The damned: Scenes from the Ancient Egyptians Books of the Afterlife
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Abstract
Throughout their history, ancient Egyptians believed that the cosmos is going according to a certain order. This order was represented in Maat who also was the personification of justice and truth. Anyone who opposes such order should be punished. Punishment was practiced through the sentences of the juridical system in real life and the court of Osiris in the afterlife. Those who were found guilty of evildoings were denied immortality, the company of Osiris and the light of Ra, they became damned. In order to guarantee this, the damned suffered several ways of punishment and torture described in the scenes and texts of the books of the afterlife decorating the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings.
The current study seeks to collect punishment scenes from these religious compositions to classify the types of punishment and analyze the purpose of each type in order to clear ancient Egyptian conceptions of punishment in the afterlife. Accordingly, punishment scenes were categorized into four major types: bounding, decapitation, reversal, burning and cooking. Punishment of the damned took place in the deepest recess of the underworld in the place of destruction or annihilation in order to prevent them from rising again against the gods.

Keywords: The damned, enemies, punishment, bounding, decapitation, reversal, burning.

Introduction
Punishment is an official action in response of bad behavior or a wrong doing. Therefore, punishment is the destiny of enemies of order and sinners both in actual life and the hereafter. It's a hateful fate for humans. A fate everyone tries to escape by doing the right things and not opposing the gods or the kings.
Punishment was known in the ancient Egyptian legal system. It entailed trials and in most cases criminals were sentenced with corporal punishment or death through impaling. Burning and decapitation were known as well. But it seems that treason, royal tomb robberies and desecration of sacred places were the major crimes that deserved that death penalty. Corporal punishment was conducted through beating, mutilation, branding like cattle or being imprisoned (Muhlestein, 2008; Van Loon, 2014).
Scenes and texts provide an interesting record for punishing and torturing the enemies of Egypt, especially foreigners. They were bound, having their hands, feet and sometimes genitals cut off, smitten, trampled, devoured, decapitated and impaled (David, 2011). The themes of being decapitated, impaled and bound are known as hieroglyphic signs (Müller, 2009; Gardiner, 1927; Grimal et al., 2000). A reference to a systematic practice towards enemies and criminals.

As all human beings in every civilization; ancient Egyptians feared and hated death and wished to live a long life. Nevertheless, death was considered a necessary condition for eternal life. "To live forever and ever" is the wish of the ancient Egyptians. Though Apophis is the ultimate enemy of Ra and Seth is known to be the opponent of Osiris; the sinners were regarded to be common enemies of both great gods. In the texts they alternated the titles: “enemies of Ra” and “enemies of Osiris”. The enemies of the gods were sentenced to have a second death through the destruction of their souls (Zandee, 1960). Those who were denied the heaven of Osiris and immortality were considered the enemies of Maat who represented righteous, justice and marinated the balance of the universe; those were the damned (Picardo, 2007). They were exposed to punishment and torture in different ways described by the texts and scenes from the various religious contexts (Hornung, 1990a). The damned were decapitated, held upside down, bound in various manners, burned, or even cooked by terrible creatures and demons responsible only for their torture.

Nothing is quoted concerning the damned being punished by drowning in the afterlife; on the contrary, the drowned or the drifting are considered to be blessed as they are going to be saved from the water like Osiris as can be seen in the tenth hour of the Amduat and the eighth division of the Book of Gates (Binder, 1995; Piankoff, 1961). Though in the real juridical process drowning in the Nile was an adopted punishment for some crimes as in adultery. A possibility of punishing enemies of the king by drowning is apparent in the cases of hanging the enemies in front of the royal ship, or referring to them as being sent to the bank of the river. Here, using the water of the Nile as punishment involve the loss of burial and the loss of afterlife as a result of the destruction of the body((Muhlestein, 2003), on contrary of the drifting who were saved like Osiris. The sun god nightly journey frequently leads him close to places of eternal torture, which renewed through his words. The sun god usually sails above them, so that not even the glimmer of his rays penetrates into these recesses of the earth. Punishment is depicted in the lowest register, and the books of the netherworld usually stress the god's absence by omitting the solar disk in those scenes where the damned are shown (Hornung, 1990a).
Methodology
The current study is conducted through following the descriptive methodology in order to collect information, organize, categorize and interpret data concerning punishment scenes of the damned according to the books of the afterlife decorating the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Explanatory texts of the scenes is followed by comments lead the findings. This answer the following questions: What types of punishment were faced by the damned in the afterlife? What type of punishment occurred more frequently? What have these people done to deserve such punishments?
Therefore this study aims to:
- Collect punishment scenes from the books of the afterlife decorating royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings.
- Categorize types of punishment.
- Describe characteristics of the punishment scenes.
- Illustrate the concept behind each type of punishment.

