth as ye live, he dwelleth as ye dwell, he is powerful

“as ye are powerful, and he saileth about as ye sail about”; thus the heaven where Unás lived after death was in some place where there were waters whereon he could sail in a boat. The text continues, “Unás hath netted [fowl and fish] with the net in “ÁARU, Unás hath possession over the waters in SEKHEṬ-ḤETEP, “and his offerings of meat and drink are among the gods. The “water of Unás is as wine, even as it is for Rā, and Unás goeth “about heaven like Rā, and he traverseth heaven like Thoth.” From this extract we see that the region where the heaven of Unás was situated is called ÁARU, , the name having as a determinative a sign which is intended to represent a mass of waving reeds; in another place (line 412) the region is called SEKHEṬ-ÁAR, , and is identical with the SEKHEṬ-ÁARRU, , and SEKHEṬ-ÁANRU, , of the later Recensions of the *Book of the Dead*. From a number of other passages we find that Áaru or Sekhet-Áaru was divided into a number of districts, the chief of which was called SEKHEṬ-ḤETEPET, , i.e., “Field of Offerings,” or SEKHEṬ-ḤETEP, , i.e., “Field of Peace,” and was presided over by the god SEKHTI-ḤETEP, . To the south of this region lay SEKHEṬ-SANEḤEMU, , i.e., “Field of the Grasshoppers,”<sup>1</sup> and in it were the Lakes of the Tuat, , and the Lakes of the Jackals, . In the waters of Áaru, or Sekhet-Áaru, Rā purified himself (Pepi I., line 234), and it was here that the deceased also purified himself before he began his heavenly life; here also dwelt the three classes of beings who are called ÁKHEMU-SEKU, ÁKHEMU-BEṬESH, and ÁKHEMU-SESH-EMÁU,<sup>2</sup> that is to say, three classes of celestial bodies

<sup>1</sup> See *Book of the Dead*, cxxv. Pt. iii., l. 19.

<sup>2</sup> 

# THE SEKHET-HETEPU

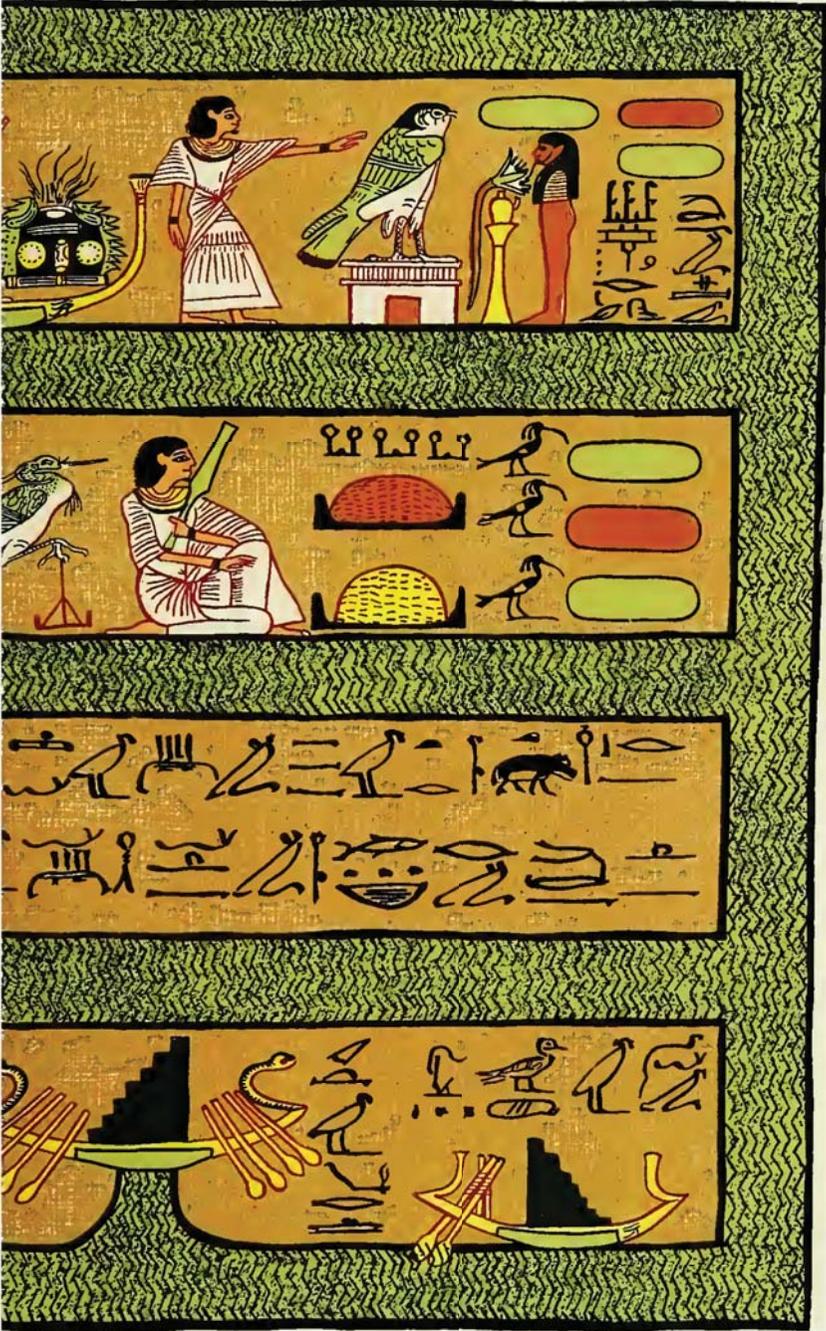
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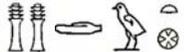
ING THE GODS IN THE ABODE

or beings who were thought never to diminish, or melt away, or decay.

All the evidence as to the position of the region *Áaru* shows that originally it was thought to be in the sky, but, on the other hand, there are indications that it was entered from certain places in the Delta, and among such was the region which contained the double city, *Pe-Ṭep* and *Ṭeṭṭu*, or *Ṭaṭāu*. Thus in a passage in the text of *Pepi I.* (line 255) it is said, "Pepi hath gone forth from Pe, and from being with the Souls of Pe, and as he is arrayed in the apparel of Horus, and in the garment of Thoth, and as Isis is before him and Nephthys is behind him, *Ápuat* openeth a way for him, and *Shu* beareth him up, and the Souls of *Ánnu* make him to mount the steps that they may present him to *Nut* who stretcheth out her hands to him, even as they did for *Osiris* when he arrived in the other world. O *HĀ-F-HA-F* ()<sup>1</sup>, Pepi hath journeyed on to *Sekhet-Áar*, () he hath come forth from *Uart*, () and since he is the body which hath come forth from God, and the uraeus which hath come forth from *Rā*, he hath sailed on to *Sekhet-Áar*, having the four Spirits of Horus, *Hāp*, *Ámset*, *Ṭuamutef*, and *Qebḥsennuf*, with him, two on each side." This view of the position of *Sekhet-Áaru* is supported by several passages in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, and the pictures of the district, with its lakes and canals which form the vignettes to the cxth Chapter, indicate that it was situated to the north of Egypt. The name *Sekhet-Áaru* appears to mean "Field of Reeds" or "Field of Plants," and the idea conveyed by it was that of some very fertile region where farming operations could be carried on with ease and success, and where it would be possible to possess a large, well-kept, and well-stocked homestead, situated at no great distance from the Nile, or from one of its main branches. In the text the deceased prays, "Let me have the power to order my own fields in *Ṭeṭṭu*, and my own growing crops in *Ánnu*. Let me live upon bread made of white

<sup>1</sup> I.e., "He whose face is behind him."

“grain, and let my beer be made from red grain, and may the  
 “persons of my father and mother be given unto me as guardians  
 “of my door, and for the ordering of my homestead. Let me be  
 “sound and strong, and let me have much room wherein to move,  
 “and let me be able to sit wheresoever I please” (Chapter lii.).

In the neighbourhood of Tettu, then, the original Sekhet-  
 Aaru was thought to be located, and in Tettu the reconstruction of  
 the dismembered body of Osiris took place, and it was here that  
 the solemn ceremony of setting up his backbone was performed  
 each year. The city of Tettu, , or Tātau, ,  
 here referred to was the capital of the ninth nome of Lower  
 Egypt called Per-Āsar-neb-Tettu, , by the  
 Egyptians, and Busiris by the Greeks. In a portion of it called  
 Neb-sekert, , was preserved, according to one  
 tradition, the backbone, , of Osiris; according to another his  
 jaws were there preserved.<sup>1</sup>

From what has been said above it is clear that the cult of  
 Osiris is certainly as old as the period of the Ist Dynasty, and that  
 the oldest centre of his worship was situated in the Delta. Every-  
 thing which the texts of all periods record concerning him goes to  
 show that he was an indigenous god of North-east Africa, and that  
 his home and origin were possibly Libyan. We have no means of  
 finding out what were the earliest conceptions about Osiris, but it  
 seems that he was originally a water spirit, or the god of some arm  
 of the Nile, or portion of the main body of the Nile, and that  
 he developed later into a great water-god; Dr. Brugsch<sup>2</sup> and  
 M. Maspero<sup>3</sup> both regarded him as a water-god, and rightly  
 consider that he represented the creative and nutritive powers of  
 the Nile stream in general and of the Inundation in particular.

The natural opponent of Osiris was Set, who typified death  
 and destruction, and who was the god *par excellence* of the desert;  
 and in various forms and told in different ways we have the  
 narrative of the contest between the powers of life and death, and

<sup>1</sup> See de Rougé, *Géog. Ancienne*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion*, pp. 190, 197.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire Ancienne*, tom. i., p. 172.

light and darkness, and decay and regeneration, which appears in the religious texts of every period. In fact, Set was the opponent in every way of Osiris who, in the words of Dr. Brugsch, typified the "unbroken rejuvenescence of immortal Nature according to the Divine Will and according to eternal laws."<sup>1</sup> In the xviii<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* the deceased says, "I am YESTERDAY (𓆎 <sup>sef</sup>); I know TO-DAY (★   <sup>tuau</sup>)," and in answer to the question which follows, "Who then is this?" it is said, "Yesterday is Osiris, and To-day is Rā, on the day when he shall destroy the enemies of Neb-er-tcher, and when he shall establish as prince and ruler his son Horus" (lines 15-18). This passage proves that although Osiris was the type of that which is gone, or dead, or the past, he possessed a power of regeneration which expressed itself in the young Horus. In his aspect of a water-god Osiris was the personification of the falling Nile, or the Nile in winter, and of the night sun, and of the winter sun, but he was, nevertheless, the cause of the fertility of Egypt, which was personified as Isis, and was the father of the young Horus, who in due course grew into an Osiris, and produced by means of Isis a young Horus to take his place, becoming thus the "father of his father."<sup>2</sup>

Among a people like the Egyptians it would not be very long before the annual rise, and inundation, and fall of the Nile would be compared to the chief periods in the lives of men, and before the renewed rise of the Nile in the following year would be compared to man's immortality, which in Egypt was taken for granted from the earliest times; and that this is exactly what happened the hieroglyphic texts supply abundant proof. Unfortunately, however, we find nowhere in Egyptian works a connected narrative of the life, acts and deeds, and sufferings and death, and resurrection of Osiris, the man-god, but we possess a tolerably accurate account of them in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*.<sup>3</sup> The mythological history of Isis and Osiris by this

<sup>1</sup> "Die ununterbrochene Verjüngung der unsterblichen Natur nach gottlichem Willen und nach ewigen Gesetzen," *Religion*, p. 611.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Religion*, pp. 612, 613.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Didot (*Scripta Moralia*, tom. iii., pp. 427-469), § xii. ff.

writer is so important that an English rendering of it by Mr. Squire is given at the end of this chapter, but it will be necessary here to summarize the main facts in it in order that they may be compared with the hieroglyphic texts which refer to the subject. According to these Osiris was the son of Rhea, the Egyptian Nut, the wife of Helios, the Egyptian Rā, by Kronos, the Egyptian Seb; when Helios found that his wife was with child by Seb he declared that she should not be delivered of her child in any month or in any year. By a stratagem Hermes, the Egyptian Thoth, played at tables with Selene, and won from her the seventieth part of each day of the year, i.e., in all five days, which he added to the year. On the first of these five days Osiris was born, and a voice was heard to proclaim that the lord of creation was born. In due course he became king of Egypt and taught men husbandry, and established a code of laws, and made men worship the gods; when Egypt had become peaceful and prosperous he set out to instruct the other nations of the world, and Isis ruled Egypt during his absence. On his return Typhon, the Egyptian Set, and his seventy-two comrades, made Osiris to lie down in a chest, which was immediately closed by them, and cast into the Nile, which carried it down to its Tanaitic mouths. When Isis heard what had befallen her husband she cut off a lock of her hair as a sign of grief, and then set out to find his dead body. At length she traced it to Byblos, whither it had been carried by the sea, and she found that the waves had gently laid it among the branches of a tamarisk tree, which had grown to a magnificent size, and had enclosed the chest within its trunk. The Byblos here referred to is not Byblos in Phoenicia, but the papyrus swamps of Egypt, which are called in Egyptian  $\text{Āṭḥu}$ , , a name meaning "papyrus plants;" the Greeks rendered the Egyptian word for "papyrus" by *Βύβλος*, and some copyist of the Greek text misunderstood the signification of the word in this passage, and rendered it by the name of the city of Phoenicia.

The king of the country, admiring the tree, had it cut down and made a pillar for the roof of his house; it is this tree trunk

which is referred to by the hieroglyphic sign , *tet*, and which is continually used in the texts with reference to Osiris. It has been said to represent a mason's table, but the four cross-bars have nothing to do with such a thing, for they are intended to indicate the four branches of a roof-tree of a house which were turned to the four cardinal points. When Isis heard that the tree had been cut down, she went to the palace of the king, and through the good offices of the royal maidens she was made nurse to one of the king's sons. Instead of nursing the child in the ordinary way, Isis gave him her finger to suck, and each night she put him into the fire to consume his mortal parts, changing herself the while into a swallow and bemoaning her fate. On one occasion the queen saw her son in the flames, and cried out, and thus deprived him of immortality. Then Isis told the queen her story, and begged for the pillar which supported the roof. This she cut open, and took out the chest and her husband's body, and departed with them to Egypt; having arrived there she hid the chest and set out in quest of her son Horus.

One night, however, Typhon was out hunting by the light of the moon, and he found the chest, and recognizing the body, tore it into fourteen pieces, which he scattered up and down throughout the land. When Isis heard of this she took a boat made of papyrus<sup>1</sup>—a plant abhorred by crocodiles—and sailing about she gathered together the fragments of Osiris's body. Wheresoever she found one, she buried it and built a tomb over it. Meanwhile Horus had grown up, and being encouraged in the use of arms by Osiris, who returned from the other world, he went out to do battle with Typhon the murderer of his father. The fight lasted some days, and Typhon was made captive, and was given over to the custody of Isis who, however, set him free. Horus in his rage tore from her head the royal diadem, but Thoth gave her a helmet in the shape of a cow's head. In two other battles fought between

<sup>1</sup> Moses was laid in an ark of bulrushes, and was therefore believed to be safe from the attacks of crocodiles.

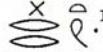
Horus and Typhon Horus was the victor. The great battle between Horus and Typhon took place, we are told in the IVth Sallier Papyrus, on the 26th day of the month Thoth; they first of all fought in the form of two men, but they afterwards changed themselves into two bears, and they passed three days and three nights in this form.

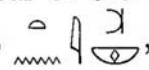
From the above summary it is clear that in Plutarch's time the Egyptians believed that Osiris was the son of a god, that he lived a good life upon earth and ruled as a wise and just king, that he was slain by the malice of evil men, that his body was mutilated, and that his wife Isis collected his limbs which had been scattered throughout Egypt by Set, or Typhon, and that Osiris by some means obtained a new life in the next world, where he reigned as god and king. The hieroglyphic texts contain abundant testimony that the statements of Plutarch are substantially correct, and from first to last Osiris was to the Egyptians the god-man who suffered, and died, and rose again, and reigned eternally in heaven. They believed that they would inherit eternal life, just as he had done, provided that what was done for him by the gods was done for them, and they made use of amulets, and magical texts of all kind, and performed ceremonies connected with sympathetic magic in order that they might compel Osiris and the gods who had brought about his resurrection (i.e., Thoth, the "lord of divine words, the scribe of the gods," and Isis, who made use of the words with which Thoth supplied her, and Horus and his companion gods who performed the symbolic ceremonies which were effectual in producing the reconstitution of the body of Osiris and its revivification) to act on their behalf even as they had acted for the god. The species of the amulets used were constant, and they appear to have been sixteen in number, viz., four figures of the children of Horus each with his characteristic head, four lapis-lazuli T̄t̄ pillars, two bulls, a figure of Horus, a figure of Thoth, two carnelian T̄t̄ pillars, and two lapis-lazuli *utchats*, .

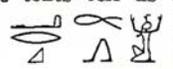
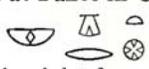
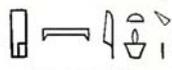
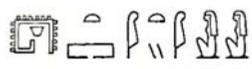
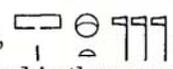
According to Plutarch the number of portions into which Set tore the body of Osiris was fourteen; but the hieroglyphic texts give at times fourteen and at others sixteen; the cities and

sanctuaries wherein these were buried are :—1. Āment in Koptos. 2. Āa-āb in Elephantine. 3. Ān-ruṭ-f in Herakleopolis Magna. 4. Kusae. 5. Heliopolis. 6. Āt-Āment in Sma-beḥuṭet (Diospolis of Lower Egypt). 7. Letopolis. 8. Pa-Thuḥen in Saïs. 9. Meḥ-ta-f in Hermopolis of Lower Egypt. 10. Athribis. 11. Āq (Schedia). 12. Āb, in the Libyan Nome. 13. Ḥet-serā in the city of Netert. 14. Apis.<sup>1</sup> In the late period of Egyptian history, i.e., in Graeco-Roman times, the sanctuaries of Osiris were forty-two in number; in other words, each nome possessed its central shrine of Osiris, which was called a “Serapeum,” or the place where Serapis was worshipped, but this happened because Osiris Khent Āmenti was identified with Serapis, who was not the god Osiris himself, but only a dead Āpis bull which had become an Osiris. It has already been said that in some lists the sanctuaries of Osiris are stated to be sixteen in number, but it is tolerably certain that the true number is fourteen, because in the inscriptions at Dendera which refer to the “mysteries” of Osiris, the statue of Seker-Osiris, which played such a prominent part in the ceremonies performed there, was made up of fourteen pieces,<sup>2</sup> although sixteen pieces are sometimes enumerated.<sup>3</sup> The sixteen members of the body of Osiris are :—his head, , the soles of his feet, , his bones, , his arms, , his heart,  , his interior,  , his tongue,  , his eye, , his fist,  , his fingers, , his back, , his ears,   , his loins,    , his body,  .

<sup>1</sup> See Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 79 ff. Another list of the sixteen sanctuaries is given by M. Loret in *Recueil*, tom. v., p. 85, where they are enumerated in the following order :—Tetṭu,  , Abydos,  , Memphis,                      

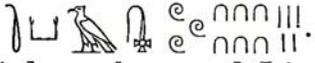
his head with the face of a ram, , and his hair, .<sup>1</sup>

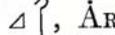
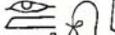
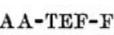
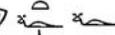
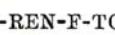
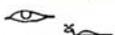
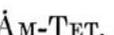
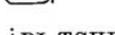
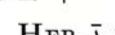
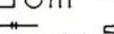
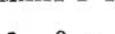
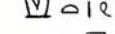
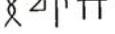
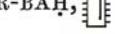
All the evidence on the subject now available goes to prove, as the paragraphs above show, that the early Egyptians believed that Osiris was a man-god who was murdered and whose body was mutilated, and that the various members of his body were reconstituted; and we know from a very interesting text at Dendera<sup>2</sup> that during the month of Khoiak a number of festivals were celebrated at all the chief sanctuaries of Osiris in Egypt, and that elaborate ceremonies were performed in them in commemoration of every event which took place in the life, death, and resurrection of the god. In this text the uses of the various sanctuaries are described, and detailed instructions are given for the making of the funeral chest, and of the model of the god which was to be buried in the coffin, and of the incense, and of the amulets, and of the fourteen divine members, and of all the materials, etc., which were employed in the ceremonies. On the xiiith day of Khoiak the Festival of the Ploughing of the Earth and the Festival of the TENÀ, , were celebrated; on the xivth day the great

<sup>1</sup> The hieroglyphic texts tell us that the head of Osiris was buried in the sanctuary of Ārq-ḥēḥ, , in Abydos; his left eye was buried in Ḥet-Maākheru, , in Lower Egypt; his eyebrows were buried in Ām,  (Pelusium); his jaw-bones were buried at Fāket in Upper Egypt; certain portions of his head were buried at Ḥeb-ḳert, , in the Delta; his neck was buried in the Delta; an arm and his right leg were buried at Aterui qemā, ; his left leg was buried at Meḥet, ; a bone of his back (*os coccyx*) was buried at Heliopolis, and his thighs at Ḥet-ḥer-āteb, ; a foot was buried at Netert, , and his heart at Usekht-Maāti, ; his phallus was buried at Ḥet-Bennu, , and a portion of his backbone at Pa-paut-neteru, . Various other parts of his body were buried at different places, and in the case of a few members the honour of possessing them was claimed by more than one city.

<sup>2</sup> See Brugsch, *Recueil*, i., 15, 16; Dürnichen, *Résultats*, iv. 1-27; Mariette, *Dendérah*, tom. iv., pll. 35-39.

Festival of Pert; on the xvith day the Festival of Osiris Khent Ámenti; on the xxivth day the model of the god of the preceding year was taken out from its place and buried suitably, and the new Osiris was embalmed in the sanctuary; on the last day of the month the Tet, , was set up in Tettu, because on this day the divine members of Osiris, , were brought. The new Osiris remained without burial for seven days because of the tradition which declared that the god had remained for seven days in the womb of his mother Nut when she was with child.

In connexion with the ceremonies in the great sanctuaries, e.g., Dendera, thirty-four papyrus boats were employed, and these were lit up with 365 lights, or lamps, . The gods of Mendes, with Anubis, occupied one boat, and Isis, Nephthys, Horus, and Thoth, each had a boat; the remaining twenty-nine boats were dedicated to the following gods:—MESTHÁ,

HĀPI,  TUAMUTEF,  QEBH-SENNUF,  SĀH-HEQ,  ĀRMĀUI,  MAA-TEF-F,  ĀR-REN-F-TCHESSEF,  ĀM-TET,  NEFER-HĀT,  ĀST-SEN-ĀRI-TCHER,  SEM,  HER-Ā-F,  SENT,  ĀRI-MAAT-F-TCHESSEF,  SEBAKHSSEN,  HEQES,  NETER-BAH,  QETET,  KHENTI-HEH-F,  ĀQ-HER-ĀM-UNNUT-F,  NETCHEH-NETCHEH,  ĀSBU,  PER-EM-KHET-KHET,  ERTĀ-NEF-NEBT,  TESHHER-MAATI,  KHENT-HEH-ĀNES,  MAA-EM-QERH,  ĀN-F-EM-HRU-SEKSEK, . The above

facts prove that in the Ptolemaic period the views which were held generally about Osiris were substantially the same as those which were in vogue in the times when the Pyramid Texts were

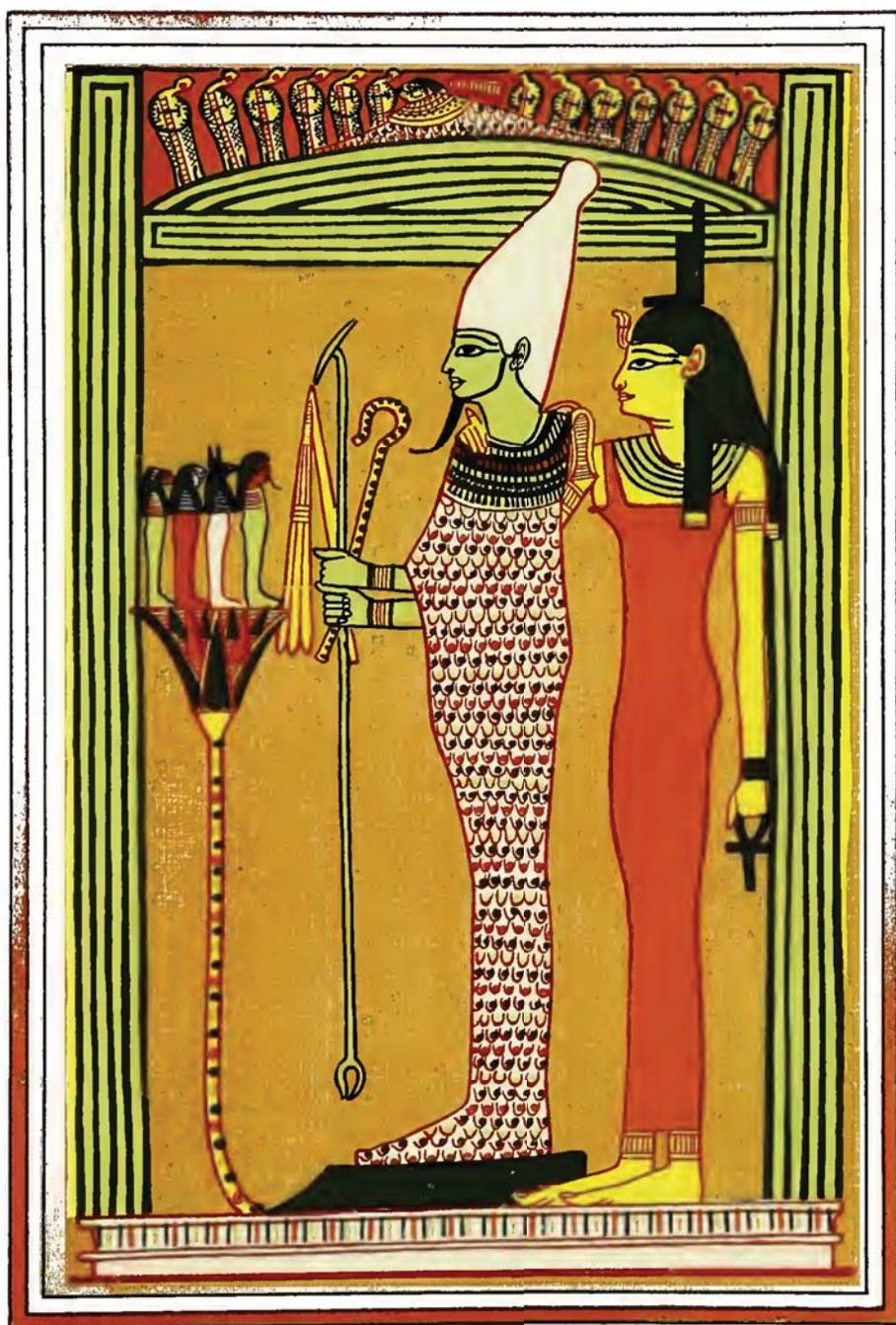
composed, and it is clear that the cult of Osiris was widespread even in the Vth Dynasty, or about B.C. 3500.

From the Pyramid Texts we learn that the dead kings were already identified with Osiris, and that Osiris was identified with the dead Sun-god, but we have no means of knowing when he was merged in Seker, the god of the Memphite Underworld. The Heliopolitan priests declared that he was the son of Seb and Nut, but it is much to be regretted that they did not preserve for us the genealogy of the god according to the priests of the predynastic period. The festivals which were celebrated in the month of Khoiak were, no doubt, founded upon very ancient tradition, but the elaboration of detail given in the text at Dendera, to which reference has already been made, does not suggest a primitive antiquity, although it shows how deeply seated was the cult of Osiris in the hearts of the people. The numerous aspects under which the god was worshipped also show that some of the original conceptions of the attributes of the god were forgotten in comparatively early days, both by foreigners and Egyptians, and it is this fact which explains how he came to be identified with the Greek god Dionysos. The aspects of Osiris were nearly as numerous as those of Rā, hence we find him identified with the sun and moon, and with the great creative and regenerative powers of Nature, and he was at once the symbol of rejuvenescence, resurrection, and of life of every sort and kind which has the power of renewing itself.

We must now consider the various forms in which Osiris is represented on the monuments, and in papyri, etc. The common form of the god is that of a mummy, who wears a beard, and has the White Crown, , on his head, and a *menat*, , hanging from the back of his neck. In a scene reproduced by Lanzone<sup>1</sup> he appears in a group with the Hawk-god Seker, the Beetle-god Kheprer, and the goddess SHENT, , and has two forms, i.e., Osiris, lord of Khut, and Khent Amenti,     , and   . In another scene<sup>2</sup> he appears in the form of the Tet

<sup>1</sup> *Dizionario*, plate 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 17.



OSIRIS WEARING THE WHITE CROWN AND MENÁT AND HOLDING THE SCEPTRE, CROOK, AND FLAIL. BEFORE HIM ARE THE FOUR CHILDREN OF HORUS, AND BEHIND HIM IS HIS WIFE ISIS.

pillar, and is called "Osiris Tṭṭ," and stands at the head of a bier, on which lies the god Seker in mummied form. On a stele at Turin<sup>1</sup> Osiris appears in mummied form, seated, and holding in his hands the sceptre , and the flail or whip ; on his head is the White Crown with plumes, to which the name *Atef* is usually given. His titles are "Osiris Khenti-Āmentet, Un-nefer, lord of Tatcheser, the great god, king of the living." Behind him are seated PTAḤ-SEKRI,    , "lord of the hidden chest," ĀNPU, "dweller in the city of embalmment," Horus, son of Isis, and Hathor. As a form of Khnemu-Rā he has the head of a ram, the horns of which are surmounted by a solar disk and by four knives.<sup>2</sup> A common symbol of the god is , i.e., the box which contained the head and hair of Osiris and which was preserved at Abydos, where these relics were buried. Elsewhere we see the body of the god bent round backwards in such a way as to form the region of the Tṭuat or Underworld (see vol. i., p. 229). Sometimes the god is seated on a throne, which is supported on the back of a monster serpent that rests on the top of the mythological flight of steps, , at Henen-Su; he is accompanied by Maāt, Horus, son of Isis, Thoth, HEKA,  , who holds a serpent in each hand, and the snake-headed goddess HEPTET,   . The exact part which this last-named deity played in connexion with Osiris is unknown, but it is certain that it was of considerable importance, and that the goddess assisted in bringing about his resurrection. Heptet has the body of a woman with the head of a bearded snake; on her head is a pair of horns which are surmounted by a solar disk, and Atef Crown, and uraei with disks and horns, . In each hand she holds a knife.<sup>3</sup>

On the walls of the temple of Dendera<sup>4</sup> is preserved a very interesting group of scenes connected with the story of the death and resurrection of the god, which may be briefly described thus:—

1. Osiris lying on his stomach on his bier, beneath which are his four crowns; he is called, "Osiris, beloved of his father, the

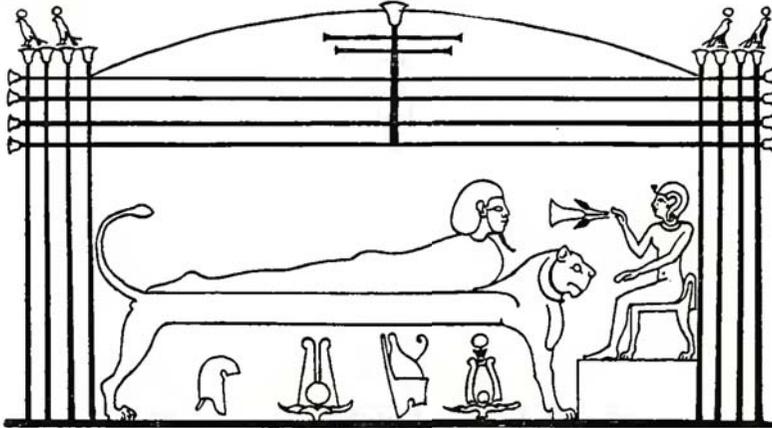
<sup>1</sup> Lanzzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 143.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 211.

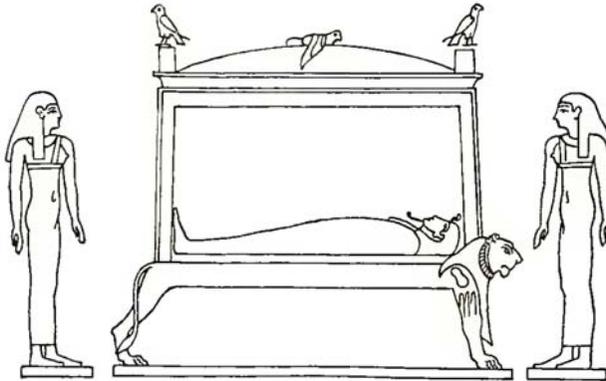
<sup>4</sup> See Mariette, *Dendérah*, tom. iv., pl. 65 ff., Paris, 1873.

king of the gods, the lord of life, Osiris." In front of Osiris is Horus who presents to him a lotus flower.



No. 1.

2. Osiris lying on his funeral bier; at the head stands



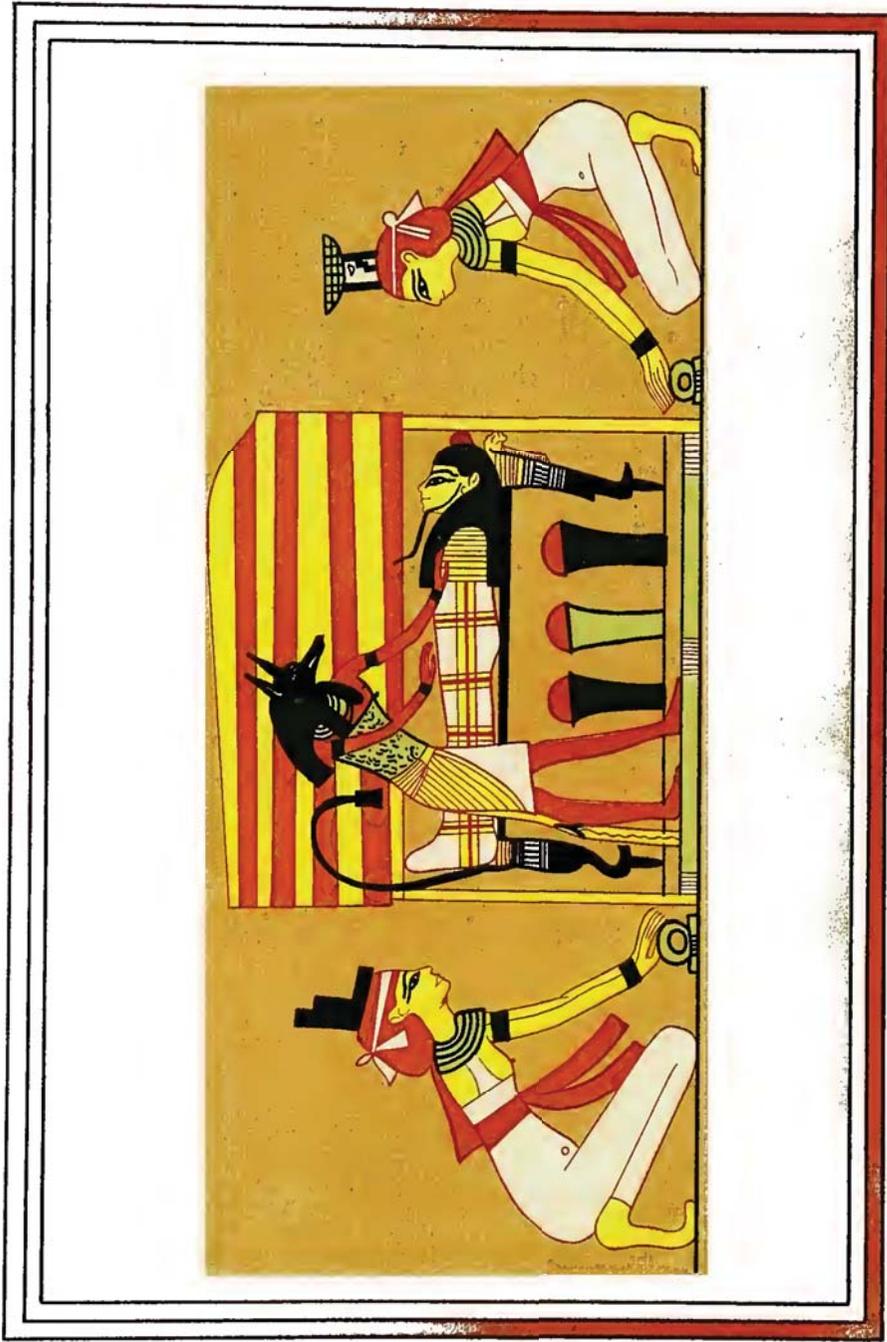
No. 2.

Nephthys, and at the foot Isis.



No. 3.

3. Osiris, ithyphallic, and wearing the Atef Crown, lying on his bier. On the head of the bier is a hawk with outstretched wings, and behind it stands Isis; on the foot is a similar hawk, and behind it stands Horus,



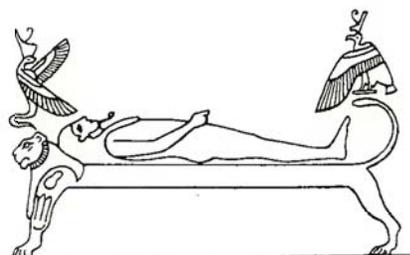
ANUBIS MINISTERING TO OSIRIS ON HIS BIER: AT THE HEAD, ANUBIS; AT THE FOOT, ANUBIS

son of Isis. Above is the soul of Osiris. Below the bier are two crowns, a tunic, and a cap.

4. Osiris, naked and beardless, lying on his bier, at the head of which is a statue of Isis, and at the foot a statue of Nephthys.

5. Osiris, naked and beardless, lying on his bier, at the head of which stands Isis who is addressing the god; beneath the bier are figures of the four children of Horus, Mesthâ, Hâpi, T̄uamutef, and Qebhsennuf, who, besides representing the gods of the four cardinal points, may here be considered as personifications of the four large, internal organs of the body.

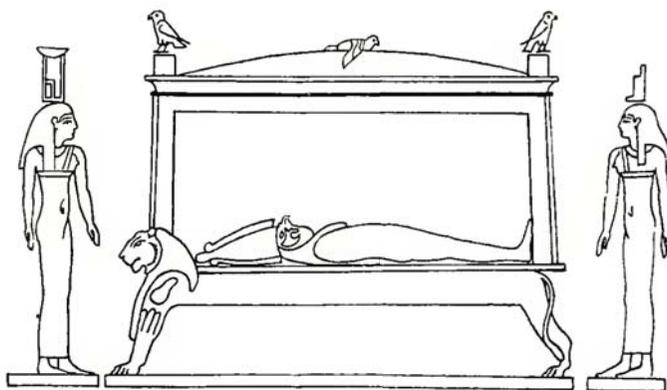
6. Osiris, naked, lying upon his bier, over the foot of which is the vulture goddess Uatchet, and over the head the uræus goddess Nekhebet.



No. 6.

7. Osiris, in mummied form, lying on his bier beneath a funeral chest, over which a hawk stretches out its wings.

8. Osiris,  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{⤵} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \right]$ , of Behutet (Edfû) lying on his bier, with



No. 8.

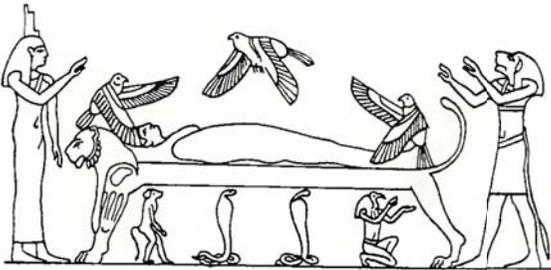
Nephthys at his head and Isis at his feet.

9. Osiris of Ta-khent lying on his bier, with a Hawk-goddess at the head and a Vulture-goddess at the foot.

10. Osiris of Hâp,  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{⤵} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \right]$ , wearing the Atef Crown, lying face downwards on his bier, beneath which are a number of crowns and caps of the god.

11. Osiris lying on his bier in the Meskhen chamber with the four funeral vases beneath.

12. Osiris, ithyphallic, mummied, and beardless, lying on his bier; he is watched over by three hawks, and by Isis, who stands at the head, and by a frog-headed form of the god Horus. Beneath the bier are the ape-headed god  $\dot{A}URT$ ,

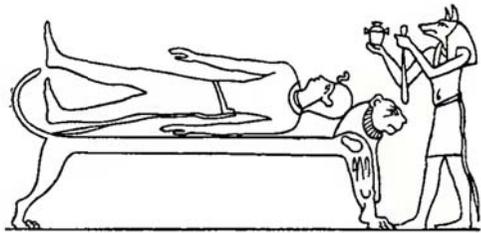


No. 12.

and two snake-goddesses, one of which is called  $\dot{H}ER-$

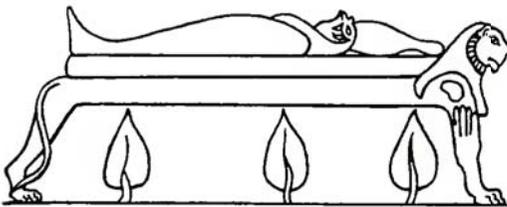
$\dot{T}EPT$ , , and an ibis-headed god.

13. Seker-Osiris of Mendes, beardless, lying upon a bier, with Anubis in attendance, holding in his hands a vase of unguent, and an instrument used in embalming.



No. 13.

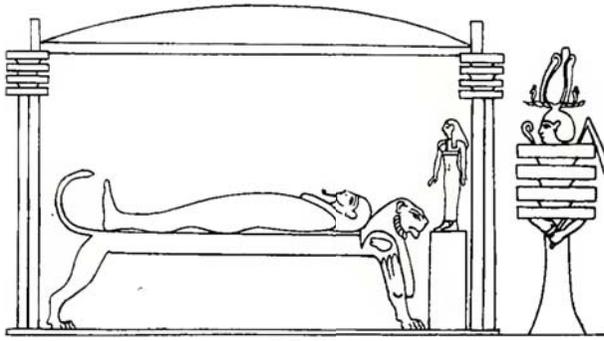
14. Seker-Osiris of Mendes, in the form of a hawk-headed mummy, lying upon his bier, beneath which grow three small trees.



No. 14.

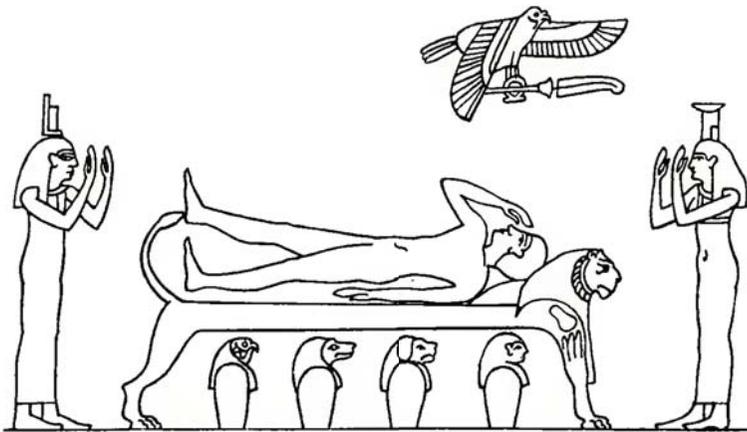
15. Seker-Osiris, naked, and bearded, and wearing the Atef Crown, lying upon his bier, beneath which grow three trees.

16. Ptah-Seker- $\dot{A}s\bar{a}r$  of Memphis, in mummied form and bearded, lying upon his bier, at the head of which, on a pedestal, stands a figure of Isis. The bier is placed within a funeral chest, the pillars of which are in the form of  $\dot{T}et$ , . On the right is " $\dot{A}s\bar{a}r \dot{T}et$ , the holy one in  $\dot{T}et\dot{t}u$ , , in the form of a  $\dot{T}et$  pillar, which is provided with human hands and arms ;

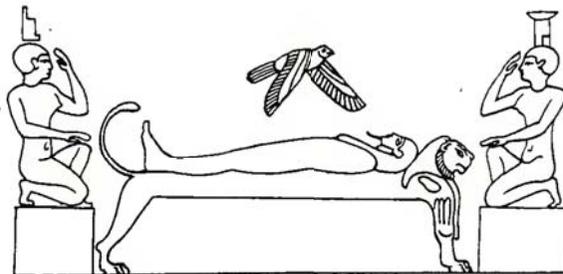


No. 16.

above it appear the head of Osiris and the sceptre and flail, or whip.

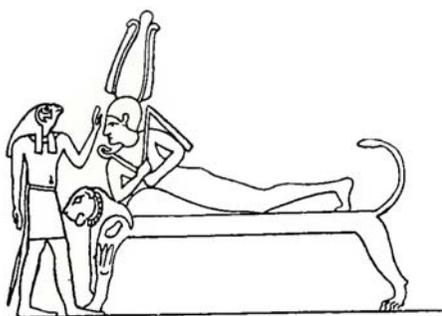


Osiris on his bier ; beneath are the Canopic jars.

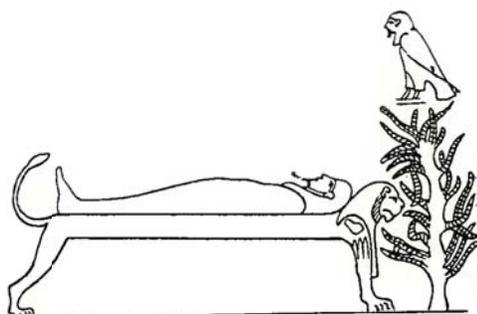


The mummy of Osiris on its bier with the hawk of Horus above ; at the head is Nephthys, and at the foot Isis.

17. Osiris, beardless, and wearing the White Crown and plumes, in the act of raising himself from his bier at the command of **HERU-NETCH-TEF-F.**



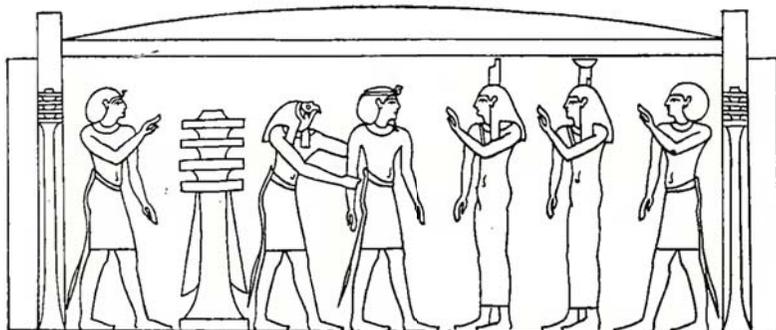
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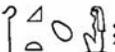
No. 18.

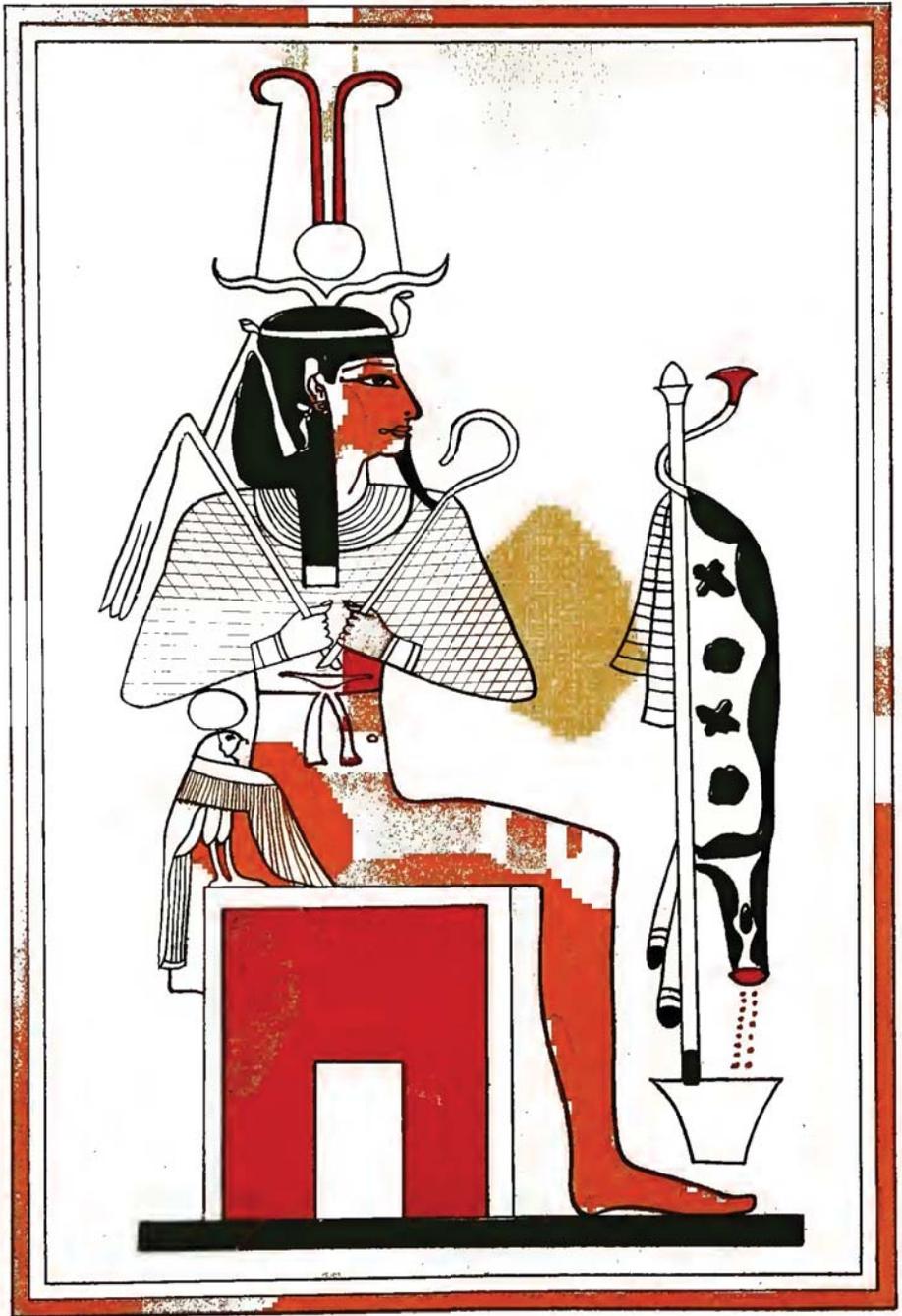
18. Osiris Un-nefer, in mummied form, lying on his bier, at the head of which grows the Persea tree, *Ashet* ; above the upper branches stands a soul in the form of a man-headed hawk.

19. Osiris, bearded, lying on his bier, which rests within an elaborately ornamented funeral chest; beneath the bier are a number of helmets, caps, etc., belonging to the god. Through one end of the chest *Heru-netch-tef-f* thrusts his lance, and touches the face of Osiris with it, with the view, presumably, of effecting the "opening of the mouth."



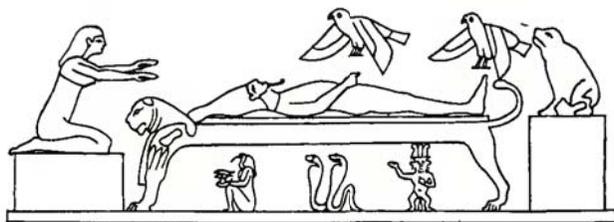
Ceremonial scene connected with the resurrection of Osiris.

20. Osiris, ithyphallic and bearded, in mummied form, lying upon his bier; over his feet and his body hover two hawks. At the head kneels Hathor, "Mistress of Amentet, who weepeth for "her brother," and at the foot is a frog, symbol of the goddess *HEQET*, ; beneath the bier are an ibis-headed god holding the *Utchat*, two serpents, and the god *BES*. It is interesting to note that the frog-headed goddess *Heqet*, who was a form of



PTAH-SEKER-ÄUSÄR, THE TRIUNE GOD OF THE RESURRECTION.

Hathor, was connected by the Christians with the Christian Resurrection ; in proof of this may be cited the lamp described by



No. 20.

Signor Lanzone,<sup>1</sup> whereon, he tells us, is a figure of a frog, and the legend 'Εγω εἰμι Ἀναστάσις, "I am the resurrection."

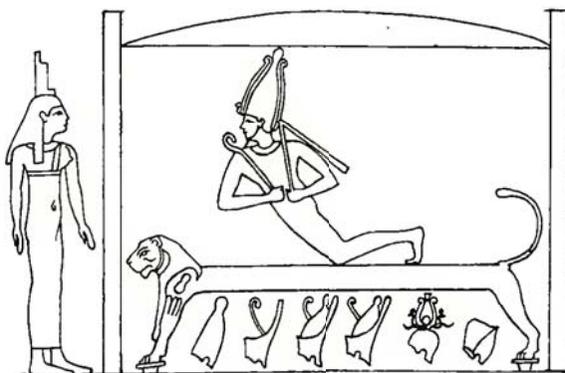
21. Osiris, bearded, ithyphallic, in mummied form, and wearing the White Crown, lying on his bier, by the side of which stand Anubis, jackal-headed, and Heqet, frog-headed. At the



Anubis addressing Osiris on his bier.

head stands Heru-netch-tef-f in the form of a hawk, and Nephthys kneels ; at the foot kneels Isis.

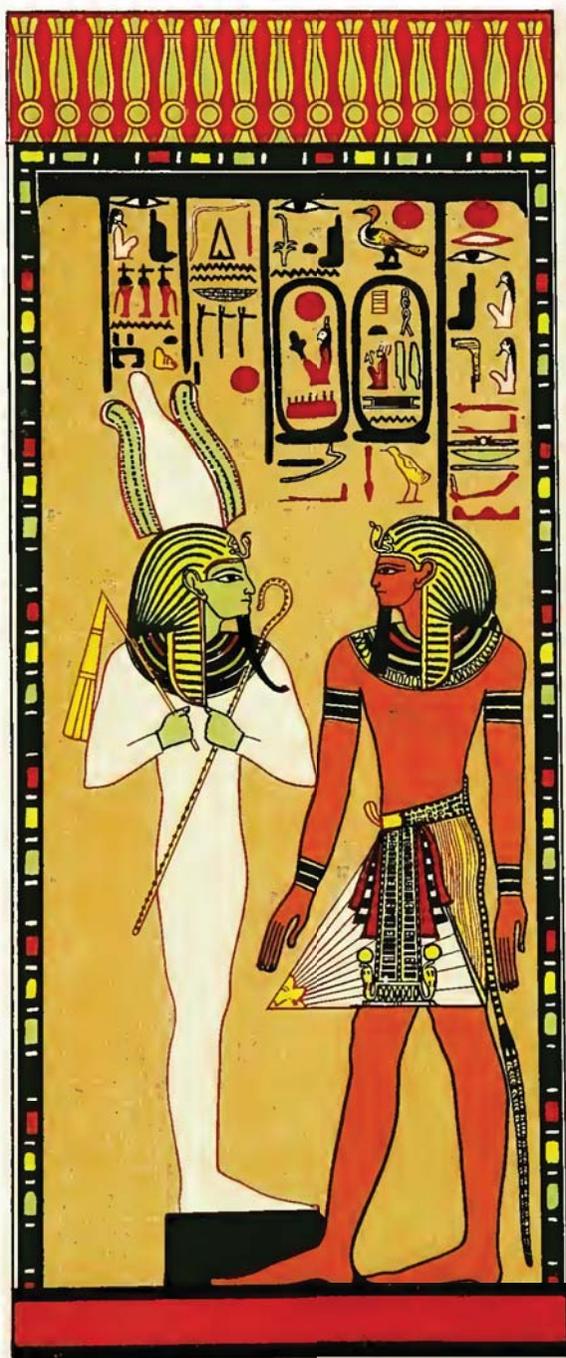
22. Osiris, bearded, wearing the White Crown with plumes,



No. 22.

<sup>1</sup> *Dizionario*, p. 853.





KING SETI I. ADDRESSING OSIRIS KHENT-AMENTET.

some scenes Osiris appears as a god of vegetation, and in one instance the god is represented in mummied form, and wearing the Atef Crown, and from his body a row of plants is seen growing; in another he is represented by a small mound of earth, which is called "Osiris," , and from which four trees grow. Above the mound is a large serpent with the White Crown upon its head, and two small serpents growing out from its body; on the right are:— 1. A ram-headed god, holding a serpent, and 2. the serpent KHEBKHEB, ; on the left are a ram-headed god holding a serpent, and a feather. The Osiris ceremonies varied in different places, according as the god was identified with local gods, but in all great religious centres Osiris, under one name or another, possessed his own sanctuary. Thus, as Dr. Brugsch has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> in Northern Nubia Osiris was known as Khnemu, in Apollinopolis and Dendera as Ân, in Thebes as Khnemu-ut-em-ânkh, in Coptos as Âmsu-Ĥeru-ka-nekht, in Diospolis Parva as Sekhem, in Lycopolis as Sekhem-tau, in Antaeopolis as Maui, in Cusae as Urt-âb, in Memphis as Seker, in Cynopolis and Oxyrhynchus as Anubis, in Herakleopolis as Ka-ĥetep and Ĥeru-shefi, in the Libyan Nome as Khent-Âmenti, in Heroopolis as Ânkh and Tem, in Busiris as Tĕt or Tĕtĕtu, in Heliopolis as Ser-âa, and in other places in the Delta as Fentĕt-ânkh, Ĥeru-âp-shata. In the cxlist and cxliind Chapters of the *Book of the Dead* we have a complete list of the forms and shrines of Osiris, and as they are of great importance for forming a right idea of the universality of the cult of Osiris in Egypt, it will be found, in two versions, at the end of this section on the great gods of Heliopolis.

We have now traced the history of Osiris from the time when he was a river or water god, and of only quite local importance, up to the period when his worship reached from the north of the Delta to the Nubian Nome at Elephantine, and he had become in every sense of the word the national god of Egypt. We have now to consider Osiris in his character of god and judge of the dead, and as the symbol of the resurrection, and the best source upon which

<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 618.

we can draw for information on this subject is the *Book of the Dead*. In this work Osiris is held to be the greatest of the gods, and it is he who is the judge of men after death, and he is the arbiter of their future destiny. He attained this exalted position because he was believed to have been once a human being who had died and had been dismembered; but his limbs had been reconstituted and he had become immortal. The most remarkable thing about him was that his body had never decayed like the bodies of ordinary men, and neither putrefaction nor worms ever acquired power over it, or caused it to diminish in the least degree. It is true that it was embalmed by Horus, and Anubis, and Isis, who carried out with the greatest care and exactitude all the prescriptions which had been ordered by Thoth, and who performed their work so thoroughly well that the material body which Osiris possessed on this earth served as the body for the god in the world beyond the grave, though only after it had undergone some mysterious change, which was brought about by the words of power which these gods said and by the ceremonies which they performed. A very ancient tradition declared that the god Thoth himself had acted the part of priest for Osiris, and although the Egyptians believed that it was his words which brought the dead god back to life, they were never able wholly to free themselves from the idea that the series of magical ceremonies which they performed in connexion with the embalmment and burial of the dead produced most beneficial results for their deceased friends.

The compositions which form the chapters of the *Book of the Dead* are declared to have been written by Thoth, and they were assumed to be identical with those which this god pronounced on behalf of Osiris; the ceremonies which were performed by the priests at the recital of such compositions were held to be identical with those which Horus and Anubis performed for the "lord of life," and if the words were said by duly appointed and properly qualified priests, in a suitable tone of voice, whilst the ministrants and libationers performed the sacred ceremonies according to the Rubrics, it was held to be impossible for Osiris to refuse to grant the deceased eternal life, and to admit him into his kingdom. It may be argued that the words and the ceremonies were the all-important

factors of the resurrection of man and of his eternal life, but this was not the case, for the Egyptians only regarded them as means to be used with care and diligence; it was Osiris, the god-man himself, who had risen from the dead and was living in a body perfect in all its members, who was the cause of the resurrection. Osiris could give life after death because he had attained to it, and he could give eternal life to the souls of men in their transformed bodies because he had made himself incorruptible and immortal. Moreover, he was himself "Eternity and Everlastingness," and it was he who "made men and women to be born again," ; the new birth was the birth into the new life of the world which is beyond the grave and is everlasting. Osiris could give life because he was life, he could make man to rise from the dead because he was the resurrection; but the priesthood taught in all periods of Egyptian history that it was necessary to endeavour to obtain the favour of the god by means of magical and religious words and ceremonies. From the earliest times the belief in the immortality of Osiris existed, and the existence of the dead after death was bound up with that of the god. Thus in the text of Unās (line 240) it is said of the king to Tem, "O Tem, this is thy son Osiris. Thou hast given him his sustenance and he liveth; he liveth and Unās liveth; he dieth not, and this Unās dieth not; he is not destroyed, and this Unās shall not be destroyed; if he begetteth not this Unās shall not beget; if he begetteth this Unās shall beget." In a text nearly two thousand years later the deceased Ani is made to ask Tem, the head of the company of the gods of Heliopolis, "How long have I to live?" and he replies, "Thou shalt exist for millions of millions of years, a period of millions of years";<sup>1</sup> now Tem was identified with Rā, and Rā, at the time when this text was written, was held to be the father of Osiris, and to all intents and purposes the question of the scribe Ani was addressed to Osiris.

