

THE WISDOM OF THE EAST SERIES

EDITED BY J. L. CRANMER-BYNG, M.C.

EGYPTIAN RELIGIOUS POETRY

Egyptian Religious Poetry

By

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Egyptian
Religious Poetry

MARGARET A. MURRAY



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TO THE MEMORY OF MY THREE TEACHERS
FLINDERS PETRIE J. H. WALKER
F. L. GRIFFITH

EDITORIAL NOTE

The object of the editor of this series is a very definite one. He desires above all things that, in their humble way, these books shall be the ambassadors of good-will and understanding between East and West, the old world of Thought, and the new of Action. He is confident that a deeper knowledge of the great ideals and lofty philosophy of Oriental thought may help to a revival of that true spirit of Charity which neither despises nor fears the nations of another creed and colour.

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PREFACE

IN writing this book I am addressing those readers to whom it is the spirit of a poem that appeals, and not the exact and "scholarly" (Anglicé, dull) translation. Translation is always a ticklish business ; on the one side there is the Scylla of the word-for-word translation, whereby the words are given their equivalents in the other language, with often a complete loss of the spirit of the original ; on the other hand, there is the Charybdis of the free translation where the translator incorporates into the text sentiments which are not justified by the original. Translators of poetry are notoriously the worst offenders in the latter respect, but that there are brilliant exceptions is well known. In these cases, however, the translators have been poets as well as scholars. The Psalms are a shining example of such translations. In modern times, Edward Fitzgerald and Sir Gilbert Murray have shown that the divine fire of the originals is not hidden when reproduced in another language. I cannot attain to such heights ; all that I have attempted to do is to show the reader that Egyptian religious poetry had in it something closely akin to our own, that to these ancient people God showed himself as a God of Love as well as a God great and terrible. Though many of the epithets applied to the Deity are strange and unfamiliar to us, they meant as much to the Egyptian worshipper as "the Babe of Bethlehem" or "the Son of Man" mean to the Christian. I have, however, retained as far as possible a word-for-word translation of many of the epithets. But in every way I have kept in mind the saying of a master of translation, "Translation is an Art, not a Science."

In arranging the book I have put first a Glossary of all names

and epithets which present any difficulty. Then follow a sketch of the history of Egypt, a sketch of the religion, and a short account of the poetry. The hymns, psalms, prayers, and proverbs form the main part of the book; these are divided into sections under appropriate headings, each item being placed as far as possible in chronological order in each section; and against each is the reference to an easily accessible publication.

Note.—The hieroglyphs on the cover represent the phrase “The Worship of God”; an appropriate motto for this book.

ABBREVIATIONS OF PUBLICATIONS

Arch.	. . .	<i>Archaeologia.</i>
B.A.R.	. . .	Breasted, <i>Ancient Records.</i>
B.B.D.	. . .	Budge, <i>Book of the Dead.</i>
B.D.R.	. . .	Breasted, <i>Development of Religion and Thought.</i>
B.E.L.	. . .	Budge, <i>Egyptian Literature.</i>
B.F.B.	. . .	Blackman and Fairmen, <i>The Bucheum.</i>
B.H.E.	. . .	Breasted, <i>History of Egypt.</i>
E.E.L.	. . .	Erman, <i>Egyptian Literature</i> (transl. Blackman).
G.T.P.	. . .	Griffith, <i>Tomb of Paheri.</i>
J.E.A.	. . .	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i>
P.T.	. . .	Sethe, <i>Die Pyramidentexte. Spelcers, Traduction des Textes des Pyramides.</i>
R.A.	. . .	<i>Revue Archéologique.</i>
Spr.	. . .	<i>Spruch, i.e. the sections of the Pyramid Texts.</i>
Z.A.S.	. . .	<i>Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache.</i>

GLOSSARY

THE transliteration of Egyptian names has always been a difficulty, for the Egyptian alphabet contains no vowels and has letters for sounds which do not occur in European languages. A group of consonants, such as Nfrhtp, may be correct, but is impossible to pronounce, therefore conventionally a short *e* is inserted to divide the syllables, thus Neferhetep. Early Egyptologists boldly transliterated some of the letters as vowels or followed the Greek transcriptions, and so produced Thoth and Amasis instead of the Egyptian Zehuti and Yohmes. Modern Egyptologists in trying to arrive at the correct pronunciation have produced terrible combinations like Djedj, or have adopted the Greek forms of many of the names.

As there is no standard transliteration available for the general reader, I have compromised on using forms which are easily pronounced. The vowels are usually long, with the exception of the *a* in Amon (Greek, Ammon) and the short *e* which only divides syllables; the *kh* is a guttural. Where the spelling of a name differs from the Egyptian I have put the other version in brackets. I have divided the names into their syllables and, where required, have put the meanings.

- Aah-mes* (Gr. *Amasis*). "Child of the Moon-god." First king of the xviiith dynasty. He drove the Hyksos out of Egypt.
- Abd-fish*. A mythological fish, seen at sunrise in the waters of the celestial Nile in front of the Boat of the Morning.
- Abydos* (Eg. *Abdu*). The city of Osiris, where the early Pharaohs were either actually buried or where their cenotaphs were erected.

- Akh-en-aten*. "Glory of the Sun-disc." A king of the late xviiith dynasty. He introduced a new type of religion and art. He was known to his contemporaries as "that criminal"; modern writers call him "the heretic King". He moved the capital from Thebes to a place which he named Akhet-aten, "Home of the Sun-disc"; it is now known as Tell el Amarna.
- Amen* or *Amon* (Gr. *Ammon*). "The Hidden One." Chief god of Thebes, and from the xviiith dynasty onwards was the chief god of all Egypt. Often depicted with the head of a ram with curved horns.
- Amentet*. The West as the place to which the dead go.
- Amon-em-hat* (Gr. *Amenemmes*). "Amon as the Chief." There were four kings of this name in the xith dynasty, of whom the third was celebrated for his engineering works in the Fayum, and for building the great Labyrinth described by Herodotus and Strabo.
- Amon-hotep* (Gr. *Amenophis*). "Amon is content." There were four kings of this name in the xviiith dynasty, of whom the fourth changed his name to Akh-en-aten.
- Anu-people*. A generic name for Asiatics.
- Anubis* (Eg. *Ynpu*). The jackal-headed god of death.
- Apis* (Eg. *Hapi*). The bull-god of Memphis. He was the "living soul of Osiris" and was the incarnation of the Nile.
- Apophis* (Eg. *Āa-pep*). The great serpent, the enemy of Rê, which lies in wait to attack the Sun-boat, and is foiled by various deities and all the Sun-worshippers.
- Archer Tribes*. There were nine Archer Tribes (also called the Nine Bows) originally, but the phrase was often used to express all the hostile tribes on the borders of Egypt.

- Atef-crown*. The tall crown of Upper Egypt adorned with ostrich feathers and ram's horns, worn by Osiris and in late times by the King.
- Aten*. The actual Sun-disc, as distinct from the more abstract idea of the god (Rê) immanent in the Sun.
- Atum*. The early name of the Sun-god, displaced later by Rê.
- Bakhu*. The mountain of the sunrise. When the Boat of the Morning sailed between the sycamores of turquoise, with the Abd-fish and the Ynt-fish playing in the water before it, it woke the serpent of the mountain, and the morning light glittered on his scales.
- Bast* (Gr. *Bubastis*). The cat-headed goddess of Bubastis in the Delta. Though originally an independent deity, she was fused with the lioness-goddess Sekhmet; the combination shows the two aspects of Deity. Herodotus describes her temple and her festival.
- Bennu-bird*. A bird associated both with the Sun-god and with Osiris. It was a species of heron. The name is possibly the origin of the word phoenix.
- Boat of the Sun*. The Sun sailed on the celestial Nile in a boat which had several names; he rose in the Boat of the Morning and set in the Boat of the Evening. The boat was also called the Boat of Millions of Years, and the Neshemt-boat, or simply the Boat. At the prow were stationed the various deities who protected the sun against his enemies.
- Busiris* (Eg. *Dedu*; mod. *Abusir*). The sacred city of Osiris in the North. Herodotus mentions that human sacrifice was practised there.
- Buto* (Eg. *Pé-Dep*). The city of the cobra-goddess Wazt.
- Duat*. In the Pyramid Texts this place was in the sky; but in

the Book of the Dead it is the Underworld to which all the dead went, and through which the Sun-god passed every night.

Elephantine (Eg. *Abu*). A city at the first Cataract.

Ennead. A group of nine deities. There were two Enneads, the Great and the Small. They were important in the Pyramid Texts, but less so in later times. Their functions are obscure, but they seem to have been the judges of the gods and of mankind. At Memphis they were emanations or aspects of the god Ptah.

Eye of Horus. In the fight between Horus and Setekh, the latter tore out one of the eyes of Horus, but it was restored to its place, whole and sound, by Rê, the Sun-god. The expression had many esoteric meanings, i.e. food offerings, fire, spiritual power, the royal crown, etc.

Fair of Face. Epithet for Ptah of Memphis.

Field of Peace. A special part of heaven to which only the gods were admitted.

Field of Reeds. Another part of heaven, which was reached in a boat. In the Pyramid Texts only the king was admitted, but in the Book of the Dead it was the place to which all the dead hoped to go.

Flaming Lake. This was placed in the Duat when it had become the Underworld and could be used as a place of punishment for the wicked. As there were no volcanoes in the Nile Valley, nor is petroleum found there, the origin of the Flaming Lake must be sought outside Egypt; possibly in Southern Russia.

Geb. The Earth-god. To the Egyptian the earth was male, the sky female.

Har-akheti. "Horus of the Horizons." A name given to both the Sun-god and to Horus.

Har-ded-ef. "The viper of Horus is established." A sage and magician greatly venerated.

Har-em-heb. "Horus in festival." The last king of the xviiith dynasty, a successful general who seized the throne, and married the heiress, after the extinction of the Tell el Amarna kings.

Hat-shepsut. "Chief of Noble Women." The great queen of the xviiith dynasty. She built the magnificent temple at Deir el Bahri.

Heliopolis (Eg. *Ynu* or *Yum*). Called On in the Bible. The sacred city of the Sun-god.

Hen-en-ni-sut (Gr. *Herakleopolis*; mod. *Ehnasiyeh*). "The Childhood of the King." One of the places where human sacrifice was practised.

Herakleopolis. See *Hen-en-ni-sut*.

Heri-hor. The first priest-king of the xxist dynasty.

Hermontis (mod. *Armant*). Sacred city of Mentu, the God of War.

Horizon. The dwelling-place of the Sun-god from which he emerged at sunrise and entered again at sunset.

Horizon-dwellers. Sometimes identified with the dead, usually regarded as glorious and shining entities. Possibly the prototypes of angels.

House of Flame. A chapel in the temple.

I-em-hotep. "Come in peace," or "Welcome." The name of a great sage and magician who was deified.

Ipt-isut. "Enclosed of places." Name of the great temple of Karnak.

Ka. An integral part of the personality of gods and men. It survived death in human beings, and the funerary offerings of food and drink were always for the Ka of

- So-and-so.** The word has been translated in many ways, but the exact meaning is unknown.
- Ka-mes.** "Child of the Bull." A king of whom there are few remains. He took part in driving out the Hyksos.
- Khepri.** "The Existent One." The self-existent god, who gives life to the dead Sun and revivifies all nature. Represented as the scarab.
- Kheri-aha.** The traditional site of the fighting between Setekh and Horus.
- Lady of Life.** The serpent on the king's head, emblematic of sovereignty. Also placed on the Sun's disc.
- Letopolis (Eg. Sekhem).** Human sacrifice was a regular part of the ritual at this temple.
- Manu.** The hill of the Sunset.
- Maot.** The goddess of Truth, Justice and Righteousness, a daughter of the Sun-god. Represented as a woman with an ostrich feather on her head. The fillet round her hair is perhaps the origin of the classical representation of Justice with bandaged eyes. Her name occurs in the throne-names of many Pharaohs.
- Menes (Nar-mer).** The first historic King of Egypt. He united Upper and Lower Egypt and brought the whole land under one rule. He founded Memphis (Eg. Men-nefer) by turning the course of the Nile and so reclaiming much land.
- Mentu (Gr. Month).** The God of War.
- Mer-en-Ptah.** "Beloved of Ptah." A king of the sixth dynasty, son of Rameses II. He drove out all the foreigners who had settled in the Delta, among whom (if the chronology is correct) were the children of Israel.
- Mut.** "Mother." The chief goddess of Thebes. The personification of the crown of Upper Egypt (the White Crown).

- Nefer-ka-Ré.** "Beautiful is the ka of Ré." Throne name of Pepy II of the sixth dynasty.
- Neith.** The personification of the Crown of Lower Egypt (the Red Crown). Her sacred city was Sais. Herodotus describes a festival of Neith.
- Nekhebt (mod. El Kab).** The "Southern Shrine" of the hymns.
- Nekhebt (Gr. Eileitheia).** The goddess who represented the South, depicted as a vulture. Her function was to protect the king.
- Nekhen (Gr. Hieraconpolis).** The capital of Upper Egypt in prehistoric times.
- Nephtys (Eg. Neb-het, "Lady of the house").** Originally the goddess who received the Pharaoh on his death. She began as an independent deity; later, was made a sister of Isis, with whom she mourned the death of Osiris.
- Neshemt.** See *Boat of the Sun*.
- Nut.** The Sky-goddess. The sun was born of her every day and died in her arms every night. Represented as a gigantic woman bending over the earth with her feet and hands touching the ground while her curved body makes the arch of the sky.
- Pepy.** There were two kings of this name in the sixth dynasty. In the pyramids of both the burial chambers are inscribed with the religious texts known as the Pyramid Texts.
- Ptah.** Chief god of Memphis. God of all the arts of life.
- Punt.** Generic name for the trading ports down the Red Sea and possibly along the south of Arabia. The "Land of Punt" was known as the Land of the Gods, and was celebrated for spices and perfumes.
- Rameses.** "Child of the Sun." There were eleven kings of this name, of whom the best known was Rameses II of

- the ninth dynasty. He was perhaps the Pharaoh of the Oppression.
- Ramesseum*. Modern name for the funerary temple of Rameses II, which was one of the greatest and most magnificent in Thebes.
- Rê* or *Ra*. The Sun-god. Though often acclaimed as the supreme god, he had to be protected from his enemies by other gods and even by his devoted worshippers.
- Re-stau*. "The mouth of the Passages." A name for the tomb, especially a royal tomb.
- Sehepu*. An unknown entity.
- Sekhmet*. "The Mighty One." The lioness-headed goddess of Memphis, often fused with Bast, the cat-headed goddess of Bubastis. She was regarded as a destroying deity.
- Sen-usert*. "Man of the Strong Goddess." There were four kings of this name in the xiiith dynasty. The first and third were great conquerors.
- Se-qenen-Rê*. "He whom Rê causes to be strong." A king of the xviiith dynasty, who rebelled against the Hyksos, and was killed in battle.
- Setekh-nekht*. "Setekh is victorious." The last king of the sixth dynasty.
- Shishak* (Eg. *Sheshanq*). A king of the xxist dynasty, with whom Jeroboam took refuge when he fled from Solomon. In the fifth year of Rehoboam Shishak raided Palestine and sacked the temple at Jerusalem.
- Shu*. The god who lifted up the sky from the earth. He was regarded as the god of light, and was the first creation of the supreme God.
- Sothis* (Eg. *Sopd*). The Dog-star. The rising of the Dog-star at dawn was the herald of the inundation. The star was identified with Isis, and according to the legend it was the

- tears shed by the goddess for the loss of her husband Osiris which caused the inundation.
- Stars*. The Imperishable or Never-setting stars are the circumpolar stars which were always visible in the latitude of Memphis. The Unwearied or Never-resting stars were probably the planets.
- Ta-mery*. "The cultivated Land." A name for Egypt.
- Tatunen*. An ancient god of Memphis; afterwards fused with Ptah.
- Tefnut*. A creation-goddess, from whom and from her brother Shu all other deities were derived.
- Tety*. A king of the vith dynasty, in whose pyramid the walls of the burial chamber were inscribed with the Pyramid Texts.
- Thanent*. A site sacred to Osiris.
- Thoth* (Eg. *Zehuti*). The god of writing, mathematics, medicine and magic, and god of the moon in its aspect as measurer of time. Called Hermes by the Greeks. Represented as an ibis-headed man. The dog-headed baboon was sacred to him. His sacred city was Khemennu (Gr. Hermopolis; mod. Eshmunen).
- Thothmes*. "Child of Thoth." There were four kings of this name in the xviiiith dynasty, of whom the third was the great conqueror, who founded the Empire of Egypt.
- Two Lands*. } Names for Egypt.
Two Regions. }
- Two Sisters*. The goddesses Isis and Nephthys, sisters of Osiris.
- Un-nefer*. "The Good Being." An epithet of Osiris.
- Up-uauf*. "The Opener of the Ways." The jackal god of Siut.
- Wazt* (Gr. *Buto*). The cobra-goddess of Buto, whose oracle was famous. Her image was the chief emblem of royalty,

was worn on the brow of every Pharaoh, and was the origin of the fabulous basilisk of the Greeks.

