

ARTICLE V.

THE EGYPTIAN DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE.

BY JOSEPH F. THOMPSON, D.D., NEW YORK.

ACCORDING to Herodotus "the Egyptians were the first who maintained the doctrine that the soul of man is immortal."¹ They were also the only people of antiquity who approximated the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body, a belief which was beautifully symbolized by a bird resting on the bosom of the mummy-case — the soul, the true psyche, returning from long wanderings to occupy again the body which had been so scrupulously preserved.² "Considerable portions of the funereal ritual referred to the preservation of the body, and especially of the heart. That the body should not waste or decay was an object of great solicitude; and for this purpose various bandlets and amulets, prepared with certain magical preparations, and sanctified with certain spells or prayers, or even offerings and small sacrifices, were distributed over various parts of the human form or mummy. In some mysterious manner the immortality of the body was deemed as important as the passage of the soul, and at a later period the growth or natural reparation of the body was invoked as earnestly as the life or passage of the soul to the upper regions."³

Both these doctrines, that of the immortality of the soul and that of the resurrection of the body, or the rehabilitation of the soul with its proper body, must be distinguished from the transmigration of the soul through inferior animal forms, which the Egyptians regarded either as a punitive degradation or a purgatorial discipline in reserve for the wicked after

¹ Herodotus, ii. 123.

² Some fine examples of this are to be seen upon the sarcophagi in the Berlin Museum.

³ Dr. Samuel Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, Vol. v. p. 135.

death, "the number and duration of these transmigrations, and the kind of animals through which they passed, depending on the extent of their impieties, and the consequent necessity of a greater or less degree of purification."¹

The doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and to some extent also that of the resuscitation of the body, was based upon the legend of Osiris, which lay at the foundation of the Egyptian mythology.² This is one of the most complete of the religious myths of antiquity, and its exquisite pathos suggests the notion that much of the old nature-worship, which we regard as a sign of spiritual degradation, may have sprung from a poetic sympathy with nature as symbolizing the highest spiritual ideas. In other words, in this as in later modes of symbolic worship, the spiritual conception preceded the material form, which last, however, by degrees obscured the image it was intended to present.

After Osiris had ruled benignantly over Egypt for many years, and had given laws and customs to her people, he was slain by the evil Typhon, with the help of his seventy-two confederates, was enclosed in a mummy-case and thrown into the Nile. With sorrowing heart Isis sought the corpse of her brother and spouse Osiris, till she found it at Byblos on the coast of Phenicia, where the waves had tossed it. From here she carried it back again to Egypt, and buried it herself. Meanwhile Horus, their common son, had grown up, who slew Typhon, and so avenged his father Osiris; he however was not dead, but had only descended to the under-world to establish his dominion over that, and at the same time in his son Horus, as the young prince of the living, he revived to a new life and renewed dominion.

Such, in brief, is the legend of Osiris, as given by Diodorus and Plutarch. The mention of Phenicia marks the early

¹ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. v. p. 317.

² For a full discussion of the place of Osiris in the Egyptian Pantheon see Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, Vol. i. pp. 423-438. Lepsius, *Ueber den Ersten Aegyptischen Götterkreis*; Jablonski, *Pantheon Aegyptiorum*, p. 122; Plutarch *de Isid. et Osir.*; Schwenck, *Die Mythologie der Aegypter*, p. 222.

connection of Egypt with that country, and at once recalls the myth of Venus and Adonis, whose seat was in Mount Lebanon, near the source of the river of Byblus. In the Phœnician legend Adonis represented the sun, as "the source of life to the physical world," whose fructifying power was destroyed by the sharp blast of winter, the "boar" of the forest.¹ After the summer solstice, Venus with her maidens bewailed the departure of her life,

" While smooth Adonis from his native rock,
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Thammuz, yearly wounded."²

On the day of mourning the image of the god was buried ; but on the morrow he re-appeared, and his image was disinterred and paraded with a frenzy of rejoicing. This was a type of Isis and Osiris.

The Egyptian myth was a poetic and spiritual rendering of the yearly phenomena of the Nile. *Osiris* was the fructifying river, *Isis* the earth, his fruit-bearing spouse. *Typhon*³ was the god of the salt sea and of the parched desert, the "all-powerful destroyer and waster"; Plutarch likens him to chaos, the type of all disorder and misrule, and the source of all evil powers and pernicious things; he was the demon of drought and barrenness. *Horus* is the sun, appearing in the vernal equinox, heralding the rise of the Nile. When the scorching wind of the Libyan desert parches the land, and the flood of the Nile slackens, then is Osiris killed by Typhon, and bound up in a mummy-case. The earth, Isis, mourning seeks him, sighing for the embraces of her spouse; but the dreaded Typhon with his followers rules—the god of drought and calamity—and the land mourns over the death of Osiris. But when, after seventy-two days of fierce heat, about the middle of June, the bed of the stream fills up and the Nile overflows its banks, then Osiris is risen again;

¹ Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, pp. 310; Movers, *Die Phönizier*, Vol. i. p. 210.

² Milton, *Paradise Lost*, B. i. l. 455.

³ Typhon or Set was the devil of the old Egyptian mythology, a powerful and malignant spirit, who from the first contested the supremacy of the good.

the young Horus, the new blessing of the year, has vanquished the god of drought and unfruitfulness.

Another rendering of the legend makes Osiris the inundation, Isis the land fertilized by the rising waters, Typhon the sea that swallows up the Nile, Horus the principle of moisture, or the cloud-making vapors which reproduce the inundation. Plutarch, who gives in full the legend and its various interpretations, says wisely: "Taking a proper view of these matters, we must neither look upon water, nor the sun, nor the earth, nor the heavens simply, as Osiris and Isis; nor must we by Typhon understand either fire, or drought, or the sea; but, in general, whatever in these bodies is irregular and disorderly, or whatever is bad, is to be attributed to Typhon; as, on the contrary, whatever is good and salutary is the operation of Isis and the image of Osiris."¹

In brief, the death of Osiris and his return to life represent the yearly dying and reviving of the powers of nature, under the peculiar conditions of the Nile valley. It is easy to see how to reflective and poetic minds that ever-marvellous phenomenon of nature upon which the life of the land depended, would suggest a spiritual analogy of the suspension of vital powers by the withdrawal of the soul from the body; that this was not a dying but only a disappearing for a season, an apparent succumbing to an evil destiny, to be followed in the hereafter by a reunion of soul and body in a young and immortal life.² That such was the origin of the belief of the Egyptians in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection

¹ Plutarch de Isid. s. 64.

² Our Christian hymnology of the nineteenth century does not disdain a like argument, though from much feebler analogies. Thus Dwight:

"Shall spring the faded world revive?
 Shall waning moons their light return?
 Again shall setting suns ascend,
 And the lost day anew be born?
 "Shall life revisit dying worms?
 And spread the joyful insect's wing?
 And oh, shall man awake no more,
 To see thy face, thy name to sing?"

of the body, is rendered probable by the fact that in the funereal ritual the departed soul in its wanderings through the under-world is called the son of Osiris, and uses the magic of his name as an incantation at the gates of light. Thus in the sublime apostrophe at the door of the West, the way of the setting sun. "O soul, greatest of things created! He passes from the gate; he sees his father Osiris; he makes a way in the darkness to his father Osiris; he is his beloved; he has come to see his father Osiris; he has pierced the heart of Set [or Typhon] to do the things of his father Osiris; he has opened all the paths on heaven and earth; he is the son beloved of his father; he has come from the mummy, a prepared spirit. O gods and goddesses, give way!"¹ And in a later chapter the deceased himself takes up this strain.² He is represented in the ritual by a vignette of a man walking with a staff; and as he follows the sun through the gateway of the West he challenges for himself an unmolested passage, as the child of Osiris. "I have made my way through the darkness to my father Osiris. I am his beloved; I have come to see my father Osiris. I stab the heart of Set. I do the things of my father Osiris. I have opened every door in heaven and earth. I am his beloved son. I have come from the dead an instructed spirit. O every god and goddess, I have come along!"

Sometimes by a bold personification the deceased identifies himself with Osiris, takes his name, undergoes his conflicts, shares his victories, attains to his resurrection, and is finally crowned with his glory. "I am the inundation. Rising from the great water is my name. . . . I have come out as a spirit. I am the Osiris. I behold the forms of men forever."³ It is difficult in certain phrases to determine whether the god Osiris is introduced as speaking through the words which the ritual puts into the mouth of the deceased, or the deceased is conceived of as transformed for the time into the divinity. "Two antagonistic beings appear throughout the

¹ The Funereal Ritual, Cap. ix., Dr. Birch's translation.

² Cap. lxxiii. Ibid.

³ Cap. lxiv.

ritual. Osiris and his triad, the supporters and prototype of the good or justified; and Set and his devils or conspirators, the evil principle, always endeavoring to subvert the good principle, or Osiris and his followers."¹

The connection of the doctrines of immortality and the resurrection with the legend of Osiris is further illustrated by the funereal statuettes which were deposited with the mummy in the sepulchre, and which evidently had a symbolic meaning. These statuettes were of a uniform model, representing a person completely enveloped in funereal wrappings, with the exception of his face and hands. Now a common representation of Osiris was a mummified body freed of its outer wrapping; and this symbolic image deposited in the tomb signified that the deceased, identified with the dead and risen Osiris, would throw off that envelope, the real garment of death, and recover the freedom of his legs and arms, in order to fulfil the active phases of the life beyond the grave.²

The sources of our knowledge of Egyptian eschatology are few and imperfect. Among Greek and Latin writers Herodotus, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus, have given brief accounts of particular beliefs and ceremonies of the Egyptians concerning the dead, but no comprehensive statement of their doctrine. "The Egyptians," said Herodotus, "are religious to excess, far beyond any other race of men."³ In his opinion they originated the dogma of the transmigration of the soul: "The Egyptians maintain that Ceres and Bacchus preside in the realms below. They were also the first to broach the idea that the soul of man is immortal, and that when the body dies it enters into the form of an animal which is born at the moment, thence passing on from one animal into another, until it has circled through the forms of all the creatures which tenant the earth, the water, and the air, after which it enters again into a human frame, and is born

¹ Dr. Birch, in Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, Vol. v. p. 136.

