

**THE DESTINY OF THE WORLD :
A STUDY ON THE END OF THE UNIVERSE
IN THE LIGHT OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TEXTS**

by

Sherine M. ElSebaie

**A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
Graduate Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations
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Sherine M. ElSebaie
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Dept. of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations
University of Toronto

ABSTRACT

The subject of this thesis is a theme that has not been fully studied until today and that has long been thought to be overlooked by the ancient Egyptians in a negative way. The aim of this thesis is then to look carefully into the texts dealing with this theme to reveal how exactly the ancient Egyptians felt about it.

The texts scrutinized are divided according to their nature. In the first section of the thesis, the Complaints are studied. In the second section, the Prophecies are analyzed while in the third section, Magical and Funerary texts are being examined. Only the fourth section does not deal with a specific group of texts but with one text, the most important one, Chapter 175 of the Book of the Dead and its parallel. This text is analyzed in the light of other quotations from ancient Egyptian Literature. The analysis then builds up in detail, answering how, and why the world will be destroyed, and whether this destruction will be final or not, leading at the end to the final comment.

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INTRODUCTION

Did the ancient Egyptians have any notion about the end of the world ? Did they make up as complicated and rich myths about this notion as the ones they composed about the cosmogony and the beginning of the world ?

The answer to the first question is easy : yes, the ancient Egyptians had, like contemporary people, a strong belief in the impermanence of the world. In fact, the succession of various poles - day and night, light and darkness, summer and winter, rain and drought - naturally entails the end of the world as the opposite to its beginning.¹ But the presence of this notion in the ancient Egyptian mind did not reveal itself through such elaborate myths as the creation myths. This makes the tracking of ancient Egyptian texts dealing with the end of the world very difficult, partly because the number of these texts is very limited, but mostly because no matter how rich the imagination of the ancient Egyptians was and how far it could go, the texts dealing with the world's end only graze "apocalypticism", in its real meaning (criticism of the actual evil and promising a future amelioration based on a supernatural vision). Moreover, some of these texts present a different sense of "eschatology" (vision of the end of the world) than the one we know.²

¹ *Man, Myth & Magic*, vol.3, p. 815-6; for contemporary fears of the end of the world, see *Dic. Relig.* I, p.699-701.

² Jean Doresse, "Visions Méditerranéennes" in *La Table Ronde* n.110, Fév.1957, p.26-39, calls the part of his article dealing with the Egyptian view of the end of the world "Apocalypses égyptiennes", but his opinions show clearly that he does not consider the ancient Egyptian views as "true apocalypticism". He even writes on p. 29 that the Egyptian imagination came *near real* apocalypticism on two points.... Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.229, f.n.1. See for the terminology problem : J. Bergman, "Introductory Remarks on Apocalypticism in Egypt" in Heilholm, *Apocalypticism*, p.51-60. See for explanations of the words "apocalypse" and "eschatology" : *Man, Myth & Magic*, vol.1, p.138; vol.3, p. 831; *Reallexikon*, vol. I, p. 504 ff. ; vol.VI, p.560; *Chambers Dic.*, p.28, 163; *Dic. Relig.* I, p.90 ff., 626 ff. ; *Dic. Sym.*, p. 32-4.

But this terminology problem should not be an obstacle in understanding the ancient Egyptian conceptions, if only we are willing to liberate ourselves from our own views and be ready to tolerate theirs.

TEXTS AND COMMENTS

1. The Complaints :

1.1 The Admonitions of Ipuwer : It is the longest text of this group. The preserved copy (Pap. Leiden 344) dates back to the nineteenth dynasty. Regardless of the problem of whether the text describes a real calamity and whether this calamity is that of the First Intermediate Period or not, the text is a good pessimistic reproduction of the genre "national distress".³ We read in it the consequences of the lack of control. Egypt experiences famine:

" Lo, grain is lacking on all sides, one is stripped of clothes, unanointed with oil. Everyone says, "There's nothing". The storehouse is bare. (1) "⁴

social disorder and upside-down situations:

" Lo, poor men have become men of wealth, he who could not afford sandals owns riches " (2) (...) " See, those who owned robes are in rags, he who did not weave for himself owns fine linen " (3) (...) "See, cooks

³ LÄ I, col. 65-6; Lichtheim, p.149 discusses this problem and draws attention to the article of S. Luria ("Die Ersten werden die Letzten sein", *Klio* 22 (1929), p.405-31) who points out the fictional character of these works; it is striking to find parallels to the Admonitions in an Annamite song on the occasion of the French conquest of Indochina (p.415): "The sky is low, the earth is high...Those who did not have any pants, have today shoes...The women of the streets became great ladies... the rotters are all strong. The learned are deserted everywhere or chased away, the ignorants and the traitors have all the posts. The children of beggars and countrymen are clothed in rich clothes and give themselves the manners of mandarins' sons...When therefore our country will find again the calm!" See also J. Assmann, *Königs...in Hellholm, Apocalypticism*, p. 348.

⁴ *Adm* 6, 3-5, p.46; Lichtheim, p.155. The bold numbers after quotations refer to the original texts in the Appendix.

have masters of butlers, he who was a messenger sends someone else.
(4)⁵

social violence :

“ Lo, hearts are violent, plague sweeps the land, there is blood everywhere, no shortage of dead” (5) (...) “ Lo, many dead are buried in the river, the stream is the grave, the tomb became stream. Lo, nobles lament, the poor rejoice. Every town says, “ Let us expel our rulers” ” (6) (...) “Lo, the river is blood, as one drinks of it one shrinks from people” (7) (...) “ A man strikes his maternal brother. (8)”⁶

and national depression :

“ Lo, crocodiles gorge on their catch, people go to them of their own will” (9) (...) “Lo, great and small <say>, “I wish I were dead”. Little children say, “ He should not have made me live !” ” (10) (...) “ Lo, all beasts, their hearts weep, cattle bemoan the state of the land. (11) ”⁷

1.2 The Complaints of Khakheperre-Sonb : The only preserved copy of this text (British Museum writing board 5645) is dated to the middle of the eighteenth dynasty, but the work itself dates back to the time of Sesostris II (at the earliest Middle Kingdom). Since it was written at a time of peace and prosperity, all the description of calamity is another literary work on the topic “national distress”.

The author himself realizes that what he is saying is only a repetition of what men of previous generations had said :

“ Had I unknown phrases, sayings that are strange, novel, untried words, free of repetition;not transmitted sayings, spoken by the ancestors !(12) ”⁸

⁵ *Adm* 2, 4-5, p.24; 7, 11-12, p.58; 8, 2-3, p.61; Lichtheim, p.151, 156-7.

⁶ *Adm* 2,5-8,10, p.25-27; 5, 10, p.43; Lichtheim, p.151, 154.

⁷ *Adm* 2,12-13, p.29; 4, 2-3, p.36; 5,5, p.42; Lichtheim, p.151, 153-4; C.C McCrown, Hebrew and Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature in *The Harvard Theological Review* 18 (1925), p.371-6.