It has already been said that the great source of information

<sup>1</sup> , Chapter clxxv. of the *Book of the Dead* (Ani, pl. 19, l. 16).

about Osiris and his cult is contained in the *Book of the Dead*, which may be termed the Gospel of Osiris, wherein the god is made to point out to man the necessity for leading a pure and good life upon earth, and to instruct him in the words and deeds which will enable him to attain eternal life, and we must now briefly describe the relations which were believed to exist between this god of truth and life and the deceased. In the accompanying plate, which contains the famous "Judgment Scene" of the *Book of the Dead*, as contained in the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum, we have a representation of Osiris in his capacity as the Judge of the dead, and a description of it will explain the views of the ancient Egyptians on the judgment of the souls of the dead. From certain passages and allusions in the Pyramid Texts it is clear that the ancient Egyptians believed that the souls of the dead, and perhaps also their bodies, were judged, and the place of their judgment seems to have been situated in the sky; no details of the manner in which it was performed are given, but it seems as if the judgment consisted in the "weighing of words,"

, *utchā meṭu*, that is to say, the weighing of actions, for the word *meṭu* means "deed, action," as much as "word" (like the Hebrew *dābhār*, דָּבָר). The "weighing of words" (or actions) was carried out by means of a pair of scales, *Mākhaāt*, , which were presided over by Thoth, who from very remote days was known as *ĀP-REHUI*, , i.e., "Judge of the two combatant gods," that is to say, "Judge of Horus and Set," and as *ĀP-SENUI*, , "Judge of the Two Brothers." Thoth, however, only watched the Balance when "words" were being tried in it on behalf of Osiris—at least this was the view in later times.

The Egyptians, having once conceived the existence of a Balance in the Underworld, proceeded to represent it pictorially, and as a result we have in the vignette of the Judgment Scene a pair of scales similar to those with which they were acquainted in daily life. They were too logical to think that words, or even actions, could be weighed in a material balance, and they therefore



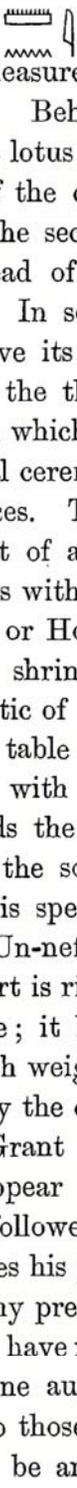
THE GODDESS MESKHENET.

represented the weighing of the material heart, from which they declared all thoughts and actions proceeded, and sometimes the whole body of the man who is to be judged was placed by the artist in one pan of the Scales. They had, moreover, in very early times arrived at the conception of "right, truth, law, and "rectitude," all of which they expressed by the word *maât*,  , and it was against the emblem of *Maât*, the feather,  , that they weighed either the heart or the whole body. Why the feather was chosen as the symbol of *maât* instead of the usual object,  , it is impossible to say, and this fact suggests that all the views which the Egyptians held about the weighing of the heart have not yet been understood. As the Judgment Scene stands it represents a mixture of different views and opinions which belong to different periods, but it seems impossible to doubt that at some remote time they believed in the actual weighing of a portion of the physical body of a man as a part of the ceremony of judgment. The judgment of each individual seems to have taken place soon after death, and annihilation or everlasting life and bliss to have been decreed at once for the souls of the dead; there are no sufficient grounds for assuming that the Egyptians believed either in a general resurrection or in protracted punishment. How far they thought that the prayers of the living for the dead were efficacious in arresting or modifying the decree of doom cannot be said, but very considerable importance was attached by them to funeral prayers and ceremonies in all ages, and there is no doubt that they were the outcome of the firm belief that they would result in the salvation and well-being of the souls of the dead. The Judgment Scene as given in the Papyrus of Ani may be thus described:—

The scribe Ani and his wife Thuthu enter the Hall of Maäti, wherein the heart, symbolic of the conscience, is to be weighed in the Balance against the feather, emblematic of Right and Truth. In the upper register are the gods who sit in judgment, and who form the great company of the gods of Heliopolis, to whom are added Hathor, H̄u, and Sa. On the standard of the Balance sits the dog-headed ape, the companion of Thoth, the scribe of the gods; and the god Anubis, jackal-headed, examines the pointer to

make certain that the beam is exactly horizontal, and that the tongue of the Balance is in its proper place. On the left of the Balance are :—1. SHAI, , the god of luck, or destiny ; 2. the MESKHEN, , or rectangular object with a human head which rests upon a pylon, and is commonly thought to be connected with the place of birth ; 3. MESKHENET, , the goddess of the funeral chamber, and RENENET, , the goddess of nursing ; 4. the soul of Ani in the form of a human-headed hawk standing upon a pylon. The lines of hieroglyphics which appear above the figures of Ani and his wife contain a version of Chapter xxx.B of the *Book of the Dead*, in which the deceased addresses his heart, and prays that the sovereign chiefs may not oppose his judgment, and that it may not be separated from him in the presence of the keeper of the Balance. The sovereign chiefs here referred to are Mesthâ, Hâpi, T̄uamutef, and Qebhsennuf, the children of Horus. After the heart has been weighed, Thoth, being satisfied with the result, addresses the gods, saying, “The heart of Osiris Ani hath indeed been weighed, and “his soul hath borne witness concerning him (or it) ; it hath been “found true by trial in the Great Balance. No evil hath been “found in him, he hath not wasted the offerings in the temples, “he hath not done harm by his deeds, and he hath uttered no “evil report whilst he was upon earth.” In answer to these words the gods ratify the sentence of Thoth, and they declare that he is holy and righteous, and that he hath not sinned against them ; therefore the monster ĀMEMET, , or the “Eater of the dead,” who is seen standing behind Thoth, shall not prevail over him, and they further decree that he shall have a homestead in Sekhet-ḥetepu for ever, and that offerings shall be made to him, and that he shall have the power to appear before Osiris at will.

In the second part of the scene Horus, the son of Isis, leads Ani by the hand into the presence of Osiris, who is enthroned within a shrine in the form of a funeral chest. Osiris has upon his head the Atef crown, and he holds his usual emblems of authority,

ḥ, ḥ, ḥ; from his neck hangs the *menat*, , i.e., the amulet which was associated with joy and pleasure. The title of the god is "Osiris, lord of everlastingness." Behind him stand Isis and Nephthys; before him, standing on a lotus flower, are the four Children of Horus, i.e., the four gods of the cardinal points. The first, Mesthâ, has the head of a man; the second, Hâpi, the head of an ape; the third, Tuamutef, the head of a jackal; and the fourth, Qebhsennuf, the head of a hawk. In some papyri the lotus on which these gods stand is seen to have its roots in a lake, or stream, of water, which flows from under the throne of Osiris. Near the lotus hangs the skin of the pied bull which was sacrificed at the beginning of that portion of the funeral ceremony when two gazelles and a goose were also slain as sacrifices. The side of the throne of Osiris is painted to resemble that of a funeral chest. The roof of the shrine is supported on pillars with lotus capitals, and is surmounted by a figure of Horus Sept or Horus Seker, and by rows of uraei. The pedestal on which the shrine rests is in the form of the hieroglyphic which is emblematic of Maât, , i.e., "Right and Truth." Before the shrine is a table of offerings, by the side of which, on a reed mat, kneels Ani with his right hand raised in adoration; in the left hand he holds the kherp sceptre. He wears on his head a whitened wig, and the so-called "cone," the signification of which is unknown. In his speech Horus, the son of Isis, says, "I have come to thee, O Un-nefer, and I have brought unto thee the Osiris Ani. His heart is righteous, and it hath come forth innocent from the Balance; it hath not sinned against any god or any goddess. Thoth hath weighed it according to the decree pronounced unto him by the company of the gods; and it is most true and righteous. Grant that cakes and ale may be given unto him, and let him appear in the presence of Osiris; and let him be like unto the followers of Horus for ever and ever." The scribe Ani then makes his prayer to Osiris in the following words:—"Behold I am in thy presence, O lord of Amentet. There is no sin in my body. I have not spoken that which is not true knowingly, nor have I done aught with a false heart. Grant thou that I may be like unto those favoured ones who are in thy following, and that I may be an Osiris greatly

“favoured of the beautiful god, and beloved of the lord of the world, [I] who am indeed a royal scribe, who loveth thee, “Ani MAĀ KHERU before the god Osiris.” The reply of the god Osiris is not recorded, but we may assume that the petition of Ani was granted by him, and that he ratified the decision of the gods in respect of a habitation in the Sekhet-Āaru. Thus Ani was free to pass into all the various regions of the dominion of Osiris, and to enter into everlasting life and happiness.

In the description of the Judgment Scene given above, reference is made to the Eater of the Dead, and in connexion with him it must be observed that he was supposed to devour straightway the souls of all those who were condemned in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, and that from one point of view the punishment of the wicked consisted of annihilation. Above, too, it has been said that Ani became “MAĀ KHERU, , before Osiris,” when once his heart had been weighed and had not been found wanting. Egyptologists have investigated the meaning of these words very carefully, but have not agreed as to their meaning; as a result MAĀ KHERU has been rendered “victorious, triumphant, “just, justified, truth-speaking, truthful, true of voice, mighty of “word or speech, etc.” Their true meaning seems to be “he whose word is right and true,” i.e., he whose word is held to be right and true by those to whom it is addressed, and therefore, whatsoever is ordered or commanded by the person who is declared in the Judgment Hall to be MAĀ KHERU is straightway performed by the beings or things who are commanded or ordered. Before a man who is MAĀ KHERU every door in the Underworld opened itself, and every hostile power, animate or inanimate, was made to remove itself from his path.

Passing now from the consideration of Osiris as the king and judge of the dead, we must briefly refer to the beautiful hymns to the god which are found in the *Book of the Dead* and elsewhere. First among these must be mentioned the very remarkable composition which is inscribed on a stele in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and which was first made known by Chabas. The text is in the form of a hymn addressed to Osiris, but it is of

unique importance in that it contains a proof of the substantial accuracy of the account of the life and death of Osiris, and of the birth of Horus, given by Plutarch. After enumerating the various great shrines of Osiris in Egypt, and ascribing great praise to this god, and summarising his beneficent acts, an allusion is made to his death and to the search which Isis made for his body. This goddess, the sister and wife of Osiris, was a skilled worker of miracles, and she knew words of power and how to utter them in such a way that the greatest effect might result from them. In the form of a bird she sought her brother's body ceaselessly, and went round about over the face of the earth uttering cries and moans, and she did not desist from her quest until she found it. When she saw that he was dead she produced light with her feathers, and air by the beating of her wings, and then by means of the words of power which she had obtained from Thoth she roused Osiris from his state of helplessness and inactivity, and united herself to him, and became with child by him, and in due course brought forth her son Horus in a lonely place unknown to any. The hymn in which the passage occurs is so important that a rendering of it is here given; the hieroglyphic text, with interlinear transliteration and translation, will be found at the end of this section.

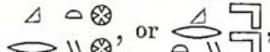
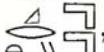
## CHAPTER VII

## HYMN TO OSIRIS

XVIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY, ABOUT B.C. 1500

1. “ **H**OMAGE to thee, O Osiris, the lord of eternity, the king of the gods, thou who hast many names, whose forms of coming into being are holy, whose attributes are hidden in the temples, whose Double is most august (or venerated). Thou art the Chief of  $\text{Ṭeṭṭu}$  (or Busiris), the Great One who dwelleth 2. in Sekhem (Letopolis), the lord to whom praises are offered in the nome of  $\text{Āthi}$ ,<sup>1</sup> the Chief of the divine food in  $\text{Ānnu}$  (On, or Heliopolis), and the lord who is commemorated in the [Hall (or City) of] two-fold Right and Truth. Thou art the Hidden Soul, the lord of Qereret (Elephantine<sup>2</sup>), the holy one in the city of the White Wall (Memphis), the Soul of Rā, and thou art of his own body. Offerings and oblations are made to thy satisfaction in 3. Sutenhenen (Herakleopolis), praise in abundance is bestowed upon thee in Nārt,<sup>3</sup> and thy Soul hath been exalted as lord of the Great House in Khemennu (Hermopolis). Thou art he who is greatly feared in Shas-ḥetep, the lord of eternity, the Chief of  $\text{Ābṭu}$  (Abydos), thy seat extendeth into the land of holiness (Underworld), and thy name is firmly stablished in the mouth of mankind. 4. Thou art the substance of [which were made] the two lands (i.e., Egypt), thou art Tem, the divine food of the doubles, thou art the chief of the company of the gods, thou art the operative and beneficent Spirit among the spirits, thou drawest

<sup>1</sup> I.e., the ninth nome of Lower Egypt, also read *Anetch*.

<sup>2</sup> *Qereret* = *Qerti*, , or , were the two caverns where the Nile was thought to rise at Elephantine.

<sup>3</sup> A sanctuary near Herakleopolis.

“thy waters from the abyss of heaven, thou bringest along the  
 “north wind at eventide and air for thy nostrils to the satisfaction  
 “of thy heart. 5. Thy heart germinateth, thou producest the light  
 “for divine food, the height of heaven and the starry gods obey  
 “thee, thou openest the great pylons [of heaven], and thou art he  
 “unto whom praises are sung in the southern heaven, and to  
 “whom adorations are performed in the northern heaven. The  
 “stars which never set 6. are under the seat of thy face, and the  
 “stars which never rest are thy habitations; and unto thee  
 “offerings are made according to the decree of the god Seb.

“The company of the gods sing praises unto thee, and the  
 “starry gods of the Underworld bow down with their faces to the  
 “earth [before thee], the ends of the earth prostrate themselves  
 “before thee, and the bounds of heaven make supplication unto  
 “thee 7. when they see thee. Those who are among the holy  
 “ones are in awe of thee, and the two lands in their length and  
 “breadth ascribe praises unto thee when they meet thy majesty,  
 “O thou glorious master, thou lord of masters, who art endowed  
 “with divine rank and dignity, who art stablished in [thy] rule,  
 “thou beautiful Sekhem of the company of the gods, who art  
 “pleasant of face, 8. and art beloved by him that looketh upon  
 “thee. Thou puttest thy fear in all the lands, and by reason of  
 “love for thee all [men] proclaim thy name as being above that of  
 “every name. All mankind make offerings unto thee, O thou lord  
 “who art commemorated in heaven and in earth, and who art  
 “greatly praised in the Uak festival, and the two lands with one  
 “consent 9. cry out unto thee with cries of joy, O thou great one,  
 “thou chief of thy divine brethren, thou prince of the company of  
 “the gods, thou stablisher of Maat throughout the two lands, who  
 “placest thy son upon the great throne of his father Seb, the  
 “darling of his mother Nut.

“O thou great one of two-fold strength, thou hast cast down  
 “Sebá, thou hast slain 10. thine enemy, and thou hast set thy  
 “fear in thy foe. Thou bringest [together] remote boundaries,  
 “thou art firm of heart, thy two feet are lifted up, thou art the  
 “heir of Seb and of the sovereignty of the two lands, who hath  
 “seen thy power and hath given command for thee to lead 11. the

“two lands by thy hand until the end of time. Thou hast made  
 “the earth in thy hand, and its waters, and its air, and its green  
 “herb, and all its cattle, and all its birds, and all its fishes, and all  
 “its reptiles, and [all] its four-footed beasts. The desert is thine  
 “by right, O son of 12. Nut, and the two lands are content to  
 “make him to rise up upon the throne of his father like Rā.  
 “Thou risest in the horizon, thou givest light through the  
 “darkness, thou makest light to spread abroad from thy plumes,  
 “and thou floodest with light the two lands like the 13. Disk at  
 “the beginning of sunrise. Thy crown pierceth heaven, thou art  
 “a brother of the starry gods, and the guide of every god, and  
 “thou dost work by decree and word, O thou favoured one of the  
 “company of the gods, who art greatly beloved by the Lesser  
 “Company of the gods.

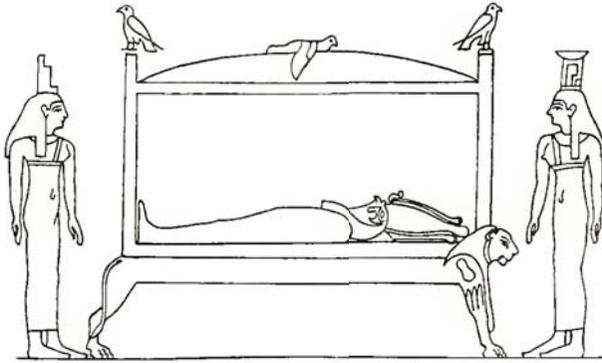
“Thy sister protected thee, and she drove away thy foes,  
 “14. and she warded off from thee evil hap, and uttered the  
 “words of power with all the skill of her mouth; her tongue was  
 “trained, and she committed no fault of utterance, and she made  
 “[her] decree and [her] words to have effect, Isis, the mighty one,  
 “the avenger of her brother. She sought thee without weariness,  
 “15. she went round about through this land in sorrow, and she  
 “set not to the ground her foot until she had found thee. She  
 “made light with her feathers, she made air to come into being  
 “with her wings, and she uttered cries of lamentation at the bier  
 “of her brother. 16. She stirred up from his state of inactivity  
 “him whose heart was still (i.e., Osiris), she drew from him his seed,  
 “she made an heir, she suckled the babe in solitariness, and the  
 “place wherein she reared him is unknown, and his hand is mighty  
 “within the house 17. of Seb. The company of the gods rejoice  
 “and are glad at the coming of Horus, the son of Osiris, whose  
 “heart is stablished, and whose word taketh effect, the son of Isis  
 “and the heir of Osiris. The assessors of Maāt gather together  
 “unto him, and with them are assembled the company of the gods,  
 “and Neb-er-tcher himself, and the lords of Maāt. 18. Verily  
 “those who repulse faults rejoice in the house of Seb to bestow  
 “the rank [of Osiris] upon its lord, to whom is by right all  
 “sovereignty. The voice of Horus hath found the power of *maāt*.

“The rank of his father hath been given unto him, and he hath  
 “come forth crowned 19. by the command of Seb. He hath  
 “received the sceptre of the two lands, and the White Crown is  
 “stablished upon his head. He judgeth the earth according to  
 “his plans, and heaven and earth are open before his face. He  
 “layeth his commands upon men, and spirits, and upon the *pāt*  
 “and *hen-memet* beings, and Egypt, and the *Ḥa-nebu*, and all the  
 “region 20. wherein the Disk revolveth are under his plans, as  
 “well as the north wind, and the river flood, and the celestial  
 “waters, and the staff of life, and every flower. [He is] *Neprā*,  
 “and he giveth his green herbs; he is the lord of *tchefau* food, he  
 “leadeth on abundance, and he giveth it unto all lands.

“21. There is joy everywhere, [all] hearts are glad, [all]  
 “hearts are glad, every face is happy, and every one adoreth his  
 “beauties. His love is doubly sweet unto us, and his active  
 “beneficence embraceth all hearts, and the love for him is great in  
 “every body, and they do what is right 22. for the son of Isis.  
 “His enemy hath fallen before his wrath, and he that worketh  
 “evil hath fallen at the sound of his voice; when the son of Isis,  
 “the avenger of his father, the son of Isis, cometh against him, he  
 “shooteth forth his anger in his season. Holy and beneficent is his  
 “name, and the awe of him abideth in its place. 23. His laws are  
 “stablished everywhere, the path is cleared, the roads are opened,  
 “and the two lands are content; wickedness departeth, evil goeth  
 “away, the earth is at peace under [the rule of] its lord, and *Maāt*  
 “is stablished by 24. its lord, and setteth its back against iniquity.  
 “The heart of *Un-nefer*, the son of Isis, is glad, for he hath  
 “received the White Crown, and the rank of his father is his by  
 “right in the house of Seb; he is *Rā* when he speaketh and *Thoth*  
 “when he writeth. 25. The assessors [of Osiris] are content; let  
 “what hath been decreed for thee by thy father Seb be performed  
 “according to his word.

“May Osiris, Governor of *Āmentet*, lord of *Abydos*, give a  
 “royal offering! May he give sepulchral meals of oxen, and fowl,  
 “and bandages, and incense, and wax, and gifts of all kinds, and  
 “the [power to] make transformations, and mastery over the Nile,  
 “and [the power] to appear as a living soul, and to see the Disk

“ daily, and entrance into and exit from Re-stau ; may [my] soul  
“ not be repulsed in the Underworld, may it be among the favoured  
“ ones before Un-nefer, may it receive cakes and appear before the



Osiris on his funeral bed.

“ altar of the Great God, and snuff the sweet breath of the north  
“ wind.”

## CHAPTER VIII

HYMNS TO OSIRIS, AND OSIRIS UN-NEFER,  
FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

1. “**G**LORY<sup>1</sup> BE TO THEE, OSIRIS UN-NEFER, the great god who dwellest within *Ābṭu* (Abydos), thou king of eternity, “thou lord of everlastingness, who passest through millions of “years in the course of thine existence. Thou art the eldest son “of the womb of Nut, and thou wast engendered by Seb, the “Ancestor ( *erpāt*); thou art the lord of the crowns of “the South and North, thou art the lord of the lofty white crown, “and as prince of gods and men thou hast received the crook, , and “the whip, , and the dignity of his divine fathers. Let thine “heart, O Osiris, who art in the Mountain of *Āmentet*, be content, “for thy son Horus is stablished upon thy throne. Thou art crowned lord of *Ṭeṭṭu* (Mendes), and ruler in *Ābṭu* (Abydos). “Through thee the world waxeth green in triumph before the “might of *Neb-er-tcher*. He leadeth in his train that which is, “and that which is not yet, in his name *Ta-ḥer-sta-nef*; he toweth “along the earth by *Maāt* in his name of ‘*Seker*’; he is exceedingly “mighty and most terrible in his name ‘*Osiris*’; he endureth for “ever and for ever in his name of ‘*Un-nefer*.’

“Homage be to thee, O King of kings, Lord of lords, Ruler “of princes, who from the womb of Nut hast ruled the world and “the Underworld (  *Ākert*). Thy members are [like] “bright and shining copper, thy head is blue [like] lapis-lazuli,

<sup>1</sup> From the Papyrus of Ani, sheet 2.



“sledge; thou drivest back the Fiend ( *Sebau*), the  
 “worker of evil, and thou causeth the Utchat (), to rest upon  
 “its seat. 6. Homage to thee, thou who art mighty in thine hour,  
 “thou great and mighty prince, who dwellest in *Ān-ruṭ-f*;<sup>1</sup> thou  
 “art the lord of eternity and the creator of everlastingness, thou  
 “art the lord of *Suten-ḥenen* (*Herakleopolis Magna*). 7. Homage  
 “to thee, O thou who restest upon *Maāt*, thou art the lord of *Āḫṭu*,  
 “and thy limbs are joined unto *Ta-tchesertet*; what thou  
 “abominatest is falsehood (or, deceit and guile). 8. Homage to  
 “thee, O thou who art within thy boat, thou bringest along *Hāpi*  
 “(*Nile*) from out of his source;<sup>2</sup> *Shu* shineth upon thy body, and  
 “thou art he who dwelleth in *Nekhen*.<sup>3</sup> 9. Homage to thee, O  
 “creator of the gods, king of the South and North, *Osiris*,  
 “(), whose word is *maāt*, thou possessor of the two  
 “lands in thy seasons of operative power; thou art the lord of the  
 “*Āṭebui* (i.e., the two lands which lay one on each side of the  
 “celestial Nile).” The above nine addresses form, in reality, a  
 litany, and after each of them the deceased said to *Osiris*, “O  
 “grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I  
 “am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I  
 “done aught with deceit.”

IV. “HOMAGE<sup>4</sup> TO THEE, O *OSIRIS UN-NEFER*, whose word is  
 “*maāt*, thou son of *Nut*, thou first-born son of *Seb*, thou mighty  
 “one who comest forth from *Nut*, thou king in the city of *Nifu-ur*,  
 “thou Governor of *Āmentet*, thou lord of *Āḫṭu*, thou lord of souls,  
 “thou mighty one of strength, thou lord of the *Atef* crown, ;  
 “in *Suten-ḥenen*, thou lord of the divine form in the city of  
 “*Nifu-ur*, thou lord of the tomb, thou mighty one of souls in  
 “*Ṭaṭṭu*, thou lord of [sepulchral] offerings, whose festivals are  
 “many in *Ṭaṭṭu*. The god *Horus* exalteth his father in every  
 “place, and he uniteth himself unto the goddess *Isis* and unto her

<sup>1</sup> A district of the Underworld.

<sup>2</sup> An allusion to the fact that *Osiris* was originally a Nile god.

<sup>3</sup> *Nekhen* was the sanctuary of the goddess *Nekhebet* of *Nekhebet* (*Eileithyia-*  
*polis*), whose male counterpart was *Ān*, a form of *Osiris*.

<sup>4</sup> *Book of the Dead*, Chap. cxxviii. (*Saïte Recension*).

“sister Nephthys; and the god Thoth reciteth for him the mighty  
 “glorifyings which are within him, and which come forth from his  
 “mouth, and the heart of Horus is stronger than that of all the  
 “gods. Rise up, then, O Horus, thou son of Isis, and avenge thy  
 “father Osiris. Hail, O Osiris, I have come unto thee; I am  
 “Horus and I have avenged thee, and I feed this day upon the  
 “sepulchral meals of oxen and feathered fowl, and upon all the  
 “beautiful things offered unto Osiris. Rise up, then, O Osiris, for  
 “I have struck down for thee all thine enemies, and I have taken  
 “vengeance upon them for thee. I am Horus upon this beautiful  
 “day of thy fair rising in thy Soul, which exalteth thee along with  
 “itself on this day before thy divine sovereign princes. Hail,  
 “O Osiris, thy double (*ka*) hath come unto thee and rests with  
 “thee, and thou restest therein in thy name of Ka-Ḥetep. It  
 “maketh thee glorious in thy name of Khu, and it maketh thee like  
 “unto the Morning Star in thy name of Peḥu, and it openeth for  
 “thee the ways in thy name of Āp-uat. Hail, O Osiris, I have  
 “come unto thee, and I have set thine enemies under thee in  
 “every place, and thy word is *maāt* in the presence of the gods  
 “and of the divine sovereign chiefs. Hail, O Osiris, thou hast  
 “received thy sceptre and the place whereon thou art to rest, and  
 “thy steps are under thee. Thou bringest food to the gods, and  
 “thou bringest sepulchral meals unto those who dwell in their  
 “tombs. Thou hast given thy might unto the gods, and thou  
 “hast created the Great God; thou hast thy existence with them  
 “in their spiritual bodies, thou gatherest thyself unto all the gods,  
 “and thou hearest the word of *maāt* on the day when offerings to  
 “this god are ordered on the festivals of Uḳa.”

✎ V. “HOMAGE TO THEE,<sup>1</sup> O GOVERNOR OF ĀMENTET, UN-NEFER,  
 “lord of Ta-tchesert, O thou who art diademed like Rā, verily I  
 “come to see thee and to rejoice at thy beauties. His disk is thy  
 “disk; his rays of light are thy rays of light; his *Ureret* crown is  
 “thy *Ureret* crown; his majesty is thy majesty; his risings are  
 “thy risings; his beauties are thy beauties; the terror which he  
 “inspireth is the terror which thou inspirest; his odour is thy

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Dead*, Chap. clxxxii.

" odour ; his hall is thy hall ; his seat is thy seat ; his throne is thy  
 " throne ; his heir is thy heir ; his ornaments are thy ornaments ;  
 " his decree is thy decree ; his hidden place is thy hidden place ;  
 " his things are thy things ; his knowledge is thy knowledge ; the  
 " attributes of greatness which are his are thine ; the power which  
 " protecteth him protecteth thee ; he dieth not and thou diest not ;  
 " he is not overcome by his enemies and thou art not overcome by  
 " thine enemies ; no evil thing whatsoever hath happened unto  
 " him, and no evil thing whatsoever shall happen unto thee for  
 " ever and ever.

" Homage to thee, O Osiris, son of Nut, lord of the two horns,  
 " whose *Atef* crown is exalted, may the *Ureret* crown be given  
 " unto thee, along with sovereignty before the company of the  
 " gods. May the god Temu make awe of thee to exist in the  
 " hearts of men, and women, and gods, and spirits, and the dead.  
 " May dominion be given unto thee in Annu ; mayest thou be  
 " mighty of transformations in Taṭtu (Mendes) ; mayest thou be  
 " the lord greatly feared in the Aati ; mayest thou be mighty  
 " in victory in Re-stau ; mayest thou be the lord who is com-  
 " memorated with gladness in the Great House ; mayest thou have  
 " manifold risings like the sun in Abtu ; may triumph be given  
 " unto thee in the presence of the company of the gods ; mayest  
 " thou gain the victory over the mighty Powers ; may the fear of  
 " thee be made to go [throughout] the earth ; and may the princes  
 " stand up upon their stations before the sovereign of the gods of  
 " the Tuat, before thee the mighty Sekhem of heaven, the Prince  
 " of the living ones, the king of those who are in [his train], and  
 " the Glorifier of thousands in Kher-āha. The denizens of heaven  
 " rejoice in thee, O thou who art the lord of the chosen offerings in  
 " the mansions above ; a meat offering is made unto thee in the city  
 " of Het-ka-Ptah (Memphis) ; and the ' things of the night ' are  
 " prepared for him in Sekhem (Letopolis). Behold, O mighty god,  
 " thou great one of two-fold strength, thy son Horus avengeth thee.  
 " He doeth away with every evil thing whatsoever that belongeth  
 " to thee, he bindeth up in order for thee thy person, he gathereth  
 " together for thee thy members, he collecteth for thee thy bones,  
 " and he bringeth to thee whatsoever belongeth to thee. Thus

“thou art raised up, O Osiris, and I have given unto thee thy  
 “hand, and I make thee to stand up a living being for ever and  
 “ever.”

VI. “HOMAGE TO THEE,<sup>1</sup> O GOVERNOR OF THOSE WHO ARE IN  
 “ÂMENTI, who makest mortals to be born again, who renewest thy  
 “youth, thou comest who dwellest in thy season, and who art more  
 “beautiful than . . . . ., thy son Horus hath avenged thee; the  
 “rank and dignity of Tem have been conferred upon thee, O Un-  
 “nefer. Thou art raised up, O Bull of Âmentet, thou art stablished  
 “in the body of Nut, who uniteth herself unto thee, and who  
 “cometh forth with thee. Thy heart is stablished upon that which  
 “supporteth it, and thy breast is as it was formerly; thy nose is  
 “firmly fixed with life and power, thou livest, and thou art  
 “renewed, and thou makest thyself young like Rā each and every  
 “day. Mighty, mighty is Osiris in victory, and he is firmly  
 “stablished with life.”

VII. “THY HEART REJOICETH,<sup>2</sup> O lord of the gods, thy heart  
 “rejoiceth greatly; the Black Land and the Red Land are at  
 “peace, and they serve thee humbly under thy sovereign power.  
 “The temples are stablished upon their own lands, cities and  
 “nomes possess firmly the goods which are inscribed in their names,  
 “and we will make to thee the divine offerings which we are  
 “bound to make, and offer sacrifices in thy name for ever.  
 “Acclamations are made in thy name, libations are poured out to  
 “thy double. Sepulchral meals [are brought unto thee] by the  
 “*khus* who are in their following, and water is sprinkled upon  
 “the offerings (?) upon both sides of the souls of the dead in  
 “this land; every plan which hath been decreed for thee according  
 “to the commands of Rā in the beginning hath been perfected.  
 “Now, therefore, O son of Nut, thou art diademed as Neb-er-tcher  
 “is diademed at his rising. Thou livest, thou art stablished, thou  
 “renewest thy youth, thou art true and perfect; thy father Rā  
 “maketh strong thy members, and the company of the gods make  
 “acclamations unto thee. The goddess Isis is with thee, and she  
 “never leaveth thee; [thou art] not overthrown by thine enemies.

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Dead*, Chap. clxxxii. (ll. 15-19).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. clxxxiii. (ll. 17 ff.).

“The lords of all lands praise thy beauties even as they praise Rā  
 “when he riseth at the beginning of each day. Thou risest up  
 “like an exalted one upon thy standard, thy beauties exalt the  
 “face and make long the stride. I have given unto thee the sove-  
 “reignty of thy father Seb, and the goddess Mut, thy mother, who  
 “gave birth to the gods, brought thee forth as the first-born of  
 “five gods, and created thy beauties, and fashioned thy members.  
 “Thou art stablished as king, the white crown is upon thy head,  
 “and thou hast grasped in thy hands the crook and the whip ;  
 “whilst thou wert in the womb, and hadst not as yet come forth  
 “therefrom upon the earth, thou wert crowned lord of the two  
 “lands, and the *Atef* crown of Rā was upon thy brow. The gods  
 “come unto thee bowing low to the ground, and they hold thee in  
 “fear ; they retreat and depart when they see thee possessing the  
 “terror of Rā, and the victory of thy Majesty is in their hearts.  
 “Life is with thee, and offerings of meat and drink follow thee,  
 “and that which is thy due is offered up before thy face.”

VIII. “HOMAGE TO THEE,<sup>1</sup> O thou holy god, thou mighty and  
 “beneficent being, thou Prince of eternity who dwellest in thy  
 “abode in the Sektet Boat, thou whose risings are manifold in the  
 “Ātet Boat, to thee are praises rendered in heaven and upon  
 “earth. Peoples and nations exalt thee, and the majesty of thy  
 “terror is in the hearts of men, and spirits, and the dead. Thy  
 “Soul is in Ṭaṭṭu (Mendes) and the terror of thee is in Suten-ḥenen  
 “(Herakleopolis) ; thou settest the visible emblems of thyself in  
 “Ānnu and the greatness of thy transformations in the double  
 “place of purification.”

IX. “HOMAGE TO THEE, O great God, thou Lord of Maāti,  
 “I have come to thee, O my Lord, and I have brought myself  
 “hither that I may behold thy beauties. I know thee, and I know  
 “thy name, and I know the names of the Two and Forty gods who  
 “exist with thee in the Hall of Maāti, who live as warders of  
 “sinners and who feed upon their blood on the day when the lives  
 “of men are taken into account in the presence of the god  
 “Un-nefer ; in truth thy name is ‘Rekhti-merti-neb-Maāti.’ In

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Dead*, Chap. clxxxv.

truth I have come to thee, and I have brought Maät to thee, and I have destroyed wickedness for thee. I have not done evil to mankind. I have not oppressed the members of my family. I have not wrought evil in the place of Maät. I have had no knowledge of worthless men. I have not wrought evil. I have not made to be the first [consideration] of each day that excessive labour should be performed for me. I have not brought forward my name for honours. I have not ill-treated servants. I have not thought scorn of God. I have not defrauded the oppressed one of his goods. I have not done that which is an abomination unto the gods. I have not caused harm to be done to the servant by his chief. I have not caused pain. I have made no man to suffer hunger. I have made no one to weep. I have done no murder. I have not given the order for murder to be done for me. I have not inflicted pain upon mankind. I have not defrauded the temples of their oblations. I have not purloined the cakes of the gods. I have not carried off the cakes offered to the spirits. I have not committed fornication. I have not entered the holy places of the god of my city in a polluted condition. I have not diminished from the bushel. I have neither added to nor filched away land. I have not encroached upon the fields [of others]. I have not added to the weights of the scales (i.e., cheated the seller). I have not misread the pointer of the scales (i.e., cheated the buyer). I have not carried away the milk from the mouths of children. I have not driven away the cattle from their pastures. I have not snared the feathered fowl of the preserves of the gods. I have not caught fish [with bait made of] fish of their kind. I have not turned back the water at the time [when it should flow]. I have not cut a cutting in a canal of running water. I have not extinguished a fire when it should burn. I have not violated the seasons of the chosen meat offerings. I have not driven off the cattle from the property of the gods. I have not repulsed God in his manifestations. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. My purity is the purity of that great Bennu which is in the city of Suten-henen (Herakleopolis Magna), for, behold, I am the nose of the god of the winds who maketh all mankind to live on the day when the

“Eye of Rā is full in Ānnu at the end of the second month of the  
“season Pert<sup>1</sup> in the presence of the divine lord of the earth.  
“I have seen the Eye of Rā when it was full in Ānnu, therefore let  
“not evil befall me in this land and in this Hall of Maāti, because  
“I, even I, know the names of these gods who are therein and who  
“are the followers of the great god.”

<sup>1</sup> I.e., the Season of Growing; the second month of Pert is the sixth month of the Egyptian year.

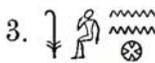


*sekharu**em**Maāti**ba**sheta**neb**Qerert*

who is commemorated in Maāti, soul hidden, lord of Qerert,

*tcheser**em**Āneb-ḥetch**ba**Rā**tchet - f tchesef*

holy one, in White Wall, the soul of Rā, of his very body,

*ḥetep**em**Suten-ḥenen**menkh**hennu**em**Nārt*

satisfied with in Ḥenen-suten, abundant of praise in Nārt, offerings

*lcheper setheset**ba - f**neb**ḥet āa**em**Khemennu*

hath become exalted his soul [as] lord of the Great in Khemennu, House

*āa**neru**em**Shas-ḥetep**neb**ḥeh**khent*

great one of terror in Shas-ḥetep, lord of eternity, chief

*Ābtu**ḥer**āst - f**em**Ta-tcheser**tettet*

of Abydos, extendeth his seat in the Land of established holiness,

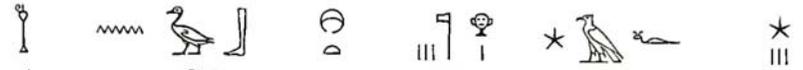
*ren**em**re**en**ret**4. pautti**en*

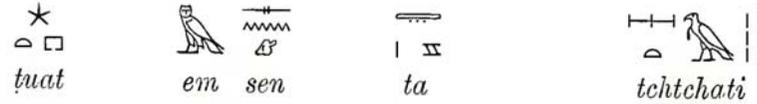
of name in the mouth of mankind, the two-fold *paut* of

*tauī**Tem**tchef**kau**khent**part*

the two lands, Tem the divine god of the *kas*, chief of the *part*

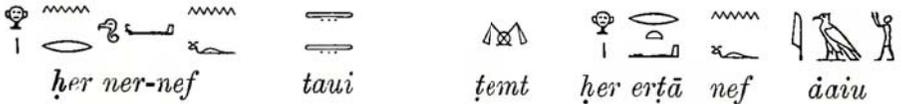



  
*utu en Seb paut neteru her tua - f sbau*
  
 the order of Seb, the *paut* of the gods praise him, the star gods

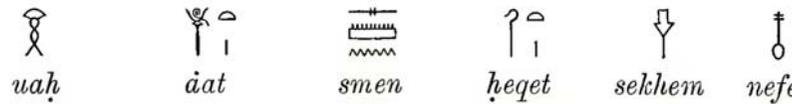

  
*tuat em sen ta tchtchati*
  
 of the underworld smell the earth [before him], the boundaries [of earth]


  
*em kesu tcherti em thebhu*
  
 bow the back, the limits of heaven make supplication

7. 
  
*maa-sen su nairu am shepsu*
  
 [when] they see him. Those who are among the holy ones


  
*her ner-nef tavi temt her ertā nef aairu*
  
 fear him, the two lands, all [of them] give to him praises


  
*em khesefu hen-f sāhu khu khent sāhu*
  
 in meeting his majesty, the master glorious, chief of masters,


  
*uah aat smen heqet sekhem nefer*
  
 endowed with divine rank, established of dominion. Form beautiful

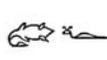

  
*en paut neteru am hrā merer*
  
 of the company of the gods, gracious of face, beloved by



maa-nef



ertā



sen-f



em



tairu



neb en

him that seeth him. He putteth his fear in all lands, through



mert



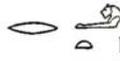
tem



ka-sen



ren-f



er hāt

love [of him] they all proclaim his name before [every name].



terp-nef



nebu



neb



sekhaui



em

Make offerings to him all men, the lord who is commemorated in



pet



em



ta



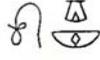
āsh



hi



em



Uaḳ

heaven [and] in earth, [he is] greatly praised in the Uaḳ festival;



āru-nef



āhhi



ān



tairu



em



bu



uā



ur

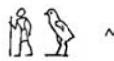
make to him cries to joy the two lands all together, the great one,



ṭep en



sennu-f



seru en



paut



neteru

first of his divine brethren, prince of the paut of the gods,



smen



maāt



khet



tairu



ertā



sa

stablisher of right and throughout the two lands, placer of the son truth



her



nest-f



āa en



āt-f



Seb



merer

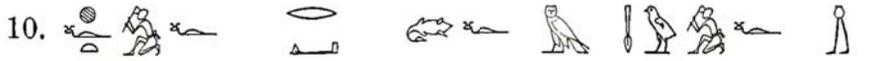


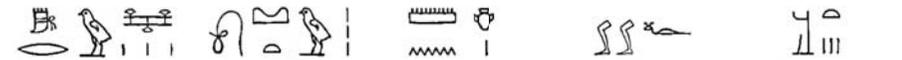
mut-f

upon his throne great of his father Seb, darling of his mother

  
*Nut āa pehpeh sekher-f Sebā āhā sma-f*

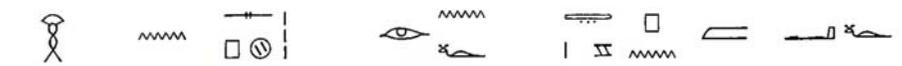
Nut, great one of two-fold he casts down Sebā, he hath slaughtered strength,

10.   
*kheft-f ertā sent-f em kheru-f ān*  
 his enemy placing his fear in his foe. Bringer

  
*tcheru uaṭu men āb retui-f thest*  
 of boundaries remote, firm of heart, his two feet are lifted up.

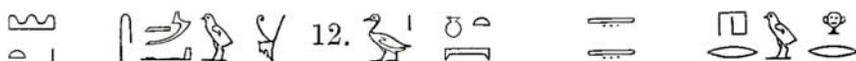
  
*āuāu Seb sutenit tavi maa-f khu-f*  
 Heir of Seb and the of the two He hath seen his power, sovereignty lands.

  
*sutu-nef nef sem 11. tavi en em ā er*  
 he hath given to him to lead the lands by [his] hand to command

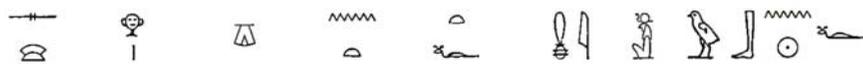
  
*uaḥ en sep āri-nef ta pen em ā-f*  
 the end of times. He hath made this earth in his hand,

  
*mu-f nef-f sem-f menment-f nebt*  
 its waters, its air, its green herbs, its cattle all,

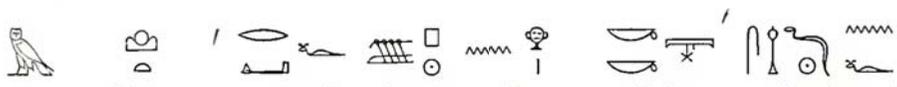
  
*pait nebt khepanen nebt tchetfet-f āut-f*  
 [its] birds all, [its] fishes all, its reptiles, its quadrupeds,


  
*set*      *smaāu*    *en*      *sa*      *Nut*      *tauī*      *heru her*

the desert is by right to the son of Nut, the two lands are content


  
*sekhā*    *her*      *nest*      *ent*      *tef*      *mā*    *Rā*      *uben - f*

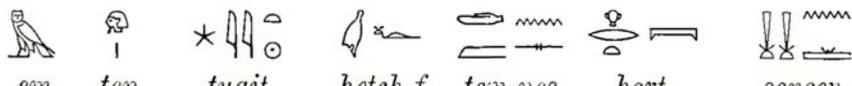
to crown on the throne of the father like Rā. He riseth [him]


  
*em*      *khut*      *ertā - f*    *shep*    *en her*      *kek*      *shep-her*

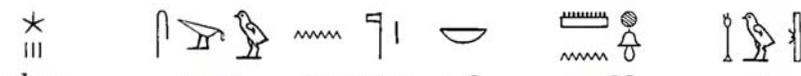
on the horizon, he giveth light through the darkness, he shineth


  
*shu*      *em*      *shuti-f*      *bāh-her*      *tauī*      *mā*      *āthen*

with light from his plumes, he floodeth with the two like the Disk light lands


  
*em*      *tep*      *tuait*      *hetch-f*      *tem-nes*      *her*      *sensen*

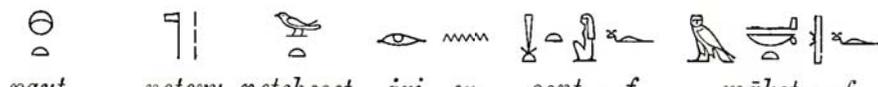
at the early sunrise. His crown pierceth heaven, he is a brother


  
*sbau*      *semu*      *en neter*    *neb*      *menkh*      *utu*

of the star gods, the guide of god every, operative by command


  
*• metu*      *hesi*      *en*      *paut*      *neteru*      *āat*      *merer*

and word, favoured one of the *paut* of the gods great, beloved of

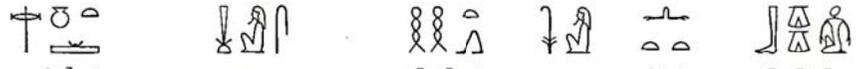

  
*paut*      *neteru*    *netcheset*    *āri*    *en*      *sent - f*      *māket - f*

the *paut* of the gods little. Hath made his sister his protection,


  
*seherit kheru sehemt sep shet kheru*
  
 driving away foes, turning back evil hap, uttering the word


  
*em khu re-s aqert nes an uh*
  
 with the power of her mouth, perfect of tongue, not erring

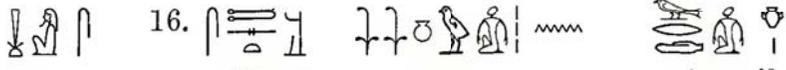

  
*en metu semenkhet utu metu Ast khut*
  
 of speech, operating by decree and word Isis, the strong one,


  
*netchet sen-s hehet su atet beket*
  
 the avenger of her brother. She sought him without weariness,

15. 
  
*reret ta pen em hai an khen - nes*
  
 she went round about this earth in sorrow, not alighted she


  
*an gemptu - s su arii shut em shut - s*
  
 without finding him, she made light with her hair (or, feathers)


  
*khepert nef em tenhui arii hennu menat*
  
 making to wind with [her] wings, she made cries at the bier
   
 become


  
*sen - s setheset enenu en urt - ab*
  
 of her brother. She raised up [from] inactivity the one still of heart,


  
*khenpet*    *mu - f*    *arit*    *āuāu*    *shefet*    *nekhen*
  
she extracted his seed, she made the heir, she suckled the babe


  
*em*    *uāāu*    *an*    *rekh*    *bu - f*    *ām*    *beset*
  
in solitariness, not known is his place wherein she reared


  
*su*    *ā - f*    *nekhtu*    *em*    *khent*    *het*    *Seb*    *paut*
  
him, his hand is mighty within the house of Seb. The *paut*

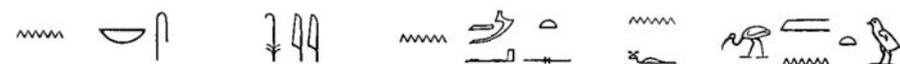

  
*neteru*    *her*    *resh*    *sep*    *sen*    *iui*    *Āsar*    *sa*    *Heru*    *men*    *ab*
  
of gods rejoice, rejoice at the coming of Osiris' son Horus, established
  
of heart,


  
*maā kheru*    *sa*    *Āst*    *āuāu*    *Āsar*    *sehuru - nef*
  
whose word is absolute, son of Isis, heir of Osiris. Gather to him


  
*tchatchat*    *maāt*    *paut*    *neteru*    *Neb-er-tcher*    *tchese*
  
the sovereign of Maāt, the *paut* of the [and] Neb-er-tcher himself
  
princes gods


  
*nebu*    *Maāt*    *smaiu*    *ām - s*    *māk haiu*
  
[and] the lords of Maāt assemble therewith. Verily those who
  
repulse


  
*āsfet*    *senetchemu*    *em*    *het*    *ent*    *Seb*    *er*    *ertāt*    *aat*
  
faults rejoice in the house of Seb to bestow the rank
  
[of Osiris]

  
*en neb-s suteni en maāt-s nef gemen-tu*

upon its lord, the sovereignty of its right [is] to him. Hath found

  
*Heru kheru-f māu ertāu - nef āat ent tef*

Horus his voice true. Hath been given the rank of his father. to him

  
*per-nef meḥu em utu en Seb*

He hath come forth crowned by the command of Seb.

  
*shep - nef ḥeq tavi ḥetch men*

He hath received the sceptre of the two lands, the White Crown is established

  
*ām teḥ-f āp-nef ta er kherḥ-f*

upon his head. He judgeth the earth according to his plan.

  
*pet ta kher āst ḥrā-f s-utu-nef ret*

Heaven and are under the seat of his face. He commandeth men, earth

  
*khu pāt ḥamemet Ta-merā Ḥa-nebu*

spirits, the dead, the . . . . ., and Egypt, the lords of the north,

  
*shentu āthen kher sekheru-f meḥt āter*

the circle of the Disk, are under his plans, and the north the flood, wind,


  
*ennui khet en ānkh renpet nebt Neprā*

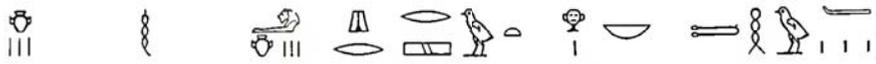
the celestial waters, the staff of life, herb every. Neprā,


  
*ṭā - f sem - f neb tchefau bes - f*

he giveth his green herbs, the lord of tchefau food, he leadeth on


  
*sesau ṭā - f su em tairu bu neb khent*

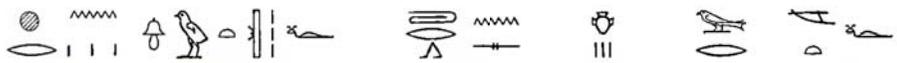
abundance, he giveth it in [all]lands. Everywhere is joy,


  
*ābu netchem hātu kher reshut hrā-neb theku*

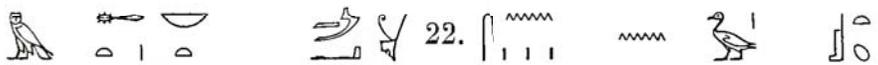
hearts are glad, hearts rejoice, every face is happy.


  
*āu bu-neb her ṭua neferu-f netchemui mert - f*

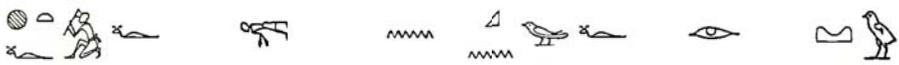
Every place adoreth his beauties. Doubly sweet is his love


  
*kher-n menkhut - f rer - nes ābu ur mert-f*

to us, his active goodness goeth round hearts, great is his love


  
*em khat nebt maā en sen en sa Āst*

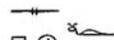
in every body, and they do what is right to the son of Isis.


  
*kheft - f kher en gen - f āri tu*

His enemy hath fallen before his wrath, the maker of evil







  
*er*      *shet*      *lheru*      *ut*      *gen*      *sep - f*

at the utterance of the voice, shooting forth his wrath in his season,

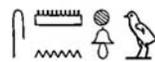
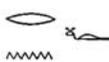
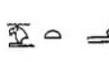
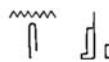






  
*sper*      *eref*      *sa*      *Ast*      *netcht-nef*      *at-f*

cometh unto him the son of Isis, the avenger of his father.

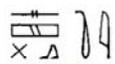






  
*setcheseru*      *semenkhu*      *ren-f*      *shefit*      *hetep-nes*      *ast - s*

Holy and beneficent is his name; awe resteth in its seat,







  
*fu*      *men*      *er*      *hepu - f*      *uat*      *sesh-tha*

stablished everywhere are his laws, the path is opened,

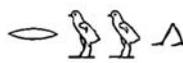




  
*mathennu*      *un*      *seherui*      *tau*

the roads are opened, content are the two lands, wickedness

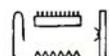


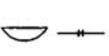




  
*shems*      *awi*      *ruu*      *ta*      *em hetep*      *lher*

departeth, evil goeth away, the earth is at peace beneath

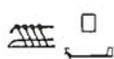

  
*neb-f*      *smen*      *Maat*      *en*      *neb - s*      *ertau*      *sa*

its lord, established is Maat by its lord, it giveth the back







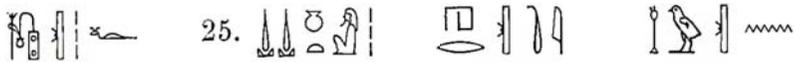


  
*er*      *asfet*      *netchem*      *ab-l*      *Un-nefer*      *sa*      *Ast*      *shep*

to iniquity. Glad is thy heart, Un-nefer, son of Isis, he hath

  
*nef*      *hetch*      *smaau*      *nef*      *aat*      *ent*      *tef*

received the White is his by right the rank of his father  
Crown,

  
*em khennu*      *Het - Seb*      *Rā*      *tchet-f*      *Tehuti*  
 within the House of Seb, [he is] Rā [when] he Thoth  
speaketh,

  
*ān - f*      *tchatchat*      *her-thā*      *utu*      *en*

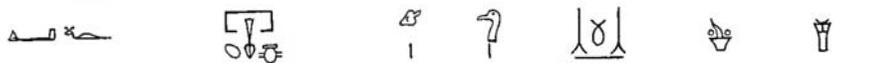
[when] he writeth. The assessors are content; what hath decreed

  
*nek*      *ātf-k*      *Seb*      *āri-entu*      *kheft*      *tchetet-nef*

for thee thy father Seb let be performed even as he spake;

  
*suten tā hetep*      *Āsār*      *Khent*      *Āmenti*      *neb*      *Ābtu*

may give a royal Osiris, governor of Āmenti, lord of Abydos,  
offering

  
*tā - f*      *per kheru*      *āh*      *apt*      *shesa*      *sentra*      *merhet*

may he give sepulchral meals, oxen, fowl, bandages, incense, wax,

  
*māt*      *renpet*      *neb*      *āri*      *kheperu*      *sekhem*

gifts of herbs of all kinds, the making of transforma- the mastery  
tions,

  
*Hāp*      *pert*      *em*      *ba*      *ānkhī*      *maa*      *em*      *āthen*

of Nile, appearance as a soul living, the sight of the disk



*tep tuait*



*āq*



*pert*



*em*



*Re-stau*



*an*



*shenā*

at dawn daily, entrance and exit from Re-stau, not being repulsed into



*ba*



*em*



*Neter-khert*



*terp*



*tu*



*f*



*em*



*mā*

the soul in the Underworld, reception among



*hesiu*

the favoured ones



*embah*

before



*Un-nefer*

Un-nefer,



*shep sennu*

receipt of cakes,



*per*

coming forth



*em-bah*

before



*her*

the altar



*khaut*



*ent*

of



*neter*

the god



*āa*

great,



*sesenet*

the snuffing of the wind



*nef*



*netchem*

sweet



*meht-s*

of the north.

## CHAPTER X

“THE NAMES OF OSIRIS IN EVERY SHRINE  
WHEREIN HE DWELLETH”

(THEBAN RECENSION, ABOUT B.C. 1600)

1. Āsār Un-nefer . . . .	
2. Āsār Ānkhti . . . .	
3. Āsār Neb-ānkh . . . .	
4. Āsār Neb-er-tcher . . . .	
5. Āsār Khenti-..... . . . .	
6. Āsār Saḥ . . . .	
7. Āsār Saa . . . .	
8. Āsār Khenti-peru . . . .	
9. Āsār Em Resenet . . . .	
10. Āsār Em Meḥenet . . . .	
11. Āsār Nub-ḥeḥ . . . .	
12. Āsār Bati erpit . . . .	
13. Āsār Ptaḥ-neb-Ānkh . . . .	
14. Āsār Khenti Re-stau . . . .	
15. Āsār Ḥer-āb semt . . . .	
16. Āsār Em Āti (Ānetch) . . . .	

17. Àsâr Em Sehtet . . .	
18. Àsâr Em Netchefet . . .	
19. Àsâr Em Resu . . .	
20. Àsâr Em Pe . . .	
21. Àsâr Em Neteru . . .	
22. Àsâr Em Sau-kheri . . .	
23. Àsâr Em Bâket . . .	
24. Àsâr Em Sunnu . . .	
25. Àsâr Em Rehenenet . . .	
26. Àsâr Em Àper . . .	
27. Àsâr Qeftennu . . .	
28. Àsâr Sekri Em Peṭ-she . . .	
29. Àsâr Khenti Nut-f . . .	
30. Àsâr Em Peseḳ-re . . .	
31. Àsâr Em-âst-f-âmu-Ta-meh	
32. Àsâr Em Pet . . .	
33. Àsâr Em-âst-f-âmu-Re-stau	
34. Àsâr Netchesti . . .	
35. Àsâr Smam-ur . . .	
36. Àsâr Sekri . . .	
37. Àsâr Heq-tchetta . . .	
38. Àsâr Tua . . .	

39. Āsār Em Āter . . . . .	
40. Āsār Em Sek . . . . .	
41. Āsār Neb-tchetta . . . . .	
42. Āsār Āthi . . . . .	
43. Āsār Taiti . . . . .	
44. Āsār Em Re-stau . . . . .	
45. Āsār Ħer-shāi-f . . . . .	
46. Āsār Khenti-seḥ-ḥemt . . . . .	
47. Āsār Em Tau-enenet . . . . .	
48. Āsār Em Neṭebit . . . . .	
49. Āsār Em Sāti . . . . .	
50. Āsār Em Beṭeshu . . . . .	
51. Āsār Em Ṭepu . . . . .	
52. Āsār Em Sau-ḥeri . . . . .	
53. Āsār Em Nepert . . . . .	
54. Āsār Em Shennu . . . . .	
55. Āsār Em Ħenket . . . . .	
56. Āsār Em Ta-Sekri . . . . .	
57. Āsār Em Shau . . . . .	
58. Āsār Em Fat-Ħeru . . . . .	
59. Āsār em Maāti . . . . .	
60. Āsār Em Henä . . . . .	

“THE NAMES OF OSIRIS IN EVERY SHRINE  
IN WHICH HE DWELLETH”

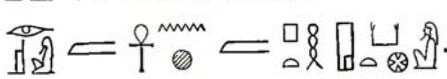
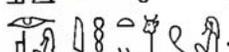
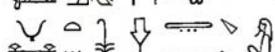
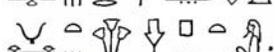
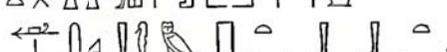
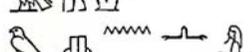
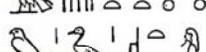
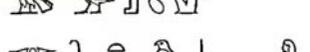
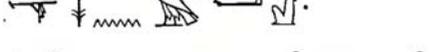
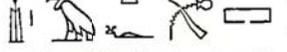
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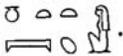
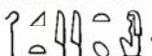
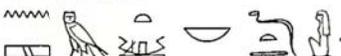
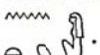
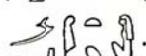
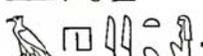
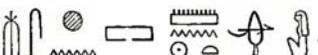
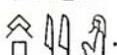
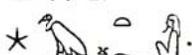
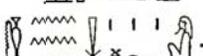
1. Àsar Un-nefer . . . .	
2. Àsar Ànkhi . . . .	
3. Àsar Neb Ànkh . . . .	
4. Àsar Neb-er-tcher . . . .	
5. Àsar Àp- . . . . tauï . . . .	
6. Àsar Khentet Un . . . .	
7. Àsar Khentet Neprà . . . .	
8. Àsar Saḥ . . . .	
9. Àsar Seps-baiu-Ànnu . . . .	
10. Àsar Khenti-Thenenet . . . .	
11. Àsar Em Resenet . . . .	
12. Àsar Em Meḥenet . . . .	
13. Àsar Neb Ḥeḥ . . . .	
14. Àsar Sa Erpeti . . . .	
15. Àsar Ptaḥ Neb Ànkh . . . .	
16. Àsar Khent Re-stau . . . .	
17. Àsar Ḥeḡ tauï ḥer-àb Ṭaṭṭu . . . .	
18. Àsar Ḥer-àb set . . . .	
19. Àsar Ba sheps em Ṭaṭṭu . . . .	
20. Àsar Em Àtet . . . .	
21. Àsar Em Ḥest, or, Neter-seḥt . . . .	

