

results of observations during the thirty-two years from 1861 to 1892. Whereupon this remarkable fact came out: the average rainfall in the first sixteen years, that is, from 1861 to 1876, is 22.26 inches; the average of the last sixteen is 28.20. That is to say, the average fall of rain in Jerusalem during the last sixteen years is 5.94 greater than during the sixteen years before. And when Dr. Glaisher ended his report with the remark, 'it is not possible to infer whether the years ending 1873 were the lowest in a cycle of years or whether the climate is changing,' a large number of persons at once decided that the climate is changing, and rushed to their Bibles to find the prophecies that were about to be fulfilled.

But Dr. Chaplin does not think the prophecies are about to be fulfilled, at least in that way. He agrees with St. Jerome, that some of these prophecies do not refer to the land of Palestine, but to a better country, even a heavenly. And he thinks that 'it is to an increase of population, to an improved system and a wide extension of agriculture, to better means of communication, and to the establishment of industrial and commercial enterprises, which can be initiated and maintained only by a liberal investment of capital, rather than to climatic changes, that we must look for an improvement in the material prosperity and productiveness of the country.' And he dares to say so in the pages of *Jews and Christians*.

## Egyptian Eschatology.

BY W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN, F.R.H.S.

### I.

AMONG the nations of antiquity, Egypt has always been the one which, by her monuments and inscriptions, has most clearly proclaimed her belief in a future life—after death. Indeed, it is to the influence of this inherent belief that we are indebted for our very detailed knowledge of the Egypt of the most remote past. Our knowledge of the living Egypt of ancient times is derived from the study of the dead Egypt. Pyramids and magnificent rock-cut tombs, decorated with sculptured hieroglyphics or painted scenes, bring before us with vivid detail, not only the life of the mighty dead, but also reveal to us the hopes he held as to the future. The Egyptians of the ancient empire were an essentially simple people—they may almost be accused of being apathetic, in having no great hopes or ambitions. As a nation, they were absolutely void of aggressive policy; as individuals, each did his best, and thanked God for the reward it brought him; but, above all, they had no fear of death. The Egyptian of the ancient empire kept death ever before him; and his entrance into the 'eternal house,' as he picturesquely termed the tomb, was but an incident in life, and undertaken with a childlike faith that, in due course, purified by

many trials, he would once more see life. In the maxims of Ani, a learned scribe, we see this belief clearly enunciated. 'Thou knowest not when thou wilt die: death cometh to meet the babe at his mother's breast, even as he meeteth the old man who hath finished his course.' In the pyramid tomb of Unas, a Pharaoh of the Vth Dynasty, and therefore about B.C. 3500 in date, we read: 'Hail, Unas! thou hast gone not as one dead—thou hast gone as one living, to sit upon the throne of Osiris.' With a belief thus so deeply engrained in their nature, it is but natural that the Egyptians produced a large amount of eschatological literature. Indeed, Egypt was, from the earliest times until long after the advent of Christianity, the home of eschatologic and apocalyptic literature. The greater portion of this literature was embraced in a great collection of writings known to Egyptologists as the *Book of the Dead*, but having the Egyptian title of *Per-em-hru*,—'Coming forth by Day.' This work consisted of a series of religious compositions of various dates,—gathered together at different periods,—and receiving its final and canonical redaction at the hands of the priests of the temple of Neith, at Sais, about B.C. 600. This last version continued

in use in manuscript certainly until A.D. 200, as shown by the papyrus of a lady named Sais, now in the Museum of the Louvre; but extracts from the work and scenes from its vignettes were used in both Christian and pagan burials until as late as A.D. 400.

The oldest version of this funeral ritual is that found inscribed upon the walls of five pyramids at Sakkara—the great Necropolis of Memphis. In 1880–84, M. Maspero, then director of the Museum at Gizeh, commenced the explorations of the pyramids at Sakkara, and opened those of Unas of the Vth Dynasty, and of Pepi I., Pepi II., Teta, and Mer-en-Ra of the VIth Dynasty. The walls of these tombs were found covered with long inscriptions of a religious character, which, when deciphered, supplied us with the oldest religious book of the Egyptians. Copies and a full translation have recently been published by M. Maspero. These inscriptions form the oldest version of the *Book of the Dead*, and cannot be placed later than B.C. 3500. This version was compiled by the priests of Annu, the On of Scripture, the Heliopolis of the Greeks, and must already in the time of the Vth Dynasty have been a very ancient work, as there are indications that the scribes had forgotten the meaning of some passages. This series of religious texts differs in many respects from the *Per-em-hru*, and is indeed of a much higher religious character, and its contents throw an entirely new light upon the Egyptian belief in the future state.

The Pyramid Texts, as this work is called, remained in use until very late, and were not, as some would imagine, lost and replaced by the Theban and subsequent versions. In the XIth, XIIth, and XIIIth Dynasties many monuments are inscribed with sections of the Pyramid Texts; and on the papyrus of Sais, already referred to, a work of late Roman origin, and placed by Schiaparelli (*Il Libro dei Funerali*, p. 191) as late as A.D. 200. We have also extracts showing it was known, and used at least a century after the introduction of Christianity into Egypt, by St. Mark in A.D. 69.