⁸ *Adm*, Recto 2-4, p.97; Lichtheim, p.145-6; *LÄ* I, col. 896; McCrown, in *The Harvard Review* 18 (1925), p.369. See also G. E. Kadish, British Museum Writing Board 5645: The Complaints of Kha-Kheper-Re-Senbu. *JEA* 59 (1973), p. 77-90.

accompanying the end of the world. J.Assmann truly points out that even the river does not dry up; on the contrary we find in the Admonitions of Ipuwer that “Hapy inundates and none plow for him”. It is the social struggle which endangers here the social culture and morality. Thus one can argue easily that the disasters described do not surpass the social level to a more cosmic one;¹¹ yet we should be careful with such an argument because social disturbances always suggest “the idea of a great *bouleversement* in progress”. Think of how we felt towards the fifty five million dead of the Second World War, towards the famines of the Third World, towards the industrial catastrophes of Chernobyl.¹² The ancient Egyptians felt the same feelings towards these social disturbances; they knew that if evil prevailed, this meant that the end was approaching. Ipuwer even writes in his Admonitions :

“ If only this were the end of man, no more conceiving, no births ! Then the land would cease to shout, tumult would be no more ! (16) ”¹³

2. The Prophecies: ¹⁴

2.1 The Prophecies of Neferti :¹⁵ This Text is preserved on papyrus Leningrad 1116 B dating from the eighteenth dynasty but the text itself relates the conditions that prevailed before the accession of Amenemhat I (Middle

¹¹ *Adm* 2,3, p.24; Lichtheim, p.24; Assmann, Königs...in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism.*, p. 350-1, 357; McCrown, in *The Harvard Review* 18 (1925), p.380.

¹² *Dic. Relig.* I, p. 699.

¹³ *Adm* 6,1, p. 44; Lichtheim, p. 154; Meeks, *Daily*, p.16, p.202 n.12; *Dic. Civi.*, p.297.

¹⁴ *LÄ* IV, col. 1122-55, col. 604.

¹⁵ *LÄ* IV, col. 380-1; McCrown, in *The Harvard Review* 18 (1925), p.383-5; Bergman, Introduction...in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p. 53 : he prefers to call it “the visions of Neferti”. See also Goedicke, *Neferyt*, p.4 for a discussion on the prophetic nature of the text. See Posener, *Littérature*, p.21-60 for another discussion and p.145-57 for his notes of translation.

Kingdom). Portions of it are also on two writing boards of the eighteenth dynasty and several Ramesside ostraca.

In this text, we find the usual description of "national distress": robberies, murders even among family members, general egoism, upside-down social situations, and contempt :

" I show you the land in turmoil, what should not be has come to pass. Men will seize weapons of warfare, the land will live in uproar. Men will make arrows of copper, will crave blood for bread, will laugh aloud at distress. None will weep over death, none will wake fasting for death, each man's heart is for himself. Mourning is not done today, hearts have quite abandoned it. A man sits with his back turned, while one slays another. I show you the son as enemy, the brother as foe, a man slaying his father" (17) (...) " I show you the master in need, the outsider sated, the lazy stuffs himself, the active is needy. One gives only with hatred, to silence the mouth that speaks; to answer a speech the arm thrusts a stick, one speaks by killing him, speech falls on the heart like fire, one cannot endure the word of mouth" (18) (...) " I show you the land in turmoil: the weak-armed is strong-armed, one salutes him who saluted. I show you the undermost uppermost, what was turned on the back turns the belly. Men will live in the graveyard, the beggar will gain riches, the great [will rob] to live, the poor will eat bread, the slaves will be exalted. (19) " ¹⁶

But the innovation in this text is that natural disturbances occur :

" What was made has been unmade, Re should begin to recreate! " (20) (...) " The sun disc, covered, shines not for people to see, one cannot live when clouds conceal, all are numb from lack of it" (21) (...) " Dry is the river of Egypt, one crosses the water on foot; one seeks water for ships to sail on, its course having turned into shore land. Shore land will turn into water, watercourse back into shore land. South wind will combat north wind, sky will lack the single wind."(22) (...) " Re will withdraw from mankind: though he will rise at his hour, one will not know when noon has come; no one will discern his shadow, no face will be dazzled by seeing [him], no eyes will moisten with water. He will be in the sky like the moon, his nightly course unchanged, his rays on the face as before.(23) " ¹⁷

¹⁶ Helck, VIII 40-IX 45, p.32-35, X 47-50, p.39-42, XII 54-57, p.46-7; Goedicke, *Neferyt*, p. 95, 100, 120, 180-2; Lichtheim, p.142-3; Assmann, *Königs...in Hellholm, Apocalypticism*, p. 350, 356, 359.

¹⁷ Helck IV 23, p.19, V 25, p.21-2, VI 27, p.24-5, XI, 51-3, p.43-4; Goedicke, *Neferyt*, p. 115 ff., 178-9, 181; Lichtheim, p. 141-3; Assmann, *Königs...in Hellholm, Apocalypticism*, p.357.

As we see, the river dries up, and the sun veils its light. The observation of the haze probably caused by dust / sand-storms could be a very natural phenomenon linked with the drought conditions which apparently struck the country;¹⁸ but it can be also interpreted as a punishment by the sun-god because of men's evil.¹⁹ In fact the sentence "Re will withdraw from mankind" is a striking reminder of the reaction of the god in the myth of the "Destruction of Mankind": he left the earth to its evil people and mounted to the sky. It is also interesting to see in the text that the retreat of the god from men, by hiding his light, without however changing his accustomed course in the sky is - as ingeniously pointed out by J. Assmann - a metaphor of the loss of the strength, blessing and prosperity the presence of the god among men had previously procured.²⁰ Moreover, the sentence "Re should begin to recreate!" points clearly, once more, to the acts of the sun god in the myth of "the Destruction of Mankind". Re created the sky to be a retreat for himself and then he reorganized the earth.²¹

We may also note the warding off of the north wind by the south one so the sky would consist of only one wind. This could be an allusion to the one-sided political situation during the eleventh dynasty. It is also a natural phenomenon in Egypt during drought periods: the south wind brings hot air and prevents the north wind from bringing any cool air.²² But it is also a phenomenon linked with

¹⁸ B.Bell, *The Dark Ages in Ancient History. I The First Dark Age in Egypt*. *AJA* 75 (1971), p. 8, 17 : she points out a similar description in the text of Anktifi (First Intermediate Period). See also the description of the recent drought conditions in the Sahara : V. Englebert, *Drought threatens the Tuareg world*. *National Geographic* April 1974, p. 552.

¹⁹ Lichtheim, p.145, n.13; Goedicke, *Neferyt*, p. 22-3.

²⁰ Assmann, *Königs...in Hellholm, Apocalypticism*, p.358.

²¹ Guilhou, *Vieillesse*, p.110 ff., 114 : she demonstrates that the myth is a real cosmogony; Assmann, *Königs...in Hellholm, Apocalypticism*, p. 360; *LÄ* III, col. 837-8.

²² Goedicke, *Neferyt*, p. 20, 84.

the ancient Egyptian view of " the end of the world " as we will see, when the "two" become "one".

Before ending our remarks on the prophecies of Neferti, we should point out that this text was meant to be propaganda for Amenemhat I. The text foretells the accession of this king who will restore the fallen conditions of the country :

" Then a king will come from the South, Ameny, the justified, by his name," (24) (...) " Then Order (*m3ʿt*) will return to its seat, while Chaos (*jsft*) is driven away. (25) " ²³

The King here acts as a Messiah; he overcomes all the powers of the chaos and realizes a real eschatology from the ancient Egyptian point of view, a "political" eschatology one should say, but still a salvation and an inauguration of a new age as Man always hoped to have.²⁴

The kings of Egypt did not miss that natural thirst of people for a savior. Tutankhamun wanted to appear in this guise when he restored the supremacy of Amun. Sethy I also wanted his father Ramses I (the founder of the nineteenth dynasty) to appear as a savior in the Dedicatory Stela he had it made for him in Abydos.²⁵ It is interesting to see how these kings presented the fallen state of the country and the fallen condition of the temples in particular. Gods were no longer respected and offerings were not presented to them, an idea already encountered in the complaints of Khakheperre-Sonb.²⁶ We find it again in

²³ Helck, XIII 58, p.49, XV 68-9, p.57; Goedicke, p.127, 136, 182-3; Lichtheim, p.143-4.