22. Āsār Neb ta ānkhtet . . . . .	
23. Āsār Em Sau . . . . .	
24. Āsār Em Netchet . . . . .	
25. Āsār Em Resu, or, em Tchatchat . . . . .	
26. Āsār Em Pe . . . . .	
27. Āsār Em Tēpt . . . . .	
28. Āsār Em Netrà . . . . .	
29. Āsār Em Sau Khert . . . . .	
30. Āsār Em Sau ħert . . . . .	
31. Āsār Em Ān-ruṭ-f . . . . .	
32. Āsār Em Bákui . . . . .	
33. Āsār Em Sunnu . . . . .	
34. Āsār Em Renen . . . . .	
35. Āsār Em Āper . . . . .	
36. Āsār Em Qefennu . . . . .	
37. Āsār Em Sekri . . . . .	
38. Āsār Em Peṭet . . . . .	
39. Āsār Em Ĥet-f em Re-stau . . . . .	
40. Āsār Em Nif-ur . . . . .	
41. Āsār Em Neṭit . . . . .	
42. Āsār Khenti nut-f . . . . .	
43. Āsār Ĥenti . . . . .	
44. Āsār Em Peḫes . . . . .	

45. Āsār Em het-f ām ta reset.	
46. Āsār Em het-f ām ta meht	
47. Āsār Em pet . . .	
48. Āsār Em ta . . .	
49. Āsār Em nest . . .	
50. Āsār Em Atef-ur . . .	
51. Āsār Seker em sheṭat . . .	
52. Āsār heq tchetta em Ānnu	
53. Āsār Utet . . .	
54. Āsār Em Sektet . . .	
55. Āsār Em Rertu-nifu . . .	
56. Āsār Neb-tchetta . . .	
57. Āsār Neb-heḥ . . .	
58. Āsār Em Ṭesher . . .	
59. Āsār Em Seshet . . .	
60. Āsār Em Uhet-resu . . .	
61. Āsār Em Uhet-meht . . .	
62. Āsār Em Āat-urt . . .	
63. Āsār Em Āpert. . . .	
64. Āsār Em Shennu . . .	
65. Āsār Em Ḥekennut, or, Ḥesertet . . . .	
66. Āsār Em Seker . . .	

67. Āsār Em Shau . . .	
68. Āsār Fa-Ĥeru . . .	
69. Āsār Em Uu-Pek . . .	
70. Āsār Em Maāti . . .	
71. Āsār Em Menā . . .	
72. Āsār Baiu tef-f . . .	
73. Āsār Neb taiu suten neteru	
74. Āsār Em Bener . . .	
75. Āsār Em Tai . . .	
76. Āsār Ĥer shāi-f . . .	
77. Āsār Khent seĥet kauit-f . . .	
78. Āsār Em Sā . . .	
79. Āsār Em Sāti . . .	
80. Āsār Em Asher . . .	
81. Āsār Em tauī nebu . . .	
82. Āsār Khent shet āa-perti . . .	
83. Āsār Em Ĥet Benbenet . . .	
84. Āsār Em Ānnu . . .	
85. Āsār Āau ām Ānnu . . .	
86. Āsār Em Ĥemaḳ . . .	
87. Āsār Em Ākesh . . .	
88. Āsār Em Pe Nu . . .	
89. Āsār Em Ĥet-āat . . .	
90. Āsār Neb-Ānkh em Ābṭu . . .	

91. Āsār Neb-Ṭaṭṭu . . . 
92. Āsār Khent Ḳa-āst . . . 
93. Āsār Āthi ḥer-ab Ābṭu . . . 
94. Āsār Āthi ḥer-āb Shetat . . . 
95. Āsār Em ānkh em Ptaḥ-  
ḥet-kat . . . 
96. Āsār neb peḥtet petpet Sebā 
97. Āsār Ba ḥer-āb Qemt . . . 
98. Āsār Āḥeti . . . 
99. Āsār Seh . . . 
100. Āsār Ḥeru-khuti . . . 
101. Tem Ka khapaut neteru āat 
102. Āp-uat rest sekhem tauī . . . 
103. Āp-uat meḥt sekhem pet 
104. Ptaḥ Ṭeṭṭeṭ sheps āst Rā 
105. Uā seqeb em Ḥet-Benben 
106. Seb erpāt neteru . . . 
107. Ḥeru-ur . . . 
108. Ḥeru-khentet-ān-maati . . . 
109. Ḥeru-sa-Āst . . . 
110. Āmsu (Min)-suten-Ḥeru-  
nekht . . . 
111. Ān-mut-f āb-perui-urui . . . 
112. Khnemu-Ḥeru-ḥetep . . . 
113. Ḥeru-Sekhai . . . 

114. Ḥeru-khent-khaṭṭhi . . . . .	
115. Ḥeru-Tehuti . . . . .	
116. Ān-her . . . . .	
117. Ānpu-khent-neter-seḥ . . . . .	
118. Nut . . . . .	
119. Āst netert em ren-s nebu . . . . .	
120. Re-sekhait . . . . .	
121. Shenthit . . . . .	
122. Ḥeqtit . . . . .	
123. Neshmet neb tchetta . . . . .	
124. Net . . . . .	
125. Serqet . . . . .	
126. Maāt . . . . .	
127. Abit . . . . .	
128. Ta fṭu Meskhenu āmu Ābṭu . . . . .	
129. Meskhen Āat . . . . .	
130. Meskhen Seqebet . . . . .	
131. Meskhen Ment (?) . . . . .	
132. Meskhen Nefert . . . . .	
133. Āmseth . . . . .	
134. Ḥāpi . . . . .	
135. Ṭua-mut-f . . . . .	
136. Qebḥ-sennu-f . . . . .	



## CHAPTER XI

PLUTARCH'S MYTHOLOGICAL HISTORY OF  
ISIS AND OSIRIS<sup>1</sup>

XII. “**N**OW the story of Isis and Osiris, its most significant and “superfluous parts omitted, is thus briefly related:—  
 “Rhea, they say, having accompanied with Kronos by stealth, was “discovered by Helios, who hereupon denounced a curse upon her, “‘that she should not be delivered in any month or year.’ Hermes “however, being likewise in love with the same Goddess, in “recompence of the favours which he had received from her, plays “at tables with Selene, and wins from her the seventieth part of “each of her illuminations; these several parts, making in the “whole five new days, he afterwards joined together, and added to “the three hundred and sixty, of which the year formerly “consisted: which days therefore are even yet called by the “Egyptians the ‘Epact’ or ‘superadded,’ and observed by them “as the birth-days of their Gods. For upon the first of them, say “they, was OSIRIS born, just at whose entrance into the world a “voice was heard, saying, ‘the lord of all the earth is born.’ “There are some indeed who relate this circumstance in a different “manner, as that a certain person named Pamyles, as he was “fetching water from the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, heard a “voice commanding him to proclaim aloud, that ‘the good and “great king Osiris was then born’; and for this reason Kronos “committed the education of the child to him, and that in memory “of this event the Pamyliæ were afterwards instituted, a festival “much resembling the Phallephoria or Priapeia of the Greeks.

<sup>1</sup> See S. Squire, *Plutarch's Treatise of Isis and Osiris*, Cambridge, 1744, p. 15 ff.

“Upon the second of these days was AROUERIS (*Ἀρουρησις*) born ;  
 “whom some call Apollo, and others distinguish by the name of  
 “the elder Orus.<sup>1</sup> Upon the third, TYPHO [i.e., Set 
 “came into the world, being born neither at the proper time, nor  
 “by the right place, but forcing his way through a wound which  
 “he had made in his mother’s side. Isis was born on the fourth  
 “of them, in the marshes of Egypt; as Nephthys was upon the  
 “last, whom some call Teleute and Aphrodite, and others Nike.  
 “Now as to the fathers of these children, the two first of them are  
 “said to have been begotten by Helios; Isis by Hermes; Typho  
 “and Nephthys by Kronos; and accordingly, the third of these  
 “superadded days, because it was looked upon as the birth-day of  
 “Typho, was regarded by the kings as inauspicious, and consequently  
 “they neither transacted any business in it, or even suffered them-  
 “selves to take any refreshment until the evening. They further  
 “add, that Typho married Nephthys; and that Isis and Osiris,  
 “having a mutual affection, enjoyed each other in their mother’s  
 “womb before they were born, and that from this commerce sprang  
 “Aroueris, whom the Egyptians likewise call the ‘elder Orus,’ and  
 “the Greeks ‘Apollo.’”

✕ XIII. “Osiris, being now become king of Egypt, applied  
 “himself towards civilizing his countrymen, by turning them from  
 “their former indigent and barbarous course of life; he moreover  
 “taught them how to cultivate and improve the fruits of the earth;  
 “he gave them a body of laws to regulate their conduct by, and  
 “instructed them in that reverence and worship, which they were  
 “to pay to the gods; with the same good disposition he afterwards  
 “travelled over the rest of the world, inducing the people every-  
 “where to submit to his discipline, not indeed compelling them by  
 “force of arms, but persuading them to yield to the strength of  
 “his reasons, which were conveyed to them in the most agreeable  
 “manner, in hymns and songs accompanied with instruments of  
 “music; from which last circumstance, the Greeks conclude him  
 “to have been the same person with their Dionysos or Bacchus.  
 “During Osiris’s absence from his kingdom Typho had no

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀρουρησις* = HERU-UR, 

“opportunity of making any innovations in the state, Isis being  
 “extremely vigilant in the government and always upon her guard.  
 “After his return, however, having first persuaded seventy-two  
 “other persons to join with him in the conspiracy, together with a  
 “certain queen of Ethiopia named Aso, who chanced to be in  
 “Egypt at that time, he contrived a proper stratagem to execute  
 “his base designs. For having privily taken the measure of  
 “Osiris’s body, he caused a chest to be made exactly of the same  
 “size with it, as beautiful as might be, and set off with all the  
 “ornaments of art. This chest he brought into his banqueting  
 “room; where, after it had been much admired by all who were  
 “present, Typho, as it were in jest, promised to give it to any one  
 “of them, whose body upon trial it might be found to fit. Upon  
 “this the whole company, one after another, go into it, but as it  
 “did not fit any of them, last of all Osiris lays himself down in it,  
 “upon which the conspirators immediately ran together, clapped  
 “the cover upon it, and then fastened it down on the outside with  
 “nails, pouring likewise melted lead over it. After this, they  
 “carried it away to the river side, and conveyed it to the sea by  
 “the Tanaitic mouth of the Nile; which for this reason is still held  
 “in the utmost abomination by the Egyptians, and never named  
 “by them but with proper marks of detestation. These things, say  
 “they, were thus executed upon the 17th day of the month Athyr,  
 “when the Sun was in Scorpio, in the 28th year of Osiris’s reign;  
 “though there are others who tell us that he was no more than 28  
 “years old at this time.

XIV. “The first who knew the accident which had befallen  
 “their king, were the Pans and Satyrs who inhabited the country  
 “about Chemmis;<sup>1</sup> and they immediately acquainting the people  
 “with the news gave the first occasion to the name Panic Terrors,  
 “which has ever since been made use of to signify any sudden  
 “affright or amazement of a multitude. As to Isis, as soon as the  
 “report reached her, she immediately cut off one of the locks of  
 “her hair, and put on mourning apparel upon the very spot where

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Ἄπυ,    , the Panopolis of the Greeks; the name Χέμμις, the modern Akhmim, is derived from the old Egyptian name,   .

“she then happened to be, which accordingly from this accident  
“has ever since been called Coptos, or the *City of Mourning*, though  
“some are of opinion that this word rather signifies *Deprivation*.  
“After this she wandered everywhere about the country, full of  
“disquietude and perplexity, in search of the chest, enquiring of  
“every person she met with, even of some children whom she  
“chanced to see, whether they knew what was become of it. Now  
“it so happened that these children had seen what Typho’s accom-  
“plices had done with the body, and accordingly acquainted her by  
“what mouth of the Nile it had been conveyed into the sea. For  
“this reason therefore the Egyptians look upon *children* as endued  
“with a kind of faculty of divining, and in consequence of this  
“notion are very curious in observing the accidental prattle which  
“they have with one another whilst they are at play (especially if  
“it be a sacred place), forming omens and presages from it. Isis,  
“during this interval, having been informed that Osiris, deceived by  
“her sister Nephthys who was in love with him, had unwittingly  
“enjoyed her instead of herself, as she concluded from the melilot  
“garland (τὸν Μελιλότινον στέφανον), which he had left with her,  
“made it her business to search out the child, the fruit of this  
“unlawful commerce (for her sister, dreading the anger of her  
“husband Typho, had exposed it as soon as it was born), and  
“accordingly, after much pains and difficulty, by means of some  
“dogs that conducted her to the place where it was, she found it  
“and bred it up; so that in process of time it became her constant  
“guard and attendant, and from hence obtained the name of  
“Anubis, being thought to watch and guard the Gods, as dogs do  
“mankind.

“At length she receives more particular news of the chest,  
“that it had been carried by the waves of the sea to the coast of  
“Byblos, and there gently lodged in the branches of a bush of  
“Tamarisk, which in a short time had shot up into a large and  
“beautiful tree, growing round the chest and enclosing it on every  
“side, so that it was not to be seen; and farther that the king of  
“the country, amazed at its unusual size, had cut the tree down,  
“and made that part of the trunk, wherein the chest was concealed,  
“a pillar to support the roof of his house. These things, say they,

“being made known to Isis in an extraordinary manner by the  
 “report of demons, she immediately went to Byblos; where,  
 “setting herself down by the side of a fountain, she refused to  
 “speak to anybody, excepting only to the queen’s women who  
 “chanced to be there; these indeed she saluted and caressed in  
 “the kindest manner possible, plaiting their hair for them, and  
 “transmitting into them part of that wonderfully grateful odour,  
 “which issued from her own body. This raised a great desire in  
 “the queen their mistress, to see the stranger, who had this  
 “admirable faculty of transfusing so fragrant a smell from herself  
 “into the hair and skin of other people. She therefore sent for  
 “her to court, and after a further acquaintance with her, made her  
 “nurse to one of her sons. Now the name of the king, who  
 “reigned at this time at Byblos,<sup>1</sup> was Melcarthus, as that of his  
 “queen was Astarte, or according to others, *Saosis*, though some  
 “call her Nemanoun, which answers to the Greek name of  
 “*Athenais*.

XVI. “Isis fed the child by giving it her finger to suck  
 “instead of the breast; she likewise put him every night into the  
 “fire in order to consume his mortal part, whilst transforming  
 “herself into a swallow she hovered round the pillar and bemoaned  
 “her sad fate. Thus continued she to do for some time, till the  
 “queen, who stood watching her, observing the child to be all in a  
 “flame, cried out, and thereby deprived him of that immortality,  
 “which would otherwise have been conferred upon him. The  
 “goddess upon this, discovering herself, requested that the pillar  
 “which supported the roof might be given her; which she accord-  
 “ingly took down, and then easily cutting it open, after she had  
 “taken out what she wanted, she wrapped up the remainder of  
 “the trunk in fine linnen, and pouring perfumed oil upon it,  
 “delivered it again into the hands of the king and queen (which  
 “piece of wood is to this day preserved in the temple of Isis, and  
 “worshipped by the people of Byblos). When this was done she  
 “threw herself upon the chest, making at the same time such a

<sup>1</sup> The Byblos really referred to here is a city in the Papyrus Swamps of the Delta.

“loud and terrible lamentation over it, as frightened the younger of  
“the king’s sons, who heard her, out of his life. But the elder of  
“them she took with her, and set sail with the chest for Egypt;  
“and it being now about morning, the river Phaedrus sending  
“forth a rough and sharp air, she in her anger dried up its  
“current.

XVII. “No sooner was she arrived at a desert place, where  
“she imagined herself to be alone, but she presently opened the  
“chest, and laying her face upon her dead husband’s embraced his  
“corpse, and wept bitterly; but perceiving that the little boy had  
“silently stolen behind her, and found out the occasion of her  
“grief, she turned herself about on the sudden, and in her anger  
“gave him so fierce and stern a look that he immediately died of  
“the affright. Others indeed say that his death did not happen in  
“this manner, but, as was hinted above, that he fell into the sea,  
“and afterwards received the greatest honours on account of the  
“goddess; for that the *Maneros*, whom the Egyptians so frequently  
“call upon in their banquets, is none other than this very boy.  
“This relation is again contradicted by such as tell us, that the  
“true name of this child was *Palaestinus*, or *Pelusius*, and that the  
“city of this name was built by the goddess in memory of him;  
“adding farther, that the *Maneros* above mentioned is thus  
“honoured by the Egyptians at their feasts, because he was the  
“first who invented music. There are others again, who affirm  
“that *Maneros* is not the name of any particular person, but a  
“mere customary form, and complimentary manner of greeting  
“made use of by the Egyptians one towards another at their more  
“solemn feasts and banquets, meaning no more by it than to  
“wish ‘that what they were then about might prove fortunate  
“and happy to them,’ for that this is the true import of the word.  
“In like manner, say they, the human skeleton, which at these  
“times of jollity is carried about in a box, and shewn to all the  
“guests, is not designed, as some imagine, to represent the par-  
“ticular misfortunes of Osiris, but rather to remind them of their  
“mortality, and thereby to excite them freely to make use of and  
“to enjoy the good things which are set before them, seeing they  
“must quickly become such as they there saw; and that this is

“the true reason of introducing it at their banquets—but to proceed in the narration.

XVIII. “Isis intending a visit to her son Orus, who was brought up at Butos,<sup>1</sup> deposited the chest in the meanwhile in a remote and unfrequented place; Typho however, as he was one night hunting in the light of the moon, accidentally met with it; and knowing the body which was enclosed in it, tore it into several pieces, 14 in all, dispersing them up and down in different parts of the country. Upon being made acquainted with this event, Isis once more sets out in search of the scattered fragments of her husband’s body, making use of a boat made of the reed Papyrus in order the more easily to pass thro’ the lower and fenny parts of the country—For which reason say they, the crocodile never touches any persons, who sail in this sort of vessels, as either fearing the anger of the goddess, or else respecting it on account of its having once carried her. To this occasion therefore is to be imputed, that there are so many different sepulchres of Osiris shewn in Egypt; for we are told, that wherever Isis met with any of the scattered limbs of her husband, she there buried it. There are others however who contradict this relation, and tell us, that this variety of sepulchres was owing rather to the policy of the queen, who, instead of the real body, as was pretended, presented these several cities with the image only of her husband; and that she did this, not only to render the honours, which would by this means be paid to his memory, more extensive, but likewise that she might hereby elude the malicious search of Typho; who, if he got the better of Orus in the war wherein they were going to be engaged, distracted by this multiplicity of Sepulchres, might despair of being able to find the true one—we are told moreover, that notwithstanding all her search, Isis was never able to recover the privy-member of Osiris, which having been thrown into the Nile immediately upon its separation from the rest of the body, had been devoured by the Lepidotus, the Phagrus, and the Oxyrynchus, fish which of all others, for this reason, the

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Per-Uatchit, .

“Egyptians have in more especial avoidance. In order, however, to make some amends for the loss, Isis consecrated the Phallus made in imitation of it, and instituted a solemn festival to its memory, which is even to this day observed by the Egyptians.”

“After these things, Osiris returning from the other world appeared to his son Orus, encouraged him to the battle, and at the same time instructed him in the exercise of arms. He then asked him, ‘what he thought the most glorious action a man could perform?’ to which Orus replied, ‘to revenge the injuries offered to his father and mother.’ He then asked him, ‘what animal he thought most serviceable to a soldier?’ and being answered ‘a horse,’ this raised the wonder of Osiris, so that he further questioned him, ‘why he preferred a horse before a lion?’ ‘because,’ says Orus, ‘tho’ the lion be the more serviceable creature to one who stands in need of help, yet is the horse more useful in overtaking and cutting off a flying adversary.’ These replies much rejoiced Osiris, as they shewed him that his son was sufficiently prepared for his enemy. We are moreover told, that amongst the great numbers who were continually deserting from Typho’s party was his concubine Thueris,<sup>1</sup> and that a serpent pursuing her as she was coming over to Orus, was slain by his soldiers—the memory of which action, say they, is still preserved in that cord, which is thrown into the midst of their assemblies, and then chopt into pieces—afterwards it came to a battle between them, which lasted many days; but victory at length inclined to Orus, Typho himself being taken prisoner. Isis however, to whose custody he was committed, was so far from putting him to death, that she even loosed his bonds and set him at liberty. This action of his mother so extremely incensed Orus, that he laid hands upon her, and pulled off the ensign of royalty which she wore on her head; and instead thereof Hermes clapt on an helmet made in the shape of an oxe’s head. After this Typho publicly accused Orus of bastardy; but by the assistance of Hermes, his legitimacy was fully established by the judgment of

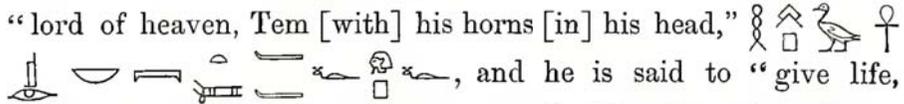
<sup>1</sup> I.e., Ta-urt, 

“the Gods themselves. After this, there were two other battles fought between them, in both which Typho had the worst. Furthermore, Isis is said to have accompanied Osiris after his death, and in consequence hereof to have brought forth Harpocrates, who came into the world before his time, and lame in his lower limbs.”

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## CHAPTER XII

ĀSĀR-ĤĀPI, , OR SERAPIS.

IN connexion with the history of the god Osiris mention must be made of ĀSĀR-ĤĀPI or SERAPIS, a deity whose cult was widespread in Egypt under the Ptolemies, and in many provinces of the Roman Empire after that country had passed under the authority of the Cæsars. The second part of the name, "Ĥāpi," was that which was given to the famous bull which formed the object of worship at Memphis very early in the dynastic period of Egyptian history, and which is commonly known as the "APIS BULL," whilst the first part is, of course, nothing but the name Osiris in its Egyptian form. The Greeks fused the names of the two deities together under the form Σάραπισ, and, although the exact nature of the attributes which they assigned to Osiris and Apis united is not quite clear, it seems tolerably certain that they regarded Serapis as the form which Apis took after death. According to the hieroglyphic texts<sup>1</sup> which were found on stelae and other objects in the Serapeum at Šakḳâra, Apis is called "the life of Osiris, the "lord of heaven, Tem [with] his horns [in] his head," , and he is said to "give life, strength, health, to thy nostrils for ever." Elsewhere APIS-OSIRIS is described as, "the great god, Khent Àmentet, the lord of life for ever," , and as this text belongs to the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, we see that even at the beginning of the New Empire Apis and Osiris were

<sup>1</sup> See Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Paris, 1882, p. 125 ff.; Mariette, *Mémoire sur cette Représentation gravée en tête de quelques proscynèmes du Sérapéum*, Paris, 1856.

joined together by the priests of Memphis, and that the attributes of Apis had been made to assume a funereal character, and that he was at that time recognized as a god of the Underworld. On a monument of the XIXth Dynasty,<sup>1</sup> Apis is said to be "the renewed



Sepulchral tablet with a scene in which the deceased is seen adoring Osiris, Serapis, and other gods.

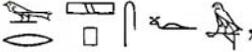
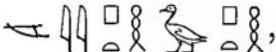
life of Ptaḥ,"  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$   $\square \text{𓆒}$ , and in an inscription of the XXVIth Dynasty he is called the "second Ptaḥ,"  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$   $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ ; in the same text we have a mention of the "temple of Ásar - Ḥapi,"  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$   $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ , i.e., of Serapis, and we may learn from this fact that Apis had been finally made a god of the Underworld, and that his identity had been merged in that of Osiris. The identification of Apis with Osiris was easy enough, because one of the commonest names of Osiris was "Bull of the West," and the identification once made the shrines of Osiris were regarded as the proper places at which the worship of the double god should be paid. Apis was, in fact, believed to be animated by the soul of Osiris, and to be Osiris incarnate, and the appearance of a new Apis was regarded as a new

<sup>1</sup> Mariette, *Sérapéum*, p. 139.

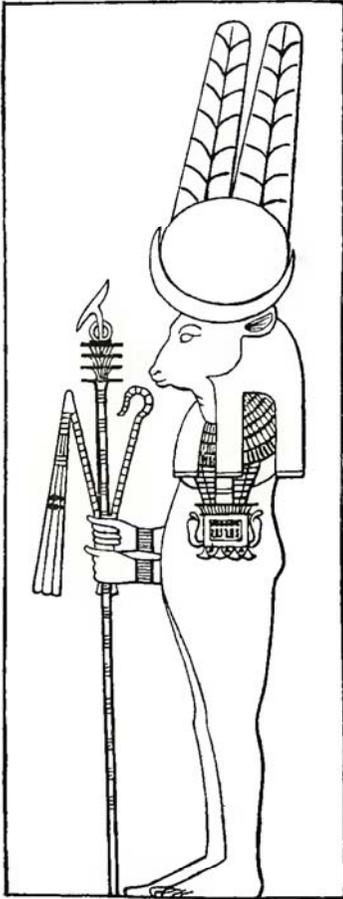
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

manifestation of Osiris upon earth ; but he was also an emanation of Ptaḥ, and he was even called the "son of Ptaḥ,"<sup>1</sup> . The double god Ásar-Hāpi or Hāpi-Ásar, is depicted in the form of a bull, which has the solar disk and a uraeus between its horns. The peculiar marks on a bull which indicated that he was Apis, and the general history of the god will be found in the Chapter on "Animals sacred to the Gods."

The chief centre of the worship of Serapis in Ptolemaic times was Alexandria, where it was established, according to tradition, by Ptolemy Soter. This great ruler of Egypt appears to have wished to find some god who could be worshipped both by Greeks and Egyptians at a common shrine, and one whom he could cause to be regarded as the characteristic god of his dynasty in Egypt. The most important Egyptian god at the time was Osiris, that is to say Osiris-Apis, the great god of the Egyptian Underworld, but it was impossible for him to remove the great sanctuary of this god, and he therefore determined either to rebuild some ruined Serapeum at Alexandria, or to found a new one wherein he might set up a statue which should be worshipped both as the god of the Egyptian Underworld and the Greek Hades, and in which would be united the attributes of Osiris Khent Ámenti, and of Dis. Whilst Ptolemy was meditating upon these or similar things he had a dream, wherein a colossal statue of some god appeared to him, and told him to remove it from where it was to Alexandria ; according to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 28), he had never seen a similar statue, and he knew neither the place where it stood, nor to whom it belonged. One day he happened to mention his dream to Sosibius, and described the statue which he had seen, whereon this man declared that he had seen a statue like it at Sinope. Tradition says that this was Sinope on the Pontus, and adds that as the inhabitants of the city were extremely unwilling to part with their statue, it, of its own accord, after waiting for three years, entered

<sup>1</sup> In the text of Pepi I. (l. 671) the god UR-SHEPS-F, , is called the "beloved, the son of Ptaḥ," , but we are not justified in assuming him to be an old form of Osiris-Apis.

into a ship and arrived at Alexandria safely after a voyage of only three days. When the Greeks came to see the statue it was introduced to them as the god Hades, and the Egyptian priests were ready to bestow upon him the name *Āsār-Hāpi*, or Serapis, by which name the Greeks were, apparently, quite contented to call him. Thus both the Greeks and Egyptians in Alexandria acquired a god whom they willingly worshipped as the god of the Underworld.



*Āsār-Hāpi* (Serapis).

As soon as the god who was now called Serapis had been established in his new home, his former worship and rites were greatly modified, and his services and processions were made to resemble those of the Egyptians, who naturally expected their main features to be brought into harmony with those of the cult of Osiris, their national god. It appears to have been to the interest of all parties to welcome Serapis, and all must admire the astute action of Ptolemy, who succeeded in making the Greeks think that in worshipping this god they were adoring one of their own native deities, and who persuaded the Egyptians that they were maintaining the supremacy of Osiris-Apis in spite of the fact that the Macedonians were the rulers and masters of the country. Some doubt has been cast upon the identification of

the Sinope mentioned by Plutarch with the Sinope of Pontus, but with insufficient reason. The Serapeum which Ptolemy repaired, or founded, was probably near *Rāqetīt* , and was a very remarkable building; its main plan seems to have resembled that of the famous Serapeum at Memphis, but parts of it were richly painted and gilded, and it possessed a fine library which was

said to contain some 300,000 volumes. The following is Plutarch's account of the introduction of the god of Sinope into Egypt:—

“ After this, say they, both Isis and Osiris, on account of their  
 “ eminent virtue, were translated from the order of good Demons  
 “ to that of Gods, as in after ages were Hercules and Bacchus; and  
 “ therefore the honours which are paid them are very properly of  
 “ the mixed kind, such as are due both to Gods and Demons, their  
 “ power being very great, not only upon earth, but in those regions  
 “ likewise which are under the earth. For, say they, Osiris is none  
 “ other than Pluto, nor is Isis different from Proserpine, as Arche-  
 “ machus the Euboean asserts, and as appears likewise to have  
 “ been the opinion of Heraclides of Pontus from his declaring the  
 “ oracle at Canopus to belong to Pluto.

XXVIII. “ But the following facts will make this point still  
 “ more evident. Ptolemy, surnamed the Saviour, had a dream,  
 “ wherein a certain Colossean statue, such as he had never seen  
 “ before, appeared unto him, commanding him to remove it as soon  
 “ as possible from the place where it then stood to Alexandria.  
 “ Upon this the king was in great perplexity, as he knew neither  
 “ to whom the statue belonged nor where to look for it. Upon his  
 “ relating the vision to his friends, a certain person named Sosibius,  
 “ who had been a great traveller, declared that he had seen just  
 “ such a statue as the king described at Sinope. Soteles and  
 “ Dionysius were hereupon immediately dispatched in order to  
 “ bring it away with them, which they at length accomplished  
 “ though not without much difficulty, and the manifest interposi-  
 “ tion of providence. Timotheus the Interpreter, and Manetho, as  
 “ soon as the statue was shown to them, from the Cerberus and  
 “ Dragon that accompanied it, concluded that it was designed to  
 “ represent Pluto, and persuaded the king that it was in reality  
 “ none other than the Egyptian *Sarapis*; for it must be observed,  
 “ that the statue had not this name before it was brought to  
 “ Alexandria, it being given to it afterwards by the Egyptians, as  
 “ equipollent, in their opinion, to its old one of Pluto. So again,  
 “ when Heraclitus the Physiologist asserts that Pluto and Bacchus  
 “ are the same, does not this directly lead to the same conclusion?  
 “ For as to those who say that by Pluto is here meant *the body*,

“ because the soul, whilst it is in it, is as it were intoxicated and  
 “ beside itself, and that from hence springs the relation between  
 “ it and Bacchus, this is too subtle and finespun an allegory to  
 “ deserve our serious notice. Heraclitus’s assertion therefore may  
 “ be much more probably accounted for, by supposing the Bacchus  
 “ here meant to be the same as Osiris, and Osiris again the same  
 “ as Sarapis, this latter appellation having been given him, upon  
 “ his being translated from the order of Genii to that of the Gods,  
 “ Sarapis being none other than that common name by which all  
 “ those are called, who have thus changed their nature, as is well  
 “ known by those who are initiated into the mysteries of Osiris.

“ Little regard therefore is to be paid to those *Phrygian Tales*,  
 “ wherein mention is made of one Sarapis, as the daughter of  
 “ Hercules, and of Typho, as born of Isaeacus one of his sons :  
 “ nor does Phylarchus better deserve our credit, when he tells us  
 “ that ‘ Bacchus first brought two bullocks with him out of India  
 “ into Egypt, and that the name of the one was *Apis*, and that of  
 “ the other *Osiris*,’ adding moreover, ‘ that Sarapis, in the proper  
 “ meaning of the word, signifies *him who disposed the Universe*  
 “ *into its present beautiful order.*’ Now though this assertion of  
 “ Phylarchus be weak enough, yet it is not quite so absurd as that  
 “ of those who assert, that ‘ Sarapis is no god at all, but the mere  
 “ denomination of the sepulchral chest, wherein the body of Apis  
 “ after its death is deposited ;’ much more tolerable than either of  
 “ the preceding is their opinion, who would derive this name from  
 “ words which in the Greek language import, ‘ *one who first*  
 “ *impelled and gave motion to the universe.*’ The priests indeed, at  
 “ least the greatest part of them, tell us, that Sarapis is none other  
 “ than the mere union of Osiris and Apis into one word ; declarative  
 “ as it were of that opinion, which they are perpetually explaining  
 “ and inculcating, ‘ that the Apis ought ever to be regarded by us,  
 “ as a fair and beautiful image of the soul of Osiris.’ For my part  
 “ I cannot but think, that if this word be of Egyptian extraction,  
 “ it ought to be interpreted so as to express *joy and gladness*, seeing  
 “ that festival, which we Grecians call *Charmosyna*, or *the feast of*  
 “ *joy*, is by the Egyptians expressly termed *Sarei*. Nor altogether  
 “ disagreeable to this last notion of Sarapis, is the explication which

“ Plato gives of the corresponding name of Hades or Pluto, stiling  
 “ him, ‘ the son of cheerfulness, and a kind and gentle Deity to all  
 “ such as come unto him.’ There are likewise many other words,  
 “ which when interpreted into Greek, become entire sentences ;  
 “ such particularly is *Amenthes*, or that subterraneous region  
 “ whither they imagine the souls of those who die to go after their  
 “ decease, a name which expressly signifies in the tongue, *the receiver*  
 “ *and giver*.<sup>1</sup> But whether this likewise be not one of those words,  
 “ which were originally transplanted from Greece into Egypt, we  
 “ will enquire in another place.”

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian form of the word is    *Amentet*, and the name means  
 “ hidden place.”

## CHAPTER XIII

ĀST, , OR , OR , ISIS

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the fact that Ās, or Āst, i.e., Isis, is one of the goddesses most frequently mentioned in the hieroglyphic texts, nothing is known with certainty about the attributes which were ascribed to her in the earliest times. From the fact that she was regarded as the female counterpart of Osiris in the dynastic period, we may assume that she was also associated with the god in this capacity in the predynastic period, and if he was originally a water spirit or a river-god, she must have possessed the same characteristics. The name ĀST has, like ĀSĀR, up to the present defied all explanation, and it is clear from the punning derivations to which the Egyptians themselves had recourse, that they knew no more about the meaning of her name than we do. The probability is that Ās, or Āst, is a Libyan name originally, and that it is to be classed with the names of the other Libyan deities, e.g., Net, Bast, etc., who were worshipped by the predynastic Egyptians, and the sounds of whose names were expressed by hieroglyphic symbols as nearly as possible when the people of the country borrowed or invented the art of writing. The symbol of the name of Isis in Egyptian is a seat, or throne, , but we have no means of connecting it with the attributes of the goddess in such a way as to give a rational explanation of her name, and all the derivations hitherto proposed must be regarded as mere guesses. Isis is usually depicted in the form of a woman who wears on her head a vulture head-dress, and holds in her hand a papyrus sceptre. The usual ornament or crown on her head consists of a pair of horns, between which is a solar disk, and this is sometimes surmounted by , the symbol of the sound of her name. Sometimes she wears the double crowns



THE GODDESS ISIS.

of the South and the North, to the back of which is attached the feather of Maāt, and sometimes she wears with the pair of horns and the solar disk two plumes.<sup>1</sup> Her horns are usually those of the cow of Hathor, or of one of the sister forms of this goddess, , but occasionally<sup>2</sup> she wears a pair of ram's horns, , under her double crown; since, however, Osiris was represented by the Ram of Mendes, and was identified with Khnemu, it is only to be expected that his female counterpart Isis should appear sometimes with the horns which are the peculiar characteristic of the great Ram-god. Isis, as a woman, and not as a goddess, is depicted in the ordinary head-dress of a woman, but even so she has the uraeus over her forehead, for the Egyptians wished it never to be forgotten that she was of divine origin; of the forms which she had the power to take in her character of the "lady of words of power" mention will be made further on.

An examination of the texts of all periods proves that Isis always held in the minds of the Egyptians a position which was entirely different from that of every other goddess, and although it is certain that their views concerning her varied from time to time, and that certain aspects or phases of the goddess were worshipped more generally at one period than at another, it is correct to say that from the earliest to the latest dynasties [Isis was the greatest goddess of Egypt.] Long before the copies of the Pyramid Texts which we possess were written the attributes of Isis were well-defined, and even when the priests of Heliopolis assigned to her the position which she held in the cycle of their gods between B.C. 4000 and B.C. 3000 the duties which she was thought to perform in connexion with the dead were clearly defined, and were identical with those which belonged to her in the Graeco-Roman period. [Isis was the great and beneficent goddess and mother, whose influence and love pervaded all heaven, and earth, and the abode of the dead, and she was 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 to the insect on the ground; what she brought forth she protected, and cared for, and fed, and nourished, and she

<sup>1</sup> See Lanzzone, *Dizionario*, pll. 306 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 308, No. 3.

employed her life in using her power graciously and successfully, not only in creating new beings but in restoring those that were dead. She was, besides these things, the highest type of a faithful and loving wife and mother, and it was in this capacity that the Egyptians honoured and worshipped her most. In the section on Osiris a rendering of the Mythological History of Isis and Osiris by Plutarch has already been given, but reference must here be made to one or two passages in it for purposes of comparison with Egyptian texts. According to this document Osiris was slain by the cunning of his brother Typhon, or Set, and the box containing his body was thrown into the river, which carried it to the sea; after long search Isis found it, and set it, as she thought, in a safe hiding place, but it was found by Typhon, who cut it up into a number of pieces. It is nowhere so stated, but it seems that Isis was childless before the death of Osiris, and both the narrative of Plutarch and a passage in the Hymn to Osiris quoted above (p. 150) agree in stating that, by means of certain words of power which had been given to her by Thoth and which she knew how to use, she restored her dead husband to life, and was united to him; as the result of this embrace she conceived her son Horus, and in due course brought him forth.

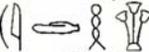
The incidents of her search for the dead body of Osiris, and of the conception and birth, and rearing of her child powerfully impressed the imagination of the Egyptians, and hieroglyphic literature is full of allusions to them. In the Pyramid Texts the deceased is said (Unâs, line 181) "to breathe the breath of Isis," and to make his passage in heaven, with Isis, in the Mâtet Boat, i.e., the boat of the rising sun (line 293); moreover, he is declared to be the very son of Isis and of her twin form Nephthys.<sup>1</sup> In a remarkable passage in the text of Tetâ (line 84) the deceased is introduced to the triad of goddesses, Isis, Nephthys, and ASBET, , as their son, and elsewhere (line 172) Seb, the father of Osiris and Isis, is made to speak of

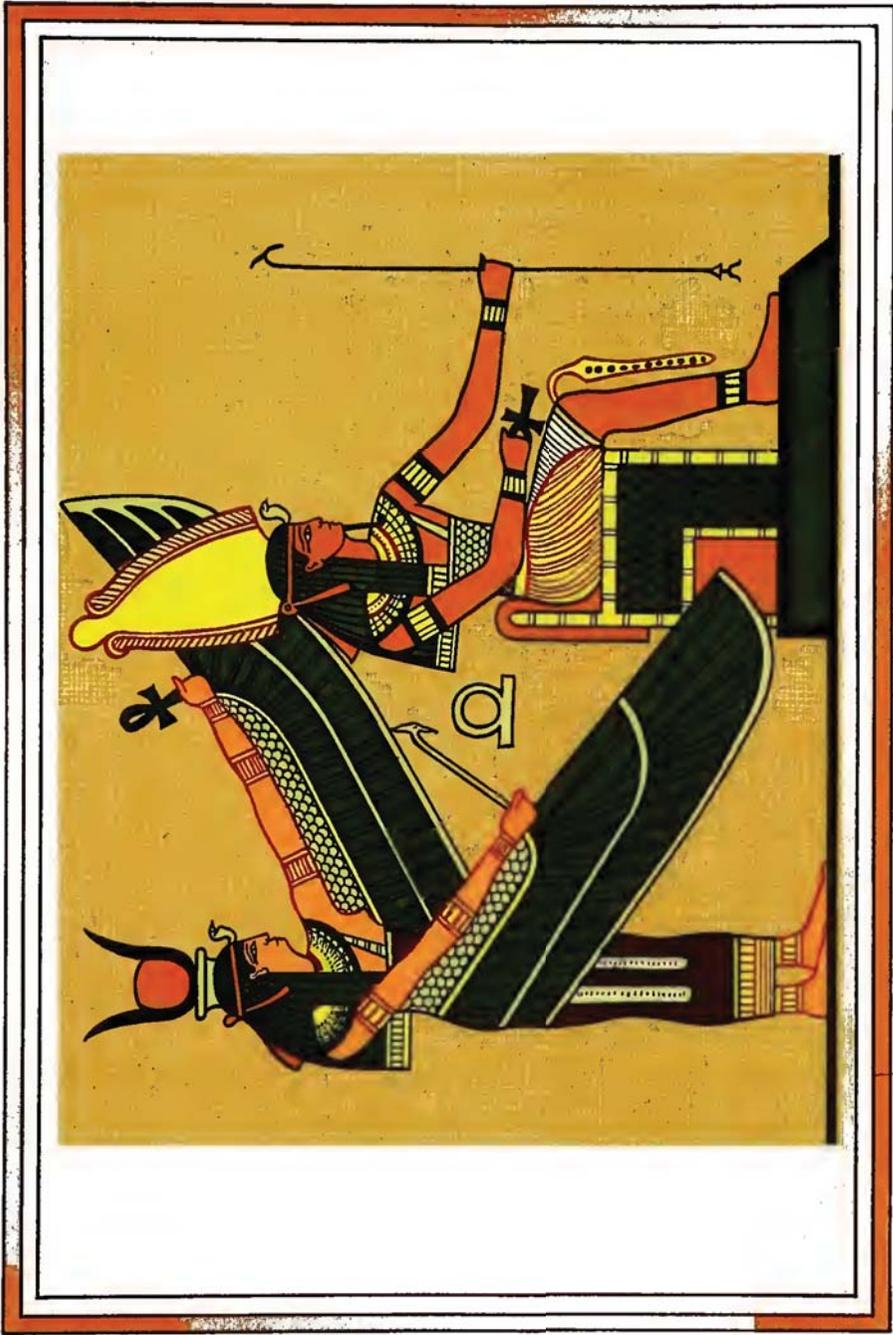
<sup>1</sup>  Unâs, l. 487.

Isis and Nephthys as his "sisters." These things the Egyptians believed because their ancient traditions told them of all that Isis had done for her husband and child, and they hoped that the goddess would be present at the celebrations of their funeral rites, and that she would secure for them a new birth. In the illustrated Recensions of the *Book of the Dead* Isis frequently appears both as the mother of Horus, the heir to the throne of Osiris, and as the mourning widow of her husband. In the vignette to the clist Chapter Isis kneels at the bier of the deceased, and says to him, "I have come to protect thee with the north wind which cometh forth from Tem; I have strengthened for thee thy throat; I have caused thee to be with the god; and I have placed all thine enemies under thy feet." This speech refers to the air which Isis produced by the beating of her wings when she restored Osiris to life in order that she might conceive an heir by him, and also to the air which she provided for her son Horus after he had been stung to death by a scorpion. Everywhere in the *Book of the Dead* Isis is regarded as a giver of life and of food to the dead, and she appears behind the god in the shrine wherein Osiris is seated in the Judgment Hall, and in one of her aspects she is identified with one of the two Maät goddesses; she may, in fact, be regarded as one of the judges of the dead.

Now, the *Book of the Dead* supplies us with many interesting allusions to her relations with Osiris, but it says little about her devotion to her son Horus, whom she reared with loving care that he might become the "avenger of his father," and we must have recourse to the texts which are found inscribed on the "Metternich stele,"<sup>1</sup> if we would gain a clearer idea of the troubles which Isis endured after the death of Osiris. In one of these the goddess is made to relate the narrative of her wanderings and sorrows, and she says, "I, even I, am Isis, and I came forth from the house wherein my brother Set had placed me." From this it is clear that Set was not content with murdering his brother Osiris, but that he must needs shut up the widow and her child in some place

<sup>1</sup> This stele was found in Alexandria in 1828, and was given to Prince Metternich by Muhammad 'Ali; for a facsimile of it, and renderings of the texts upon it, see Golenisheff, *Die Metternichstele*, Leipzig, 1877.

of restraint. Whilst Isis was thus confined, "Thoth, the great  
 "god, the prince of Law both in heaven and upon the earth,"  
 came to her and said, "Come, O thou goddess Isis, it is good to be  
 "obedient, for there is life for him that will follow the advice of  
 "another. Hide thou thy son the child [Horus], and this is what  
 "shall happen: his limbs shall grow, and he will become endowed  
 "with two-fold strength, and then he shall be made to sit upon the  
 "throne of his father, and he shall avenge him and take possession  
 "of the rank of the prince of the Two Lands." Isis took the  
 advice of her friend Thoth and, she says, "I came forth from the  
 "house at eventide, and there also came forth with me Seven  
 "Scorpions, who were to accompany me, and to be my helpers.  
 "Two scorpions, Tefen and Befen, were behind me, two scorpions,  
 "Mestet and Mestetef were by my side, and three scorpions, Petet,  
 "Thetet, and Maatet, shewed me the way. I cried out unto them  
 "in a very loud voice, and my speech entered into their ears even  
 "as into the ears of one who knoweth that obedience is a thing  
 "which is applauded, and that disobedience is the mark of the  
 "person who is of no account, and I said unto them, 'Let your  
 "faces be turned to the ground that ye may [shew me] the way.'  
 "So the leader of this company brought me unto the marshes of  
 "Pa-sui, the city of the two Divine Sandals, which lay at the  
 "beginning of the Papyrus Swamps ( *Āteh*). When  
 "I had arrived at *Ṭeb* I came forth to the habitations of the  
 "women who belonged to the overlord of the district, and the chief  
 "woman who had seen me coming along shut her doors in my face,  
 "and was angry with me in her heart because of those (i.e., the  
 "Seven Scorpions) that were with me. Now the scorpions took  
 "counsel on the matter, and they all at one time ejected their  
 "poison on the tip of the tail of Tefen; but as for me, a poor  
 "fen-woman opened her door to me, and I entered into her house.  
 "Meanwhile the Scorpion Tefen entered under the leaves of the  
 "door of the lady [who had shut her doors upon me], and she  
 "stung her son, and fire straightway broke out in the house of the  
 "noble lady; but there was no water forthcoming to put it out,  
 "and the heavens dropped down no rain upon the house of the  
 "noble lady, for it was not the season for rain. And, behold, the



THE GODDESS ISIS.

PTAH-SEKER-AUSAR.

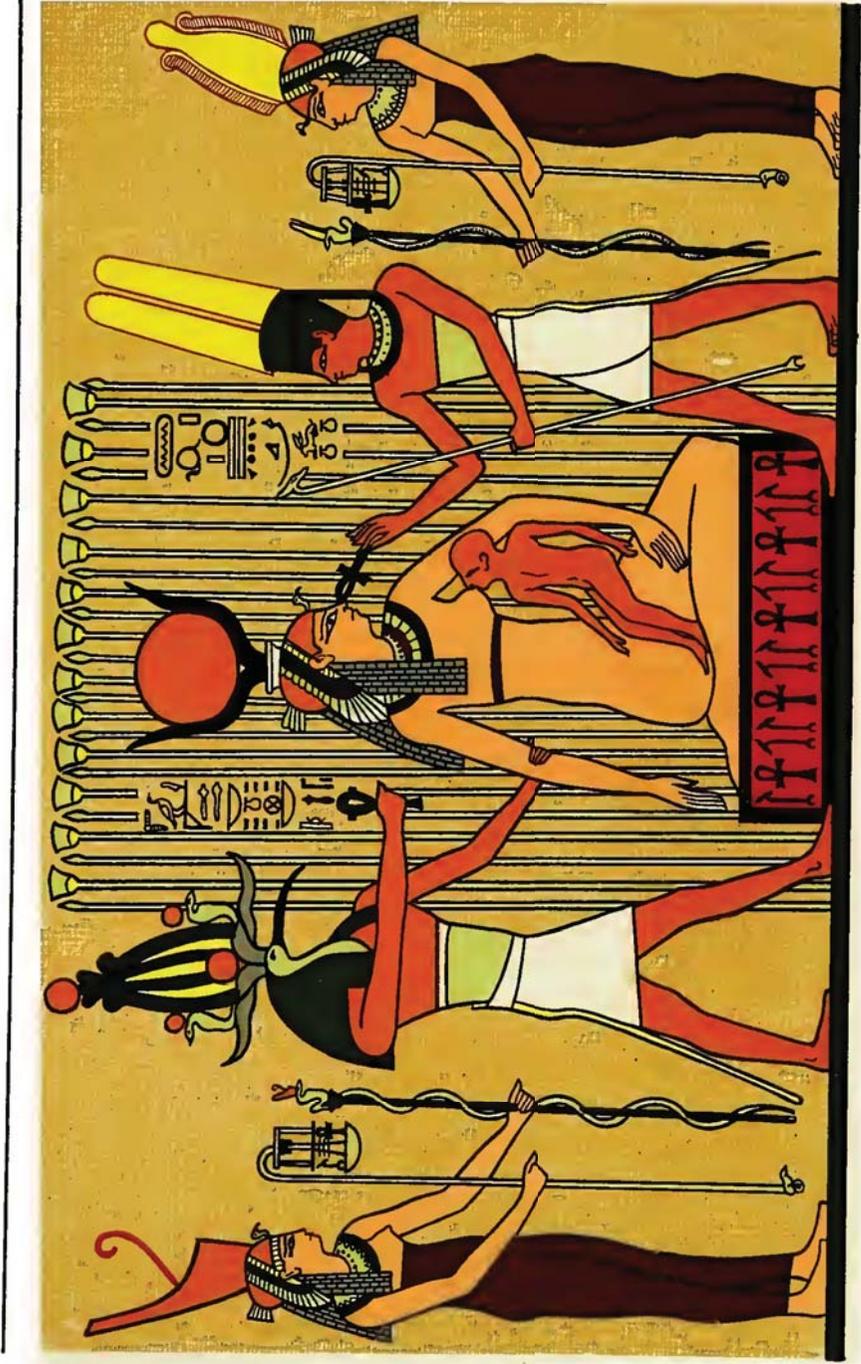
“heart of the woman who had not opened her doors to me was  
 “sad, for she knew not whether her son would live, and although  
 “she went round about through her city uttering cries of lamenta-  
 “tion none came at her call. But mine own heart was sad for the  
 “child’s sake, and I wished to restore to life him that had com-  
 “mitted no fault. Thereupon I cried out to the noble lady,  
 “‘Come to me. Come to me, for my speech hath in it the power  
 “to protect, and it possesseth life. I am a woman who is well-  
 “known in her city, and I can drive the evil out of thy son by one  
 “of my utterances, which my father taught me, for I was the  
 “beloved daughter of his body.’”

The noble lady presumably listened to the words of Isis, who, it seems, either went to her house, or had the dead child brought into her presence, for the narrative continues, “Then Isis laid her  
 “hands upon the child to restore to life him that was without  
 “breath (literally ‘him whose throat was foul’), and said, ‘O poison  
 “of Tefen, come forth, and appear on the ground; come not in,  
 “approach not! O poison of Befent, come forth, and appear on the  
 “ground! for I am Isis the goddess, and I am the lady of words of  
 “power, and I know how to work with words of power, and most  
 “mighty are [my] words! O all ye reptiles which sting, hearken  
 “unto me, and fall ye down on the ground! O poison of Mestet,  
 “come not hither! O poison of Mestetef, rise not up! O poison of  
 “Petet and Thetet, enter not here! [O poison of] Maatet, fall down!”  
 Next in the narrative we have the words of the “Chapter of the  
 stinging [of scorpions]” which “Isis, the goddess and great  
 enchantress at the head of the gods,” spake on this occasion, and it  
 is said that she learnt her method of procedure from Seb, who had  
 taught her how to drive out poison. At the dawn of day she  
 uttered the words, “O poison, get thee back, turn away, begone,  
 retreat,” and added “Mer-Rā;” and at eventide she said, “The  
 Egg of the Goose” cometh forth “from the Sycamore.” Then  
 turning to the Seven Scorpions she said, “I speak to you, for I  
 “am alone and am in sorrow which is greater than that of anyone  
 “in the nomes of Egypt. I am like a man who hath become old,  
 “and who hath ceased to search after and to look upon women in  
 “their houses. Turn your faces down to the ground, and find ye

“me straightway a way to the swamps and to the hidden places in “Khebet.”<sup>1</sup> Following this passage come the exclamation, “The “child liveth and the poison dieth; the Sun liveth and the poison “dieth,” and then the wishes, “May Horus be in good case for his “mother Isis! And may he who shall find himself in a similar “state be in good case also!” As the result of the utterances of Isis the fire in the house of the noble lady was extinguished, and “heaven was satisfied with the words which the goddess Isis” had spoken. The narrative is continued by Isis in these words:— “Then came the lady who had shut her doors against me, and “took possession of the house of the fen-woman because she had “opened the door of her house unto me, and because of this the “noble lady suffered pain and sorrow during a whole night, and “she had to bear [the thought] of her speech, and that her son had “been stung because she had closed the doors and had not opened “them to me.” Following this come the words, “O, the child “liveth, the poison dieth! Verily, Horus shall be in good case for “his mother Isis! Verily, in like manner shall he be in good case “who shall find himself in a similar position! Shall not the bread “of barley drive out the poison and make it to return from the “limbs? Shall not the flame of the *hetchet* plant drive out the fire “from the members?”

“‘Isis, Isis, come to thy child Horus, O thou whose mouth is “wise, come to thy son:’ thus cried out the gods who were near “her after the manner of one whom a scorpion hath stung, and like “one whom Behât, whom the animal Antesh put to flight, hath “wounded. Then came Isis like a woman who was smitten in her “own body. And she stretched out her two arms, [saying], I will “protect thee, I will protect thee, O my son Horus. Fear thou not, “fear thou not, O son, my glorious one. No evil thing whatsoever “shall happen unto thee, for in thee is the seed whereof things “which are to be shall be created. Thou art the son within the

1 ○  , Khebet, or Khebit, ○              , is, as Dr. Brugsch has shown, the Egyptian original of the Greek *Xéμμis*, or *Xéμβis*, an island in the neighbourhood of the city of Buto (Pe and Tep), which, according to Herodotus, floated.



ISIS IN THE PAPYRUS SWAMPS SUCKLING HORUS.

"Mesqet, who hast proceeded from Nu, and thou shalt not die by  
 "the flame of the poison. Thou art the Great Bennu who wast  
 "born on the Incense Trees in the House of the Great Prince in  
 "Heliopolis. Thou art the brother of the Ábṭu Fish, who dost  
 "arrange that which is to be, and who wast nursed by the Cat  
 "within the House of Net. RERET, HÁT and BES protect thy  
 "limbs. Thine head shall not fall before him that is hostile to  
 "thee. The fire of that which hath poisoned thee shall not have  
 "dominion over thy limbs. Thou shalt not fail on land, and thou  
 "shalt not be in peril on the water. No reptile that stingeth shall  
 "have the mastery over thee, and no lion shall crush thee or gain  
 "the mastery over thee. Thou art the son of the holy god and  
 "dost proceed from Seb. Thou art Horus, and the poison which  
 "is in thy limbs shall not have the mastery over thee. And even  
 "so shall it be with him that is under the knife. And the four  
 "noble goddesses shall protect thy limbs."

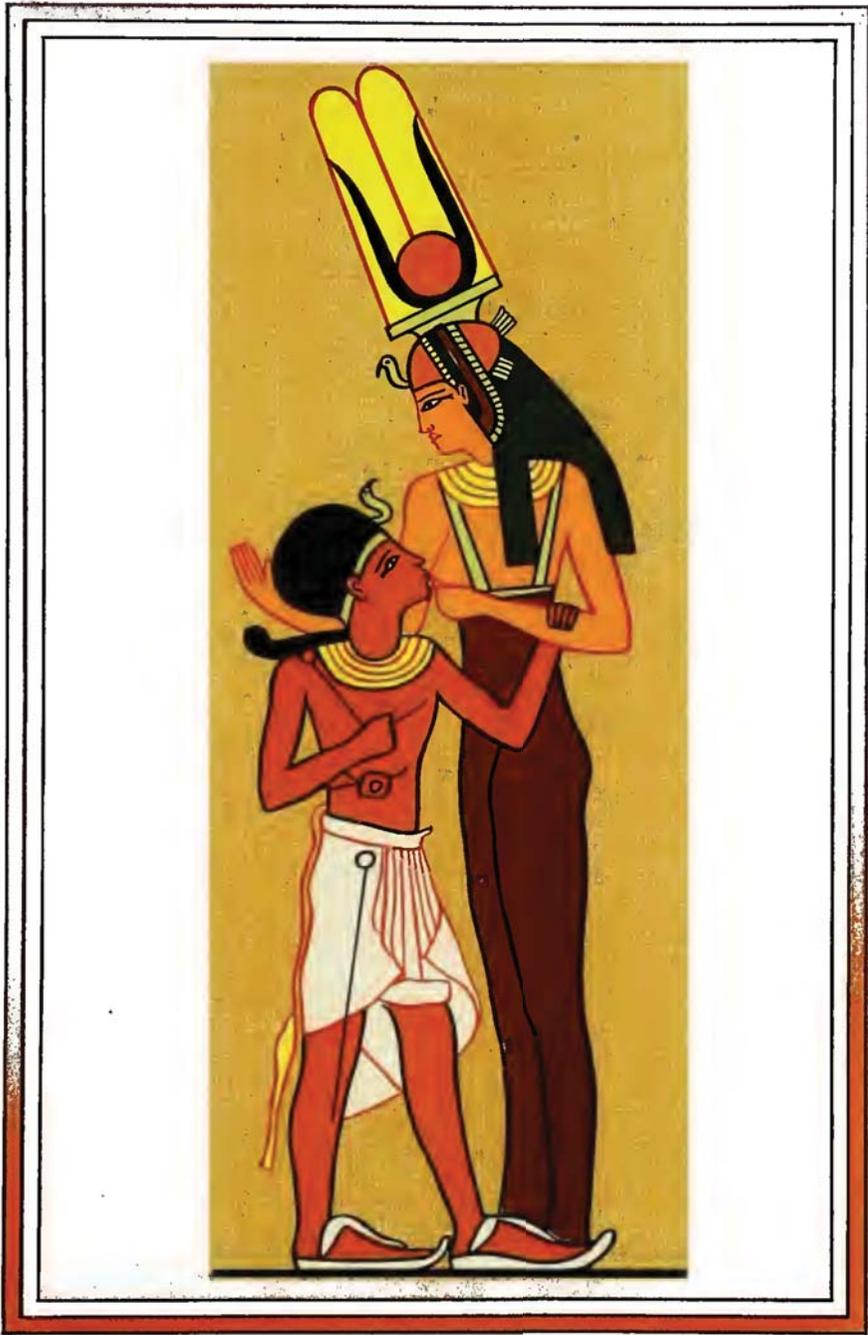
From the above we see that the gods informed Isis that her  
 son Horus had been stung by a scorpion, and from what follows we  
 shall see in what condition Isis found her son. She says, "I, Isis,  
 "conceived a man child, and I was heavy with Horus. I, the  
 "goddess, bare Horus, the son of Isis, within a nest of papyrus  
 "plants (or, 'Island of Áṭeh.'). I rejoiced over him with exceedingly  
 "great joy, for I saw in him one who would make answer for his  
 "father. I hid him, and I concealed him, for I was afraid lest he  
 "should be bitten. Now I went away to the city of Ám, and the  
 "people thereof saluted me according to their wont, and I passed  
 "the time in seeking food and provision for the boy; but when I  
 "returned to embrace Horus, I found him, the beautiful one of  
 "gold, the boy, the child, inert and helpless. He had bedewed the  
 "ground with the water of his eye, and with the foam of his lips;  
 "his body was motionless, and his heart was still, and his muscles  
 "moved not, and I sent forth a cry . . . . Then straightway  
 "the dwellers in the swamps came round about me, and the fen  
 "men came out to me from their houses, and they drew nigh to  
 "me at my call, and they themselves wept at the greatness of my  
 "misery. Yet no man there opened his mouth to speak to me  
 "because they all grieved for me sorely; and no man among them

“knew how to restore Horus to life. Then there came unto me a woman who was well known in her city, and she was a lady at the head of her district, and she came to me to restore [Horus] to life. Her heart was filled with her own affairs, according to custom, but the child Horus remained motionless and moved not. The son of the goddess-mother had been smitten by the evil of his brother. The plants [where Horus was] were concealed, and no hostile being could find a way into them.