² *Observations sur le Chapitre vi. de Rituel Egyptian*, par F. Chabas. Paris, 1863.

³ *Enterpè*, 37.

anew. The whole period of the transmigration is (they say) three thousand years."¹ The Book of the Dead does not bear out this representation of Herodotus, since according to that, transmigration through various animals was a degradation inflicted upon the souls of the wicked after death, while the souls of the pure passed through an ascending series of transformations, up to the highest divinity.

"There are Greek writers," Herodotus added, "some of an earlier, some of a later date, who have borrowed this doctrine [of transmigration] from the Egyptians, and put it forward as their own. I could mention their names, but I abstain from doing so." He had reference no doubt to Pythagorus, who had preceded him in visiting Egypt, and whose doctrine of metempsychosis was probably imbibed from her priests. The doctrine of Hades, as expanded by Plato in the *Phaedo*, has evident marks of Egyptian origin. Plato taught a judgment after death, upon which the holy being freed from earth as from a prison, will ascend to the abode of purity above; the impure will be detained for a longer or shorter period at the Acherusian lake, and then be remanded to the earth, to pass through various forms of animal existence; while the incorrigible will be cast into Tartarus, whence they never come forth. These same distinctions are found in the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Again in the *Phaedro*,¹ Plato represents the soul which is justified, after three thousand years, as taking wings and mounting to a place in the upper heaven; while the souls of the unworthy wander for ten thousand years; all which is in striking analogy with Egyptian notions.

Plutarch, in his legend of Isis and Osiris, mentions the transmigration of souls, especially the souls of wicked men, through the bodies of animals, as an article of belief with the Egyptians, founded upon the distribution of the members of Osiris under many forms.

Diodorus says expressly that Pythagorus learned from Egypt "sacred lore, geometry, the science of numbers, and

¹ *Euterpe*, 124; Rawlinson's translation.

² *Sec. 61.*

the transmigration of souls into animals"; and that "Orpheus introduced from Egypt the greatest part of his mythical ceremonies, the orgies that celebrate the wanderings of Ceres, and the whole fable of the shades below. The rites of Osiris and Bacchus were the same, the punishment of the wicked, the Elysian fields, and all the common fictions, were copied from the Egyptian funerals."¹

An ingenious writer has traced the poetic fancies of Empedocles concerning the pre-existence of the soul, its earth-birth through a fall, and its transmigrations on the upward journey to the divine, to Egyptian sources; or rather, he regards these affinities of belief as evidence of a world-wide religious philosophy.²

But the principal authority for the belief of the Egyptians concerning the future state is the so-called *Funereal Ritual*, or *Book of the Dead*. It was the custom of the Egyptians to provide a deceased relative with formulas of prayer and incantation which should serve for his guidance through the regions of Hades and his protection against evil spirits that might there assail him. These formulas were inscribed upon the sarcophagus, or written on papyrus and deposited within the mummy-case. In the general style of composition they were somewhat repetitious; yet in themes they were sufficiently various to cover all supposable conditions of the departed spirit. By degrees these formulas were collected and symmetrically arranged, and thus grew up a canon of mortuary writings, which was for the Egyptian faith what their sacred books were to other nations of antiquity.³ At length the whole ritual came to be regarded as an inspired or Hermetic book, and was ascribed to Thoth, the god of letters or of truth. Sometimes particular chapters only of the ritual were deposited with the deceased, sometimes a

¹ Diod. Sic., B. i. ss. 96, 98.

² Empedokles und die Aegypter. Eine historische Untersuchung von Aug. Gladisch, Director des Gymnasiums zu Krotoschin.

³ Étude sur le Chapitre, cxxv. du Rituel Funéraire, par W. Pleyte (Leyden, 1866), p. 3.

synopsis of the whole, and again the entire ritual, written out with care, its sections distinguished by red lines, and the headings beautifully illustrated with vignettes. In the latter form the copy was probably prepared by professional scribes, to be sold to families of wealth, the name of the deceased being left in blank, to be inserted when death should designate the subject, just as at the gateways of our cemeteries the dealers in monumental marbles exhibit their slabs, covered with certain conventional emblems, and lettered "In memory of ——." A fine example of the illustrated ritual may be seen in the *Salle Funéraire* of the Egyptian galleries of the Louvre at Paris, in which the name of the deceased is wanting, not having been inserted in the blanks prepared for it. Count Rougé is of opinion that the copyists sometimes stole back their work from the tomb, and having erased the name of the deceased, inserted that of a new purchaser in its stead.¹ This conjecture, suggested by the inspection of manuscripts, is rendered plausible by the fact that the deceased, in vindicating himself at the tribunal of justice from the imputation of the forty-two deadly sins, is made to declare, "I have not taken the bandages of the dead," or "I have not stolen from a mummy its papyrus roll, nor portions thereof." This specification shows what would be the fate of the thief in such a case; but how the two souls dependent upon the same passport would fare in their journey through the under-world, the ritual itself does not inform us. Would he who, like the pilgrim in Bunyan's allegory, had lost his scroll be turned back? Would he who had a falsified passport be challenged at the gate?

This book was first brought to notice through the French expedition to Egypt, which found in a royal tomb at Thebes a papyrus written in hieroglyphics, and illustrated with pictures of the state of the dead. Soon after, Champollion found in the Turin Museum a papyrus of the same description, but much more extended and complete. Of this text he

¹ Notice Sommaire des Monuments Égyptiens exposés dans les Galeries du Musée du Louvre, par le Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé.

deciphered and published brief extracts with expository comments, and from the apparent tenor of its contents he designated it a "Ritual"; it was mainly by the study of this book that Champollion established the principles of interpretation which are given in his *Egyptian Grammar* of 1841. Dr. Richard Lepsius, then in the early enthusiasm of those Egyptian studies which have given him a world-wide fame, devoted himself to the mastery of this most important key to the hieroglyphics. He transcribed the Turin papyrus, analyzed its contents, arranged it in chapters and sections according to its subject-matter, and in 1842 published it entire under the title "*Das Tottenbuch.*" This was "the first Egyptian work ever committed to type"; and this edition has been the basis of all later criticism of these Hermetic books. The name "*Book of the Dead*"¹ was regarded by Lepsius as more properly descriptive of the work than the "*Funereal Ritual*" suggested by Champollion, inasmuch as throughout the book it is the deceased himself who speaks and acts, and not a priest officiating on his behalf; and although there are occasional prayers for the dead, the supplications, confessions, incantations, were principally for the use of the soul in its passage through the under-world and the hall of judgment. These may also have had practical uses by way of anticipation; the soul during its earthly life committing to memory what would serve its future needs. Hence the common formula: "*Whoso knows this chapter*" shall have such a reward.

Pleyte describes very well the object of the book. "It was given to the dead to serve as a passport on the infernal voyage; it appeased the anger of the gods; it opened the gates to the abode of the blessed; it imparted to its possessor the faculty of assuming the desired transformations, and it confounded the fiercest enemies."² In all this the book leads one beyond a burial service to the condition and necessities of the departed soul.

¹ Dr. Lepsius presents anew the argument for this name in his recent work, *Aelteste Texte des Tottenbuchs*, p. 2.

² *Étude sur le chapitre cxxv.* p. 3.

The date assigned to the Turin papyrus is the twenty-sixth dynasty, perhaps the reign of Psammeticus, in the middle of the seventh century before Christ ; and the greater number of the funeral papyri in the museums of Europe are of the same period. But the substance of the book, its most important chapters and its essential doctrines, are many centuries older. "The oldest papyri, containing portions of the ritual, have been assigned to the eighteenth dynasty, and this is probably the age of the earliest known in Europe at the present day."¹ At this period, from 1500 to 1700 B.C., extracts and representations from the Book of the Dead abound on the walls of tombs, especially the royal tombs at Thebes. But these are likewise found inscribed upon sarcophagi of a much earlier date ; as, for instance, on the coffin of a Mentuhotep of the eleventh dynasty (2500 B.C.?) the most important chapters are given in full, and one of these is said in the hieroglyphics to have been composed in the reign of Menkheres, the builder of the third pyramid.