Wenis. A king of the vith dynasty, in whose pyramid the walls of the burial chamber were inscribed with the Pyramid Texts.

Yn-mut-ef. "Pillar of his Mother." A priestly title, usually borne by the king's son.

Ynt-fish. A mythological fish, accompanying the Boat of the Morning at sunrise, when it was seen in eddies of turquoise.

Ynu (Gr. *Heliopolis*). The chief city of Sun-worship.

INTRODUCTION

THE importance of Egypt in the study of religion and in the performance of rites and ceremonies attracted attention as early as the time of Herodotus, for the Greeks were always ready to acknowledge their indebtedness to the people of the Nile Valley. Herodotus puts the matter in a few words: "The Egyptians were the first to discover the year, which they divided into twelve months . . . The Egyptians were the first who introduced the names of the twelve gods, and the Greeks borrowed those names from them; they were the first to assign altars, images, and temples to the gods, and to carve figures of animals in stone. . . . The Egyptians were also the first who introduced public festivals, processions, and solemn supplications" (Bk. ii, 4, 58).

Palestine was so closely linked geographically with Egypt that the influence of that great civilization must have been immense on the smaller and less civilized country. But to the jealous and barbarian Hebrews the splendour of Egypt was an offence, though they borrowed largely from the ideas and ideals, and even the very language, of the Egyptians. Yet in spite of hatred and malice, the influence of Egypt on the religion of both the Canaanites and Hebrews can be clearly seen, and through the Hebraic Scriptures that influence is found in the later religions, Christianity and Islam.

(a) HISTORY

	Dynasty		Dynasty	
Proto-dynastic	{ i }	3400-2980 B.C.	New Kingdom	
	{ ii }			
	{ iii }			
Old Kingdom	{ iv }	2900-2750 B.C.	{ xvii }	
	{ v }		1600-1580 B.C.	
	{ vi }			{ xviii }
First Intermediate Period	{ vii }	2475-2160 B.C.		{ xix }
	{ viii }		1350-1200 B.C.	
	{ ix }			
	{ x }			1200-1090 B.C.
Middle Kingdom	{ xi }	2160-2000 B.C.	Late Period	
	{ xii }			
	{ xiii }			
Second Intermediate Period	{ xiv }	1788-1600 B.C.	{ xxi }	
	{ xv }		1090-945 B.C.	
	{ xvi }			
			945-745 B.C.	
	{ xxiv }			
			{ xxv }	
			Assyrian conquest 666 B.C.	
			{ xxvi }	
			663-525 B.C.	
			Persian conquest 525 B.C.	
			Persian Period	
				{ xxvii }
				{ xxviii }
				{ xxix }
			{ xxx }	
			{ xxxi }	
			342-332 B.C.	
			Alexander 332-323 B.C.	
			Ptolemies 323-30 B.C.	
			Romans 30 B.C.-A.D. 641	
			Arab Conquest A.D. 641	

The dates before this period are approximate only.

The civilization of Egypt can be traced back as far as the first inhabiting of the Nile Valley, but until the coming of writing there can be no knowledge of the poetry. Prehistoric Egypt was divided into a number of small princedoms, each governed by its chief. In the fourth millennium B.C. there entered into Egypt a foreign people who conquered the whole country and brought with them the elements of writing. The

first historic king of all Egypt was Menēs, whose other name was Nar-mer.

The long history of Egypt is divided into a series of dynasties, beginning with no. 1 and ending with no. 31. This was the system used by the Egyptian historian Manetho (*circa* 270 B.C.), though his reasons for the division are not clear. It is, however, a convenient system for indicating the sequence of events and the position in time of certain aspects of the religion and the literature. This is peculiarly important in the present state of archaeological knowledge, when every new discovery of any value brings in its train some alteration in the previously accepted dating by years, making one period longer or another shorter. In tracing the changes in religion dating by years is of little value; the facts of real importance are the causes and sequence of the changes, and these are clearly indicated in the dating by the numbered dynasties.

For those, however, to whom dating by years means much, I have given above a list of the dynasties with their approximate dates, though it must be borne in mind that any date before the New Kingdom is still a matter of controversy.

The victories of Menēs and his immediate predecessors brought Egypt under one rule and so ensured peace within its borders. With peace established the arts flourished, and the whole level of civilization was raised. The Old Kingdom carried on the splendid tradition of the Proto-Dynastic period, and in the realm of Art Egypt rose to a height in architecture and sculpture which she never achieved again. At the end of the Old Kingdom, actually in the vith dynasty, there was a marked degeneration in the sculpture, but it was then that the religious literature blossomed in the most remarkable manner, for up to that time a few poetical expressions and one Triumph-Song are all that have survived of the poetry.

The Old Kingdom faded gently out of existence, and Egypt fell into the hands of Syrian overlords, but the change was so gradual that it appears to have taken place without battles or bloodshed. At all times Lower Egypt, i.e. the Delta, was almost as closely connected with Palestine and Syria as with Upper Egypt. A Syrian overlord, with a vassal king at Memphis calling himself Pharaoh, could rule the country with ease; for Memphis at the head of the Delta was an ideal place from which to govern both Upper and Lower Egypt. But when the capital was moved farther south to Herakleopolis, the Delta fell more and more under Syrian influence, and the Pharaoh became a mere chieftain of a small principality. Little is known of this the First Intermediate Period, for the people of the North were savages in comparison with the Egyptians, and the country lapsed into ignorance and barbarism.

It was not until the princes of the South founded the xith dynasty at Thebes that Egypt began to rise from the depth into which she had fallen. The xith dynasty showed the way, and the xiith dynasty emerged as one of the greatest periods of Egyptian history. Under the powerful Pharaohs of the xiith dynasty Egypt was peaceful and prosperous. Not only was the sculpture of the most magnificent, but the minor arts, such as jewellery, have never been surpassed for beauty of design and excellence of craftsmanship. Trade at this time was extensive, and Egyptian objects have been found as far afield as Malta and south Russia. The influx of foreign ideas and foreign peoples is perhaps the origin of the great output of fine literature which characterizes the xiith dynasty. The poem of the "Man and His Soul", the Triumph-song of Senusert III, the story of Sinuhé, the hymn to the Crowns, and many others, show Egyptian literature at its best.

At the end of this splendid period Egypt sank again into

obscurity and ignorance, and fell an easy prey to the hordes of barbarian tribes known to history as the Hyksos, whom Josephus claimed to be the Hebrews. Crushed under the heel of the invaders, Egypt lost her art, her literature, her temples, her very religion, in that orgy of destruction. Nothing remains of the earlier periods but the indestructible Pyramids and any buildings or objects already covered by the all-encroaching sand. The domination of the Hyksos, lasted, according to the historian Manetho, for five centuries,¹ but modern scholars prefer to shorten the time to two hundred years. The Hyksos were merely destructive, they had no culture of their own, and the few remains of their occupation of Egypt are bad imitations of Egyptian work. Except, therefore, for scarabs and other small objects, the Second Intermediate Period is largely blank.

At about 1600 B.C. the princes of Thebes rebelled. Under a family, which appears to have comprised all the military genius of the age, Thebes roused the rest of the country. The Pharaoh, Seqenen-Rê, was killed in battle, but his sons, Ka-mes and Aah-mes, carried on the fight against the foreigners and drove them out. This was the beginning of the xviiiith dynasty, when Egypt rose to the highest peak of power and wealth. Under her great warrior-kings her Empire extended from Syria in the north to Meroë in the south, and her civilizing influence was felt throughout the Mediterranean area and the countries of the East. Her rule over the little pugnacious principalities of Palestine enforced peace on that incessantly quarrelsome country, and with peace she brought prosperity, as excavation has now proved. Her Pharaohs showed a wisdom and humanity in their dealings with conquered countries in marked contrast with all other rulers of ancient times. Here was no putting

¹ This is the same length of time that Serbia was under the domination of Turkey.

of men and women and even children "to the edge of the sword" like the bloodthirsty Hebrews, no impaling of captives like the cruel and savage Assyrians, no enslaving of whole nations who were not "free-born" Roman citizens. Chiefs who had resisted were probably killed out of hand, prisoners of war were sent to Egypt as slaves, usually in the temples, but there were no massacres, no long-drawn-out and horrible deaths, no general enslavement of the population. Chiefs and kings who had submitted were left in possession, conquered districts were put under the charge of Egyptian governors, and the general population continued their ordinary lives with greater security than had been their lot previously. Egypt gave to the world an example of moderation and humanity which has few parallels in ancient or modern history.

It is to this period of the New Kingdom that the great bulk of Egyptian literature belongs. All through the xviiith and xixth dynasties the scribes were busy writing every form of literature, for with the spread of education more reading matter was required. The so-called *Book of the Dead* is the principal source for the religious literature of this time. The name is a modern one, and though a misnomer is a convenient title, for the Book of the Dead is not really a book, but consists of a number of sections (called *chapters* by modern scholars) for use in this world and the next. Various chapters written on papyrus were often placed in tombs, but no complete copy of all the chapters together has ever been found. It would seem that a man would have his favourite chapters copied out and laid beside him in the grave. Though the origin of the majority of the chapters is unknown, some few can be traced back to the Pyramid Texts. The difference in outlook between the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead is very marked. In the Pyramid Texts every "Utterance" has reference to the king,

in the Book of the Dead the reader is the only person concerned. In the Pyramid Texts the chief pronoun is "he", in the Book of the Dead it is always "I". In the Pyramid Texts the King is born of God, is equated with God, and ascends to God at death; in the Book of the Dead every reader has the same privileges. This shows a democratic tendency in the religion quite unexpected at so early a time. The Pharaohs still retained their high position as God Incarnate, but it is possible that the many campaigns in which they led their armies in person and in which they shared the hardships and dangers as well as the victories with their soldiers were the ultimate cause of the change. In the early periods the King was more divine than human, in and after the xviiith dynasty he was more man than god. The victories of Thothmes III (xviiith dynasty) were voiced in the great Triumph-song which ascribes his triumphs to God alone. This is the more remarkable, for Thothmes appears to have suffered no defeats, and he might well have regarded himself as the sole author of his victories.

For more than a century Egypt maintained her high position and her level of civilization, keeping the peace strictly in all parts of her great empire. Then came disaster in the shape of a religious fanatic, to whom his own special form of worship was more than the welfare of his people. Akhenaten was the ruin of his country. He began his career as a devout worshipper of Amon; his name was then Amon-hotep, "Amon is content". After four years he became violently opposed to the worship of Amon, whose name he erased from every monument. With equal violence he adopted a special form of sun-worship. The actual visible disc of the sun, the Aten, was the object that he adored, not the abstract idea of divinity immanent in the sun, which was the essence of Rê-worship. He moved the capital from Thebes to an uninhabited part of the country, where he

built a new town and called it Akhet-Aten, "Horizon [home] of the Sun-disc" (now known as Tell el Amarna), and changed his own name to Akh-en-Aten, "Glory of the Sun-disc". Here he spent the rest of his life building temples and writing hymns to his new deity, leaving his country to go to rack and ruin for want of the guidance which is required of every king. Though he was a great worshipper of his god, he was more aloof from his subjects than any other Pharaoh, insisting so much on his own divinity that none of them dared to stand upright in his presence. He deserted his faithful and loyal friends in Syria and Palestine, leaving them to be butchered by invading tribes because he was engaged in making offerings to his god. It is true, that he wrote, or at least is credited with, a few fine hymns to the Sun-disc, but it is equally true that as a king and as a man he was despicable. When he died he had lost all the northern provinces and Egypt itself was in a state of chaos. The hatred in which he was held by his own people is shown by the complete and deliberate destruction of the town of Akhet-Aten, the statues and temples being the special objects of the popular fury. It was not until the accession of Haremheb, who was a successful general and administrator, that any semblance of law and order could be restored to Egypt.

The sixth dynasty was another period of military glory for Egypt, and there are many hymns to the Pharaohs, in which they are acclaimed as God or the Son of God. It was in this dynasty that Egypt comes into contact with the legendary beginnings of the history of another people, for it was in the reign of Merenptah (*circa* 1227-1218 B.C.) that the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt appears to have taken place. The Triumph-Stela of Merenptah shows the Egyptian side of the Biblical story, when he recounts how he drove out all the foreigners who had settled in the northern and most fertile parts of Egypt. This

great achievement made him extremely popular among his own people, and many poems were written extolling his divinity and his prowess. On his death rival claimants to the throne ravaged the country by civil war during many years. In the end the power was seized by Setekh-nekht, who transmitted it to his son, Rameses III, the first King of the xxth dynasty. Though Rameses III was the master-mind that inflicted a crushing defeat on the great coalition of sea-peoples, who were attempting to invade Egypt, either he did not strike the imagination of the contemporary Egyptian poets or there were then no writers with the gift of poetry. The hymns in his honour call him God, but there is little or no devotion in them, the similes are often bombastic, and the style turgid. Rameses III was the last of the great Pharaohs, and his temple at Medinet Habu was the last of that series of temples which are among the architectural wonders of the ancient world. His successors were pious weaklings, and the power fell more and more into the hands of the ambitious High-Priest of Amon, Heri-hor, who on the death of the last of the *rois fainéants* seized the throne and founded the xxist dynasty. Egypt had now shrunk to its smallest dimensions; under the rule of Heri-hor and the successive high-priests the temples and priesthoods flourished, but the people were sunk in ignorance and superstition.

Egypt remained poor and insignificant until Shishak I, Prince of Bubastis, made himself Pharaoh, and was the first king of the xxiind dynasty. He led his people to battle and enriched Egypt with the spoil of the temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem. The xxiiird dynasty was the beginning of the subjection of Egypt to foreign conquerors. The Ethiopian conquerors had, however, great respect for the arts, as is shown by the fine work of their sculpture and by the literature, of which unfortunately very little survives. The Ethiopians were driven out by the

brutal Assyrians, and Egypt suffered all the horrors of an invasion by the most ruthless and cruel people of the ancient world. Upper Egypt never recovered from that orgy of devastation and plundering, and fades out of history completely. The seat of government was moved to the north, and in the xxvth dynasty Greek influence was paramount, until Cambyses added Egypt to the list of conquered provinces belonging to the Persian Empire. The disastrous period of Persian rule was ended by Alexander the Great's conquest, and with that conquest the true history of ancient Egypt comes to an end, for the Ptolemies were essentially Greek in their culture. They set up a dazzling façade of civilization and learning at Alexandria which blinded the eyes of their contemporaries to the condition of the people of the country. When Cleopatra, the last of the Ptolemies, died, Egypt was taken over as a dependency by the Roman Emperors, who regarded it as a place to be taxed to the utmost limit, and even beyond, to pay for their luxuries and pleasures.

As the arts cannot flourish when the struggle for life is too keen, there is very little poetry to be found after the xxvth dynasty, and what little there is cannot be regarded as truly Egyptian, for it is largely influenced by foreign thought and methods.

(b) RELIGION

In dealing with the religious poetry of any country a knowledge of the religion of that country is an obvious necessity. The religion of ancient Egypt, like the religion of most ancient countries, is confusing at first sight owing to the multiplicity of deities. The confusion is chiefly due to the method of presentation of the pantheon to foreign eyes. This process began as

early as the xviiith dynasty (*circa* 1500 B.C.), when Egypt had spread far beyond its original borders and had come in close contact with other civilizations and other religions. As the great and ruling power her religion was of importance to the conquered countries and had to be explained to a certain extent. The Egyptian theologians of the period made a gallant attempt, though with disastrous results, to unify the varying beliefs held by the people of their country. It is possible that their rearrangement of the pantheon may have been intelligible when delivered by word of mouth, but their writings on the subject are too often incomprehensible. Therefore to obtain any real understanding of the beliefs of the ancient Egyptians it is necessary to study the religion before the theologians began to explain it; in other words, before the xviiith dynasty.