“The word of power of Tem, the father of the gods, who is in heaven, acted as the maker of life, and Set had not entered into this region, and he could not go round about the city of Kheb (Khemmis); and Horus was safe from the wickedness of his brother. But Isis had not hidden those who ministered unto him many times each day, and these said concerning him, ‘Horus liveth for his mother;’ they found out where he was, and a scorpion stung him, and ĀUN-ĀB (i.e., Slayer of the Heart) stabbed him.”

Then “Isis placed her nose in the mouth of Horus to learn if there was any breath in him that was in his coffin, and she opened the wound of the divine heir, and she found poison therein. Then she embraced him hurriedly and leaped about with him like a fish when it is placed over a hot fire, and she said, ‘Horus is stung, O Rā, thy son is stung. Horus, thy very heir, and the lord of the . . . . of Shu is stung. Horus, the child of the Papyrus Swamps, the child in Het-ser is stung; the beautiful Child of gold is stung, and the Child, the Babe, hath become a thing of nothingness. Horus, the son of Un-nefer, is stung,’ etc. Then came Nephthys shedding tears, and she went about the Papyrus Swamps uttering cries of grief, and the goddess SERQET said, ‘What is it? What is it? What hath happened to the child Horus?’

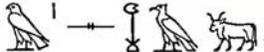
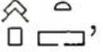
“O Isis, pray thou to heaven so that the sailors of Rā may cease rowing, so that the Boat of Rā may not depart from the place where the child Horus is.’ Then Isis sent forth a cry to heaven, and addressed her prayer to the Boat of Millions of Years; and the Disk stood still, and moved not from the place where he was. And Thoth came, and he was provided with



MERSEKERT SUCKLING HORUS.

“magical powers and possessed the great power which made [his] word to become Maāt (i.e., Law), and he said: ‘O Isis, thou goddess, thou glorious one, who hast knowledge how to use thy mouth, behold, no evil shall come upon the child Horus, for his protection cometh from the Boat of Rā. I have come this day in the Boat of the Disk from the place where it was yesterday. When the night cometh the light shall drive [it] away for the healing of Horus for the sake of his mother Isis, and every person who is under the knife [shall be healed] likewise.’” In answer to this speech Isis told Thoth that she was afraid he had come too late, but she begged him, nevertheless, to come to the child and to bring with him his magical powers which enabled him to give effect to every command which he uttered. Thereupon Thoth besought Isis not to fear, and Nephtys not to weep, for said he, “I have come from heaven in order to save the child for his mother,” and he straightway spake the words of power which restored Horus to life, and served to protect him ever afterwards in heaven, and in earth, and in the Underworld.

The region where all these things took place was situated in the Delta, and the Island in the Papyrus Swamps, where Isis brought forth her child and hid him, was near the famous double city of Pe-Ṭep, which was commonly called Buto by the Greeks. It is impossible to assign a date to the composition of the story briefly narrated above, but it is, no doubt, as old as the legends about the death and resurrection of Osiris, and it must form an integral portion of them, and date from the period when Libyan gods and goddesses were worshipped in the Delta and in certain parts of Upper Egypt before the great development of Sun-worship. The chief importance of the story consists in the fact that it makes Isis to be both woman and goddess, just as the story of Osiris makes that deity to be both god and man, and it is quite conceivable that in the predynastic times the sorrows of Isis, like those of Osiris, formed the subject of miracle plays which were acted annually in all the centres of the worship of Isis. Isis as the faithful and loving wife, and as the tender and devoted mother won the hearts of the Egyptians in all periods of their history, and we can only regret that the narrative of the wanderings and sorrows of the

goddess is not known to us in all its details. Her persecution by Set after her husband's death was a favourite theme of ancient writers, who delighted in showing how the goddess outwitted her terrible adversary; thus on one occasion she was so hard pressed by him that she changed her body into that of the cow-goddess HERU-SEKHA, , and her son Horus into an Apis Bull, ,<sup>1</sup> and went away with him to the Apis temple, , in order that she might see his father Osiris, who was therein.

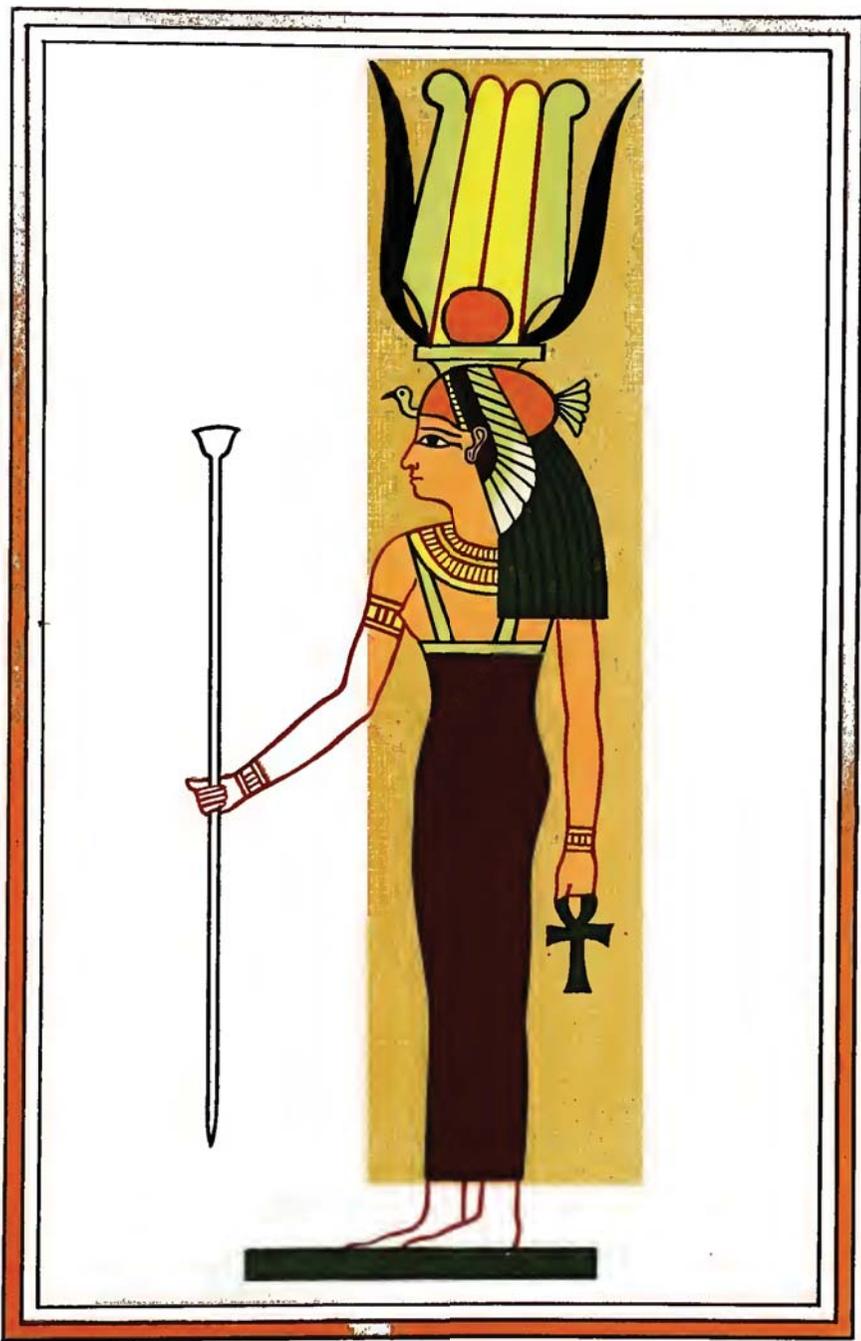
Another great human element in the story of Isis which appealed strongly to the Egyptians was the desire of the goddess to be avenged on the murderer of her husband, and it is this which is referred to in the words of Isis, who says, "I rejoiced over him "with exceedingly great joy, for I saw in him one who would make "answer for his father." The manner in which Horus "made answer for" and avenged his father is told in the Sallier Papyrus (translated by Chabas,<sup>2</sup>) where it is said that Horus and Set fought together, standing on their feet, first in the forms of men and next in the forms of two bears. For three days and for three nights the fight between them raged, and Horus gained the victory over Set, but when Isis saw that Set was being overpowered her heart was touched on his account, and she cried out and ordered the weapons which her son was wielding against her brother to fall down, and they did so, and Set was released. When Horus saw that his mother had taken his adversary's part he raged at her like a panther of the south, and she fled before his wrath; a fierce struggle between Isis and Horus then took place, and Horus cut off his mother's head. Thoth, by means of his words of power, transformed her head into that of a cow which he attached to her body straightway.

Isis, though worshipped all over Egypt, was specially venerated in certain cities, and the following are among the commonest of her titles<sup>3</sup>:—"The great lady, the God-mother, lady

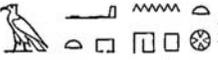
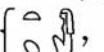
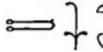
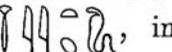
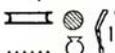
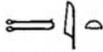
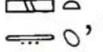
<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1879, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Calendrier*, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pp. 829, ff.



THE GODDESS ISIS-SEPT.

“ of Re-a-nefer ; Isis-Nebuut,  , lady of Sekhet ; lady  
 “ of Besiṭet ; Isis in Per Pakht,  ; the queen of Mesen,  
 “  ; Isis of Ta-āt-nehepet,  ; Isis,  
 “ dweller in Netru,  ; Isis, lady of Hebet,  ;  
 “ Isis in P-she-Ḥert,  ; Isis, lady of Khebt,  ;  
 “ Usert-Isis,  , giver of life, lady of Abaton, lady of  
 “ Philae, lady of the countries of the south,” etc. From a list of  
 titles of the goddess collected by Dr. Brugsch,<sup>1</sup> it is clear that Isis  
 was called USERT,  , in Thebes, ĀĀT,  , in Heliopolis,  
 MENKHET,  , in Memphis, GOD-MOTHER,  , in Coptos,  
 ḤERT,  , in Letopolis ; and “ ḤENT,” i.e., “ Queen,” in  
 every nome ;<sup>2</sup> and another important list tells us that Isis was  
 called ĀMENT,  , in Thebes, MENḤET,  , in Heliopolis,  
 RENPET,  , in Memphis, SEPT,  , in Abydos, ḤETET,  
 , in Behuṭet, ḤURT,  , in Nekhen, THENENET,  
 , in Hermonthis, ĀNT,  , in Dendera, SESHETA,  ,  
 in Hermopolis, ḤEQET,  , in Hibiu, UATCHIT,  , in  
 Hipponus, MERSEKHEN,  , in Herakleopolis, RENPET,  
 , in Crocodilopolis, NEB-ṬEPT,  , in Arsinoë, THĀT,  
 , or TCHETUT,  , in Aphroditopolis, and SHETAT,  
 , in Bubastis. Among her general titles may be mentioned  
 those of “ the divine one, the only one, the greatest of the gods  
 “ and goddesses, the queen of all gods, the female Rā, the female  
 “ Horus, the eye of Rā, the crown of Rā-Ḥeru, Sept, opener of the  
 “ year, lady of the New Year, maker of the sunrise, lady of heaven,  
 “ the light-giver of heaven, lady of the North Wind, queen of the  
 “ earth, most mighty one, queen of the South and North, lady of  
 “ the solid earth, lady of warmth and fire, benefactress of the Ṭuat,

<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 646.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 773.

“she who is greatly feared in the Tuat, the God-mother, the God-mother of Heru-ka-nekht, the mother of the Horus of gold, the lady of life, lady of green crops, the green goddess (Uatchet), lady of bread, lady of beer, lady of abundance, lady of joy and gladness, lady of love, the maker of kings, lady of the Great House, lady of the House of fire, the beautiful goddess, the lady of words of power, lady of the shuttle, daughter of Seb, daughter of Neb-er-tcher, the child of Nut, wife of Rā, wife of the lord of the abyss, wife of the lord of the Inundation, the creatrix of the Nile flood.”

From a number of passages in the texts of various periods we learn that Isis possessed great skill in the working of magic, and several examples of the manner in which she employed it are well known. Thus when she wished to make Rā reveal to her his greatest and most secret name, she made a venomous reptile out of dust mixed with the spittle of the god, and by uttering over it certain words of power she made it to bite Rā as he passed. When she had succeeded in obtaining from the god his most hidden name, which he only revealed because he was on the point of death, she uttered words which had the effect of driving the poison out of his limbs, and Rā recovered.<sup>1</sup> Now Isis not only used the words of power, but she also had knowledge of the way in which to pronounce them so that the beings or things to which they were addressed would be compelled to listen to them and, having listened, would be obliged to fulfil her behests. The Egyptians believed that if the best effect was to be produced by words of power they must be uttered in a certain tone of voice, and at a certain rate, and at a certain time of the day or night, with appropriate gestures or ceremonies. In the Hymn to Osiris, of which a rendering has already been given (see p. 150), it is said that Isis was well skilled in the use of words of power, and it was by means of these that she restored her husband to life, and obtained from him an heir. It is not known what the words were which she uttered on this occasion, but she appears to have obtained them from Thoth, the “lord of divine words,” and it was to him that

<sup>1</sup> See the translation of the Legend of Rā and Isis given in vol. i., p. 372 ff.



THE GODDESS RENNUT.

she appealed for help to restore Horus to life after he had been stung to death by a scorpion.

In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* is found a Chapter (No. clvi.) which was composed for the purpose of bestowing upon the deceased some of the magical power of the goddess. The Chapter was intended to be recited over an amulet called *thet*

𓄏𓄏, made of carnelian, which had to be steeped in water of

*ānkhami* flowers, and set in a sycamore plinth, and if this were laid on the neck of a dead person it would place him under the protection of the words of power of Isis, and he would be able to go wheresoever he pleased in the Underworld. The words of the Chapter were:—

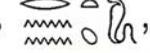
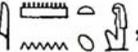
“Let the blood (𓄏𓄏) of  
 “Isis, and the magical powers  
 “(𓄏𓄏 or spirits) of  
 “Isis, and the words of power  
 “(𓄏𓄏) of Isis, be mighty  
 “to protect and keep safely  
 “this great god (i.e., the  
 “deceased), and to guard him  
 “from him that would do unto  
 “him anything which he abomi-  
 “nateth.”



Rennut, lady of Áat.

The symbol of Isis in the heavens was the star Sept, 𓄏\*, which was greatly beloved because its appearance marked not only the beginning of a new year, but also announced the advance of the Inundation of the Nile, which betokened renewed wealth and prosperity of the country. As such Isis was regarded as the companion of Osiris, whose soul dwelt in the star SAH,

𓄏𓄏𓄏𓄏\*, i.e., Orion, and she was held to have brought

about the destruction of the fiend Apep, , and of his hosts of darkness by means of the might of her words of power. As the light-giver at this season of the year she was called KHUT, , as the mighty earth-goddess her name was USERT, , as the Great Goddess of the Underworld she was THENENET, , as the power which shot forth the Nile flood she was SATI, , and SEPT, as the embracer of the land and producer of fertility by her waters she was Ānqet, , as the producer and giver of life she was Ānkhēt, , as the goddess of cultivated lands and fields she was SEKHET, , as the goddess of the harvest she was RENENET, , as the goddess of food which was offered to the gods she was TCHÉFT, , and lived in the Temple of TCHÉFAU, , and as the great lady of the Underworld, who assisted in transforming the bodies of the blessed dead into those wherein they were to live in the realm of Osiris, her name was ĀMENT, , i.e., the "hidden" goddess. In this last capacity she shared with Osiris the attribute of "giver of life," and she provided food for the dead as well as for the living; as ĀMENT also she was declared to be the mother of Rā. In fact, at a comparatively early period in Egyptian history Isis had absorbed the attributes of all the great primitive goddesses, and of all the local goddesses such as Nekhebet, Uatchet, Net, Bast, Hathor, etc., and she was even identified as the female counterpart of the primeval abyss of water from which sprang all life. From what has been said above it is manifestly impossible to limit the attributes of Isis, for we have seen that she possesses the powers of a water goddess, an earth goddess, a corn goddess, a star goddess, a queen of the Underworld, and a woman, and that she united in herself one or more of the attributes of all the goddesses of Egypt known to us.

From the works of classical writers we know that her worship spread from Egypt into several places in Western Europe, and

she was identified with Persephone, Tethys, Athene, etc., just as Osiris was identified with Hades or Pluto, Dionysos-Bacchus, and other foreign gods. According to Herr August Mau,<sup>1</sup> various causes contributed to the rapid extension of the cult of Isis and Serapis. "The worship of Isis, associated with Mysteries from an early period, was reorganized by the first Ptolemy with the help of Manetho an Egyptian priest, and Timotheus, a Greek skilled in the Eleusinian Mysteries . . . . It had the charm of something foreign and full of mystery. Its doctrine, supported by the prestige of immemorial antiquity, successfully opposed the mutually destructive opinions of the philosophers, while at the same time its conception of deity was by no means inconsistent with philosophic thought; and it brought to the initiated that expectation of a future life to which the Eleusinian Mysteries owed their attractive power. The ascetic side of the worship too, with its fastings and abstinence from the pleasures of sense, that the soul might lose itself in the mystical contemplation of deity, had a fascination for natures that were religiously susceptible; and the celebration of the Mysteries, the representation of the myth of Isis in pantomime with a musical accompaniment, appealed powerfully to the imagination." A college of the servants of Isis, who were called Pastophori, was founded in Rome in the time of Sulla, about B.C. 80 (Apuleius, *Met.* xi.), but after a very few years the worship of Isis was proscribed by the authorities, and the temples of the goddess were pulled down in the years 58, 53, 50, and 48. In B.C. 43, however, the triumvirs, seeing that it was the only way to win the affections of the people, built temples in honour of Isis and Serapis, and publicly sanctioned their worship, and in a short time several temples of these gods were in existence outside the city; all these were under the control of the Government, which had frequently to be exercised in a vigorous fashion on account of the orgies and debaucheries which took place in connexion with the celebration of the festivals of Isis. From the time of Vespasian, however, the worship of Isis and Serapis grew and flourished until the general introduction of

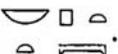
<sup>1</sup> *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, London, 1899, p. 162.

Christianity, and the festival of these gods was recognized in the public Calendar.

The chief temple of Isis in Rome stood in the Campus Martius, where the goddess was called "Isis Campensis"; and an inscription of the year 105 B.C. found at Puteoli proves that a temple of Serapis was then standing in that city.<sup>1</sup> The important temple of Isis at Pompeii appears to have been built soon after this date, and an inscription over the door states that it was rebuilt by Numerius Popidius Celsinus after the earthquake (that of the year 63). It has architecturally nothing suggestive of the Egyptian style, yet the plan presents a marked deviation from ordinary types. In his Eleventh Book Apuleius gives a very interesting description of the manner in which Isis was worshipped in Rome in the latter half of the second century A.D., and adds some curious details about the attributes of the goddess herself. Thus in his prayer to her he calls her "queen of heaven," *regina coeli*,<sup>2</sup> and he identifies her with Ceres, and Venus, and Proserpine, and refers to her in her capacity as goddess of wheat and crops. At daybreak on the day of the festival of the goddess the priest went into her temple, and threw open the doors, leaving nothing but white linen curtains across the doorway to screen the interior. When the courts were filled with people, these curtains were drawn, and the worshippers were permitted to gaze upon the image of the goddess; to it at once the people began to pray, and the women rattled their sistra, and the prayers were followed by an interval, during which the devout crowd engaged in silent prayer and contemplation of the goddess. About one hour after daybreak, i.e., when the sun had risen, the multitude sang a hymn to the newly risen god, and then departed to their homes. In the afternoon another service was held, at which sistra were shaken, and sacrifices were offered up, and incense was burnt, and an elaborate ceremony in connexion with the use of a vessel of holy Nile water was performed.

The holiest of all the sanctuaries of Isis known to the Greeks was that at Tithorea, and Pausanias tells us<sup>3</sup> that festivals were

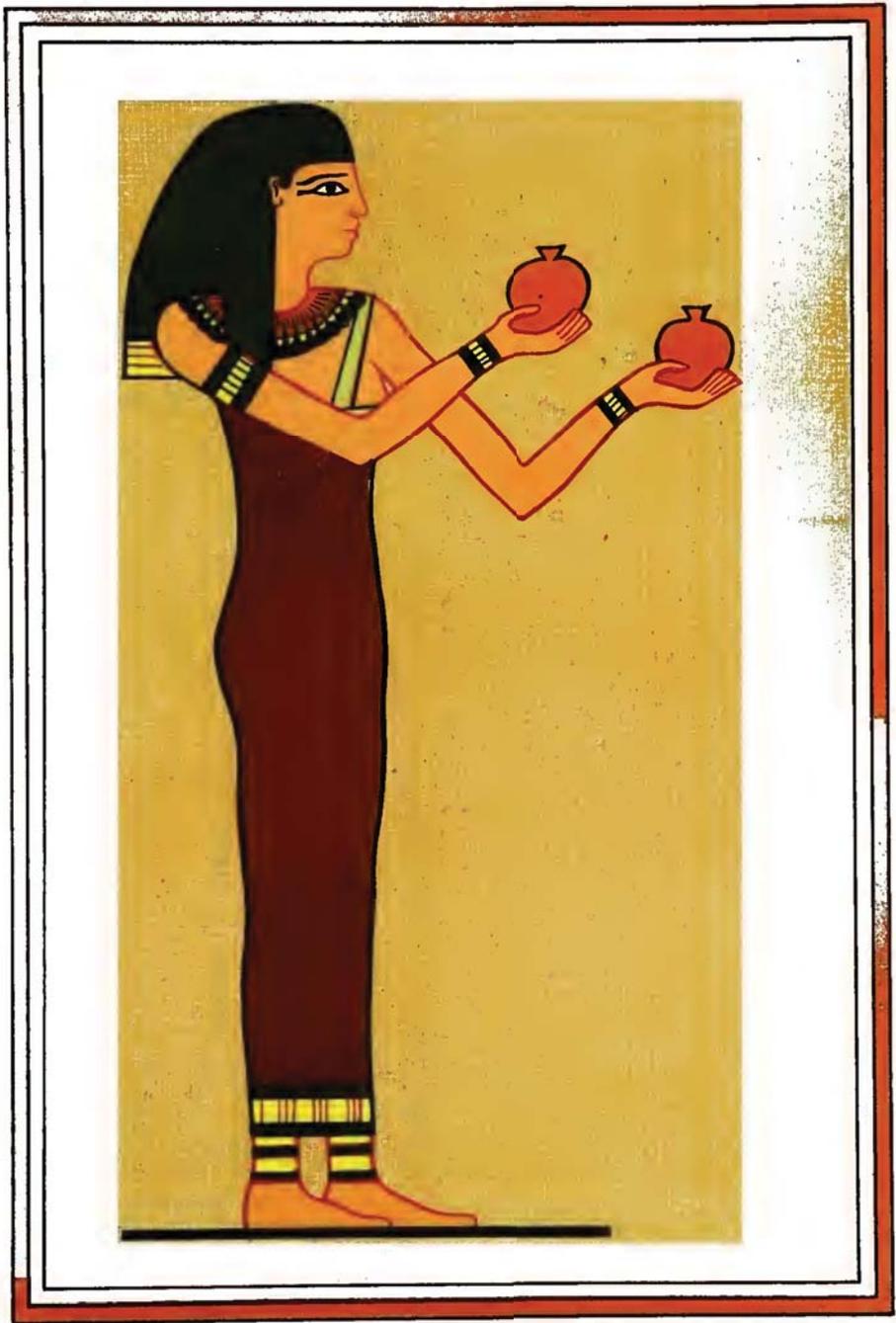
<sup>1</sup> *Mau*, op. cit., p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> The Egyptian 

<sup>3</sup> Book x., chap. xxxii., § 9 (J. G. Frazer's translation).

held there in honour of the goddess twice a year, one in spring and one in autumn. He says, "Two days before each festival the persons who are free to enter the shrine clean it out in a certain secret way; and whatever remains they find of the sacrificial victims which were cast in at the previous festival, they always carry them to the same spot and bury them there. The distance of this spot from the shrine we judged to be two furlongs. That is what they do to the sanctuary on this day. On the next day the hucksters set up booths of reeds and other improvised material; and on the last of the three days they hold a fair for the sale of slaves and all kinds of cattle, also garments, and silver and gold. After noon they betake themselves to sacrificing. The richer people sacrifice oxen and deer, the poorer folk sacrifice geese and guinea fowl. But it is against the custom to use swine, sheep, and goats for this sacrifice. Those whose (duty it is) to burn the victims, and bring them into the shrine . . . must wrap the victims in bandages of linen, either common linen or fine linen; the mode of dressing them is the Egyptian. All the animals sacrificed are led in procession; some convey the victims into the shrine, others burn the booths in front of it and depart in haste. They say that once upon a time, when the pyre began to burn, a profane fellow who had no right to go down into the shrine rashly entered it out of curiosity. The whole place seemed to him full of spectres; and scarcely had he returned to Tithorea and told what he had beheld when he gave up the ghost. I have heard a like story from a Phoenician man. He said that the Egyptians hold the festival of Isis at the time when they say she is mourning for Osiris. At that time the Nile begins to rise, and it is a common saying among the natives that it is the tears of Isis that cause the river to rise and water the fields. Well, then, my informant said that at that season the Roman governor of Egypt bribed a man to go down to the shrine of Isis at Coptos. The man who was thus sent in returned from the shrine; but after he had told us all that he had beheld, he, too, I was informed, immediately expired. Thus it appears to be a true saying of Homer's that it is ill for mankind to see the gods in bodily shape."

Among the various peoples by whom Isis is venerated must be mentioned those of Syria, who identified her with certain of their local goddesses, and it is clear that the early Christians bestowed some of her attributes upon the Virgin Mary. There is little doubt that in her character of the loving and protecting mother she appealed strongly to the imagination of all the Eastern peoples among whom her cult came, and that the pictures and sculptures wherein she is represented in the act of suckling her child Horus formed the foundation for the Christian figures and paintings of the Madonna and Child. Several of the incidents of the wanderings of the Virgin with the Child in Egypt as recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels reflect scenes in the life of Isis as described in the texts found on the Metternich Stele, and many of the attributes of Isis, the God-mother, the mother of Horus, and of Neith, the goddess of Saïs, are identical with those of Mary the Mother of Christ. The writers of the Apocryphal Gospels intended to pay additional honour to Mary the Virgin by ascribing to her the attributes which up to the time of the advent of Christianity they had regarded as the peculiar property of Isis and Neith and other great indigenous goddesses, and if the parallels between the mythological history of Isis and Horus and the history of Mary and the Child be considered, it is difficult to see how they could possibly avoid perceiving in the teaching of Christianity reflections of the best and most spiritual doctrines of the Egyptian religion. The doctrine of partheno-genesis was well known in Egypt in connexion with the goddess Neith of Saïs centuries before the birth of Christ; and the belief in the conception of Horus by Isis through the power given her by Thoth, the Intelligence or Mind of the God of the universe, and in the resurrection of the body and of everlasting life, is coeval with the beginnings of history in Egypt. We may note too in passing the probability that many of the heresies of the early Christian Church in Egypt were caused by the survival of ideas and beliefs connected with the old native gods which the converts to Christianity wished to adapt to their new creed. Be this, however, as it may, the knowledge of the ancient Egyptian religion which we now possess fully justifies the assertions that the rapid growth and progress of Christianity in



THE GODDESS MENQET.

Egypt were due mainly to the fact that the new religion, which was preached there by Saint Mark and his immediate followers, in all its essentials so closely resembled that which was the outcome of the worship of Osiris, Isis, and Horus that popular opposition was entirely disarmed. In certain places in the south of Egypt, e.g., Philae, the worship of Osiris and Isis maintained its own until the beginning of the fifth century of our era, though this was in reality due to the support which it received from the Nubians, but, speaking generally, at this period in all other parts of Egypt Mary the Virgin and Christ had taken the places of Isis and Horus, and the "God-mother," or "mother of the god," , was no longer Isis, but Mary whom the Monophysites styled Θεοτοκος.

## CHAPTER XIV

THE SORROWS OF ISIS<sup>1</sup>

48. *nuk* *Āst* *per-kuā* *em* *na āt* *ertā-nuā*  
 I am Isis. I came forth from the house placed me

49. *senā-ā* *Set* *er-s* *ās* *tchet-nā* *Tehuti* *ur*  
 my brother Set in it. Behold, said to me Thoth, the great one,

*her tep* *Maāt* *em* *pet* *ta* *māāt* *ert* *Āst*  
 chief of Maāt in heaven and earth, "Come, thou Isis,

*netert* *nefer* *kher pu setem* *ānkh* *uā* *sems*  
 goddess, good (it is) to possess obedience; life (is to the) one (who is) led

*ki* *setēka* *ert* *kher* *sa* *nekhen* 50.   
 (by) another. Hide thyself with the son child,

*iū - f* *enen* *hāu-f* *ruḥ* *peḥpeḥ-f neb*  
 will happen these things, his limbs (will) grow, he will grow strong wholly,

<sup>1</sup> See Golenischeff, *Die Metternichstele*, Leipzig, 1877, pl. 3, l. 48, ff.


  
*khep tāt hetep-f her nest tef - f netchet-nef*
  
 and he shall be upon the throne of his father, he will obtain
   
 made to rest

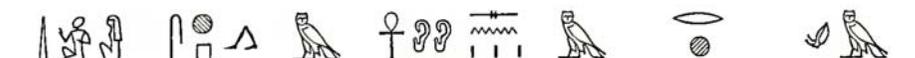

  
*aat heq tawi per-kuā her trāt en*
  
 the dignity of prince of the two I came forth at the season of
   
 lands."


  
*mesher pert matet vii. 51. lhert hāt-ā maā-sen*
  
 evening, and came seven scorpions before me, they continued
   
 forth

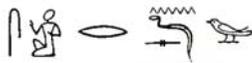

  
*nā ā Tefen Befen ha-ā sep sen Mestet*
  
 with me at Tefen and Befen were behind me, twice, Mestet and
   
 my side.


  
*Mestetef kher māt-ā Petet Thetet Maatet*
  
 Mestetef were near me, and Petet, and Thetet, and Maatet

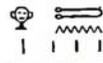

  
*her tcheser-nā uat hen-ā en sen ur sep sen 52.*
  
 showed to me the way. I cried out to them loudly, loudly,


  
*met-ā sekhep em ānkhui-sen em rehkh setem*
  
 my word entered into their ears, as in (those of) a obedience
   
 wise man;


  
*ushet teshet em sa sa*
  
 is praiseworthy, disobedience (is) as the mark of the son



sa er netches



hṛā-then



em kher



her-ā

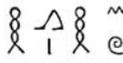


uat

of a man of low estate, "Let your faces be bent down on the way."



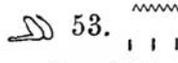
ari sem



heh-nuā



er



peh n (sic)



Pasui

The leader of the company brought me to the swamps of Pasui,



nut



ent



Thebt



hāt



at

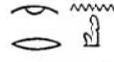
the city of the two Sandal-goddesses at the beginning of the Papyrus Swamps.



peh-iu



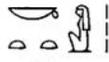
Ṭeb



sper-nā



hem



ketut

Having arrived at Ṭeb I came forth to the houses of the women



hai



āu



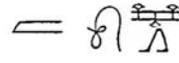
teka



nuā



sheps



em

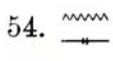


ua

of the governor. Had seen me the chief woman on the march,



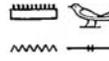
ān-nes



āāiu-s



her-ā



men-s



her-āb

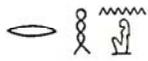


en

she closed her doors upon me, she was angry in her heart at



entet



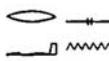
er hen-ā



netch-sen re



her-s

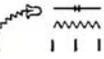


ertā-sen

those who were with me. They decreed about it (and) they placed



metu-sen



en sep



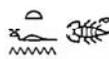
her tep



set



en

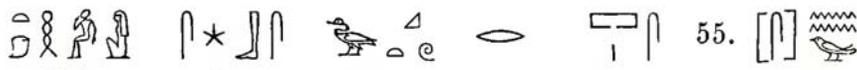


Tefen

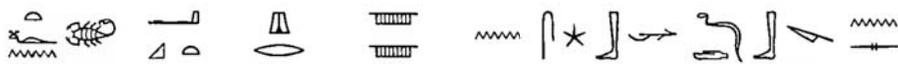


un-nā

their poison all at one time on the tail of Tefen. Opened to me


  
*tah*      *sba-s*      *āq-tu*      *er*      *pa-s*      55.      *senen*

a poor woman her door, (I) entered into her house. Cunningly


  
*Tefen*      *āqet*      *kher*      *āāiu*      *en*      *sba*      *tcheteb-nes*

Tefen entered under the leaves of the door, smote she


  
*sa*      *usert*      *khet*      *pertu*      *em*      *pa*      *usert*

the son of the noble fire broke out in the house of the noble lady,


  
*an*      *un*      *mu*      *am*      *er*      *ākhem-s*      *an*      *pet*      *hi*

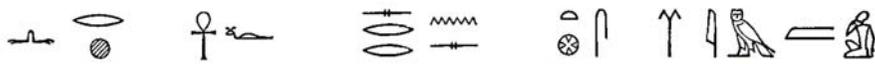
not was water there to quench it, not did heaven let fall


  
*mu-s*      *em*      *pa*      *usert*      *an*      *trat*      *aru*

its rain in the house of the lady, not being it the season thereof.

56. 
  
*as*      *pu*      *tem-s*      *un-na*      *ab-s*      *ant*      *er*

And behold, she who had not opened to me, her heart (was) sad


  
*an rekh*      *ānk-f*      *serer-nes*      *nut-s*      *em*      *amem*

not knowing if he lived. She went round her city with lamentation, through


  
*an*      *un*      *i*      *en*      *kheru-s*      *ab-a*      *ant*      *en*      *sher*

not came [any] at her call. My heart was sad about the child



<i>netert</i>	<i>nebt</i>	<i>heka</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>heka</i>	<i>khu</i>
the goddess,	lady	of words of power,	worker with	words of power,	mighty

<i>tchet kheru</i>	<i>setem-na</i>	<i>re neb</i>	<i>peshu</i>	<i>khert er kher</i>
in utterance of speech.	Hearken to me,	mouth every	(which) biteth,	fall downwards.

<i>met</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>Mestet</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>sekheset</i>	<i>met</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>Mestetef</i>
Poison	of	Mestet,	not	advance,	poison	of	Mestetef

<i>an</i>	<i>theset</i>	<i>met</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>Petet</i>	<i>Thetet</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>aget</i>
not	rise up.	Poison	of	Petet	and Thetet	not	enter.

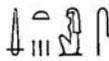
60.					
<i>Matet</i>	<i>kher kher</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>pehes</i>	<i>tchet en</i>
Maatet	fall down.	Chapter	of	stinging	(which) spake

<i>Ast</i>	<i>netert</i>	<i>urt</i>	<i>heka</i>	<i>khent</i>	<i>neteru</i>
Isis,	the goddess,	the great one	of words of power,	head	of the gods.

		61.				
<i>ertat-nes</i>	<i>Seb</i>	<i>khu - f</i>	<i>er kheseef</i>	<i>met</i>	<i>em</i>	
Had given to her	Seb	his powers	to repulse	poison	from	

<i>sekhem-s</i>	<i>kheseef</i>	<i>khet</i>	<i>hem</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>met</i>	<i>em</i>
her form (?),	*repulsing,	turning away,	driving back,	away back,	poison	at

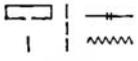
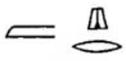
 62.      
*nehep er pet em tchet Rā-mer suht smen per*  
 the dawn saying, "Rā-mer, the Egg of the Goose cometh forth

      
*en nehet māku meṭet-s hentu*  
 from the sycamore. A protection (are) her words spoken

63.          
*tcher ulch tchet-ā en ten tu-ā em uā*  
 at the season of evening. I speak to you. I am in loneliness

        
*em seshen ur en naiu em-khet sept*  
 and in sorrow greater than (that of) throughout the nomes, the people

64.        
*em nek (?) gemu sheṭ gem ennu*  
 (and I am) as a man feeble who hath to seek out and to look ceased

       
*er shepset em pau-sen hrā-ten em kher*  
 upon women in their houses. Your face[s] downwards,

   65.       
*her tā uat er pelu er āmenu em Khebet*  
 to make a way to the swamps, to the hidden in Khebet." places

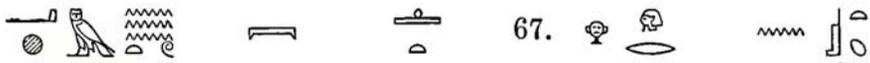
         
*ā ānkh nekhen mit met ānkh Rā mit*  
 O liveth the boy, dieth the poison; liveth Rā, dieth


  
*met ka snib 66. Heru en mut-f Ast*

the poison. Verily, healthy be Horus for his mother Isis.


  
*ka snib enti kher mefes matet khet*

Verily, healthy be he who is under the knife also. The fire


  
*akhem-tu pet hetepet 67. her tep re en Ast*

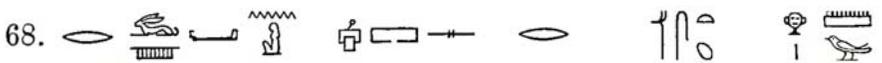
is extinguished, heaven is content at the utterance of Isis,


  
*netert usert it an-s-na khet-s*

the goddess. The lady (who) came, (she who) had shut her house,  
on me


  
*meh-nes pa en tah en ka en tah*

she seized the house of the poor woman because the poor woman


  
*68. er un - na sa - s er usert her men*

had opened to me her door. Wherefore the lady was in pain


  
*shenen em kerh ua tep - nes re-s 69. peshu*

and sorrow during night one, she tasted her speech. Was stung


  
*sa-s an-s khet-s em asu en tem-s un-na*

her son, was closed her house in return for her not having opened  
for her to me.


  
*ä änhk nekhen mit met ka senib*
  
 O liveth the child, dieth the poison. Verily shall be sound

70. 
  
*Hëru en mut - f Äst ka snib enti*
  
 Horus through his mother Isis. Verily shall be sound he who is


  
*kher metes neb mätet än ta en beti*
  
 under the knife every one likewise. Shall not bread of barley


  
*ter - f met hem-s än hëmen häru heh en*
  
 drive out poison? It shall return all the limbs the flame of
 through


  
*hetchet ter - f neb em häru en Äst sep sen*
  
*hetchet* and drive out the fire from the members Isis. Twice.

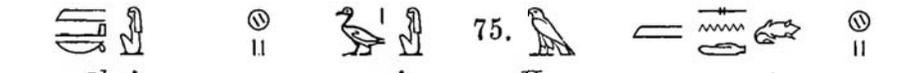

  
*mää-t net Hëru rekh re-s mää-t en*
  
 Come thou to Horus. Thou whose mouth come thou to
 is wise


  
*sa-t ä än netëru em mer - s mä*
  
 thy son. "Hail," say the gods in her neighbourhood, like

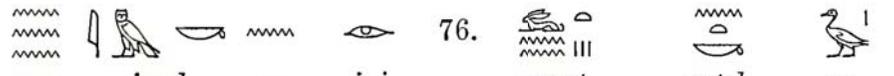
73. 
  
*entet tchetëb nes Tchart behä-nes*
  
 one whom has stung the scorpion Tchart, whom hath pierced


  
*Behāt s̄n - nes Āntesh per Āst em*
  
 Behāt, whom hath put to flight Āntesh. Appeared Isis as


  
*seṭ her shebenet-s peṭ-nes āāui-s*
  
 one who was in her body. She stretched out her arms, wounded


  
*nāk-ā sep sen sa-ā 75. Heru em seṭ sep sen*
  
 I will protect, twice, my son Horus. Fear not, twice,

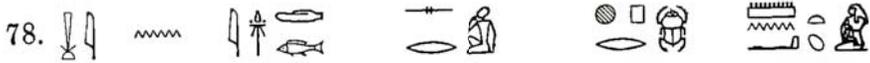

  
*sa khut-ā ān kheper khet neb tu erek*
  
 O son, my glory. Not shall happen thing any evil unto thee.


  
*mu ām-k en āri 76. unnet entek sa*
  
 Seed is in thee for making things which Thou art the son are to be.

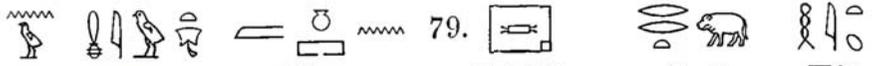

  
*her-āb Mesqet per em Mu ān mit-k em*
  
 within Mesqet, proceeding from Nu, not shalt thou die by


  
*ta na met entek Bennu āā mes*
  
 the flame of the poison. Thou art the Bennu Great born

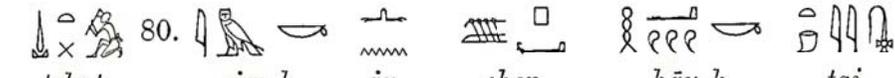

  
*her tep trā em Het-ser ur em Ānnu entek*
  
 on the incense trees in the House of great in Ānnu. Thou art the Prince

78.   
*senâ en Âbt ser kheper menât*

the brother of the Âbt Fish, the disposer of what is to be, nursed

  
*nu mâut em khen en Het Net Rert Hât*  
 by the cat within the House of Net. Rert, and Hât,

  
*Bes em sa en hâu-k ân kher tep-k en*  
 and Bes, protect thy limbs. Not shall fall thy head before

  
*tchat âm-k ân shep hâu-k tai*  
 him that is to thee. Not shall conquer thy limbs the fire hostile

  
*en metu-k ân hen-k her ta ân*  
 of thy poison. Not shalt thou fall on the ground, not

81.   
*khas-k her mu ân sekhem re neb*  
 shalt thou be in on water. Not shall have the reptile any peril mastery

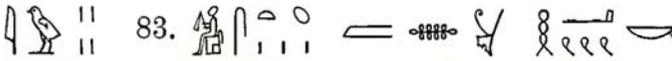
  
*pesh âm-k ân rehen mai neb*  
 stinging over thee. Not shall crush thee lion any

  
*sekhemet âm-k entek su neter tchesert*  
 (or) be master over thee. Thou art the son of a god holy

82.    
*per em Seb entek Heru an sekhem*  
 proceeding from Seb. Thou art Horus, not shall have the mastery

   
*metu em hau-k entek sa neter tchesert*  
 the poison in thy limbs. Thou art the son of a god holy

   
*per em Seb pa entet kher tem matet*  
 proceeding from Seb. (With him) under the knife likewise (is it). that is

   
*au iv. shepset em sa en hau-k*  
 The four holy goddesses protect thy limbs. . . . .

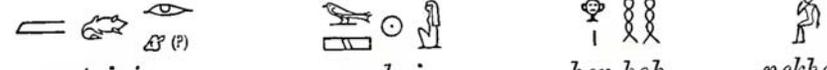
168.    
*nuk Ast auur-th em tcha-s baka-th em Heru*  
 I am Isis, who conceived her male and was with Horus. child, heavy

   
*netert mes-na Heru sa Asar em khen sesh en*  
 A goddess I bore Horus, son of Osiris, within a nest of

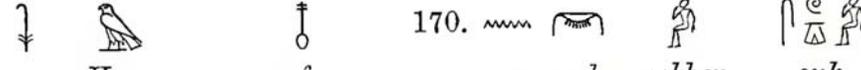
   
*ateh haa-na her-s ur sep sen her maa-na*  
 papyrus I rejoiced over it greatly, twice, because I saw (in him) plants.

   
*usheb her at-f amen-a su setek-a su*  
 one who would answer for his father. I hid him, I concealed him


  
*kher sent netep-f shema-ä äm tuä*
  
 having fear of his being I went to the city Äm, (the people) saluted bitten.

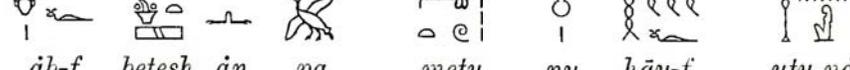

  
*em sent äri . . . . ursh-ä her heh nekhen*
  
 according to custom. I spent the time in seeking for the boy

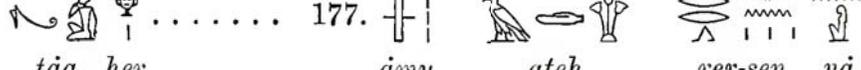

  
*her äri kher - f hem net er sekhen Heru gem-nä*
  
 to make his food. I returned to embrace Horus, I found

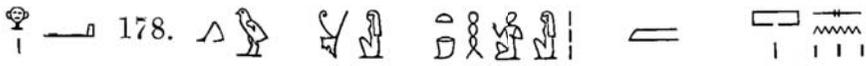

  
*su Heru nefer 170. en nub nekhen suk*
  
 him, Horus, the beautiful one of gold, the boy, the child,


  
*ätet - f netef-nef taiu em mu nu*
  
 he was nothing. He had bedewed the ground with the water of

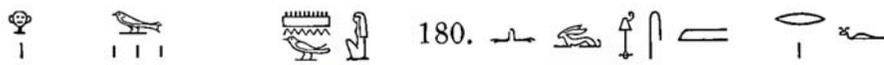

  
*maat-f em netet nu septi-f tchet-f urt*
  
 his eye, and with the foam of his lips ; his body was motionless,


  
*äb-f betesh än pa metu nu häu-f utu-nä*
  
 his heart still, not moved the muscles of his body. I sent forth


  
*täa her . . . . . 177. ämu ateh rer-sen nä*
  
 a cry . . . . . The dwellers in the swamp they came round me


 178. *her ā* *iu* *nā* *taḥu* *em* *pau-sen*  
 at once, came to me the fenmen from their houses,


 179. *nehp - sen* *net* *her* *kheru-ā* *aḳeb - sen* *āru*  
 they drew nigh to me at my call, they wept, even they,


 180. *her* *uru* *men-ā* *ān un s em* *re - f*  
 at the greatness of my misery. There was none who his mouth  
 opened


 181. *ām er* *sa* *neb* *ām-sen* *her āun* *sep sen* *ān un rekh*  
 there, man every among them grieved greatly. There was none  
 knowing


 182. *ām er* *seānkh* *iu-nā* *set* *rekht*  
 there to make to live (Horus). Came to me a woman well known

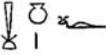

 183. *em* *nut-s* *erpet* *khent* *uu-s* *iu-s*  
 in her city, a lady at the head of her district. She came


 184. *nā er se-ker* *ānkh* *meh āb-s āteru* *her* *khēt - s*  
 to me to restore life, her heart was filled with her affairs

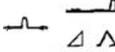

 185. *em sent* *sep sen* *sa* *Heru* *em* *betesh*  
 according to wont. Twice. The son Horus (was) in inactivity.







  
*sep sen neter mut nekhen baq er tu en sen - f*  
 Twice. The son of the mother safe from the evil of his brother.  
 of the god was

185. 




  
*ba amen-tu an āq em khefti*  
 The plants were hidden, not could enter there an enemy







  
*er-es heka en Tem tef neteru*  
 into them. The word of power of Tem father of the gods,

186. 



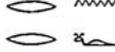




  
*enti em pet em ari ānkhēt an āq*  
 who is in heaven, was as the maker of life, not entered



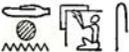




 187. 
  
*Set er uu pen an rer-nef Kheb*  
 Set into region this, not could he go about Kheb.









  
*Heru baq er tu en senā-f an tekhēn-s*  
 Horus was smitten by the wickedness of his brother. Not had she  
 hidden



 188. 

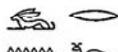



  
*āmu shesu - f heh sep hru enen*  
 those who were in his service many time[s] a day. These (said)







 189. 
  
*her-f ānkh Heru en mut-f s em un-eref*  
 concerning "Shall Horus for his mother?" they found where he  
 him, live was,

 190.   
*tchart her tchetem - f aun-ab her khun - f*  
 and a Scorpion stung him, and the slayer hath stabbed him.  
 of the heart

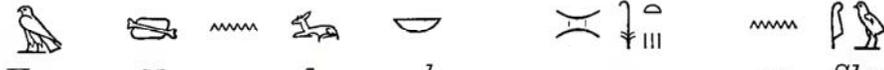
  
*ertā en Ast fenč-s em re-f her rekh set aru*  
 Placed Isis her nose in his mouth to know if had breath

 191.   
*em khen en sheta - f ap - s men nu aruā*  
 he who was in his coffin. She opened the wound of the heir

 192.   
*netert gem-nes kher met sekhen-s asta*  
 divine, she found it possessing poison. She embraced him hurriedly

 193.   
*her perper kher - f mā remu khaā her tchā*  
 and leaped about with him like a fish laid upon a fire

 194.   
*pesh Heru Rā pesh sa-k pesh*  
 (saying,) Stung is Horus, O Rā, stung is thy son. Stung is

  
*Heru āā en āu neb . . . . . en Shu*  
 Horus, heir of heir, lord of the [pillars?] of Shu.

 195.   
*pesh Heru hun en Athet nekhen em*  
 Stung is Horus, the child of the papyrus the child in  
 swamp,

*Het-ser*

Het-ser.

*pesh*

Stung is

196.

*nekhen*

the child

*nefer*

beautiful

*en**nub*

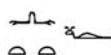
of gold.

*nu*

The child,

*suk*

the babe,

*âtet - f*

he is nothing.

*pesh*

Stung is

*Heru*

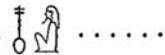
Horus,

*sa*

son

*Un-nefer*

of Un-nefer.



202.

*iu eref*

Then came

*Nebt-het*

Nephthys

203.

*her rem*

weeping,

*tâau-s*

she cried,

*rer*

going about

*âateh*

the swamp,

*Serq her*

and Serqet (who said),

204.

*petrâ sep sen*

What,

*nimâ trâ*

twice, what then is

*er*

to

*sa*

the child

*Heru*

Horus,

*Âst*

Isis?

*tua*

pray thou

*ert*

therefore

*er*

to

*pet*

heaven

205.

*kheper*so that may  
come*âhâ*

a stop to

*qeti*

the sailors

*Râ*

of Râ,

*ân*

not will

*nâ*

travel

*uâa*

the boat

*en*

of Râ

*Râ**er*

from

*sa*

the son

*Heru*

Horus

206.

*her*

from where

*kes-f*

he is.

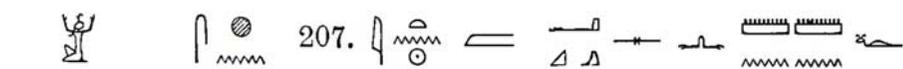
*utu*

Sent forth

*utu*

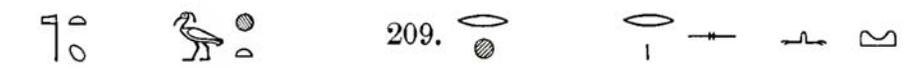
Sent forth


  
*Āst kheru-s er pet sebeh-s er uāa en*
  
 Isis her cry to heaven, her prayer (was) to Boat of


  
*heh sekhen 207. āten em āq-s an menmen-f*
  
 Millions of Stood still the disk at her coming, not moved he
   
 years.


  
*her āst-f Tehuti iu āper em peh - f*
  
 on his seat. Thoth came provided with his magic power,


  
*kher utu āat en maākheru peter sep sen Āst*
  
 possessing command great of maā-kheru. What, twice, Isis,

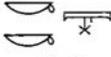

  
*netert khut 209. rekh re - s an tu*
  
 goddess, mighty one, understanding (with) her mouth, not evil


  
*ās er sa Heru sa-f en uāa*
  
 behold shall be to the son Horus, his protection is from the boat

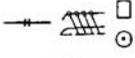
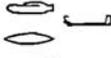

  
*en Rā i-nā mān em tept āten*
  
 of Rā. I have come to-day in the boat of the disk



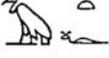


 211.
 

  
*em*     *ast - f*     *en*     *sef*         *kek*     *kheper*
  
 from   its place   of   yesterday.     When the night   cometh





  
*seshep*     *ter*     *er*     *senb*     *Heru*     *en*     *mut - f*
  
 the light   driveth (it) away   to   heal   Horus   for   his mother

212.
 





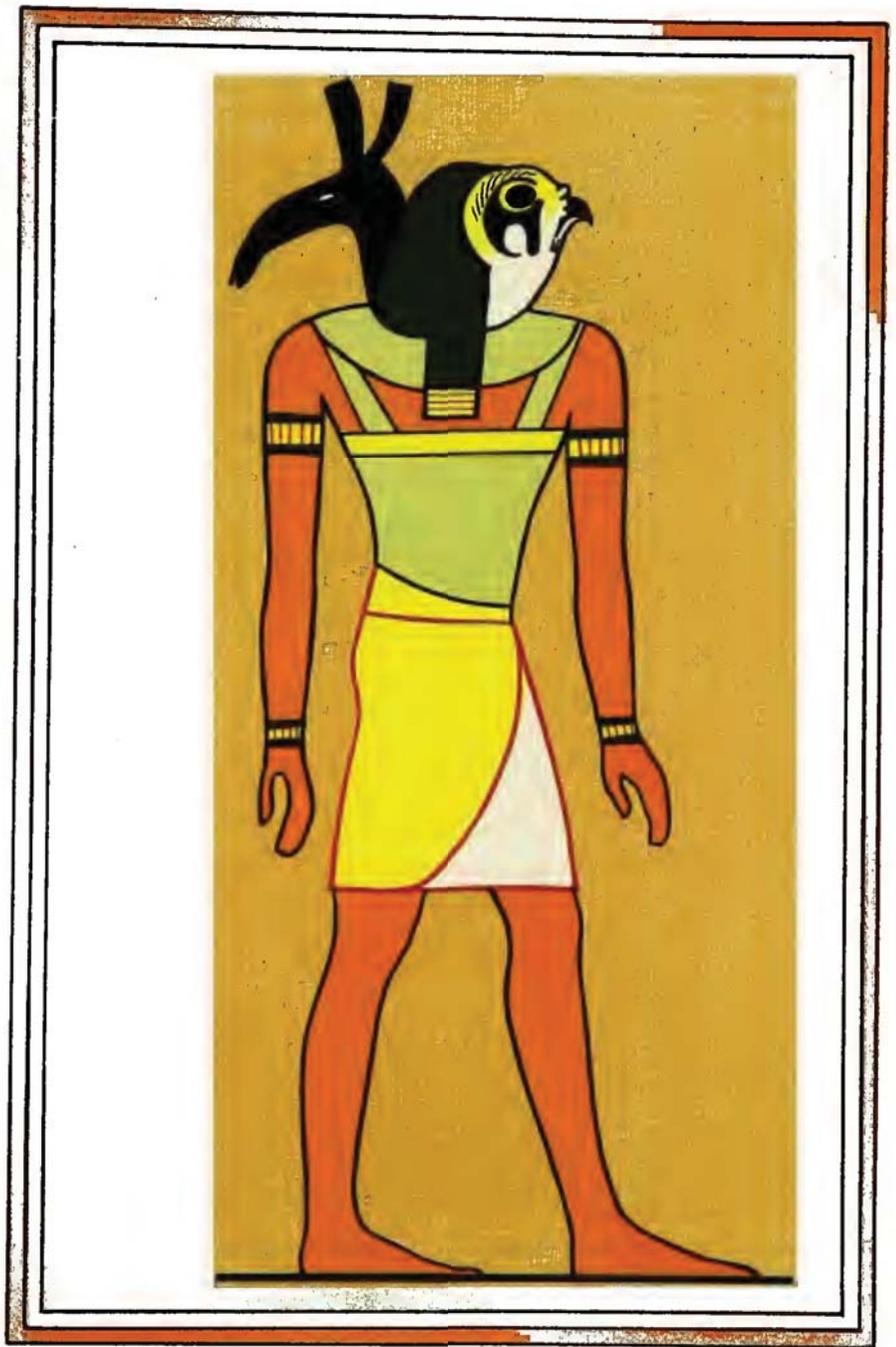

  
*Ast*     *sa*     *neb*     *ent*     *kher*     *maten*     *mätet*
  
 Isis (and) person   every   who is   under   the knife   likewise.

## CHAPTER XIV

SET, ,  , OR SUTI, , , , AND NEPHTHYS

SET, the Σήθ of Plutarch, and the god who was identified with Typhon in late times, was, according to the Heliopolitan system of mythology, the son of Seb and Nut, the brother of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys, the husband of Nephthys, and the father of Anubis; the worship of the god is, however, very much older than this system, and in primitive times the attributes of the god were very different from those which are usually ascribed to him in the late dynastic period. In the Pyramid Texts we find Set associated very closely with Horus, and he always appears in them in the character of a god who is a friend and helper of the dead. It will be remembered that according to one myth the floor of heaven was made of a vast, rectangular plate of iron, the four corners of which rested upon four pillars which served to mark the cardinal points. At certain places this iron plate was thought to be so near the tops of the mountains that the deceased might easily clamber on to it and so obtain admission into heaven, but at others the distance between it and the earth was so great that he needed help to reach it. A legend current in early times asserted that Osiris experienced some difficulty in getting on to the iron plate, and that he only succeeded in doing so by means of a ladder with which Rā provided him. Even then Osiris appears to have found some difficulty in mounting the ladder, and he was finally helped to ascend it by Heru-ur and Set, who were twin gods. Thus in the text of Pepi I. (line 192), the deceased is made to say, "Homage to thee, O divine Ladder! Homage to thee, O Ladder of Set! Stand thou upright, O divine Ladder! Stand thou upright, O





THE DUAL GOD HORUS-SET.

of the double god which are found in mythological scenes whereon the head of Heru-ur and the head of Set are seen upon one body. The attributes of Heru-ur changed somewhat in early dynastic times, but they were always the opposite of those of Set, whether we regard the two gods as personifications of two powers of nature, i.e., Light and Darkness, Day and Night, or as Kosmos and Chaos, or as Life and Death, or as Good and Evil.

The signification of the name of Set is not easy to determine. Heru, or Horus, certainly means "he who is above," and by analogy the name Set ought to mean something like "he who is below;" and in proof of this Dr. Brugsch calls attention<sup>1</sup> to the well-known Coptic words,  $\text{ⲪⲠⲁⲓ}$  "above," and  $\text{ⲈⲤⲦ}$  "below." The hieroglyphic form of the name SET,  $\text{Ⲡⲟ}$ , or  $\text{Ⲡⲟ}$ , has for its determinative either a stone,  $\text{Ⲡⲟ}$  ( $\text{Ⲡⲟ}$ ), or the figure of an animal,  $\text{Ⲡⲟ}$ , or  $\text{Ⲡⲟ}$  ( $\text{Ⲡⲟ}$ ), or  $\text{Ⲡⲟ}$  ( $\text{Ⲡⲟ}$ ); the former of these indicates that the god was the personification of the stony or desert land and the regions of death, but the signification of the latter is not so easy to understand because the animal has not yet been identified. The pictures of the animal which was supposed to be the incarnation of Set represent it with a head something like that of a camel, with curious, pricked ears, and a straight tail, bifurcated at the end. In the absence of any facts on the subject we must assume that the animal which was the symbol of Set was one that prowled about by night in the deserts and in waste places of the towns and cities, and that his disposition was hostile to man, and wicked generally, and that owing to his evil reputation he was hunted and slain with such diligence that he became extinct in comparatively early times.

The region in which the Set animal lived appears to have been situated in the South, and the god Set became, in consequence, the god of the South, just as Heru-ur became the god of the North, and as such he assisted at the coronation ceremonies of kings. Thus a relief<sup>2</sup> at Thebes represents Horus and Set standing one on each side of Seti I., and each god is pouring out a libation

<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 702.