Results and Discussion
In the afterlife, the damned are punished for their evil doings. They are denied the reviving light of the sun god, who ignores them, even as they cry out loud when he passes them in the underworld at night. Accordingly, the punishment of the damned can be categorized as follows:

Type1: Bounding
Death is considered as imprisonment. When a person dies his body stiffens. But the pure ones are able to set themselves free to rise again and enjoy the eternal life (Zande, 1960). Awaiting their punishment, the damned were normally bound. An expected procedure to restrain their freedom and prevent them from escaping. The damned had their arms tied behind their backs and rarely tied from the front. It was a feared act by the deceased. This would prevent him from ascending to heaven through certain demons responsible for bounding the damned. This act of bounding was directed to all the enemies of Osiris and Ra including Apophis and Seth. Through this bounding; the damned are on the same level of cattle (Gad, 2012). Whatever is the torture of the damned; they always appear bound standing, kneeling, beheaded or being put upside down.
In the first register of the seventh of hour of the Amduat, before Osiris and following three bound decapitated sinners; a god appears with a lasso holding three enemies to the ground on their backs (Fig.1). They are called wty "the bound", while the god is called nikw "the one who punishes". The accompanied text is describing them as being rebels against Osiris and that as a result they
have chains to their arms and that their souls will be destroyed. The scene and the text are to be found in the tombs of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, Seti I, Ramses II, Ramses III (Hornung, 1963; Gad, 2012).

Fig.1: Bound decapitated sinners and three enemies held with a lasso, 7th hour- Amduat.

A group of bound prisoners are led by Atum in the first division of the Book of Gates (Fig.2). This is shown in the tombs of Hormoheb, Seti I, Ramses II, Ramses IV, Ramses VI, Ramses VII and Ramses IX. Their crime is known through the accompanied text where they are called: "The hacked ones in the hall of Ra, those who spoke evil of Ra upon earth, those who called with bad intent he who is in his egg , those whose testimonies were untruthful, those who uttered against the one in the horizon" (Lefebure, 1886 ; Lefebure, 1889; Guilmant, 1907; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Piankoff, 1961; Hornung, 1990a; Hornung, 1990 b; Hornung et al., 1991).
In the Book of Gates, the second hour Atum speaks to the sinners: "You are bound; you are firmly bound with cord! I commanded that you be bound, and your arms shall not open." (Hornung, 1990a).

Fig.2: A row of bound prisoners led by Atum, 1st division, Book of Gates.

In the ninth division of the Book of Gates; rows of standing dressed bound enemies of Osiris are being watched by the falcon headed Horus at the back.
They are waiting to be burnt by the fiery serpent facing them. The first four have their arms tied behind their back normally; the following four have their arms tied vertically behind their back. The last four have their arms tied in front. This scene is to be found in the tombs of Hormoheb, Merenptah, Tauesert, Ramses VI (Fig.3)(Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Piankoff, 1961; Hornung, 1971; Hornung, 1990a; Hornung, 1999). Together with Apophis as his assistants a row of male figures appear to be tied with one rope held by a fist coming from the ground in the upper register of the eleventh division of the Book of the Gates (Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Hornung, 1999; Piankoff, 1961).

Fig. 3 The damned are bound in front of the fiery serpent, 9th division- Book of Gates

![Image](source: (Hornung, 1999)).

From the tombs of Ramses IV, Ramses VI, Ramses VII, Ramses IX came a scene decorating the last register of the first division of the Book of Caverns a row of sinners with their arms tied behind their backs follow another row of eight bound decapitated figures. They are all naked with no genitals. The ones with their heads on seems to be waiting for their turn to be decapitated (Fig. 4)(Lefébure, 1889; Guilmant, 1907; Piankoff, 1942; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Hornung, 1990b; Hornung, 1999).

Fig. 4: Group of bound decapitated and no decapitated sinners, 1st division- Book of Caverns.

![Image](source: (Piankoff and Rambova, 1954))
Again in the last register of the second division of the Book of Caverns from the tombs of Ramses IV, VI and IX rows of bound sinners follow others with decapitated heads. Some are in a horizontal position and the others are put upside down with their hearts hang from their necks (Fig.5, right) (Lefébure, 1889; Guilmant, 1907; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Hornung, 1990a; Hornung, 1990b; Hornung, 1999).

Fig.5: Bound prisoners with their hearts out and decapitated ones, 2\textsuperscript{nd} division-
Book of Caverns

Source: (Piankoff and Rambova, 1954)

The heart "\textit{ib}" (Erman and Grapow, 1926) in the ancient Egyptian conceptions was not only an organ; it was the place of conscious and responsible for one's deeds (Brunner, 1977). This is why it was weighed against the feather of Maat in the judgment of the dead (Andrews and Faulkner, 1997). This process determined the fate of the deceased. As a result of having a sinful heart the deceased would go to hell and be condemned with punishment. Taking off the heart is a part of this punishment. It was a destiny feared by the deceased (Louvre 3148, V.1) :

"O, my heart, I am your master, do not be far from me every day ... for me, my own heart-ib. You are in my body (corpse), don't be turned aside from me, from me."(Pierret, 1873)

Four female sinners with their arms tied to their backs are standing between two female Anubis headed guards in the fourth division of the Book of Caverns in both the tombs of Ramses VI and Ramses IX (Fig. 6, middle). Women rarely appear as being punished they appear more frequently as punishers. The scene is in the middle of two other scenes of bound sinners being decapitated by men on the left and women on the right (Guilmant, 1907; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Hornung 1999). Representing women both as guards and punishers of the damned supports the duality adopted by the ancient Egyptians. Women were represented as beautiful house wives, tender mothers and queens. Meanwhile
they appeared on the walls with their other aspects as hunters and warriors. This is clear in the representations of Neith, Sekhmet and ruling queens like Hatshepsut and Tawesert (Hoffman, 2008).