The prehistoric periods show that there was a strong belief in a future life, but it is not until the historic period that there is any recognizable indication of the worship of God. In the prehistoric periods Egypt was divided into a number of little principalities, which were conquered and united under one head by Menes, the first historic King or Pharaoh. Each little state had its own king and its own deity, the god or goddess being almost invariably in animal form; in later times, they are depicted with human bodies and animal heads. In these little states there seems to have been the usual primitive belief that the deity also dwelt in a human being, always the King himself, and that to the Ruler belonged the creative power of God. He was thus the giver of fertility to every living creature within his little kingdom, and was worshipped by his subjects as God Incarnate. When the country was united into one kingdom, the King became Osiris (*Us-yri*), the Occupier of the Throne. In Egypt the throne descended in the female line and could be acquired only by marriage with the heiress; the Queen was then Isis

(*Ysyf*), She of the Throne. In the eyes of the people the King was the incarnation of the local god in every place which he visited, and was worshipped with divine honours; but as he was also human he was obliged to have a god of his own, and this god was the sun. There are therefore three strata in the ancient religion:—

(a) the primitive gods of each district, generally in animal form.

(b) the Osiris-Pharaoh and the Isis-Queen and their attendant deities.

(c) the Sun, originally worshipped by the Pharaoh only.

Much can be learned about the religion of the primitive principalities not only from the survivals but from the records of similar conditions in other countries in historic times. Each little state regarded its local deity as supreme, a form of monotheism found in the majority of early communities. But the supremacy of the god was confined to his own district only and did not extend to the next principality. A tribal war meant a combat between two rival gods as well as between two fighting tribes. An unsuccessful raid could be ascribed to the fact that a god was difficult to conquer when fighting in his own district, though he might be defeated if inveigled into the invaders' country. An example of such a belief is seen when the Hada-dites of the plains were defeated by the Yahvite hill-tribes under Ahab (1 Kings xx. 23).

Changes in this isolationist belief were due to various causes. Peaceful intercourse, with alliances for mutual protection, would unite two districts so closely that they would gradually become one. The gods would then become also united, though each keeping his or her own individuality. This came about by regarding them, according to their reputed age and sex, as husband and wife, parent and child, or more rarely as brother

and sister. A conquest, however, had a different effect on the deities, for it meant the imposing of the god of the conquerors on the vanquished population. The clash of two religions often gave interesting results. A good historical example is seen in the attempt of the Hebrew invaders to force their tribal god on the reluctant Canaanites. The conquerors formed the aristocracy of the country and worshipped their own god, despising the local deities and persecuting their worshippers. The conquered population remained faithful to their old gods for many centuries, but as they were illiterate the only records that survive were made by the annalists of the conquering religion. This is true of all countries where a new religion is enforced, the old religion is driven underground, but influences the new both in beliefs and ritual. The old rites, with perhaps a new legend to explain them, are incorporated into the religion of the conquerors, and a compound religion emerges. Very often, however, the god of the old religion is gradually dethroned from his high position as the Creator and Giver of all good things, and becomes the Principle of Evil, the great Enemy of the god of the conquerors, who in his turn is now the Creator and Giver of all good things. In short, "the God of the old religion becomes the Devil of the new". This was markedly the case in Egypt; Setekh, at one time the great Creator and Ruler of the world, became the Wicked One, the Enemy of Osiris, the Good Being; Osiris in his turn became to the Christian Amenté the Devil.

The fusion of several races with their varying beliefs gave rise not only to a plurality of gods but also to various rituals, which in their turn affected the beliefs. This is markedly the case in the relation of Osiris and Horus with the King. In the earliest periods the Delta seems to have been the leader in civilization. The deities of Lower (Northern) Egypt were the cobra-goddess Wazt and the falcon-god Horus. These retained their suprem-

acy throughout the long history of Egypt and were dethroned only by the advent of Christianity. This is seen by the fact that in hieroglyphic writing the cobra was the emblem of sovereignty for the King as well as being the sign for all goddesses, while the King was actually Horus himself. In the South the chief goddess was Nekhebt or Mut, the vulture, and the chief god was Setekh.¹ The vulture was the sign of sovereignty for the Queen, but the position of Setekh is peculiar. When, under Menes, the South conquered the North, Setekh's position was high, but with the regularization of Osiris-worship the savagery of the ritual of Setekh told against him. He was feared rather than respected or loved, and except for certain centres of his cult he became, in the official religion during the xxiind dynasty and onward, the Evil Power, fighting against the Power of Good in the form of Osiris. If, as seems likely, the priest of Setekh disguised as that god actually put the Occupier of the Throne to death, the detestation in which Setekh was held in later times is explained. Whether Horus, as the heir of Osiris, then slew the slayer is uncertain; if so, it was a later development, for originally it was the heir who sacrificed the King. This is clearly stated in the Pyramid Texts, "O Striker, thou hast slain thy father, thou hast killed one who is greater than thyself." The evidence of the ritual and hymns shows that the slayer was himself slain, for Horus claims to have sacrificed the enemies of Osiris, and Setekh in particular. By one of those strange perversions so often caused in religious belief by ritual, Osiris then assumes the character of Setekh and becomes the Red God of human sacrifice who delights in blood.

¹ The earliest writing of this name is Setesh, a dialectical form of Setekh. By some misapprehension the earlier Egyptologists called him Set; modern Egyptologists call him Seth, although it is certainly a name of two syllables.

There are many causes of confusion in the religion of Egypt, but one of the main causes is the fact that there were two deities named Horus. The principal, perhaps the original, Horus was Horus the Elder (Her-wer, the Arocris of the Greeks). He was an entirely independent god, having no real connection with any other deity. The gradual conquest of Egypt by the dynastic Kings was ended by Menes (Narmer), who took the Delta; but until the Roman occupation the country was always divided into two parts, Upper and Lower Egypt. It was, however, united under one head and acknowledged one Pharaoh. The dynastic conquest became legendary as a series of battles between two gods, Horus of the North and Setekh of the South. There now entered another cause of confusion; the totem of the victors was a falcon, so also was the god Horus. Setekh, though actually the conquering power, became in the end the enemy defeated by the royal totem.

The other Horus was Horus the Child (Har-pa-khred, the Harpocrates of the Greeks). He was the child of Isis and Osiris, and his proper function was the purely passive one of emphasizing the motherhood of Isis, and in certain cases to be invoked in a curse, when Osiris is called upon to be "after" the person accursed, Isis to be "after" his wife, and Harpocrates to be "after" his children. By the xviiiith dynasty the legend of Osiris had become inextricably mixed with the saga of Horus and Setekh. Horus the Elder was then regarded as Horus the Child grown to man's estate, and his battles with Setekh were to "avenge his father", whom Setekh had murdered. The Pharaoh was identified with his ancestral totem, and thus he was both Horus the falcon and Osiris the Occupier of the Throne. The youthful Horus was, in the later religion, identified with the newly risen, i.e. the newly-born, sun; and as Horus and the Pharaoh were one and the same, the King became not only the

son of the Sun but the Sun himself. It becomes therefore almost impossible at times to distinguish between the hymns addressed to Osiris, Horus, or the Sun, from those addressed to the King.

The other deities are sparsely represented in the religious literature, and then usually only when the local dynast rose to be Pharaoh and his local city had become of sufficient importance to attract the literary world. Ptah and Bast were the objects of a few hymns when the Delta came into prominence after the New Kingdom, but it is a strange fact that there are hardly any prayers or hymns addressed to the greatest of all the goddesses, Isis. It is not surprising that the worship of the goddess of birth, the hippopotamus Ta-urt, has left no remains, for with few exceptions her worshippers were illiterate, and the prayers addressed to her would not be recorded; but as Isis was the royal goddess to whom temples were dedicated, it is somewhat surprising to find so few remains of the words of her cult.

Though the functions of the gods varied, the functions of the goddesses were always the same. They were invariably protectresses, never requiring protection themselves. For this reason they are often represented with wings on their arms which they stretch out over the devotee or even the god, whom they protect. The goddess is sometimes fierce against the enemies of the god whom she protects, like Sekhmet and Wazt; for it is evident that each god had bitter enemies against whom he was powerless unless he received outside help. It is possible that the idea of protecting a god against his foes arose in primitive times when a god was safe only in his own country and surrounded by his worshippers. This would account for the fact that even the great gods, Rê and Amon, had to be aided in their battles. The chief god to be protected was Osiris, for it

was part of the Osirian creed that he had been killed, and that his body had to be guarded till he rose again. Every goddess was a mother, and as such was regarded as the protector of her children, i.e. her worshippers, and the wings emphasized the idea of protection, reminding the spectator of a mother bird in the nest. Gods, when in human form, are not winged.

The Sacred Drama of the dedication and sacrifice of the Incarnate God can be followed in the Pyramid Texts (see p. 67 *seq.*) by the hymns and prayers used on these solemn occasions. It seems clear that there was a special ceremony of dedication when the King was made divine, which was celebrated when he was appointed to the Kingship. Though more than one Pharaoh claimed to have been "King from the egg", documentary evidence shows that this was not the case and that, with few exceptions, every Pharaoh was a full-grown man at his accession. As the throne went in the female line, and as the Pharaoh only obtained his high position by right of marriage with the heiress, he was not necessarily a member of the royal family. Yet every Pharaoh had to be the son of God and a human mother in order that he should be the Incarnate God, the Giver of Fertility to his country and his people. This difficulty was overcome by a ceremonial birth in which, in the primitive form, the two goddesses Isis and Nephthys acted as mothers, so that the King was born of the goddess of each main division of the country. The ritual birth is a well-known rite in many religions of the Lower Culture. The ceremonies of the baptism and naming of the new King followed immediately after the ceremonial birth. With the naming came also the calculation (probably by a horoscope or other astrological means) of the length of his life. The length of the reign was limited to seven years, but the Pyramid Texts show that there were means of escaping the doom, "Turn thou back, turn thou back the years for Tety,"

and, "The life of Nefer-ka-Rê is more than a year." Still more definite is the prayer in the Book of the Dead :

Decree for me life by your speech year by year ; give me multitudes of years over and above my years of life, multitudes of months over and above my months of life, multitudes of days over and above my days of life, multitudes of nights over and above my nights of life.

[B.B.D., ch. lxxi]

But there is no doubt that the primitive kings were actually sacrificed at the end of seven years unless they could obtain a substitute to suffer in their stead. If this could be effected the King could continue for another seven years, and a reign might thus be prolonged to a considerable length. From the fact, however, that these Texts were deliberately placed in the actual burial chambers of these five kings, it is a fair inference that each one of them suffered the fate of the Incarnate God in his own person.

In any study of the religion of Egypt the position of the Pharaoh is seen to be of the utmost importance. The monarch himself was God ; he was all powerful because he was God, he was King because he was God ; to swear falsely by his name was blasphemy as well as perjury, and was therefore punishable with death ; "to fear God and honour the King" was one and the same act. All the land and its people belonged to the King because he was the giver of fertility, the preserver of all.

As early as the Pyramid Texts the Pharaoh is amongst the gods, "Speaking that which is and creating that which is not". In the xiiith dynasty Amonemhat III was "the Generator who creates mankind", and another King of the same dynasty is described thus : "He fills the Two lands with his strength, He is Life." Hatshepsut of the xviiiith dynasty, who ruled as a King and not as a Queen, says in plain language, "I am God,

the Beginning of Existence." And in the Book of the Dead (ch. cxxvii) the birth of God is stated with equal plainness : "Behold, ye stars in Heliopolis, ye people of Kheri-aha, God is born." Still more definite is the text, "God was born when I was born" (ch. clxxiv).

The King, then, was a dual personality, both God and man. Without any feeling of incongruity he could, as a man, give worship to himself as God. As God he was the Giver of all to his subjects ; as a man he was like other men, the creation of his own God. He was on an entirely different plane from the ordinary human being, and his God also was different from the gods of the people. To his subjects he was the living incarnation of the local god of any district he happened to be visiting ; he was the actual god in human form, whom they could see and speak to and adore. But the God whom the King himself worshipped was the Sun ; to whom he alone offered worship and sacrifice. He alone was the begotten Son of the Sun-god, it was to him alone that the Sun-god gave love and blessing, and it was the Sun-god's name that the Pharaoh incorporated in the official title that he took when he became Osiris, the Occupier of the Throne.

The deities to whom the greater number of prayers and hymns were addressed are Amon, Rê, and Osiris.

Amon, as the god of the capital city when Egypt was at the height of her power, never lost his importance in the eyes of Egypt and her former dependencies. The splendour of Egypt and of her greatest god lasted till the iron heel of Rome crushed the country into despair and misery, and made it a wreck. Amon therefore could count every class of the population among his worshippers. The Pharaoh, though officially and theologically, the son of the Sun-god Rê, was in his own estimation and in that of his people the physical son of Amon. The little

tombstones of the poor show that Amon was the god upon whom they called when in trouble.

Rê, as the god of the Pharaoh, was worshipped in Court circles, for it was politic to follow the King's lead. The most marked example of this subservience is at Tell el Amarna where Akhenaten's courtiers gained the royal favour by a slavish adoration of the royal god. Rê was never a god of the people until a late date, and seems to have been regarded as a protector of the gods (including the Pharaoh) rather than as the protector of the poor like Amon. The worshippers of Rê were drawn entirely from the educated classes, who could afford to have copies of prayers and hymns to that god engraved on the walls of their tombs or written on papyrus to be buried with them. And as all the surviving temples were built by the Pharaohs, who naturally honoured their own private god above his fellows, Rê has an importance in the religious poetry of ancient Egypt which was probably out of proportion to the actual facts.

Osiris is in a unique position, for he was the Pharaoh himself, whether alive or dead, and could be worshipped in both aspects. Because he was a living man he knew the troubles and trials of poor humanity, and could sympathize, help, and comfort; because he was dead, he was the ruler of the Other World, that blessed land where poverty and famine, sickness and death, could not enter. His cult made a universal appeal, for he was the living Pharaoh who could be seen and adored in person, and he was also the King and Judge of the Dead to whom all mankind must go. It is this dual aspect of Osiris, as being both living and dead, that causes part of the confusion in the presentation of the Egyptian religion.

But though he is a god of so many aspects that his worship is often confusing, actually all those aspects become unified when his true character as the God of Fertility, in other words, the

Creator of all things, is realized. Any natural phenomenon which caused, or was supposed to cause, fertility was thus an aspect of Osiris, hence he is the Moon and the Nile. As the god of the farmyard he is the Bull, the Apis, who was called the Incarnate Soul of Osiris. As the god of the fields, he is the seed sown in the ground, which rises again in the corn, and is cut down and "killed"; and as the ultimate source of all life can be traced back to what springs out of the earth, he becomes the Creator, the Lord of all, the Universal Lord, the Lord of the Universe.

His most important aspect was his incarnation in a human body, that body being the body of the Pharaoh. Every Pharaoh that sat upon the throne of Egypt was the incarnation of the God of Fertility, in him reigned the Creator spirit of God, and it was to him that the whole nation turned to bring a good Nile and increase the food supply. It was not for nothing that the Pharaoh of the Bible was disturbed by the prophetic dream of the fat and lean kine, for as the God of Fertility he, and he alone, was responsible for keeping his people free from famine.

There is, however, another aspect of Osiris besides that of the Creator and Giver of food, which is seen at certain seasons of the year and at certain festivals. Life was taken out of the ground in the form of crops, therefore the life-giving power must be returned to the ground or famine would result. That power dwelt in a human body, the body of the King, and was subject to all the infirmities of humanity—sickness, old age, death; the power had to be removed while the body was still young and vigorous, in the full tide of manhood. The problem was how to remove it and transfer it to another and younger body, and a ceremony was evolved to ensure the safe transfer.

As the belief in the indwelling Spirit of God can be found in all parts of the world and in every period from the Bronze Age

onward, ceremonies for the purpose of transferring the Spirit from one body to another can also be found, and still exist among some primitive tribes. In every instance the killing of the divine King when he was past his prime was an essential part of the rite, for the fear of famine was ever present and no risk could be allowed of the failure of the creative power. The Spirit of fertility, driven out of its human body by the drastic means of the death of that body, had then to be housed again in a youthful body, where it could remain till that body grew old in its turn and a new home had again to be found for the indwelling Spirit of God.

As customs always become modified in course of time, this custom gradually changed, and a substitute for the King was allowed to die in his stead.¹ The substitute was for a given period the King himself, wielding the royal power and wearing the royal insignia; but at the end of that time—often only a week—he suffered the death that his royal master should have suffered. By his death the earth was rendered fertile again and the King received a new lease of life and could reign for another period of years. The ceremonial birth and the baptism do not seem to have been performed for the substitute, and the calculation for the length of life was unnecessary; but it is an open question whether there was a ceremony of naming, for it is clear that the substitute was sacrificed as the King and in the King's name. The sacrificed King becomes, in the end, the god Osiris.