²⁴ Assmann, Königs... in Hellholm, *Apocaliptycism*, p.345, 361; Bergman, Introductory...in Hellholm, *Apocaliptycism*, p.54; *Dic. Relig.*, p.700-1.

²⁵ Kitchen, *Ram. Inscr.* I, p. 93. See also P. J. Brand, *The Monumentsof Seti I and their Historical Significance : Epigraphic, Art Historical and Historical Analysis*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis (University of Toronto, 1998), p. 204.

²⁶ See p. 4 in this thesis. We will discuss the importance of the cult of the gods in maintaining the Order in p. 24 ff. of the same thesis.

papyrus Harris I which describes the state of the country during the change from the nineteenth dynasty to the twentieth. The same motif is repeated in the Israel stela of Merenptah, but with a new interesting detail: Re returns to Egypt. The god is so satisfied with the conditions that he imparts again his blessing on the Egyptians.²⁷

It is obvious that the ancient Egyptians felt that the crisis of a change of ruler was very dangerous, causing natural disturbances. This goes back to the time when the gods reigned over Egypt: we read in the inscriptions of the naos 2248 of Ismailia how when Shu departed to the sky, the country was struck by such a heavy tempest for nine days that neither men nor gods could see the face of their fellows. Order was established again with the accession of Geb.²⁸ In the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, the fallen political conditions were accompanied with a tempest and possibly lunar eclipses.²⁹ In all these texts, a hero will appear to suppress all the calamities. The same hope calmed the Egyptians during the Hellenistic era: king Nectanebo, the last native Egyptian king would come again to overcome the enemies and conquer the world.³⁰ Many prophecies during the Hellenistic era predicted the coming of a savior king, such as the Demotic Chronicle which predicts the coming of a certain Heracleopolitan who will rule over the enemies and reopen the temples.³¹

²⁷ Assmann, Königs... in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p.364-8; he also draws attention to a sentence in Ankhsheshonqy's Instructions stating that Re causes the law to be disregarded in a country with which he is angry.

²⁸ G. Goyon, *Les Travaux de Chou et les Tribulations de Geb d'après le Naos 2248 d'Ismailiya, Kémi VI* (1936), p.14, 32.

²⁹ Caminos, *Chronicle* 57,129, p.88-90, 155,161. See also Posener, *Divinité*, p.56-7; Wirz, *Tod*, p.65-6.

³⁰ J.G.Griffiths, *Apocalyptic...* in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p. 273-5.

³¹ For this Chronicle, see LÄ I, col. 1056-60; McCrown, in *The Harvard Review* 18 (1925), p.

Returning to our descriptions of disorders through prophecies, we should note that an ostrakon ³² dating from the Graeco-Roman period reveals, through dreams, a less important mention of destruction than the ones we are now going to discuss.

2.2 The Prediction of the Lamb under Bocchoris : ³³ This text is preserved on a fragmentary Demotic papyrus D.10.000 of the National Bibliothek of Vienna, written in the thirty-fourth year of Augustus, 7-8 A.D.. It relates how a lamb, during the reign of king Bocchoris of Sais (twenty-fourth dynasty), predicted the catastrophic events which would cast a gloom over Egypt in the last years of that king and the years following his death. During these times, the shrines of the Egyptian gods would be taken to Nineveh, a clear reference to the Assyrian conquest of Egypt (671-774 B.C). The Egyptian cities would lament the unfortunate days :

“ There is much malediction against it (Egypt). Heliopolis weeps in the East, for it is vanquished..., Bubastis weeps,...., one makes the street of Sebennytus into a vineyard.”

Finally, prosperity would return, but after 900 years : ³⁴

387 ff; J.G.Griffiths, *Apocalyptic...* in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p. 279-283; Grimal, *Hellenism*, p. 225.

³² J.G.Griffiths, *Apocalyptic...* in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p. 284.

³³ *LÄ* III, col. 912; McCrown, in *The Harvard Review* 18 (1925), p.392-7.

³⁴ Kœnen, *Prophecies...* in Samuel, *Proceedings*, p.252-3 : he points to the symbolic meaning of the number 900 : it corresponds to the nine days separating the reigns of Shu and Geb but it also coincides with the beginning of the new Sothic period. Assmann, however, disagrees and believes that the Sothic period played little role in pharaonic Egyptian thinking (Königs... in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p.363, f. n. 85). See also Griffiths, *Apocalyptic...* in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p.285-7, esp. p.286 for a possible Iranian influence: nine thousands (not hundred) years of wars and disaster are believed by the Persians to be followed by an era of happiness (Griffiths, *Plutarch's*, 47, p.193).

“ The infertile shall exult, and she who has borne (children) shall rejoice because of the good events which shall happen; and Egypt and the generation of men that shall be in Egypt shall say: “ O now, would that my father and my grandfather were here with me.” ”

But unlike the prophecies of Neferti and the Demotic chronicle, the happy age that would come is not associated with a savior king. Possibly the deep desperation that burdened the country during the foreign rule did not see any chance of a near defeat of the enemies, nor any hope in the future.³⁵

2.3 The Potter's Oracle: This Oracle is recorded on three Greek papyri : P. Graf (second C. A.D), P.Rainer (third C. A.D), both now in Vienna, and on the Oxyrhynchus papyrus (third C. A.D) now in Oxford.³⁶

The text relates the prophecies made before king Amenhotep by a potter. Just like the prediction of the Lamb, he mentions the coming of foreign invaders, first the Persians then the Greeks. Natural disorders are also described :

“ The Nile will flow not having sufficient water, but only a little, so that the earth is scorched, but contrary to nature. For in the time of the Typhonians, they will say : “ Poor Egypt, thou art abused by the terrible abuses wrought against thee.” And the sun will be darkened, not wishing to behold the evils in Egypt. The earth will not respond to the sowings of seed. (26) ”

The Oracle then announces the fall of Alexandria and the afflictions of the enemies:

³⁵ It is interesting to find that this prophecy became world-wide famous during the Graeco-Roman period. *Τὸ ἀρνίον σοὶ λελάλη κεν* “ the lamb spoke to you ” became a well-known proverb (Kákosy, *Studia*, p.143, f. n. 24; Doresse, *Visions...* in *La Table Ronde* n.110, p.32).

³⁶ *LÄ VI*, col. 621-3; McCrown, *The Harvard Review* 18 (1925), 397-400. See also for a new edition of the text : L. Kœnon, *Die Prophezeiungen des Töpfers* in *ZPE* Bd. 2 (1968), p.178-209.

“ But that will happen at the end of evils, when the foreigners fall away in Egypt as the leaves fall from a tree. And the city of girdle-wearers will be made a desert, in the same way as my kiln (experienced), because of the lawless deeds which they did to Egypt. The divine statues of Egypt, which had been carried away there, come home to Egypt, and the city by the sea will become a place for fishermen to dry their nets because Agathos Daemon and Mephis proceed to Memphis, so that people passing by will say, “so this was the all-nurturing city in which every race of men settled down. (27) ”

It is interesting to see how the cosmopolitan character of Alexandria was pointed out. We may also note how the fall of the city was the direct cause of the departure of the protective gods.

A time of happiness is then foretold by the potter. It will be inaugurated by the accession of a king and, just like the prediction of the Lamb, people will wish that their ancestors could return from death to see the bliss of the age :

“ And then shall Egypt be made to flourish, when the king who has reigned beneficently for fifty-five years comes from the sun-god as a bestower of blessings, established by the greatest goddess Isis, so that those who survive will pray that the people who have previously died will rise (from the dead) in order to share their blessings (28) ”

Although the happy time here is associated with a king, the flow of the text makes clear that it is not the king who will destroy the capital-city and defeat the enemies, for they will destroy each other; the gods will leave the capital because of the evils done and this will entail the fall of Alexandria. Moreover, the description of the king is vague in comparison with earlier prophecies. It is pitiable to see how the Ptolemaic period succeeded in deepening the lack of confidence in a salvation through the victory of a native ruler. But to our admiration, “the picture becomes more Utopian” in this way. The prophecies now

are released from the political aim and are elevated to a higher apocalyptic level.³⁷ This level will be exalted in the "Apocalypse of Asclepius" which we will now discuss.