Fig. 6: Bound female sinners surrounded by decapitated damned with their heads nearby, 4th division- Book of Caverns.

Source: (Piankoff and Rambova, 1954)

Part C of the Book of Earth in the tomb of Ramses VI depicts a scene where three gods "the ones who preside over the bonds" tie the arms of three damned behind their backs. The same scene in the tomb of Ramses VII represents only one enemy. The accompanied text declares their destiny: "These gods are like this. They guard their evil ones. The great god makes them suffer. After he has indeed passed by them, these evil ones are annihilated. They slaughter these who do not possess anything (?). This does not pass to this cavern, he does not speak to them, they are in darkness." (Champollion, 1889; Piankoff, 1954; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Abitz, 1989).

Another scene from Part D of the Book of the Earth in the tomb of Ramses VI represents female goddesses bounding enemies from behind. The enemies have the fire symbol on their heads referring to their destiny which is burning (Fig.7)(Champollion, 1889; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Abitz, 1989).

Fig.7, The damned are being tied by guardian figures, Book of Earth.

Source: (Piankoff and Rambova, 1954)
Two kneeling groups of bound prisoners are represented in the last register of the fifth and the seventh hour of the Book of Night decorating the ceiling of the tombs of Ramses IV and Ramses VI. Their arms are tied to their backs as usual. They are entitled: \( n\hsw, \, m\dzw, \, t\mhw, \, 'm\hw \) (Roulin, 1996; Piankoff and Drioton, 1942). They are foreigners, the enemies of Egypt in real life. They are also punished in the underworld for being enemies of the king, the state and divine order.

In the tomb of Ramses VI, bound decapitated figures are decorating the lowest parts of the sarcophagus chamber alternating red and black (Fig. 8). Red is the color of hostile creatures of the desert as well as Seth, the greatest enemy of Osiris, thus it is used in the ancient Egyptian art to refer to enemies. The black though refer to fertile lands; in the underworld it refers to death and night. It was the color of the dead Osiris (Griffiths, 1972; Taylor, 2001). In the Tomb of Ramses IX the enemies are bound from both the head and the arms (Guilmant, 1907). Some of the figures have their heads on and others are topped by knifes, the tool for decapitation. The figures alternate red and blue. Blue refers to life and rebirth for being the color of primeval water and heaven (Griffiths, 1972; Taylor, 2001), nevertheless the blue here is not the traditional bright color but it is rather dark probably to refer to the state in which the enemies are which is nonexistence (Hornung, 1990a).

Fig.8: Bound decapitated prisoners decorating the bottom of the sarcophagus

Tying the damned to a stake appeared few times in the underworld scenes. The stake or pole is considered a type of torture punishment. An interesting scene accompanied by an explaining text is to be found in the middle register of the sixth division of the Book of Gates, where couples of enemies are tied back to back in seven \( wsr\)t pole of Geb (Gardiner, 1927; Leitz, 2002). In between the poles there are mummiform gods probably guarding the tied sinners. The whole scene is preceded by the bark of Ra. The scene is shown in the tombs of Seti I, Ramses III, Ramses VI (Fig. 9) (Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Hornung, 1990a, Piankoff, 1961). Geb is one of the members of the court in the final judgment and his poles are symbols for the just in ancient Egypt (Meskell, 1999).
The enemies are addressed to as the enemies of the gods: Ra, Atum, Khepri, Shu, Geb, Osiris and Horus. The god here speaks to the guards of the pole to take hold of the rebels in order not to escape and speaks to the enemies that they are to be decapitated according to the decision of Ra (Piankoff, 1961; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954). Seth himself appeared tied to a stake and pierced by knives in front of Osiris at Dendera. In other scenes Apophis suffered the same fate (Ritner, 2008). As Seth and Apophis are the oldest enemies of Osiris and Ra; thus the enemies of the divine order; the damned were treated in a similar way in the afterlife for following the same actions and evil doings.

In the last register of the fifth division of the Book of Caverns (tombs of Ramses IV, Ramses VI, Ramses IX and the Osirion at Abydos) a goddess is represented holding two stakes in both of her hands while two prisoners are tied to each, near them are caldrons where the damned and parts of their bodies are being cooked. The text is addressed to the goddess as a slaughterer and watches over the enemies who are “knotted with your arms, counting for you… the two dȝs-posts” (Frankfort, 1933; Zandee, 1960; Pinakoff, 1944; Hornung, 1999).