The Berlin Museum contains five sarcophagi of the period of the old empire, in a good state of preservation, and fragments of two others. One of these affords the most complete insight into the funeral customs of the Egyptians, and their conception of the state of the departed, which has yet been gained from their monuments. This sarcophagus was found in 1823 in the Necropolis of Thebes, in a carefully walled grave, several feet under ground. The dimensions of this grave are reproduced in the glass case within which the sarcophagus now stands, and where are also arranged the various accompaniments of the coffin which were found in the tomb. Chief among these are two barks, which represent the transportation of the deceased from the world of the living to the world of the dead. In the first the deceased is seen as a mummy lying on a bier under a canopy ; at the four corners of the bier are figures of the four genii of the dead ; at the head and foot respectively are the gods Nebthi and Isis, bewailing their dead brother Osiris, while a priest appears to

¹ Birch ; Bunsen's *Egypt*, Vol. v. p. 130 ; Lepsius, *Älteste Texte*.

be reading from a roll ; before the priest a man is slaying a bull ; and behind the bark a woman, a near relative, clad in tokens of mourning, is walking with vessels in her hands and on her head, which contain the necessary offerings. The second bark contains the sailors, steersman, etc. ; then follows another female figure with the remainder of the offerings, and near by are vessels of burnt clay for holding water, a kind of black cake, the skull of the bull that had been sacrificed, and other articles of curious interest. These all are to be seen to-day in the museum in as perfect condition as when deposited in the tomb perhaps four thousand years ago. For this was the sarcophagus of Mentuhotep, whose date was earlier than the twelfth dynasty.

The Berlin museum contains a second sarcophagus of a Mentuhotep, and one of Sebakaa, likewise of the old empire. These all are covered on their inner sides with hieroglyphic inscriptions, which prove to be chapters of the Book of the Dead ; and Dr. Lepsius has transcribed, collated, and published these inscriptions as the earliest known text of that book.¹

Lepsius regards the whole book as a collection or compilation of sacred texts, in general treating of the same subjects, but without unity of literary composition, and with no ligament running through them. There are distinct redactions of particular chapters, one more expanded, another more condensed ; in one the deceased speaks in the first person, in another in the third. In the earliest times there was no uniform beginning or order to the book ; but the whole work contains only variations and amplifications of the two supreme moments to the deceased — his judgment, and the admittance to eternal life grounded thereupon.

A standard text of the ritual is still a desideratum ; that of Turin being considered less pure than the text of more fragmentary copies. Count de Rougé has begun a superb edition,

¹ *Aelteste Texte des Todtenbuchs nach Sarkophagen des Altaegyptischen Reichs im Berliner Museum, herausgegeben von R. Lepsius. Berlin : Wilhelm Hertz. 1867.*

based upon a collation of the manuscripts of the Louvre with the Turin manuscript and others; but this text is not yet acknowledged as official by Egyptologists. Several sections of the book have been published independently, with notes and translations, but the first complete translation has just appeared from the hand of Dr. S. Birch of the British Museum, and that will be chiefly relied upon in this article.¹

In the absence of a truly canonical edition of the Book of the Dead, the diversified arrangement of its chapters in different copies renders it difficult to determine whether the more usual form, of which the Turin papyrus is a conspicuous example, was casual or arbitrary, or according to some logical order of doctrinal thought. If the latter, then the Egyptians placed the judgment, the proper trial of the soul, by which its final destiny was fixed, in the distant future, after a season of detention and perhaps of purgatorial discipline in Hades. But there are indications also of a preliminary trial immediately after death, which had reference to the metamorphoses of the soul upon its way to the presence of Osiris. By following in the main the order of the Turin papyrus, we shall be able to deduce from this every doctrine in particular of the Egyptian eschatology, and possibly to construct of the whole a connected system of belief.

I. EXISTENCE AFTER DEATH.

In the view of the Egyptians the souls of all men continued to exist after death. There was no suspension of consciousness; but the soul entered at once upon a journey in a new

¹ It is a striking example of the progress of hieroglyphic interpretation that in Vol. i. of his *Egypt's Place*, 1848, Bunsen said: "We confidently maintain that no man living is competent to read and explain the whole of any one section of the *Book of the Dead*"; and Vol. v. of the same work, published in 1867, contains a translation of the entire book from the pen of Dr. Birch. This translation is so extremely literal as often to be unintelligible. Whole paragraphs, which are probably a faithful rendering of the hieroglyphics, are without form or meaning as English sentences. The translation is therefore to be regarded as tentative; yet it furnishes a ground-work for the understanding of the whole book, while particular chapters are rendered in a more lucid and idiomatic style in the versions of other scholars.

sphere of life. Though the Book of the Dead proceeds on the assumption that the deceased for and by whom its prayers are offered is a true child of Osiris, who will be justified, and will attain to "the place where is the chief of the great gods"; yet its frequent imprecations against the crocodiles, snakes, dragons, and other monsters who wait to devour the wicked, its great judgment scene, its hell, and the pictorial representations of the condemned given in the vignettes of some of the chapters, show that all souls alike enter at death upon a new phase of existence. Indeed there is ground for the opinion that in the speculative theology of the Egyptians the soul was regarded as pre-existent: its being born into the body was a dying, and death will be its liberation or its "manifestation to light." This phrase, "Manifestation to Light," or "Entrance into Day," is the caption of the first chapter or proëm of the Ritual, which is a sublime funereal hymn, to be used on the day of bearing the dead to Hades.¹ This hymn is inspired by Thoth, who, accompanying the mourners, is halted by the sun, and required to justify the deceased against his enemies, who would dispute the rites of sepulture. This being done, the hymn proceeds in a strain that recalls the twenty-fourth Psalm. "O companions of souls made in the house of Osiris, accompanying ye the soul of the Osiris [i.e. of the deceased, who is here called an Osiris] with yourselves to the house of Osiris! Let him see as ye see; let him hear as ye hear; let him stand as ye stand; let him sit as ye sit. O givers of food and drink to the spirits, souls made in the house of the Osiris, give ye food and drink in due season to the Osiris with yourselves.

"O openers of roads! O guides of paths to the souls made in the abode of Osiris! open ye the roads, level ye the paths to the Osiris with yourselves.

"He enters the gate of Osiris. He goes in with exultation; he comes out in peace."

¹ This chapter is illustrated by a vignette representing the procession to the tomb, the relations leading, followed by the funeral coffers and the bark on which rests the mummy (Rougé).

Then the deceased himself takes up the refrain: "Hail, dweller in the West! [*quere* the setting sun?] Osiris, lord of the region of the great winds; let me stand in peace at the West! The lords of the hill receive me; they say to me, come, come in peace. They give me a place where is the chief of the great gods."

To the devout Egyptian death was an apotheosis. The deceased is pictured in the bark which is to bear him through the heavenly ocean, while his bereaved family neither cry after him that mournful *χαίρε* ("farewell") of the Greek monuments, nor reach out the hand for a last adieu; but regard him as Osiris himself, the just and the blessed, and bring to him offerings and alms.¹ While the voyage through the under-world is sombre, and there are many terrors on the way, the prevailing tone of the Book of the Dead is hopeful, and even jubilant.

II. HADES, OR THE UNDER-WORLD.

At death all souls alike descend to the under-world. The good cannot escape the necessity of passing through that region of gloom and of mysterious terrors. As the sun descending toward the west encounters the fiends of darkness, and seems for a time to succumb to their power, and to be dragged by them into the realms of night, so the soul descends at first into "a land of darkness, where no light is." But if fortified by a just and pure life it cannot be vanquished in Hades. Like its great prototype Osiris, it will gain dominion over the under-world; like the sun, having traversed the twelve hours of the night, it will emerge again with the light of a new day. "The Osiris² lives after he dies, like the sun daily; for the sun died, and was born yesterday, so the Osiris is born. Every god rejoices with life; the Osiris rejoices, as they rejoice, with life." The chapter of the Ritual which describes this emerging of the soul from Hades is appropriately entitled: "Of coming forth as the sun, and living after death."

¹ Brugsch, *Aegyptische Denkmäler*.

² Osiris is here, as before, put for the deceased, chap. iii.

In Hades are labors to be performed, — ploughing the fields, drawing water out of wells, transporting food, and other kinds of manual toil, — from which the deceased may escape, if duly fortified; or if “decreed for all the work to be done,” by the power of evil “dragging one beneath it,” he may transfer this to certain “working-figures,” typified by little images deposited in the mummy-case. Numbers of these figures, in perfect preservation, may be seen in the Egyptian collections of the Louvre and the Berlin Museum.¹ They represent the deceased with his hands crossed over his breast, furnished with various implements of agriculture; most commonly a hoe and a mattock shod with iron, and a sack containing seed. Chabas is of opinion that these figures symbolized the last stage of the deceased before resuming an active life. Hence the accompanying implements may have been intended for use in the celestial fields, which are pictured at length in the vignette of the one hundred and tenth chapter of the Ritual;² of which more hereafter.

The Hades is a region full of perils and horrors, which the soul must needs encounter in its passage to the higher light and life, but which the good and pure spirit escapes through the means of justification with which it is fortified. The bark of the sun as it traverses the under-world — the inverted hemisphere of darkness — is assailed by crocodiles and other monsters that seek to devour it; but under the favoring conduct of Shu³ the sun emerges at last victorious. The fiercest battle rages at the dawn, in the eastern horizon, — a battle in which the earth and sky commingle; “then comes the sun in his egg; irradiating by his orb; kindling his horizon;

¹ Through the kind attention of M. le Vicomte de Rougé and Professor Dr. Lepsius the writer had every facility for studying in detail these rich and well-classified collections. A good catalogue, however, is yet a desideratum of both museums.

² See in the Louvre, Salle Funéraire, Armoire A., also Comte Rougé's illustrated edition of the *Rituel Funéraire*.