2.4 The Apocalypse of Asclepius : The most mystic prophetic "apocalypse" to come from Egypt is in the treatise known as the "Book of Asclepius", one of the treatises of the Corpus Hermeticum.³⁸ It is a Latin translation of a Greek original. But behind these versions is an earlier Coptic text in the Nag Hammadi codices (CG VI, 8: 65, 15-78, 43) dating back to the fourth Century. The book is a sacred text supposed to be dedicated by Hermes Trismegistos, the Hellenistic figure of god Thot to his disciple, Asclepius, the Hellenistic version of Imhotep. We read in it the revelation given by the god to Asclepius:

" A time will come when it will be seen that in vain the Egyptians served the deity with piety and assiduous service, and all their holy worship will be found fruitless and to no profit. For the deity will retire from earth to heaven, and Egypt will be forsaken; and the land which was the home of religion will be left desolate, bereft of the presence of its gods. Foreigners will fill this country, and not only will the observances be neglected, but even more terrible, it will be made compulsory by so-called laws, under pain of prescribed punishments, to abstain from all religious practices, from any act of piety towards the gods. This most holy land, country of sanctuaries and temples, will be covered with sepulchres and corpses. **(29)** (...) The Scythian or the Indian or some such barbarian neighbor will settle on the land,...for the deity is now returning up to heaven. Men, thus abandoned, will all die, and without either gods or men Egypt will be no more than a desert.

It is you that I address, very holy river, it is to you that I announce the things to come : floods of blood will swell you up to the banks and you will overflow them, and not only will your divine waters be polluted by this

³⁷ Griffiths, *Apocalyptic...* in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p.287-90; Assmann, *Königs...* in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p.362-3; Koenen, *Prophecies...* in Samuel, *Proceedings*, p. 252-3; Doresse, *Visions...* in *La Table Ronde*, p. 35.

³⁸ *LÄ* II, col. 1135-7. See also Brandon, *Man*, p.190-3 and M.Krause, *Ägyptisches Gedankengut in der Apokalypse des Asclepius. ZDMG Suppl I (1969) Teil 1, p. 48-57.*

blood, but it will make them come out from their bed, and it will be much more dead than living; as for the one who will survive, it is only by his language that we will recognize him as an Egyptian : in his manners of behavior he will appear as a man from another race.

Why crying, Asclepius ? Egypt itself will let itself carried along to much more than that and much worse: it will be tarnished with much graver crimes (30) (...). [Egypt] who taught men the holiness and the piety will give the example of the most atrocious cruelty. At this hour, tired of living, men will not regard the world as the worthy object of their admiration and reverence (31) (...). For darkness will be preferred to light, one will judge it more useful to die than to live; no one will raise his glances towards the sky; the pious man will be held for the insane, the impious for the sage; the frantic will be considered brave, the worst criminal a good man. (32) (...) Gods separate from men : a deplorable divorce! Only the harmful angels remain, those who mix with men, and constrain them, the unfortunate, by violence to all the excesses of a criminal boldness, engage them in wars, brigandages, frauds, and in everything that is opposite to the nature of the soul.

The earth then will lose its balance, the sea will no more be navigable, the sky will no more be furrowed with stars, the stars will stop their course in the sky; the divine voice will be forced to silence and will be silent; the fruits of the earth will rot, the soil will no longer be fertile, the air itself will grow sluggish in a gloomy torpor. Here is then what will be the aging of the world: non religion, disorder, confusion of all good things.

When all these things will be accomplished, O Asclepius, then the Lord, the Father, the first God, in power and demiurge of god one, after considering these vices and self-willed crimes, tried by his will, which is the divine kindness to obstruct the way to the vices and the universal corruption and to rectify the error, will destroy all the malice, either that he obliterate it by a flood, or consume it by fire or demolish it by pestilential illnesses spread in various places; then he will bring back the world to its first beauty, in order that this world itself appear again worthy of reverence and admiration, and that God also, creator and restorer of such a great work, will be glorified, by men who will live then, in continuous hymns of praise and benediction. Here is what will be in fact this rebirth of the world: a renewal of good things, a holy and fully solemn restoration of nature itself... (33) ”

As we can see, the description of the disasters follows the same common pattern that we saw before. But the apocalyptic theme here is more elaborate for it is developed in three stages : the fall of the world because of its evils; the

destruction of the world by the deity to eliminate it completely; and finally another act of creation, the result of which is a new bright benevolent world.³⁹

3. Magical and Funerary Texts :

These are a special group of texts evoking the end of the world. They often use this theme as a threat made by the magician or the deceased to the gods. Their aim is to terrify the gods, hoping in this way to mobilize them in their own favor.⁴⁰

³⁹ CH, p.326-31, p.382 f. n. 222 ; Griffiths, *Apocalyptic...* in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p.290-1; Grimal, *Hellenism*, p.215-6; Assmann, *Königs...* in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p.373. I am not certain about the national character of the prophecies as being rejected in this apocalypse (Doresse, *Visions...* in *La Table Ronde* n.110, p.35; Kønen, *Prophecies...* in Samuel, *Proceedings*, p.254); even though the destruction of the world is meant at the end, it is obvious that the fallen state of Egypt entails it. Egypt is still the main theme. One more point to make about this text: the god is said to destroy the world by means of a flood, fire or diseases. We will see later in this paper how the waters play a significant role in the destruction of the world in the Egyptian thought. As to fires, they are believed to have a purification and a regeneration role and were feared by the ancient Egyptians. They thought them to come from the Nun and to be very dangerous, but they do not seem to play a big role in the destruction of the world (*Dic. Sym.*, p.379-82; S. Schott, *Altägyptische Vorstellungen von Weltende*, in *Studia III*, p.327; Kákosy, *Studia*, p.62-3 draws attention to one text in pap. Harris VII, 1-2 (Lexa, *Magie II*, p.39) where flame destroys the earth. See also Borghouts, n.6, p.3 for a text (p. Leiden I 348[36] vs.2) where everything is said to be afire) See also the remark of Derchain, *L'Authenticité de l'Inspiration égyptienne dans le Corpus Hermeticum*, *RHR* 161 (1962), p.193-4. As for diseases, we know that the goddess Sekhmet, the eye of Re who was sent to destroy Mankind, had also the responsibility to distribute illnesses (*Dic. Civi.*, p.256; Derchain, *Salt*, p.25). But diseases were not considered as a sign of the end of the world. Notice also that astrological phenomena were considered cause for alarm (*Dic. Civi.*, p.336-7, 850; a flashing star appeared in the reign of Thoutmosis III: *Dic. Civi.*, p.25; eclipses are bad signs (mark the death of a pharaoh) : *Dic. Civi.*, p.213; a meteoroid kills the snakes in the tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor and on one magical text, pap. British Museum 10.083, 14-16, we find a spell against meteors (Kákosy, *Studia*, p.64). Nevertheless, they do not seem to play the same significant part they play in the Mesopotamian end of the world (see Brandon, *Creation*, p. 117) or in the Puranic end of the world (*Dic. Myth. I*, p.239 ff.). Derchain (*RHR* 161, p.193) has pointed out the fact that the description of the end of the world in the *Corpus* is the same as the one in pap. Salt 825.