In the form in which it has come down to us, the Osirian belief bristles with inconsistencies. Even as early as the Pyramid

¹ For the killing of the divine King, see Frazer, *The Dying God* and *The Scapgoat*; Wainwright, *The Sky Religion in Egypt*. The Swedish record shows that one of the Kings of Sweden lived to the age of ninety by having sacrificed a substitute at the times when he himself should have died.

Texts, the Pharaoh sometimes appears to be entirely distinct from the god, at other times he is clearly Osiris himself. With the changes in social conditions and the alterations caused by warfare and invasions, Osiris became in certain aspects a completely separate deity before whom the Pharaoh himself must appear when he passed to the Other World. Yet his identity with the Pharaoh is seen in the beautiful temple built by Setekhy I at Abydos, where the ceremonies both in the upper temple and in the secret chapels below ground were for the worship of the dead kings who had themselves been divine.

There is practically no change in the official religion after the New Kingdom. As regards the worship of the local deities, there is little or no evidence to indicate whether they gained or lost ground among their worshippers. When the centre of government shifted from Thebes to the Delta, Bast of Bubastis and Ptah of Memphis became prominent and their temples excited the wonder and admiration of Herodotus. Under the Ptolemies Osiris worship received a great impetus, for the kings and queens of that dynasty were deeply impressed with the idea of their own divinity, and every temple which they built had a "birth-chamber" where the divine birth of the King was celebrated annually. The sacrifice of Osiris appears to have been practised also, but the evidence for this is not so clear. The puppet play in the temple of Dendera showed forth the mystery of the passion and death of Osiris, and the annual celebration of the sacrifice continued in the villages as a rustic festival dying out less than a century ago.

Though at first sight the religion of Egypt appears both primitive and confused, there are traces of a deeper philosophy underlying the simple dogmas and ideas. Each temple probably had its own school of theology, in which the nature and attributes of their deity were explained to the votaries, but it is rare

to find anything of the kind in writing. Oral teaching has always been customary in the East, and ancient Egypt was no exception to the rule. The few examples that remain show some of the fundamental beliefs which underlay the apparent polytheism.

Three are all gods, Amon, Rê and Ptah ; there is none like them. Hidden in his name as Amon, he is Rê in face, his body is Ptah. Their cities on earth are established for ever, Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis, unto all eternity. When a divine message is sent from Heaven, it is heard in Heliopolis, it is repeated in Memphis to the Fair of Face, it is set in a letter in the writing of Thoth (and sent) to the city of Amon which is theirs. "Go forth", says God. "Every utterance of his mouth is Amon." The gods are established because of him according to the command of the divine message which has been sent : "He shall slay or cause to live ; life and death are with him for all people." He is manifest in Amon, with Rê and Ptah, the three united.

[Z.A.S., xlii, 35]

The priests of Amon have left a short account of their God :

Beginning of existence in the beginning of Time. Amon existed from the beginning, none know his emergence. No god existed before him, no other god was with him who could tell his form. He had no mother to name him, no father to beget him and say, "This is I." He shaped his egg himself. Force, mysterious of birth, creator of his own beauty, God, Divine One, self-created. All gods came into existence after he began.

[Z.A.S., xlii, 32]

It is in the theories of the Creation, of which there are many, that the religious philosophy is most clearly seen. The most important is found as early as the Pyramid Texts of the vith dynasty which, on the lowest computation, are more than two thousand years before the Christian era. At that early date

there is evidence that the theory of the Logos was already evolved. "The lips of King Pepy are the two Enneads ; Pepy is the great Word" [P.T., Spr., 506]. And again King Pepy is said to create by speaking : "Pepy is the scribe of the gods, saying that which is and creating that which is not" [P.T., Spr., 510]. This is the theory of the Word of God as the creative power ; and as the King was the God Incarnate, the theory of the Word made flesh is also clearly developed. That this was not an accidental and passing theory is shown by an inscription, which though actually dating to the time of the Ethiopian king Shabaka (*circa* 750 B.C.), was copied from a much earlier text, one probably belonging to the xviiith dynasty (*circa* 1550), about seven centuries earlier. It is obvious that the theory was being taught orally, and was only rarely committed to writing. It was probably known only to initiates and was not part of the faith of the common people.

The inscription in question concerns the god Ptah of Memphis :

Ptah the Great is the Mind and Tongue, integral parts of the god Atum. Ptah, the very great, from whom proceeded the gods and their powers, is both the Mind and the Tongue ; Thoth proceeded from the Mind, and Horus from the Tongue, that is to say, from Ptah who is the power of Mind and Tongue. He is the origin of every concrete form, of every language, of all gods, of all mankind, of all animals and all reptiles that live, meditating on and commanding all things as he wills. . . . When the eyes see, the ears hear, and the nose breathes the air, they transmit to the Mind. It is the Mind which brings every matter to a successful issue, but it is the Tongue which repeats the thought of the Mind. It was the Mind that fashioned the gods, even Atum and his Ennead, for every divine Word came into being as the thought of the Mind and as the command of the Tongue. It is the Mind that makes the *kas* and the qualities, that creates all food and all offerings by the Word, that makes all things that are loved and all

things that are hated. It is the Mind which gives Life to the peaceful and Death to the guilty. It is the Mind which makes every kind of work and all Art. The hands act, the feet walk, the limbs move, as they are commanded, because of what the Mind thinks and the Tongue speaks.

This section of the inscription ends with the words: "And Ptah rested, after he had made all the things as well as all the Words of God"; a phrase suggesting the origin of the words which end the Biblical account of Creation. I quote here Breasted's summing-up of this inscription:

As Ptah furnishes all designs to the architect and craftsman, so now he does the same for all men in all that they do; he becomes the supreme mind; he is mind and all things proceed from him. The world and all that is in it existed as thought in his mind; and his thoughts, like his plans for buildings and works of art, needed but to be expressed in spoken words to take concrete form as material realities. Gods and men alike proceeded from mind, and all that they do is but the mind of the god working in them. [B.H.E., p. 357]

As the greater part of our knowledge concerning the funeral rites and the beliefs in the Hereafter are obtained from tombs, and as the number of tombs excavated greatly exceeds the number of temples and houses, our information on this subject is greater than our knowledge of the gods. The funerary rites for the wealthy were highly elaborate, and were copied from the ceremonies at the burial of a Pharaoh, with the modifications due to the lesser rank of the dead man. The Pharaoh's burial rites were those which were said to have been performed by Horus over his father Osiris; therefore when all the dead were identified with Osiris they could claim the same ceremonies. Mummification was important, for without the actual body to which to return, neither the *ka* nor the soul could survive.

There were several theories of the Hereafter. The most simple was that the dead went into the Kingdom of Osiris, which was the realm of bliss, where they lived a happy life. In another theory, which is elaborated in the Book of the Dead, the dead could come out of the Underworld in the daytime and enter into their old homes and enjoy the same pleasures that they had had in life. This is summed up in the prayers for a man of the xviiith dynasty (*circa* 1501-1450 B.C.).

Mayest thou wander as thou listest in the beautiful margin of thy garden-pond, may thy heart have pleasure in thy plantation, mayest thou have refreshment under thy trees, may thy desire be appeased with water from the well which thou didst make, mayest thou see thy house of the living and hear the sound of singing and music in thy hall that is on earth, and mayest thou be a protection unto thy children for ever. [G.T.A., p. 101]

Yet a third theory of the life after death belonged originally to the Pharaoh only; but in and after the xviiith dynasty (*circa* 1500 B.C.) lesser folk were eligible for the same existence. This was to join the Boat of the Sun as it sank to rest in the West, and to continue with the dead Sun through the darkness and dangers of that grim land through which the sun passed during the hours of the night, emerging joyously at sunrise in the Boat of the Morning.

As the West was the place where all the heavenly luminaries died, i.e. disappeared, it was regarded as the place to which the dead also went. To "go to the West", or to "walk on the beautiful roads of the West", are euphemisms for death; the dead are therefore often called "Westerners", of whom Osiris was the Chief.

The horizon, which figures largely in all hymns to the Sun-god, was not the whole boundary of the earth and sky, but was

simply the spot in the east or the west where the sun was seen close to the earth. As the sunrise and sunset are often very colourful, the horizon was believed to be inhabited by brilliantly shining entities. These were originally connected with, though separate from human beings, but in the later religion a man on death could become a Horizon-dweller, a Shining One.

(c) POETRY

Egyptian religious poetry is so early in Time that there is nothing now remaining with which it can be compared. The only contemporary poetry is the Babylonian which is entirely different in outlook. The Hebrew poetry can, at the earliest, be dated only to the sixth or seventh dynasty, and is so largely based on the Egyptian both in outlook and form, that it is possible to say that the children of Israel not only "spoiled the Egyptians" of "jewels of silver and jewels of gold", but took away with them their religious literature. Because it was translated into English by a company of poets, Hebrew religious poetry has to a large extent been absorbed into English literature in a way now impossible for any other literature, and its origin has been completely forgotten. But to Egypt belongs the splendour of being the *fons et origo* of the sentiments and even the language of the Psalms.

The actual forms of the poems remained in use for many centuries and were common to all ancient poetry. There are four main forms.

"Parallelism of members", i.e. repetition of the same idea in different words, is a common device in early poetry, e.g. "Thy word is a lantern unto my feet and a light unto my path." Its chief use in Egyptian is in the epithets ascribed to the Deity, "King of kings, Lord of lords, Prince of princes,

Ruler of rulers". The titles and attributes of the Egyptian gods were peculiarly fitted for this method, which was extensively used.

Rhythm was certainly used, but owing to the practice of writing without either vowels or vowel-points it is exceedingly difficult to know how and where the stress should fall. Occasionally a poem is divided into lines, and even stanzas, by marking the end of each line or stanza with a dot in red ink.

A favourite form, which is still common in Egypt in popular songs, is the alternate solo and refrain. When used in religious poetry this form becomes a litany of praise or prayer, with the priest chanting the line of solo and the people answering with the refrain in chorus. Such litanies are found as early as the Pyramid Texts. Psalm 136 is a good example of a similar litany in Hebrew religious poetry.

Paronomasia, play on words or punning, is a recognized form in Oriental poetry, even of the most serious type, being regarded as a fine literary effort. It is found in Egyptian poetry occasionally, but is somewhat difficult to recognize owing to the method of writing without vowels. In English punning is permissible only in the lightest of light verse.

Rhymed verse is unknown in Egyptian poetry, so also is alliteration, which was a characteristic of early English poetry.

In the proto-dynastic period writing was too new and too little used for literature of any kind to appear; it was not until the Old Kingdom that any form of poetry is found. Here and there in the inscriptions are a few poetical phrases, as in the formulae for the dead, where there is often a prayer that the deceased person may "walk on the beautiful roads of the West on which the worthy ones walk in peace, in peace, before the great God". But the early inscriptions are otherwise severely practical, recording facts but not ideas.

There is no doubt that poetry of every kind existed in the early periods, but it was not until the vith dynasty that a true poem is recorded. This is the Triumph-song of the army, which the successful general, Uni, caused to be inscribed on his tombstone. The poem was composed in honour of a victorious campaign against the Sand-dwellers, i.e. the Bedawin of Northern Sinai, and is the first of that splendid series of Triumph-songs which is so marked a feature of Egyptian poetry. In the vth dynasty there occurs one of the few records of a folk-song, of the kind which was probably common enough among the peasants, but of which less than half a dozen have survived. Religious poetry is first recorded in the vith dynasty, when the first five kings of that dynasty—Wenis, Tety, Pepy, Meren-Rê, Nefer-ka-Rê—inscribed the walls of the burial-chambers in their pyramids with the prayers, hymns and spells used in the ritual of divine worship and of the ceremonies belonging to the death and burial of the divine king. These inscriptions are now known as the *Pyramid Texts*, and are the first religious texts of any length in the world. In spite of their extreme antiquity they appear suddenly without any sign of development, yet they also appear to have been copied from some much more ancient source, some primitive ritual of which these *Texts* are only excerpts. The deities mentioned throughout are only those with whom the Pharaoh was connected; the Sun-god called either Atum or Rê, and Osiris identified with the King, are the principal gods, while Nephthys and Nut are the chief goddesses.

These texts must have been handed down orally for many of them reappear on the coffins of the xiith dynasty, though so far no written examples have been found between the two periods. The destruction wrought by the Hyksos was far reaching and thorough, but in spite of the ruin of the monu-

ments the oral tradition was continued and many of the Texts are found again in the so-called Book of the Dead, sometimes rather confused but still recognizable.

It is in the xiith dynasty that writing became sufficiently common for papyri to be placed in the tombs. Many of these are secular literature but there are a certain number of religious texts and poems. The most important find of religious texts of this period were from the Library of the Ramesseum, showing that Rameses II of the sixth dynasty had collected ancient manuscripts for his library and valued them partly for their contents and partly for their ancientry.

The *Book of the Dead*, like the *Pyramid Texts*, is a great store-house of religious literature. It consists of a series of isolated sections—now called *chapters*—recording hymns, prayers, legends of the gods, and spells for reincarnation or against the evils that might be encountered in the next world. No complete copy has ever been found. The number of chapters found together varies so considerably that it is clear that each owner of a manuscript took only his favourite chapters into the grave with him. The number also possibly varied according to the amount the relatives could afford to pay for the copies.

It is to the xviiiith and sixteenth dynasties that the greater number of copies of the *Book of the Dead* belong. The exquisitely painted miniatures with which these chapters are illustrated show the beliefs of the people as to what they expected to happen after death. Here, as in the *Pyramid Texts*, there are spells to save the dead from certain specific perils and dangers. It is clear, however, that the beliefs expressed in this compilation are derived from more than one source. There were two main schools of thought; the more important of the two was the belief that after successfully passing the dread Judgment of Osiris, where the heart of the dead man was weighed in the

balance against the feather-emblem of Truth, he was at once admitted to the blissful Kingdom of Osiris, where want and trouble could not exist. The other belief, which seems to have been held at the same time and with equal fervour, was that of reincarnation, a belief which survived in full force till the latest period. Herodotus records it as being a common belief in his time :

The Egyptians were the first who asserted the doctrine that the soul of man is immortal, and that when it has passed through the different kinds of terrestrial, marine, and aerial beings, it again enters into the body of a man who is born, and that this revolution is made in three thousand years. Some of the Greeks have adopted this opinion, some earlier, some later, as if it were their own ; but although I know their names I will not mention them.

[Bk. ii, 123]

Occasionally also there are records of another belief which is a complete contrast with the official eschatology. This is best expressed in a prayer :

Grant that I may enter the Land of Eternity as was done for thee and thy father Atum, whose corpse was not corrupted, it did not perish. For I have never done anything which thou hatest, and I have shouted aloud with those who love thy *ka*. Let me not become worms, but deliver me as was done for thee. Let me not rot, as thou hast caused every god to rot, every goddess, every animal, every reptile. When the soul has gone out at death, when it goes away, it (the body) rots, all its bones are corrupt, they stink, the limbs crumble away, the bones liquefy, the flesh is an evil-smelling mass ; it becomes the brother of decay, it becomes a multitude of worms, altogether worms, it comes to an end. He (the dead man) perishes in the sight of Shu like every god, like every goddess, like every bird, like every fish, like every snake, like every creeping thing, like every animal whatever.

[B.B.D., ch. cliv]

Egyptian religious poetry is almost entirely anonymous ; only here and there are the names of the authors given. Akhenaten was possibly the writer of the great hymn to the Sun, but there is no actual evidence to that effect. Haremheb seems to have been the real author of the hymn to Thoth (p. 99), but he was a trained writer in his youth before he entered the Court of Akhenaten, and was therefore qualified to write poetry. Pentaur, the author of the poem on the exploits of Rameses II at the battle of Kadesh, appears to have been a professional poet attached to the Court. It is possible that there was an official poet at the Court of every Pharaoh, whose duty it was to hymn the praises of his royal and divine master. The little poems to Amon (p. 90) were by a scribe called Neb-Rê (" Rê is the Lord "). What little evidence there is points to the scribes as the actual authors of all Egyptian poetry, with the exception of the folk-songs, which were transmitted orally. Priests, who were also scribes, may have been responsible for some of the religious poetry ; but, seeing how important scribes always are in an illiterate community, it seems probable that the scribes were the authors of the whole body of the religious poetry of Egypt.

I. HYMNS TO THE SUN

I

OPEN the gates of Heaven, raise the gates of the sky ! Open the gates of the sky, raise the gates of Heaven for the Horus of the gods, when he comes forth at break of day, purified in the Field of Reeds.