³ Shu or Schou is a divinity who supports the sun-bark in the nether-world; represented as kneeling, with uplifted arms, supporting the goddess of heaven stretched over him like an arch.

floating in his clouds; impatient of delay; having no equal among the gods; starting the winds by the fires of his mouth; illumining both worlds with his splendors."¹ Like the sun, like Osiris, the divinized souls descending to the west — the entrance to the region of darkness and death — must undergo a conflict with Typhonian powers, from which they come forth at last victorious, by appearing rejuvenated at the eastern gate of the heaven.

The vignettes represent the deceased in Hades in conflict now with four crocodiles, now with a walking viper, now with a serpent having a fiery head, who assails the dead from behind, now with a tortoise, now with a knot of asps and snakes, now with a snake riding on the back of an ass, and with other monstrosities of evil. He is bespattered with mud and abominable filth; vile and poisonous food is set before him; snares are spread for him; he is assailed with water and with fire; monsters with yawning jaws are thirsting for his blood — one, red-haired, born of the night, hissing with snakes; another belching forth flames; another bellowing with terrible cries; a hideous executioner, with axe in hand, watches that he may decapitate the deceased upon "the evil block"; he runs the gauntlet of all odious and frightful things, and passes through a long succession of gates, each of which is guarded by a divinity wielding two swords.

It marks the incoherent structure of the Book of the Dead, that some of the most terrible of these ordeals are encountered in passing through the gates of Elysium. "The description of these regions is in every way horrible. They are terrible to the gods themselves, not only as being inhabited by fearful demons, but in some instances as regions of fiery flames, rivalling in all their horrors the Phlegethon, or burning stream of the Greek Hades. A similar series of regions is described on the sarcophagus of the monarch Nekhtherhebi, in the infernal purgatory, into which the sun enters through the hours

¹ Chapter xvii., Comte Rougé's version; Dr. Birch renders, "who gives blasts of flame from his mouth."

of the darkened hemisphere, or region of the night. These called *karr*, or halls, are ten in number; and the groans and screams of the damned burst on the ear in a mingled chorus of agony and confusion. They howl as lions, roar as bulls, squall like tom-cats, tinkle as brass, and buzz with the incessant hum of bees. Such descriptions, indeed, belong rather to the solar litanies, like those describing the regions of utter darkness and silence, in which, in the tombs of the kings, the souls of the wicked lie deprived of the cheering beams of the solar disk, and the reviving voice of the great god, the sun. Still they give an esoteric notion of the nature of the regions of the damned, rivalling the cold Hades of Homer, or the hotter hell of a Dante or a Milton. Whether they were of a purgatorial nature, or the wicked were detained there, does not appear; but a more minute examination of the principal tombs and sarcophagi of the kings will hereafter throw a fuller light upon the nature of the Egyptian Hades."¹ It is evident, however, from this general picture, that the leading features of the Greek Hades were borrowed from Egypt.

III. THE PRELIMINARY JUSTIFICATION.

Although the deceased must encounter these experiences, since he can no more escape the passage through Hades than the sun can escape descending into the folds of darkness in the west, yet by appropriate prayers and processes of purification he can secure a safe transit from the western to the eastern portal. At an early stage after death the deceased, who is presumed to be free from mortal sin, has all stain of evil rubbed off from his heart, and the formula of absolution is pronounced over him, as proceeding from the divinity, in words as follows: "His great sin is not divine, or his fault complete, for I have corrected the injuring evil in him, the god turns the evil to truth, correcting his fault. The god Contention is then as the god Peace, with the great hold² (?)"

¹ Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, Vol. v. p. 152.

² In the vignette the mummy, represented as enfolded in the arms of Anubis, here receives a bath of purifying libation. Vide Comte Rouge's *Rituel Funéraire*.

he has in his hand. I have brought it to thee; thou livest by it; the Osiris [the deceased] lives by it; he is at rest, obliterating by it all the stain [or evil] which is in the heart."¹

Upon entering Hades the deceased performs certain days of justification before several groups of divinities, which are classified as "the great chiefs" of the sun, of Osiris, of Heliopolis, of Abydos, of the paths of the dead, of the night of mystery, etc. At each of the groups or stations Thoth, who justified Osiris from his enemies, is invoked in like manner to justify this Osiris [the deceased], and at the close of the ceremonies a recital is made of the great chiefs before whom Thoth has maintained his cause, and the deceased comes forth in pure clothes, and so thoroughly purified that "no evil thing can approach him for millions of ages." Then follows a ceremony of peculiar interest, which seems to anticipate the Apostle Paul's triumphant appeal to the Lord, the righteous judge, for his personal "crown of righteousness."² The term "righteousness" as used by the apostle (*ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος*) denotes, not a quality of the crown, like the epithets "living," "incorruptible," "unfading," which characterize the believer's glory, but the quality or condition of the person receiving the crown, and is equivalent to a declarative judgment in his favor, the vindication of his character or conduct, or the putting him in the position of a justified person. Such a literal crowning, according to the Egyptian ritual, follows the vindication of the deceased before the "great chiefs." The next succeeding chapter is entitled "the Chapter of the Crown of Justification."³ It opens with an address to the deceased in these words: "Thy father Tum [a name of the sun] has bound thee with this good crown of justification; with that living frontlet; beloved of the gods, thou livest forever; Osiris, who dwells in the west, has justified thy word against thy enemies." It then narrates that the deceased is justified against Set and his associates, and

¹ Chapter xiv.

² 2 Timothy iv. 8.

³ Chapter xix. Chapter xx. has the same title; and is substantially a repetition.

enumerates the groups of divinities, or the successive judgment-seats before which this justification has taken place. The complete discomfiture of the enemies of the deceased is set forth in these graphic words: "The Osiris repeats this address four times; all his enemies fall down stabbed; Horus, the son of Osiris, repeats this millions of times; all his enemies fall down stabbed. He drags them, throwing them down from the place where they are, to the blocks of the east; he cuts off their heads, breaks their necks, cuts off their thighs, giving them to the great strangler forever."

In the Turin papyrus there is no pictorial representation of the subject of this chapter; but manuscripts in the museum of the Louvre, of an older date than that of Turin, have very effective vignettes of the nineteenth and twentieth chapters of the Ritual. The deceased is represented as adoring a divine person — the god *Atmou* — before whom is placed upon a stool, a crown dressed with leaves, or made in imitation of a wreath.¹ The ritual prescribes: "If this chapter is said over a divine crown placed on the head of a person after thou hast given fuming incense to the Osiris, it makes him justified against his enemies, whether dead or alive; he is one of the servants of Osiris; drink and food are given to him before that god; it is said by thee, praying; it is great protection in pure clothes for millions of times." Well may the deceased, thus vindicated, exclaim: "I am lord of the crown; my enemies make no injury or overthrowing of me. . . . I stood as Horus; I sat as Ptah; I prevailed as Thoth; I was powerful as Tum; I have walked with my feet; I have spoken with my mouth; I escape from him; he does not take me. . . . I went in as a hawk; I came out as a phenix. . . . A path has been made for me. Glory, glory to Osiris!"

If however he should fail of this preliminary vindication, we are left to infer that, either being swallowed by a monster or otherwise arrested in his course through Hades, he would be at once remanded to a life of wandering on earth, which is "a second death."

¹ Given in Rougé, *Rituel Funéraire*.

IV. THE WICKED IN HADES.

The distinction between the righteous and the wicked, although more solemnly declared at the great judgment scene in "the Hall of the Two Truths," is already marked in Hades. In the circle of divinities, or "great chiefs," before whom the deceased must pass in review, challenging their inspection, is a god of a mysterious nature, whose eyebrows are the arms of a balance, symbolical of justice, and who is altogether an object of terror. The gloss which describes this divinity, in the Book of the Dead, gives him various names and characters; but these mainly agree in representing him, not simply as one who inflicts evil, but as the punisher of sin. One explanation reads: "It is Horus as a hawk with many heads, one bearing truth, another sin; he renders evil to him who hath done it, justice to whom it comports."¹ Again, he is said to "cause the sinful to be dragged to his block for the destruction of their souls." This executioner of the condemned is symbolized by a sword suspended over a block. In addition to this executioner there are several guardians or watchers who prepare punishments of various kinds, from whose custody it is impossible for a condemned person to escape. These are said to have braziers in which they broil the condemned with glowing coals.² They emit flames from their mouths. One of these executioners has "a face like a dog, with the eyebrows of a man." He sits beside a pool of fire, eats the bodies of his victims, and then vomits them as excrement; he sits at "the place of rejection," and every one who arrives there impure, or is found "deficient," falls under his blows. Another divinity is described as seizing souls, annihilating hearts, feeding upon corpses.

These frightful monsters are not simply tormentors; they are executioners, whose office it is to punish the wicked.

¹ This is Comte Rouge's reading; Dr. Birch here gives no intelligible sense.

² Such braziers are represented in the funeral paintings; they remind one of the gridiron of St. Laurence: "Je crois que le mot de *creuset* [crucible] convient mieux que celui de *chaudière* [kettles or cauldrons] que Champollion avait appliqué au mot *ka-tu*" (Comte Rouge).

recalls the inscription Dante saw over the entrance to the infernal regions: "All hope abandon, ye who enter here." Over each division of the Egyptian hell was inscribed the sin for which the condemned suffer, and the nature of their punishment; so each canto of the *Inferno* describes a different offence, with its separate place and form of punishment. In the pictured hell of the Egyptians, some of the lost are seen bound to a post and flayed with swords by their red watchers; others are hung with their heads down; still others whose heads have been cut off lie in long rows. Others go with bound hands, and drag after them their hearts cut out. Others are seethed in great caldrons, together with their fans — the means of cooling and the image of rest. These horrid fantasies are reproduced in Dante's "horned demons with great scourges," who cruelly beat the condemned, and his "boiling stream," with people within "up to the eyebrows."