⁴⁰ Morenz, *Religion*, p.26-7: he sees in these threats a negative relationship between gods and men. Hornung, *One*, p.206, 210; Traunecker, *Dieux*, p.108; LÄ II, col. 481-2, 665-6; Sauneron, *Magicien*, p.40-2; S. Sauneron, *Aspects et Sort d'un Thème Magique Egyptien: Les Menaces incluant les Dieux*, *BSFE* 8, Nov. 1951, p.11 ff.

3.1 Pyramid Texts : The oldest threats appear in these texts where the king threatens a great cataclysm if a place is not made for him :

“ O Lord of the horizon, make ready a place for me, for if you fail to make ready a place for me, I will lay a curse on my father Geb, and the earth will speak no more, Geb will be unable to protect (?) himself, and whoever I find in my way, I will devour him piecemeal (?). The *hnt* pelican will prophesy, the *psdt* pelican will go up, the Great One will arise, the Enneads will speak, the earth being entirely dammed up; the borders will be joined together, the river banks will unite, the roads will be impassable to travelers, the slopes will be destroyed for those who would go up. (34)”⁴¹

It is clear that the joining of the borders, i.e. the cliffs bordering the Nile valley, is a sign of the Egyptian view of world annihilation, especially if we compare this utterance with another one describing an opposite notion to our topic, the “rebirth” of the King after death :

“ The two mountains are split apart, the god comes into being, the god has power in his body; (so) the two mountains are split apart, this king comes into being, this king has power in his body. (35) ”⁴²

In another pyramid utterance, the king threatens of a terrible fall of the sky if proper respect is not shown to him :

“ I will smite away the arms of Shu which support the sky and I will thrust my shoulder into that rampart on which you lean. (36) ”⁴³

Another pyramid utterance⁴⁴ offers some interesting features :

“ Your crew of the Imperishable stars will be prevented from rowing you, if you prevent them from allowing me to go aboard this bark of yours.”

⁴¹ *Pyr.* 277-9, *Utt.* 254, p. 63, 65 f. n. 7; *Sethe I*, p. 149-150. It is exactly the same as *CT* 622, VI 236; Faulkner, *CT II*, p.204.

⁴² *Pyr.* 2064, *Utt.* 685, p. 295; *Sethe II*, p. 502; Kákosy, *Studia*, p. 58.

⁴³ *Pyr.* 299, *Utt.* 255, p. 66; *Sethe I*, p. 161.

⁴⁴ *Pyr.*, 1439, *Utt.* 569, p. 222; *Sethe II*, p. 282-3.

The threat here is to the sun-bark, a theme encountered in other texts from later periods. But the Utterance goes on, stating that :

“ Men will be prevented from dying, if you prevent me from going aboard this bark of yours. (37) ”

One would ask himself how the immortality of Men could be a threat; and one would think immediately of the notion of the “Overcrowded Earth”, a notion clarified in the Fourth Book of Ezra when he asks God :

“ “Could thou not have created at one time all the generations of the past, the present, and the future, so that thy judgement might have been manifested the sooner ?” He answered me and said : “The creation cannot anticipate the creator; moreover, the world could not support all the generations at one moment.” ” ⁴⁵

But the idea of the “Overcrowded Earth” does not seem to be known to the ancient Egyptians. The answer to our question is simpler. The destruction of the world would entail a natural state of nothingness: no sky, no earth, no men, no gods and... no death, just like the state before Creation. An utterance of the Pyramid Texts makes that clear :

“ Before the sky existed, before the earth existed, before the men existed, before the gods were born, before death existed. (38) ” ⁴⁶

Thus the obliteration of death is a sign of the end of the world.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Brandon, *Creation*, p.137.

⁴⁶ *Pyr.*1466, Utt. 571, p. 226; Sethe II, p. 302-3; Hornung, *One*, p. 175.

⁴⁷ In the Celtic prophecy of the end of the world, immortality also appears in the list of signs predicting the world annihilation: *Dic. Sym.*, p. 33. One more point to be made about death: the ancient Egyptians did not know “the idea that men, before the fall, were immortal” as Kákósy thinks (*Studia*, p.83, 86). He based this conclusion on the fact that Re, after leaving the earth, created the “Field of Offerings” and the “Fields of Reeds”, as the domains of the netherworld. In fact, as Guilhou (*Viellisse*, p.111) demonstrated, these two Fields were created by the sun-god for his own use. It is only later that the dead “populated ” them.

3.2 Coffin Texts : We will encounter in these spells the same threats by the deceased :

“ O you who are behind the shrine. Make a path for me, and I will indeed pass by. If you do not make a path for me so that I may indeed pass by, I will strike the Westerners as Geb, father of the gods, the phoenix will prophesy, the shining one will go forth, the Great One will arise, The Ennead will speak, the earth will not open, Geb will not speak, Re will not be on high, the skins of the scorched ones (?) will be joined, and they will unite the river banks, ropes will be cut, the Milky Way will be flooded, something unpleasant (?) will be put in the Meadow of Apis. (39) ”⁴⁸

Apart from the usual menaces, it is worth noting that the destruction of the world is accompanied by a special sign that we already saw in the Pyramid texts (Utt. 254) : “The phoenix will prophesy”. The bird, originally associated with the creation, plays here a curious apocalyptic role.⁴⁹

We may notice also the threat to the sun disc: “Re will not be on high.” This threat can develop as a threat to the death of the sun-god himself, as we read in another spell :

“If you should come against me as any kind of snake, Re will die and Apep will be hostile. (40) ”⁵⁰

In another spell, the destiny of the deceased and the sun god are closely tied up together :

“If I grow weary, Re will grow weary; if I stand up, Re will stand up.(41)”⁵¹

In another Coffin Text spell,⁵² the fall of the sky is mentioned :

⁴⁸ CT 619, VI 231; Faulkner, *CT II*, p. 201-2. Notice the anticlimax characterizing this spell.

⁴⁹ Kákosy, *Studia*, p. 64-5. See an interpretation of this role in p. 46 of this thesis.

⁵⁰ CT 1100, VII 418-9; Faulkner, *CT III*, p. 157; Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p. 231.

⁵¹ CT 586, VI, 208; Faulkner, *CT II*, p. 189; Kákosy, *Studia*, p. 60.

⁵² CT 366, V, 27; Faulkner, *CT II*, p. 7; Kákosy, *Studia*, p. 62.

“If my brow should fall to the ground, then will Nut's brow fall to the ground (42) ” (Nut being the sky goddess).

3.3 Book of the Dead : We encounter in this Book the threat of an upside-down situation endangering the normal order of the world :

“If you do not let me go forth against that enemy of mine that I may be vindicated against him in the tribunal, then Hapi shall not ascend to the sky that he may live on truth, nor shall Re descend to the waters that he may live on fish. Then shall Re ascend to the sky that he may live on truth, and Hapi descend to the waters that he may live on fish, and the great day on earth shall end its condition. (43) ”⁵³

This strange situation, as we see, causes a reversal in the environment of the two gods and in their specific food, which will for certain endanger their lives.⁵⁴ But this is not the first time that the deceased threatens Re with eating what he might consider as an abomination. In the Coffin Texts, Re was threatened with eating another marine animal:

“ If you say “Eat This”(i.e. faeces), Re will eat turtles. (44) ”⁵⁵

More elaborate descriptions of cosmic disturbances are found in :

3.4 Papyrus Harris VII, recto 2-4:

“ I am Shu (...) if the inhabitant of the water opens its mouth or if it shakes with its arms, I will cause the earth to go down into the primeval water, South will become North and Earth will be overturned. (45) ”⁵⁶

⁵³ Faulkner, *BD*, spell 65, p.69; Barguet, p.106; Naville, pl. LXXVII.