<sup>2</sup> Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pl. 375.

of "life" over the head of the king; and in another scene<sup>1</sup> Horus and Set are represented in the act of placing the double crown of the South and the North upon the head of Rameses II. Horus says to the king, "I will give thee a life like unto that of Rā, and years even as the years of Tem," and Set says, "I stablish the "crown upon thy head even like the Disk ( [on the head of] "Amen Rā, and I will give thee all life, and strength, and health;" in his character of giver of life each god holds in his hand the notched palm branch, , symbol of "years," which rests upon a frog, , and , the emblem of the Sun's path in the heavens and of eternity. In yet another scene<sup>2</sup> we find Set teaching Thothmes III. the use of the bow in connexion with the emblem of the goddess Neith, whilst Horus instructs him how to wield some weapon, which appears to be a staff. According to Dr. Brugsch,<sup>3</sup> Set was the god of the downward motion of the sun in the lower hemisphere, in a southerly direction, and for this reason he was the source of the destructive heat of summer; and since the days began to diminish after the summer solstice, it was declared that he stole the light from Horus or Rā, and he was held to be the cause of all the evil, both physical and moral, which resulted therefrom. The light which Thoth brought with the new moon was withdrawn by Set as soon as it was possible for him to obtain power over that luminary, and he was, naturally, thought to be the cause of clouds, mist, rain, thunder and lightning, hurricanes and storms, earthquakes and eclipses, and in short of every thing which tended to reverse the ordinary course of nature and of law and order. From a moral point of view he was the personification of sin and evil.

The mythological and religious texts of all periods contain many allusions to the fight which Set waged against Horus, and more than one version of the narrative is known. In the first and simplest form the story merely records the natural opposition of Day to Night, or Night to Day, and the two Combatant gods were Heru-ur, or Horus the Elder, and Set. In its second form the two Combatant gods are Rā and Set, and the chief object of the

<sup>1</sup> Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pl. 374.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 376.    <sup>3</sup> *Religion*, p. 703.

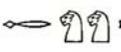
latter is to prevent Rā from appearing in the East daily. The form which Set assumed on these occasions was that of a monster serpent, and he took with him as helpers a large number of small serpents and noxious creatures of various kinds. The name of the serpent was Āpep, , or Āāapef, , which is preserved in Coptic under the form  $\alpha\pi\omega\phi$ , but he was also called REREK, , and since he was identified with a long series of serpent monsters he had as many names as Rā. The weapons with which Āpep fought were cloud, mist, rain, darkness, etc., and Rā, his opponent, was armed with the burning and destroying heat of the sun, and the darts and spears of light. The result of the fight was always the same; Āpep was shrivelled and burnt up by Rā, but he was able to renew himself daily, and at the end of each night he collected his fiends, and waged war against Rā with unabated vigour. In the third form of the story the Combatant gods are Osiris and Set, and we have already seen how Set slew his brother and persecuted his widow and child, and how he escaped punishment because Osiris had, at the time of his death, none to avenge his cause. In the fourth form of the story the Combatant gods are Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, and Set, and the avowed intention of Horus is to slay him that slew his father Osiris.

The two gods fought in the forms of men, and afterwards in the forms of bears, and Horus would certainly have killed Set, whom he had fettered, had not Isis taken pity upon her brother and loosed his bonds and set him free. The fight between Horus, son of Osiris and Isis, and Set, had a very important bearing on the destinies of the dead, for to it was attached the moral idea of the victory of Good over Evil, and the deceased was believed to conquer Set even as Osiris had done. Thus in the *Book of the Dead* (ix. 3), he says, "I have come, I have seen my divine father Osiris. "I have stabbed the heart of Suti" (i.e., Set); and from Chapter xviii. H 1 ff., we may see that although the fiends of Set changed themselves into wild beasts on the night of the breaking and turning up of the earth in Ṭaṭṭu, Osiris, by the help of Thoth, slew them, and mixed their blood with the sods. In Chapter

xxiii. 2, we find the deceased praying that Thoth will come to him, and will by means of his words of power loose the bandages where-with Set has fettered his mouth ; and in Chapter xxxix. 15, we find him declaring that he is Set who "letteth loose the storm-clouds " and the thunder in the horizon of heaven, even as doth the god " Netcheb-âb-f, (). Elsewhere (xl. 1 ff.) Āpep is called both HAI, , and Ām-āau, , i.e., the "Eater of the Ass," and he is declared to be a being abominable both to Osiris and to the god Hāās, , or ; the Ass referred to here is, of course, Rā ; the Ass was regarded in one aspect as a solar animal because of his great virility. On the other hand, certain passages prove that even in the XVIIIth Dynasty Set was regarded as a god who was friendly towards the deceased, for we read (xvii. 131), "Tem hath " built thy house, Shu and Tefnut have founded thy habitation; lo! " drugs are brought, and Horus purifieth and Set strengtheneth, " and Set purifieth and Horus strengtheneth." In the Chapter of the deification of members, the backbone of the deceased is identified with the backbone of Set (xlii. 12), and elsewhere the deceased says (l.B 2) "Suti and the company of the gods have joined together " my neck and my back strongly, and they are even as they were " in the time that is past ; may nothing happen to break them " apart." But in Chapter lxxxvi. 6, the deceased says, "Set, son of Nut, [lieth] under the fetters which he had made for me ;" and elsewhere (cviii. 8), he is said "to depart, having the harpoon " of iron in him," and to have thrown up everything which he had eaten and to have been put in a place of restraint.

A statement in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* (§ 62), informs us that Typhon was called Seth, and Bebo, and Smy, "all of them " words of one common import, and expressing certain violent and " forcible restraint and withholding, as likewise contrariety and " subversion ; we are, moreover, informed by Manetho that the " load-stone is by the Egyptians called the 'bone of Horus,' as " iron is, the 'bone of Typho.'" This information is of considerable interest, for it makes the identity of Set and

Typhon<sup>1</sup> certain, and it is, moreover, supported by the evidence of the inscriptions. The name Seth is, of course, Set, ; Bebo is the Egyptian , BABA, and Smy is , SMAI, the well-known Egyptian name for Set as the Arch-Fiend. The associates of Set were called SMAIU, , and the determinative , shows that the idea of "violence" was implied in the name. That iron was connected with Set or Typhon is quite clear from the passage quoted by Dr. Brugsch<sup>2</sup> in which Thoth is said to have obtained from Set the knife with which he cut up the bull.

It has been said above that the serpent and the Set animal were the common symbols of Set, but instances are known in which he is represented in the form of a man, wearing a beard and a tail, and holding the usual symbols of divinity. In the example figured by Lanzone<sup>3</sup> the god is called "mighty-one of two-fold strength," , and is accompanied by Nephthys, who wears upon her head a pair of horns and a disk. Now, as Set was the personification of the powers of darkness, and of evil, and of the forces of the waters which were supposed to resist light and order, a number of beasts which dwelt in the waters, or at least partly on land and partly in the water, were regarded as symbols of him and as beings wherein he took up his habitation. Among these were the serpent Āpep, the fabulous beast, , which was a species of antelope with a bird's head surmounted by three uraei, and a pair of wings, the hippopotamus, the crocodile, the pig, the turtle, the ass, etc. These animals were, however, not the only ones which were regarded as types of Set, for as Dr. Brugsch has rightly observed, every creature which was snared or caught in the waters or hunted in the desert, was treated as an incarnation of Set; and animals with red, or reddish-brown hair or skins, and even red-haired men were supposed to be especially

<sup>1</sup> TAWFĀN, طوفان, or طوفان, the Arabic word for "storm, deluge, inundation, whirlwind," etc., appears to be derived from the name Typhon.

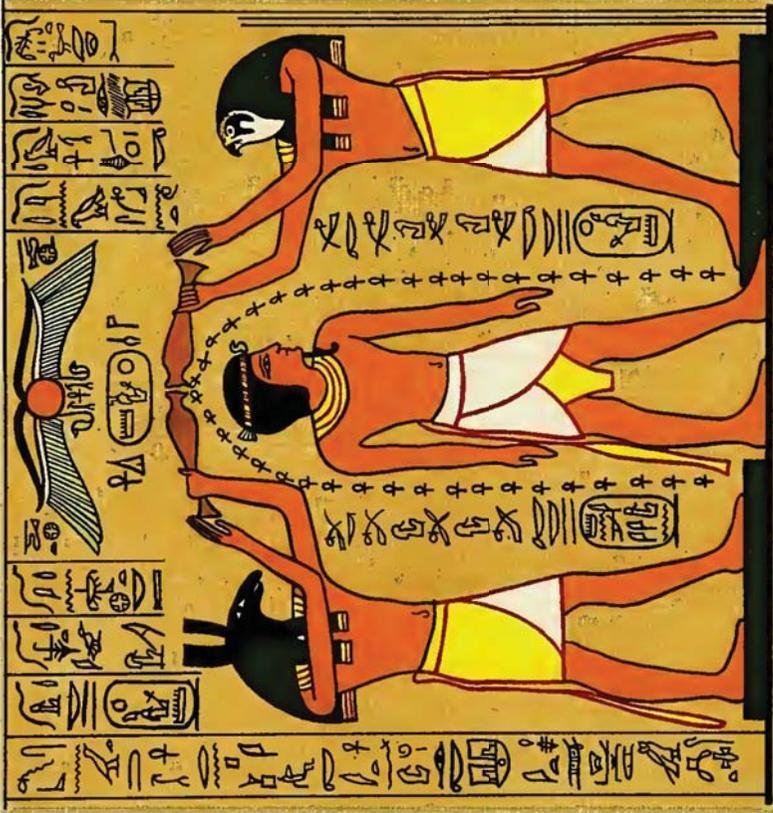
<sup>2</sup> *Religion*, p. 707.

<sup>3</sup> *Dizionario*, pl. 377.

under the influence of Set. On the other hand, the animals which were used by man in the chase, i.e., dogs, cheetas, etc., and certain other animals, e.g., lions, cats, etc., were held to be sacred to the gods, and according to Plutarch (*De Iside*, § 72), "the gods, through a dread of Typho, metamorphosed themselves into these animals, concealing themselves as it were from his purpose in the bodies of ibises, dogs and hawks." The sacrifice of certain animals associated with Set played a prominent part in the ritual of the Egyptian religion, and at the seasons of the year when Set's influence was supposed to be the greatest earnest attempts were regularly made to propitiate him by means of offerings.

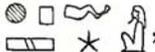
Thus in order to drive away Set from attacking the full moon of the month Pachons an antelope was sacrificed, and a black pig was hacked in pieces upon an altar made of sand, which was built on the bank of the river. On the twenty-sixth day of the month Choiak, which was the time of the winter solstice, an ass was slain, and a model of the serpent-fiend was hewn in pieces. On the first day of Mesore, which was the day of the great festival of H̄eru Beḥuṭet, large numbers of birds and fish were caught, and those which were considered to be of a Typhonic character were stamped upon with the feet, and those who did this cried out, "Ye shall be cut in pieces, and your members shall be hacked asunder, and each of you shall consume the other; thus doth Rā triumph over all his enemies, and thus doth H̄eru-Beḥuṭet, the great god, the lord of heaven, triumph over all his enemies." On such occasions, we learn from Plutarch (*De Iside*, § 63), sistra<sup>1</sup> were shaken in the temples, "for, say they, the sound of these Sistra averts and drives away Typho; meaning hereby, that as corruption clogs and puts a

<sup>1</sup> The sistrum is thus described by Plutarch:—"Now the outer surface of this instrument is of a convex figure, as within its circumference are contained those four chords or bars, which make such a rattling when they are shaken—nor is this without its meaning; for that part of the universe which is subject to generation and corruption is contained within the sphere of the moon; and whatever motions or changes may happen therein, they are all effected by the different combinations of the four elementary bodies, fire, earth, water, and air. Moreover, upon the upper part of the convex surface of the sistrum is carved the effigies of a Cat with a human visage, as on the lower edge of it, under those moving chords, is engraved on the one side the face of Isis, and on the other that of Nephthys," etc.



SET AND HORUS POURING OUT LIFE OVER SETI I.

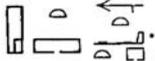
“stop to the regular course of nature, so generation, by the means  
“of motion, loosens it again, and restores it to its former vigour.”

The kingdom of Set was supposed to be placed in the northern sky, and his abode was one of the stars which formed the constellation of Khepesh, , or the “Thigh,” which has been identified with the Great Bear, and it was from this region that he made use of his baleful influence to thwart the beneficent designs of Osiris, whose abode was Sah or Orion, and of Isis, whose home was Sept, or Sothis. A little consideration will show that the northern sky was the natural domain of Set, for viewed from the standpoint of an Egyptian in Upper Egypt the north was rightly considered to be the place of darkness, cold, mist, and rain, each of which was an attribute of Set; and we may note in passing that the Hebrews called the region of darkness, or the winter hemisphere, SÊPHÔN, a name which

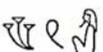
appears to be connected beyond a doubt with SÂPHÔN, “North.” The chief opponent of Set was the hippopotamus goddess RERET,

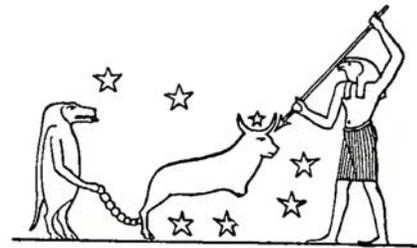
, who was believed to keep

this power of darkness securely fettered by a chain; this goddess

is usually represented with the arms and hands of a woman which are attached to the body of a hippopotamus, and in each she holds a knife. Her temple was called Het-Khâat, . The

duty of the goddess was to keep in restraint the evil influence of Set and to make clear a way in the sky for the birth of HERU-SMA-TAUI, whom Dr. Brugsch identified with the spring sun; the texts, however, make it clear that Reret was nothing but a form of Isis.

From a passage in the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 89) we learn that Set was accompanied by the four children of Horus, Mesthâ, Hâpi, Tûamutef, and Qebhsennuf, who were said to be “behind the Thigh in the northern sky,” and were believed to take part in curbing the evil deeds of Set. They may be identified with the four ÂF gods, , “who are the four gods of the Followers



The seven stars of the Great Bear.





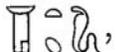
two-headed bronze figure of Amen-Heru-pa-kharṭ (No. 16,228). The former stands on a pedestal on which is a sepulchral inscription, addressed to Set, "the great god, lord of heaven," who is asked to give "life, strength, and health" to him that had it made; and the latter represents Amen under the form of a ram-headed man, who wears on his head the plumes of Shu, the disk of Rā, and a uraeus, and the head of Set, with characteristic ears. The above four figures are when taken together of great interest, and, as they all have been acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since Signor Lanzone issued the last part of his *Dizionario*, they form a valuable addition to the examples registered by him in it.

The ideas which were held by the Egyptians about Set in the late times are well illustrated by the following extract from Plutarch (*De Iside*, § 30), who says that it is evident from many of their rites and ceremonies "that they hold him in the greatest contempt, and do all they can to vilify and affront him. Hence their ignominious treatment of those persons, whom from the redness of their complexions they imagine to bear a resemblance to him; and hence likewise is derived the custom of the Coptites of throwing an Ass down a precipice; because it is usually of this colour. Nay, the inhabitants of Busiris and Lycopolis carry their detestation of this animal so far, as never to make any use of trumpets, because of the similitude between their sound and the braying of the ass. In a word, this animal is in general regarded by them as unclean and impure, merely on account of the resemblance which they conceive it bears to Typho; and in consequence of this notion, those cakes which they offer with their sacrifices during the last two months Paüni and Phaophi, have the impression of an Ass bound stamped upon them. For the same reason likewise, when they sacrifice to the Sun, they strictly enjoyn all those who approach to worship the God, neither to wear any gold about them, nor to give provender to any ass. It is moreover evident, say they, that even the Pythagoreans looked upon Typho to have been of the rank or order of Demons, as, according to them, 'he was produced in the even number fifty-six.' For as the power of the Triangle is

“expressive of the nature of Pluto, Bacchus, and Mars, the  
“properties of the Square of Rhea, Venus, Ceres, Vesta, and Juno ;  
“of the Dodecagon of Jupiter ; so, as we are informed by Eudoxus  
“is the figure of 56 angles expressive of the nature of Typho : as  
“therefore all the others above-mentioned in the Pythagorean  
“system are looked upon as so many Genii or Demons, so in like  
“manner must this latter be regarded by them. ’Tis from this  
“persuasion likewise of the red complexion of Typho, that the  
“Egyptians make use of no other bullocks in their sacrifice but  
“what are of this colour. Nay, so extremely curious are they in  
“this respect, that if there be so much as one black or white hair  
“in the beast, ’tis sufficient to render it improper for this service.  
“For ’tis their opinion, that sacrifices ought not to be made of such  
“things as are in themselves agreeable and well-pleasing to the  
“Gods, but, on the contrary, rather of such creatures wherein the  
“souls of wicked and unjust men have been confined during the  
“course of their transmigration. Hence sprang that custom,  
“which was formerly observed by them, of pronouncing a solemn  
“curse upon the head of the beast which was to be offered in  
“sacrifice, and afterwards of cutting it off and throwing it into the  
“Nile, though now they dispose of it to foreigners. No bullock  
“therefore is permitted to be offered to the Gods, which has not  
“the seal of the Sphragistae first stamped upon it, an order of  
“priests peculiarly set apart for this purpose, from whence likewise  
“they derive their name. Their impress, according to Castor, is  
“‘a man upon his knees with his hands tied behind him and a  
“sword pointed at his throat.’ Nor is it from his colour only that  
“they maintain a resemblance between the Ass and Typho, but  
“from the stupidity likewise and sensuality of his disposition ; and  
“agreeably to this notion, having a more particular hatred to  
“Ochus than to any other of the Persian monarchs who reigned  
“over them, looking upon him as an execrable and abominable  
“wretch, they gave him the nick-name of the Ass, which drew the  
“following reply from that prince, ‘But this ass shall dine upon  
“your ox,’ and accordingly he slew the Apis : this story is thus  
“related by Dino. Now as to those who pretend that Typho  
“escaped out of the battle upon an Ass after a flight of seven days,

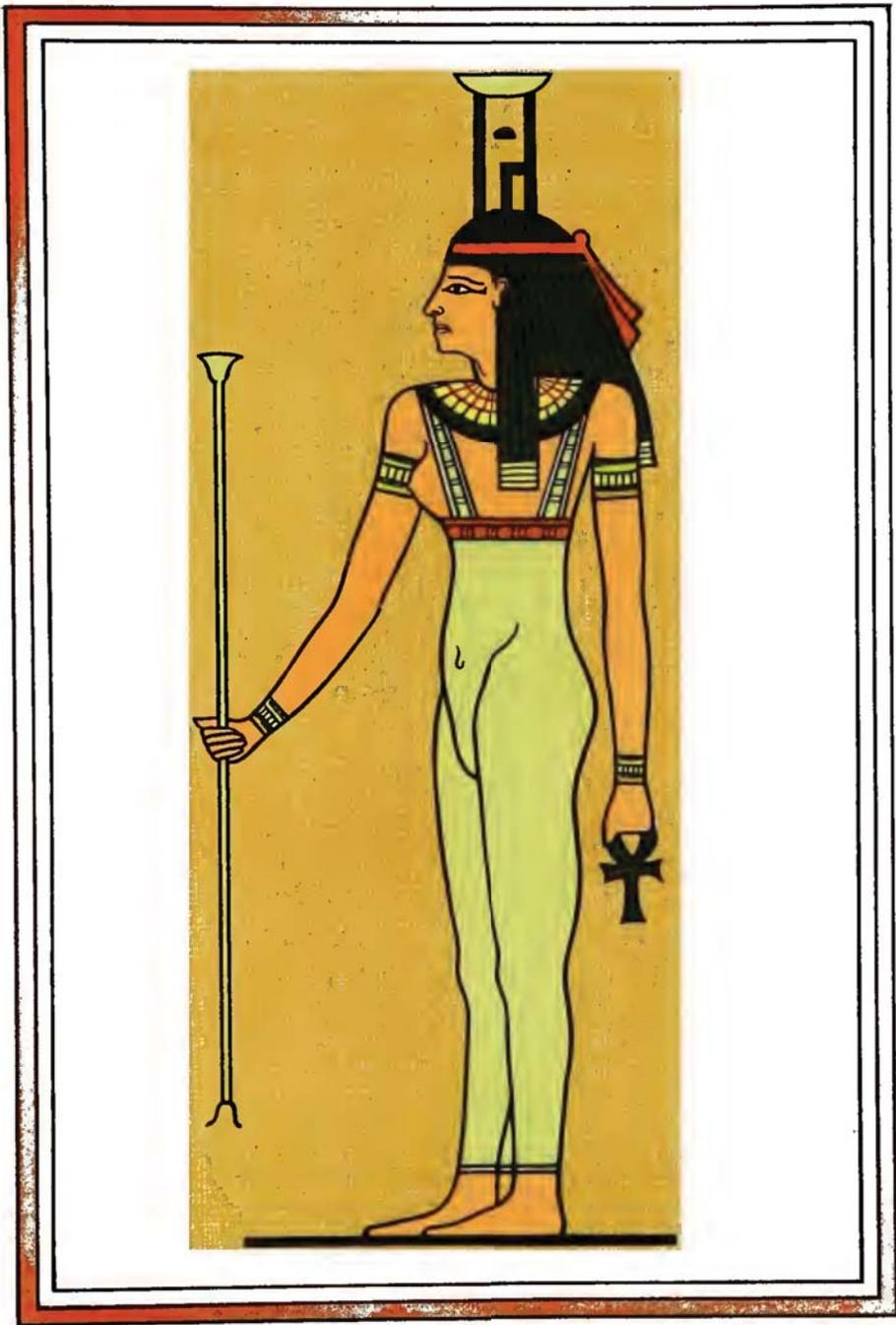
“and that, after he had got into a place of security, he begat two sons, Hierosolymus and Judaeus, ’tis obvious from the very face of the relation, that their design is to give an air of fable to [what] the Jewish history [relates] of the flight of Moses out of Egypt, and of the settlement of the Jews about Hierusalem and “Judaea” (Squire’s Translation).

As a proof of the correctness of Plutarch’s statements may be mentioned the figure of Set, which is reproduced from a Demotic papyrus at Leyden by Signor Lanzone,<sup>1</sup> and which represents the god as having the head of an ass; on his breast, which is that of a man, is inscribed the name **CHΘ**. We have now seen how the god Set was the opponent first of Heru-ur, then of Rā, and finally of Osiris and his son Horus, and that during the long period of Egyptian history his attributes changed according to the various modifications which took place in the beliefs concerning this god in the minds of the Egyptians, and that from being a power of nature, the darkness, he became the symbol and personification of both physical and moral evil. We have now to consider briefly the female counterpart of Set, that is to say the goddess Nephthys, and to describe the part which she played in the Great Company of the gods of Heliopolis.

NEBT-ḤET , or , NEPHTHYS.

NEBT-ḤET, or Nephthys, was the daughter of Seb and Nut, and the sister of Osiris, and Isis, and Set, and the wife of Set, and the mother of Anpu, or Anubis, either by Osiris or Set. The name “Nebt-ḥet” means the “lady of the house,” but by the word “house” we must understand that portion of the sky which was supposed to form the abode of the Sun-god Horus; in fact “ḥet” in the name of Nebt-ḥet is used in exactly the same sense as “ḥet” in the name “Ḥet-Ḥert,” or Hathor, i.e., the “house of Horus.” In the earliest times Nephthys was regarded as the female counterpart of Set, and she was always associated with him; nevertheless

<sup>1</sup> *Dizionario*, pl. 378.



THE GODDESS NEBT-ḤET (NEPHTHYS).

she always appears as the faithful sister and friend of Isis, and helps the widowed goddess to collect the scattered limbs of Osiris and to reconstitute his body. In the Pyramid Texts she appears as a friend of the deceased, and she maintains that character throughout every Recension of the *Book of the Dead*; indeed, she seems to perform for him what as a nature goddess she did for the gods in primeval times when she fashioned the "body" of the "Company of the Gods," and when she obtained the name

NEBKHAT, ,<sup>1</sup> i.e., "Lady of the body [of the Gods]."

The goddess is represented in the form of a woman who wears upon her head a pair of horns and a disk which is surmounted by the

symbol of her name, , or the symbol  only; and her commonest

titles are, "dweller within Senu," "lady of heaven," "mistress of the gods," "great goddess, lady of life," "sister of the god, eye of Rā, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods," "lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands," "sister of the god, the creative goddess who liveth within Ān," etc. The chief centres of her worship were Senu

, Hebet,  (Behbit), Per-mert, , Re-nefert,

, Het-sekhem, Het-Khas, Ta-keḥset, and Diospolites.

In the vignettes of the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* we find Nephthys playing a prominent part in connexion with Isis, whose efforts it seems to be her duty to second and to forward. She stands in the shrine behind Osiris when the hearts of the dead are weighed in the Great Scales in the presence of the god; she is seen kneeling on , by the side of the Ṭeṭ, from which the disk of the Sun is thrust upwards by the "living Rā,"

, at sunrise; she is one of the "great sovereign chiefs in Ṭeṭṭu,"

with Osiris, Isis, and Ḥeru-netch-ḥrā-f; and she kneels at the head of the bier of Osiris and assists him to arise. In the address which she makes (Chap. cli.A), she says, "I go round about behind "Osiris. I have come that I may protect thee, and my strength "which protecteth shall be behind thee for ever and ever. The god "Rā hearkeneth unto thy cry; thou, O son of Hathor, art made to

<sup>1</sup> See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1864, p. 65.

“triumph, thy head shall never be taken away from thee, and “thou shalt be made to rise up in peace.” Like Isis, Nephthys was believed to possess magical powers, and URT-ḤEKAU, , i.e., “mighty one of words of power,” was as much a title of the goddess as of her husband, SET-NUBTI, the great one of two-fold strength, . Nephthys also, like Isis, has many forms, for she is one of the two Maāt goddesses, and she is one of the two Mert goddesses, and she is one of the two plumes which ornamented the head of her father Rā. In her birth-place<sup>1</sup> in Upper Egypt, i.e., Ḥet-Sekhem, or “the house of the Sistrum,” the goddess was identified with Hathor, the lady of the sistrum, but the popular name of the city, “ḤET,” i.e., the “House,” seems to apply to both goddesses. In the Serapeum which belonged to the city, or the House of the Bennu, Osiris was re-born under the form of Horus, and Nephthys was one of his “nursing mothers.” The form in which Osiris appeared here was the Moon, and as such he represented the left eye of the Bennu or Rā, and as he thus became closely associated with Khensu and Thoth, to his female counterparts were ascribed the attributes of SESHETA and Maāt, who were the female counterparts of Thoth. Nephthys, as the active creative power which protected Osiris, the Moon-god, was called MENKHET, , and in allusion to her beneficent acts in connection with him the names of BENRA-MERIT and KHERSEKET were bestowed upon her, and the former appears to belong to the goddess when she made herself manifest under the form of a cat.

From Plutarch's treatise on Isis and Osiris we may gather many curious facts about the Egyptian beliefs concerning Nephthys. Thus he tells us (§ 38) that the Egyptians call the “extreme limits of their country, their confines and sea-shores, “Nephthys (and sometimes Teleute, a name expressly signifying “the end of anything), whom they suppose likewise to be married “to Typho. Now as the overflowings of the Nile are sometimes “very great, and extend even to the remotest boundaries of the “land, this gave occasion to that part of the story, which regards

<sup>1</sup> Nephthys was born on the last of the five epagomenal days.

“ the secret commerce between Osiris and Nephthys ; and as the  
 “ natural consequence of so great an inundation would be perceived  
 “ by the springing up of plants in those parts of the country, which  
 “ were formerly barren, hence they supposed, that Typho was first  
 “ made acquainted with the injury which had been done his bed by  
 “ means of a Mellilot-garland which fell from the head of Osiris  
 “ during his commerce with his wife, and afterwards left behind  
 “ him ; and thus, they say, may the legitimacy of Orus the son of  
 “ Isis be accounted for, as likewise the spuriousness of Anubis,  
 “ who was born of Nephthys. So again, when they tell us, that  
 “ it appears from the tables of the successions of their ancient  
 “ kings, that Nephthys was married to Typho, and that she was at  
 “ first barren, if this indeed is to be understood, not as spoken of a  
 “ mortal woman, but of a goddess, then is there design to insinuate  
 “ the utter infertility of the extreme parts of their land, occasioned  
 “ by the hardness of the soil and its solidity.” Plutarch tells us,  
 moreover, that “ on the upper part of the convex surface of the  
 “ sistrum is carved the effigies of a Cat with a human visage, as on  
 “ the lower edge of it, under those moving chords, is engraved on  
 “ the one side the face of Isis, and on the other that of Nephthys.”  
 The face of Isis represents Generation, and that of Nephthys  
 Corruption, and Plutarch says (§ 63) that the Cat denotes the  
 moon, “ its variety of colours, its activity in the night, and  
 “ the peculiar circumstances which attend its fecundity making  
 “ it a proper emblem of that body. For it is reported of  
 “ this creature, that it at first brings forth one, then two, after-  
 “ wards three, and so goes on adding one to each former birth till  
 “ it comes to seven ; so that she brings forth twenty-eight in all,  
 “ corresponding as it were to the several degrees of light, which  
 “ appear during one of the moon’s revolutions. But though this  
 “ perhaps may appear to carry the air of fiction with it, yet may  
 “ it be depended upon that the pupills of her eyes seem to fill up  
 “ and to grow larger upon the full of the moon, and to decrease  
 “ again and diminish in their brightness upon its waning—as to  
 “ the human countenance with which this Cat is carved, this is  
 “ designed to denote that the changes of the moon are regulated  
 “ by understanding and wisdom.”

From the above paragraphs it is clear that Nephthys is the personification of darkness and of all that belongs to it, and that her attributes were rather of a passive than active character. She was the opposite of Isis in every respect; Isis symbolized birth, growth, development and vigour, but Nephthys was the type of death, decay, diminution and immobility. Isis and Nephthys were, however, associated inseparably with each other, even as were Horus and Set, and in all the important matters which concern the welfare of the deceased they acted together, and they appear together in bas-reliefs and vignettes. Isis, according to Plutarch (§ 44), represented the part of the world which is visible, whilst Nephthys represents that which is invisible, and we may even regard Isis as the day and Nephthys as the night. Isis and Nephthys represent respectively the things which are and the things which are yet to come into being, the beginning and the end, birth and death, and life and death.<sup>1</sup> We have, unfortunately, no means of knowing what the primitive conception of the attributes of Nephthys was, but it is most improbable that it included any of the views on the subject which were current in Plutarch's time. Nephthys is not a goddess with well-defined characteristics, but she may, generally speaking, be described as the goddess of the death which is not eternal. In the *Book of the Dead* (Chap. xvii. 30), the deceased is made to say, "I am the god Åmsu (or, Min) in his coming forth; may his two plumes be set upon my head for me." In answer to the question, "Who then is this?" the text goes on to say, "Åmsu is Horus, the avenger of his father, and his coming forth is his birth. The plumes upon his head are Isis and Nephthys when they go forth to set themselves there, even as his protectors, and they provide that which his head lacketh, or (as others say), they are the two exceeding great uraei which are upon the head of their father Tem, or (as others say), his two eyes are the two plumes which are upon his head."

This passage proves that Nephthys, although a goddess of death, was associated with the coming into existence of the life which springs from death, and that she was, like Isis, a female counterpart of Åmsu, the ithyphallic god, who was at once the type

<sup>1</sup> *Religion*, p. 735.

of virility, and reproduction, and regeneration. Isis and Nephthys prepared the funeral bed for their brother Osiris, and together they made the swathings wherewith his body was swathed after death; they assisted at the rising of the Sun-god when he rose upon this earth for the first time, they assisted at the resurrection of Osiris, and similarly, in all ages, they together aided the deceased to rise to the new life by means of the words which they chanted over his bier. In late dynastic times there grew up a class of literature which is now represented by such works as the "Book of Respirations," the "Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys," the "Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys," the "Litanies of Seker," etc., works which supply us with the very words which were addressed to Osiris and to all those who were his followers. The goddesses were personified by two priestesses who were virgins and who were ceremonially pure; the hair of their limbs was to be shaved off, they were to wear ram's wool garlands upon their heads, and to hold tambourines in their hands; on the arm of one of them was to be a fillet inscribed "to Isis," and on the arm of the other was to be a fillet inscribed "to Nephthys." On five days during the month of December these women took their places in the temple of Abydos and, assisted by the *KHER HEB*, or precentor, they sang a series of groups of verses to the god, of which the following are specimens:—

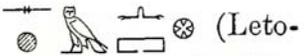
"Hail, lord Osiris. Hail, lord Osiris. Hail, lord Osiris. Hail, "lord Osiris. Hail, beautiful boy, come to thy temple straight-  
 "way, for we see thee not. Hail, beautiful boy, come to thy  
 "temple, and draw nigh after thy departure from us. Hail,  
 "beautiful boy, who ledest along the hour, who increasest except  
 "at his season. Thou art the exalted image of thy father Tenen,  
 "thou art the hidden essence who comest forth from *Àtmu*. O  
 "thou lord, O thou lord, how much greater art thou than thy  
 "father, O thou eldest son of thy mother's womb. Come thou  
 "back again to us with that which belongeth unto thee, and we  
 "will embrace thee; depart not thou from us, O thou beautiful  
 "and greatly loved face, thou image of Tenen, thou virile one,  
 "thou lord of love. Come thou in peace, and let us see thee, O  
 "our lord, and the two sisters will join thy limbs together, and

"thou shalt feel no pain, and they shall put an end unto all that  
 "hath afflicted thee, even as if it had never been . . . . . Hail,  
 "Prince, who comest forth from the womb. Hail, Eldest son of  
 "primeval matter. Hail, Lord of multitudes of aspects and created  
 "forms. Hail, Circle of gold in the temples. Hail, Lord of time,  
 "and Bestower of years. Hail, Lord of life for all eternity. Hail,  
 "Lord of millions and myriads. Hail, thou who shinest both in  
 "rising and setting. Hail, thou who makest throats to be in good  
 "case. Hail, thou Lord of terror, thou mighty one of trembling.  
 "Hail, lord of multitudes of aspects, both male and female. Hail,  
 "thou who art crowned with the White Crown, thou lord of the  
 "Urerer Crown. Hail, thou holy Babe of Ḥeru-ḥekenu. Hail,  
 "thou son of Rā, who sittest in the Boat of Millions of Years.  
 "Hail, thou Guide of rest, come thou to thy hidden places. Hail,  
 "thou lord of fear, who art self-produced. Hail, thou whose  
 "heart is still, come to thy city. Hail, thou who causest cries  
 "of joy, come to thy city. Hail, thou beloved one of the gods  
 "and goddesses. Hail, thou who dippest thyself [in Nu], come to  
 "thy temple. Hail, thou who art in the Ṭuat, come thou to thy  
 "offerings. . . . Hail, thou holy flower of the Great House. Hail,  
 "thou who bringest the holy cordage of the Sekti Boat. Hail,  
 "thou Lord of the Ḥennu Boat, who renewest thy youth in the  
 "secret place. Hail, thou Perfect Soul in Neter-khert. Hail,  
 "thou holy Judge (?) of the South and of the North. Hail, thou  
 "hidden one, who art known to mankind. Hail, thou who dost  
 "shine upon him that is in the Ṭuat and dost show him the  
 "Disk. Hail, lord of the Atef Crown, thou mighty one in Suten-  
 "ḥenen. Hail, mighty one of terror. Hail, thou who risest in  
 "Thebes, who dost flourish for ever. . . . Hail, thou living Soul  
 "of Osiris, who art diademed with the moon. Hail, thou who  
 "hidest thy body in the great coffin at Heliopolis."

## CHAPTER XV

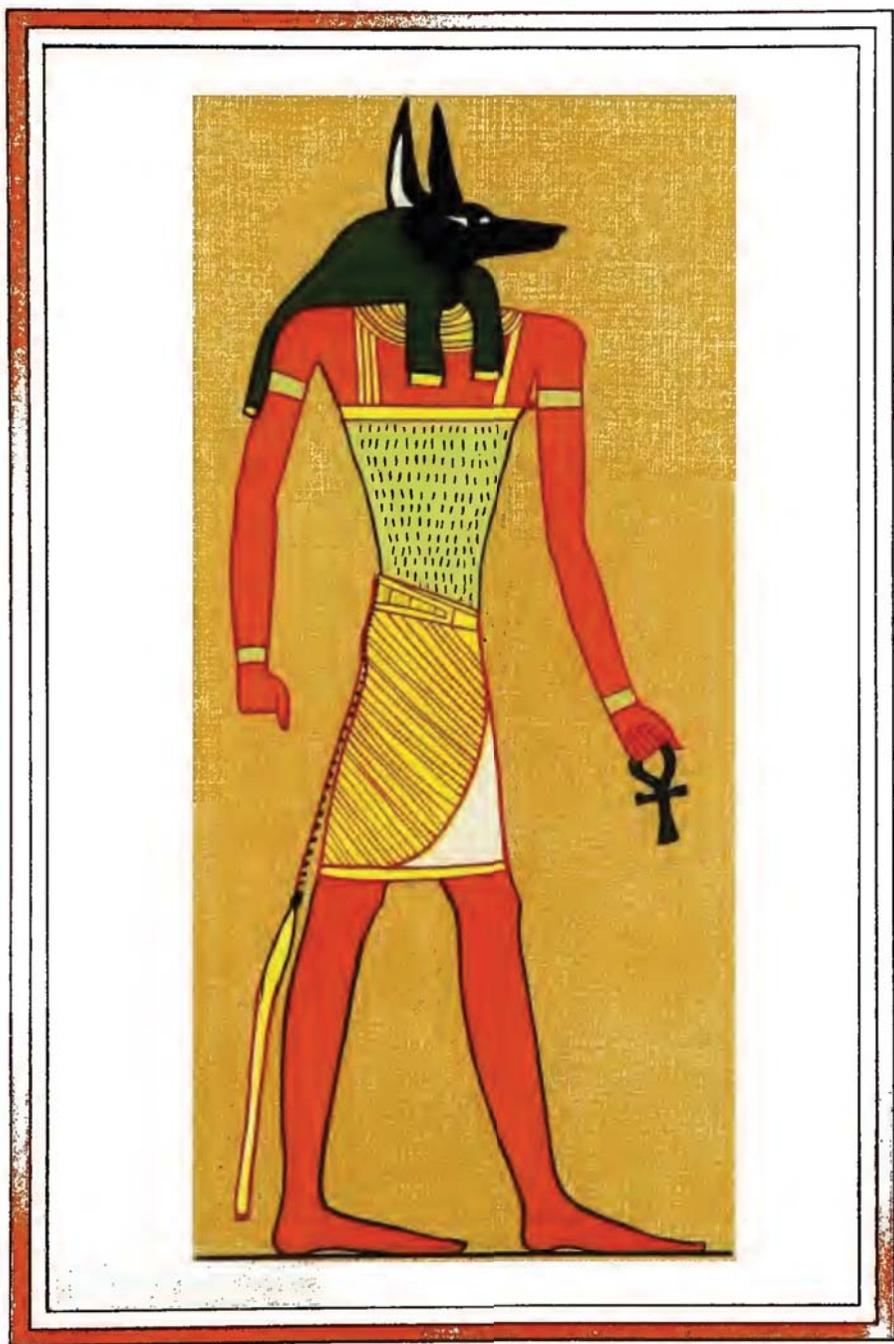
ANPU , OR ANUBIS

IT has been said above that Nephthys gave birth to a son called ANPU, or Anubis, and that his father was, according to some, Osiris, and according to others, Set; from another point of view he was the son of Rā. The animal which was at once the type and symbol of the god was the jackal, and this fact seems to prove that in primitive times Anubis was merely the jackal god, and that he was associated with the dead because the jackal was generally seen prowling about the tombs. His worship is very ancient, and there is no doubt that even in the earliest times his cult was general in Egypt; it is probable that it is older than that of Osiris. In the text of Unās (line 70) he is associated with the Eye of Horus, and his duty as the guide of the dead in the Underworld on their way to Osiris was well defined, even at the remote period when this composition was written, for we read, “Unās standeth with the Spirits, get thee onwards, Anubis, into “Āmenti (the Underworld), onwards, onwards to Osiris.” In the lines that follow we see that Anubis is mentioned in connexion with Horus, Set, Thoth, Sep, and Khent-ān-maati. From another passage of the same text we find (line 207 ff.) that the hand, and arms, and belly, and legs of the deceased are identified with Temu, but his face is said to be in the form of that of Anubis, . The localities in which Anubis was specially worshipped are Ābt, the Papyrus Swamps, , Sep, , Re-āu, , Heru-ti, , Ta-ḥetchet, , Saiut,

 (Lycopolis), Sekhem,  (Letopolis),<sup>1</sup> etc. In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* he plays some very prominent parts, the most important of all being those which are connected with the judgment and the embalming of the deceased. Tradition declared that Anubis embalmed the body of Osiris, and that he swathed it in the linen swathings which were woven by Isis and Nephthys for their brother; and it was believed that his work was so thoroughly well performed under the direction of Horus and Isis and Nephthys, that it resisted the influences of time and decay. In the vignette of the Funeral Procession the mummy is received by Anubis, who stands by the side of the tomb door; and in the vignette to Chapter cli. of the *Book of the Dead* the god is seen standing by the side of the mummy as it lies on its bier, and he lays his protecting hands upon it. In the speech which is put into the mouth of Anubis, he says, "I have come to protect Osiris." In the text of Unas (line 219) the nose of the deceased is identified with the nose of Anubis, but in the xliind Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* the deceased declares, "My lips are the lips of Anpu." From various passages it is clear that in one part of Egypt at least Anubis was the great god of the Underworld, and his rank and importance seem to have been as great as those of Osiris. (See Chapter liii.)

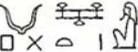
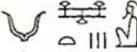
In the Judgment Scene Anubis appears to act for Osiris, with whom he is intimately connected, for it is he whose duty it is to examine the tongue of the Great Balance, and to take care that the beam is exactly horizontal. Thoth acts on behalf of the Great Company of the gods, and Anubis not only produces the heart of the deceased for judgment, but also takes care that the body which has been committed to his charge shall not be handed over to the "Eater of the Dead" by accident. The vignette of the xxvith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, as given in the Papyrus of Ani, represents the deceased in the act of receiving a necklace and pectoral from Anubis, who stands by grasping his sceptre; in the vignette of the Chapter in the Papyrus of Nebsemi Anubis is seen presenting the heart itself to the deceased, and in the text below

<sup>1</sup> Lanzone, op. cit., p. 68.



ANUBIS, THE GOD OF THE DEAD.

Nebseni prays, saying, "May Anubis make my thighs firm so that "I may stand upon them." In allusion to his connexion with the embalmment of Osiris the god Anubis is called  $\dot{A}M UT$ , , i.e., "Dweller in the chamber of embalmment;" as the watcher in the place of purification wherein rested the chest containing the remains of Osiris he was called  $KHENT SEHET$ , , i.e., "Governor of the Hall of the God;" and one of his names as the god of the funeral mountain was " $\dot{T}EP-\dot{T}U-F$ ," , i.e., "he who is upon his hill." In the cxlvth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* the deceased says, "I have washed myself "in the water wherein the god  $\dot{A}npu$  washed when he had "performed the office of embalmer and bandager;" and elsewhere the deceased is told (clxx. 4) that " $\dot{A}npu$ , who is upon his hill, "hath set thee in order, and he hath fastened for thee thy "swathings, thy throat is the throat of Anubis (clxxii. 22), and "thy face is like that of Anubis" (clxxx. 9).

The duty of guiding the souls of the dead round about the Underworld and into the kingdom of Osiris was shared by Anubis with another god whose type and symbol was a jackal, and whose name was  $\dot{A}P-UAT$ , , or , i.e., the "Opener of the ways;" formerly Anubis and  $\dot{A}p-uat$  were considered to be two names of one and the same god, but there is no longer any reason for holding this view. In the vignette to the cxxxviiiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* we find represented the scene of setting up the standard which supports the box that held the head of Osiris at Abydos. On each side of it are a standard with a figure of a jackal upon it and a pylon, on the top of which lies a jackal; and as it is quite clear from the groups of objects on each side of the standard that we are dealing with symbols either of the South and the North, or of the East and the West, we are justified in thinking that one jackal represents  $\dot{A}p-uat$  and the other Anubis. Moreover, from the cxlvth Chapter we find that the xxist Pylon of the House of Osiris was presided over by seven gods, among whom were  $\dot{A}p-uat$  and  $\dot{A}npu$ ,<sup>1</sup> and as in the xviiiith

<sup>1</sup> The others were Tcher or  $\dot{A}t$ ,  $\dot{H}etep-mes$ ,  $Mes-sep$ ,  $Utch-re$ , and  $Beq$ .

Chapter (F., G.) we have both gods mentioned, and each is depicted in the form of a jackal-headed man, we may conclude that each was a distinct god of the dead, although their identities are sometimes confused in the texts. The function of each god was to "open the ways," and therefore each might be called *ÂP-UAT*, but, strictly speaking, Anubis was the opener of the roads of the North, and *Âp-uat* the opener of the roads of the South; in fact, Anubis was the personification of the Summer Solstice, and *Âp-uat* of the Winter Solstice.

Anubis is called in the texts *SEKHEM EM PET*, and is often said to be the son of Osiris, and *Âp-uat* bore the title *SEKHEM TAUI*, and was a form of Osiris himself. When, therefore, we find the two jackals upon sepulchral stelae, we must understand that they appear there in their character of openers of the ways of the deceased in the kingdom of Osiris, and that they assure to the deceased the services of guides in the northern and southern parts of heaven; when they appear with the two Utchats thus, , they symbolize the four quarters of heaven and of earth, and the four seasons of the year. On the subject of Anubis Plutarch reports (§§ 44, 61) some interesting beliefs. After referring to the view that Anubis was born of Nephthys, although Isis was his reputed mother, he goes on to say, "By Anubis they understand the horizontal circle, which divides the invisible part of the world, which they call Nephthys, from the visible, to which they give the name of Isis; and as this circle equally touches upon the confines of both light and darkness, it may be looked upon as common to them both—and from this circumstance arose that resemblance, which they imagine between Anubis and the Dog, it being observed of this animal, that he is equally watchful as well by day as night. In short, the Egyptian Anubis seems to be of much the same power and nature as the Grecian Hecate, a deity common both to the celestial and infernal regions. Others again are of opinion that by Anubis is meant Time, and that his denomination of *Kuon* does not so much allude to any likeness, which he has to the dog, though this be the general rendering of the word, as to that other signification of the term taken from



THE DECEASED HOLDING A NECKLACE AND PECTORAL BEFORE ANUBIS.



Procession of Isis he says, "Immediately after these came the "Deities, condescending to walk upon human feet, the foremost "among them rearing terrifically on high his dog's head and "neck—that messenger between heaven and hell displaying "alternately a face black as night, and golden as the day; in his "left the caduceus, in his right waving aloft the green palm "branch. His steps were closely followed by a cow, raised into "an upright posture—the cow being the fruitful emblem of the "Universal Parent, the goddess herself, which one of the happy "train carried with majestic steps, supported on his shoulders. "By another was borne the coffin containing the sacred things, "and closely concealing the deep secrets of the holy religion."

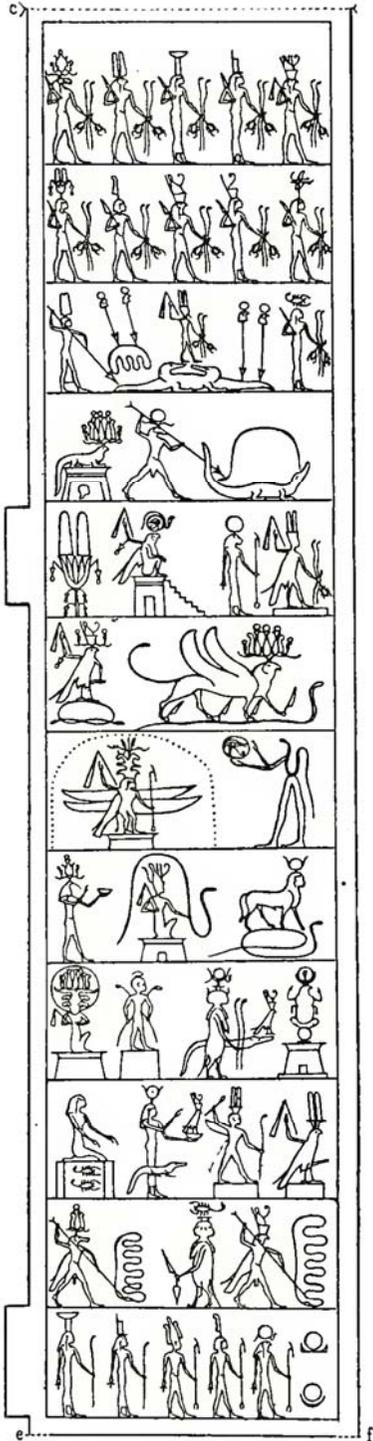
This extract shows that even in the second century at Rome the principal actors in the old Egyptian Osiris ceremonial were represented with scrupulous care, and that its chief characteristics were preserved. The cow was, of course, nothing less than the symbol of Isis, "the mother of the god," and the coffin containing the "sacred things" was the symbol of the sarcophagus of Osiris which contained his relics. Before these fitly marched Anubis in his two-fold character, and thus we have types of Osiris and his mysteries, and of Isis who revived him, and of Anubis who embalmed him. Had Apuleius understood the old Egyptian ceremonies connected with the Osiris legend and had he been able to identify all the characters who passed before him in the Isis procession, he would probably have seen that Nephthys and Horus and several other gods of the funeral company of Osiris were duly represented therein. On the alleged connexion of Anubis with Christ in the Gnostic system the reader is referred to the interesting work of Mr. C. W. King, *Gnostics and their Remains*, Second Edition, London, 1887, pp. 230, 279.

## CHAPTER XVI

## CIPPI OF HORUS

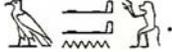
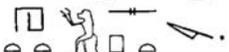
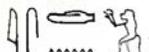
**I**N connexion with the god Horus and his forms as the god of the rising sun and the symbol and personification of Light must be mentioned a comparatively numerous class of small rounded stelae on convex bases, on the front of which are sculptured in relief figures of the god Horus standing upon two crocodiles. These curious and interesting objects are made of basalt and other kinds of hard stone, and of calcareous stone, and they vary in height from 3 ins. to 20 ins.; they were used as talismans by the Egyptians, who placed them in their houses and gardens, and even buried them in the ground to protect themselves and their property from the attacks of noxious beasts, and reptiles, and insects of every kind. In addition to the figures of Horus and of the animals over which he gained the victory, and the sceptres, emblems, etc., which are sculptured upon cippi of Horus, the backs, sides, and bases are usually covered with magical texts. The ideas suggested by the figures and the texts are extremely old, but the grouping and arrangement of them which are found on the stelae under consideration are not older than the XXVIth Dynasty; it is doubtful if this class of objects came into general use very much earlier than the end of the period of the Persian occupation of Egypt. The various museums of Europe contain several examples of cippi, but the largest, and finest, and most important, is undoubtedly that which is commonly known as the "Metternich Stele;"<sup>1</sup> it was found in the year 1828 during the building of a cistern in a Franciscan monastery in Alexandria, and was presented by Muhammad 'Ali Pâsha to Prince Metternich. We are, fortunately, enabled to date the stele, for the name of Nectanebus I.,

<sup>1</sup> See *Metternichstele*, ed. Golénischeff, Leipzig, 1877, pl. 3, l. 48 ff.



Side of the Stele.

the last but one of the native kings of Egypt, who reigned from B.C. 378 to B.C. 360, occurs on it, and it is clear from several considerations that such a monument could have been produced only about this period. On the front of the stele (see page 271) we have the following figures and scenes:—

1. The solar disk wherein is seated the four-fold god Khnemu, who represents the gods of the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, resting between  $\square$ , which is supported on a lake of water; on each side of it stand four apes, with their paws stretched out in adoration. No names are given to the apes here, but we may find them in a text at Edfû<sup>1</sup> where they are called:—1. AĀĀN, . 2. BENTET, . 3. HETET-SEPT, . 4. QEFĒN, . 5. ĀP, . 6. ĀS-ŦĒN, . 7. KEĦKEĦ, . 8. UŦĒNNU, . The Bentet apes praised the morning sun, and the UŦĒnnu apes praised the evening sun, and the Sun-god was pleased both with their words and with their voices. On the right hand side is a figure of king Nectanebus kneeling before a lotus standard, with plumes and *menäts*, and on the left is the figure of

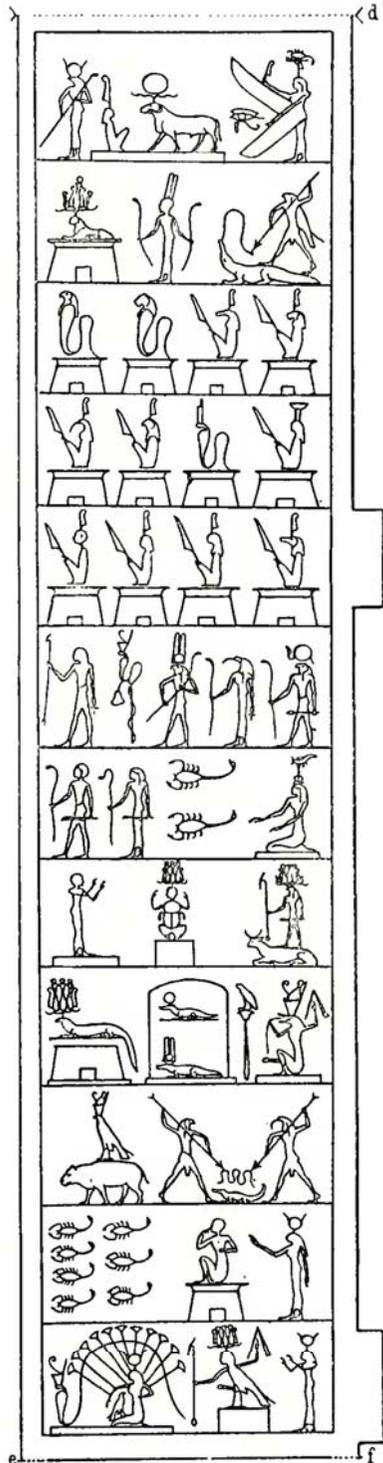
<sup>1</sup> Daemichen, *Tempelinschriften*, i., 26.

the god Thoth holding a palette in his left hand.

2. In this register we have (a) Ptaḥ-Seker-Āsār standing on crocodiles, the gods Āmsu and Kheperā standing on  $\equiv$  pedestals, Khas, a lion-headed god, Thoth, Serqet and Hathor grouped round a god who is provided with the heads of seven birds and animals, and four wings, and two horns surmounted by four uraei and four knives, and who stands upon two crocodiles. (b) Ta-urt holding a crocodile by a chain or rope which a hawk-headed god is about to spear in the presence of Isis, Nephthys, and four other deities, etc.

3. Isis holding Horus in her outstretched right hand, and standing on a crocodile. Thoth. Standard of Nekhebet. Horus, with a human phallus, and a lion, on a lake (?) containing two crocodiles. Seven halls or lakes, each guarded by a god. A lion treading on a crocodile, which lies on its back, four gods, a lion standing on the back of a crocodile, a vulture, a god embracing a goddess, and three goddesses.

4. Horus spearing a crocodile which is led captive by Ta-urt. The four children of Horus. Neith and the two crocodile gods. Harpocrates seated upon a crocodile under a serpent. A lion, two scorpions and an oryx, symbols of Set. Seven



Side of the Stele.

serpents having their tails pierced by arrows or darts. A king in a chariot drawn by the fabulous  $\Delta\kappa\eta\epsilon\kappa\eta$  animal which gallops over two crocodiles. Horus standing on the back of the oryx, emblem of Set.

5. A miscellaneous group of gods, nearly all of whom are forms of the Sun-god and are gods of reproduction and regeneration.

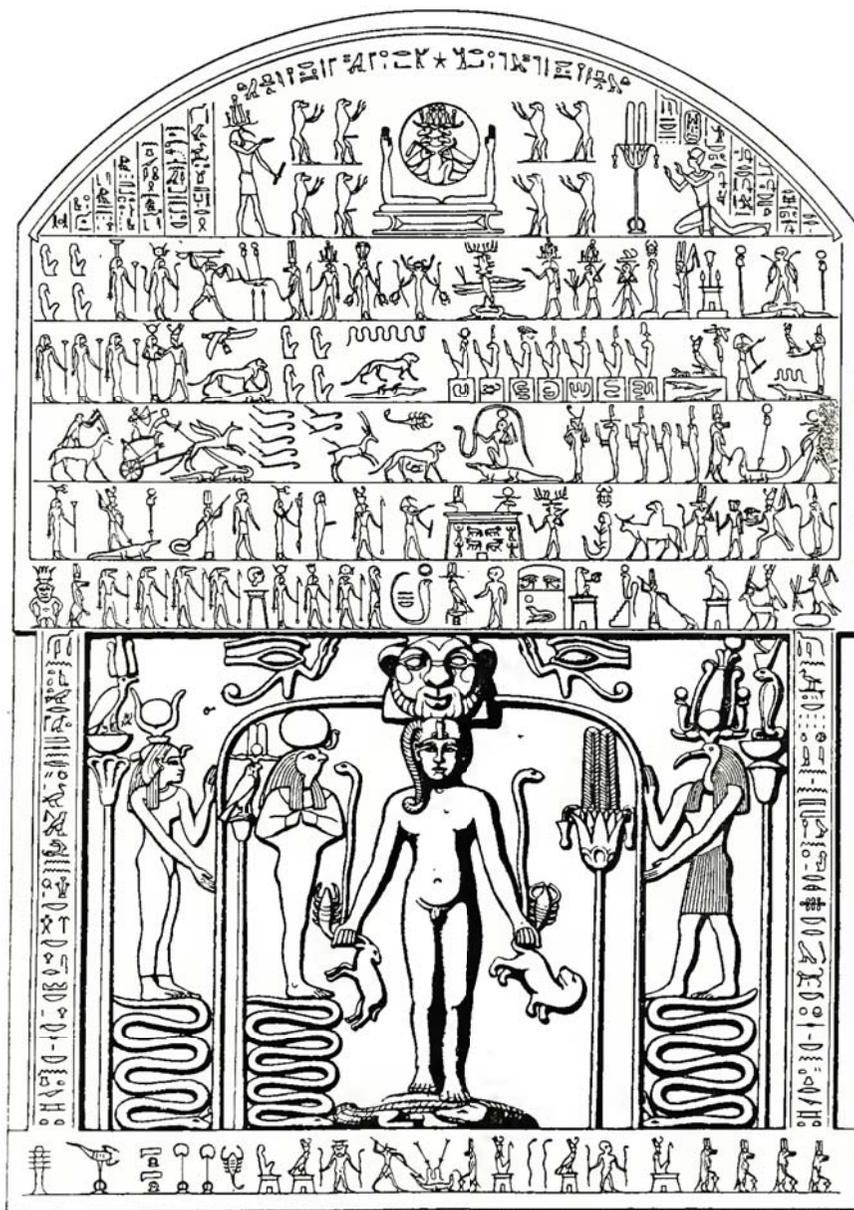
6. A hawk god, with dwarf's legs, and holding bows and arrows. Horus standing on an oryx (Set). A cat on a pedestal. An-her spearing an animal. Uraeus on the top of a staircase. The ape of Thoth on a pylon. Two Utchats, the solar disk, and a crocodile. Ptaḥ-Seker-Āsar. The Horus of gold. Serpent with a disk on his head. A group of solar gods followed by Ta-urt and Bes.

7. In this large scene Horus stands with his feet upon the backs of two crocodiles, and he grasps in his hands the reptiles and animals which are the emblems of the foes of light and of the powers of evil. He wears the lock of youth, and above his head is the head of the old god Bes, who here symbolizes the Sun-god at eventide. The canopy under which he stands is held up by Thoth and Isis, each of whom stands upon a coiled up serpent, which has a knife stuck in his forehead. Above the canopy are the two Utchats, with human hands and arms attached, and within it by the sides of the god are:—1. Horus-Rā standing on a coiled up serpent. 2. A lotus standard, with plumes and *menāts*. 3. A papyrus standard surmounted by a figure of a hawk wearing the

 Crown.

On the back of the Stele we have a figure of the aged Sun-god in the form of a man-hawk, and he has above his head the heads of a number of animals, e.g., the oryx and the crocodile, and a pair of horns upon which rest , and eight knives. He has four human arms, to two of which wings are attached, and in each hand he grasps two serpents, , two knives, , and "life," , "stability," , and "power," ; and numbers of figures of gods. His two other human arms are not attached to wings, and in one hand he holds the symbol of "life," and in the other a sceptre.