**THE THEBAN VERSION.**—On the rise of the Theban hierarchy of the temple of Amen at Thebes and the establishment of the XVIIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 1700, a fresh collection of the texts was made. In this version the texts were for the first time divided into chapters, and illustrated with painted vignettes, often of great artistic merit.

There does not, however, seem to have been as yet any established order for the chapters—only a sufficient number being selected to guide the deceased on his long journey.

Hitherto the rituals had all been written in hieroglyphics, but with the rise of the XXth Dynasty, about B.C. 1200, the texts began to be written in hieratic.

**SAITE VERSION.**—At some time shortly before the rise of the XXVIth Dynasty, when the capital was transferred to Sais in Lower Egypt, about B.C. 600, a final edition was drawn up by the priests of the temple of Neith. This version, written sometimes in hieroglyphics and sometimes in hieratic, has the chapters for the first time arranged in regular order, and is that which is generally known to scholars as the *Book of the Dead*. It was from the Turin papyrus of this version that Lepsius compiled his *Todtenbuch*—the only standard text hitherto known, and upon which the former translations of Birch (1867) and Pierret (1882) were based. This version remained in use until a very late period.

**THE PAPYRUS ANI.**—Next to the Pyramid Texts, the Theban version is the most interesting to the student of Egyptian eschatology, and of this version the papyrus of Ani, now in the British Museum, is certainly the finest example. In the year 1888 the Trustees of the British Museum purchased at Thebes a magnificent papyrus roll of the *Book of the Dead*. The manuscript is the largest known copy of this work,—being seventy-eight feet long,—and is most carefully written, and illustrated with beautifully-painted vignettes. So fine was the work, that the Trustees decided upon publishing a carefully-prepared facsimile, which was issued a few months ago, and have now supplemented this by publishing a complete translation of the papyrus from the pen of Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum. The work contains the hieroglyphic text and transcription, and is prefaced by a long introduction from the author's pen, which gives a full history of the growth and development of this Funeral Ritual, and of the Egyptians' teachings as to the Future Life.

The papyrus is one which we may regard as a standard version of the *Book of the Dead*, according to the Theban recension. Although it is undated, it may be safely assigned to the middle

of the XVIIIth Dynasty, therefore about B.C. 1500. Ani was a man of great importance in Thebes, his titles being enumerated as 'Ani, scribe veritable, scribe and accountant of the divine offerings of all the gods, the governor of the granary of the Lords of Abydos, scribe of the revenues of the Lords of Thebes'; and he is described as 'beloved of the Lord of the North and South,' that is, of the King, whose name is unfortunately omitted, of Upper and Lower Egypt. He married a lady named Thotu, who was a 'lady of the house,' the *qamätet* of Amen. The word *qamät* is rendered τὰς ἱερὰς παρθένους in the Canoptic decree, and was a body of the female choir of the temple of Amen, to which many of the noble ladies of Thebes belonged. She is represented as holding a sistrum in her hand, such as she shook in the temple services. Both Ani and his wife were members of the great confraternity of the priests of Amen at Thebes, and Ani also of that of Osiris at Abydos, and must therefore have belonged to the highest ranks of society. Such a man would therefore have a papyrus containing all the portions of the work which he, as a priest, considered necessary for his salvation.

It was probably on account of his connection with the temple of Amen-Ra at Thebes, and Osiris at Abydos, that the very fine and unusual hymns to Ra and Osiris are inserted along with the usual chapters of the *Book of the Dead*.

It is now time for us to examine, in the light of this new and important evidence, the principal question of

THE NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE 'BOOK OF THE DEAD.'—The Egyptian work *Per-em-hru* was essentially a 'Ritual for the Dead,' in that it formed the guide and aid by which he obtained immortal life,—as Osiris had done before him,—and it was upon the life and cruel death and subsequent resurrection of Osiris that the work was based. In his introduction, Dr. Budge says: 'Osiris was the god through whose sufferings and death the Egyptian hoped that his body might rise in some transformed or glorified shape; and to him who had conquered death, and had become the king of the other world, the Egyptian appealed in prayer for eternal life through his victory and power. In every funeral inscription known to us, from the Pyramid Texts down to the roughly-written prayers on the coffins of the Roman period, what is done for Osiris is done