⁵⁴ Schott (in *Studia* III, p.325) says that Re hates fish because of their stench. See A. Gutbub, La Tortue... in *Hommages Sauneron*, p.405-7.

⁵⁵ *CT* 368, V 30; Faulkner, *CT* II, p. 7. See for the evil aspect of this animal and how it changed later to a more beneficial one : Gutbub, in *Hommages Sauneron*, p. 392 ff.; Traunecker, *Dieux*, p.95.

⁵⁶ Sauneron, in *BSFE* 8, p.13; Schott, in *Studia*, p.328; Hornung, *One*, p.165; Lexa, *Magie* II, p.39; Akmar, *Harris*, Recto page VII, 2-4, p. 24-5, 100-1.

3.5 Papyrus Leiden I 348 verso 11, 5-8: It gives a further description of this disruption :

“ If she spends her time without giving birth, you will be dumbfounded, O Ennead. For then there will be no heaven, for then there will be no earth, for then there will be no epagomenal days, for then there will be no offerings for any of the gods in Heliopolis. Then a weariness will occur in the southern sky, and a disturbance will break out in the northern sky, a lamenting in the shrine. The sunlight will not appear, the inundation will not flow when he should flow forth at this time ! (46) ” ⁵⁷

3.6 Papyrus Turin 137, 2-4 and 122, 1-5 : ⁵⁸

“ As for the night when the wife of Horus was bitten, I will not let the Inundation flow along the bank, I will not let Shu illuminate the soil, I will not let the seed germinate, I will not let bread be made, I will not permit a brew being made in jars for the 365 gods who lie down hungry, having spent the day hungry; in the night when Osiris is buried ! (47) ”

“ If the removal of an enemy, fiend, male dead, female dead and so on is delayed - then the enemy of the heaven will split it asunder, then the enemy of the earth will overturn it forcibly, the Apep <will be> in the Bark of Millions, no water will be given to the one who is in the coffin, the one who is in Abydos will not be buried, the one who is in Busiris will not be covered up and no offerings will be made to the one in Heliopolis. The cult will not be attended to in their temples and the people will not offer <on> all their festivals to all the gods. (48) ”

The continuation of this text shows how, if the evil threatening the patient is removed, everything will go right again :

“ (...) If he is removed, if he is chased from all the limbs of NN born of NN - then heaven will be lasting on its supports and this earth will be lasting and steady; water will be given to the one who is in the coffin, etc. (48) ”

⁵⁷ Lexa, *Magie* II, p.62; Sauneron, in *BSFE* 8, p.13; Borghouts, n.63, p. 40; Schott, in *Studia* III, p. 328; Borghouts, *Leiden*, p.30-1, 170-3, pl.15.

⁵⁸ Lexa, *Magie* II, p.49-50; Sauneron, in *BSFE* 8, p.14; Borghouts, n.115, p.80, n.9, p.5-6 respectively; Schott, in *Studia* III, p.326; Pleyte, *Turin*, p.188, pl.CXXVII, l.2-4, p.155, pl.CXXII, l.1-9.

It is noteworthy that the description of all the activities being interrupted reminds us of a passage in papyrus Bulaq VI, 11, 4-5, a collection of prayers intended to protect the health of the king from any possible illnesses that might affect him :⁵⁹

“ Assuredly, if I shall say it, no bull shall copulate, nor pregnant woman bear, nor ship fare up or down stream, nor wind befall, nor birds lay eggs in the nest. (49) ”

3.7 Papyrus Chester Beatty VII, recto 3, 5-7 :⁶⁰ The form in which the threats are expressed here is more clever and indirect :

“ As long as NN born of NN is not suffering from the poison, Re will not depart, Thoth will not depart, Horus will not depart, the sunlight will appear, the disc will shine [and the service [will be carried out] in all the temples. (50) ”

3.8 Papyrus Chester Beatty V, verso 5, 4-6, 4 : It gives another description of cosmic disorders including horrible threats to sacred animals :⁶¹

“ If you do not listen to my words, I will cause the sky to overturn, and I will put fire to the Masters of Heliopolis, I will chop off the head of a cow (of) the *wb3* court of Hathor, I will chop off the head of a hippopotamus in the *wb3* court of Seth, I will cause Sobek to sit down wrapped in a crocodile's skin. I will cause Anubis to sit down wrapped in a dog's skin, I will cause the sky to split down the middle, I will cause the seven Hathors to fly away to the sky in smoke; I will cut the (...) I will render the eye of Seth blind. Then you (evil) should go out from the temple of NN son of NN. (51) ”

3.9 Papyrus Leiden I 343 + I 345 : It gives the following incantation:

“ This <thy> [bloo]d belongeth to Re, this thy wound belongeth to Atum [on] the day when were cut off your heads in the Field of Iaru. The sky is broken, the ground is in trouble; the sky is in confusion, the earth is in

⁵⁹ A. H. Gardiner, *The Origin of Certain Coptic Grammatical Elements*, *JEA* 16 (1930), p.228, n.31; Mariette, *Boulaq*, p.10; Schott, in *Studia* III, p.325.

⁶⁰ Sauneron, in *BSFE* 8, p.14; Borghouts, n.89, p.59; Gardiner, *BM*, p.57-8, pl.33.

⁶¹ Sauneron, in *BSFE* 8, p.15; Kákosy, *Studia*, p. 63-4; Gardiner, *BM*, p. 51, pl.28-9.

suffocation. If he doth not hear what I say, I shall not give (back) to Horus that eye of his, I shall not give (back) to Seth his testicles in this land for ever. (52) ”⁶²

A second incantation in the same papyrus puts in danger the whole course of the sun until the patient is relieved :

“ O thou bad influence, O thou *ḥw*, dead man, [or dead woman], adversary male or female, who art in him, behold Re waiteth for thee in order to arise and Atum in order to set, that thou remove thyself from the arm of NN born of NN. (53) ”⁶³

3.10 Papyrus New York 35.9.21, col. 27, 7-8 :

“ You will say : Accomplish the protection of this noble god, accomplish the protection of this Osiris N justified, as well, or the sky of the South, of the North, of the West, and of the East will start to move at the same time. (54) ”⁶⁴

3.11 Papyrus Ebers [360] 58, 6-15 :

“ There has been a rumor in the southern sky since the evening, a disturbance in the northern sky. A pillar has fallen into the water. The crew of Re are driving in their mooring posts because heads have fallen into the water. (55) ”⁶⁵

3.12 Metternich stela : Another mention is made here of the sun-bark.⁶⁶ It stops when the distressed Isis calls for help to rescue her bitten son. That hurries to her and says that :

⁶² Massart, *Leiden*, p.30, recto XXVII, p.96-7; Kákosy, *Studia*, p.62.

⁶³ Massart, *Leiden*, p.40, verso IX, p.107-8.

⁶⁴ Jean Claude Goyon, *Textes Mythologiques II. Les Révélationes du Mystère des Quatres Boules. BIFAO 75 (1975)*, p. 368 [203]. The southern and northern sky are said to move at the same time in another text : Sander-Hansen, *Sarg*, p.120-1.

⁶⁵ Borghouts, n. 58, p. 37-8; Grapow, *Grundriss V*, p. 84.

⁶⁶ Assman, *Königs...* in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p.369; Schott, in *Studia III*, p.322; Borghouts, n.91, p.65, 67-8; Klasens, *Base*, p.27, 31-2, 34, 55-8, 92, 96-7; Lexa, *Magie II*, p.81-2.