From the head of the god proceed jets of fire, , and on each side of him is an Utchat, which is provided with human hands and



The Metternich Stele (Obverse).

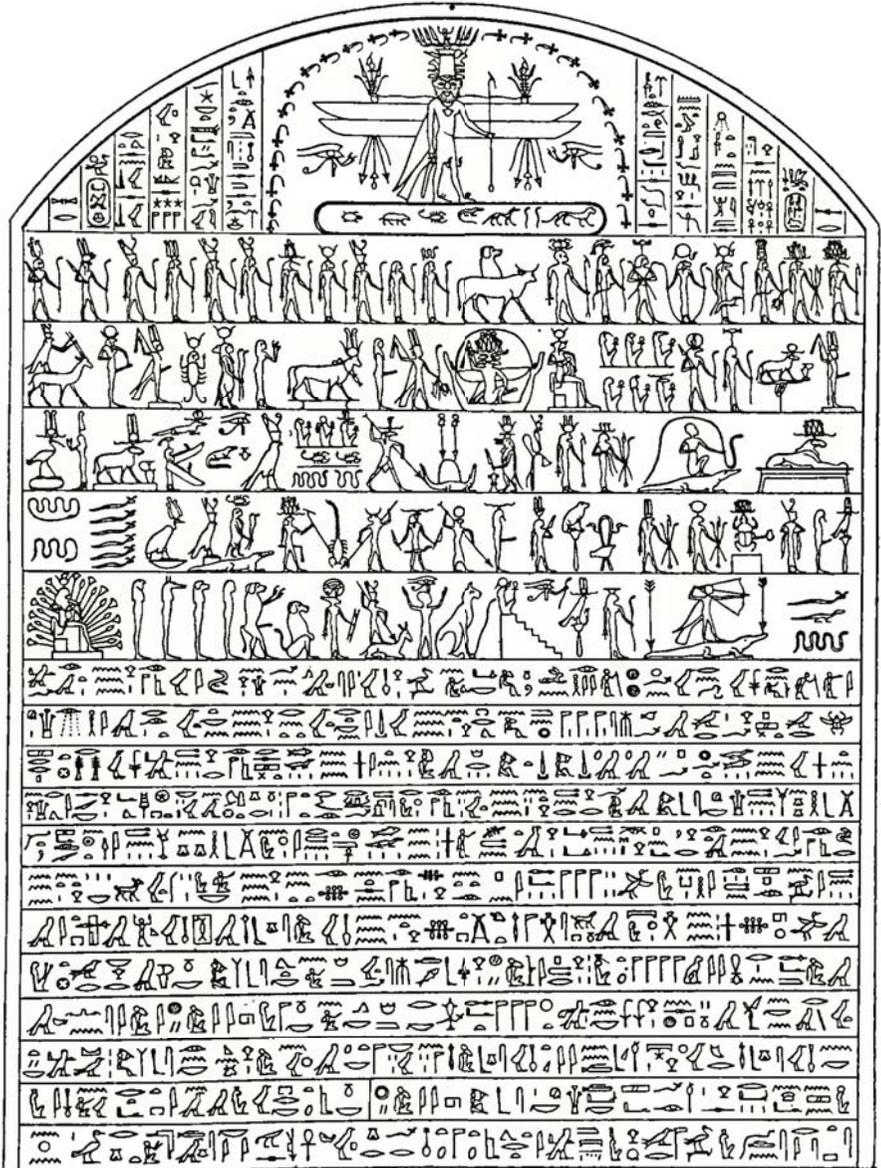
arms. The god stands upon an oval, within which are figures of a lion, two serpents, a jackal, a crocodile, a scorpion, a hippopotamus,

and a turtle. Below this relief are five rows of figures of gods and mythological scenes, many of which are taken from the vignettes of the *Book of the Dead*. The gods and goddesses are for the most part solar deities who were believed to be occupied at all times in overcoming the powers of darkness, and they were sculptured on the Stele that the sight of them might terrify the fiends and prevent them from coming nigh unto the place where it was set up. There is not a god of any importance whose figure is not on it, and there is not a demon, or evil animal, or reptile who is not depicted upon it in a vanquished state.

The texts inscribed upon the Stele are as interesting as the figures of the gods, and relate to events which were believed to have taken place in the lives of Isis, Horus, etc. The first composition is called the "Chapter of the incantation of the Cat,"<sup>1</sup> and contains an address to Rā, who is besought to come to his daughter, for she has been bitten by a scorpion; the second composition, which is called simply "another Chapter," has contents somewhat similar to those of the first. The third text is addressed to the "Old Man who becometh young in his season, the Aged One who "maketh himself a child again." The fourth and following texts contain a narrative of the troubles of Isis which were caused by the malice of Set, and of her wanderings from city to city in the Delta, in the neighbourhood of the Papyrus Swamps. The principal incident is the death of her son Horus, which took place whilst she was absent in a neighbouring city, and was caused by the bite of a scorpion; in spite of all the care which Isis took in hiding her son, a scorpion managed to make its way into the presence of the boy, and it stung him until he died. When Isis came back and found her child's dead body she was distraught and frantic with grief, and was inconsolable until Nephthys came and advised her to appeal to Thoth, the lord of words of power. She did so straightway, and Thoth stopped the Boat of Millions of Years in which Rā, the Sun-god, sailed, and came down to earth in answer to her cry; Thoth had already provided her with the words of power which enabled her to raise up Osiris from the dead, and



he now bestowed upon her the means of restoring Horus to life, by supplying her with a series of incantations of irresistible might.



The Metternich Stele (Reverse).

These Isis recited with due care, and in the proper tone of voice, and the poison was made to go forth from the body of Horus, and his strength was renewed, his heart once more occupied its throne,

and all was well with him. Heaven and earth rejoiced at the sight of the restoration of the heir of Osiris, and the gods were filled with peace and content.

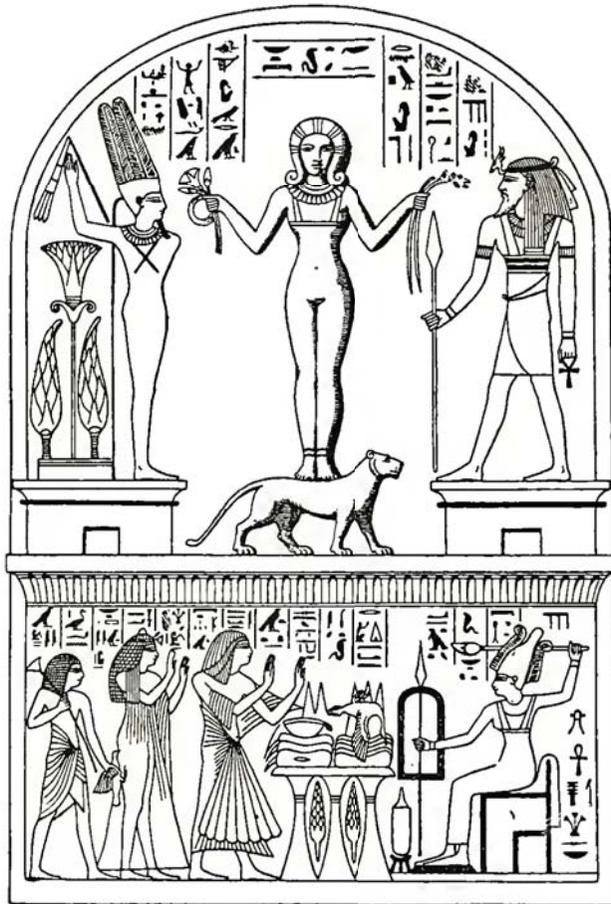
The whole Stele on which these texts and figures are found is nothing but a talisman, or a gigantic amulet engraved with magical forms of gods and words of power, and it was, undoubtedly, placed in some conspicuous place in a courtyard or in a house to protect the building and its inmates from the attacks of hostile beings, both visible and invisible, and its power was believed to be invincible. The person who had been stung or bitten by a scorpion or any noxious beast or reptile was supposed to recite the incantations which Thoth had given to Isis, and which had produced such excellent results, and the Egyptians believed that because these words had on one occasion restored the dead to life, they would, whensoever they were uttered in a suitable tone of voice, and with appropriate gestures and ceremonies, never fail to produce a like effect. A knowledge of the gods and of the magical texts on the Stele was thought to make its possessor master of all the powers of heaven, and of earth, and of the Underworld.

## CHAPTER XVIII

## FOREIGN GODS

**I**F we consider for a moment it will at once be apparent from the geographical position of Egypt that her people must have been brought in contact with a large number of foreign gods, and that in certain places a few must have become more or less identified with Egyptian gods of similar attributes and characteristics. As a rule Orientals have always been exceedingly tolerant of alien gods, and the Egyptians formed no exception to the rule ; there is, moreover, in the Egyptian inscriptions, no evidence that they ever tried to suppress the gods of the races they conquered, though we may assume that they never failed, whenever it was possible, to carry off the images of foreign gods, because in so doing they displayed the superior power of the gods of Egypt, and destroyed the religious and political importance of the cities and towns wherein the shrines of the foreign gods were situated. It is not at present possible to decide which gods were indigenous to the Valley of the Nile, and which were of Libyan origin, but there is no doubt that a number of Libyan gods were adopted by the dwellers in the Western Delta, in predynastic times, and that they had become to all intents and purposes Egyptian gods under the rule of the kings of the 1st Dynasty. Among such deities may be mentioned Net, or Neith, of Saïs, Bast of Bubastis, and it is very probable that Osiris and his cycle of gods, though perhaps under different names, were also of Libyan origin. Under the IVth and Vth Dynasties the cult of Rā, the Sun-god, spread with great rapidity in the Delta and in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis, and his priests, as we have seen, obtained almost kingly influence in the

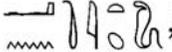
country. There is no reason for doubting that the Sun was worshipped in the earliest times in Egypt, but the form of his worship, as approved and promulgated by the priests of Heliopolis, appears to have differed from that which was current in other parts of the country, and it is probable that it possessed something of an Asiatic character. The foreign gods who succeeded in

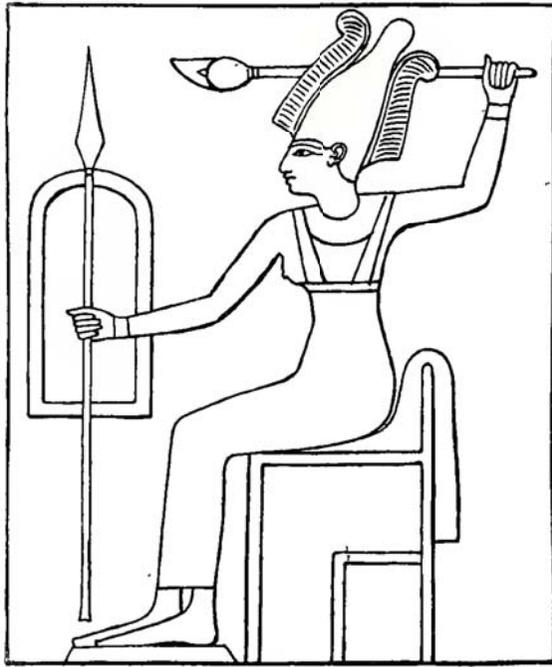


The goddess Qetesh standing on a lion between Min and Reshpu.

obtaining a place in the affections of the Egyptians were of Libyan and Semitic origin, and there is no evidence that they borrowed any deity, except BES, from Nubia, or the country still further to the south of Egypt.

First among the foreign deities who are made known to us

by the Egyptian inscriptions is ĀNTHĀT, <sup>1</sup> a goddess who is called the lady of heaven, and the mistress of the gods, and who was said to conceive offspring but not to bring them to the birth; she is declared to have been produced by Set, but it is probable that this origin was assigned to her only after her cult was well established in Egypt. She is depicted in the form of a woman seated on a throne or standing upright; in the former position she grasps a shield and spear in her right hand and wields



Ānthāt.

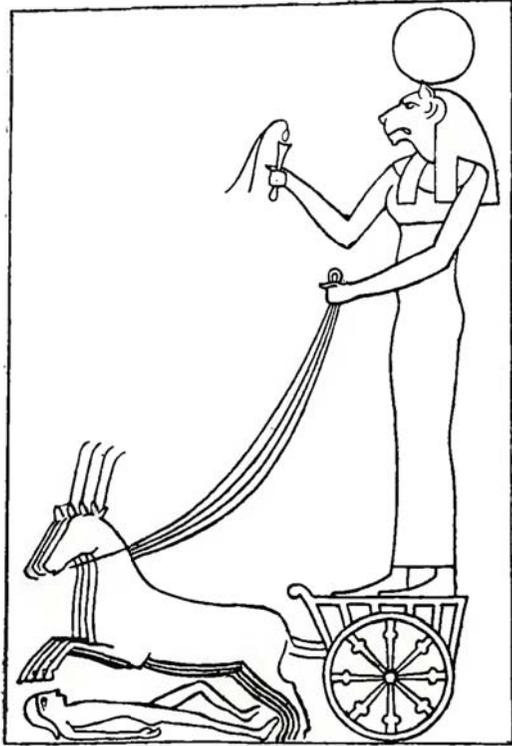
a club in her left, and in the latter she wears a panther skin and holds a papyrus sceptre in the right hand and the emblem of "life" in her left. She wears the White Crown with feathers attached, and sometimes this has a pair of horns at the base. Ānthāt was, undoubtedly, a war goddess, and her cult seems to have extended throughout Northern and Southern Syria, where certain cities and

<sup>1</sup> Variant forms of her name are Ānnuthāt, , and Āntit, .



Tushratta, king of Mitani, to this king he refers to the going down of “Ishtar of Nineveh (i.e., Ashtoreth, or Āsthārthet), lady of the world,” into Egypt, both during his own reign and that of his father,<sup>1</sup> and he seems to indicate that her worship in Egypt had declined, and begs Amen-hetep to make it to increase tenfold. From this it would appear that the Egyptians adopted the worship of the Syrian goddess at or about the time when Thothmes III. was engaged in conquering Ruthennu and Palestine and Syria.

In Egypt Āsthārthet, or Ashtoreth, or Ishtar, was identified with one of the forms of Hathor, or Isis-Hathor, early in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and she was regarded both as a Moon-goddess, and as a terrible and destroying goddess of war. As a war-goddess she was the driver of the rampant war-maddened horses and the guide of the rushing chariot on the field of battle, and this consideration shows that as a goddess of horses she was unknown in Egypt before the XVIIIth Dynasty. The Egyptians learned



‘Ashtoreth.

to employ the horse in war from the Semites of the Eastern Desert, and their knowledge of the value of that animal for charging and for drawing war-chariots is not older than about B.C. 1800.

Closely akin to Āsthārthet was the goddess QETESH, ,<sup>2</sup> who was also called the “mistress of all the gods, the eye of Rā,

<sup>1</sup> *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. xlii.

<sup>2</sup> Variant, , QETSHU.



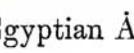
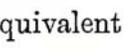
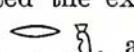
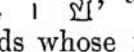
female form of the hunter Esau,  $\psi\psi$ , who, under the form Usoos, was regarded as a god who wore skins and was appeased by means of blood offerings. That she was a goddess of war and of the desert is clear from a relief, which is found on a stele near the building beside the temple set up by Seti I. at Redêsiyeh in the Eastern Desert, on the road to the gold mines of Mount Zâbârâ.

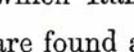
The greatest of all the Syrian gods known to the Egyptians was BĀR,  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ , or PA-BĀR,  $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ , i.e., Baal, the  $\text{בַּעַל}$ , of the Hebrews. Bār appears to have been a god of the mountain and the desert, and his worship was introduced into Egypt under the XVIIIth Dynasty. Like most of the Semitic gods and goddesses he was primarily a god of war and battle, and he may have been a personification of the burning and destroying heat of the sun and blazing desert wind. To the Egyptians of the Delta he soon became familiar, and as he was supposed to be the god who supported their foes the Syrians in many a hard-fought battle they regarded him with a certain awe and reverence. Of his form and worship we know nothing, but the Egyptians placed after their transliterations of his name a figure of the fabulous animal in which the god Set became incarnate, and it is clear that they must have believed Bār and Set to have qualities and attributes in common. Rameses II. boasts in his triumphal inscriptions that when he put on his panoply of war, and mounted his chariot, and set out to attack the Kheta soldiery he was like the god Bār, and we are justified in assuming from this and similar passages that the king of Egypt was proud to compare himself to the mighty Syrian war-god. Bār was worshipped in the Delta, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Tanis, where Rameses II. carried out such extensive building operations, and where a temple of the god existed.

Here for the sake of convenience may be mentioned the goddess BĀIRTHĀ,  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ , i.e., Ba'alath, or Bêltis, of Tchapura,  $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ , in full Bâirthâ Tchapura or Ba'alath-Sêphôn, who may be regarded as the female counterpart of the Ba'al-Sêphôn of the Hebrew Scriptures, but not as the wife of Bār.



ship was at Het-Reshp, , in the Delta, but it is very probable that he was specially worshipped at many small provincial shrines on the eastern frontier of Egypt. He is represented in the form of a warrior who holds a shield and spear in his left hand, and a club in his right; on his head he wears the White Crown, round the base of which is bound a turban. Above his forehead, projecting from his turban, is the head of a gazelle, which appears to be a very ancient symbol of the god, and to indicate his sovereignty over the desert. Reshpu is connected with the god who was known to the Phoenicians under the name of רֶשֶׁף, and was, no doubt, a god of burning and destructive fire, and of the lightning. Opinions differ as to the pronunciation of the name רֶשֶׁף, some reading "Reshef," i.e., "lightning," and others "Rashsháf," i.e., "he who shoots out fire and lightning"; the Egyptian transcription Reshpu supports the first opinion, and from every point of view it seems to be the correct one.

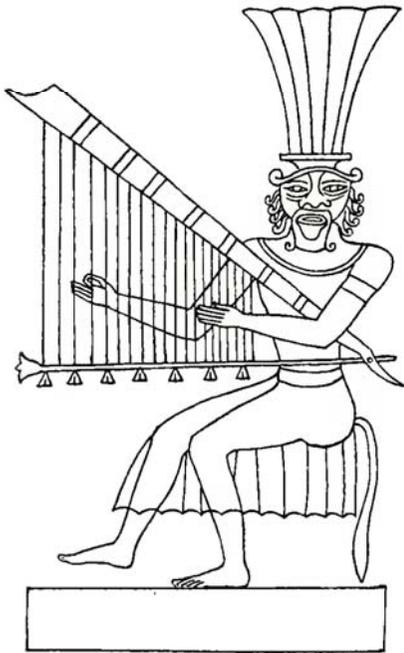
The existence of yet another Syrian god has been pointed out by Müller,<sup>1</sup> who in the Egyptian  $\dot{A}TUM\bar{A}$ , , or  $\dot{A}THUM\bar{A}$ , , sees the equivalent of the אֲדָם of the Hebrew Scriptures; the female counterpart of the god appears under the form of  $\dot{A}TUM\bar{A}$ , . Finally, among the Western Syrians Müller has quoted the existence of two goddesses called ENNUKARU, , and  $\dot{A}M\bar{A}IT$ , .

In the list of the gods whose names are found at the end of the copy of the treaty which Rameses II. made with Kheta-sar, the prince of the Kheta, are found a number of Sutekh, , gods of various cities, among them being Sutekh of Arenna, Sutekh of Thapu-Árenuta, Sutekh of Paireqa, Sutekh of Khisasapa, Sutekh of Saresu, Sutekh of Khirepu (Aleppo), Sutekh of Rekhasua, and Sutekh of Mukhipaina. In the paragraphs on the god Set it has been shown that for all practical purposes Sutekh and Set were one and the same god in the eyes of the Egyptians, and the fabulous Set animal was as much a symbol of Sutekh as he was of

<sup>1</sup> *Asien und Europa*, p. 316.

Set. Sutekh was supposed to be, more or less, a god of evil, but the Egyptians attempted to obtain his favour, even as they did that of Set, by means of offerings and prayers.

Among the foreign gods known to the Egyptians is usually mentioned BES, , who according to some is of Semitic, and according to others of African origin;<sup>1</sup> we may note, however, that the name of the god appears to be Egyptian, and it seems to have been bestowed upon him in very early times because of the animal's skin which he wore; the animal itself was called "Besa"



Bes.

or "Basu."<sup>2</sup> He is usually depicted in the form of a dwarf with a huge bearded head, protruding tongue, flat nose, shaggy eyebrows and hair, large projecting ears, long but thick arms, and bowed legs; round his body he wears the skin of an animal of the panther tribe, and its tail hangs down and usually touches the ground behind him; on his head he wears a tiara of feathers, which suggests a savage or semi-savage origin. He is sometimes drawn in profile, like the other Egyptian gods, but usually he appears full face, like the goddess Qetesh. As a god of music and the dance he is sometimes

represented playing upon a harp;<sup>3</sup> as a god of war and slaughter, and as a destroying force of nature he carries two knives in his hands; as a warrior he appears in a short military tunic, which is fastened round his body by a belt, and he

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 310; Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> , BES, , BASU = *Felis Cynailurus*; see *Aeg. Zeit.* ii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pll. 76, 77.

holds in his left hand a shield and a short sword in his right. Figures of Bes are found carved upon the handles of mirrors, on *kohl* vessels, and on pillows, all of which indicate that in one aspect at least he was associated with rest, and joy, and pleasure. From a number of scenes on the walls of the temples and from bas-reliefs we see that Bes was supposed to be present in the chambers and places wherein children were born, and he seems to have been regarded as a protector of children and youths, and a god who studied to find them pleasure and amusement.

According to Müller,<sup>1</sup> two figures of the god were found at Kahûn, and, if these really belong to the period when that city was flourishing, Bes must have been honoured there as early as the XIIth Dynasty. Taken by itself, however, this evidence is not worth a great deal, because the figures may have been placed in the tombs at Kahûn during burials of a much later date. One of the oldest representations of Bes, as Prof. Wiedemann has pointed out, is found in a relief in the famous temple of Hâtshepset at Dêr al-Bahârî, where he appears in the chamber wherein the birth of the great queen is supposed to be taking place. In this chamber



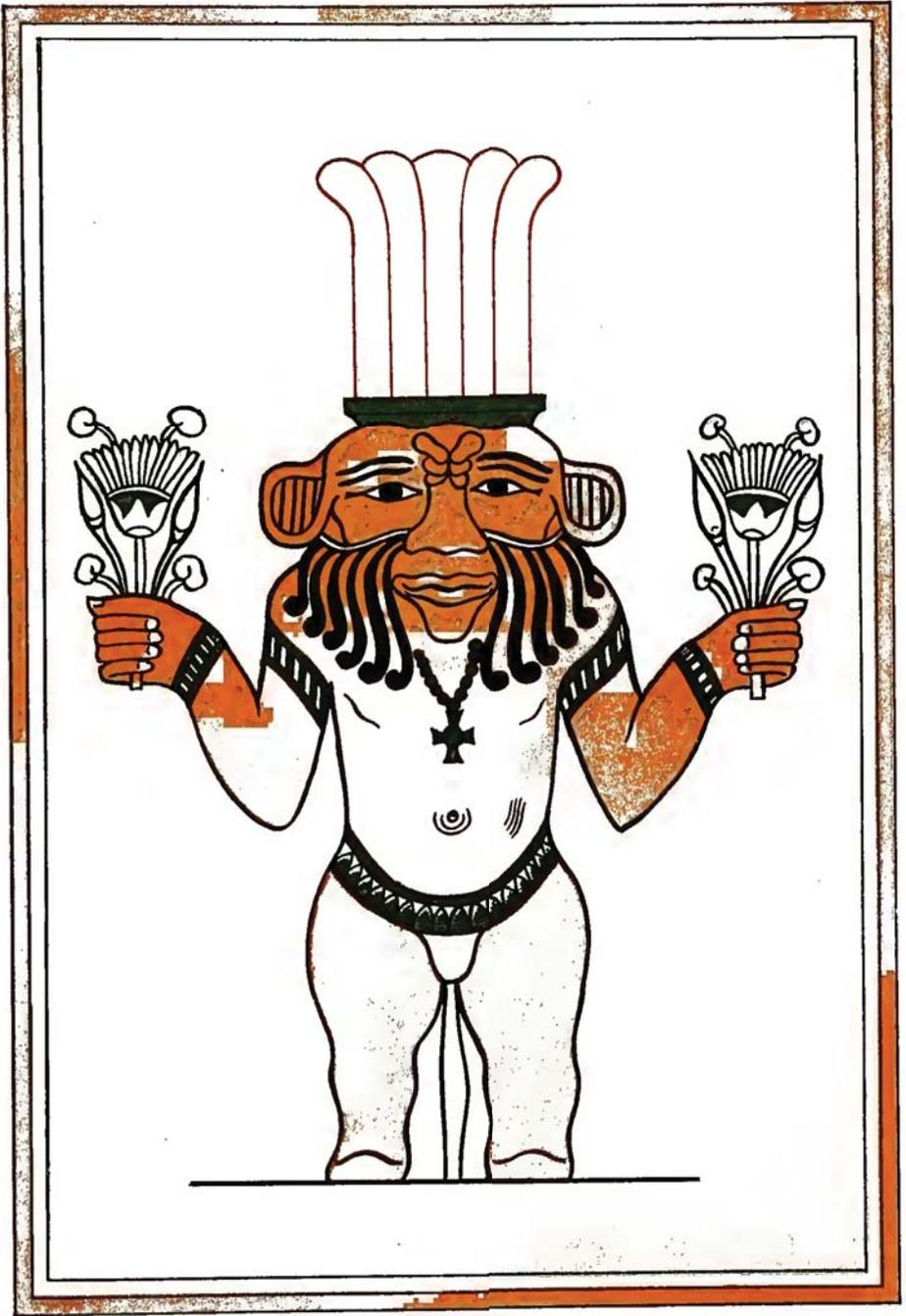
Bes.

MESKHENT, the goddess of birth, presides, and we see the goddesses who act as midwives to the queen of Thothmes I., and those who are nurses, and the gods of the four quarters of the earth, etc., waiting to minister to Hâtshepset and to her KA, or double, which was, of course, born when she was. By the side of the couch stand Bes and TA-URT, the former with his well-known attributes, and the latter represented in the form of a hippopotamus standing on her hind legs, and leaning with her fore legs upon the emblem of magical protection, . What Bes and Ta-urt were to do for the princess is not apparent, but as we find one or both of these deities

<sup>1</sup> Lanzzone, *Dizionario*, p. 310.

represented in the lying-in rooms of Egyptian queens, it is clear that their presence was considered to be of great importance both to mother and child. In the Heliopolitan and Theban Recensions of the *Book of the Dead* the name of Bes does not occur, but in one of the vignettes to the cxlvth Chapter (§ xxi.) of the Saïte Recension this god is seen guarding one of the pylons of the house of Osiris in the Underworld. At some period under the New Empire the original attributes of Bes were modified, and he assumed the character of a solar god and became identified with Horus the Child, or Harpocrates; little by little he was merged in other forms of the Sun-god, until at length he absorbed the characteristics of Horus, Rā, and Temu. As Horus, or Harpocrates, he wore the lock of hair, which is symbolic of youth, on the right side of his head, and as Rā-Temu he was given the withered cheeks and attributes of an old man. On the Metternich Stele we see the head of the "Old Man who renews his youth, and the Aged One" "who maketh himself once again a boy," placed above that of Horus, the god of renewed life and of the rising sun, to show that the two heads represent, after all, only phases of one and the same god.

After the XXVIth Dynasty and during the Ptolemaic period we find from certain bronze figures, numerous examples of which are found in the various Museums of Europe, that Bes was merged wholly in Horus, and that the Egyptians bestowed upon him the body and wings of a hawk united to the body of a vigorous young man, who, however, had the head of a very aged man surmounted by the group of heads with which we are familiar from the Cippi of Horus. On the Metternich Stele (see above, p. 273) we see him wearing the plumes of Shu and of the other gods of light and air, and the horns of Amen or of the Ram of Mendes, and above these are eight knives and the emblem of million of years, and he holds in his hands all the emblems of sovereignty and dominion which Osiris holds, besides serpents, which he crushes in his grasp. He stands upon an oval wherein are grouped specimens of all the Typhonic beasts, and we may gather from his attitude that he is lord of them all. In the vignette to the xxviiiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* a monster, who somewhat resembles Bes, is

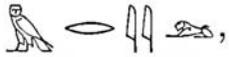
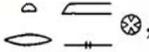
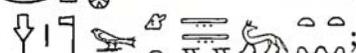


THE GOD BES.

seen standing before the deceased, though apparently not in a threatening attitude; he holds a knife close to his breast in his right hand, and he clasps the root of his tail with his left. There is no indication in the text to show who this monster is, but it seems very probable that it is Bes. In the vignette under consideration the creature has a huge head with long and shaggy hair, but, although his body is large and his limbs massive, he is not represented as a dwarf; he has, apparently, come with his knife to cut out the heart of the deceased, and to carry it away from him. The papyrus in which it is found, viz., that of Neferuben-f, which is preserved in Paris, probably dates from the XVIIIth Dynasty, and if the monster be really Bes, or some such form of him as  $\text{HIT}$ ,  $\text{⊗}$   $\text{⊗}$   $\text{⊗}$   $\text{⊗}$   $\text{⊗}$ , it is important to note that he had found a place in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* at that early period of its history.

It is difficult to understand the change of view on the part of the Egyptians which turned the god of mirth, and laughter, and pleasure into an avenging deity, but it may be explained by assuming that he only exhibited his terror and ferocity to the wicked, while to the good in the Underworld he was a true friend and merry companion. In the texts, especially those of the late period, Bes is sometimes mentioned in connexion with NETER TA, or the "Divine Land," or "Land of the God," i.e., Arabia, and as this name is also used in connexion with Punt, and is applied to the adjacent lands, attempts have been made to prove that the god is of Arabian origin. This is, however, extremely improbable, for his characteristics are much more those of an African than Asiatic deity. The figure of Bes suggests that his home was a place where the dwarf and pygmy were held in esteem, whilst his head-dress resembles those head-dresses which were, and still are, worn by the tribes of Equatorial Africa, and this would lead us to place his home in that portion of it which lies a few degrees to the north of the Equator. The knowledge of the god, and perhaps figures of him, were brought from this region, which the Egyptians called the "Land of the Spirits," to Egypt in the early dynastic period, when kings of Egypt loved to keep a pygmy at their courts. The earthly kinsmen of the god who lived to the south

of Egypt were, no doubt, well known even to the predynastic Egyptians, and as the dynastic Egyptians were at all times familiar with the figure of Bes those of the late period may be forgiven for connecting him with the "Land of the God," or Punt, whence, according to tradition, came the early people who invaded the Nile Valley from the east, or south-east, and settled in Egypt at no great distance from the modern city of Kena. Bes wears an animal's tail, which is a striking characteristic of the early men of Punt, but so does every Egyptian god, and every god, when once he had been included among the gods of Egypt, whether originally Libyan, or Syrian, or Nubian, was endowed with an animal's tail and a plaited beard, which are the traditional attributes of the people of Punt. In his original conception Bes is certainly African, and his cult in Egypt is coeval with dynastic civilization; the name of the god continued in use long after he himself was forgotten, and some famous Copts bore it, among them being Bêsa, the disciple of the great monk Shenûti,  $\omega\eta\sigma\upsilon\tau$ .

A Nubian god of interest and of some local importance is MERUL or MERIL, , or , who was the son of Horus and Isis; he was the third member of the triad of the city of Termes, or Telmes, , a city the site of which is marked by the modern village of Kalâbsheh in Nubia, situated about thirty-five miles to the north of Syene. At Dabôd also he was the third member of the local triad, which consisted of Seb, Nut, and Merul. In the figures of the god reproduced by Lanzone<sup>1</sup> he is depicted in the form of a man, with or without a beard, and he wears the White Crown with plumes, or the triple crown with horns and uraei, or a crown composed of a pair of horns, with two plumes and a solar disk between them, and uraei. His titles are:—"Great god, governor (or dweller in) the White Mountain," ; "son of Horus, great god, lord of Telmes," ; "Great Sekhem, governor of the two lands of the West," ; "Beautiful

<sup>1</sup> *Dizionario*, pl. 122, 123.

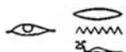
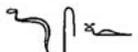
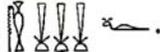


certain similarity between the Egyptian and Arabic names little proof has been brought forward in support of it. It is, of course, quite possible that the knowledge of several of the gods and goddesses of Egypt should have found its way into Arabia in early times; indeed this is only what is to be expected. We know that already in the IIIrd Dynasty the turquoise mines of Sinai were worked for the benefit of the kings of Egypt, and that the goddess Hathor was especially worshipped in the Peninsula of Sinai long before the close of the VIth Dynasty. From Sinai the knowledge of Hathor, and Sept, and of other Egyptian gods worshipped at Şarbût al-Khâdem and other mining centres would spread to the north and south, and it is tolerably certain that it would reach every place where the caravans carried turquoises for barter. Under the Middle and New Empires this knowledge would become very widespread, and might have reached the tribes in the extreme south of the Arabian Peninsula. On the other hand, we have no proof that the pre-Islamic Arabs adopted Egyptian gods, or that they even attempted to understand their attributes and cult. Before the theory already referred to can be accepted it must be shown that the Egyptian and Arabian gods whose names are quoted above are really identical, and that it has more to rest upon than similarities of names. The pre-Islamic gods were probably indigenous, and the pre-Islamic tribes being Semitic, their gods would be, naturally, of a character quite different from that of the gods of Egypt, and the attributes of the Semitic gods would be entirely different from those of the Egyptian gods. Whatsoever borrowing of gods took place under the early dynasties was from Egypt by Arabia and not from Arabia by Egypt, and this is true for all periods of Egyptian history, with the exception of the late Ptolemaic period, when a few local and unimportant Arabian gods appear to have been adopted at certain places in Egypt. The pre-Islamic Arabs were worshippers of stocks and stones, and it is exceedingly doubtful if they were sufficiently developed, either mentally or spiritually, before the period of the XXVIth Dynasty to understand the gods of Egypt and their attributes, or to adopt their cult to their spiritual needs which, after all, can only have been those of nomadic desert tribes.

## CHAPTER XIX

## MISCELLANEOUS GODS

I.—THE GODS OF THE TWENTY-EIGHT FINGER-BREADTHS OF THE  
ROYAL CUBIT

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. RĀ, ☉.  | 16. SEP,  .                |
| 2. SHU, β.   | 17. HĒQ,  .                |
| 3. KHENT, ♂.   | 18. ĀRMĀUA,  .             |
| 4. SEB,  .            | 19. MAA-EN-TEF,  .         |
| 5. NUT,  .            | 20. ĀR-REN-F-TCHESEF,  . |
| 6. Āsār,  .          |  .                       |
| 7. ĀST,  .          | 21. HĀK (?),  .          |
| 8. SET,  .          | 22. SEPTU,  .            |
| 9. NEBT-HET,  .     | 23. SEB, ★.   |
| 10. HĒRU,  .        | 24. ĀN-HĒR,  .           |
| 11. MEST,  .        | 25. HĒR-ĀUA,  .          |
| 12. HĀP,  .         | 26. SHEPS,  .            |
| 13. TŪAMĀTEF,  .    | 27. ĀMSU (or Min),  .    |
| 14. QEBĤSENNU-F,  . | 28. UŪ,  .               |
| 15. TEĤUTI,  .      |   |

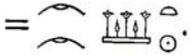
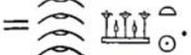
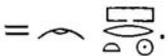
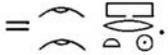
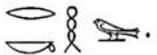
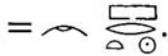
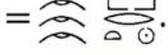
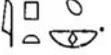
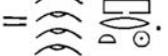
## II.—THE GODS AND GODDESSES OF THE DAYS OF THE MONTH.

1.	Ist hour of the	Ist day of the Moon :	SHU,	
2.	IIInd "	IIInd "	HERU-SA-ĀST,	
3.	IIIrd "	IIIrd "	ĀST,	
4.	IVth "	IVth "	SEKHET,	
5.	Vth "	Vth "	UATCHIT,	
6.	VIth "	VIth "	MENHIT,	
7.	VIIth "	VIIth "	UR-HEKET,	
8.	VIIIth "	VIIIth "	Āā [N],	
9.	IXth "	IXth "	ĀP,	
10.	Xth "	Xth "	SA,	
11.	XIth "	XIth "	HETET,	
12.	XIIth "	XIIth "	BA-NEB- TETU,	
1.	Ist hour of the night of the	XIIIth day of the Moon :	SHU,	
2.	IIInd "	XIVth "	[TEFNUT,	
3.	IIIrd "	XVth "	SEB (Qeb),	
4.	IVth "	XVIth "	NUT,	
5.	Vth "	XVIIth "	ĀNPET,	
6.	VIth "	XVIIIth "	KHENT,	

## III.—THE GODS AND GODDESSES OF THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

Month	Deity
1. ΘΩΟΥΤ	=  Goddess TEKHI <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Var., TEKHEB.

Month		Deity	
2. πασι	= 	God	PTAH-ÁNEB-RES-F <sup>1</sup> 
3. αωρ	= 	Goddess	ḤET-ḤERT 
4. χοιακ	= 	Goddess	SEKHET <sup>2</sup> 
5. τωβι	= 	God	ÁMSU, or MIN <sup>3</sup> 
6. μεχιρ	= 	God	REKEḤ-UR <sup>4</sup> 
7. φαμενωθ	= 	God	REKEḤ-NETCHES 
8. φαρμουθι	= 	Goddess	RENNUTET 
9. παχωσι	= 	God	KHENSU 
10. παωσι	= 	God	KHENTH <sup>5</sup> 
11. επηπ	= 	Goddess	ÁPT <sup>6</sup> 
12. μεσωρη	= 	God	ḤERU-KHUTI <sup>7</sup> 

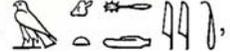
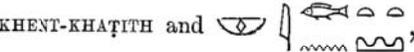
IV.—THE BIRTHDAYS OF THE GODS AND GODDESSES OF THE FIVE EPAGOMENAL DAYS.

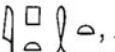
1. Day I. .  , The Birthday of Osiris.  
 2. Day II. .  , The Birthday of Horus.

<sup>1</sup> Variants,  , MENKHET and  , ḤEB-ÁPT.

<sup>2</sup> Var.,  , KA-ḤER-KA-ḤEB. <sup>3</sup> Var.,  , SHEF-BETI.

<sup>4</sup> Var.,  , MÁKHÍAR.

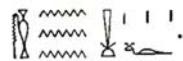
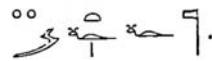
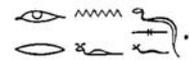
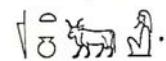
<sup>5</sup> Variants,  , ḤERU-KHENT-KHAṬITH and  , ḤEB-ÁNTET.

<sup>6</sup> Variants,  , ÁPT-ḤENT and  , ḤEB-ÁPI-ḤENT-S.

<sup>7</sup> Variants,  , ÁPT-RENPIṬ and  , ḤEB-ṬEP.

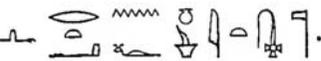
3. Day III.	. ☉ III,	The Birthday of Set.
4. Day IV.	. ☉ IIII,	The Birthday of Isis.
5. Day V.	. ☉ IIIII,	The Birthday of Nephthys.

V.—THE GODS AND GODDESSES OF THE HOURS OF THE DAY.

1. First Hour . . .	ĀMSETH . . .	
2. Second Hour . . .	HĀP . . .	
3. Third Hour . . .	TUA-MĀT-F . . .	
4. Fourth Hour . . .	QEBH-SENNU-F . . .	
5. Fifth Hour . . .	HEQ . . .	
6. Sixth Hour . . .	ĀRMAI . . .	
7. Seventh Hour . . .	MAA-TEF-F . . .	
8. Eighth Hour . . .	ĀR-REN-F-TCHESEF . . .	
9. Ninth Hour . . .	HENTCH-HENTCH . . .	
10. Tenth Hour . . .	QET . . .	
11. Eleventh Hour . . .	ĀRI-NEF NEBĀT. <sup>1</sup> . . .	
12. Twelfth Hour . . .	MĀTCHET . . .	

VI.—THE GODS AND GODDESSES OF THE HOURS OF THE NIGHT.

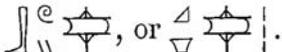
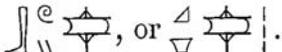
The deities of the hours of the night are the same as those of the hours of the day, and their names follow each other in the order in which they occur as gods of the hours of the day.

<sup>1</sup> Var., An-ertā-nef-nebāt, 

VII.—THE GODS AND GODDESSES WHO WATCH BEFORE AND BEHIND OSIRIS-SERAPIS DURING THE TWELVE HOURS OF THE DAY AND OF THE NIGHT.

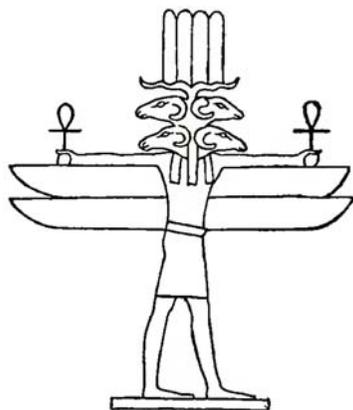
By Day	Before Osiris	Behind Osiris	By Night	Before Osiris	Behind Osiris
Hour 1.	Māchet	Āmseth	Hour 1.	Thoth and Ānep	Āmseth
„ 2.	Āmseth	Hāp	„ 2.	Ānep and Āp-uat	Hāp
„ 3.	Hāp	Ṭuamutef	„ 3.	Hēru and Thoth	Ṭuamutef
„ 4.	Ṭuamutef	Qebhsennu-f	„ 4.	Hēru and Āst	Qebhsennu-f
„ 5.	Qebhsennu-f	Hēq	„ 5.	Āstand Nebt-ḥet	Hēq
„ 6.	Hēq	Ārmāiu	„ 6.	Shu and Seb	Ārmāiu
„ 7.	Ārmāiu	Maa-tef-f	„ 7.	Thoth and Ānep	Maa-tef-f
„ 8.	Maa-tef-f	Āri-ren-f-tchesef	„ 8.	Hēru and those in his train	Ār-ren-f-tchesef
„ 9.	Āri-ren-f-tchesef	Hēntch-hentch	„ 9.	.....	Hēntch-hentch
„ 10.	Hēntch-hentch	Qeṭ	„ 10.	Hēru and those in his train	Qeṭ
„ 11.	Qeṭ	Ān-ertā-nef-nebāt	„ 11.	Neteru ent ḥa-ābt	Ān-ertā-nef-nebāt
„ 12.	Ān-ertā-nef-nebāt		„ 12.	Hēru and Seb	Māchet

VIII.—THE GODS OF THE FOUR WINDS.

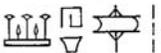
1. The North Wind was called QEBUI, , or .

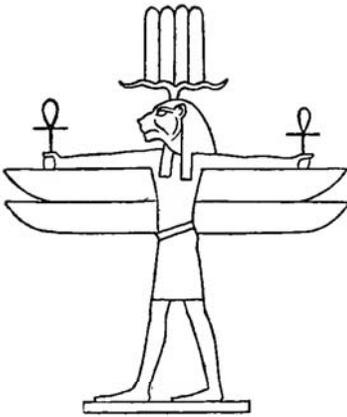


North Wind.

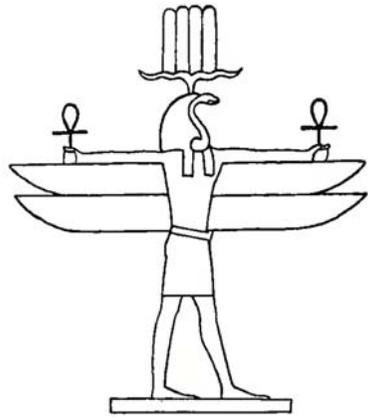


North Wind.

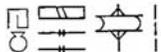
2. The South Wind was called SHEHBUI, , or .



South Wind.



West Wind.

3. The East Wind was called HENKHISESUI, , or .

4. The West Wind was called HUTCHAIUI, , or .



East Wind.



East Wind.

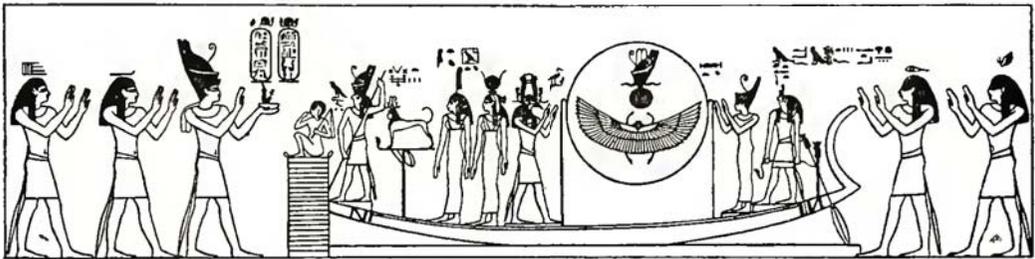
IX.—THE GODS OF THE SENSES.

1. SAA, , the god of the sense of Touch or Feeling and of knowledge and understanding, is depicted in the

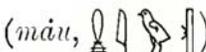
ordinary form of a man-god, and he has upon his head the sign , which is the symbol of his name. One of the earliest mentions of this god occurs in the text of Unās (line 439), where it is said that the dead king has “taken possession of H̄U and hath gained the mastery over SĀA,” . In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Saa, or SĀa, appears in the Judgment Scene among the gods who watch the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the Great Balance, and he is mentioned in the xviiith Chapter as one of the gods who came into being from the drops of blood which fell from Rā when he mutilated himself. From the same Chapter we learn that it was he who made the pun on the name of Rā, the Cat,

God of Touch. Intelligence.

God of Seeing. Hearing.



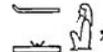
The gods of the Senses.

which he declared to be “Māu,” , because it was “like” (māu, ) that which he made. Saa with Thoth, and Sheta, and Tem formed the “souls of Khemennu” (Hermopolis),<sup>1</sup> and Saa had a place in the Boat of Rā (cxxxvi.B 12), with H̄U and other gods. In Chapter clxix. (line 19), Saa is declared to protect the members of the deceased by his magical powers,  although what he was exactly supposed to do for him is unknown ; in this passage he is mentioned in connexion with the goddess Sesheta, the “lady of writing,” and one of the female counterparts of Thoth. In Chapter clxxiv. (line 2), Saa is said to have been begotten by Seb, and to have been brought forth by

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter cxvii.

the company of the gods, and this statement supplies us with the reason why he is grouped among the gods of the cycle of Osiris. The texts make it clear that Saa was the personification of the intelligence, whether of a god or of a human being, and the deceased coveted the mastery over this god because he could give him the power to perceive, and to feel, and to understand. At the end of the clxxivth Chapter (lines 16, 17), a "Great Intelligence,"

, SAAU-UR, and an "Intelligence of the Āmenti of Rā," , Saa-Āmenti-Rā, are mentioned.

2. H̄U, , or , the god of the sense of TASTE is depicted in the ordinary form of a man-god, and he also has upon his head the sign , which is the symbol of his name. He is mentioned in the text of Unās with Saa, and he appears with him in the Judgment Scene, and he was present together with Āmen, Thoth, Nekhebet, Uatchet, and Saa, when Isis brought forth her son Horus in the papyrus swamps of the Delta. Like Saa, the god H̄U came into existence from a drop of blood which fell from Rā when he mutilated himself. H̄U was, however, not only the personification of the sense of taste in god and man, but also became the personification of the divine food upon which the gods and the beatified saints lived in heaven. Thus in the lxxxth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* the deceased says, "I have taken possession of H̄U in my city, for I found him therein," and in Chapter clxix. (line 22) it is said to the deceased, "H̄U is in thy mouth." In some passages it is difficult to decide whether the *hu* mentioned in the texts refers to the god of the sense of Taste, or to the divine food *hu*.

3. MAA, , the god of the sense of SIGHT, is depicted in the ordinary form of a man-god, who has upon his head an eye, , which is both the emblem of his chief attribute and the symbol of his name.

4. SETEM, , the god of the sense of HEARING, is depicted in the ordinary form of a man-god, who has upon his head an ear, , which is both the emblem of his chief attribute and the symbol

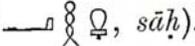
of his name. The gods of the Four Senses appear together in a relief which was made for Ptolemy IV. at Edfú. In this we have the Sun's disk on the horizon placed in a boat wherein are the gods Ḥeru-merti, Áp-uat, Shu, Hathor, Thoth, Neith, and Ḥerukhent-khathet; the king stands in front of the boat and is offering Maāt, , to the god. Behind him are the gods of the senses of Taste and Touch, and behind the boat stand the gods of the senses of Sight and Hearing. An interesting variant form of the god Setem is reproduced by Signor Lanzone, from which we see that he sometimes had the head of a bull with the body of a man; the text which accompanies the figure describes the god as "the dweller in Pa-Shu" (i.e., Dendera), and calls him the "bull, lord of strength."<sup>1</sup>

#### X.—THE SOUL-GOD.

The mythological and religious texts contain indications that the Egyptians believed in what may be described as a "World-Soul," which they called BA, ; its symbol was a bearded man-headed hawk, and it was identified with more than one god, for there was a Soul of Rā, a Soul of Shu,<sup>2</sup> a Soul of Seb, a Soul of Tefnut, a Soul of Osiris, and "the Soul of the Great Body which is in Saïs, [i.e.,] Neith." In the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 109 ff.) we find that the Soul of Rā and the Soul of Osiris together form the double divine soul which inhabited the TCHAFI, , who dwelt in Ṭeṭṭu. The existence of a World-Soul presupposed the existence of a World-Body, which is of course the material universe; and the type of this was, according to the priests of Heliopolis, the body of Osiris, and according to the priests of Saïs, the goddess Neith; in other cities the priests, no doubt, identified the World-Body with their local gods. Men and gods were supposed to contain the same component parts. Man possessed:—1. A physical body (, *khat*). 2. A

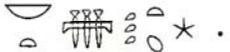
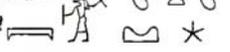
<sup>1</sup> *Dizionario*, pl. 384, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 776.

soul (, or , *ba*). 3. A heart (, *ab*). 4. A double (, *ka*). 5. An intelligence (, *khu*). 6. Power (, *sekhem*). 7. A shadow (, *khaibit*). 8. A spiritual body (, *sāh*). 9. A name (, *ren*); and the gods possessed divine counterparts of all these. Thus Kheperā was “strong in his heart”<sup>1</sup> when he began to create the world, and according to one version of the Egyptian legend of Creation this god was united to his shadow. A god had only one heart and one shadow, etc., but he might possess several souls and “doubles,” and we know that the souls of Rā were seven in number, and his doubles fourteen. The names of these last were:—1. HĒQ, , “intelligence.” 2. NEKHT, , “strength.” 3. KHU, , “splendour.” 4. USR, , “power.” 5. UATCH, , “vigour.” 6. TCHEFA, , “abundance.” 7. SHEPS, , “wealth.” 8. SENEM, , “interment.” 9. SEPT, , “provision.” 10. TĒT, , “stability.” 11. MAA, , “sight.” 12. SETEM, , “hearing.” 13. SA, , “intelligence.” 14. HU, , “taste.” Similarly the texts show that the Egyptians believed in the existence of a divine KHU, and of a divine SEKHEM, etc.

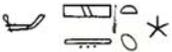
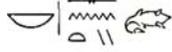
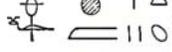
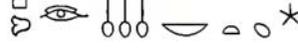
XI. GODDESSES AND GODS OF THE TWELVE HOURS OF THE NIGHT.

Goddesses.

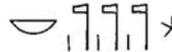
Hour	I.		NEBT-TSHEHENT.
„	II.		SĀRSET.
„	III.		ŠEPHER-TUT.
„	IV.		ĀA-SHEFF.



Goddesses.

Hour	V.		NEB-ĀNKHET.
„	VI.		TCHESER-SHETAT.
„	VII.		ḤER-ṬEP-ĀḤA-ḤER-NEB-S.
„	VIII.		MERT.
„	IX.		NEB-SENTI.
„	X.		MUT-NEB-SET.
„	XI.		KHESEF-KHEMT.
„	XII.		PAR-NEFERU-EN-NEB-SET.

Gods.

Hour	I.		KHEPERĀ.
„	II.		ĀB-EM-ṬU-F.
„	III.		NEB-NETERU.
„	IV.		ĀN-MUT-F.
„	V.		BAPI-F.
„	VI.		ḤERU-SBATI.
„	VII.		SEKER.
„	VIII.		ḤERU-ḤER-KHET.
„	IX.		MAĀ-ḤRĀ.
„	X.		PESH-ḤETEP-F.
„	XI.		KA-TAUI.
„	XII.		KA-KHU.

XII.—THE GODDESSES AND GODS OF THE TWELVE HOURS  
OF THE DAY.

Hour.	Goddesses.	Gods.
I.	. . . NUNUT.	. . . SHU.
II.	. . . SEMT.	. . . HU.
III.	MĀK-NEBT-S.	SAU.
IV.	. . . SESHETAT.	ASBET.
V.	. . . NESBET.	. . . ĀKERT.
VI.	. . . ĀHĀBIT.	. . . TEHUTI.
VII.	. . . NEKI.	HERU-EM-ĀU-ĀB.
VIII.	. . . KHEPERU.	. . . KHENSU.
IX.	. . . TCHESER-SHETAT.	. . . ĀST.
X.	. . . SATI-ĀRUT.	. . . HEQ-UR.
XI.	SENB-KHEPERU.	MAĀ-ENNU-ĀM- UĀA.
XII.	HĀP-TCHESERTS.	ĀA-ĀM-KHEKH.

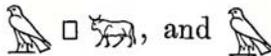
XIII.—THE PLANETS AND THEIR GODS.<sup>1</sup>

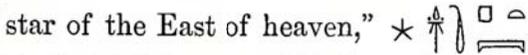
1. JUPITER, the "star of the South," was called under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties HERU-ĀP-SHETA-TAUI, and in the Graeco-Roman period Heru-āp-sheta, or Heru-pe-sheta, This planet was without a god.

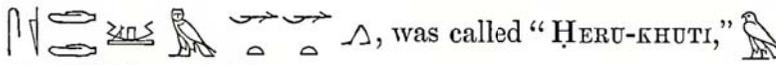
2. SATURN, the "star of the West which traverseth heaven," was called "HERU-KA-PET," i.e.,

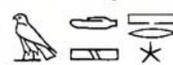
<sup>1</sup> See Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 65 ff.; *Aegyptologie*, p. 336.

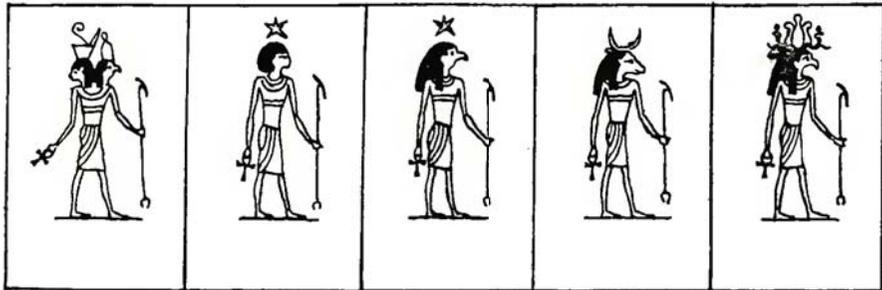
“Horus, Bull of heaven,” under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, and in the Graeco-Roman period ḤERU-P-KA and ḤERU-KA,

. The god of this planet was Horus.

3. MARS, the “star of the East of heaven,” , which is described as the “[star] which journeyeth backwards in travelling,”

, was called “ḤERU-KHUTI,” , under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, and in the Graeco-Roman period

“ḤERU-ṬESHER,” , i.e., “the Red Horus.” The god of this planet was Rā, .



Venus.

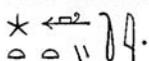
Mercury.

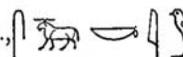
Mars.

Saturn.

Jupiter.

4. MERCURY was called SEBKU, , under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, and SEBEK, , or SEBEK, ,<sup>1</sup> in the Graeco-Roman period. The god of this planet was SET, .

5. VENUS was called the “star of the ship of the BENNU-ĀSĀR,” , under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, and “PI-NETER-ṬUAU,” i.e., the “god of the morning,” in the Graeco-Roman period. The god of this planet was Osiris. As an evening star Venus was called SBAT UĀTITHĀ, .

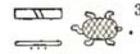
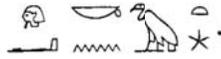
<sup>1</sup> Var., .

XIV.—THE DEKANS AND THEIR GODS.<sup>1</sup>

The Dekans.

Ptolemaic Variants.<sup>2</sup>

1. ṬEPĀ-KENMUT . . .

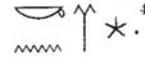


1. Ṭepā-Kenmut.



2. Kenmut.

2. KENMUT . . . . .



3. KHER-KHEPT-KENMUT



3. Kher-khept-Kenmut.



4. Hā-tchat.

4. HĀ-TCHAT . . . . .



5. PEḤUI-TCHAT . . . . .

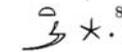


5. Peḥui-tchat.



6. Themat-ḥert.

6. THEMAT-ḤERT . . . . .



<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Chronologie*, p. 69; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 137 ff.; *Aegyptologie*, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek transcriptions are as follows:—

<sup>3</sup> CIT

<sup>4</sup> XNOYMIC

<sup>5</sup> XAPXNOYMIC

<sup>6</sup> HTHT

<sup>7</sup> ΦΟΥΤΗΤ

<sup>8</sup> ΤΩΜ

The Dekans.

Ptolemaic Variants.

7. THEMAT-KHERT . . . 



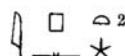


7. Themat-khert.

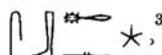


8. Usthá.

8. USTHÁ. . . . . 



9. BEKATHÁ . . . . . 



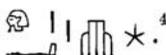


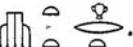
9. Bekatha.



10. Tēpā-Khentet.

10. TĒPĀ-KHENTET . . . 



11. KHENTET-ĤERT . . . 





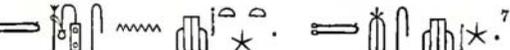
11. Khentet-ĥert.



12. Khentet-khert.

12. KHENTET-KHERT . . 



13. THEMES-EN-KHENTET . . . 

☆☆☆



13. Themes-en-khentet.



14. Sapt-khennu.

14. SAPT-KHENNU . . . 



<sup>1</sup> ΟΥΕΣΤΕ—ΒΙΚΩΤΙ

<sup>2</sup> ΑΦΟΣΟ

<sup>3</sup> ΣΟΥΧΩΣ

<sup>4</sup> ΤΠΗΧΟΝΤΙ

<sup>5</sup> ΧΟΝΤΑΡΕ

<sup>6</sup> ΧΟΝΤΑΧΡΕ

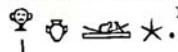
<sup>7</sup> . . . . .

<sup>8</sup> ΣΠΤΧΝΕ

The Dekans.

Ptolemaic Variants.

15. HER-AB-UAAA . . . . . 

 <sup>1</sup>



15. Her-ab-uaaa.

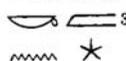


16. Shesmu.

16. SHESMU . . . . . 

 <sup>2</sup>

17. KENMU . . . . . 

 <sup>3</sup>



17. Kenmu.

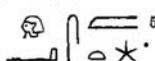


18. Semtet.

18. SEMTET . . . . . 

 <sup>4</sup>

19. TEPĀ-SEMT . . . . . 

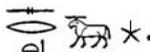
 <sup>5</sup>

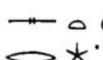


19. Tēpā-semt.



20. Sert.

20. SERT . . . . . 

 <sup>6</sup>

21. SASA-SERT . . . . . 

 <sup>7</sup>



21. Sasa-Sert.



22. Kher-khept-sert.

22. KHER-KHEPT-SERT . . . . . 

 <sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ΠΗΟΥΩ

<sup>2</sup> ΚΕΚΜΕ, ΚΙΣΕΚΜΕ

<sup>3</sup> ΚΟΝΙΜΕ

<sup>4</sup> ΚΜΑΤ

<sup>5</sup> . . . . . <sup>6</sup> ΚΡΩ

<sup>7</sup> ΚΙΣΡΩ

<sup>8</sup> . . . . .

The Dekans.

Ptolemaic Variants.

23. KHUKHU . . . . .  \*

 \*.<sup>1</sup>



23. Khukhu.

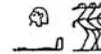


24. Baba.

24. BABA . . . . .  .

 \*.<sup>2</sup>

25. KHENT-HERU . . . . .  \*.

 \*.<sup>3</sup>



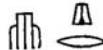
25. Khent-heru.