Among the figures represented in the Litany of Ra which appeared thoroughly decorating the first and the second corridors of a number of tombs; a kneeling sinner appears tied to a stake between the mummified figure of the falcon headed god Horus and a ram headed figure. This is very clear in the tombs of Thutmosis III, Seti I, Ramses II, Ramses IV (Lefébure, 1886; Piankoff, 1964; Hornung, 1990a; Hornung, 1991; Hornung, 1999). Near this figure is written: “he who punishes with the stake”. The texts of the litany illustrates the role of Ra in punishing the damned is present, as he is "The One Who Enchains" and "The One from the Cauldron and generally "The One who Destroys his Enemies" (Piankoff, 1964).

Fig. 9: The damned tied to the pole of Geb, 6th division, Book of Gates.

Source:(Piankoff and Rambova, 1954)
Type 2: Decapitation

Decapitation or beheading "ḥsk" (Erman and Grapow, 1929) is a known punishment in ancient Egypt for those committing major crimes; namely the enemies of the king. A royal theme expands from the time of Narmer and onwards (David, 2011). More popular in earlier periods; decapitation was among sorts of capital punishments known in the ancient Egyptian legal system (Muhlestein, 2008; Capart, 1898). Decapitation was also used ritually in curses and threat formulae in some tomb inscriptions against robbers (Morschauser, 1991).

Losing one's head was one of the most feared destines in the afterlife. Heads on their bodies were needed to assure spiritual manifestation of the deceased. Its consequences on the deceased is best described in the eleventh hour of the Amduat where it is read: "You have been decapitated, that you may not come into being" (Hornung, 1963; Picardo, 2007). A fate that the deceased tried to avoid from an early period as can be seen in the reserve heads of the Old Kingdom, which probably were substitutes for the heads in case of lose (Picardo, 2007). Funerary texts speak of threats of beheading against the sinners:

- CT 660:"This NN will decapitate you who opposed his way, lifting up your head [s] upon his arms." (De Buck, 1956; Faulkner, 1977).

In some cases provide protection spells against beheading:

- PT 415: "Save NN's head, lest it be lost" (Sethe, 1908.; Allen, 2005; Faulkner, 1969).
- CT 453: "O decapitator who severs necks, you will not decapitate me nor will you severe my neck" (De Buck, 1954; Faulkner, 1977).
- BD 166: "Your head will not be taken from you hereafter. Your head will not be taken from you forever" (Faulkner, 1997; Allen, 1974).

Books of the afterlife reflect visual images of decapitation of the damned. The scenes provide variations of decapitated figures:

Type 2, a: Headless Figures

Guarded by a demon of punishment; bound headless sinners "The enemies of Osiris" appear in the seventh hour of the Amduat; where Ra will face his enemy Apophis. They are kneeling in front of the Osiris enclosed within a serpent. The decapitation is the result of the sinners' judgment presided here by Osiris. The decapitated prisoners are followed by bound sinners awaiting their fate (Fig.1, right) (Hornung, 1963; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Binder, 1995; Horung, 1999).
The Book of Caverns in the tombs of Ramses IV, Ramses VI, Ramses VII and Ramses IX provides a clear example of beheaded sinners. They are described as "enemies of Osiris, who spread evil in the hidden world" and that their heads must be cut off (Piankoff and Rambova, 1954). The scene decorates the last register of the first division of the Book of Caverns. The damned are represented standing nude, headless, with their hands tied to their backs. They appear without genitals. They are preceded by three guardian serpents and followed by bound figures (Fig.4, left). Their punishment is conducted in the depth of the place of annihilation. They were condemned with nonexistence (Guilmant, 1907; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Hornung, 1990b; Hornung, 1999).

In the third division of the Book of the Caverns standing headless figures are represented in the last register under the earth god Aker and near the ithyphallic corpse of Osiris in the Tomb of Ramses VI (Frankfort, 1933; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Hornung, 1999). A line of inscription is on top of each figure stating: $\text{ḥs knty tp.f}$ "Cutting of his head" (Frankfort, 1933). In the version of Ramses IX they are reversed (Lefébure, 1889; Hornung, 1999).

Again, kneeling bound decapitated nude damned appear in the same context with Osiris. This time in the Book of the Earth, Part D, tomb of Ramses VI (Fig. 10). They are the enemies who are punished outside the Hidden Chamber (Champollion, 1889; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Abitz, 1989; Abitz, 1995). The Hidden Chamber is the most secret place in the whole Netherworld, known only to Osiris and his most loyal associates. Isis and Nephtys guard it eternally, lest Seth find it and repeat his crime with Osiris (Hornung, 1990a). Perhaps this is why the enemies of Osiris are punished outside, they are not allowed inside the sacred place of Osiris not to desecrate this sacred place.

The theme of kneeling bound decapitated sinners is depicted in the fifth hour of the Book of the Night; where Ra sails in the complete darkness and has to overcome his enemies (Piankoff and Drioton, 1942; Roulin, 1996; Hornung, 1999).