Open the gates of Heaven, raise the gates of the sky ! Open the gates of the sky, raise the gates of Heaven for the Horus of the East, when he comes forth at break of day, purified in the Field of Reeds.

Open the gates of Heaven, raise the gates of the sky ! open the gates of the sky, raise the gates of Heaven for Osiris, when he comes forth at break of day, purified in the Field of Reeds.

Open the gates of Heaven, raise the gates of the sky ! Open the gates of the sky, raise the gates of Heaven for the King, when he comes forth at break of day, purified in the Field of Reeds. [P.T., Spr., 472]

2

OPEN, O Heaven ! Open, O Earth ! Open, O West ! Open, O East ! Let the Shrine of the South be opened, and the Shrine of the North be opened. Let the doors be flung wide and the Nether World be opened for the Sun-god that he may come forth from his horizon. Open for him the gates, O Boat of the Evening ; fling wide for him the Nether World, O Boat of the Morning. [B.B.D., ch. cxxx]

3

VERILY, that Hill of Bakhu, on which the sky rests, is in the east of Heaven. It is three hundred khat (30,000 cubits) in length, one hundred khat in width. There is a snake upon the brow of that Hill, 30 cubits in length, covered with shining flint scales.

[B.B.D., ch. cviii]

4

Verse transcription of Nos. 1-3

OPEN the gates of the East and the West !
 Open the gates of the South and the North !
 For the Boat of the Sunset goes to its rest
 And the Boat of the Daybreak waits to come forth.

Open your gates, O ye Regions of Night,
 Let the Boat of the Dawn sail your pillars between,
 Let the Abd-fish disport him in ripples of light,
 And in eddies of turquoise the Ynt-fish be seen.

Gold is the river, the Nile of the sky,
 Flashing with gold comes the Boat of the Dawn.
 Shrine of the South, lift your portals on high !
 Shrine of the North, let your bolts be withdrawn !

Serpent of Bakhu, why sleepest thou still ?
 Wake ! for the darkness is passing away.
 Wake ! for the dawn-light is flooding thy hill
 As the Boat of the Morning speeds to the day.

Fling wide the gates of the East and the West !
 Wide are the gates of the South and the North !
 For the Boat of the Sunset has passed to its rest,
 And the Boat of the Sunrise hastes to come forth !

5

O ATEN, Lord of rays, rising from the horizon every day ; thou shinest in my face. I worship thee at the sunrise, I adore thee in the evening. May my soul go forth with thee to heaven, may I cross in the Boat of the Morning and moor in the Boat of the Evening ; may I make a path among the Unwearied stars in heaven, and may I worship my Lord, the Lord Eternal. . . . Those who are in the Nether World come forth, bowing down, in order to see thy fair form. I have come to thee to be with thee in order to see thy orb every day . . . Renewed am I altogether by seeing thy beauties, like all thy favoured ones, because I am one of those who glorified thee upon earth. I have arrived at the land of eternity, I have joined the land of Everlasting, for this thou hast ordered for me, my Lord.

[B.B.D., ch. xv]

6

I SHALL go forth to heaven when Rê crosses the vault of the sky and shall fraternize with the stars . . . I shall see the Ynt-fish in her forms in the eddy of turquoise, and I shall see the Abd-fish in his moment. The Evil One shall be overthrown where he lies in wait ; I shall hew gashes and he shall be cut to pieces. There shall be a fair wind for Rê as the Boat of the Evening advances. The Serpent, Lady-of-Life, is glad when

the enemy of Rê is overthrown. I shall see Thoth and Maot in the Boat. All the gods are in rejoicing when they see Rê coming in peace to make the hearts of the Horizon-dwellers to live.
[B.B.D., ch. xv]

7

GLORY to Rê in the east, when he rises in beauty eternal,
Shining like burning gold as he crosses the heights of the heavens.
Glory to Rê in the west, when he passes to night and thick
darkness,
Bringing both peace and content to all the dwellers in Duat.
Grant that I too may appear with thee in the Boat of the Sunrise,
Mooring with thee in the dusk in the beautiful Boat of the
Sunset,
Grant that my path, like thine, may lead through the stars
never wearied,
Grant me to see thy face and the glowing eyes of thy Serpent,
Grant me to be renewed by the sight of thy beauty eternal.
When I pass to the Land Everlasting, O show me thy glory and
splendour,
For thou art my Lord and my God, whom I have adored in my
lifetime.

8

Verse transcription of Nos. 5-7

WHEN the stars make way for the Sun-boat
As it sails on the Nile of the sky,
I shall pass with Rê in his journey
Across the heavens on high.

I shall catch a glimpse of the Abd-fish
In that moment when it is seen ;
While in turquoise eddies the Ynt-fish
Shall flash in a golden sheen.

The Evil One I shall slaughter
Where he lies in wait for the Sun ;
I shall gash his side with my weapon,
He shall die ere the day is done.

The breezes shall blow so softly
To waft the Boat on its way
As it sails to the western horizon
In peace at the close of the day.

Then Wisdom shall be at the tiller,
And Righteousness stand at the prow,
And Rê shall set in his glory,
The Serpent upon his brow.

The gods shall rejoice in his presence,
For he makes the darkness to cease ;
The Horizon-dwellers shall praise him
For they see him coming in peace.

9

HAIL, all ye gods of the Temple of the Soul, who weigh heaven
and earth in the scales, who give the funerary offerings. Hail,
Tatunen, the Only One, Creator of men ! Hail, Enneads of
the gods of the South and the North, of the West and the

East, give glory to Rê, the Lord of heaven, the Creator of the gods. Praise him in his beautiful form when he appears in the Boat of the Morning. Those in the heights and those in the depths worship thee. Thine enemy is given to the flames, thy foe is overthrown, and the sons of wickedness are no more. The House of the Prince is in festival, the sound of shouting is in the Great Place. The gods exult when they see Rê at his rising. He shines upon the floods and the dry lands. The Majesty of this august god traverses the earth to Manu. Every day the earth is bright when he reaches the place where he was yesterday. Be thou at peace with me, and may I see thy beauties when thou traversest the land.

[B.B.D., Introductory Hymn]

10

(Verse transcription of No. 9)

HEARKEN, O gods in the Temple of Souls,
 Weighing the heavens and earth in your scales,
 Givers of food to the dead in their tombs,
 O thou Tatunen, the Only, the One,
 Thou who createdst the races of men ;
 Deities nine of the South and the North,
 Deities nine of the West and the East,
 Give unto Rê, the Creator of gods,
 Unto the Lord of the heavens above,
 Give unto him both glory and praise.
 Praises to Rê in his beautiful form,
 Glory to him in the Boat of the Dawn !

Cast is his enemy into the flame,
 Hurl'd is his enemy down to the ground,
 Dying and dead are the children of sin.
 Joyous is now the House of the Prince
 Loud are the shouts from each temple on earth,
 Joyous are all at the rising of Rê
 Shining in splendour on field and on flood.
 Glory to Rê as he crosses the sky,
 Passing above to the Hill of the West !
 Bright is the earth at the time of his birth,
 Born in the morning to bless every land.
 Grant to me Rê, thy blessing of peace !
 Grant to me, Lord, to behold with mine eyes
 Thee at thy rising in beauty, O Lord !

11

AKHENATEN's hymns to his god are well known, and translations of them are found in all the books (even the novels) written about that King. The hymn in the tomb of Haremheb is less known, and is in some ways more Egyptian in feeling than those of Akhenaten.

Praise to thee ! Thou who existeth every day,
 Who begetteth himself every morning,
 Who cometh forth from the womb of his mother unceasingly.
 The Two Regions come to thee, bowing down ;
 They give praise to thee at thy rising
 When thou brightenest the earth with thy light,
 For thy divine limbs flame as a mighty one in the heavens.

God of Splendour, King of Eternity,
 Lord of Brightness, Ruler of Light
 When he is upon his throne in the Boat of the Morning ;
 Great of Brilliance in the Boat of the Sunset.
 Divine youth, heir of Eternity,
 Who begetteth himself, who generateth himself.
 The Great Ennead worship thee,
 The Lesser Ennead exult in thee ;
 They praise thee in thy beautiful forms,
 In thy brilliance in the Boat of the Sunset.
 Rise then in gladness of heart,
 Wearing thy diadems in the horizon of the Heavens,
 Grant thou glory in Heaven, and power on earth,
 And that I may go forth with thy Followers daily,
 That my heart may be satisfied with offerings,
 That I may receive flowers from the Sanctuary
 And from the table of the Lords of Heliopolis.

[B.A.R., III, p. 9]

12

THE CURSING LITANY

[An incantation against the serpent Apophis, the enemy of the Sun-god. After each curse come the words, "Mayest thou never exist."]

MAYEST thou never exist, may thy	<i>ka</i> never exist, may thy
body never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy limbs never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy bones never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy words of power never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.

Mayest thou never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy form never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy attributes never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May that which springs from thee never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy hair never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy possessions never exist	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy emissions never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May the material of thy body never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy place never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy tomb never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy cavern never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy funeral chamber never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy paths never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy seasons never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy words never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy enterings in never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy journeyings never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy advancements never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy comings never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy sitting down never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy increase never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy body never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
May thy prosperity never exist.	Mayest thou never exist.
Thou art smitten, O enemy. Thou shalt die, thou shalt die. Thou shalt perish, thou shalt perish, thou shalt perish.	

[Arch., lii, p. 451]

13

INCANTATION FOR OVERTHROWING APOPHIS,
THE ENEMY OF RÊ

DOWN upon thy face, O Apophis, thou enemy of Rê. Retreat !
Back ! O Enemy ! Thou fiend without arms or legs, whose
snout is split ! Thou art fallen, thou art overthrown. Rê-
Harakhti destroys thee, he damns thee, he drives hooks into
thy body. Thou art overthrown by the flame, fire comes forth
from it, the blaze comes forth against thee. The gods, guardians
of the hidden gates, repel thee ; their flame comes forth against
thee from the fire . . . Back ! Retreat ! Back from the
flames which issue from their mouths.

O fallen one, wriggler, Apophis ! O retreat ! Retire, O
thou enemy of Rê ! Those who are in the Boat have over-
thrown thee. Retreat ! Retreat !

Cursed art thou ! Destroyed art thou ! Repelled art thou !
O, stumblings to thee ! Turned back art thou and thy soul !
Thou art turned back, thy flesh is carried away, thou art struck,
cutting and slaughter are made of thee, thy ears are cut off ;
thy flesh is stripped from thy limbs ; thy soul, even thy shadow,
are driven back ; thy name is destroyed ; thy magic is set at
naught. Thou art destroyed, pierced, overthrown ! Never-
more shalt thou come forth from thy cavern ! An end to
thee, O Apophis ! [Arch., lii, pp. 514 seq.]

II. THE PHARAOH

(a) *As the Divine King*

BIRTH OF THE KING

1

HE is born in the night ! Come ! He is born ! Ye con-
ceived in the day, ye were pregnant, ye bore him who was
in the egg. Behold him whom ye have borne ! Behold him
whom ye have borne ! He is joyful as Chief of the Duat, the
hearts of the gods are glad over him since they have seen him
as a young child. [P.T., Spr., 408]

2

THINE are the Mighty Ones who encircle Rê, the ancestors
of the Morning Star. Thou art born at thy months like the
Moon. Rê shines upon thee from the horizon, and the Never-
setting Stars follow thee. Those who belong to the going
forth of Rê approach thee. Thou art pure, thou goest to Rê,
Heaven shall not be void of thee for ever. [P.T., Spr., 412]

3

HE was born in the firmament, before the sky existed, before
the earth existed, before the hills existed, before the quarrels
existed, before the fear on account of the Eye of Horus existed,
He is the One of that Great Divine Company, he who was
born in front of Heliopolis. [P.T., Spr., 486]

4

Verse transcription of Nos. 1-3

He is born ! He is born ! O come and adore Him !
 Life-giving mothers, the mothers who bore Him,
 Stars of the heavens the daybreak adorning,
 Ancestors, ye, of the Star of the Morning,
 Women and men, O come and adore Him !
 Bow down before Him, bow down before Him,
 Child who is born in the night.

He is born ! He is born ! O come and adore Him !
 Dwellers in Duat, be joyful before Him,
 Gods of the Heavens, come near and behold Him,
 See how the sunbeams caress and enfold Him.
 People of earth, O come and adore Him !
 Bow down before Him, kneel down before Him,
 King who is born in the night.

He is born ! He is born ! O come and adore Him !
 Young like the Moon in its shining and changing,
 Over the heavens His footsteps are ranging,
 Stars Never-resting and Stars Never-setting,
 Worship the Child of God's own begetting !
 Heaven and Earth, O come and adore Him !
 Bow down before Him, kneel down before Him,
 Worship, adore Him, fall down before Him !
 God who is born in the night.

5

WATER of Life which is in Heaven ! Water of Life which is
 on Earth ! Heaven burned for thee, Earth trembled for thee
 before the birth of God. When the mountains divided God
 existed and had command over his body, and when the moun-
 tains divided Nefer-ka-Rê existed and had command over his
 body. Behold Nefer-ka-Rê, his feet are kissed by the pure
 waters which belong to Atum. . . . Thou bearest the heaven
 in thy hand and spreadest out the earth with thy foot.
 [P.T., Spr., 685]

6

Verse transcription of No. 5

O WATER of Life in the Heavens !
 O Water of Life upon Earth !
 Trembled the earth at God's presence,
 The heavens flamed at His birth.

Ere ever the hills were divided
 God and the King were alone ;
 God and the King were together,
 For God and the King are but one.

So He stands, with the waters kissing
 The ground where His footsteps trod ;
 With one hand He upholds the heavens,
 Earth spread out by the feet of God.

7

My name was given to me in the Great Shrine, and there was remembrance of me and my name in the House of Flame on that Night of Counting the Years and the Numbering of the Months.
[B.B.D., ch. xxv]

8

Verse transcription of No. 7

IN the Southern Shrine, the Southern Shrine,
A Name was given to me,
In the House of Flame, the House of Flame,
Remembrance was made of me.

On that Night of Dread, that Night of Dread,
The years were counted for me ;
When months were reckoned for living and dead
They were reckoned and counted for me.

THE SACRIFICE OF THE KING

THOUGH there is no consecutive ritual of the sacrifice given in the Pyramid Texts, the chants and prayers of that important ceremony are found scattered in each of the inscriptions. In translating, I have put the word "King" instead of the name of the Pharaoh in whose burial chamber the text is found ; but in the Index of References the names will be found.

The ritual can be divided into four stages : (a) the preparatory prayers and chants, (b) the actual sacrifice, (c) the triumph of the King after death, (d) the slaying of the slayer of the King.

The inscriptions preserve only the words of the ritual ; the manual acts, including the actual killing, can only be inferred. It is worth noting that the only occasion where the pronoun of the first person singular is used is in the words which I take to be the last words of the King before the death-blow was struck. It is not clear whether the killer of the King was himself slain immediately after his royal victim, or at a later date ; but it is certain that he also was sacrificed.

The prayers and chants of preparation are fairly numerous, I give only a few (Nos. 9-12) ; the first is processional. These are followed by the ritual of the sacrifice (Nos. 13-22) ; and the ceremony ends with the slaying of the slayer (Nos. 23-26).

9

THE King goes forth from Buto with the Spirits of Buto ; he is decked with the adornments of Horus, he is clothed with the garments of Thoth, Isis is at his side, Nephthys is behind him, the Opener of the Roads clears a path for him, the god of Light supports him. The Spirits of Heliopolis construct the stairs for him, whereby he may mount to the sky. The goddess Nut gives her hand to him as she did to Osiris on that day on which he died.
[P.T., Spr., 505]

10

O RÊ, come and ferry the King to that side, as thou didst ferry thy servant whom thou didst love. Stretch out thy arm to the West and give thy hand to the King ; stretch out thy arm to the East and give thy hand to the King, as thou didst to thy eldest son.
[P.T., Spr., 363]

II

"COME in peace," say the two Enneads, "the eastern gate of heaven is open." The King shall descend in the Boat like Rê on the margin of the Lake of the Lilies. He shall be rowed by the Never-resting Stars, he shall command the Never-setting Stars; he shall be rowed across the Lake and shall steer to the Field of the Lily-leaves. Thy messengers run, thy heralds hasten, they say to Rê, "See, the King has come! Behold, the King is coming in peace!" Walk not on the Roads of the West, for those who walk thereon never return. Walk then, O King, on the Roads of the East, among the Followers of Rê, the Strong-of-Arm in the East. [P.T., Spr., 697]

12

O MOST High, whom none can touch! O gate of Heaven! The King is Shu, god of Light, who goes forth from Atum. O Nun, let the gate be opened for the King. See he comes, a Soul, a God. [P.T., Spr., 360]

13

"HAIL, O King!
Beware of the Lake!
 The messengers of thy *ka* have come to thee.
Beware of the Lake!
 The messengers of thy father have come to thee.
Beware of the Lake!
 The messengers of Rê have come to thee.
Beware of the Lake!