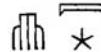


26. Her-ab-khentu.

26. HER-AB-KHENTU . . . . .  \*

 \*.<sup>4</sup>

27. KHENT-KHERU . . . . .  \*

 \*.<sup>5</sup>

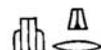


27. Khent-kheru.



28. Qeṭ.

28. QEṬ . . . . .  \*

 \*.<sup>6</sup>

29. SASAQEṬ . . . . .  \* \* \* \*

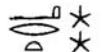
 \*.<sup>7</sup>



29. Sasaqet.



30. Ārt.

30. ĀRT . . . . .  \* \*

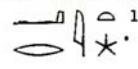
 \*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ΤΠΗΧΥ    <sup>2</sup> ΧΥ    <sup>3</sup> ΤΠΗΒΙΟΥ    <sup>4</sup> ΒΙΟΥ, ΤΠΙΒΙΟΥ  
<sup>5</sup> ΧΟΝΤΑΡΕ    <sup>6</sup> ΧΟΝΤΑΧΡΕ    <sup>7</sup> ΣΙΚΕΤ    <sup>8</sup> ΧΩΟΥ

The Dekans.

Ptolemaic Variants.

31. KHAU . . . . . 





31. Khan.



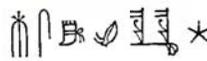
32. Remen-heru-an-Sah.

32. REMEN-HERU-AN-SAH





33. MESTCHER-SAH . .







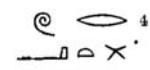
33. Mestcher-Sah.



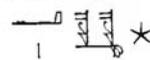
34. Remen-kher-Sah.

34. REMEN-KHER-SAH .





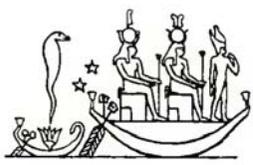
35. A-SAH . . . . .







35. A-Sah.



36. Sah.

36. SAH . . . . . 

37. SEPTET . . . . . 



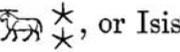
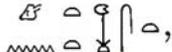
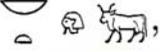
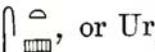
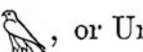
37. Septet.

<sup>1</sup> ΕΡΩ, ΑΡΟΥ  
<sup>4</sup> ΟΥΑΡΕ

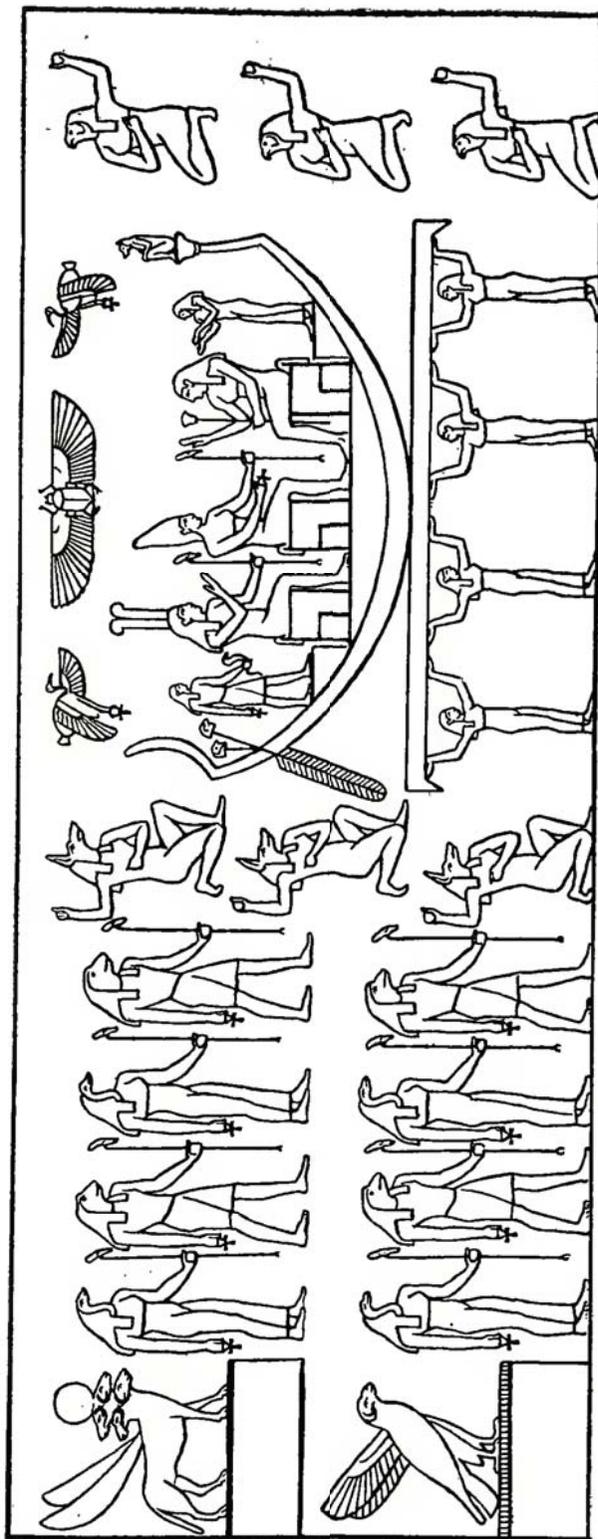
<sup>2</sup> ΡΕΜΕΝΑΑΡΕ

<sup>3</sup> ΘΟΣΟΛΚ  
<sup>5</sup> ΣΩΘΙΣ

THE GODS OF THE DEKANS.

1. SEB,  \*\*, or HĀPI-ĀSMAT,  , or Hāpi-Mesthā.
2. BA,  \*, or Isis.
3. KHENTET-KHAST,  , or Isis, or the Children of Horus.
4. ĀST (Isis),  , or Ṭuamutef, or the Children of Horus.
5. NEBT-ṬEP-ĀHET,  , or the Children of Horus.
6. MESTHĀ-HĀPI,  , or Ṭuamutef.
7. QEBḤ-SENNUF,  , or Ṭuamutef.
8. ṬUAMUTEF, \*  .
9. ṬUAMUTEF, QEBḤSENNUF, or Hāpi.
10. ṬUAMUTEF, HĀPI.
11. ḤERU,  \*\*\*.
12. SET,  \*\*\*.
13. ḤERU,  \*\*\*.
14. ĀST NEBT-ḤET,  .
15. SET,  , or Ur,  .
16. ḤERU,  , or Ur,  .
17. MESTHĀ, HĀPI, ṬUAMUTEE, QEBḤSENNUF,    
 \*  .
18. ḤERU,  \*.
19. HĀPI,  (  \*\*\* ).
20. ĀST,  .
21. ṬUAMUTEE, QEBḤSENNUF.
22. QEBḤSENNUF.

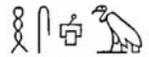


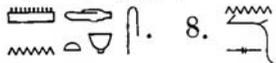
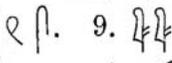


The bark of Osiris sailing over heaven, which is supported by four pillars, in the form of goddesses. On the right are three hawk-headed spirits, and on the left are:—1. Three jackal-headed spirits; 2. The eight primeval gods of Khemennu, frog-headed and snake-headed; 3. The four-headed ram of the North wind; and, 4. The Ram-headed hawk of the East wind.

## XVI.—THE STAR-GODS OF THE SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN HEAVENS.

(See p. 313.)

1. The hippopotamus HESAMUT, , or RERET, , up the back of which climbs a crocodile without name; Dr. Brugsch identifies this representation with Draco. In a list of the hours the various parts of the body and members of the hippopotamus goddess are mentioned, e.g., 1. . 2. .

3. . 4. . 5. . 6. . 7. . 8. . 9. .

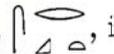
2. The bull MESKHETI, ; this was the Egyptian equivalent of our Great Bear.

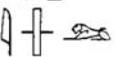
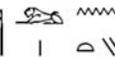
3. Horus the Warrior ĀN, , who holds in his hand a weapon with which he is attacking the Great Bear.

4. A man standing upright and wearing a disk on his head; without name.

5. A man standing upright; he holds a spear which he is driving into a crocodile. This figure is without name.

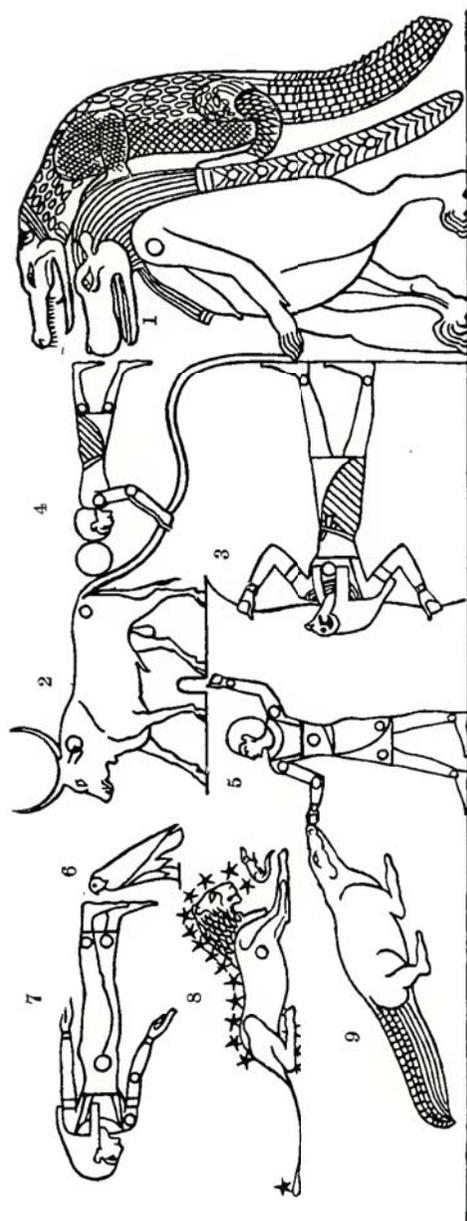
6. A hawk; without name.

7. The goddess SERQET, , in the form of a woman.

8. The lion ĀM (?), , or , with eighteen stars.

9. The crocodile SERISA, .

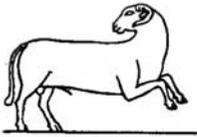
XVII.—From the famous circular representation of the heavens, commonly known as the “Zodiac of Dendera,” which was formerly in the second room of the Temple Roof at Dendera, but which is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, we learn that the Egyptians had a knowledge of the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac. It is wrong, however, to conclude from this, as some have done, that the Egyptians were the inventors of the Zodiac, for they borrowed their knowledge of the Signs of the Zodiac, together with much else, from the Greeks, who had derived a great deal of their astronomical lore from the Babylonians; this is certainly so in the matter of the Zodiac. It is at



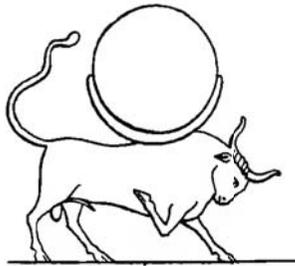
The Star-gods near the North Pole.

present a subject for conjecture at what period the Babylonians first divided the heavens into sections by means of the constellations of the Zodiac, but we are fully justified in assuming that the earliest forms of the Zodiac date from an exceedingly primitive time. The early dwellers in Babylonia who observed the heavens systematically wove stories about the constellations which they beheld, and even went so far as to introduce them into their national religious literature, for Babylonian astrology and theology are very closely connected. Thus in the Creation Legend the brood of monsters which were spawned by Tiamat and were intended by her to help her in the fight which she was about to wage against Marduk, the champion of the gods, possessed astrological as well as mythological attributes, and some of them at least are to be identified with Zodiacal constellations. This view has been long held by Assyriologists, but additional proof of its accuracy has recently been furnished by Mr. L. W. King in his "Seven Tablets of Creation,"<sup>1</sup> wherein he has published an interesting Babylonian text of an astrological character, from which it is clear that Tiamat, under the form of a constellation in the neighbourhood of the Ecliptic, is associated with a number of Zodiacal constellations in such a manner that they may be identified with members of her mythical monster brood. The tablet in the British Museum from which Mr. King has obtained this text is not older than the Persian period; but there is little doubt that the beliefs embodied in it were formulated at a far earlier time. That certain forms of the Creation Legends existed as early as B.C. 2300 there is satisfactory evidence to show, and the origins of the systematized Zodiac as used by the later Babylonians and by the Greeks are probably as old; whether the Babylonians were themselves the inventors of such origins, or whether they are to be attributed to the earlier, non-Semitic, Sumerian inhabitants of the country cannot be said. It is, however, quite certain that the Greeks borrowed the Zodiac from the Babylonians, and that they introduced it into Egypt, probably during the Ptolemaic period. The following are the forms of the Signs of the Zodiac as given at Dendera.

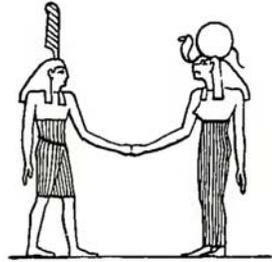
<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., page 204.



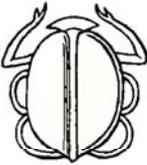
1. Aries.



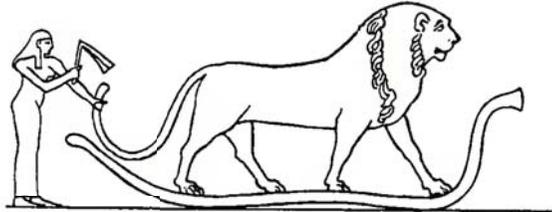
2. Taurus.



3. Gemini.



4. Cancer.



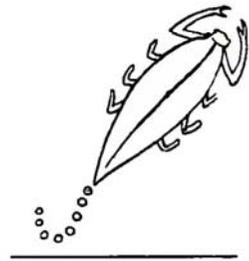
5. Leo.



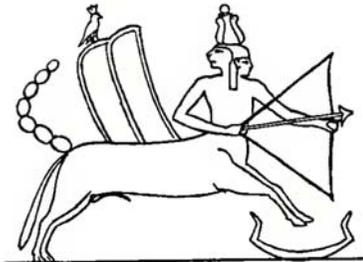
6. Virgo.



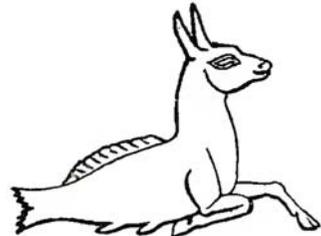
7. Libra.



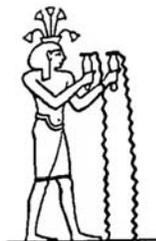
8. Scorpio.



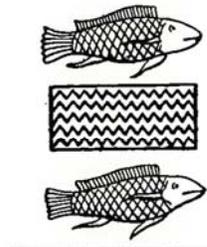
9. Sagittarius.



10. Capricornus.



11. Aquarius.



12. Pisces.

Inasmuch as the idea of the Zodiac is Babylonian, it is well to give here a list of its Signs as they are found in late Babylonian, and their renderings in Assyrian.<sup>1</sup>

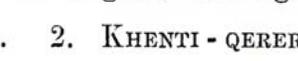
	BABYLONIAN	ASSYRIAN	
1. ARIES	𒊕 KU	𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕	ILU EN-ME-SHAR-RA.
2. TAURUS	𒊕 TE, or 𒊕 𒊕 TE TE	𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕	KAKKABU GUD-AN-NA.
3. GEMINI	𒊕 MĀSHU, or 𒊕 𒊕 MASH-MASHU	𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕	”
4. CANCER	𒊕 NANGARU	𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕	”
5. LEO	𒊕 A	𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕	”
6. VIRGO	𒊕, or 𒊕 SHERU	𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕	”
7. LIBRA	𒊕 SAB, NURU (e)	𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕	”
8. SCORPIO	𒊕 GIR, or 𒊕 GIR-TAB	𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕	”
9. SAGITTARIUS	𒊕 PA	𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕	”
10. CAPRICORNUS	𒊕 = 𒊕 BIR (e), LALŪ (e)	𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕	”
11. AQUARIUS	𒊕 GU	𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕	”
12. PISCES	𒊕, ZIB, or 𒊕 NUNU	𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕	”

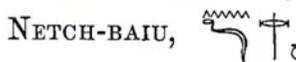
<sup>1</sup> See Strassmaier and Epping, *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, p. 7, at end; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 57 ff.; R. C. Thompson, *Magicians and Astrologers*, p. xxiii. ff.

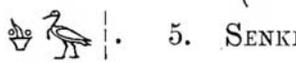
<sup>2</sup> Or 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 UR-MAH.

<sup>3</sup> Or 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 DIL-GAN.

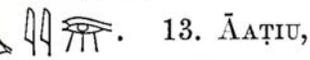
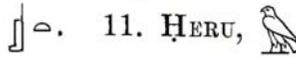
XVIII.—In the Second Corridor of the Tomb of Seti I. are the following names of gods, with figures:<sup>1</sup>—1. TĒMĒMĒTCH,

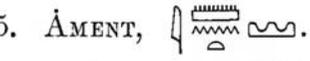
. 2. KHENTI-QERER, . 3.

NETCH-BAIU, . 4. NEF-EM-BAIU, 

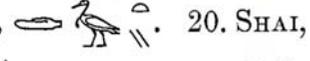
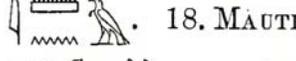
. 5. SENKI, . 6. BA-RĀ, 

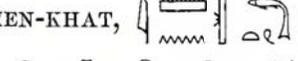
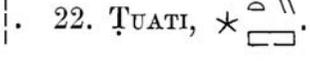
. 7. TEM, . 8. SHU, 

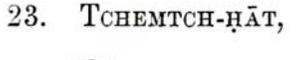
. 9. SEB, 

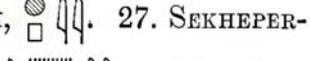
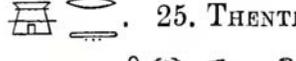
. 10. ĀST, 

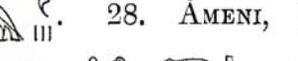
. 11. ĤERU, 

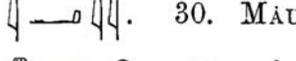
. 12. REMI, 

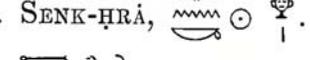
. 13. ĀAṬIU, 

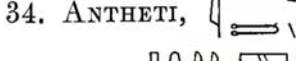
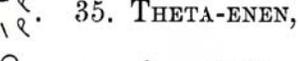
. 14. ENTUTI, 

. 15. ĀMENT, 

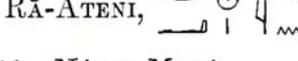
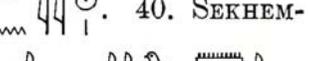
. 16. ĀAKEBI, 

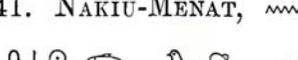
. 17. KHENTI-ĀMENTI, 

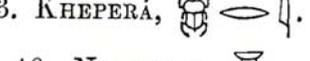


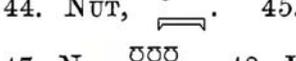
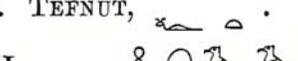
. 18. MAUTI, 

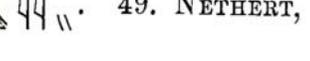
. 19. TĒBATI, 

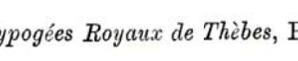
. 20. SHAI, 

. 21. ĀMEN-KHAT, 



. 22. TĪUATI, 



. 23. TĤEMTCH-ĤĀT, 



. 24. ĀPER (?) -TA, 



. 25. TĤENTI, 



. 26. KĤEPI, 



. 27. SEKĤEPER-

KĤATI, 





. 28. ĀMENI, 



. 29. ĀĀI,







. 30. MAU-ĀA, 



. 31. MEṬU-KĤUT-F,







. 32. ĀUAI, 



. 33. SENK-ĤRĀ, 



. 34. ĀNĤETI, 



. 35. TĤETA-ENEN, 



. 36. BES-

SĤEMTI, 





. 37. SEMĀĤUT,







. 38.

KĤEPERI, 





. 39. RĀ-ĀTENI,







. 40. SEKĤEM-

ĤRĀ, 





. 41. NĀKIU-MENĀT,







. 42. SEĤETCH-KĤATU,







. 43. KĤEPERĀ,







. 44. NUT,







. 45. TĤFNUT,







. 46. NEBT-ĤET,







. 47. NU,







. 48. ĤUAAITI,







. 49. NĤERT,



















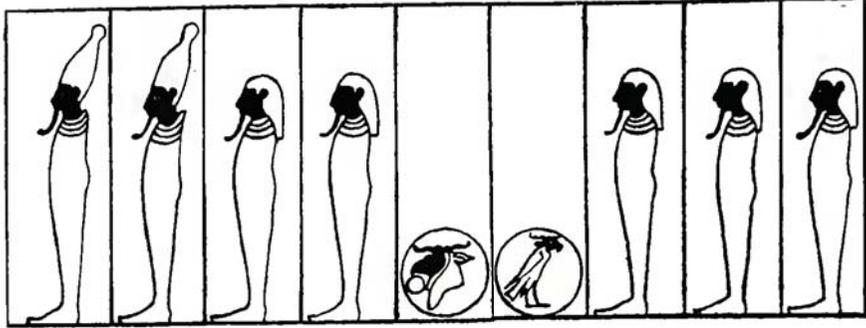




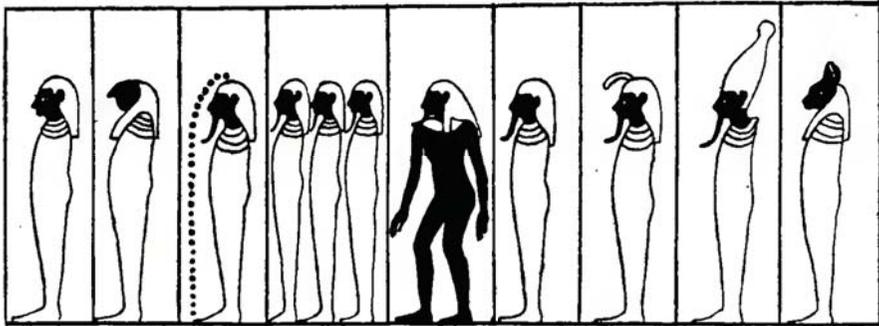




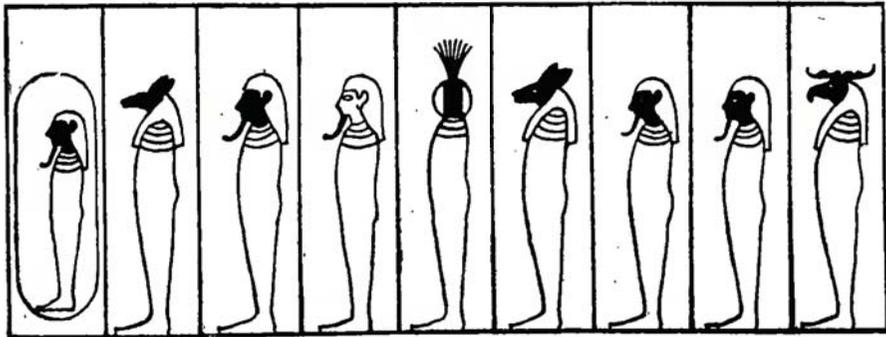
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.



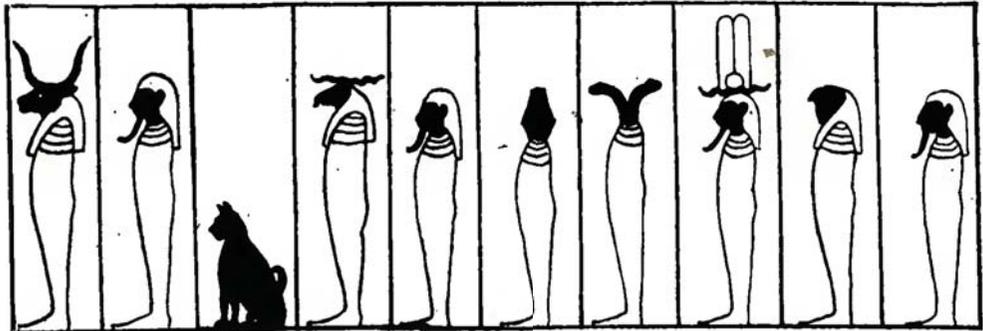
10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18.



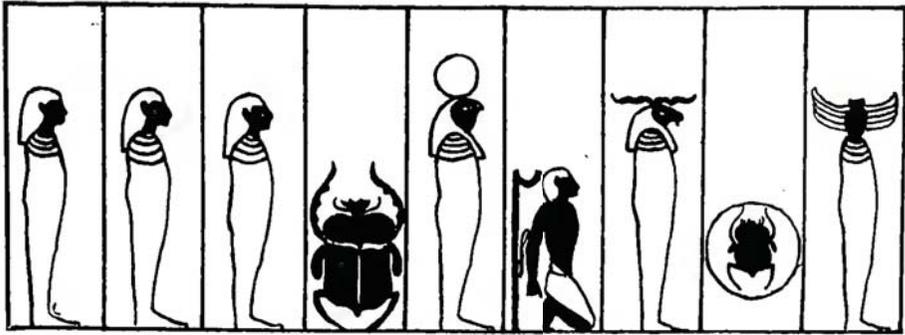
19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27.



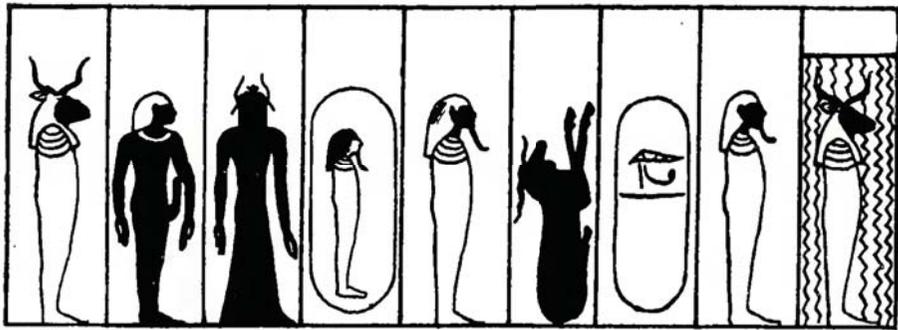
28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37.



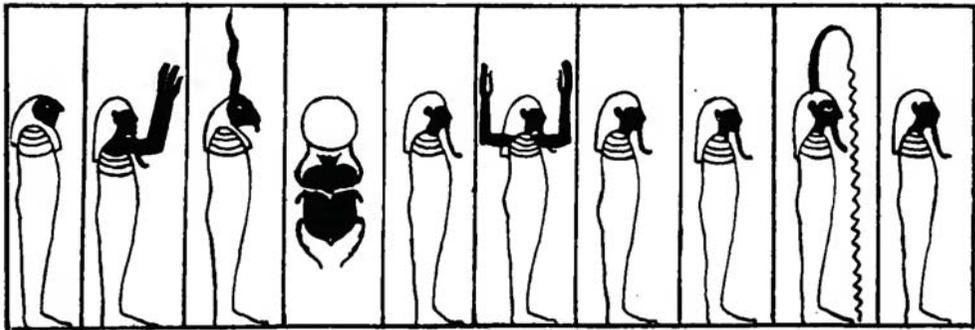
46. 45. 44. 43. 42. 41. 40. 39. 38.



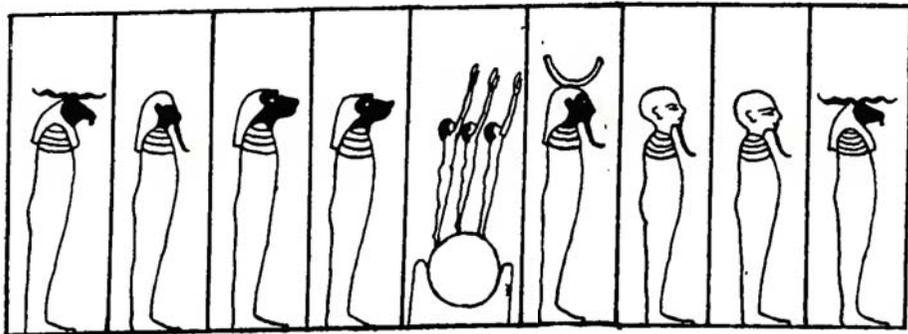
55. 54. 53. 52. 51. 50. 49. 48. 47.

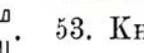
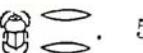
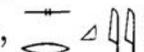
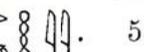
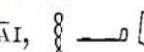
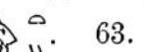
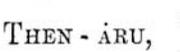
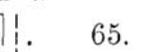
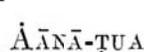
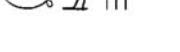


65. 64. 63. 62. 61. 60. 59. 58. 57. 56.

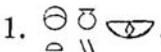
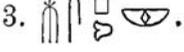
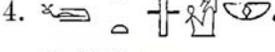
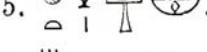
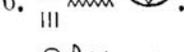
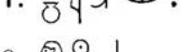
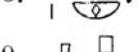
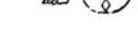


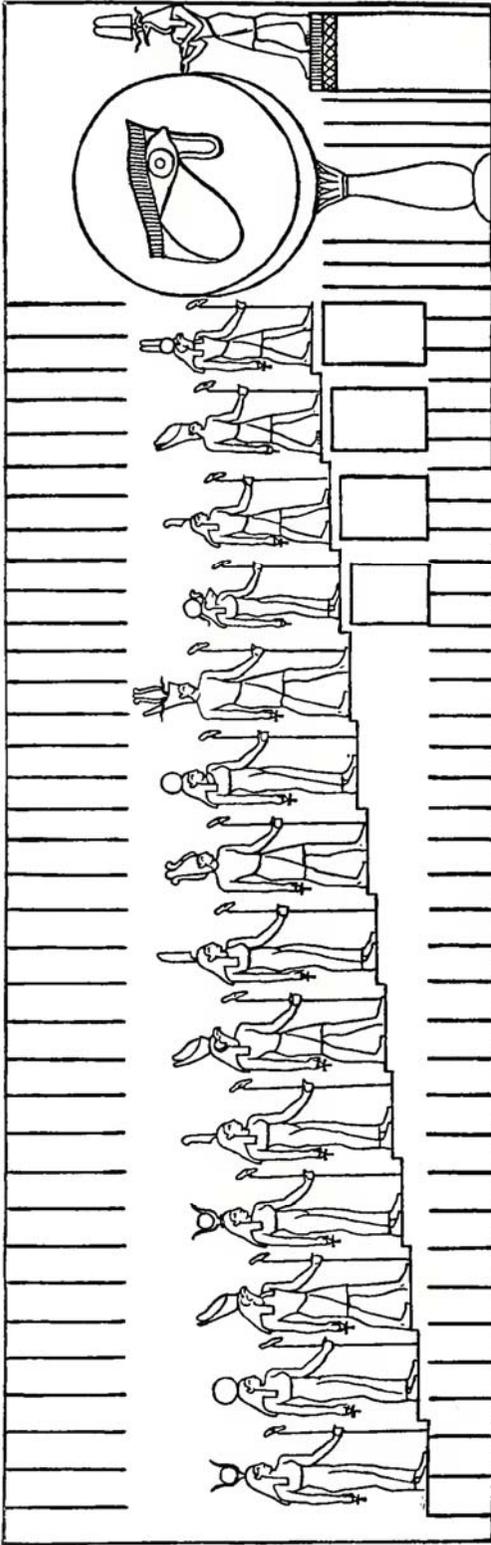
74. 73. 72. 71. 70. 69. 68. 67. 66.



-  50. SERĀA,  51. QERERTI,  52. ĀMEN-ĤĀ,  53. KHEPRER,  54. ĀĀAI,  
 55. SERQI,  56. SEKHEN-BA,  57. REKHI,  58. SHEPI,  59. SESHETAI,  60. ĤĀI,  61. MAĀ-UAT,  62. ĤETCHUTI,  63. UBEN,  64. THEN-ĀRU,  65. ĤER-BA,  66. QA-BA,  67. NETCHESTI,  68. AMĀM-TA,  69. KETUITI,  70. URSHIU,  71. ĀĀNĀ-ṬUATI,  72. NEHI,  
 73. NEB-BAIU,  74. NEB-SENKU, 

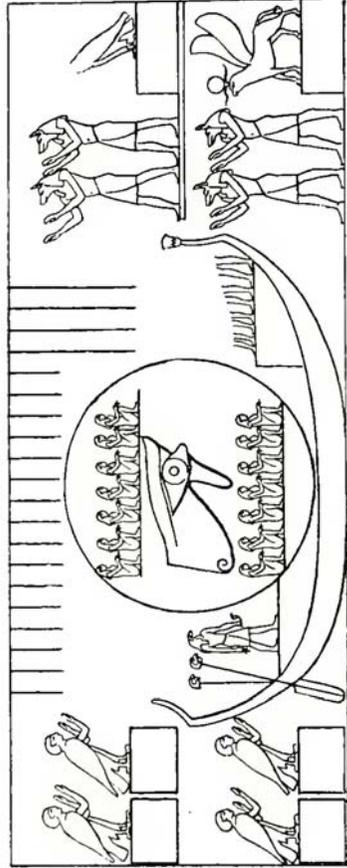
## XIX.—THE NAMES OF THE DAYS OF THE MONTH AND THEIR GODS.

- |  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| 1.  | Ĥeb-enti-paut, or<br> | Day of Thoth.   |
| 2.  | Ĥeb-âbet.  | Day of Ĥeru-netch-tef-f.  |
| 3.  | Ĥeb-mesper.  | Day of Osiris.  |
| 4.  | Ĥeb-per-setem.   | Day of Āmset.   |
| 5.  | Ĥeb-khet-her-khau.   | Day of Ĥāpi.  |
| 6.  | Ĥeb-en-sās.  | Day of Ṭuamutef.  |
| 7.  | Ĥeb-tenā.  | Day of Qebhsennuf.  |
| 8.  | Ĥeb-ṭep-[âbet]   | Day of Maa-tef-f.   |
| 9.  | Ĥeb-kep.   | Day of Āri-tchet-f,  |



The Gods of the fourteen days of the waxing Moon.

The Moon on the fourteenth day.



The Gods of the fourteen days of the waning Moon.

10.		Ḥeb-saf.	Day of Āri-ren-f-tchesef, 
11.		Ḥeb-satu.	Day of Netchti-ur,
12.		Ḥeb-Ḥeru-en-.....	Day of Netch-ān (?),
13.		Ḥeb-maa-set.	Day of Teken-en-Rā,
14.		Ḥeb-sa.	Day of Ḥen-en-ba,
15.		Ḥeb-ent-met-ṭua.	Day of Ārmāuai,
16.		Ḥeb-mesper-sen.	Day of Shet-f-meṭ-f,
17.		Ḥeb-sa.	Day of Ḥeru-ḥer-uatch-f, 
18.		Ḥeb-āāḥ.	Day of Āḥi,
19.		Ḥeb-setem-meṭu-f.	Day of Ān-mut-f,
20.		Ḥeb-ānep.	Day of Āp-uat,
21.		Ḥeb-āper	Day of Ānpu (Anubis).
22.		Ḥeb-peḥ-Sept.	Day of Nāi,
23.		Ḥeb-tenāt.	Day of Nā-ur,
24.		Ḥeb-qenḥ.	Day of Nā-ṭesher,
25.		Ḥeb-setu.	Day of Shem,
26.		Ḥeb-pert.	Day of Ma-tef-f,
27.		Ḥeb-usheb.	Day of Tun-ābui,
28.		Ḥeb-seṭ-ent-pet.	Day of Khnemu.
29.		Ḥeb-āri-sekhem(?)	Day of Utet-tef-f,
30.		Ḥeb-nu-pet.	Day of Ḥeru-netch-tef-f or Nehes

XX. The gods and mythological beings who are mentioned in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*.<sup>1</sup>

Arethi-ka-sa-thika . . . . .	
Aseb . . . . .	
Ashu . . . . .	
Ashbu . . . . .	
Asher . . . . .	
Akeru . . . . .	
Atef-ur . . . . .	
Ates-hrà-she . . . . .	
Àahet . . . . .	
Àakhbit . . . . .	
Àaqetqet . . . . .	
Àäh . . . . .	
Àsar . . . . .	
Àst . . . . .	
Àukert . . . . .	
Àukert-khentet-àst-s . . . . .	
Àbu-ur . . . . .	
Àp-uat . . . . .	
Àp-uat-meht-sekhem-pet . . . . .	
Àp-uat-resu-sekhem-taui . . . . .	

<sup>1</sup> The passages in which these names occur are given in the *Vocabulary* to my edition of the *Book of the Dead*. (*Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, London, 1898.)



Ān-Ĥer . . . . .	
Ān-Ĥrā . . . . .	
Ān-Ĥetep-f . . . . .	
Ān-Ĥebu . . . . .	
Āri-Maāt . . . . .	
Āri-em-āb-f . . . . .	
Āri-en-āb-f . . . . .	
Āri-Ĥetch-f . . . . .	
Āri-si . . . . .	
Āĥ . . . . .	
Āĥi . . . . .	
Āĥiu . . . . .	
Āĥibit . . . . .	
Āĥeti . . . . .	
Ākhsesef . . . . .	
Āstennu . . . . .	
Āstes . . . . .	
Āken-tau-k-ha-kheru . . . . .	
Ākenti . . . . .	
Āqen . . . . .	
Āqeh . . . . .	
Ākau . . . . .	
Ākert-khent-āst-s . . . . .	

Āta-re-ām-tcher-qemtu-ren- par-sheta . . . . .	
Ātem . . . . .	
Āten . . . . .	
Ātek-tau-kehaq-kheru . . . . .	
Āa-kheru . . . . .	
Āu-ā . . . . .	
Āurāu-āaqer-sa-ānq-re-bathi	
Āba-ta . . . . .	
Āḥa-āāui . . . . .	
Aḥau-ḥrāu . . . . .	
Ābt-ṭesi-ruṭ-en-neter . . . . .	
Āpep . . . . .	
Āapef . . . . .	
Ām-āāu . . . . .	
Āmam-maat . . . . .	
Ām-ḥeḥ . . . . .	
Am-khebitu . . . . .	
Āmām . . . . .	
Āmemet . . . . .	
Ānkhi . . . . .	
Ānkhti . . . . .	

Ānkhet - pu-ent-Sebek-neb- Bakhau . . . . .	
Ānkhem-fentu . . . . .	
Ānti . . . . .	
Āhā-ān-urṭ-nef . . . . .	
Ākhen-maati-f . . . . .	
Ākhekhu . . . . .	
Āq-her-āmi-unnut-f . . . . .	
Āqan . . . . .	
Āaṭi . . . . .	
Ātch-ur . . . . .	
Ua . . . . .	
Uaipu . . . . .	
Uamemti . . . . .	
Uart-neter-semsu . . . . .	
Uatch-Maati . . . . .	
Uatch-Nesert . . . . .	
Uatchit . . . . .	
Uāau . . . . .	
Ui . . . . .	
Ubes-ḥrā-per-em-khetkhet . . . . .	
Unpepet-ent-Ḥet-Ḥeru . . . . .	
Unnut . . . . .	



Bau . . . . .	
Bai . . . . .	
Baba . . . . .	
Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭet . . . . .	
Barekathatchaua . . . . .	
Bast . . . . .	
Basti . . . . .	
Bābā . . . . .	
Bāḥ . . . . .	
Bebi . . . . .	
Bennu . . . . .	
Pa-rehaqa-kheperu . . . . .	
Pa-shakasa . . . . .	
Penti . . . . .	
Peḥreri . . . . .	
Pekhat . . . . .	
Peskheti . . . . .	
Peseḳ-re . . . . .	
Pesṭu . . . . .	
Peti . . . . .	
Petrá . . . . .	
Ptaḥ . . . . .	

Ptaḥ-āneb-res-f . . . . .	
Ptaḥ-Seker . . . . .	
Ptaḥ-Tanen . . . . .	
Fa-pet . . . . .	
Maa-ānuf . . . . .	
Maa-ātef-f-kheri-beq-f . . . . .	
Maati-f-em-shet . . . . .	
Maati-f-em-ṯes . . . . .	
Maa-em-ḳerḥ-ān-nef-em-hru . . . . .	
Maa-ḥa-f . . . . .	
Maa-ḥeḥ-en-renpit . . . . .	
Maatuf-ḥer-ā . . . . .	
Maaiu-su (?) . . . . .	
Maa-thet-f . . . . .	
Maāt . . . . .	
Maāti . . . . .	
Māū-tauī . . . . .	
Mārḡathā . . . . .	
Mi-sheps . . . . .	
Ment . . . . .	
Menkh . . . . .	



Naárik . . . . .	
Nasaqbubu . . . . .	
Nak . . . . .	
Nathkerthi . . . . .	
Nák . . . . .	
Nāáu . . . . .	
Nārt . . . . .	
Nu . . . . .	
Nubti . . . . .	
Nut . . . . .	
Neb-ábui . . . . .	
Nebt-unnut . . . . .	
Neb-hráu . . . . .	
Neb-pehtet-petpet-sebá . . . . .	
Neb-pehti-thes-menment . . . . .	
Neb-maāt-heri-ṭep-reṭui-f . . . . .	
Neb-er-tcher . . . . .	
Nebt-ḥet . . . . .	
Neb-s . . . . .	
Nebá . . . . .	
Neperá . . . . .	
Nefert . . . . .	
Nefer-Temu . . . . .	

Nem-ḥrā . . . . .	
Nem . . . . .	
Nemu . . . . .	
Nenutu-hru . . . . .	
Nen-unser . . . . .	
Nentchā . . . . .	
Ner . . . . .	
Nerāu . . . . .	
Neri . . . . .	
Nerāu-ta . . . . .	
Nehesiu . . . . .	
Neḥa-ḥrā . . . . .	
Neḥa-ḥāu . . . . .	
Neḥeb-nefert . . . . .	
Neḥeb-ka . . . . .	
Nekhebet . . . . .	
Nekhen . . . . .	
Nekā . . . . .	
Nekāu . . . . .	
Neḥau . . . . .	
Neḥek-ur . . . . .	
Neti (?) . . . . .	
Net (Neith). . . . .	

Neti-she-f . . . . .	
Neti-ḥrā-f-emmā-mast-f . . . . .	
Neteqa-ḥrā-khesef-aṭu . . . . .	
Neṭit . . . . .	
Netcheb-āb-f . . . . .	
Netchefet . . . . .	
Netchem . . . . .	
Netcheḥ-netcheḥ . . . . .	
Netchesti . . . . .	
Netchses . . . . .	
Re-Sekhait . . . . .	
Re-iukasa . . . . .	
Re-Rā . . . . .	
Rā . . . . .	
Rā-Āsār . . . . .	
Rā-Ḥeru-khuti . . . . .	
Rā-Tem . . . . .	
Rā-er-neḥeḥ . . . . .	
Ruṭ-en-Āst . . . . .	
Ruṭu-nu-Tem . . . . .	
Ruṭu-neb-rekhit . . . . .	
Remi . . . . .	
Remrem . . . . .	

Renenet . . . . .	
Rennutet . . . . .	
Rertu-nifu . . . . .	
Rerek . . . . .	
Rerti . . . . .	
Rehu . . . . .	
Rehui . . . . .	
Relhti . . . . .	
Re-hent . . . . .	
Re-henenet . . . . .	
Rekhti-merti-neb-Maāti . . . . .	
Res-áb . . . . .	
Res-hrà . . . . .	
Rekes (?) . . . . .	
Reqi . . . . .	
Retasashaka . . . . .	
Retā-nifu . . . . .	
Retā-ḥen-er-reqau . . . . .	
Retā-sebanqa . . . . .	
Hab-em-atu . . . . .	
Ha-ḥetep . . . . .	
Ha-kheru . . . . .	
Haker . . . . .	



Ḥenti (Osiris)	. . .	
Ḥenti-requ	. . .	
Ḥent-she	. . .	
Ḥeri-akebâ-f	. . .	
Ḥeri-uru	. . .	
Ḥertit-ân	. . .	
Ḥeri-sep-f	. . .	
Ḥer-ta	. . .	
Ḥer-tauî	. . .	
Ḥeru	. . .	
Ḥerui (Horus and Set)	. . .	
Ḥerui-senui (Horus and Set)	. . .	
Ḥeru-âi (?)	. . .	
Ḥeru-ur	. . .	
Ḥeru-em-khent-ân-maati	. . .	
Ḥeru-netch-hrà-âtef-f	. . .	
Ḥeru-khuti	. . .	
Ḥeru-sa-Âst	. . .	
Ḥrà-uâ	. . .	
Ḥrà-nefer	. . .	
Ḥrà-f-ḥa-f	. . .	
Ḥehi	. . .	
Ḥes-hrà	. . .	

Hes-tchefetch . . . . .	
Hęqtit . . . . .	
Hętep . . . . .	
Hętep-sekhus . . . . .	
Hętep-ka . . . . .	
Hętep-tauı . . . . .	
Hętemet . . . . .	
Hęteętet . . . . .	
Hęch-re . . . . .	
Hęch-re-peę-ętep . . . . .	
Hęch-åbeęu . . . . .	
Kharsathå . . . . .	
Khu-kheper-ur . . . . .	
Khu-tchet-f . . . . .	
Khut . . . . .	
Khebent . . . . .	
Kheperå . . . . .	
Khepesh . . . . .	
Khemi . . . . .	
Khemennu . . . . .	
Khnemu . . . . .	
Khnemet-em-ånkh-ånuit . . . . .	
Khenememti . . . . .	

Khensu . . . . .	
Khenti-Āmentet . . . . .	
Khenti-Khaṭṭhi . . . . .	
Kher . . . . .	
Kherā . . . . .	
Kherserāu . . . . .	
Khersek-Shu . . . . .	
Khesef-aṭ . . . . .	
Khesef-ḥrā-āsh-kheru . . . . .	
Khesef-ḥrā-khemiu . . . . .	
Khesef-khemiu . . . . .	
Sa-pa-nemmā . . . . .	
Sa-Āmenti-Rā . . . . .	
Saau-ur . . . . .	
Sau . . . . .	
Sabes . . . . .	
Samait . . . . .	
Saḥ (Orion) . . . . .	
Saḥ-en-mut-f . . . . .	
Saqenaqat . . . . .	
Suḳaṭi . . . . .	
Sut . . . . .	
Sebā . . . . .	







Qa-ḥrā . . . . .	
Qaḥu . . . . .	
Qebḥ-sennuf . . . . .	
Qemamu . . . . .	
Qemḥusu . . . . .	
Qerti . . . . .	
Qetetbu . . . . .	
Qeṭu . . . . .	
Ḳen-ur . . . . .	
Ta-reṭ . . . . .	
Taiti . . . . .	
Tait . . . . .	
Tatunen . . . . .	
Tefnut . . . . .	
Temu . . . . .	
Tem-sep . . . . .	
Tenait . . . . .	
Tenemit . . . . .	
Teḥuti . . . . .	
Teḥuti-Ḥāpi . . . . .	
Teshtesh . . . . .	
Tekem . . . . .	
Ṭuṭu-f . . . . .	

Ṭu-menkh-rerek . . . . .	
Ṭuamutef . . . . .	
Ṭun-peḥti . . . . .	
Ṭeb-ḥrā-keha-at . . . . .	
Ṭenā . . . . .	
Ṭenpu . . . . .	
Ṭesher . . . . .	
Ṭhānasa . . . . .	
Ṭhenemi . . . . .	
Ṭhest-ur . . . . .	
Ṭcheruu . . . . .	
Ṭcheḥes . . . . .	
Ṭchesert . . . . .	
Ṭcheser-ṭep . . . . .	

## CHAPTER XX

## SACRED ANIMALS AND BIRDS, ETC.

THE Egyptian texts prove beyond all doubt that the Egyptians worshipped individual animals, and birds, and reptiles from the earliest to the latest times, and in spite of the statements to the contrary which are often made this custom must be regarded as a survival of one of the most popular forms of the religion of the predynastic peoples of the Nile Valley. At first animals were worshipped for their strength and power, and because man was afraid of them, but at a later period the Egyptians developed the idea that individual animals were the abodes of gods, and they believed that certain deities were incarnate in them. This idea is extremely ancient, and the Egyptian saw no absurdity in it, because at a very early period he had made up his mind that a god was always incarnate in the king of Egypt, and if this were so there was no reason why the gods should not become incarnate in animals. Animals which formed the abodes of gods, or were beloved by them, were treated with especial reverence and care, and apartments for their use were specially constructed in the temples throughout the country. When a sacred animal, i.e., the abode of a god, died, he was buried with great ceremony and honour, and, in dynastic times at least, his body was mummified with as much care as that of a human being. Immediately after the death of a sacred animal in a temple another beast was chosen and, having been led into the temple and duly installed there, the homage and worship of his predecessor were transferred to him. The new animal was a reincarnation of the god, i.e., a new manifestation and reappearance of the deity of the temple, and as such he was the visible symbol of a god. Of the manner in which

sacred animals were thought to make known the will of the gods who were incarnate in them little can be said, but the priests of each animal must have formulated some system which would satisfy the devout, and they must have had some means of making the animals move in such a way that the beholder would be made to think that the will of the god incarnate was being revealed to him. We may assume, too, that when sacred animals became too old and infirm to perform their duties they were put to death either by the priests or at their command, and also that care was taken, so far as possible, to keep in reserve an animal which could take the place of that which was in the temple in the event of its sudden death. The monuments of the predynastic and archaic periods of Egyptian history which have been discovered during the last few years prove that Neith, Hathor, and Osiris were worshipped in the earliest times, and the traditions recorded by Greek and Roman writers supplement this first-hand evidence by a series of statements about the cult of animal gods in Egypt which is of the greatest importance for our purpose here.

One of the oldest animal cults in Egypt was that of ḤĀP, , whom the Greeks call APIS, and whose worship is coeval with Egyptian civilization. Apis was, however, one of many bulls which were worshipped by the Egyptians throughout the Nile Valley, and it is greatly to be regretted that the circumstances which led up to his occupation of such an exalted position among the animal gods of Egypt are unknown. According to Ælian,<sup>1</sup> Ḥāpi, or Apis, was held in the greatest honour in the time of Menā, the first historical king of Egypt, but Manetho<sup>2</sup> says that it was under Kaiekhôs, i.e., Ka-kau, , a king of the IInd Dynasty, that Apis was appointed to be a god. Herodotus (iii. 28) and Ælian call Apis Ἐπαφος, and the former describes him as the "calf of a cow which is incapable of conceiving another offspring; "and the Egyptians say that lightning descends upon the cow from

<sup>1</sup> Λέγει δέ τις τῶν προφητῶν λόγος οὐ πᾶσις ἔκπυστος, ὅτι ἄρα [Μῆνης] ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ἐπενόησε ζῶον ὥστε σέβειν ἔμφυχον, εἶτα μέντοι προείλετο ταῦρον, ἀπάντων ὠραιότατον εἶναι αὐτὸν πεπιστευκῶς. *De Nat. Animal.* xi. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See Cory's *Ancient Fragments*.

“heaven, and that from thence it brings forth Apis. This calf, “which is called Apis, has the following marks: it is black, and “has a square spot of white on the forehead; and on the back the “figure of an eagle; and in the tail double hairs; and on the “tongue a beetle.” Pliny relates (viii. 72) that the Apis Bull was distinguished by a conspicuous white spot on the right side, in the form of a crescent, and he adds that when the animal had lived a certain number of years, it was destroyed by being drowned in the fountain of the priests. A general mourning ensued upon this, and the priests and others went with their heads shaven until they found a successor; this, however, Pliny says, did not take long, and we may therefore assume that an Apis was generally kept in reserve. As soon as the animal was found, he was brought to Memphis, where there were two Thalami set apart for him; to these bed-chambers the people were wont to resort to learn the auguries, and according as Apis entered the one or the other of these places, the augury was deemed favourable or unfavourable. He gave answers to its devotees by taking food from the hands of those who consulted him. Usually Apis was kept in seclusion, but whensoever he appeared in public he was attended by a crowd of boys who sang hymns to him. Once a year a cow was presented to him, but it is said that she was always killed the same day that they found her. The birthday of Apis was commemorated by an annual festival which lasted seven days, and during this period no man was ever attacked by a crocodile. In front of the sanctuary of Apis was a courtyard which contained another sanctuary for the dam of the god, and it was here that he was turned loose in order that he might be exhibited to his worshippers (Strabo, xvii. 31). Diodorus tells us (i. 85) that Apis, Mnevis, the Ram of Mendes, the crocodile of Lake Moeris, and the lion of Leontopolis were kept at very considerable cost, for their food consisted of cakes made of the finest wheat flour mixed with honey, boiled or roasted geese, and live birds of certain kinds.

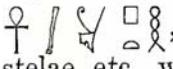
The sacred animals were also washed in hot baths, and their bodies were anointed with precious unguents, and perfumed with the sweetest odours; rich beds were also provided for them to lie upon. When any of them died the Egyptians were as much

concerned as if they had lost their own children, and they were wont to spend largely in burying them; when Apis died at Memphis of old age in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus his keeper not only spent everything he had in burying him, but also borrowed fifty talents of silver from the king because his own means were insufficient. Continuing his account of Apis Diodorus says, "After the splendid funeral of Apis is over, those priests that have charge of the business seek out another calf as like the former as possibly they can find; and when they have found one, an end is put to all further mourning and lamentation, and such priests as are appointed for that purpose, lead the young ox through the city of Nile, and feed him forty days. Then they put him into a barge, wherein is a golden cabin, and so transport him as a god to Memphis, and place him in Vulcan's grove. During the forty days before mentioned, none but women are admitted to see him, who being placed full in his view, pluck up their coats and expose their persons. Afterwards they are forbidden to come into the sight of this new god. For the adoration of this ox, they give this reason. They say that the soul of Osiris passed into an ox; and therefore, whenever the ox is dedicated, to this very day, the spirit of Osiris is infused into one ox after another, to posterity. But some say, that the members of Osiris (who was killed by Typhon) were thrown by Isis into an ox made of wood, covered with ox-hides, and from thence the city Busiris was called."

In his account of Apis (xi. 10) Ælian states that Apis was recognized by twenty-nine distinct marks, which were known to the priests, and that when it was known that he had appeared they went to the place of his birth and built there a house towards the East, and the sacred animal was fed therein for four months. After this period, at the time of new moon, the priests made ready a barge and conveyed the new Apis to Memphis, where fine chambers were set apart for him, and spacious courts for him to walk about in, and where moreover, a number of carefully chosen cows were kept for him. At Memphis a special well of water was provided for Apis and he was not allowed to drink of the waters of the Nile because they were supposed to be too fattening.

Curiously enough the animals which were sacrificed to Apis were oxen, and according to Herodotus (ii. 38, 41) if a single black hair was found upon any one of them the beast was declared to be unclean. "And one of the priests appointed for this purpose makes this examination, both when the animal is standing up and lying down; and he draws out the tongue, to see if it is pure as to the prescribed marks. . . . He also looks at the hairs of his tail, to see whether they grow naturally. If the beast is found pure in all these respects, he marks it by rolling a piece of byblus round the horns, and then having put on it some sealing earth, he impresses it with his signet; and so they drive him away. Anyone who sacrifices an unmarked animal is punished with death." When an ox of this class was to be offered up to Apis it was led to the altar and was slain after a libation of wine had been poured out; its head was next cut off and its body was flayed. If the head was not sold it was thrown into the river and the following words were said over it:—"If any evil be about to befall either those who now sacrifice, or Egypt in general, may it be averted on this head." Plutarch (*De Iside*, § 56) and Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 14, 7) agree in stating that Apis was only allowed to live a certain number of years, which was probably twenty-five, and it seems that if he did not die before the end of this period he was killed and buried in a sacred well, the situation of which was known to a few privileged persons only.

The Egyptians connected Apis, both living and dead, with Osiris, and their beliefs concerning the two gods were very closely associated. The soul of Apis was thought to go to heaven after the death of the body in which it had been incarnate, and to join itself to Osiris, when it formed with him the dual god *Āsar-Ḥāpi* or Osiris-Apis. Early in the Ptolemaic period the Greeks ascribed to *Āsar-Ḥāpi* the attributes of their god Hades, and Graecized the Egyptian name under the form "Serapis"; both Egyptians and Greeks accepted Serapis as the principal object of their worship, and after about B.C. 250 this god was commonly regarded as the male counterpart of Isis. It has already been said that the cult of *Ḥāpi* or Apis is very ancient, and there seems to be no doubt that in one place or another the bull was always worshipped

in Egypt as the personification of strength and virility and of might in battle. Osiris, as a water god, poured the Nile over the land, and Hāpi provided the strength which enabled the Egyptians to plough it up; when theological systems began to be made in Egypt this ancient god was incorporated in them, and at Memphis we find that he was regarded as the "second life of Ptah," , and also as the son of Osiris. From scenes on coffins, stelae, etc., we know that he possessed the attributes of Osiris the great god of the Underworld, especially after the XXVIth Dynasty, for he is often represented bearing a mummy upon his back, and "Bull of Amenti" is a common name of Osiris. Egyptian bronze figures of the Apis Bull represent the god as a very powerful beast, with massive limbs and body. A triangular piece of silver is fixed in the forehead, a disk and a uraeus are placed between the horns, above the fore and hind legs are cut in outline figures of vultures with outstretched wings, and on the back, also cut in outline, is a representation of a rectangular cloth with an ornamental diamond pattern. Herodotus (iii. 28) says that the patch of white on the forehead of Apis was square, *λευκὸν τετράγωνον*, and that the figure of an eagle was on the back, *ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νῶτου, αἰετὸν εἰκασμένον*; of the beetle which he says was on the tongue of Apis and the double hairs in the tail the bronze figures naturally show no traces.

Of the tombs in which the Apis bulls were buried under the Early and Middle Empires nothing is known, but the discovery of the famous Serapeum at Şakḫâra, called by Strabo (xvii. 1, § 33) the "temple of Sarapis," which, he says, was "situated in a very sandy spot, where the sand is accumulated in masses by the wind," revealed the fact that so far back as the XVIIIth Dynasty the bodies of the Apis bulls were mummified with great care, and that each was buried in a rock-hewn tomb, above which was a small chapel. In the reign of Rameses II. a son of this king, called Khâ-em-Uast, made a subterranean gallery in the rock at Şakḫâra, with a large number of chambers, and as each of these was occupied by the mummied Apis in his coffin its entrance was walled up, and the remains of the sacred animals were thus preserved for a very long period. Psammetichus I. hewed a

similar gallery in the rock, and its side-chambers were prepared with great care and thought; the two galleries taken together are about 1200 feet long, 18 feet high, and 10 feet wide. Above these galleries stood the great Temple of the Serapeum, and close by was another temple which was dedicated to Apis by Nectanebus II., the last native king of Egypt. In the Serapeum of Khā-em-Uast and Psammetichus I. a number of Egyptian holy men lived a stern, ascetic life, and it appears that they were specially appointed to perform services in connexion with the commemorative festivals of the dead Apis bulls. Details of the rules of the order are wanting, but it is probable that the scheme of life which they lived there closely resembled that of the followers of Pythagoras, many of whom were celibates, and that they abstained from animal food, and had all things in common.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note the existence of the monks of the Serapeum, because they form a connecting link between the Egyptian priests and the Christian ascetics and monks who filled Egypt in the early centuries of our era. The worship of Apis continued in Egypt until the downfall of paganism, which resulted from the adoption of Christianity by Constantine the Great and from the edicts of the Emperor Theodosius.