also for the deceased, and the deceased is himself identified with Osiris.' In the Pyramid Texts we are constantly confronted with this vicarious death and subsequent resurrection of Osiris, which had opened the way of life to the deceased who 'did that which Osiris did' and by his 'truth and right' identified himself with Osiris. In the tomb of Teta (VIth Dynasty) we read: 'Rise up, thou Teta; stand, thou mighty one, being strong; sit thou with the gods; *do thou that which Osiris did in the great house of Annu (On)*. Thou hast received thy *saḥ* (glorified body), thy foot shall not be fettered in heaven, thou shalt not be turned back on earth'; and again, 'His duration of life is eternity, his limit of life is everlastingness in his glorified body (*saḥ*).' This identification with Osiris, and of victory over death through Osiris, is borne out by many more inscriptions. Among others is a remarkable stèle from Thebes, belonging to the early part of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and therefore contemporary with the papyrus Ani. Here we read: 'When those who are among the holy ones see thee, they tremble at thee, and the whole world giveth praise to thee when it meeteth thy majesty. Thou art a glorious glorified body (*saḥ*) among the glorified bodies (*saḥ*); upon thee hath dignity been conferred; thy dominion is eternal.' In the *Book of the Dead* also we read (ch. clxii.): 'His great divine body rested in Annu (On),' and as his body rested, so it rose. In a chapter of which we know the date, it having been found inscribed upon the linen mummy wrappings of Thothmes III. (B.C. 1600), we have several remarkable passages. 'Homage to thee, oh, my father, Osiris; thy flesh suffered no decay; there were no worms in thee, thou didst not crumble away, thou didst not wither away, thou didst not become corruption and worms; I myself am Khepera,<sup>1</sup> I shall possess my flesh for ever, I shall not decay, I shall not crumble away, I shall not wither away, I shall not become corruption.' So, then, as Osiris the holy one had not seen corruption, or had his body remained in Amenti (*hâdes*),<sup>2</sup> so should he who did as Osiris did also

<sup>1</sup> The god Khepera was a form of the rising Sun, and thus a type of the dead body which is about to burst forth into a new life in a glorified form.

<sup>2</sup> In the Coptic New Testament the translators render the Greek ᾠδης by *ament* *amenti*, the name which is used throughout the *Book of the Dead* for the abode of man after death. The Amenti of Coptic Apocalyptic literature is

escape corruption. We have here exactly a similar conception to that of the Hebrews, 'Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption' (Ps. xvi. 10). The *Book of the Dead* was, then, the guide-book which furnished the deceased with the means of doing as Osiris did. It supplied the prayers, the charms, the passwords, and mysterious formulæ which enabled the deceased who identified himself with Osiris to take upon himself the title of Osiris; thus we read: 'Riseth up Osiris, the scribe of offerings of all the gods Ani in triumph' (ch. xvii.).

This, then, being the character of the ritual, it was necessary that the deceased should be acquainted with its mysterious contents.

For this purpose a papyrus was placed in the coffin with the mummy, containing the necessary topographical directions, and passwords, prayers,

peopled with all the fantastic creations of the ancient Egyptians.

The word *maakheru*, rendered 'victorious,' 'triumphant,' 'justified,' 'blessed,' is always applied after the name of the deceased, he being victorious as Osiris had been, and having such a reward given him. Compare Rev. iii. 21.

and charms. The wiser Egyptians, says M. Maspero, copied out the principal chapters for themselves; and there seems every reason to suppose that the earlier and best-written portion of this papyrus is the work of Ani himself. Many learned large portions by heart. Those who had not prepared themselves in life for the long journey studied the ritual in the coffin; or in some cases relatives or the priests read the necessary chapters to the mummy's ear, that he might learn them before he was carried away to the grave. To the deceased, thus provided with the necessary guides, the name of the 'equipped shade' or instructed shade was given. This custom must have been of immense antiquity, as we find it referred to in the Pyramid Texts, as in the tomb of Pepi we read: 'Hail to thee, Pepi; thou placest thyself upon the throne of Him that dwelleth among the living; and it is the writing which thou hast that striketh terror into their hearts.'

Being provided with this all-important writing, it is necessary now to see what was the true nature and character of the journey of the soul, and how it was accomplished.

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## Dr. Resch on the Trinitarian Baptismal Formula.

BY PROFESSOR THE REV. J. T. MARSHALL, M.A., MANCHESTER.

IN a paper of mine which appeared in the *Critical Review* for January, giving a résumé of Dr. Resch's latest work, entitled *Extra-Canonical Parallel Texts to the Gospels*, vol. i. *Matthew and Mark*, I directed special attention to a part of the work which I deemed exceedingly valuable, and which is the matured product of the study of many years on Dr. Resch's part, namely, his collection of passages from Christian writers of the early centuries, alluding to the Trinitarian Baptismal Formula. In the issue of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for March, the Editor (p. 247) called attention to Resch's work, and gave some quotations from my paper. I venture to think that what appealed to the Editor as being of such importance will be appreciated by his readers, if presented more at length than was possible in the *Critical Review*. Dr. Resch complains that it has been far too readily assumed by certain schools of theologians that the

words ascribed to the Lord Jesus in Matt. xxviii. 19, 'Baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' cannot really have been spoken by our Lord, because the Trinitarian conception therein expressed was 'a comparatively late product of the dogmatic development of the Church.' To rebut this position, Dr. Resch devotes fourteen pages of quotations from very early Christian literature, orthodox and heretical, showing the universal use of this formula. The arguments which our author adduces in favour of the genuineness of the logion are these:—

I. In the ministry of John the Baptist a Trinitarian arrangement of thought is discernible. 'God (ὁ θεός) is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham.' 'He that cometh after me (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) is mightier than I.' 'He will baptize you in the Holy Spirit.'

II. In the baptism of Christ Himself 'the