“ It is from the boat of the god that I have come today while the disc is in its place of yesterday and darkness has set, while the light has disappeared until Horus is healed for his mother Isis.” (56) (...) Come to earth - then the boat will sail on and the crew of heaven will travel on. The provisions are held back, the sanctuaries are blocked until Horus is healed for his mother Isis - and until the sufferer is healed for his mother likewise. the misery there will (only) pass over, the confusion will return to its place of yesterday only (until) Horus is healed - and until the sufferer is healed for his mother likewise. The demon of darkness goes about; the seasons are not distinguished, the figures that refer to the shadow will not be seen (well) daily - until Horus is healed - and until the sufferer is healed for his mother likewise. The two caverns are blocked, the crops are withering, life is withheld from the living until Horus is healed - and until the sufferer is healed for his mother likewise. Come to the earth, poison! Then hearts will be glad and the rays of the disc will spread. (57) ”

It is interesting to see how, after healing Horus, Thot leaves in a hurry with the excuse that :

“ One is waiting for me to push off the night-bark, to make the day-bark sail on. (58) ”

3.13 Graeco-Roman and Coptic Texts : The form of the threats did not change during the Graeco-Roman and Coptic periods. In the Warren Greek magical papyrus, for example, we read common threats like :

“ I will shake the foundations of the earth, and the four elements of the world will drown, so that their productions are wiped out. (59) ”⁶⁷

The most interesting is the Coptic papyrus of Berlin 8314 which has a nice spell for “making a woman fall in love with you”. The desperate lover threatens to make Apophis, the incarnation of evil, a god, who will help him in achieving his goal. Indeed Apophis says :

⁶⁷ David, *Warren*, p.52-3, 57; A.S. Hunt, *The Warren Magical Papyrus in Studies Griffith*, p.234

“ If this woman does not come immediately to NN, born to NN, I will stop the sun in its chariot, the moon in its travels, the crown of stars that is on the head of Jesus, until you satisfy my desire. Quickly, immediately, immediately! ”⁶⁸

As we have seen, the threats revolve round specific themes: the endangering of the sun-bark, the triumph of Apophis, the interruption of the rituals and the presentation of the offerings, direct threats to the bodies of the gods and their sacred animals, but they all entail the theme of cosmic disasters.

It is questionable how far the ancient Egyptians took these threats seriously. If J.Assmann does not consider them very significant because the manipulation of the cosmos is very common in magic, it is certain that the ancient Egyptians believed in the possibility of a cosmic catastrophe.⁶⁹ And even if the world never did collapse, offering in this way a “protection to the institution of magic from destructive criticism”,⁷⁰ we must not think that the ancient Egyptians did not really believe in the efficiency of magical practices. On the contrary, the threat of the interruption of the rituals implies the strong belief in the capability of magic to disturb the harmony of the Universe as surely as it can preserve it. This must be the reason why these texts used the conditional form:⁷¹ “ If ” is a way of toning down the threats and consequently their results.

This must also be the reason why the ancient Egyptians considered the maintenance of the cult and the rituals very important. It is obvious that they

⁶⁸ Sauneron, *BSFE* 8, p.17-8; Lexa, *Magie* II, p. 164-5; Kropp, *Koptische* II, p.21-3; III, p.143 § 247.

⁶⁹ Assmann, *Zeit*, p. 26-7; Bergman, Introductory...in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p.56.

⁷⁰ J. Baines in Shafer, *Religion*, p.169.

⁷¹ Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.231.

believed it to be one of the duties of humanity towards gods. Has not the god pointed it out in a spell of the Coffin Texts :

“I made their hearts not to forget the west, in order to make god’s offerings to the gods of the nomes. (60) ”⁷²

Ipuwer in his Admonitions makes clear how this maintenance is a sign of the auspicious progression of life :

“ Remember fumigation with incense, libation from a jar at dawn. Remember <bringing> fat *ro*-geese, *terep*-geese, *set*-geese, and making divine offerings to the gods. Remember chewing natron, preparing white bread, [as done] by a man, on the day of maintaining the head. Remember the erecting of flagstuffs, the carving of offering stones; the priest cleansing the chapels, the temple whitewashed like milk; sweetening the fragrance of the sanctuary, setting up the bread-offerings. Remember the observing of rules, the adjusting of dates, removing one who enters the priestly service unclean; for to do this is wrong. (61) ”⁷³

And in papyrus Jumilhac, dating to the end of the ptolemaic period, we see how much the maintenance of the rituals are important :

“ If one does not behave rightly in his city, in everything which concerns his temple, in a way that justice be fair and that it destroys falsehood then the enemies will be insolent in the entire land. (...) If one neglects all the ceremonies of Osiris, in their time, in this district, and all his feasts of the civil calendar, this land will be deprived from its laws, the humble will abandon their master, there will be no regulations for the crowd. (...) If one does not accomplish all the ceremonies of Osiris, in their time, there will be a year of pestilence in the South and in the North. (...) If one does not behead the enemy which one has in front of him, (reproduced) in wax, on a blank papyrus, or in acacia wood or / in *hm3* wood, following all the prescriptions of the ritual, the inhabitants of the desert will revolt against Egypt, war and rebellion will occur in the entire land; one will not obey the king in his palace and the land will be deprived of defenders. Open the books, see the divine words, and you will become sage, following the plans of gods (...). Also, do not cease to do what is necessary, in the

⁷² CT 1130, VII 464; Faulkner, *CT III*, p.167; Lichtheim, p.132; Brandon, *Man*, p.65, f. n.1.

⁷³ *Adm*, 10,13-11,1-5, p.75-7; Lichtheim, p.159; McCrown, in *The Harvard Review* 18 (1925), p.376; Hornung, *One*, p: 203 : points to the need of the gods, not to the materialistic cult but to the glorification of the humans; this idea was encountered in the Apocalypse of Asclepius; J. Baines, “Interpreting the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor”, *JEA* 76 (1990), p.64-5.

presence of a god, so that the god might be satisfied because of this. Purify him and purify his *ka*. May every god be purified in his name (...). Proclame the list of his feasts, read his books without ceasing of honoring <him>. Do not get weary, do not be ignorant, watch from being forgetful of heart, that is how one moves away from a premature death on earth; it is life or it is death. It is he (i.e. god) who give the time of life, and it is he who shortens <it> a lot; if he is satisfied, the years are long for him (i.e. Man), but if he (i.e. god) is angry, there is no years at all. (62) ”⁷⁴

This is also why we find a papyrus like the one we now cite.

3.14 Papyrus Salt 825 : The purpose of the rituals written on this papyrus were clarified by the choice of Ph. Derchain, the editor of this papyrus, in the title of his edition: “a ritual for the conservation of life in Egypt”. Indeed the rituals are all about the maintenance of the cosmic order and the prevention of all the calamities described in the first passage of the papyrus:

“ It is not lit during the night, the day does not exist. A lamentation is made (twice) [in the sky] and on the earth. The gods and the goddesses put their hands on their heads, the earth is devastated, the sun does not rise, the moon delays, it does not exist. The Nun fluctuates, the earth overturns; the river is no longer navigable... listen. All the world moans and cries. The souls, the gods, the goddesses, the men, the blessed spirits (*ꜥḥw*), the dead, the small and big livestock, the... cry and cry, a lot, a lot ... (63) ”⁷⁵

When the rituals are well executed then:

“ You will be sheltered from sudden death, you will be sheltered from fire, you will be sheltered from the sky, it will not collapse, and the land will not overturn and Re will not be ashes with the gods and goddesses. (64) ”⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Vandier, *Jumilhac*, p.130, pl. XVIII.

⁷⁵ Derchain, *Salt*, p.19, 24, 137; Derchain, in *Dic. Myth* I, p.225; Dunand, *Dieux*, p.75; Lexa, *Magie* II, p.64; Schott, in *Studia* III, p.321-2; Assmann, *Königs...* in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p. 370-2: he demonstrates how the cosmos, the cult and the king who maintains the rituals to preserve the world are undissociated like the three sides of one triangle.