But Dante drew his imagery of the *Inferno* from the Hades of Greek and Roman mythology, whose derivation from Egyptian sources, at least as to its essential features, has already been pointed out. Dr. Brugsch locates Hades, Elysium, and other regions of the departed, in accordance with the terrestrial geography of the Egyptians, and in this respect the Natron lake, the wild desert beyond, and the oasis of Ammon in the far west, answer to the Avernus, the Tartarus, and the Elysium of later mythologies.

V. THE PROGRESS OF THE SOUL.

The soul of the justified, the child of Osiris, "moves as the never-resting gods in the heaven."¹ Having received the crown of justification, the deceased has given him a new mouth, a new heart or mind, and in general, as Osiris was reconstructed of the scattered limbs gathered by the loving Isis, so is he now formed anew. His mouth enables him to speak the names of the gods as he approaches their regions in turn, and to recite the numerous prayers and incantations that are necessary to his safe transit. More than this, in

¹ Chapter xv.

striking analogy with the enrolment of the redeemed in heaven, the Book of the Dead contains a chapter "of giving a person a name in Hades." Among the promises of Christ to his faithful followers is this: "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it."¹ And in the ritual a divinity declares: "I have given a certain person a writing in his name in the great abode. . . . There is not a god who does not come behind the Osiris [the deceased] declaring his name then, when I say his name."² Or if this reading be considered doubtful, the vignette given by Comte Rougé of the speaker holding a volume before the deceased, may signify either that he is about to be enrolled in the sacred book or entrusted with the sacred words.

Thus equipped, knowing the words of the sun,³ having a tongue more efficacious than the tongue of a scorpion,⁴ with a mouth to speak, legs to walk, and arms to overthrow his adversaries,⁵ the deceased goes bravely on, passing successfully the ordeal of monsters described at page 85, saying of one and another "he finds no fault in me, he does not take me."⁶ So complete now is his transformation that every portion of his body — hair, face, eyes, ears, nose, lips, teeth, neck, arms, elbows, fingers and nails, belly and back, spine, phallus, thigh, legs, feet — each and every member and feature is assimilated to some divinity. "There is not a limb of him without a god." He is divinized in his whole substance, and he turns away all evil, and parries the blows aimed at him in Hades. His exultation now approaches the sublime paean of the apostle, in which he challenges all the powers of the universe to separate him from the love of God: "Men, gods, spirits, the dead, mortals, beatified spirits, illuminated, do not make any attack on him. He it is who comes out sound, Immortal is his name. He is yesterday, beholder of millions of years, that is his name. He has passed along

¹ Rev. ii. 17.² Chap. xxv.³ Chap. xxxviii.⁴ Chap. xxxix.⁵ Chap. xxvi.⁶ Chap. xl.

the upper roads; he has been judged; he is the lord of the crown; he is in the eye and the egg. Life has been given him. He has escaped from all evil things."

Thus purified and preserved the deceased "cannot die again in Hades"; a vignette represents him as walking unmolested by the block of the dreaded executioner, and at the same time he escapes so much as the touch of defilement upon his sandals.¹ He eats nothing unwholesome or unseemly, but lives upon celestial food, "loaves of white corn, drink of red corn"; the gods give him to drink out of their "vases of milk and wine, new and baked bread, liquid and flesh from the divine abode of Anup."² Even in the dank atmosphere of Hades he catches in his sail "the delicious breath of the sun," the breath of Shu, "drawing the winds before the light to the limits of heaven, to the limits of earth, to the very limits of space."³ He drinks the waters of the tree of immortality; and, pouring out water from a cup, he passes unharmed by the scorching flames of Phlegethon. The fifty-ninth chapter is a prayer for this water: "O Sycamore of Nu, give me the waters which are in thee."

A striking vignette illustrating this chapter represents the goddess Hathor in the top of a sycamore tree—which indeed appears to constitute the lower portion of her body—pouring several streams of water from a vase held in the left hand, while in the right she holds a platter of sacred viands. At the foot of the tree a soul, pictured as a bird with a human head, is catching the heavenly waters in a bowl; while before the tree are two female figures in mortal habiliments, who are likewise intercepting the sacred stream, and catching water in the hollow of the hand.⁴

VI. METAMORPHOSES OR TRANSMIGRATIONS.

Having fully accomplished the "manifestation to light"

¹ Chapters i., ii.

² Chapter lii., lviii.

³ Shu, the principle of light, the medium in which the sun moves, is regarded as the cause of the winds.

⁴ This vignette has been published by Dr. S. Reinisch of Vienna, in his valuable work *Die Aegyptischen Denkmäler in Miramar*.

and attained, "as it were, self-existence," the soul now passes through a series of transformations, which, however, are not to be confounded with the degrading and penal metamorphoses to which the wicked are subjected. The deceased is changed into a hawk, "on whose back are wings of bright green"; then into the hawk which symbolizes the god of time. In this character he flies through the universe, marking the revolutions of the heavens, with nothing to impede his course. "O sun, soul! Greatest of things created, let me come, let me see, let me pass the empyreal gate. Guardians of heaven, guardians of earth, open a path to me. Let there be no stoppage to me. I reach thy place, oh Osiris!"¹

Next he is transformed into Tum, the sun, the oldest of the divinities: "Maker of the heaven, creator of beings, making all the generations of existences; giving birth to the gods; creating himself lord of life; supplying the gods." Under this metamorphosis he exclaims: "I rise as a god from men. . . . I am pure; I am divine; I am spiritualized; I am strong; I am become a soul; I prevail."

The next change is into light itself—a feminine impersonation, in whose womb are "the gods of dawn"—who "weaves the woof of the firmament, giving light to the hours."² From this form the deceased is changed into "the pure lily which comes out of the fields of the sun"; and then into the familiar form of the god Ptah, in which he again eats of spiritual food and drinks the draughts of the gods. He is now transformed successively into a phenix, a heron, a swallow, a human-headed snake, which represents the soul of the earth, and a snake with a crocodile's head. Under the form of a swallow, the deceased seems to bound into the air with the exhilaration of a life freed from the body and from sin. "I have dissipated my sins; I have destroyed my failings, for I have got rid of the sins which detained me on earth. . . . My body is embalmed. . . . I am the swallow; I am the

¹ Chapter lxxviii.

² Chapter lxxx. The vignette represents the deceased and Osiris with a radiating disc.

swallow. O gods, delicious is the smell of your fire which comes out of the horizon!" Unless this transformation takes place, the deceased cannot come out of Hades.

Most curious of all these metamorphoses is that into the symbol of the soul itself—a hawk with a human head. Under this form the deceased utters sentiments concerning the nature and qualities of spirit which are worthy of the most refined metaphysics of the nineteenth century: "I am created forever, lord of years, eternal ruler. . . . Lord of the earth. . . . My name is Incorruptible. . . . Invisible is my nest, never has my egg been touched. . . . I make my nest in the upper regions. . . . I am the lord of truth; I live in it daily. I am Perception, who never perishes under the name of soul. . . . My soul is from the beginning, from the reckoning of years. . . . I pass through [or enter into? permeate?] substances, making them full"; [i.e. the presence of a soul vivifies substance.] "I am the creator of perception; I hate idleness or repose. . . . I do not do anything of a nature hateful to the gods . . . who give me my shape in their society. . . . The eye of Horus made for me my soul, preparing its substance."

During this metamorphosis occurs an episode of exquisite beauty. The soul begs permission of the gods to revisit its mummy, and flies as a bird to the resting-place of the body. This is a scene often represented in the Book of the Dead, and upon sarcophagi, some fine examples of which are to be seen in the museums of Berlin and the Louvre. The mummy is sculptured upon the lid of the sarcophagus in an attitude of repose; the spirit-bird carrying the sphered cross which is the symbol of immortality, gently alights upon its breast as if hesitating to break its slumber even with the joyful awaking to an eternal life.¹ Nor does it at this time summon the body to partake of its own felicity; but having looked upon its mummy, and become assured that it is not in-

¹ In some instances this symbol represents the departure of the soul from the body under the lead of Anubis; but here it is the vignette of chapter lxxxix., whose title is "the visit of the soul to the body."

jured nor decayed, the soul flies away again to the gods. Transformed into a prepared spirit, he can no longer be detained in Hades, but goes forth as the day, thus apostrophizing himself: "O elevated, adored, chief of spirits! Soul, greatest of created beings, giving victory to the gods, crowned on his great throne. . . . I am the prepared spirit; I have made a road to wherever the Sun, Tum, Kheper, and Hathor are."¹

VII. THE VOYAGE TO THE ELYSIAN FIELDS.

Having passed through all the transformations by which it becomes qualified both for fellowship with the gods and for reunion with the body, or in other words, being spiritualized and divinized, the soul emerges from Hades in the mystic boat of the sun, and gaily turns its prow toward the Elysian fields. As it quits the region of terrors it bursts into a song of victory at its escape from Phlegethon. "I have come from the scalding pools, from the flaming fields, alive from that great pool; I stand in the boat. . . . I have weighed anchor in peace. . . . I have brought the boat, I have loosed the rope, so that I have come out in it from this wretched place."²

Each part of the boat has a name, which the deceased is required to know and to call. He has "a supply of corn and barley, a supply of perfume and clothes; his food is life, which comes from the sun." He carries also provisions for the altars of the gods; bread of white corn, drink of red corn, grains of incense. He also invokes for himself the bread of Ptah, and "drink poured out of lapis lazuli from pure water."