As Apis was the sacred Bull of Memphis and symbolized the Moon, so MNEVIS was the sacred Bull of Heliopolis and typified the Sun, of which he was held to be the incarnation. The ancient Egyptians called the Bull of Heliopolis UR-MER, , and described him as the "life of Rā"; he is usually depicted in the form of a bull with a disk and uraeus between his horns, but sometimes he appears as a man with the head of a bull. According to Manetho, the worship of Mnevis was established in the reign of Ka-kau, a king of the IIInd Dynasty, together with that of Apis and the Ram of Mendes, but there is no doubt that it is coeval with Egyptian civilization, and that it was only a portion of the great system of adoration of the bull and cow as agricultural gods throughout Egypt. Strabo mentions (xvii. 1, § 22) that the people

<sup>1</sup> See Zeller, *History of Greek Philosophy*, London, 1881, vol. i., pp. 306-352; Ritter and Preller, *Historia Phil-Graecae et Romanae*, 1878.

of Momemphis kept a sacred cow in their city just as Apis was maintained at Memphis, and Mnevis at Heliopolis, and adds, "these animals are regarded as gods, but there are other places, "and these are numerous, both in the Delta and beyond it, in "which a bull or a cow is maintained, which are not regarded as "gods, but only as sacred." Mnevis, like Apis, was consecrated to Osiris, and both Bulls were "reputed as gods generally by all the Egyptians;" Diodorus explains (i. 24, 9) this fact by pointing out that the bull was of all creatures the "most extraordinarily "serviceable to the first inventors of husbandry, both as to the "sowing of corn, and other advantages concerning tillage, of which "all reaped the benefit." The cult of Mnevis was neither so widespread nor so popular as that of Apis, and Ammianus Marcellinus says (xxii. 14, 6) that there is nothing remarkable related about him. A curious story is related by Ælian (*De Nat. Animal.* xii. 11) to the effect that king Bocchoris once brought in a wild bull to fight against Mnevis, and that the savage creature in attempting to gore the sacred animal miscalculated his distance, and having entangled his horns in the branches of a persea tree, fell an easy victim to Mnevis, and was slain by him. The Egyptians regarded this impious act with great disfavour, and probably hated him as they hated Cambyses for stabbing Apis.

Among the Egyptians another sacred bull was that of Hermonthis (Strabo, xvii. 1, 47) which, according to Macrobius (*Saturn.* i. 26) was called BACCHIS (or Bacis, or Basis, or Pacis), and according to Ælian (xii. 11) ONUPHIS; the latter name is probably a corruption of some Egyptian name of Osiris Un-nefer. This bull was black in colour, and its hair turned a contrary way from that of all other animals, ἀντίαι δὲ αὐτῷ τρίχες ἤπερ οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰσίν; it was said to change its colour every hour of the day, and was regarded as an image of the sun shining on the other side of the world, i.e., the Underworld. The Egyptian equivalent of the name Bacis, or Bacchis, is BAKHA, , and this bull is styled the "living soul of Rā,"    , and the "bull "of the Mountain of the Sunrise (Bakhau), and the lion of the "Mountain of the Sunset." He wears between his horns a disk,

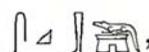
from which rise plumes, and a uraeus; over his hindquarters is the sacred symbol of a vulture with outspread wings.<sup>1</sup>

At several places in the Delta, e.g., Hermopolis, Lycopolis, and Mendes, the god Pan and a goat were worshipped; Strabo, quoting (xvii. 1, 19) Pindar, says that in these places goats had intercourse with women, and Herodotus (ii. 46) instances a case which was said to have taken place in the open day. The Mendesians, according to this last writer, paid reverence to all goats, and more to the males than to the females, and particularly to one he-goat, on the death of which public mourning is observed throughout the whole Mendesian district; they call both Pan and the goat Mendes, and both were worshipped as gods of generation and fecundity. Diodorus (i. 88) compares the cult of the goat of Mendes with that of Priapus, and groups the god with the Pans and the Satyrs. The goat referred to by all these writers is the famous Mendean Ram, or Ram of Mendes, the cult of which was, according to Manetho, established by Kakau, a king of the II<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty.

In the hieroglyphic texts he is called BA-NEB-ṬET,    
 , from which name the Greek Mendes is derived, and he is depicted in the form of a ram with flat, branching horns which are surmounted by a uraeus; pictures of the god of this kind are, of course, traditional, and since goats of the species of the Ram of Mendes are not found on Egyptian Monuments after the period of the Ancient Empire, we can only conclude that they were originally copied from representations of the Ram which were in use before about B.C. 3500. Ba-neb-Ṭet, or Mendes, was declared to be the "soul of Rā," but allowance must be made for the possibility that the Egyptians did not really believe this statement, which may only have resulted from a play upon the words *ba* "ram," and *ba* "soul." The cult of the Ram of Mendes was of more than local importance, and his priesthood was a powerful body. The ram which was adored at Mendes was distinguished by certain marks, even as was Apis, and was sought for throughout the country with great diligence; when the animal was found he

<sup>1</sup> See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pl. 70.

was led to the city of Mendes, and a procession of priests and of the notables of the city having been formed he was escorted to the temple and enthroned therein with great honour. From the Stele of Mendes<sup>1</sup> we learn that Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, rebuilt the temple of Mendes, and that he assisted at the enthronement of two Rams, and in a relief on the upper portion of it two Ptolemies and an Arsinoë are seen making offerings to the Ram, and to a ram-headed god, and his female counterpart Hātmehit. The cult of the Ram lasted at Mendes until the decay of the city, after which for a short period it was maintained at Thmuis, a neighbouring city, which increased in importance as Mendes decreased. In primitive times the Ram of Mendes was a merely local animal god, or perhaps only a sacred animal, but as the chief city of its cult increased in importance the god was identified, first, with the great indigenous god Osiris, secondly, with the Sun-god Rā, and thirdly, with the great Ram-god of the South and of Elephantine, i.e., Khnemu.

Among the animals which were worshipped devoutly as a result of abject fear must be mentioned the crocodile, which the Egyptians deified under the name of SEBEK, , or SEBEQ, , and which was called SOUCHOS, Σούχος, by the Greeks. In primitive times when the canals dried up this destructive beast was able to wander about the fields at will, and to eat and kill whatsoever came into its way, and the Egyptians naturally regarded it as the personification of the powers of evil and of death, and the prince of all the powers of darkness, and the associate of Set, or Typhon. According to Herodotus (ii. 69), crocodiles were sacred in some parts of Egypt, but were diligently killed in others. At Thebes and near lake Moeris they were held to be sacred, and when tame the people put crystal and gold earrings into their ears, and bracelets on their fore paws, and they fed them regularly with good food; after death their bodies were embalmed and then buried in sacred vaults. Herodotus says they were called χάμψαι, a word which is, clearly, a transliteration of

<sup>1</sup> Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 42; *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1871, pp. 81-85; 1875, p. 33.



SEBEK-RĀ.

the Egyptian word , *emsehiu*. Strabo gives an interesting account of his visit to the famous city of Crocodilopolis, which in his day was known by the name Arsinoë, and was the centre of crocodile worship; and tells us (xvii. 1, § 38), that the sacred crocodile there “was kept apart by himself in a lake; it is “tame, and gentle to the priests, and is called Σοῦχος. It is fed “with bread, flesh, and wine, which strangers who come to see “it always present. Our host, a distinguished person, who was “our guide in examining what was curious, accompanied us to the “lake, and brought from the supper table a small cake, dressed “meat, and a small vessel containing a mixture of honey and milk. “We found the animal lying on the edge of the lake. The priests “went up to it; some of them opened its mouth, another put the “cake into it, then the meat, and afterwards poured down the “honey and milk. The animal then leaped into the lake, and “crossed to the other side. When another stranger arrived with “his offering, the priests took it, and running round the lake, “caught the crocodile, and gave him what was brought in the “same manner as before.”

In their pictures and reliefs the Egyptians represented the god Sebek in the form of a crocodile-headed man who wore either a solar disk encircled with a uræus, or a pair of horns surmounted by a disk and a pair of plumes; sometimes a small pair of horns appears above the large ram's horns. Frequently the god is depicted simply in the form of the animal which was sacred to him, i.e., as a crocodile. What exactly were the attributes of Sebek in early dynastic times we have no means of knowing, but it is probable that they were those of an evil and destructive animal; before the end of the VIth Dynasty, however, he was identified with Rā, the Sun-god, and with the form of Rā who was the son of Neith, and with Set the opponent and murderer of Osiris. According to the late Dr. Brugsch, Sebek was a four-fold deity who represented the four elemental gods, Rā, Shu, Seb, and Osiris, and this view receives support from the fact that in the vignettes to the xxxist and xxxiind Chapters of the *Book of the Dead*, the deceased is seen repulsing four crocodiles. The same scholar thought that the name of the god was derived from a root

which signifies "to collect, to bring together," and that he was called "Sebek" because he was believed to gather together that which had been separated by the evil power of Set, and to give a new constitution and life to the elements which had been severed by death.<sup>1</sup> This view may be correct, but it certainly cannot be very old, and it cannot represent the opinions which the pre-dynastic Egyptians held concerning the god. That, however, Sebek was believed to be a god who was good to the dead is clear, and it was held that he would do for them that which he had done in primitive times for Horus.

From the cviii<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, we learn that Sebek, Temu, and Hathor were the Spirits of the West, and that Sebek dwelt in a temple which was built on the Mount of the Sunrise, and that he assisted Horus to be re-born daily. In the Pyramid Texts, Sebek is made to restore the eyes to the deceased, and to make firm his mouth, and to give him the use of his head, and to bring Isis and Nephthys to him, and to assist in the overthrow of Set, the enemy of every "Osiris." He opened the doors of heaven to the deceased, and led him along the bypaths and ways of heaven and, in short, assisted the dead to rise to the new life, even as he had helped the child Horus to take his seat upon the throne of his father Osiris. The centre of the cult of Sebek was Ombos, , Nubit, where he was held to be the father of Heru-ur, and was identified with Seb, and was called, "Father of the gods, the mighty one among the gods and goddesses, the great king, the prince of the Nine Bow Barbarians." As SEBEK-RĀ-TEMU he was the power of the sun which created the world, and he is styled, "the beautiful green disk which shineth ever, the creator of whatsoever is and of whatsoever shall be, who proceeded from Nu, and who possesses many colours and many forms."<sup>2</sup> Other important seats of the cult of Sebek were:—1. Silsila (Khennu, , where he was adored with Tem, Nu, Heru-ur, and Heru-Behuṭet; 2. Pa-khent (, where he was worshipped with Amen-Rā; 3. Latopolis, where he was identified

<sup>1</sup> *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 588.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 591.



THE GOD AN-HERU.



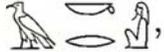
gums. The hydrus, or ichneumon, perceiving this, would also enter the crocodile's mouth, and crawl along through the throat into its stomach, and having devoured its entrails, would crawl back again; the hydrus also is declared to have been in the habit of searching for the eggs of the crocodile, which were always laid in the sand, and of breaking the shell of every one which it found. Notwithstanding the reverence in which the crocodiles were held in many parts of Egypt numbers of people made a living by catching them and killing them. According to Herodotus (ii. 70) and other writers, a hook baited with the chine of a pig was let down by the fishermen into the river, while a young pig was held on the bank and beaten until it squealed; the crocodile, hearing the noise, made its way towards the sound of the little pig's cries, and coming across the bait on the hook, straightway swallowed it. Then the men hauled in the line and the crocodile was soon landed, and its eyes having been plastered up, it was slain. Crocodiles at one time were regarded as the protectors of Egypt, and Diodorus held the view (i. 35) that but for them the robbers from Arabia and Africa would swim across the Nile and pillage the country in all directions.

The crocodile played a prominent part in Egyptian mythology, in which it appears both as the friend and foe of Osiris; one legend tells how the creature carried the dead body of Osiris upon its back safely to land, and another relates that Isis was obliged to make the little ark in which she placed her son Horus of papyrus plants, because only by this means could she protect her son from the attack of the crocodile god Sebek. The later Egyptian astrologers always considered the animal to be a symbol of the Sun, and it is probable that to its connexion with the Sun-god the statements of Ælian (x. 21) are due. This writer remarks that the female crocodile carried her eggs for sixty days before she laid them, that the number of the eggs was sixty, that they took sixty days to hatch, that a crocodile had sixty vertebrae in its spine, and sixty nerves, and sixty teeth in its mouth, that its life was sixty years, and that its annual period of fasting was sixty days. Among other curious but mistaken views about the crocodile, Plutarch (*De Iside*, § 75) mentions that the animal was

looked upon as the image of God, and he explains the supposed absence of a tongue by saying that "divine reason needeth not speech." He credits the animal with great wisdom and foreknowledge, in proof of which he declares that in whatsoever part of the country the female lays her eggs, so far will be the extent of the inundation for that season. All the above mentioned views are interesting as showing how legends of the animal gods and their powers grew up in the later period of dynastic history, and how mythological ideas were modified in the course of the centuries which witnessed the decay of the old religion of Egypt.

Like the crocodile, the HIPPOPOTAMUS was worshipped by the primitive Egyptians, and the hippopotamus goddess was called RERT, or RERTU, , and Ta-urt, , Āpet, , Sheput, , etc., and was, practically, identified as a form of every great goddess of Egypt, irrespective of the probability of her being so. In predynastic times the hippopotamus was probably common in the Delta, and the red and yellow breccia statue of the animal which was made in the archaic period, and is now preserved in the British Museum (No. 35,700), proves that its cult is coeval with Egyptian civilization. According to certain theological systems the hippopotamus goddess was the female counterpart of Set, and the mother of the Sun-god, or of Ān-her, whom she brought into the world at Ombos; for this reason that city was called the "Meskhenet," , or "birth-house," of Āpet. On the whole, the hippopotamus goddess was a beneficent creature, and she appears in the last vignette of the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* as a deity of the Underworld, and a kindly guardian of the dead. She holds in her right forepaw an object which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and her left rests upon the emblem of "protective, magical power," ; on the other hand, the monster Ām-mit, which appears in the Judgment Scene, has the hindquarters of a hippopotamus, a fact which reminds us that the destructive power of the animal was not forgotten by the Egyptian theologians.

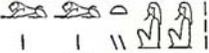
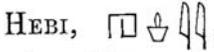
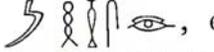
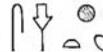
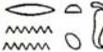
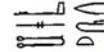
The cult of the LION was also very ancient in Egypt, and it

seems to have been tolerably widespread in early dynastic times; the animal was worshipped on account of his great strength and courage, and was usually associated with the Sun-god, Horus or Râ, and with deities of a solar character. Under the New Empire the chief centre of the cult of the lion was the city of Leontopolis in the Northern Delta, but it is quite certain that sacred lions were kept in the temples at many places throughout Egypt. Ælian mentions (xii. 7) that lions were kept in the temple at Heliopolis, and goes on to say that in the Lion City (Leontopolis) the sacred lions were fed upon the bodies of slaughtered animals, and that from time to time a calf was introduced into the lion's den so that he might enjoy the pleasure of killing prey for himself; whilst he was devouring his food the priests, or men set apart for the purpose, sang songs to him. The original home of the lion in Egypt was the Delta, where he lived under conditions similar to those which existed in Southern Nubia and in the jungles of the rivers Atbara and Blue Nile; the deserts on each side of the Nile between Kharṭûm and the Mediterranean Sea of course also contained lions, but probably not in very large numbers. In Egyptian mythology the lion plays a comparatively prominent part, and one of the oldest known Lion-gods is Aker, , who was supposed to guard the gate of the dawn through which the Sun-god passed each morning; Aker is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (e.g., Unâs, lines 498, 614), and from the passages in which his name occurs it is clear that his position and attributes were even under the Early Empire well defined. In later days the Egyptian mythologists believed that during the night the sun passed through a kind of tunnel which existed in the earth, and that his disappearance therein caused the night, and his emerging therefrom caused the day; each end of this tunnel was guarded by a Lion-god, and the two gods were called AKERU (OR AKERUI) , or . In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* (Chapter xvii.) we find the Akeru gods represented by two lions which are seated back to back, and support between them the horizon with the sun's disk on it, ; in the later theology they are called SEF and

ṬUAU, i.e., "YESTERDAY" and "TO-DAY" respectively. Because the Egyptians believed that the gates of morning and evening were guarded by Lion-gods, they placed statues of lions at the doors of their palaces and tombs to guard both the living and the dead, and to keep evil spirits and fleshly foes from entering into the gates to do harm to those who were inside them. To such lion guardians they sometimes gave the heads of men and women, and these are familiar to us under the name which was given to them by the Greeks, i.e., "Sphinxes."

The oldest and finest human-headed lion statue is the famous "Sphinx" at Gîzeh (in Egyptian Hû, ) which was regarded as the symbol of the Sun-god Rā-Temu-Kleperā-Herukhuti, and was made to keep away evil spirits from the tombs which were round about it. The age of this marvellous statue is unknown, but it existed in the time of Khephren, the builder of the Second Pyramid, and was, most probably, very old even at that early period. It may be noted in passing that the "Sphinx" at Gîzeh was intended to be a guardian and protector of the dead and of their tombs, and nothing else, and the idea of Plutarch and others that it typified the enigmatical wisdom of the Egyptians and strength and wisdom is purely fanciful. The men who made the Sphinx believed they were providing a colossal abode for the spirit of the Sun-god which they expected to dwell therein and to protect their dead; it faced the rising sun, of which it was a mighty symbol. The original idea of the man-headed lion statue has no connexion with the views which the Greeks held about their monstrous being the Sphinx, who is declared to have been a daughter of Orthus, or Typhon, and Chimaera, or of Typhon and Echidna; moreover, Greek sphinxes are winged, and their heads and breasts are always those of a woman, whilst Egyptian lion statues have sometimes the heads of men, and sometimes the heads of sheep or rams. The "Sphinx" at Gîzeh is probably the product of the beliefs of a school of theologians which existed when the cult of the lion was common in the Delta or Northern Egypt, but tradition perpetuated the idea of "protection" which was connected with it, and the architectural conservatism

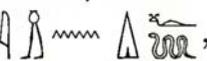
of the Egyptians caused reproductions of it to be made for all the great temples in the country in all periods of its history.

It is a moot point whether the lion was generally hunted in Egypt or not, but it is improbable; on the other hand we find that Amen-hotep III. boasts of having shot with his own bow one hundred and two lions during the first ten years of his reign, but these were undoubtedly lions of Mitanni and not of Egypt. The bas-reliefs and texts prove that Rameses II. and Rameses III. each possessed a tame lion which not only accompanied them into battle, but also attacked the enemy; it is probable, however, that these kings valued their pet lions more as symbols of the Sun-god and of his protective power, than as effective combatants. In the Theban *Book of the Dead* the double lion-god who is so often mentioned under the name  is, of course, Shu and Tefnut, or two gods who were identified with them. Other lion-gods bore the names ĀRI-ḤES-NEFER, , NEFER-TEM, , HEBI, , ḤERU-NEB-MESEN, , MA-ḤES, , etc.; lioness-goddesses were PAKHETH, , SEKHET, , MENĀT, , RENENET, , SEBQET, , URT-ḤEKAU, , ĀSTHERṬET, , and a form of Hathor, and another of Nekhebet. The destroying power of the Lion-god is alluded to in the figure of the monster Ām-mit, which was part crocodile, part lion, and part hippopotamus. The vignettes to the cxlvith and cxlviiith Chapters of the *Book of the Dead* show that lion-headed deities guarded certain of the halls and pylons of the Underworld, and some connexion of the Lion-god with the dead is certainly indicated by the fact that the head of the bier is always made in the form of the head of a lion, and that the foot of it is frequently ornamented with a representation of a lion's tail. For an account of Bast, the great goddess of Bubastis, who was depicted with the head either of a lioness, or of a cat, the reader is referred to the section on the subject.

In connexion with the lion must be mentioned the LYNX

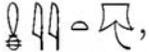


THE GODDESS URT-HEKAU.

and CAT, for each of these animals played an interesting part in Egyptian mythology. The lynx was called in Egyptian MAḤTET, ; the former spelling being that of the Pyramid Texts, and the latter that in use in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*. The animal is like a large cat and has a small patch of hair on the tip of each ear, and its disposition is, on the whole, benevolent. In the text of Unās (line 548) allusion is made to its attack upon the serpents Ān-tā-f, , and Tch eser-ṭep, , and it is evident from this that the Lynx-god was a friend of the dead. In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Maḥtet takes part with the gods, including Serqet and Maāt, in overthrowing the fiend Āpep (Chaps. xxxiv., xxxix., cxlix. § 7), and we must therefore assume that the lynx was a destroyer of serpents, and that the Lynx-god was supposed to ward off the attacks of serpents from the dead.

The CAT was sacred to Bast, the goddess of Bubastis, and was regarded as her incarnation; its cult is very ancient, and as a personification of the Sun-god the animal played a prominent part in Egyptian mythology. Thus in the xvii<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* mention is made of a Cat which took up its position by the Persea tree in Heliopolis on the night when the foes of Osiris were destroyed, and in the commentary which follows it is stated that this "male Cat" was Rā himself, and that he was called "Māu," , by the god Sa, and the vignette depicts the Cat in the act of cutting off the head of the serpent of darkness. In the cxxv<sup>th</sup> Chapter the deceased says (line 11) in the usually received text, "I have heard the mighty word which the Ass spake unto "the Cat in the House of Ḥapṭ-re," but what that word was is not stated. The Ass and the Cat are forms of the Sun-god, and it is probable that the deceased learned from them the words which would enable him, like them, to vanquish the powers of darkness. From a stele reproduced by Signor Lanzone,<sup>1</sup> we find that prayers were offered to *two* cats by the two women who dedicated it, but whether these represented two forms of the Cat-god, or two pet

<sup>1</sup> *Dizionario*, pl. 107.

animals only is not clear. The cat is here called MAIT, , instead of "Mâu," as is usual. Another stele<sup>1</sup> contains reliefs in which worship is offered to a swallow and a cat, and the monuments and inscriptions contain abundant evidence that the greatest reverence was paid to the cat throughout Egypt, even as classical writers say. According to Diodorus (i. 83) the Egyptians fed their cats on bread and milk and slices of Nile fish, and they called the animals to their meals by special sounds. When a cat died its master had it placed in a linen sheet and taken to the embalmers, who treated the body with spices and drugs, and then laid it in a specially prepared case. Whosoever killed a cat, wittingly or unwittingly, was condemned to die, and an instance is cited by Diodorus in which a certain Roman who had killed a cat was attacked in his house by the infuriated populace and was slain.

Herodotus narrates (ii. 68) that "When a conflagration takes place a supernatural impulse seizes on the cats. For the Egyptians, standing at a distance, take care of the cats, and neglect to put out the fire; but the cats making their escape, and leaping over the men, throw themselves into the fire; and when this happens great lamentations are made among the Egyptians. In whatsoever house a cat dies of a natural death, all the family shave their eyebrows only; but if a dog die, they shave the whole body and the head. All cats that die are carried to certain sacred houses, where being first embalmed, they are buried in the city of Bubastis."

Among the Egyptians several kinds of APES were regarded as sacred animals, but the most revered of all was that which was the companion of Thoth, and which is commonly known as the DOG-HEADED APE. This animal seems to have been brought in old, as in modern, times from the country far to the south of Nubia, but whether this be so or not it is certain that the Cynocephalus ape found its way into Egyptian mythology at a very early period. In the Judgment Scene he sits upon the standard of the Great Scales, and his duty was to report to his associate Thoth when the pointer marked the middle of the beam. Classical

<sup>1</sup> *Dizionario*, pl. 118.

writers rightly discuss this ape in connexion with the moon, and we know that sacred cynocephali were kept in many temples which were dedicated to lunar gods, e.g., of Khensu at Thebes; certain classes of apes were regarded as the spirits of the dawn which, having sung hymns of praise whilst the sun was rising, turned into apes as soon as he had risen. The cult of the ape is very ancient, and is probably pre-dynastic, in which period dead apes were embalmed with great care and buried.

In dynastic times the ELEPHANT could not have been a sacred animal in Egypt because he had long before withdrawn himself to the swamps and lands of the reaches of the White and Blue Niles. The Island opposite Syene was not called "Elephantine" because the elephant was worshipped there, but probably because it resembled the animal in shape, just as the city on the tongue of land at the junction of the White and Blue Niles was called "Khartûm," i.e., "elephant's trunk" on account of its resemblance in shape to that portion of an elephant's body. It is, however, quite certain that great reverence must have been paid to the elephant in predynastic times, because on the top of one of the standards painted on predynastic pottery<sup>1</sup> we find the figure of an elephant, a fact which indicates that it was the god either of some great family or district.

The existence of the BEAR in Egypt has not been satisfactorily proved, and it is unlikely that this animal was indigenous. In a passage in the Fourth Sallier Papyrus,<sup>2</sup> which was translated by Chabas, it is said that when Horus and Set fought together they did so first in the form of two men, and that they then changed themselves into two bears (*ils se frappèrent l'un l'autre étant sur la plante de leurs pieds, sous la forme de deux hommes; ils se changèrent en deux ours, etc.*). Now the word rendered "bears" by Chabas is *tebi*, , which he compared with the well-known Hebrew word, *דב*, "bear"; but he appears to have forgotten the Hebrew word *זאב*, "wolf," with which *tebi* is most

<sup>1</sup> See J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les Origines*, Paris, 1897, p. 93. A carnelian elephant amulet is preserved in the British Museum (4th Eg. Room, Table Case F, No. 626 [14,608]).

<sup>2</sup> Chabas, *Le Calendrier*, p. 28.

probably connected, and which provides a more reasonable suggestion for translating the Egyptian text correctly. That bears did exist in Egypt in the Predynastic and Archaic Periods is proved by the green slate or schist model of a bear which is preserved in the British Museum (3rd Eg. Room, Table-case L, No. 29,416). According to Herodotus (ii. 67) there were bears in Egypt, though he says they were few, τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους, εἰούσας, σπανίας, and as he mentions them with wolves it is probable that the animals to which he refers were not bears but a species of wolf.

The Dog, though a very favourite animal of the Egyptians, appears never to have been regarded as a god, although great respect was paid to the animal in the city of Cynopolis; on the other hand Herodotus tells us (ii. 66) that in "whatsoever house a cat dies of a natural death, all the family shave their eyebrows only; but if a dog die, they shave the whole body and head. . . . All persons bury their dogs in sacred vaults within their own city." If any wine, or corn, or any other necessary of life happened to be in a house when a dog died its use was prohibited; and when the body had been embalmed it was buried in a tomb amid the greatest manifestations of grief by those to whom it belonged. If we accept the statement of Diodorus (i. 85) that a dog was the guardian of the bodies of Osiris and Isis, and that dogs guided Isis in her search for the body of Osiris, and protected her from savage beasts, we should be obliged to admit that the dog played a part in Egyptian mythology; but there is no reason for doing so, because it is clear that Diodorus, like many modern writers, confounded the dog with the jackal. The dog, like the jackal, may have been sacred to Anubis, but the mythological and religious texts of all periods prove that it was the jackal-god who ministered to Osiris, and who acted as guide not only to him but to every other Osiris in the Underworld.

Like the dog, the WOLF enjoyed considerable respect in certain parts of Egypt, e.g., the Wolf-city, Lycopolis, but there is reason for thinking that ancient writers confounded the wolf with the jackal. Thus Herodotus tells us (ii. 122) of a festival which was celebrated in connexion with the descent of Rhampsinitus into the Underworld, and says that on a certain day "the priests

“having woven a cloak, blind the eyes of one of their number  
 “with a scarf and having conducted him with the cloak on him to  
 “the way that leads to the temple of Ceres, they then return ;  
 “upon which, they say, this priest with his eyes bound is led by  
 “two wolves to the temple of Ceres, twenty stades distant from  
 “the city, and afterwards the wolves lead him back to the same  
 “place.” The two wolves here referred to can be nothing but  
 representatives of the jackal-gods *Ānpu* and *Āp-uat*, who played  
 very prominent parts in connexion with the dead. Another  
 legend recorded by Diodorus (i. 88) declares that when Horus was  
 making ready to do battle with Set, his father’s murderer, Osiris  
 returned from the Underworld in the form of a wolf to assist him  
 in the fight. It is important to note here the statement of  
 Macrobius, who says (*Saturn*, i. 19) that Apollo, i.e., Horus, and  
 the wolf were worshipped at Lycopolis with equal reverence, for  
 it connects the wolf with Horus and Set, and indicates that these  
 gods fought each other in the forms of wolves and not of bears.  
 Legends of this kind prove that the Egyptians did not carefully  
 distinguish between the wolf, jackal, and dog.

At a very early period the JACKAL was associated with the  
 dead and their tombs, because he lived in the mountains and  
 deserts wherein the Egyptians loved to be buried. The principal  
 jackal-gods were *Ānpu* (Anubis) and *Āp-uat*; for accounts of  
 these the reader is referred to the sections which describe their  
 history and attributes.

The Ass, like many animals, was regarded by the Egyptians  
 both as a god and a devil. In a hymn to *Rā* as found in the  
 Papyrus of Ani (sheet 1, line 14), the deceased says, “May I  
 “journey forth upon earth, may I smite the Ass, may I crush the  
 “serpent-fiend *Sebāu* ; may I destroy *Āpep* in his hour,” a passage  
 which proves that the animal was associated with *Āpep*, and Set,  
 and the other gods of darkness and evil. On the other hand, the  
 xlth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* is entitled the “Chapter of  
 driving back the Eater of the Ass,” and its vignette shows us the  
 deceased in the act of spearing a monster serpent which has  
 fastened its jaws in the back of an ass. Here the ass is certainly  
 a form of the Sun-god, and the serpent is *Hai*, a form of *Āpep*,

and it is clear from this that the ass was at one period held to be a god. In the cxxvth Chapter we are told that the Ass held a conversation with the Cat, and the passage in which the statement occurs affords additional proof that the ass was a symbol of the Sun-god. The probable explanation of the existence of these two opposite views about the ass is that Egyptian opinion changed about the animal, and that the later form of it held the ass to be a devil and not a god as in the oldest times. Plutarch records a legend (*De Iside*, § 31) to the effect that Typhon, i.e., Set, escaped from out of the battle with Horus on the back of an ass, and that after he had got into a place of safety he begat two sons, Hierosolymus and Judaeus; but no reliance can be placed on a statement which is so absurd on the face of it.

The PIG possessed a reputation for evil in Egypt, as in many other countries of the East, and the Egyptians always associated the animal with Set or Typhon. The cxiiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* supplies us with the reason why it was held in such abomination, and tells us that Rā said to Horus one day, "Let me see what is coming to pass in thine eye," and having looked, he said to Horus, "Look at that black pig." Thereupon Horus looked, and he immediately felt that a great injury was done to his eye, and he said to Rā, "Verily, my eye seemeth as if it were an eye upon which Suti had inflicted a blow." The text goes on to say that the black pig was no other than Suti, who had transformed himself into a black pig, and had aimed the blow which had damaged the eye of Horus. As the result of this the god Rā ordered his companion gods to regard the pig as an abominable animal in future. According to Herodotus (ii. 47), if an Egyptian had only his garment touched by a pig he would go straightway to the Nile and plunge into it to cleanse himself from pollution. The same writer tells us that swineherds were the only men who were not allowed to enter any of the temples, and that the Egyptians sacrificed the pig to the moon and Bacchus only. The poor, through want of means, used to make pigs of dough, and having baked them, they would offer them up as sacrifices, but the wealthy, having seen the tip of the tail of the animal and its spleen, and caul, and fat from the belly burnt in the fire, would

eat the flesh at the period of full moon, but at no other time, Horapollo (ii. 37) says that the hog was the symbol of a filthy man, and Ælian, in his account of the pig (*De Natura Animalium*, x. 16), after stating that it eats human flesh, goes on to say that the Egyptians abominated it more than any other animal. On the other hand, they kept pigs and did not sacrifice them too abundantly, because they employed them to tread the grain into the ground with their feet. According to the Rubric to the cxxvth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, the vignette was to be drawn in colour upon "a new tile moulded from earth upon which "neither a pig nor any other animal hath trodden." Why, however, the pig should be especially mentioned is hard to say. From one point of view the pig was a sacrosanct animal, and it is clear that the idea of its being holy arose from its connexion with Osiris; the texts, unfortunately, do not explain its exact connexion with this god, and it is doubtful if the Egyptians of the dynastic period themselves possessed any definite information on the subject.

Though representations of the BAT, called in the texts *setchakhemu*, , and *taki* , have been found in Egyptian tombs, proof is wanting that it was worshipped by the Egyptians of the dynastic period; a green slate model of a bat was, however, found with other predynastic remains in Upper Egypt, and it seems that it must have been regarded at least as a sacred creature.

Among small animals the SHREW-MOUSE and the HEDGEHOG were considered to be sacred, but the texts afford no information about the parts which they played in Egyptian mythology; figures of both animals in porcelain and bronze have been found in the tombs. According to Herodotus (ii. 67) the shrew-mouse was sacred to the goddess Buto, i.e., Uatchit, and all mummies of the animal were buried in her city; one legend about it declared that Uatchit took the form of the shrew-mouse that she might be the better able to escape from Typhon, who was seeking to destroy Horus, the son of Osiris, after he had been committed to her charge. Curiously enough, the shrew-mouse was thought by the Egyptians to be a blind animal, and Plutarch declares

(*Symp.* iv. 5) that it was held to be the proper symbol of darkness ; in connexion with this it is interesting to note that the inscriptions on the bronze figures of the animal identify it with Heru-khent-an-maa, i.e., the "Blind Horus," or, "Horus who dwelleth in darkness."

The ICHNEUMON, in Egyptian *khatru*,   , in Coptic  $\omega\alpha\theta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\lambda$ , as a destroyer of snakes and the eggs of crocodiles, has formed the subject of many curious legends which have been preserved by classical writers.<sup>1</sup> Pliny says that "it plunges itself repeatedly into the mud, and then dries itself in the sun : as soon as, by these means, it has armed itself with a sufficient number of coatings, it proceeds to the combat. Raising its tail, and turning its back to the serpent, it receives its stings, which are inflicted to no purpose, until at last, turning its head sideways, and viewing its enemy, it seizes it by the throat." The ichneumon was said to destroy not only the eggs of the crocodile, but also the animal itself. According to Strabo, their habit was to lie in wait for the crocodiles, when the latter were basking in the sun with their mouths wide open ; they then dropped into their jaws, and eating through their intestines and belly issued forth from the dead body. Diodorus declares that the ichneumon only breaks the eggs with the idea of rendering a service to man, and thinks that the creature derives no benefit itself from its act, and he goes on to say that but for the ichneumon the number of crocodiles would be so great that no one would be able to approach the Nile. Several figures of the ichneumon in bronze have been found in the tombs, but the texts supply no information about the beliefs which the Egyptians entertained about this remarkable animal. Modern naturalists have shown that there is no truth in the statement that it is immune from the effects of snake-bite, or that having been bitten it has recourse to the root of a certain plant as an antidote ; the fact is that its great agility and quickness of eye enable it to avoid the fangs of the serpent, and to take the first opportunity of fixing its own teeth in the back of the reptile's

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, ii. 67 ; Diodorus, i. 87 ; Strabo, xvii., i. 39 ; Plutarch, *De Iside*, § 74 ; Ælian, vi. 38 ; Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.*, ix. 6 ; Pliny, viii. 36.



five hundred years; his plumage was partly golden-coloured and partly red, and in size and form he resembled an eagle. He came from Arabia, and brought with him the body of his father, which he had enclosed in an egg of myrrh, to the temple of the sun, and buried him there. Pliny says (x. 3) that when the phoenix became old he built a nest of cassia and sprigs of incense, and that having filled it with perfumes he lay down and died. From his bones and marrow there sprang a small worm which in process of time changed into a little bird, which, having buried the remains of its predecessor, carried off the nest to the City of the Sun.

2. The VULTURE was the symbol of the goddesses Nekhebet, Mut, Neith, and others who were identified with Nekhebet; the cult of the vulture is extremely ancient in Egypt, and dates probably from predynastic times, for one of the oldest titles of the Pharaohs of Egypt is "Lord of the city of the Vulture (Nekhebet, or Eileithiapolis), lord of the city of the Uraeus" (Uatchet, or Buto), and it is found engraved on monuments of the late predynastic and early archaic periods. Ælian, in describing the vultures (ii. 46), says that they hover about the dead and dying, and eat human flesh, and that they follow men to battle as if knowing that they would be slain. According to this writer, all vultures are females, and no male vulture was ever known; to obtain young they turn their backs to the south, or south-east wind, which fecundates them, and they bring forth young after three years.

3. The HAWK was sacred to Horus, Rā, Osiris, Seker, and to other cognate gods, and its worship was universal throughout Egypt in predynastic times; the centre of the cult of the Hawk-god was Hieraconpolis, or the "Hawk City." The hawk was not only a Sun-bird but, when represented with a human head, was symbolic of the human soul. According to Herodotus (ii. 65), death was the punishment of the man who killed a hawk or an ibis, and Diodorus records (i. 83) that the sacred hawks were maintained at the public expense, and that they would come to their keepers when called, and would catch the pieces of raw meat which they threw to them in full flight. The Egyptians venerated two species, i.e., the golden hawk, , and the

sacred hawk, ; from the lxxviiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* it may be gathered that the former was supposed to be four cubits wide, and that it was identified with the Benu, or Phoenix, is proved by the words in the texts which are put into the mouth of the deceased, "I have risen, and I have "gathered myself together like the beautiful hawk of gold, which "hath the head of a Benu, and Rā entereth in day by day to "hearken unto my words." The divine hawk was, as we learn from the lxxviiiith Chapter, the offspring of Tem, and the symbol of the One God, and of Horus as the successor of his father Osiris, to whom "millions of years minister, and whom millions of years "hold in fear; for him the gods labour, and for him the gods toil "millions of years."

4. The HERON, , was certainly a sacred bird, and that its body was regarded as a possible home for a human soul is proved by the lxxxivith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, which was composed with the view of helping a man to effect a transformation into a heron.

5. The SWALLOW also was a bird wherein the human soul might reincarnate itself, and the object of the lxxxvith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* was to enable it to do so; the Rubric of the Chapter declares that if it be known by the deceased, "he shall "come forth by day, and he shall not be turned back at any gate "in the Underworld, and that he shall make his transformations "into a swallow regularly and continually." In the opening words the deceased is made to say, "I am a swallow, I am a "swallow, I am the Scorpion, the daughter of Rā," a fact which seems to show that the swallow was connected with the Scorpion-goddess Serqet. From a tablet at Turin, which is published by Signor Lanzone,<sup>1</sup> we see that offerings were made to the swallow; the bird is seen perched upon a pylon-shaped building, before which stands a table loaded with offerings, and above are a few short lines of text in which it is called the "beautiful swallow,"

. According to Plutarch, the goddess Isis

<sup>1</sup> *Dizionario*, pl. 118.

took upon herself the form of a swallow when she was lamenting the death of Osiris.

6. The GOOSE, or at least one species of it, was sacred to *Âmen-Râ*, a fact which is hard to explain. In a drawing given by Signor Lanzone<sup>1</sup> we have a vase of flowers resting upon the ends of two pylon-shaped buildings, and on each of these stands a goose with its shadow,  behind it, or by its side; the five lines of the text above read, “*Âmen-Râ*, the beautiful Goose,” and “the beautiful Goose of *Âmen-Râ*.” In another scene which is likewise reproduced<sup>2</sup> by Lanzone, is depicted a goose with its shadow standing on a building as before, and opposite to it is seated *Âmen-Râ*; before the god and the goose is a table of offerings. The words above the god read, “*Âmen-Râ*, the hearer of entreaty,” and those over the goose are “the beautiful Goose, greatly beloved,” . In the earliest time the goose, or rather gander, was associated with Seb the *erpât*, , of the gods, who is called in the *Book of the Dead* “the Great Cackler” (Chapters liv., lv.). The goose was a favourite article of food in Egypt, and was greatly in request for offerings in the temples; according to Herodotus (ii. 37) a portion of the daily food of the priests consisted of goose flesh. The goose is said to have been sacred to Isis, and the centre of the great trade in the bird was *Χηνοβοσκίου*, or *Χηνοβοσκια* (*Chenoboscium* or *Chenoboscia*), i.e., the “Goose pen,” a town in Upper Egypt, which was situated in the nome Diospolites, and was quite near to the marshes wherein large numbers of geese were fattened systematically. The Copts gave the name of “Shenesêt” to the town, and this has been identified with the Egyptian , “*Het-sa-Âst*,” by Brugsch;<sup>3</sup> on the other hand M. Amélineau thinks that the Greek name *Chenoboskion* is derived from the words , which, he says, are equivalent in meaning to “the place where the geese are fattened.” The meaning of the goose as a hieroglyphic is “child”

<sup>1</sup> *Dizionario*, pl. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Dict. Géog.*, p. 659.

or "son," and Horapollo goes so far as to say (i. 53) that it was chosen to denote a son from its love to its young, being always ready to give itself up to the hunter if only they might be preserved, and that owing to this trait in its character the Egyptians revered it.

7. The IBIS was universally venerated throughout Egypt, and the centre of its cult in very early times was the city of Khemennu, or Hermopolis, where the bird was associated with the Moon and with Thoth, the scribe of the gods.<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been worshipped in the first instance because it killed snakes and reptiles in general in large numbers, and it was thought to destroy the winged serpents, which, it was declared, were brought over into Egypt from the deserts of Libya by the west wind. Herodotus tells us that he once went to a certain place in Arabia, almost exactly opposite the city of Buto, to make inquiries concerning the winged serpents. On his arrival he "saw the back-bones and "ribs of serpents in such numbers as it is impossible to describe ; "of the ribs there were a multitude of heaps, some great, some "small, some middle-sized. The place where the bones lie is at "the entrance of a narrow gorge between steep mountains, which "there open upon a spacious plain communicating with the great "plain of Egypt. The story goes, that with the spring, the "winged snakes come flying from Arabia towards Egypt, but "are met in this gorge by the birds called ibises, who forbid their "entrance and destroy them all. The Arabians assert, and the "Egyptians also admit, that it is on account of the service thus "rendered that the Egyptians hold the ibis in so much reverence. "The ibis is a bird of a deep black colour, with legs like a crane ; "its beak is strongly hooked, and its size is about that of the "landrail. This is a description of the black ibis which contends "with the serpents. The commoner sort, for there are two quite "distinct species, has the head and the whole throat bare of "feathers ; its general plumage is white, but the head and neck "are jet black, as also are the tips of the wings and the extremity "of the tail ; in its beak and legs it resembles the other species.

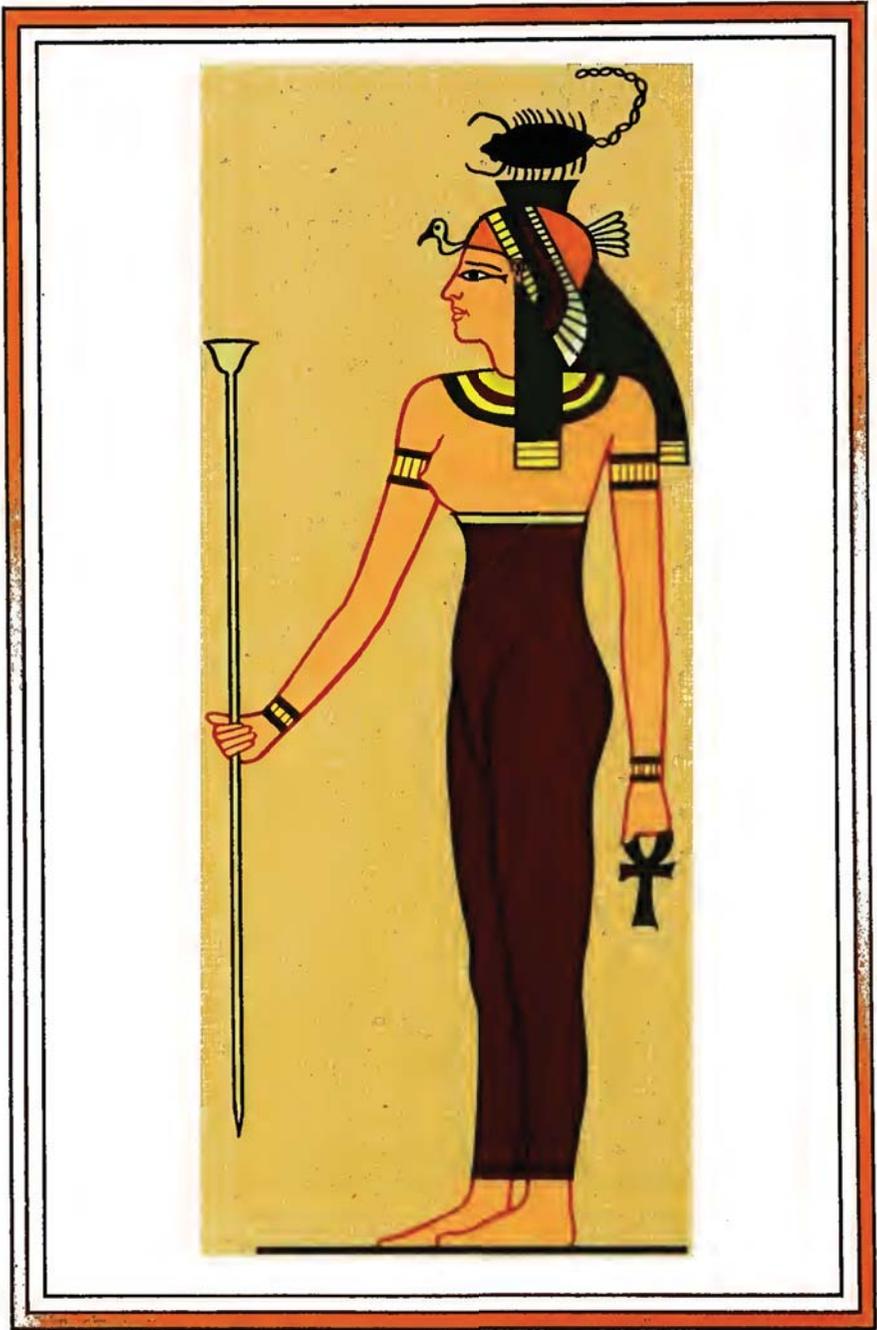
<sup>1</sup> See Ælian, *De Nat. Animal.*, x. 29 ; Horapollo, i. 10, 36 ; Herodotus ii., p. 75 ; Diodorus, i. 83 ; Plutarch, *De Iside*, § 75 ; etc.

“The winged serpent is shaped like the water-snake. Its wings are not feathered, but resemble very closely those of the bat.”<sup>1</sup>

Among the reptiles which were deified by the Egyptians, or were regarded as sacred creatures, may be mentioned the following:—1. The TORTOISE or TURTLE, which probably came from Nubia, and was worshipped or revered through fear. The Tortoise-god *Āpesh*, , was associated with the powers of darkness, and night, and evil, and a place was assigned to him in the heavens with their representatives. In the clxist Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* mention is made of the Tortoise, or Turtle, in such a way as to suggest that he was an enemy of *Rā*, and the formula “*Rā* liveth, the Tortoise dieth,” is given four times, once in connexion with each of the four winds of heaven. The tortoise *SHETA*, , is also mentioned in the lxxxiiiird Chapter, wherein the deceased is made to declare that he has germinated like the things which germinate, and has clothed himself like the tortoise.

2. Of the SERPENT and SNAKE many varieties were worshipped by the Egyptians for the sake of the good qualities which they possessed, and many were revered through fear only. In predynastic times Egypt was overrun with serpents and snakes of all kinds, and the Pyramid Texts prove that her inhabitants were terribly afraid of them; the formulae which are found in the pyramid of *Unās* against snakes are probably older than dynastic times, and their large numbers suggest that the serpent tribes were man's chief enemies. The cult of the uraeus, or asp, is extremely ancient, and its centre was the city of *Per-Uatchet*, or *Buto*, where a temple was built in honour of the Uraeus-goddess *Uatchet*, , in early dynastic times. This city enjoyed with that of *Nekhebet* a position of peculiar importance among the Egyptians, and one of the oldest royal titles is “Lord of *Nekhebet*, lord of *Uatchet*,” i.e., lord of the Vulture-city, lord of the Uraeus-city. The cities of *Nekhebet* and *Uatchet* were in fact the ecclesiastical centres of the Southern and Northern kingdoms of

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii., pp. 124, 125.



THE GODDESS SERKET.

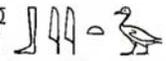
Egypt, and they were first founded in primitive times when the vulture and the uraeus were especially worshipped. The great enemy of Horus, and Rā, and Osiris, and also of the deceased in the Underworld was the monster serpent Āpep, or Apophis, which directed the attacks on gods and men of numbers of serpent broods, and which was held to be the personification of all evil; on the other hand the uraeus was the symbol of divinity and royalty, for the walls of the abode of Osiris were surmounted by "living uraei," and the god Rā wore two uraei upon his forehead, and every king is represented with a uraeus upon his forehead. In primitive times, when man coveted the powers of various birds and reptiles, and when he appears to have wished to be able to assume their forms after death, the priests provided a number of formulae which would enable him to do this, and among them was one which gave the deceased the power of becoming the serpent SATA, , and which read, "I am the serpent Sata whose years are many. I die "and I am born again each day. I am the serpent Sata which "dwelleth in the uttermost parts of the earth. I die and I am "born again, and I renew myself, and I grow young each day."<sup>1</sup> In religious texts the uraeus is associated with Isis and Nephthys, but this is due to the fact that in comparatively late times these goddesses were identified with Uatchet, the uraeus-goddess, who was at one time or another absorbed into all the great goddesses, many of whom were regarded as benevolent and beneficent deities and the protectors of a man's house, and land and crops, and children.

3. The SCORPION was venerated in Egypt at a very early period, and the scorpion-goddess SERQET or SELQET was in some of her aspects associated with the powers of evil, and in others with the goddess Isis. In the xxxiind Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* she appears as a friend of the deceased, and in the xliind Chapter his teeth are identified with those of the goddess. From the legend of Isis which is told on the Metternich Stele we learn that this goddess was accompanied on her journey by Seven Scorpions, and that the child Horus was stung by a scorpion which

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Dead*, Chapter lxxxvii.

made its way to him in spite of all the precautions which the goddess had taken. According to Ælian (x. 19), the scorpions of Coptos were of a most formidable character, and whosoever was bitten by one of them died of a certainty; in spite of this, however, they respected Isis so much that they never stung the women who went to the temple of the goddess to pray, even though they walked with their feet bare or prostrated themselves on the ground. This statement is useful as showing that the scorpion was sacred to Isis.

4. The xxxvith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* mentions a kind of beetle called ĀPSHAIT, , which was supposed to gnaw the bodies of the dead. In one vignette of the Chapter the deceased is seen threatening it with a knife, and in the other the creature is represented in the form of an ordinary scarabaeus which is being speared by him. The Āps Hait is probably the beetle which is often found crushed between the bandages of poorly made mummies, or even inside the body itself, where it has forced its way in search of food.

5. In the lxxvith and civth Chapters of the *Book of the Dead* an insect called ĀBIT, , or BEBAIT, , is mentioned which is said to lead the deceased into the "House of the King," and to bring him "to see the great gods who are in the Underworld"; this creature is probably to be identified with the praying Mantis (*mantis religiosa*) about which so many legends are current.

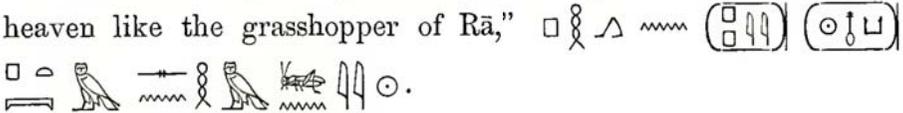
6. The FROG appears to have been worshipped in primitive times as the symbol of generation, birth, and fertility in general; the Frog-goddess HEQET, , or HEQTIT, , was identified with Hathor, and was originally the female counterpart of Khnemu, by whom she became the mother of Heru-ur. The great antiquity of the cult of the frog is proved by the fact that each of the four primeval gods Heh, Kek, Nāu, and Āmen is depicted with the head of a frog, while his female counterpart has the head of a serpent. The cult of the frog is one of the oldest in Egypt, and the Frog-god and the Frog-goddess were believed to have played very prominent parts in the creation of the world.

According to Horapollo (i. 25), the frog typified an imperfectly formed man, Ἄπλαστον δὲ ἄνθρωπον γράφοντες βάτραχον ζωγραφοῦσιν, because it was generated from the slime of the river, whence it occasionally happens that it is seen with one part of a frog, and the remainder formed of slime, so that should the river fall, the animal would be left imperfect; the half-formed creatures referred to by Diodorus (i. 10) seem to have been frogs. Ælian also declares (ii. 56) that in a shower which once fell upon him there were half-formed frogs, and that whilst their fore parts were provided with two feet their hind parts were shapeless!

7. With the GRASSHOPPER ideas of religious enjoyment seem to have been associated, for in the *Book of the Dead* (Chap. cxxv.) the deceased says, "I have rested in the Field of the Grasshoppers"

(, SEKHEṬ-SANEḤEMU), wherein was

situated the "northern city;" it lay to the south of Sekhet-hetep. The grasshopper is mentioned as early as the VIth Dynasty, and in the text of Pepi II. (line 860) the king is said to "arrive in heaven like the grasshopper of Rā,"



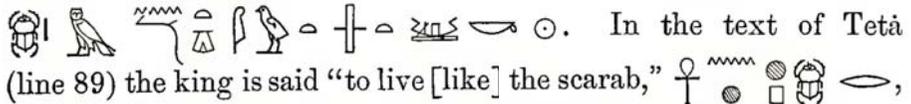
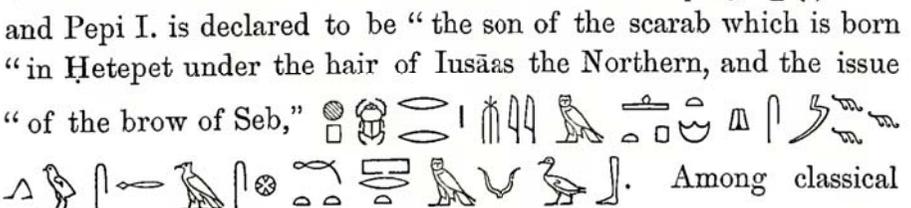
8. Chief among insects in importance was the BEETLE, or SCARABÆUS, which was called by the Egyptians *kheperā*, , and was the symbol of Kheperā, , the great god of creation and resurrection. The Beetle-god is represented at times with a beetle upon his head, and at others with a beetle for a head; as Kheperā's attributes have already been fully described we need only repeat here that he was the "father of the gods," and the creator of all things in heaven and earth, that he was self-begotten and self-born, and that he was identified with the rising sun, and new birth generally. The beetle or scarabæus which was modelled by the Egyptians in such large numbers belongs to the family called *Scarabaeidae* (Coprophagi), of which the *Scarabæus sacer* is the type. These insects compose a very numerous group of dung-feeding Lamellicorns, of which, however, the majority are inhabitants of tropical countries. A remarkable peculiarity exists in the structure and situation of the hind legs,

which are placed so near the extremity of the body, and so far from each other as to give the insect a most extraordinary appearance when walking.

This peculiar formation is, nevertheless, particularly serviceable to its possessors in rolling the balls of excrementitious matter in which they enclose their eggs; wherefore these insects were named by the first naturalists *Pilulariae*. These balls are at first irregular and soft, but, by degrees, and during the process of rolling along, become rounded and harder; they are propelled by means of the hind legs. Sometimes these balls are an inch and a half, or two inches in diameter, and in rolling them along the beetles stand almost upon their heads, with the heads turned from the balls. These manoeuvres have for their object the burying of the balls in holes, which the insects have previously dug for their reception; and it is upon the dung thus deposited that the larvae feed. It does not appear that these beetles have the instinct to distinguish their own balls, as they will seize upon those belonging to another, in case they have lost their own; and, indeed, it is said that several of them occasionally assist in rolling the same ball. The males as well as the females assist in rolling the pellets. They fly during the hottest part of the day.<sup>1</sup> From the above extract it is clear that the scarabaeus is in the habit of laying its eggs in dung, which is to serve as food for its larvae, and that the larvae are hatched by the heat of the sun's rays. The ball of matter containing potential life was compared to the sun's globe, which contained the germs of all life, and the beetle, with its ball of matter and eggs, was regarded as the symbol of the great god Kheperà who rolled the globe of the sun across the sky. Now, the god Kheperà also represented inert but living matter, which was about to begin a course of existence for the first time, or to enjoy a renewal of life, and he was thus not only the creator of life but also the restorer or renewer of life, and so at a very early period became associated by the Egyptians, first with the idea of the new birth of the sun daily, and secondly, with the resurrection of man. And since the scarabaeus was identified with him that insect became at

<sup>1</sup> J. O. Westwood, *An Introduction to the Modern Classification of Insects*, London, 1839, vol. i., p. 204 ff.

once the symbol of the god and of the Resurrection. Now the dead human body, from one aspect, contained the germ of life, that is to say, the germ of the spiritual body, which was called into being by means of the prayers that were recited and the ceremonies that were performed on the day of the funeral; from this point of view the egg-ball of the scarabaeus and the dead body were identical. Moreover, as the scarabaeus had given potential life to its eggs in the ball, so, it was thought, would a model of the scarab, itself the symbol of the god of new life and resurrection, also give potential life to the dead body upon which it was placed, and keep life in the living body, always provided that the proper words of power were first said over it or written upon it. The idea of "life" appears to have been associated with the scarab from time immemorial in Egypt and the Eastern Súdân, for to this day the insect is dried, pounded, and mixed with water, and then drunk by women, who believe it to be an unfailing specific for the production of large families.

That the scarab was associated with the sun is clear from a passage in the text of Unâs (line 477), where it is said, "This Unâs flieth like a bird, and alighteth like a beetle; he flieth like a bird and he alighteth like a beetle upon the throne which is empty in thy boat, O Râ," . In the text of Tetâ (line 89) the king is said "to live [like] the scarab," , and Pepi I. is declared to be "the son of the scarab which is born in H̄etepet under the hair of Iusâas the Northern, and the issue of the brow of Seb," . Among classical writers<sup>1</sup> the opinion prevailed that female scarabs did not exist, and Latreille thinks that this belief arose from the fact that the females are exceedingly like the males, and that both sexes appear

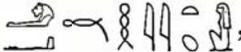
<sup>1</sup> Ælian, x. 15; Horapollo, i. x.; Porphyry, *De Abſtinentia*, iv. 9.

to divide the care of their offspring equally between them. According to Horapollo, a scarabaeus denotes an “*only-begotten*, generation, father, world, and man.” It represents an “only-begotten” because the scarabaeus is a creature self-produced, being unconceived by a female. The male, when desirous of procreating, takes some ox-dung, and shapes it into a spherical form like the world. He next rolls it from east to west, looking himself towards the east. Having dug a hole, he buries it in it for twenty-eight days; on the twenty-ninth day he opens the ball, and throws it into the water, and from it the scarabaei come forth. The idea of “generation” arises from its supposed acts. The scarabaeus denotes a “father” because it is engendered by a father only, and “world” because in its generation it is fashioned in the form of the world, and “man” because there is no female race among them. Every scarabaeus was also supposed to have thirty toes, corresponding with the thirty days’ duration of the month. For accounts of the use of scarabs as amulets the reader is referred to other works.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the cult of FISH among the Egyptians but little can be said, because the hieroglyphic texts afford us little information on the subject. According to Strabo (xvii. 2, 4), there were “in the Nile fish in great quantity and of different kinds, having “a peculiar and indigenous character. The best known are the “Oxyrhynchus, and the Lepidotus, the Latus, the Alabes, the “Coracinus, the Choerus, and the Phagrorius, called also the “Phagrus. Besides these are the Silurus, the Citharus, the “Thrissa, the Cestreus, the Lychnus, the Physa, the Bous, or ox, “and large shell-fish which emit a sound like that of wailing.” Among these were chiefly worshipped the Oxyrhynchus, the Phagrus, the Latus, and the Lepidotus. The chief seat of the cult of the Oxyrhynchus Fish was the city of Oxyrhynchus, where it was held in the greatest reverence; this fish was supposed to have swallowed the phallus of Osiris<sup>2</sup> when Set was hacking the body of this god in pieces, and for this reason was sacred not only in the nome of the Oxyrhynchites and its metropolis, but all over Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Mummy*, p. 233 ff.; *Magic*, p. 35 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *De Iside*, § 18.

In certain places the Egyptians would not eat it. The Phagrus, or eel, was worshipped in Upper Egypt, and mummied eels have been found in small sepulchral boxes. Of the *Lepidotus* Fish no legends have been preserved; the *Latus* was worshipped at Esneh. The fish with the very wide and large mouth which is seen on the head of the goddess Hätmehit, , has not yet been identified. In the *Book of the Dead* two mythological fish are mentioned, the *ÁBṬU*, , and the *ÁNT*, ; these fish were supposed to swim, one on each side of the bows of the boat of the Sun-god, and to drive away from it every evil being or thing in the waters which had a mind to attack it. The identification of Nile fish is at present a difficult matter, but it is to be hoped that when the Egyptian Government issues the monograph on the fish of Egypt and the Delta, and of Nubia and the Súdán it may be possible to name correctly the various bronze and wooden fish which exist in the many collections of Egyptian antiquities in Egypt and Europe.



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