Enter the dwelling of thy father, the dwelling of Geb, and purify thyself in the fountain of the stars."

[P.T., Spr., 214]

14

HAIL, Ladder of God! Hail, Ladder of Setekh! Hail, Ladder of Setekh! Stand, Ladder of God! Stand, Ladder of Setekh! Stand, Ladder of Horus, which was made for Osiris when he mounted up to heaven on it, guarded by Rê.

[P.T., Spr., 478]

15

"SEE him coming, see him coming!" says Sehepu. "Coming as the Son of the Sun-god. O Beloved of Rê, come!" says Sehepu. "Let him come, let him come!" says Horus.

[P.T., Spr., 575]

16

[*The King speaks:*] "I come to thee, O Nephthys. I come to thee, O Boat of the Evening. I come to thee, O Truth. I come to thee, O Thou who rememberest the *kas!*"

[P.T., Spr., 215]

17

[*As the fatal blow is struck:*] "O men! O gods! Your hands under the King. Raise him, bear him to the skies, like Shu under Nut when he raised her. To the skies! To the skies! To the great throne among the gods!"

[P.T., Spr., 506]

18

OPEN the gates of heaven, unbolt the doors of the sky. The gods in the Boat run forward. They come to Osiris the King at the sound of the lamentation of Isis, at the wailing of Nephthys,

at the outcry of the Spirits, for this Great One who comes forth from the Duat. The Spirits of Buto lament for thee, they strike their flesh for thee, they smite their arms for thee, they tear their hair for thee, they bend their knees for thee. And they say to thee, "O Osiris the King, if thou goest, thou shalt come; if thou sleepest, thou shalt awake; if thou diest, thou shalt live."
[P.T., Spr., 670]

19

HAVE they sacrificed thee? Do they say that thou hast died for them? He is not dead! He lives for ever! He is alive more than they, for he is the mystic one of sacrifice. He is their Chief, living and young for ever!
[P.T., Spr., 670]

20

O ATUM! The King has come to thee as an Imperishable Spirit, Master of the four-pillared Shrine. Thy son has come to thee, the King has come to thee. Pass then over the sky and meet in the darkness; rise again in the horizon, in the place of glory.

O Atum! Thy son has come to thee, the King has come to thee. Raise him up to thee, encircle him in thy embrace, for he is the son of thy body for ever.
[P.T., Spr., 217]

21

THE sky speaks, earth trembles, Geb moves, the Two Regions of God bellow. Plough! Smite the sacrifice before the King, who lives and endures, for he goes forth to heaven. He crosses the vault, alive and powerful. He passes the Lake of Hesu,

he destroys the fortress of Shu . . . He goes forth to heaven among the Imperishable Stars, his sister is Sothis, his guide is the Morning Star, they take him by the hand to the Fields of Peace. He sits on the throne of glory, of which the faces are of fierce lions and the feet are the hoofs of the Great Bull. He is erect on the throne of glory which is between the two great gods. His two sceptres are in his hands. He raises his hand towards mankind, and the gods come to him bowing. The two great gods rise, they find him with the Enncad as judge. "This prince is the prince of all," they say.

[P.T., Spr., 509]

22

Verse transcription of Nos. 9-21

HEAVEN thunders above us, earth quivers under our feet,
For Geb, the Earth God, is trembling, and the sacrifice is complete.

Ascend to thy Father, O King!
The Regions of God are shouting as they see Him crossing the sky,
Life and power upon Him, and the portals are raised on high
For He enters in as the King.

He has passed the pure Lake of the Lilies, He has captured the fortress of Light,
And the stars are giving Him welcome that rest not day or night,
His Guide is the Morning Star.
The Star that is His sister takes His hand to lead Him home
To the Fields of Peace whereunto only the gods may come,
For He enters in as a Star.

He sits on the Throne of Glory, the sceptres gleam in his hands,
Fierce lions guard his footstool, He is seen of all the lands,
And they hail Him as their Lord.

He raises His hand to the people, He judges the earth and
mankind,

The gods bow down in worship, He can loose and He can bind,
For of all He is the Lord.

23

O STRIKER of the Father, Killer of one greater than thyself,
thou hast struck the Father, thou hast slain one greater than
thyself.

O Osiris the King! I have slain for thee as a sacrificial
bull him who slew thee; I have slaughtered as a bull for thee
him who slaughtered thee. I have cut off his head, I have cut
off his tail, I have cut off his legs. [P.T., Spr., 580]

24

COME to Osiris, O King! O Osiris the King, thy slayer is
brought to thee, let him not escape from thee. O Osiris the
King, thy slayer is brought to thee, give judgment against him.

O Osiris the King, thy slayer is brought to thee cut into three
pieces. [P.T., Spr., 543]

25

THOTH has seized thy enemy, cut to pieces together with his
followers. [P.T., Spr., 635]

26

HORUS has hacked off the legs of thy foes, he has brought them
to thee cut in pieces. [P.T., Spr., 653]

(b) As the Conqueror

27

To Egypt has come great joy, and the towns of Ta-mery
rejoice. The people speak of the victories which King Mer-
en-ptah has won against the invaders: "How beloved is he,
our victorious ruler! How great is our King among the gods!
How fortunate is he, the commanding Lord! Sit down happily
and talk, for now there is no fear in the hearts of the people."
The fortresses are abandoned, the wells are re-opened; the
messengers loiter under the battlements, cool from the sun,
until the watchmen wake. The soldiers lie asleep, even the
border-scouts walk in the fields as they wish. The herds of the
pastures need no herdman when crossing the fullness of the
stream. No more is there the raising of a shout in the night,
"Stop! Behold, someone is coming! Someone is coming,
speaking a foreign language!" Everyone comes and goes
with singing, and no longer is heard the sighing lament of men.
The towns are settled anew, and the husbandman eats of the
harvest that he himself sowed. God has turned again towards
Egypt, for King Mer-en-ptah was born, destined to be her
protector. [B.H.E., p. 470]

28

THE good God, strong like Mentu, victorious King, who issued
from Rê, child and likeness of the Bull of Heliopolis. He stands
on the field of battle, and in his valour fights like the Mighty One
[Setekh]. He has captured the foreign lands by his victories,
he has subdued the Two Lands by his designs. The Nine Archer
Tribes are trodden under his feet. He has no adversaries, for the

princes of the enemy countries are powerless, they have become like wild goats for terror of him. He enters upon them like the Son of Nut [Setekh], and in a moment they fall by reason of his fiery breath. The Libyan falls to his slaughtering, men fall to his blade. His strength is given to him eternally. Son of Amon, dauntless One, who protects his soldiers. His strength invades all foreign lands, he traverses the lands seeking him that attacks. His battle-cry is in their hearts and they are afraid of his countenance. The good ruler, watchful One, the princes of all lands fear thee.

[E.E.L., p. 271]

29

Verse translation of No. 28

SON of God, Himself our God, the royal Lord of Victory,
Like the god of war He stands upon the stricken field ;
Strong and fierce and savage like the Bull of Heliopolis,
Resolute and bold and wise, our country's sword and shield.

Fleeing like bewildered goats the princes of the enemy
Fall beneath His fiery breath and His resistless blade.
Son of Amon, dauntless One, protector of His soldiery,
See the Archer tribes crouch down, submissive and afraid.

Vanquished by His mighty strength they fear to meet His
countenance,
Trembling when His battle-cry is echoed from afar.
Conqueror of foreign lands, all strength is His eternally,
Warrior bold and ruler wise, invincible in war.

III. OSIRIS

I

To him shouts of joy are raised in Busiris, to him great shouts of joy are raised in the Naret-tree. The plants grow at his desire, and the field yields food for him. To him shouts of joy are given in the southern sky, he is adored in the northern sky. The Imperishable Stars are under his authority and the Unwearying Stars are his abode. The land is in his hand, its water, its air, and all its cattle, all that flies, all that flutters, its creeping things and its wild beasts.

[R.A., xiv, p. 307]

2

PRAISE be unto thee, O Osiris, Lord of Eternity, whose forms are manifold ! Homage to thee, O Dweller in thy Boat ! Thou ledest the Nile from its source, and the light shines on thy gracious form. Hail, Creator of the gods, Osiris, Conqueror, Ruler of the world in thy gracious seasons !

[B.B.D., ch. xv]

3

HOMAGE to thee, Osiris ! Kiss the earth before the Eternal Lord ! Hail to thee, O God, glorious and great, Ruler unto all eternity ! Thou who art at the front of thy throne in the Evening Boat, and art glorious in the Morning Boat, thou to whom praises are given in heaven and on earth !

[B.B.D., ch. clxxxv]

4

KING of the Nether World, Ruler of the Hidden Place, Conqueror of Heaven, on whom the Atef-crown is set, who appears in the White Crown, who has grasped the crook and the flail ! Great is thy renown for thou art the Great One of the Uretr-crown. In him is united every god, and love of him is in them. O Good Being, who is from everlasting unto everlasting ! Hail to thee, Chief of the Westerners, who fashions mortals anew, and who comes to us as a child at his own time.

[B.B.D., ch. clxxxii]

5

HAIL to thee, Chief of the Westerners, Unnefer, Lord of the Sacred Land. Thou appearest in glory like Rê. Lo, he comes to see thee and to glorify the sight of thy beauties. His disc is thy disc, his rays are thy rays, his crown is thy crown, his greatness is thy greatness, his place is thy place, his throne is thy throne, his hidden place is thy hidden place, his heir is thy heir . . . Hail to thee, Osiris, son of Nut, Lord of the Two Horns, high of the Atef-Crown. Atum places the fear of thee among the people, the gods, the spirits, and the dead. There is given to thee rulership in Heliopolis, greatness of existences in Busiris, lordship of Fear in the Two Regions for great is the terror of thee in Re-stau . . . Atum who dominates all the great Powers causes the fear of thee to pass throughout the earth.

[B.B.D., ch. clxxxii]

6

I AM one of those gods born of Nut, who slaughter the enemies of Osiris, and bind his foes for him. [B.B.D., ch. i]

7

HORUS repeated the spell four times and the enemies of Osiris fell and were cut to pieces. The foes fell, they were overthrown, they were cut to pieces, the chiefs among them were sent to the slaughter-house of the East, their heads were cut off, their necks and their thighs were divided, they were given to the great Slaughterer who is in the Valley, they shall never emerge from the grip of the Earth-God. [B.B.D., ch. xix]

8

O THOTH, who madest Osiris successful against his enemies, make me successful against my enemies in the Great Council, when the earth is ploughed in Busiris on that night when the earth is ploughed in their blood. [B.B.D., ch. xviii]

9

Verse transcription of Nos. 6-8

LORD of the Universe, to thee I bring
 Booty of battle, of my life the price.
 Here at thy feet thy captive foes I fling,
 Helpless and bound, for thee my sacrifice.

Lord of the Universe, their lives I give.
 See how the spouting blood pours forth for thee !
 Grant then, Osiris, unto me to live
 Long in this world and to eternity.

IO

LITANY OF OSIRIS

[I suggest that this was recited by the priest and the singers, with a refrain by the congregation, and have divided the sentences accordingly.]

PRIEST. Hail to thee, Star of Ynu, Light in Kheri-aha, the Existent, more glorious than the gods.

SINGERS. Secret One in Ynu.

CONGREGATION. *O grant to me a way of peace, for I am true, without falsehood or deceit.*

PRIEST. Hail to thee, O Pillar in Yndes, Great One, Horus of the Horizon, who strides across the heavens.

SINGERS. He is Horus of the Horizon.

CONGREGATION. *O grant to me a way of peace.*

PRIEST. Hail to thee, O Soul Eternal, Soul who is in Busiris, the Good Being, Son of the Sky-goddess.

SINGERS. He is Lord of the Silent Land.

CONGREGATION. *O grant to me a way of peace.*

PRIEST. Hail to thee, O Ruler of Busiris, on whose brow the great Crowns are set.

SINGERS. He is the Only One, he is the Protector, he rests in Busiris.

CONGREGATION. *O grant to me a way of peace.*

PRIEST. Hail to thee, Lord of the Acacia tree, when the Seker-boat is laid upon the bier.

SINGERS. He has repelled the evil doer, and placed the Sacred Eye upon its place.

CONGREGATION. *O grant to me a way of peace.*

PRIEST. Hail to thee, O Strong One in thy time, great Prince, Leader in the Barren Land.

SINGERS. He is the Lord of Henen-ni-sut.

CONGREGATION. *O grant to me a way of peace.*

PRIEST. Hail to thee, Thou who restest upon Truth, Lord of Abydos, who joins himself with the Sacred Land.

SINGERS. He is the punisher of deceit.

CONGREGATION. *O grant to me a way of peace.*

PRIEST. Hail to thee in the midst of thy Boat, Bringer of the Nile from its cavern, Illuminator of the dead.

SINGERS. He is within the city of Nekhen.

CONGREGATION. *O grant to me a way of peace.*

PRIEST. Hail to thee, Creator of the gods, King of Egypt, Osiris, triumphant, Establisher of the Two Lands at thy gracious season.

SINGERS. He is the Lord of the heavenly Land.

CONGREGATION. *O grant to me a way of peace.*

[B.B.D., ch. xv]

II

HYMN to Osiris, Leader of the Westerners,
Great God of Heaven, Ruler in Abýdos,
King of Eternity, Ruler everlasting
God of all glory dwelling in Restáu.
Praises I bring thee as thy son Horus,
Truth have I brought and righteousness also.
Grant to me now a place amid thy followers,
Grant to me now to fight 'gainst thy enemies.

I have established thy offerings, O Osiris.

Hail, Osiris! I am thy son Horus.

I have come in order to greet thee, O Osiris.

Hail, Osiris! I am thy son Horus.

I have come to kill thy foes, O Osiris.

Hail, Osiris! I am thy son Horus.

I have bound thy enemies, O great Osiris.

Hail, Osiris! I am thy son Horus.

I have bound thy foes with ropes and with fetters.

Hail, Osiris! I am thy son Horus.

I have slain for thee the greatest of thy foemen.

Hail, Osiris! I am thy son Horus.

[B.B.D., ch. clxxiii]

12

[This poem was written in stanzas, which are clearly marked and show that it was rhythmic. All rhythm, however, is necessarily lost in the literal translation.]

HAIL to thee, Osiris, Leader of the Westerners, on this happy day on which thou hast risen. Lord of the two Horns, high of the Atef-Crown, Lord of fear, Great One of dignity.

To whom has been given the Urcrt-Crown in Heracleopolis, of whom Rê has inspired fear, for whom Atum has inspired reverence, whose soul is in Mendes, whose dignity is in Heracleopolis, whose divine image is in Heliopolis.

Great are his forms (lit. existences) in Busiris, Lord of fear in the Two Horizons, greatly dreaded in Restáu, great of power in Thanent, greatly beloved upon earth, Lord of good remembrance in the palace, great of splendid appearings in Abydos.

To whom triumph has been given before Geb and the Great

Ennead, for whom grandeur has been created in the Hall of Her-wer, of whom the great Powers are afraid, for whom the Elders stand up on their mats, of whom Shu has inspired fear and Tefnut has created reverence, to whom the shrines of the South and the North come bowing down, because of the fear of thee and the magnitude of reverence for thee.

O Osiris, Heir of Geb, Power of Heaven, Ruler of the living, King of those who exist, whom thousands glorify in Kheri-aha, and for whom generations to come shall exult in Heliopolis.

[J.E.A., xxv (1939), p. 158]

13

Verse transcription of No. 12

HAIL to great Osiris, Leader of the Westerners,
Rising from his tomb and bringing joy and happiness!
High upon his head the plumes and horns are glorious,
Lord he is of Terror, great are all his dignities.

Splendid is his crown within the Town of Sacrifice.
Reverence and fear are given him by his followers;
Those who follow Rê and Atum are his worshippers.
Mendes holds his soul, Letopolis his dignities,
Stands his noble image now in Heliopolis.

Many are his forms and many his existences;
In the Two Horizons the Lord of Fear and Majesty.
Great his might in Thanent, loved by earthly worshippers,
Lord of happy fame in all the royal palaces.
Splendid is his aspect, noble and magnificent!

Triumphant he appears before the Nine Divinities ;
 Grandeur now is his within the halls of royalty.
 Powers of Earth and Heaven kneel in all humility.
 On their woven mats now stand the Elder Deities,
 Shu and Tefnut vie in giving him all reverence,
 Homage pay to him the Southerners and Northerners,
 For they fear his power, the greatness of his majesty,
 Splendour of his rising, his glory and magnificence.