The deceased must know the names of the spirits of the west, the spirits of the east, and of various gods who may accost him on his voyage. The approach to the Elysian fields is illustrated by a vignette of extraordinary size; its outer circle is the celestial Nile, its length is immense, its breadth unknown; and there are in it neither fish, nor islands, nor snakes. Within the area are lakes, a city, altars, fields; and

¹ Chapter xci.

² Chapter xcix.

the deceased is seen now "navigating in peace," now offering to the gods, now sowing and ploughing, now reaping the white and red corn, and again treading out the corn in the threshing-floor. Thus is he in plenty and at peace. "I know the pools and lands of the fields of Heth; ¹ I am in it; I prevail in it; I understand in it; hoeing and ploughing in it, mowing in it, sowing in it, rowing in its pools, approaching its lands. I know the places where to plough and mow the corn, to collect the harvest in it daily. I am in it like the god who is in it; filled with its waters; eating of its bread; resting in its land."

VIII. THE FINAL JUDGMENT.

We now approach the most impressive scene in the Book of the Dead, a scene whose quaint, almost grotesque gravity is yet more solemn and more awful than Michael Angelo's stupendous judgment scene in the Sistine Chapel, or Palma's Last Judgment in the Doge's palace at Venice. Persons who have visited Tomb No. 15 of Abd-el-Qurna, the westward cemetery of Thebes, can never forget the sombre effect of the Hall of Two Truths, depicted on the wall of the first passage. At one extremity of the picture, upon a lofty throne, sits Osiris, lord of the under-world, with a feathery crown upon his head, the little tablet of uprightness, called truth, suspended from his neck by a chain; in his hands the insignia of authority, the crook and the scourge. On the upper line of the picture are ranged in solemn row the forty-two assessors or associate judges, who are described in the ritual as the gods, or rather demons, "who are with Osiris in the Hall of Two Truths, who live by the punishment of the wicked, feeding off their blood. At the extreme end, opposite Osiris, the deceased enters the hall, veiling his eyes with his hand, and bowing reverently to Osiris. At the very entrance he encounters the goddess of truth. In the centre of the hall stands a large balance whose plumb is watched by the hawk-headed divinity Horus; advancing to this, the deceased lays his heart

¹ Heth or Hetp, peace or food; Chapter cx.

in one scale, while the jackal-headed god Anubis, places in the other as a counter-weight a little statue of the goddess of righteousness, and the ibis-headed god Thoth, the lord of the divine word, enters the result of the weighing upon his tablet. After this proceeding, the deceased advances to the judgment-seat of Osiris, to receive the sentence from his mouth.

Prior to this, however, the deceased protests in detail his innocence of each of the forty-two deadly offences, which the assessors are severally set to punish. In this enumeration we will follow Dr. Birch, adding the versions of other Egyptologists wherever these differ from him :

1. I have not privily done evil against mankind.

Hincks. I have committed no fraud or injustice to any man.

Reinisch. I have not practised lying and fraud before men.

Brugsch. I have not spoken an unjust word to any man.

Pleyte. I have not committed fraud against men.

2. I have not afflicted persons or men.

Reinisch. I have not ill-treated my inferiors [Untergebenen] that is my debtors [Schuldner].

Brugsch. I have not given vent to a haughty spirit.

Pleyte. I have not oppressed the unfortunate [les misérables].

3. I have not told falsehoods in the tribunal of truth.

Reinisch and *Brugsch* the same.

Pleyte. I have not offered untruths in the place of justice.

4. I have had no acquaintance with evil. I have not done any wicked thing.

Pleyte the same.

Reinisch. Knowingly I have committed no falsehood, perpetrated no malice.

Brugsch. I have not spoken vilely [Schändliches].

5. I have not made the laboring man do more than his task daily.

Pleyte agrees with this ; substituting only for "the laboring man" the "heads" or "overseers of workmen."

Reinisch. I have not cheated men in their daily wages ; I have given each what he had performed.

Brugsch. I have not enforced against any one service for the whole day ; i.e. exacting labors.

6. I have not let my name approach to the boat, nor endeavored to make my name approach to the nor exceeded the ordered

Reinisch. When one has hailed my boat, I have set him across the river, and when he has approached my table, I have offered him food.

Pleyte. My name has not approached the sacred boat; my name is associated with noble acts; I consecrate the viands or tables.

7. I have not been idle; I have not failed; I have not ceased; I have not been weak.

Pleyte substitutes for "idle," perverse, and for "failed," vile or a libertine.

Reinisch. There was no trembling before me [i.e. he did nothing to cause others to fear him; as is instanced in the following specifications]: I did not punish passionately [ich war nicht strafsüchtig]; I have done no one harm, neither have I brought any to ruin.

8. I have not done what is hateful to the gods. Here all the versions agree.

9. I have not calumniated the slave to his master.

Reinisch. I have not suffered my slave to be abused by his overseer.

Pleyte the same.

Brugsch. I have not defamed a high priest because of his greatness.

10. I have not sacrificed; I have not made to weep; I have not murdered.

Pleyte. I have not suffered any to die of hunger. The remaining clauses same as above.

Reinisch. I have not left any to hunger, etc.

Brugsch. I have not suffered any to hunger; I have not suffered any to thirst; I have not suffered any to weep.

11. I have not given orders to smite a person privily; I have not done fraud to men.

Reinisch and *Pleyte* the same.

Brugsch. I have not purposely killed any one on account of an injury.

12. I have not changed the measures of the country.

Reinisch. I have not changed the gifts in the public temples.

Brugsch. I have not consumed what was consecrated to the temple.

Pleyte. I have not cut the bread of the temple.

13. I have not injured the images of the gods.

Brugsch the same.

Reinisch. I have not made light of my bread offerings for the gods.

Pleyte. I have not deranged the offerings of the gods.

14. I have not taken scraps of the bandages of the dead.

Reinisch. I have not stolen a papyrus of the dead, nor portions of it.

Brugsch. I have not torn off the linen wrappings of the dead.

Pleyte. I have not stolen either the bread or the bandages of the mummies.

15. I have not committed adultery ; I have not spat against the god of my country.

Reinisch. I have not been guilty of fornication nor self-pollution, when I was a priest of my divine city.

Pleyte. I have not committed adultery ; I have not defiled with excrement the pure water of the god of my country.

16. I have not thrown down.

Champollion. I have not been avaricious.

Reinisch. I have not aggrandized.

Pleyte. I have not stolen in secret.

Brugsch. I have not stolen.

17. I have not falsified measures.

Pleyte. I have not falsified the measures of grain.

Reinisch and *Chabas.* I have not altered the prayers.

18. I have not thrown the weight out of the scale ; I have not cheated in the weight of the balance.

Reinisch. I have not increased the weight of the scale, nor have I altered its plumb.

19. I have not withheld milk from mouths of sucklings.

Reinisch the same.

20. I have not hunted wild animals in their pasturages ; I have not snared the sacred birds ; I have not caught the fish which typify them.

Reinisch the same.

21. I have not stopped running water ; I have not separated [or diverted] the water from its current.

Reinisch the same.

22. I have not put out a light at its proper hour.

Reinisch. I have not extinguished the fire at its hour.

23. I have not robbed the gods of their offered haunches ; I have not turned away the cattle of the gods ; I have not stopped a god from his manifestation.

Reinisch. I have not robbed the gods of their choice gifts ; I have not seized one of the cattle which belonged to the divine possessions ; I have not stood in the way of a god when he came forth.

These negative protestations are made collectively to the lord or lords of truth, and at the close of them the deceased exclaims five times, "I am pure!" then adds, "let no evil be done to me in the land of truth, because I know the names of the gods who are with thee in the Hall of Truth." He now addresses each of these gods by name and declares his innocence in turn of the offences which they are severally appointed to punish. These specifications are almost identical with the foregoing; but we repeat them in numerical order:

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I have not been idle. 2. I have not waylaid. 3. I have not boasted. 4. I have not stolen. 5. I have not smitten men privily. 6. I have not counterfeited rings. 7. I have not played the hypocrite. 8. I have not stolen the things of the gods. 9. I have not told falsehoods. 10. I have not spared food. 11. I have not caused to weep. 12. I have not rejected. 13. I have not been idle. 14. I have not eaten the heart. 15. I have not plundered. 16. I have not killed sacred beasts. 17. I have not made conspiracies. 18. I have not robbed the streams. 19. I have not been deaf. 20. I have not let my mouth wander. 21. I have not robbed things. 22. I have not corrupted women or men [or the wife of another]. 23. I have not polluted myself. 24. I have not caused fear. 25. I have not plundered. 26. I have not burnt my mouth. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 27. I have not been inattentive to the words of truth. 28. I have not blasphemed. 29. I have not put forth my arm. 30. I have not made delays or dawdled. 31. I have not hastened my heart. 32. I have not clipped the skins of the sacred beasts. 33. I have not multiplied words in speaking. 34. I have not lied or done any wicked sin. 35. I have not reviled the face of the king or of my father. 36. I have not defiled the river. 37. I have not made length of (loud) words. 38. I have not blasphemed a god. 39. I have not injured the gods, or calumniated the slave to his master. 40. I have not made his things; I have not made his account; I have not ordered. 41. I have not augmented his I have not taken the clothes of the dead. 42. I have not despised a god in my heart, or to his face, or in things. |
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A discussion of the moral and civil codes of the Egyptians, and of their probable influence upon Moses in framing the Hebrew codes, would be too great a digression from the

purpose of this Article. Yet we would here insist upon the fact that this apologetic or negative plea of the deceased before the tribunal of the gods, implies the existence of a code of laws, in the old Egyptian empire, based upon the fundamental principles of morality, and which covered the duties of man toward the gods and the state, toward his fellow men, toward himself, and even toward the animal creation.¹ Notwithstanding the vagueness of some of the specifications, and the repetitious style of the whole confession, it is clear that among deadly sins were sacrilege against either temples or tombs, libidinous words or acts, crimes against life, fraud in business, lying, malice, the neglect of the needy and perishing, and the oppression of the poor. Though slavery existed, to treat a slave with cruelty, or to encourage such treatment from his master or overseer, was a sin to be punished by the gods. And it marks a particularly nice point in ethical legislation that, in a country so dependent upon irrigation, any malicious or fraudulent interference with the canals or water currents would debar the offender from reaping the harvest of Elysium on the banks of the celestial Nile. Such a code of laws as is here implied argues a high degree of ethical perception, if not of public morality as well.