Fig.10: Decapitated damned in the Hidden Chamber of Osiris, Book of Earth
Strangely; a headless god is among the riders of the boat of Ra in the middle register of the third hour of the Amduat. (Hornung, 1963; Binder, 1995). In the Sixth Division of the Book of the Caverns and again not as usual in the last register; there are four ovals enclosing four standing clothed and not bound figures. They are headless, but according to the accompanied texts they are guardian gods. They are called "The Ones of the Pupils of the Eye" (Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Hornung, 1999). Thus, being headless alone is not a reference for being punished it is the whole context that determines this. The text, the ponds, the punishing demons, nudity, being without genitals in addition to being placed frequently in the last register of the scene.

**Type 2, b: Decapitation with the heads nearby**

The heads of the damned were placed nearby them after decapitation. This theme is repeated in different manners. In some cases, the heads appear in a row in front of the decapitated ones or each head is placed near its owner. It could be possible that the heads have just been severed by the punishers, a reason for the placement of the heads near the decapitated bodies.

In the Book of the Caverns, the fifth register of the second division; four bound nude decapitated figures are standing facing four punishing gods holding knives. In between them is a vertical row of four heads, logically belong to the headless bodies behind (Fig. 5, left). The damned are in the place of destruction and are addressed to as being the beheaded ones, deprived of souls, the enemies of the regent of the underworld Osiris (Guilmant, 1907; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Hornung, 1999; Picardo, 2007). The sixth hour of the same composition, the last register show two outstretched male and female gods while four kneeling beheaded figures are in between. They have their heads placed above them near their necks in the tomb of Ramses VI (Piankoff and Rambova, 1954) while in the tomb of Ramses IX are placed in front of their chests (Guilmant, 1907; Hornung, 1999). In the same register far to the end are two ladies holding knives; each is facing two decapitated sinners with their heads near their feet. This time their hearts are torn from their bodies (Fig.5, right) (Guilmant, 1907; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Hornung, 1999; Picardo, 2007).

**Type 3: Reversal**

Next to decapitation; reversal "šḥd" (Erman and Grapow, 1930) was most feared punishment by the damned. Because of the reversed position of the body; the deceased consumes excrement and urine. This consumption according to religious conceptions from the Coffin texts and Book of the Dead is considered "a horror" for they make the deceased impure and prevent him from eating his normal offerings to continue living in the underworld (Zandee, 1960). This fate
is connected with the reversed deceased as referred to in CT 580: "In order not to go with the head down. Back Šrdy and Spȝy! Do not set upon NN...NN does not eat ordure for you and does not drink urine..." (De Buck, 1956). This practice of turning the enemies upside down is known in real life as can be seen in the biography of the vizier Rekhmira: "caused the liars and thieves (?) to be upside down" (Ritner, 2008). In the scenes of the underworld books, reversed damned appeared with their heads on. This theme is included in both the second and the fourth hour of the Book of Caverns (Fig. 5, 6) (Guilmant, 1907; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Hornung, 1999). In the second hour they are waiting for their turn to be decapitated. Together with the decapitated ones in front; they are addressed to in the text:

"O the beheaded ones, the headless ones who are in the Place of Destruction. O those who are flung down deprived of soul, in the place of Destruction. O the reversed ones, the tied who are in the Place of Destruction. O the reversed ones, the bloody ones with torn-out hearts in the place of Destruction. O the enemies of the Regent of the Netherworld, Osiris. He at the head of the west, behold, I deliver you to destruction, I deliver you to nothingness."

(Pinakoff and Rambova, 1954; Ritner, 2008)

In the fourth hour they are called: "the mutilated, the miserable ones, and the enslaved ones, those covered with blood." (Pinakoff and Rambova, 1954)

In other cases reversal is connected with decapitation, in order to complete the vanquishing. A text from the eleventh hour of Amduat gives a reference to that:

"The Majesty of this god issues commands to cut up the corpses of the enemies and the bodies of the dead, the upside down ones who are hindered. "(Hornung, 1963)

The third hour of the Book of the Caverns depicts reversed decapitated sinners with others have their heads on in the Tomb of Ramses IX (Lefébure, 1889; Guilmant, 1907; Hornung, 1999). In the Book of the Earth, tomb of Ramses VI, Part D: four bearded gods hold four decapitated enemies upside down (Fig.11). The names of the gods refer to decapitation (Champollion, 1889; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Abitz, 1998). This pairing of decapitation and reversal is inherited from real life; ceremonies practiced by kings against their enemies to guarantee their nonexistence forever. It is known that King Amenhotep II slaughtered and hanged seven Asiatic princes upside down on the prow of his ship (Muhlestein, 2003; Ritner, 2008). In this context, Ritner believes that the actions of decapitation and reversal are related to the execration ritual practiced over enemies to literally overthrow them and getting rid of all their evils (Ritner, 2008).
Bound sinners were sometimes shown in horizontal position as in the second division of the Book of Caverns (Fig. 5) and the bound decapitated enemy in the sixth division (Piankoff and Rambova, 1954). In a horizontal position "The Tiered (weary) Ones" follow a row of bound enemies in the first division of the Book of Gates (Fig. 2, left). Generally, the dead are spoken of as the tired ones, thus those persons perhaps awaits Ra to awaken them (Boyschou, 2011). Nevertheless, in many texts they are the sinners as in Coffin Texts: "Do not catch me in this net of yours, in which you catch the tired ones" (Zandee, 1960).