Osiris, Heir of Geb, O King of all existences !
 Power of Heaven and Earth, and Ruler of all living ones !
 Thousands glorify thy name within thy sanctuary,
 Coming generations shall exult in Heliopolis.

I4

O LORD of time, bestower of years, Hail, Lord of life for all
 eternity. Hail, thou who shinest in rising and setting. Hail,
 Lord of terror, great one of trembling, O holy baby of Horus,
 praise ! Hail, son of Rê in the Boat of Millions of Years !
 Hail, lord of fear, the self-created ! Hail, lord of aspects and
 divinities ! Hail, Still-heart ! Come to thy town. O loved
 one of gods and goddesses, come to thy temple, O Moon-god,
 who increasest at the shining of the disc. Hail, lord of the
 Henu-boat, who becomest young in the Secret places. Hail,
 hidden one who art unknown to men. . . . Hail, living soul
 of Osiris who appearest as the moon ! Hail, he who hides his
 body in the coffin in Heliopolis ! Hail, mighty one, hidden one,
 Osiris in the cemetery !

[Arch., lii, pp. 45 seq.]

I5

Verse transcription of No. 14

O LORD of Time, the Lord of Life Eternal,
 O holy Child, O God the self-created,
 Fear in our hearts, we humbly fall before Him.
 Praise we the Lord whose glory shines from heaven.

The Son of God, we fear and we adore Him.
 Though still His heart, He is not dead but living.
 Lord God of Terror, come to Thy own city.
 Belovèd one of God, Thy temple now awaits Thee.

O Lord of Night, illumining dark places.
 Ancient of days yet young in every aspect,
 O Hidden One, of men unknown aforetime,
 The living Soul of God, He shines above us.

Within the Secret Place there lies His sacred body,
 Within that holy shrine is now His quiet sleeping.
 O Hidden God, O Judge of dead and living,
 In humblest wise we worship and adore Thee.

I6

O Soul, great and mighty ! Lo, I have come and I see thee ;
 I have penetrated the Nether World to see my father Osiris.
 I have driven away the darkness, for I have come to see my
 father Osiris. I have stabbed the heart of Suti, a sacrifice to my
 father Osiris. I have opened every road in heaven and earth.
 I am the son beloved of his father Osiris. I am ennobled, I
 am made glorious, I am fully equipped. O every god, every
 Horizon-dweller, make for me a path. [B.B.D., ch. ix]

17

Verse transcription of No. 16

Soul of the Regions of God, I come to behold Osiris,
 Into the Nether World I have forced my way to my Father,
 Darkness was all around but darkness fled at my presence.
 Beloved of the God am I for I come to behold Osiris.
 Sutekh I stabbed to the heart as a sacrifice to my Father.
 Open is every road in heaven and earth for my passing,
 For I am the only Son beloved of his Father Osiris.
 Noble am I and equipped with the glory and might of my Father,
 Let every goddess and god, who dwell in the distant horizon,
 Make for me now a path to lead to the innermost heaven.

18

Verse transcription of hymns

SHOUT aloud, ye people who within the temple stand,
 Glory to omnipotent Osiris !
 Blazon forth his triumph till his splendour fills the land,
 Honour to the living God, Osiris !

Secret is his nature, and his ways beyond our ken,
 Ancient, yet a babe, is great Osiris ;
 As the Moon he watches and divides the months for men,
 Times and seasons wait upon Osiris.

When the Sun-god passes to the realm of Death and Night,
 Monarch of that kingdom is Osiris ;
 When he comes in glory in the glowing morning-light,
 Throned on high beside him is Osiris.

When the river rises, bringing happiness and mirth,
 As the joyous Nile we hail Osiris ;
 Giver of the harvest and Creator of the earth,
 All we have and are is from Osiris.

Women, hymn his triumph ; let your voices, men, ring out ;
 Cry aloud, all creatures of Osiris !
 Thunder forth his praises in one vast triumphant shout,
 Glory to the Risen Lord, Osiris !

19

LAMENTATIONS OF ISIS AND NEPHTHYS (312 B.C.)

O GREAT Heir who came forth from Geb,
 Eldest One, fair of countenance,
 Living Soul who is in Istenu,
 Child who came forth from Him-who-sees-and-hears,
 Elder of the Two Shrines, Heir of Geb,
 Who gives to thee all the circuit of the sun !
 Come to thy house, O Osiris, who judgest the gods.
 Open thine eyes that thou mayest see with them ;
 Drive thou away the clouds,
 Give thou light to the earth in darkness !
 Come to thy house, O Osiris, first of the Westerners, come to
 thy house !
 O Thou who camest forth from the womb with the uraeus on
 thy head,
 Thine eyes illumine the Two Lands and the gods,
 Raise thee up, raise thee up, O Sovereign our Lord !
 He that rebelled against thee is at the execution block and shall
 not exist.

[J.E.A., xxii (1936), 131]

IV. AMON

I

I WILL bless the name of Amon. Heaven shall hear the voice of my praise, and over the breadth of the earth shall it be heard. To the north and to the south I will declare his glory.

Let him be known to all people. Declare him to your sons and daughters, to great and to small, and to the generations that are yet unborn. Shout his name to the fishes in the stream and to the birds of the air. Declare him to the wise and to the foolish. Let him be known to all people.

Lord of those whose tongues are silent, thou who protectest the humble. Lo, I called upon thee when I was in trouble and thou savedst me. Thou givest life and strength to the wretched and savest those who are in bonds. For thou art merciful and gracious to all who call upon thee.

[J.E.A., iii (1916), p. 83]

2

THOUGH I have sinned, yet the Lord showed compassion. His wrath abides not through the day; his anger endures but a moment, it passes utterly away, and in mercy he turns his face again.

[J.E.A., iii (1916), p. 85]

3

Hearken, all ye people, to my words; Amon, the Lord of Thebes, is the protector of all who call upon him.

[J.E.A., iii (1916), p. 86]

4

My heart desires to see thee, O lord of the Acacia trees; my heart desires to see thee, O Amon. Thou art the protector of the poor, a father to the motherless, a husband to the widow. Sweet it is to speak thy name; it is like the taste of life, like the taste of bread to a child, like the breath of freedom to a prisoner. Turn thyself to us, O Eternal One, who wast here before others existed. Though thou makest me to see darkness yet cause light to shine on me that I may see thee. As thy soul endures, and as thy beautiful and beloved face endures, thou shalt come from afar to let me see thee. To worship thee is good, O Amon. O Lord, great to seek if only he can be found, for thou turnest away fear. Place joy in the hearts of men. Joyful is the man who sees thee, O Amon, he rejoices every day.

[J.E.A., xiv, 10]

5

Verse transcription of No. 4

AMON the Mighty, I yearn to behold thee,
Lord of Acacia trees, grant me the sight of thee.

Guardian art thou of the poor and the wretched,
Father art thou of the motherless children,
Husband art thou to the sorrowful widow.

Worship of God is to all men essential!
Sweet is thy name when 'tis spoken in worship,
Like to the tasting of life is that speaking,
Like to the flavour of bread to the children,
Like to the breath of freedom unstinted
Breathed by a captive emerging from prison.

Turn thyself now, Eternal, to us-ward,
Thou who wast here before any existed.

Darkness came on me at thy mighty bidding,
Grant me the light to behold all thy beauty.
Lo, as thy spirit endureth for ever,
Living in love and in beauty eternal,
So do I know that thou hearest afar off,
Hastening hither that I may behold thee.

If thou art sought, God great and eternal,
Fear is expelled and joy is our portion.
Joyous is he who finds thee, O Amon!

6

PRAYER OF RAMESES II

O FATHER Amon, what is in thy heart? Can a father forget his son? I pray to thee, hast thou forgotten me? Have I ever advanced or stood still except in accordance with thy word, for I have never disobeyed thy command. O great Lord of Egypt, who putteth to flight those who stand in thy path, what is thy will concerning these Amu-people? Wilt thou not bring to nought those who know not God?

I have made for thee multitudes of monuments and filled thy holy House with the captives of my wars. I have built for thee a temple which shall endure for millions of years, and endowed thee with all my wealth. I have given to thee the whole land as an offering to thy holy altar, oxen have I sacrificed, sweet perfumes have I offered. What have I left undone in thy sanctuary? What have I neglected in the courts of thy holy

habitation? I have built for thee great pylons of stone, and myself raised up their flag-staves of wood. I have set up for thee obelisks of the ever-enduring stone of Elephantine. Galleys cross the seas for thee, bringing the treasures of all foreign lands. On all people who disobey thy command I bring an evil fate.

Now I call to thee from the ends of the earth, O Amon. All that I have done was done for love of thee. O Father Amon, I cry to thee, for I am in the midst of many foes, the whole of this land is against me. I am my only defence, for my troops have deserted me, my chariots never stayed for me, though I cried to them; there was not one who hearkened to my call.

Now to Amon I cry, and I shall find that Amon is more to me than millions of soldiers, more than hundreds of thousands of chariots, more than thousands of brothers or sons, all put together. The work of many men is as nothing compared with the greatness of Amon. I wait upon thy command, O God! I call to thee from the ends of the earth, let my cry be heard in Hermonthis. [E.E.L., p. 263]

7

How happy are the temple and the day-watchers, for the King of the Gods is therein. How powerful is Amon, the divine lover, when he shines forth in Ipt-isut, his city. O Beautiful Face, O Mighty One, O Lover, to whom the gods desire to look, as the mighty one who comes forth from heaven. All people, all people of Amon's temple, rejoice. It is happy, for Amon himself is the lover of the prince.

[J.E.A., xvi (1930), p. 57]

8

Verse transcription of No. 7

O HAPPY is the temple and happy are the priests
 And happy are the watchers of the day,
 For the Lord God of Heaven has entered in His shrine,
 And the people bow down and pray.

For Amon is Almighty and Amon is all love,
 And the poor and the lowly are His care.
 And He shines like the sun in the city of His choice
 With a beauty celestially fair.

All people, all people, come hither and adore,
 For Amon the Lord God is here !
 And the love that He extends to beggar or to prince
 Is the love that casteth out fear.

O loud are the shouts that ascend to the skies,
 That He hears as He passes on His way,
 For happy are the people and happy are the priests,
 And happy are the watchers of the day.

V. GODS AND GODDESSES

I

HYMN TO THE WHITE CROWN

PRAISE to thee, O Eye of Horus, white, great, over whose beauty the Ennead of the gods rejoices when it rises in the eastern horizon. They who are in what Shu upholdeth adore thee, and they that descend in the western horizon when thou art revealed to them that are in the nether world, praise thee. O Eye of Horus, thou didst cut off the heads of the followers of Setekh. She trod them down, she spat at her foes in her name of Mistress of the Atef crown. Her might is greater than that of her foes in her name of Mistress of Might. The fear of her is instilled into them that defame her in her name of Mistress of Fear. O King of Egypt, thou has set her on thy head that through her thou mayest be great, that through her thou mayest be lofty. Thou abidest on the head of the King and shinest forth on his brow in thy name of Sorceress. Men fear thee, the foreigners fall down before thee on their faces, and the Nine Bows bow their heads to thee, O Sorceress. Thou holdest in bondage for the King the hearts of all foreign countries, the southern, the northern, the eastern, the western, all together. Thou beneficent one, who protecteth her father (Rê), protect the King from his foes, thou Upper Egyptian Enchantress.

[E.E.L., p. 11]

2

HYMN TO THE RED CROWN

OPEN the gates of the Horizon, withdraw the bolts, for he has come to thee, O Neith ; he has come to thee, O Flame ; he has come to thee, O Great One ; he has come to thee, O Great One of Spells. He is pure for thee for he fears thee. Yet art thou satisfied with him ; thou art satisfied with his purity, thou art satisfied with the words he speaks unto thee : " How beautiful is thy face, happy, renewed, refreshed as when God, the Father of the gods, first fashioned thee." He has come to thee, Great Lady of Spells. [P.T., Spr., 220]

Hail Neith-Crown ! Hail Yn-Crown ! Hail Great Crown ! Hail Great one of Spells ! Hail Flame ! Grant that the fear of Wenis shall be like the fear of thee ; grant that the terror of Wenis shall be as the terror of thee ; grant that the respect of Wenis shall be as the respect of thee ; grant that the love of Wenis shall be as the love of thee. Grant that his Staff shall lead the Living, and his Sceptre shall lead the Horizon-dwellers. Grant that his dagger shall be successful against his enemies. Hail Yn-Crown ! Thou hast gone forth from him, and he goes forth with thee ! [P.T., Spr., 221]

3

HYMN TO THE PEAK OF THE WEST

[This is one of the few hymns from the religion of the peasants. It was written for (perhaps by) one of the workmen of the cemetery at Thebes and shows that the rocky peak which rises

above the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings was an object of worship, in itself a goddess.]

The giving of praise to the peak of the west.

I GIVE praise, hear ye my call.
Mark ! I will say to great and little
That are among the workmen,
Beware of the Peak !
For there is a lion within the Peak ;
She smites with the smiting of a fierce lion,
She pursues him that sins against her.
I called upon her, my Mistress,
And she came to me with sweet airs.
She was merciful to me.
After she had made me behold her hand
She turned to me in mercy.
She caused me to forget the sickness that came upon me.
Lo, the Peak of the West is merciful if you call upon her.
Let every ear hearken that lives upon the earth,
Beware of the Peak of the West.

[J.E.A., iii (1916), p. 86]

4

HYMN TO THE NILE

PRAISE to thee, O Nile, coming forth from the earth, that Egypt may be fed : of hidden nature, a darkness in the daytime.

He inundates the meadows : and gives moisture to barren places which are far from water.

His is the dew which falls from heaven : that makes the barley and creates the wheat.

When he rises, the land is in joy and exultation : all people are joyful ; every mouth laughs till every tooth stands revealed.

He is the bringer of bread, and is rich in food : he creates herbage for the cattle, fills the storehouses, and gives gifts to the poor.

When the Nile flood rises, offerings are made to him.

O let all men extol the Nine Gods : and stand in awe of him who makes green the land.

Thou art green, O Nile ; thou art green, thou art green, O Nile ; thou art green, O Nile. [E.E.L., p. 146]

5

HYMN TO PTAH

I HAVE sinned against Ptah, against the Lord of Truth : I swore by his name, and my swearing was false.

He smote me on the eyes and darkness came upon me : at noonday, at noonday, fell the darkness.

O Lord of Truth, I will declare thy power to the learned and the unlearned : to the great and to the small ; to all will I make thy power known.

The Lord of Truth abominates lies : beware then of swearing falsely, for he that speaketh a lie shall be cast down.

Behold me, as a dog of the street, as a sign unto gods and men am I : struck down by his hand, for I had wrought evil in his sight.

O righteous God, after chastisement, have mercy : look upon thy servant and show mercy. [J.E.A., iii (1916), p. 88]

6

HYMN TO THOTH¹

PRAISE to Thoth, the son of Rê, the Moon beautiful in his rising, lord of bright appearances who illumines the gods. Hail to thee, Moon, Thoth, Bull of Heliopolis, who spreads out the seat of the gods, who knows their mysteries, who establishes their commands ; he who sifts evidence, who makes the evil deed rise up against the doer, who judges all men. Let us praise Thoth, the exact plummet of the balance, from whom evil flees, who accepts him who avoids evil, the Vizier who gives judgment, who vanquishes crime, who recalls all that is forgotten, the remembrancer of time and eternity, who proclaims the hours of the night, whose words abide for ever.

[J.E.A., x, p. 3]

7

Verse transcription to No. 6

HAIL to thee, Thoth, the child of the Sun, the Moon who arises in beauty,
 Lord of all brightness, the Light of the gods, all praises are thine and all worship.
 Bull of Hermopolis, spreading the seats of the gods in the height of the heavens.
 Judge of mankind, the laws of the gods are entrusted to him for enforcement,
 Vanquishing crime as Vizier of the Lord he judges the good and the evil,

¹ Written by King Har-em-heb while still a scribe.

Obtaining the truth at the Weighing of Souls, he weighs every heart in the Balance ;
 Just and exact as the Scales of the Lord, confronting the deed and the doer,
 Calling to mind the words and the deeds and the evil long past and forgotten,
 Wickedness flees from the face of the Judge who admits all the righteous to favour.
 Time and Eternity wait on his Word and his Word abideth for ever.