Having protested his innocence of any mortal sin, the deceased is pronounced "without fault, without evil, without sin, without crimes. . . . He is pure; his mouth is pure; his hands are pure; his heart is pure; his fore-part is in the pure water; his hind-part is in the distilled waters; his middle is in the well of truth."

As he advances up the Hall of Truth, every part of the structure, the sill, the lintels, the lock, the planks, the floor, each being endowed with speech, challenges him to give its name. This done, the god of the balance announces that the heart of the deceased "goes to its place in the balance complete." Thoth, who has registered the result, declares that "he has given the Osiris his heart in its place." The goddess Truth, facing him says, "rejoice in truth; thy existence is at rest."

¹ Pleyte, sur chapitre cxxv. du Rituel Funéraire, p. 10.

Then the deceased, bowing before Osiris, the supreme judge, prays: "Place me before thee, O lord of eternity! I have no sins, no perversion. Hail, dweller of the west, good being, lord of Abydos! Let me pass the roads of darkness; let me follow thy servants in the gate; let me come out of Rusta, from the Hall of Truth; let me cross the lintel of the gate." Then is he led along with the kings. He is in the service of Osiris, clothed in real linen forever.

This chapter leaves one to infer what must be the fate of a soul that fails to pass this rigid scrutiny, since the Book of the Dead proceeds upon the assumption that the deceased who uses its prayers and formulas will be justified. But in the necropolis of Thebes are pictorial representations of the soul condemned by Osiris. In the form of a pig it is placed in a boat, under charge of two monkeys, to be conveyed back to the earth; and all connection with the abode of the gods is cut off by a stroke of an axe, severing the earth from the world of the dead, at the point where the return boat touches it.¹

The very name, "Hall of Two Truths," which Lepsius considers the equivalent of a twofold judgment, is an assertion of that great principle which runs through all Egyptian eschatology, of discrimination between the good and the bad, by a divine judgment. The references in the Book of the Dead to a "pool of the damned," and "fire that burns inextinguishedly to devour the evil," show clearly that punishment was reserved for those who failed to pass the ordeal of the scales and the forty-two assessors.

The book throughout recognizes that moral distinction so happily defined by Plato between souls that arrive in Hades "unexpiated and uninitiated," and those who arrive there "purified and initiated."²

IX. UP TO THE EMPYREAN.

The soul which has passed the scrutiny of Osiris and the forty-two criminal judges, and has come safely out of the Hall

¹ See plate in Wilkinson, Vol. v. p. 447.

² Phædo, sec. 37.

of the Two Truths, is beyond the reach of condemnation. But though thus acquitted of mortal sin, it may still have clinging to it stains of evil, which must be effaced before it can attain to absolute purity and glory. Accordingly, at the secret door by which it emerges from the judgment hall is placed a basin surrounded with flames, which Champollion called "the Egyptian purgatory." This basin of fiery jets is guarded by four apes, which are said to be "fed with truth, and to abominate wickedness," being themselves "without guile." To these the deceased now addresses himself, praying: "Extract ye all the evil out of me, obliterate ye my faults, annihilate my sins, guard ye, and give me to pass the Pylon."

They grant him absolution in words as follows: "Thou mayest go, we obliterate all thy faults, we annihilate all thy sins. Thou hast been severed from the world, we dissipate all thy sins. Thou hast severed thyself from earth, thou hast dissipated all the sin which detained thee. Come to the Rusta. Thou passest the secret doors of the west. Thou comest forth and goest in as thou wishest, like one of the spirits hailed daily within the horizon."¹

The perfection of blessedness and glory is to be admitted into the presence of the sun; to be taken into his bark for the heavenly voyage, and to be assimilated to his image. With uncovered head, the deceased adores the gods of the two zones, praying that he may enter their recesses as one of them, and "see that god within the gate."² Here follows another of those hymns of welcome, which occurring at intervals in the Book of the Dead, give it the effect of a triumphal symphony. The gods of the zones or orbit of the sun, the "keepers of the gate of heaven," thus answer his prayer: "The deceased passes; open ye the gates of the gateway; prepare ye his hall when he comes; justify ye his words against his accusers. There is given to him the food of the gods of the gate. There has been made for him the head attire

¹ Chap. cxxvi.

² This phrase denotes the mysterious, incommunicable name of Osiris as the sun.

which belongs to him, as dwelling in the hidden place, as the image of the great waters, true soul of a created spirit prevailing with his hands and arms. The lion-gods say to them, very great is the deceased; they rejoice at him; they adore him with their arms; they give to him their emblems; he has lived. The Osiris has been crowned as the living soul of the sun in the heaven; he has made all the appointed transformations; he has been justified before the chiefs; he has passed through the gate on heaven and earth, like the soul of the sun."

The deceased responds: "I have opened the gate of the heaven and earth; the soul of Osiris rests there; I cross through their halls; they adore when they see me; I go in as I like; I come out as I choose; I go along; no defect or evil is found in me."

Here opens a new section of the ritual with "the book of vivifying the soul forever, of letting it go to the boat of the sun." The deceased enters the sacred boat, in which are two gods and a pilot. And now the whole creation makes way for his coming. "The heaven is open; the earth opens; the south opens; the north opens; the west opens; the east opens; the southern zenith opens; the northern nadir opens; the valves of the door open; the gateway of the sun opens; he proceeds from the horizon; he has unclosed the doors of the ark; he has opened the doors of the cabin; Shu has given him breath; Tefnut created him; they serve in his service.¹ The Osiris does not walk in the valley of darkness; he does not go into the pool of the damned; his soul lives forever; he does not die again in Hades. . . . His food is off the altar of the sun every day; he lives as a god."

As the deceased sails on in his heavenly bark he pays his adoration to the sun, and to each of the divinities through whose domain he passes. Among these "adorations" is the magnificent litany of Osiris; commencing "Osiris, the good being; Osiris, the living; Osiris, the living lord; Osiris, universal lord"; and after enumerating a hundred and fifty titles

¹ Chap. cxxx.

or properties of the supreme god, closing with "Osiris, in all his creation; Osiris, in all his names; Osiris, in all his disguises; Osiris, in all his crowns; Osiris, in all his decorations; Osiris, in all places."

The deceased now arrives at the house of Osiris. It has seven halls, and he must name the guardian of each as he approaches it. To these succeed the twenty-one gates of Elysium, each of them defended by a formidable divinity. The deceased gives the name of the guardian, and describes his qualities; then receiving from the god the answer, "Thou mayest go, thou art purified," he passes on up seven staircases, repeating like formulas of incantation. "Each staircase or pylon has a name written on the door; a demon inhabitant with a secret or mystical name; and a demon doorkeeper; the names of all of which it was essential for the deceased to know if he hoped to pass through them unscathed."¹ The titles of some of these doorkeepers are sufficient to inspire terror, e.g.: "Eater of Filth"; "Living off Worms"; "the Inextinguishable Fire"; "Preparing Lamentations"; "Destroyer of Liars"; "Stoneface"; "Heart-vexer"; "Stopper of the *Verbose!*" These gates gleam with felspar, and there enter into them nothing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination or maketh a lie. But he who has passed through the Hall of the Two Truths has nothing to fear. He enters through the gates to the mystical abodes. Here corn grows to the height of seven cubits, with ears two cubits in length; here are high hills on which the heaven rests; here are palaces whose light glows like fire; here are the tables of the gods, covered with the delicious food from the fields of Hetp. But who shall describe the glory of this final abode of the beatified spirit, "the delight of the sun, who is rendered great as Osiris?" To him is given a "secret book of truth"; to instruct him in the mysteries of this inner heaven. That book! "No man sees it except a king and a priest; no slave's face looks at it. There is not known any such anywhere or ever; no men

¹ Birch, Bunsen's Egypt, Vol. v. p. 152.

have spoken it ; no eye has perceived it ; no ear has heard it ; not any one other face has looked in it to learn it. Do not thou multiply its chapters, and do not thou let any face see it except thy own."¹ The possessor of this book is "made to live forever, and nothing prevails against him."

X. THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

While the soul has been ascending through successive stages of metamorphosis and purification, and through immense periods of duration, the body has not been forgotten or neglected. Once we have seen the soul return to the mummy and embrace it with the kiss of peace and the symbol of immortality. Portions of the ritual are specially devoted to "the preservation of the body," especially of the heart and brain, "not allowing it to corrupt in Hades, but making its flesh and bones sound against decay." Embalmed with sacred rites, reposing in its granite sarcophagus, or in its rock-hewn sepulchre, secure from heat or moisture, the body awaits the second coming of the soul for its awakening. Not till the spirit has become completely purified and has reached the mystic abode of Osiris does this blissful summons come. Then arises the prayer : "Heaven holds thy soul, the earth holds thy form ; save thou the Osiris ; do not let him be captured by the devourers of souls by whom the evil-doer is borne off ; make his soul in his body again."² Then, as from the tomb, where the sun is seen shedding his rays on the mummy as it reposes on its bier, comes the cry of exultation, "Hail, O my father Osiris or Tum ! I have come ; I prepare this my body ; this my body does not pass away. . . . Hail, my father Osiris ; thy limbs are with thee ; thou dost not corrupt ; thou dost not turn to worms ; thou dost not rise up ; thou dost not stink ; thou dost not decay ; thou dost not change into worms ; the eye of Shu has not decayed away ;

¹ How strikingly do these expressions recall the following passages of scripture, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard," etc. (1 Cor. ii. 9). And "If any man shall add unto these things" (Rev. xxii. 18).

² Chapter clxix.

I am ; I am ; I live ; I live ; I grow ; I grow ; I wake in peace ; I am not corrupted ; I am not suffocated there ; I grow tall ; my substance is not sent away ; my ear does not grow deaf ; my head and neck do not separate ; my tongue has not been taken away ; it has not been cut out ; my eyebrow is not plucked out ; no injury is done to my body ; it neither wastes nor is suffocated in that land forever and ever."¹

The doctrine of immortality as conceived by the Egyptians required that the body should be protected from destruction. Hence the great care used in embalming, and the pains taken to conceal the sarcophagus in the heart of the pyramid or in the hidden and sealed mummy-pit of the tomb. For "though the soul was immortal, its happiness if not the possibility of its continuing to live, depended upon the preservation of the body. The destruction of the body consequently involved the destruction of the soul."² No satisfactory explanation of the process of embalming and the pains taken to deposit the mummy in a secret and durable sepulchre can be given except on the supposition that the preservation of the body had some important relation to the future of the soul. Why provide such solid tenements for the forsaken body, and why guard it so sacredly from decay or profanation, if it must remain forever lifeless and share at last in the dissolution of all organic nature? As Diodorus tells us, "the Egyptians called the abodes of the living inns [*diversoria*], because they are occupied only for a limited period ; but the sepulchres of the dead they called eternal habitations."³ Of the private houses of the ancient Egyptians not a vestige remains ; but the dwellings of the dead, hewn from the native rock or built with the solidity of the pyramids, have survived all the changes of government, of race, of war, and of time, and are impressive witnesses for the faith that man can never truly die. No common instinct of affection or humanity will suffice to explain "the far-reaching care which made it the problem

¹ Chapter clv.

² Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, Vol. iv. p. 651.

³ Vol. i. p. 51.

of life with the living, to provide for the undisturbed rest of the corpse, for indestructible graves. The Egyptians must have imagined that the continued duration of the soul and the continued duration of the body were conjoined; that the existence of the soul would terminate with the corruption of the body; that the profanation or the disturbed rest of the body would trouble the soul in its sojourn in the fields of the sun-god."¹ In the faith of a resurrection of the body the symbolic eye was pictured upon the breast of the mummy or the mummy-case, through which the return of light would be announced to the deceased in the day of his awaking; and his tomb was decorated with the story of his own life and possessions, domestic and public, in order that the soul on returning to the body might find itself among familiar scenes.

The Egyptian romance of the Two Brothers² is founded upon the notion that, though the heart may be separated from the body, yet, wherever the heart is, the life of the person is indestructible so long as his heart, or any portion of it, survives. Hence the great solicitude of the deceased not to lose his heart in his wanderings in Hades.

XI. SUMMARY OF DOCTRINE.

It were vain to look to original sources for a didactic statement of the Egyptian faith. The reserve and mystery of the priests, of which Herodotus so often speaks, are apparent in the mystical style of the Book of the Dead. The seventeenth chapter, which is one of the oldest, and which contains nearly the whole body of doctrine, is accompanied uniformly, in the Turin papyrus and other late copies, with a gloss or interpretation, which however varies somewhat in different examples. It is Osiris-theology throughout. It cannot yet be determined whether the book, as we now have it, was arranged according to an order of thought, or simply in the historical order of composition. If the former, then it exhibits a somewhat systematic development of doctrine; but if

¹ Duncker, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Book i. chap. iv.

² See *Cambridge Essays* for 1858.

the latter, it revolves about two or three ideas which are repeated under new forms. But in either case it is certain that the knowledge of these Hermetic books "assured to the soul a passage from the earth; a transit through the purgatory and other regions of the dead; the entrance into the empyreal gate, by which the souls arrived at the presence of the sun; the admission into the bark or orb of the sun, ever traversing in brilliant light the liquid ether; and protection from the various liers-in-wait, or adversaries, who sought to accuse, destroy, or detain it on its passage or destiny."¹

Lepsius is of opinion that the great judgment scene followed soon after death; and he regards "the day" so often mentioned in the captions as *dies illa*, thus comprehending in one brief familiar term the resurrection, the judgment, and the final justification.

The same able critic regards the absorption of the soul into the supreme soul of the world as the final doctrine of the book. The deceased becomes Osiris, and as such announces himself as the one supreme and eternal god, who, existing before all time, was the original substance, the hidden one; but as the sun-god Ra he rules the ordered world of light, and manifests himself in all gods and right-living men as his own members, each of whom is but another name for himself, and each of whom at the end of his earthly course, like the sun at evening, divests himself of his visible form, and returns to him who is the original spirit, dwelling in all forms. The soul, as an emanation, being thus reabsorbed in the individual or unity, attains to the highest evolution of the divinity as pure spiritual *potentia*.²

Wilkinson has also pronounced this pantheistic dogma to be the foundation of the Egyptian faith. "The Egyptians considered the souls of men to be emanations of that divine soul which governed and pervaded the universe; each eventually returning to its divine origin, provided the virtuous course of life it had led in this world showed it to be sufficiently pure to unite with the immaculate nature of the deity."³

¹ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, Vol. v. p. 134.

² *Aelteste Texte*.

³ *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. iv. p. 316.

Yet the analysis now given of the Book of the Dead hardly warrants this conclusion. After the deceased has attained to the consciousness of self-existence, he still appears under various characters,—among these the inundation. This is resemblance, not absorption; and even his highest transformation, which is nothing less than his divinization, as described in the forty-second chapter, is not an absorption into the sun, but the assumption of the attributes of many gods; and though, with Count Rougé, we regard these various divinities as themselves but personifications of the attributes of Ra, the sun-god, yet the deceased is not absorbed in him, but assimilated to him. Further on in the Ritual, the deceased is pictured walking toward a solar disc, which throws upon him its brilliant rays, a symbol of the luminous transfiguration of the justified soul; and after he has attained the highest transformations, and has appeared as the demiurge and the principle of light, he revisits the body in its earthly sepulchre. Thus the individuality of the soul is preserved throughout. Moreover, why should the body have been so jealously guarded if the blessedness of the soul would consist in the annihilation of consciousness by absorption? The book favors the notion of the restoration of the wicked, through a succession of trials covering an indefinite period. The soul which is remanded to earth in the body of a pig, may eventually come to occupy again a human form, and on passing a second time into Hades may go successfully through its scathing ordeal. There are glimpses, however, of a hell for the finally incorrigible.

There is no doctrine of redemption in the Book of the Dead; but the deceased is justified upon his own merits or by the favor of a god. Count Rougé thinks that an atonement is implied in chapter seventeen, where the violent death of Osiris is celebrated as a victory; he is addressed as the lord of blood, and his heart is mingled symbolically with the bloody sacrifices, as if to give them a greater expiatory value.¹

¹ *Études sur le Rituel Funéraire.*

In summing up the belief of the Egyptians concerning the future state, one may well adopt the conclusions of Bunsen: "The Osiris-theology centres in the antitheses of right and wrong, holiness and vice. . . . According to the creed of the Egyptians, the soul of man was divine, and therefore immortal. It is subject to personal moral responsibility. The consequence of evil actions is banishment from the presence of God. Man, when justified, becomes conscious that he is a son of God, and destined to behold God at the termination of his wanderings. . . . With the comfortless symbolism of their faith were closely connected ethical ideas; those moral feelings which regulate human life and repress the outbursts of savage nature, namely, the faith in a moral government of the world, in personal moral responsibility, in a personal divine judgment."¹

ARTICLE VI.

THE SITE OF SODOM.

BY REV. SAMUEL WOLCOTT, D.D., CLEVELAND, OHIO.

THERE is no site, ancient or modern, which combines all the elements of interest that belong to the site of Sodom and the other "cities of the plain," whose destruction is recorded in the Book of Genesis. It has attracted, of late years, much laborious and learned investigation, but it is still invested with not a little mystery. The few remarkable facts of the scriptural narrative and a few remarkable local phenomena open a wide range of speculation; but in some important points they furnish no determinate data. The few points which we shall seek to elucidate and establish are definite; and we have introduced the discussion here, not to propose

¹ *Egypt's Place*, Vol. iv. pp. 64 and 642.