In the fourth and fifth hours of the Book of the Night; enemies are seated in horizontal position with their arms tied to their backs. They appear in two groups; one with fish head (Fig. 12, right) while the other with knife head decorating the ceilings of the tombs of Ramses IV and Ramses VI (Piankoff and Drioton, 1942; Roulin, 1996).

Actually the knives seem to pierce the heads of the damned. An apotropaic practice meant to mutilate the sinners and extinguish their existence as in the stabbed figures of Seth and Apophis (Retiner, 2008).

Fish was generally regarded as an unclean animal, because ancient Egyptians believed that some types of fish had eaten the phallus of the dismembered Osiris. Though the catfish is known to help Ra in his night journey because it knows its way in the dark muddy Nile. Some fish in later periods were associated with gods. This is a continuation of the ancient Egyptian's view of things with their good and bad aspects at the same time (Lurker, 1980, Brewer, 2001).

Fig. 11: Decapitated reversed Sinners, Book of Earth

Source: (Hornung, 1990a)

Fig. 12, Bound enemies with fish heads, 4th hour- book of the Night.

Source: (Hornung, 1999)
Type 4: Burning and Cooking:

Going to hell (fire) is the fate of the sinners in all religions. Thus, the deceased in ancient Egypt is usually threatened by fire as one of the punishments in the hereafter. Punishment by fire was reserved for the enemies of the king and of Osiris both in real and the life after (Zandee, 1960; Leahy, 1984; Boyschou, 2011).

According to Pyramid Texts (PT 502): "the door of heaven is blocked by fire" (Sethe, 1910). To be burned means nonexistence and eternal annihilation. The physical body was needed to be reunited with the soul "bȝ" and the double "kȝ" in order to presume the eternal life. As burning completely destroys the body, this destroyed every chance for life after death (Leahy, 1984; Boyschou, 2011).

A number of terms refer in the funerary texts to the process of burning or being in flames; as "ȝm, sȝm, wbd, wsh, nwḥ, snwḥ, ns, ss, ȝsb, rkḥ, sti, ḏȝf" (Zandee, 1960; Boyschou, 2011).

Various funerary texts including the Book of the Dead, the Amduat, the Book of Caverns and the Book of Gates speak of demons burn the enemies of Ra and Osiris and serpents spitting fire against them. While other spells provide protection against fire (Zandee, 1960; Hornung, 1963; Allen, 1974; Andrews and Faulkner, 1997). In the ninth division, whose main theme is to throw Apophis and the enemies of Ra; the row of bound sinners are awaiting their punishment by the Fiery Serpent (Fig. 3). Horus here is ordering the serpent to burn through the fire from his mouth the bodies of the enemies of his father (Osiris) and to consume their souls (Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Piankoff, 1961; Hornung, 1971; Hornung, 1990a; Hornung, 1999).

An interesting scene on the ceiling of the tomb of Ramses VI and represents the sun with four serpents spitting fire to burn the damned in the four corners of the scene. Two enemies are bound while the other two have torches on their heads and held by their hands as a symbol of eternal punishment. They are pierced by arrows and representing the determinative for the word ḫfty "enemy" (Fig. 13) (Champollion, 1889; Darnell, 2004).

Fig. 13: Serpents spitting fire on the enemies of Ra.

Source: (Hornung, 1990a)
In some cases as in the Book of Earth, tomb of Ramses VI, Part D; torches replaces the heads of the damned (Fig.14) or being put on their heads while kneeling and being bounded by goddesses (Fig. 7), just next to reversed decapitated sinners. The names of these goddesses are: "The Fiery one, "She who scorches", "The Fire", "She who burns", "She who engulfs" and "Nanit" (Champollion, 1889; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Abitz, 1989; Hornung, 1999).

Fig.14: The damned with torches replacing the heads, Book of Earth.

![](image)

Source: (Piankoff and Rambova, 1954)

The Middle Kingdom Book of the Two Ways speaks of the "Lake of Fire" which the dead has to avoid or else be burnt while the Book of the Dead gives the first scene of this lake. This theme continued through later periods until the Third Intermediate period papyri. The lake of fire is a square or rectangular spot filled with fiery water and usually surrounded by four guardian-baboons setting in its four corners accompanied by four braziers and in some cases black burned figures are shown inside the lake particularly on late funerary papyri (Abbas, 2010; Boyschou, 2011).

Different from the traditional form; the fifth hour of the Amduat, the last register represents the red lake of fire as a kind of a secured area in the land of Sokar to protect Ra from his enemies. There is no representation of the damned inside (Binder, 1995). In the Book of Gates, the lake of fire appears in the third hour identified through texts as to be waiting for the damned as a place of punishment. The fourth hour depicts four fire-filled traps awaits "those whose punishment will be renewed"(Lefébure, 1886; Piankoff, 1961;, Hornung, 1990a; Hornung, 1991; Hornung, 1999).