8

HYMN TO THE GODDESS NEKHEBT

HOMAGE to thee, Lady of the Mouth of the Valley, Lady of Heaven. Mistress of the gods, beautiful tiller for him that hath no rudder, judge in heaven and on earth, beautiful star unseen save in time of good. I have come to thee. Grant unto me my mouth to speak, my feet to walk, my eyes to see thy brightness every day, that I may enjoy the good things that are presented unto me. Grant then to me that I may pass through the beautiful Amentet day by day. [G.T.P., p. 10]

9

THE HAWK OF GOLD ! ¹

I RISE, I rise as a great Hawk of Gold, coming out of the egg. I fly and I alight as a Hawk of four cubits in length in its back, its wings are of the green stone of the South. When I come forth from the shrine of the Evening Boat my heart is brought to me

¹ The Chapter of making existence as a Hawk of Gold.

from the mountains of the East. When I alight on the Morning Boat the Enneads of primeval times are brought to me, they bow down and give praises to me. I rise, I am altogether a beautiful Hawk of Gold, chief of the *Bennu*-birds. Rê enters every day when he hears its voice, and I sit among the oldest Gods of the firmament. [B.B.D., ch. lxxvii]

10¹

LET not him that would harm me approach me. O gods who would hearken unto my words, Mighty Ones who are in the retinue of Osiris, silence O gods, when God speaks with God. My face is that of the Divine Hawk, my strength is that of the Divine Hawk . . . Down upon your faces, O gods of the Duat. [B.B.D., ch. lxxviii]

11

Verse transcription of Nos. 9 and 10

As a Hawk of Gold I fly
 On my burnished wings outspread,
 When the veil from her face the Sky withdraws
 And the Sun-boat leaps from the Serpent's jaws,
 And to earth return the Dead.

To the West my way I take,
 When the burning clouds are filled with light,
 And the Sun-boat sails through the Gates of Night
 In the glare of the Flaming Lake.

¹ The Chapter of making existence as a Divine Hawk.

To the Judgment Seat I go.
 My enemies stand amazed and dumb,
 They dare not speak when they see me come
 As the God who slew his foe.

To the height of Heaven I fly.
 I seat myself upon God's own throne,
 And the power of God is mine alone,
 For a Hawk of Gold am I.

12

HYMN TO SEKHMET-BAST

HAIL to thee, Sekhmet-Bast-Rê, Mother of the gods, Bearer of Wings, Lady of the Anès-cloth, Mistress of the Two Crowns, Only One, Chief one of her father! the gods did not exist before her. Great one of magic in the Boat of Millions, Holy one appearing on the Throne of Silence, Lady of the Tomb-chamber, Mother in the horizon of heaven, beloved, trampling down evil. Offerings are in thy hand. Thou art standing at the prow of the Boat of thy father to overthrow the foe. Thou placest Truth at the prow of his Boat. Thou art the divine Flame, thou art the great Flame at the prow of the Boat of thy father. Praise to thee who art mightier than the gods.

[B.B.D., ch. clxiv]

13

Verse transcription of No. 12

MOTHER of the gods, the One, the Only,
 Mistress of the Crowns, thou rulest all;
 Sekhmet is thy name when thou art wrathful,
 Bast, beloved, when thy people call.

Daughter of the Sun, with flame and fury
 Flashing from the prow upon the foe;
 Safely sails the Boat with thy protection
 Passing scatheless where thy fires glow.

Daughter of the Sun, the burial chamber
 Lies in the darkness till thy light appears.
 From thy Throne of Silence send us comfort,
 Bast, beloved, banish all our fears.

Mother of the gods, no gods existed
 Till thou camest there and gave them life.
 Sekhmet of the Boat, the wicked fear thee
 Trampling down all evil and all strife.

Mother of the gods, the great, the loved one,
 Winged and mighty, unto thee we call,
 Naming thee the Comforter, the Ruler,
 Bast, beloved, Mother of us all.

14

PRAYER FOR BUCHIS, THE DIVINE BULL OF
HERMONTHIS¹

ON this day the Majesty of this noble God went up to heaven as Rê the Old. Mayest thou traverse the earth, mayest thou be united with the Disk [of the Sun], and may the rays of Rê be beautiful on thy body. May Amon breathe forth sweet air into thy nostrils, and may thy nostrils inhale the goodly north wind without its ever leaving thee. Mayest thou be glorious, mayest thou be powerful, may thy soul be established, mayest thou grow young like the Moon. Mayest thou pass through the holy cities, mayest thou traverse the temples of the gods at their festivals. The Soul of the Sun-god shall cause thy soul to live, the soul of the God of Light shall endue thy nostrils. Mayest thou see the Eternal when he shines forth by day, and the Everlasting when he enters in at night. Mayest thou live in the House of Atum, and not perish for ever. [B.F.B., ii, p. 12]

15

TRIUMPH-SONG OF ISIS FOR HER SON HORUS WHEN
HE DEFEATED SETEKH²

REJOICE, ye women of Pé and Dep, ye townsfolk beside the marshes. Come and see Horus in the prow of his ship, like Rê when he shineth in the horizon, arrayed in green cloth, clad

¹ This bull lived during the reign of Cleopatra and died in the first year of the reign of Augustus.

² Sung by the Queen in the character of the goddess in the mystery-play performed in the temple of Horus of Edfu. Ptolemaic.

in red cloth, decked in his ornaments, the White Crown and the Red Crown set firmly on his head, the two uraei between his brows. He hath received the whip and the flail, being crowned with the great Double Diadem, while Sekhmet standeth in front of him, and Thothis protecteth him.

[J.E.A., xxx (1944), p. 10]

VI. DEATH AND BURIAL

I

WHEN the messenger [of death] comes to take thee away, let him find thee prepared. Alas ! thou wilt have no opportunity for speech, for verily his terror will be before thee. Say not, "Thou art taking me in my youth," for thou knowest not when thy death will take place. Death comes and seizes the babe at the mother's breast as well as the aged man. Observe this, for I speak unto thee good advice, which thou shouldest ponder in thy heart. [B.E.L., p. 229]

2

ALL ye excellent nobles and ye gods of the Mistress of Life, hear ye ! The land that hath no foe, all our kindred rest in it since the earliest day of time ; and they that shall be in millions of millions of years, they shall come hither, every one. There is none that may tarry in the land of Egypt ; there is not one that doth not pass yonder. The duration of that which is done upon earth is as a dream. Then "Welcome, safe and sound", is said to him that reacheth the West. [E.E.L., p. 253]

3¹

How prosperous is this good prince ! It is a goodly destiny that bodies should diminish, passing away while others remain, since the time of the ancestors, the gods who were aforetime,

¹ Song of the Harper (early version).

who rest in their pyramids, the noble and the glorious departed likewise, entombed in their pyramids. Those who built their tombs, their place is no more. Behold what is done therein. I have heard the words of Imhotep and Har-dedef, words greatly celebrated [as being] their utterances : "Behold the places thereof ; their walls are dismantled, their places are no more [they are], as if they had never been. None cometh from thence that he may tell thee how they fare, that he may tell of their fortunes, that he may comfort our heart, until we also depart to the place whither they have gone." Encourage then thy heart to forget it, making it pleasant for thyself to follow thy desires whilst thou livest. Put myrrh on thy head, clothe thyself in fine linen, anoint thyself with divine perfumes. Follow thy desire and thy happiness, fashion thy affairs on earth according to the mandates of thy own heart, until there cometh to thee that great day of lamentation. For he who is at rest cannot hear thy complaint, and he who is in the tomb cannot understand thy weeping. Therefore, with smiling face, let thy days be happy and rest not therein. For no man carrieth his goods away with him, O no man returneth again who is gone thither.

[B.D.R., p. 182]

4¹

BEHOLD the dwellings of the dead ! Their walls fall down ; their place is no more ; they are as though they never existed. That which has come into being must pass away again. The young men and maidens must go to their places. The sun riseth at dawn, and setteth again in the West. Men beget, woman conceive. The children too go to the places which are appointed for them. O then, be happy ! Come, scents and

¹ Song of the Harper (late version).

perfumes are set before thee ; *mahu*-flowers and lilies for the arms of thy beloved. Come, songs and music are before thee. Set behind thee all thy cares ; think only upon gladness, until the day cometh whereon thou shalt go down to the land that loveth silence. [B.D.R., p. 185]

5

HAIL, brother, husband, friend ! Cease not to drink wine, to enjoy the love of women, and to pass thy days happily ; follow thy desires day and night. Set not sorrow in thy heart, for the years are not many. Amentet is a land where black darkness cannot be pierced by the eye, it is a place of misery for the dwellers in it. The holy ones sleep there, they wake not to see their parents, they have no desire for their wives or children. The living water of the earth is not for them that are here, stagnant water is for me, stagnant water is for me ! I long for running water, I say, " Let not my attendant remove the pitcher from the stream." O that I could turn my face to the north wind on the bank of the river and could cry out to it to cool the pain in my heart. Death calls every one to him, they come to him with quaking heart, and are terrified through fear of him. By him is no distinction made between gods and men, with him princes are as the lowly. His hand is not turned away by those who love, for he snatches the babe from its mother even as he doth the aged man. He goes about on his way, and all men fear him ; they make supplication before him, but he turns not his face from them. Useless is it to make supplication to him ; if offerings are made to him he will not regard them.

[Arch., xxxix, pp. 332 seq.]

6

HAIL to thee, hail to thee ! Thou art lamented, thou art glorified, thou art exalted, thou art strong. Rise up, rise up by raising thyself, by means of the ceremonies made for thee . . . Fallen are thy foes, Ptah has overthrown thy enemies, thou art triumphant against them and hast power over them. They who hear thy words do as thou commandest. Thou art exalted and thy word is law in the council of all the gods and goddesses . . . Hail to thee, hail to thee ! Anubis has clothed thee, he has done as he will, placing his ornaments among the bandages, for he is the deputy of the great God. Thou journeyest, thou art cleansed in the Lake of Perfection, thou hast made offerings in the Houses of Heaven, thou hast satisfied the Lords of Heliopolis. Thou hast offered the Waters of Rê in vases and milk in great vessels, and thy offerings are lifted up on the altar. Thou hast washed thy feet upon the stone on the banks of the Lake of God. Thou goest forth and seest Rê upon the supports, the arms of Heaven, upon the head of Ynmutef, upon the shoulders of Upuaut. He opens for thee a path, and thou shalt see the horizon and the place of purity therein which thou lovest.

[B.B.D., ch. clxxii]

7

MAY he traverse the firmament, cross the sky, draw nigh unto the great God, and land in peace at the beauteous West, may the Desert open to him her arms, and the West hold out to him her hands, may he attain unto the Conclave of God, may " Welcome " be said unto him by the great ones of Abydos, may hands be held out to him in the Neshebt Boat. Upon the pathways of the West may he go happily and in peace to the horizon,

to where Osiris is, and open the paths that he willeth unto the portals that are in the Sacred Land. May They-in-whom-is-Abundance give to him their gifts in the waste places, and may food-offerings be given unto him together with his *ka*.

[J.E.A., xvii (1931), p. 57]

8¹

COME, shining Eye of Horus. Come, splendid Eye of Horus, come in peace, shining like Rê in the horizon. It destroys the powers of Setekh, it carries its flame against him. The flame comes, encircling these offerings, encircling heaven round Rê, on the hands of thy two Sisters. O Rê. May the Eye of Horus live, may the Eye of Horus live.

[B.B.D., ch. cxxxvii. B]

9

Verse transcription of No. 9

SHINING Eye of Horus, come in peace !
 Splendid Eye of Horus, come to me,
 Shining like the very Sun himself.
 'Gainst the wiles of Setekh come and flame
 Like the flames which rage behind the throne
 Of the Sun-god in the heaven above,
 Circling round the altar of the God,
 Borne upon the hands of Sisters twain.
 Live, O Eye of Horus, live for me.

¹ Words to be said at the lighting of the lamp.

10¹

To the West ! to the West !
 To the land pleasant for life.
 To the place in which thou art !
 Lo, I come ! Behold, I come !

[G.T.P., p. 20]

11

MAY he repose in the Western Mountain, and come forth on the earth to see the disc of the Sun, and may the roads be open to the perfect Spirit which is in the Nether World. May it be granted to him to walk out, to enter and go forth as a living soul, to give offerings to Him-who-is-in-the-Other-World [Osiris], and to present all good things to Rê-Horus, to Nekhebt Lady of Heaven, to Hathor princess of the Desert, to Osiris the great God, to Anubis Lord of the Sacred Land, that they may grant to him the breathing of the sweet breezes of the North Wind.

[G.T.P., p. 26]

¹ Chant of the human victim.

VII. DUTY TO GOD, THE KING AND ONE'S NEIGHBOUR

I¹

I SPEAK of a great matter, and cause that ye shall hearken. I give unto you a thought for eternity, a rule of life for living in righteousness and for spending a lifetime in happiness.

Honour the King, the Eternal, in your bodies; resort unto the Lord in your hearts. For he is Understanding and knoweth the secrets of the heart, his eyes search out all men. He is the Sun by which all mankind sees. He illumines the Two Lands more than the sun; he makes the Two Lands greener than a High Nile, he fills the Two Lands with strength and Life. The nostrils are cold when he inclines to terror, but when he is gracious men breathe the air. To them that serve him he gives Life and Strength; to them that tread his path he gives food, for the King himself is Life and Strength and his word is Abundance. He it is who shall nurture the coming generations, for he is the Creator, the Begetter that begets the people.

He is Bast, who protects the Two Lands; he that fears him shall escape his wrath. But to him who transgresses his command, he is Sekhmet. Fight for his Name and defend his life, then shall you escape adversity. He that is loyal to the King shall be honoured, but for his enemies there is no tomb and their bodies shall be thrown into the water.

• Do this that ye may prosper; yea, it is profitable for you for ever. [E.E.L., p. 84]

¹ Instruction written for his children by Se-hotep-yb-Rê, the scribe.

2

CELEBRATE the festival of God, and repeat the celebration at its appointed season: God is wroth with the transgressor of this command.

The sanctuary of God abhorreth noisy demonstrations: pray with thy whole heart and let thy words be in secret; He will hearken unto thy words and He will receive thy offering.

Devote thyself to God: take heed to thyself daily because of God, and let tomorrow be as today.

God sees those who work for Him: and esteems lightly those who esteem Him lightly. [E.E.L., p. 235]

3

Do not terrify the people; for if thou dost God will punish thee.

If any man says that he will live by this means: God will make his mouth empty of food.

Let no man terrify the people: for it is the will of God that they shall be content.

If thou dost humble thyself and dost obey the wise: thy behaviour will be held to be good before God.

Treat thy dependants as well as thou art able: for this is the duty of those whom God has blessed.

Be not harsh in respect of grain: for thou art only an overseer of the food of God. [E.E.L., pp. 226-228]

4

COMMAND thou men, the flocks of God: he made heaven and earth at their desire.

He checked the greed of the waters: and made the air to give life to their nostrils.

They are his own images : proceeding from his flesh.

He arises in the heavens at their desire : he made for them grass and cattle, food and fish, to nourish them.

He slew his enemies, and destroyed his own children : because of their plots in making rebellion.

He maketh the dawn at their desire : and saileth past in order to see them.

When they weep, he heareth.

He made for them rulers : supporters to support the back of the weak.

He made for them magic as weapons to ward off evil events : dreams by day and by night.

Why hath he slain the froward of heart ? Even as a man smiteth his son for his brother's sake. For God knows every name.

[J.E.A., i (1914), p. 34]

5

GOD knoweth the froward : he requiteth their sins in blood.

More acceptable to God is the virtue of one that is just of heart than the ox of him that doeth iniquity.

[E.E.L., pp. 77, 93]

6

FROM the evil-doer the quay slips away,

He is carried away by his flooded land,

The north wind comes down to end his hour,

It unites with the tempest.

The thunder is loud, the crocodiles are vicious,

O Man, who givest way to thy passions, what is thy condition ?

He cries out, his voice reaches to heaven.

O Moon, accuse him of his crimes.

[J.E.A., xii (1926), p. 200]

7

BETTER is poverty at the hand of God

than riches in the store-house ;

Better is bread with a happy heart

than riches with vexation.

[J.E.A., xii, p. 205]

8

LAY thee not down at night fearing the morrow ;

When day appears what is the morrow like ?

Man knoweth not what the morrow will be,

The events of the morrow are in the hand of God.

[J.E.A., xii, p. 216]

9

BE resolute in thy heart, make firm thy mind ;

steer not with thy tongue ;

The tongue of a man is the rudder of the boat,

but the Universal Lord is the pilot.

[J.E.A., xii, p. 216]

10

How happy is he who hath reached the West

when he is safe in the hand of God.

[J.E.A., xii, p. 221]

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