The eleventh hour of the Amduat was meant to prepare for the sunrise; thus extinguishing everything that should hinder this process including the enemies of Ra, the damned. The last register expresses this as representing the damned and parts of their bodies being burnt (Fig.15). This is apparent in the tombs of Thutmosis III, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, Seti I. Horus is seen at the beginning of the register condemning the damned with death of their souls and
the cutting of their heads and the tearing of their bodies. He is helped by a fire-breathing serpent "who burns millions". Six pits of fire each guarded by a fire spitting goddess holding a knife are represented. The pits are filled with the "enemies", "the corpses", "the souls", "the shadows", "the heads" and the "fallen", who are turned upside down (Hornung, 1963; Binder, 1995; Boyschou, 2011). The names of the following gods refer to the dreadful fate of the enemies of Ra and Osiris in this scene. They are called: "the one who boils", "the one who heats up", "the one who is over her sand" and "the one who destroys" (Hornung, 1963; Binder, 1995).

Fig.15, Pits of fire for the damned and their parts, 11th hour-Amduat.

Performing the same function are the caldrons of the fifth division of the Book of Caverns in the tombs of Ramses IV, Ramses VI and Ramses IX where there are three caldrons formed by arms holding basins house, heads, hearts and decapitated reversed sinners and finally the shadows, souls and the flesh of the damned. According to the orders of Ra the surrounding cobras and gods should light fire and flames to cook the enemies of Osiris. (Lefébure, 1886; Pinakoff, 1944; Piankoff and Rambova, 1954; Hornung, 1990a; Hornung, 1991).

Similar to this is the scene of caldrons in the Book of Earth, Part D (Fig.16). The caldrons are formed through two pairs of arms holding two basins each containing two heads and unidentified body parts (probably hearts as referred to in the accompanied text). Under the basin are two heads blowing fire against the caldrons. Each caldron is watched over by a bearded god holding a knife, while two women bend over a big heart shaped vase in the middle. The names of the figures and the accompanied text explain that the hearts and members of the enemies are chopped of and are put in the caldrons and pits of fire (Champollion1889; Pinakoff and Rambova, 1954).
Cooking is a special form of punishing by fire. Several texts including the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, the Book of the Dead, the Amduat and the Book of Caverns refer to the process of cooking the enemies of Ra and Osiris in caldrons, coal-basins, furnace. In order to avoid this fate; the deceased has to know the names of the demons responsible for the cooking process (Zandee, 1960). It is known that the ancient Egyptians believed that a person consists of seven essential elements: the soul "ḥȝ", the double "kȝ", the name "rm ", the shadow "šwt", the body "ḥʾ", the light "ḥē" and the heart "ib". All these elements must be intact in the afterlife for the deceased to live eternally (D' Auria et al., 1988). By setting fire in some of these elements (the body, the soul and the shadow); the deceased will lose every chance in resurrecting. The punishment here is not only confined to burning but it includes dismembering, being thrown on the face and being reversed. It is a complex punishment that guarantees in several ways the ultimate and complete destruction of the enemies.

Moreover; separating the hearts and the heads from the bodies through punishing demons with knives is dismemberment and mutilation. A hateful fate threatening the resurrection of the deceased and recalling what was done to Osiris by his brother Seth. Though this dismemberment was considered a first stage towards after life but only after overcoming this state through mummification (Assmann, 1989). Regarding this fact, it was necessary to burn and cook these important members (the head for identifying the body and the heart, the place of consciousness). An extra method to vanquish the damned, the enemies of Osiris.

**Conclusion**

The damned are those who were deemed of eternal annihilation; sinners and enemies of the god, the king and the divine order. The purpose of their torture in the afterlife is to be punished for their evil deeds and to prevent them from coming on the way of Ra. Through this punishment the damned were denied any chance of eternal life. It is noticeable that in all punishment scenes, the sinners
are surrendering to their torture without any resistance as if they are admitting their guilt and that they deserve this.

Punishment scenes books of the afterlife from the can be categorized into four main types: bounding, decapitation, reversal, burning and cooking. Evidences were known for performing these types of sentences on actual life criminals except for cooking. Impalement was known as a capital punishment for major crimes in real life but no allusions of this sentence occurred in the hereafter.

In the afterlife punishments no definite act is assigned to a particular crime. There are no separate parts for each type of punishment. It is not clear either from the scenes or the texts what particular crimes they have committed to deserve punishment. All the damned are condemned for being enemies of Osiris and Ra, henceforth, the divine order.

Punishment in the underworld was conducted in the "Place of Destruction" and these scenes usually decorate the last registers of the burial chambers of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings as parts of the different books of the afterlife. Putting the damned in the last register of a scene refers to their place in the deepest recess of the underworld to ensure that they do not rise again and commit more sins. The damned usually appear naked and without genitals; an act of humiliation plus the assurance of never having descendants that would act wrongly like their fathers. Only in rare occasions they appear dressed as in the Book of Gates. The damned are always in the safeguard of demons and gods holding knives. The latter are responsible for the execution of punishment. It is noticeable that they are mostly females, a reference of the other violent face of women as in the nature of the war goddesses Neith and Sekhmet.

The insertion of punishment scenes in the royal tombs does not have a definite implication in itself. This must be seen in relation to the representation of the books of the afterlife of which punishment scenes were part. The frequency of representation in the royal tombs depended mainly on the chosen book. This is why some scenes appeared in a number of tombs while others appear in less number.

The Book of Caverns housed the greatest number of punishment scenes. This probably stems from the nature of the book which stresses the dark place of annihilation focusing on the fate of those who fail judgment in the afterlife. In this composition the first condemned females appear to suffer similar fates of the males. It is the same case with the Book of Earth, the counterpart of the Book of Caverns. Here, different types of punishment made prominent appearance. The main concern of this composition is the creation of the solar disk and its rising from earth while the enemies and the damned are punished in the depth of the earth in the Place of Annihilation in order to clear the way for Ra to rise again.
On the other hand the Book of the Night and the Litany of Ra house the least number of punishment scenes. The first is mainly focusing on the night journey of Ra while the second's main concern is the forms and names of Ra. Though the Book of the Night in its few punishment scenes express unique representations of the damned by placing fish and knives instead of their heads. The Book of Gates seems to stress more on the theme of the Lake of Fire in punishment as few scenes of punishment only appear depicting bounding and awaiting to be burnt by fire. It is also noticeable that burning usually occurs close to the final preparation phases of the rising of Ra as in the eleventh hour of Amduat and the ninth hour of the Book of Gates to ensure the complete destruction of the damned and facilitate the rising of the god with no enemies to obstruct.

The most prominent act directed towards the damned is bounding whatever the punishment was. Punishment in the afterlife is always composite: decapitated and reversal, being burnt and cooked, bound and decapitated. All to ensure complete destruction and to guarantee eternal annihilation by all means.

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الملخص العربي

الملعونين: مناظر من كتب العالم الآخر

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علي مدار تاريخهم أعتقد المصري القديم بأن الكون يسير وفق نظام معين. هذا النظام مثلته ماعت التي كانت أيضا رمزا للحقيقة والعدالة. ومن كان يخالف هذا النظام و يرتكب جرائم يتم معاقبته من خلال النظام القضائي في الحياة الدنيا و من خلال محكمة اوزيريس في العالم الآخر. والذين يتم إدانتهم بسبب أفعالهم الشريرة يحرمون من الخلود، صحة اوزيريس، و كذلك نور الإله رع و يصبحوا ملعونين. و لكي يتم ضمان مصيرهم المشئوم يتم ترتيبهم لأشكال مختلفة من العقاب و التعذيب كلها مذكورة في مناظر و نصوص الكتب الدينية التي تزين جدران المقابر الملكية في وادي الملوك، وتسعى الدراسة الحالية إلي تجميع هذه المناظر و تصنيف أشكال العقاب التي تعرض لها المذنبون في العالم الآخر من خلال مناظر الكتب الدينية و تحليل الهدف وراء كل منها لتوضيح المفاهيم المصرية القديمة التي ارتبطت بها. و لقد تم تصنيف أشكال العقاب إلى أربعة أنماط رئيسية وهي: الربط، قطع الرؤوس، وضع الجسم بالمقلوب، حرق و طهو الأجساد أو أجزاء منها. وكان هذا العقاب يتم في أعمق حفرة في العالم الآخر في مكان يسمي "مكان التدمير" و ذلك في حراسة أشكال خفيفة من الآلهة المسؤولين عن تنفيذ العقاب.

و لقد ظهر من خلال الدراسة أنه لم يتم الربط بين نوع معين من العقاب و جرمية معينة أرتكبها المذنبون و لكن تم ممارسة جميع أشكال العقاب للمذنبين بصفة عامة. و لقد احتوى كتاب الكهوف على أكثر عدد و أنواع من مناظر العقاب و ربما ارتبط ذلك بتركيز الكتاب علي الكون المظلم الذي يعاقب فيه من ادانته محكمة الموت و من جهة أخرى احتوي كتاب الليل و كتاب ابتهالات رع على أقل المناظر لتركيزهم علي رع و رحلته و أشكاله بشكل أساسي.

و قد اتضح أيضا من خلال الدراسة أن ربط المذنبين بالحبال و تقييد حركتهم كان عامل مشترك في كل أنواع العقاب. و لقد ظهر العقاب دائما مركباً: قطع الركبة و وضع الجسم بالمقلوب، الحرق و الطبخ و كل ذلك لضمان عدم حياة هؤلاء مرة أخرى ليرتكبوا الذنوب ضد الآلهة.

الكلمات الدالة: الملعونين، المذنبين، الأعداء، العقاب، الربط، قطع الرأس، الوضع بالمقلوب، الحرق.