⁷⁶ Derchain, *Salt*, p.144.

The calamities described in this papyrus remind us of the conditions mentioned in a conjuration of papyrus Leiden I 348 [9] recto 4, 3-5 :⁷⁷

“ Beware lest Re goes to sleep hungry, beware of the mourning of the gods, lest condensed darkness come about and the heaven<s> be united and the water of the land be robbed! (65) ”

As we see, the description of the disasters does not differ from the other descriptions we read above. But on an ostrakon of Deir El Medineh 1066, we encounter some fanciful details describing the cosmic disturbances occurred when Re was bitten by a snake during his nocturnal journey in the underworld :

“ The land is in darkness, potsherds are walking, stones are talking and mountains are moving about. (66) ”⁷⁸

It is worth noting that as far as the imagination of the ancient Egyptians can go in describing disasters, there is no mention of earthquakes. Curiously enough, these were not considered as signs of catastrophes but as marks of the exhilaration of the earth before divine and royal presence.⁷⁹

4. Chapter 175 of the Book of the Dead and parallel :

Although this text and the other we will now discuss are funerary texts, it seemed better not to include them in the previous section. In fact these texts have a different nature than the previous group of texts we examined: the end of

⁷⁷ Schott, in *Studia* III, p.324; Borghouts, n.39, p.27; Borghouts, *Leiden*, p.18, 76, pl.4.

⁷⁸ Posener, *Ostraca* I, p. 17, n.1066, L.3, pl. 36; Schott, in *Studia* III, p.323-4.

⁷⁹ For a full discussion on the meaning of earthquakes, see Traunecker, *Coptos*, p.150, 154, 344-7; Goyon, *Confirmation*, p.63; Posener, *Divinité*, p.56; G.Lefèbvre, *Une Version Abrégée de la Stèle du Mariage*, *ASAE* 25 (1925), p.38; Traunecker, *Dieux*, p.22; Homung, *One*, p.131; *Reallexikon* V, p.1070 ff.

the world is announced here by the creator-god himself.⁸⁰ We will reproduce only the portion that interests us from the long Chapter 175 :

“ (The deceased asks Atum) : “What will be the duration of my life” - so said he. Atum: “You shall be for millions on millions of years, a lifetime of millions of years. I will dispatch the Elders and destroy all that I have made; the earth shall return to the Abyss, to the surging flood, as in its original state. But I will remain with Osiris, I will transform myself into something else, namely a serpent, without men knowing or the gods seeing. (68) ”⁸¹

A parallel text in the hymn to Osiris (Temple of Opet at Karnak, from the time of Ptolemy VIII, Evergetes II) reproduces the same image:

“ He (Osiris) is the unique, who remains together with the majesty of Re, while the land is Nun (< from ? > which flows forth ?) the flood as in its first time and (while) there is no god, there is no goddess, who will make him / herself into another snake. (70) ”⁸²

As we see in the first text, Atum predicts the destruction of the world by his own hand. He does this after a promise made to the deceased of a long duration of life. This seemed paradoxical to many scholars. They wondered whether the deceased is supposed to survive this destruction by means of some unification with Osiris, the god of the dead and the only one rescued from

⁸⁰ Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.228.

⁸¹ Faulkner, *BD*, spell 175, p.175; Baret, p.261; Naville, pl.CXCVIII; Lesko, in Shafer, *Religion*, p.114. It is curious to see that the root of the name of Atum “*tm*” means “to complete” as well as “not to exist”, thus having in himself the two possibilities of creating and destroying : *Wb* V, p.301; Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.33; Traunecker, *Dieux*, p.82; Derchain, in *Dic. Myth* I, p.224, 226; Lanczkowski, *Prophetismus*, p.101 ff.; Lanczkowski, *Zur Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte. Des Mittleren Reiches I. Das Gespräch Zwischen Atum und Osiris. ZRGG* 5 (1953), p. 222-31.

⁸² E. Otto, *Zwei Parallel Zu TB 175*, *CdE* 37 (1962), p.251-3; Morenz, *Religion*, p. 169 : he points to the phrase “without men knowing or the gods seeing” as the normal result of world’s annihilation. Otto, *CdE* 37 (1962), p. 253, adds that the god “no longer has any witnesses to his existence”. See also Hornung, *One*, p.163-4.

the world annihilation.⁸³ The title of Chapter 175 is, after all, “a spell for not dying again”, and we know how much a “second death” was feared by the ancient Egyptians. Yet the god Atum himself makes it clear that everything will return to “its original state” and it is obvious from the utterance of the Pyramid Texts that we quoted before (see p.17) the original state did not include death and logically enough did not include those who experienced it, i.e. the deceased. It is more likely that victory over death is “here and now” in this world.⁸⁴ Then after an undetermined span of time, everything should return to the Abyss.

Curiously enough, this idea of the Abyss, or the primeval water as the final stage, was encountered in other texts: in the myth of the “Destruction of Mankind”, before the gathering of the council of the gods, Re seemed to long to go back to the original waters:

“ I will then return into the Nun, from which I came into existence. (69) ”⁸⁵

In the story of the Shipwrecked Sailor, the serpent-god of the island predicts the vanishing of the isle under the waves :

“ You will never see this island, which will become as water. (70) ”⁸⁶

We know that in Egypt we do not find an elaborate flood myth like the Babylonian, Sumerian, Jewish, or other narratives of a great flood.⁸⁷ But this

⁸³ Wirz, *Tod*, p.56, 58, 62; Baines, *JEA* 76 (1990), p.66.

⁸⁴ Dunand, *Dieux*, p.76.

⁸⁵ Guilhou, *Vieillesse*, p.7, 15, 28 n.13, 103, pl A1; Kákósy, *Studia*, p.57.

⁸⁶ *LÄ V*, col. 619-22; *VI*, col. 1213; De Buck, *Reading*, p.104, L.154; Hornung, *One*, p.129; Kákósy, *Studia*, p.64; Baines, *JEA* 76 (1990), p.65-7; Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.230; G. Lanczkowski, Eschatology in Ancient Egyptian Religion, in *Proceedings Tokyo*, p.132 : he makes a good point by comparing “the island which will be destroyed by a large flood” with “the primeval hill surrounded by the flood waters before creation”.

⁸⁷ On these myths, see *Dic. Relig.* I, p.450-3; *Man, Myth & Magic*, vol. 4, p.992-6; *Chambers Dic.*, p.178; Brandon, *Creation*, p.87, 143 ff. On the Puranic flood, see *Dic. Myth.* I, p. 241.

must not lead us to the belief that the ancient Egyptians were accustomed to the annual flood of the Nile and that that flood was so beneficial that it would not represent any threat to the existence of the world. In fact, an inscription of the time of Osorkon III from the temple of Luxor, shows us how an abnormally high inundation was described as "Nun" and was regarded as a return to the "original state" of creation :

“ Nun came forth from...[and covered] this land to its limits. It stretched to the two borders (of the land) as in the first time... this land was given to its power as (to) the sea. (71) ”⁸⁸

The Egyptians knew how destructive the powers of water could be. They simply did not create a rich myth around this idea with abundant details of the horrors connected to the flood. As we must have felt from the few previous texts dealing with the return into the primeval waters, they are simple, regarded even as bald and pitiless in their simplicity and conciseness.⁸⁹ There is a reason for that : if everything should return to the "original state" of creation, it should do it with the same simplicity in which everything began and took shape.

Indeed, we do not find in the Egyptian cosmogony that theme of the "conflict" or "struggle" found in other cosmogonies. The demiurge in the Egyptian cosmogony was that power that took consciousness of itself in the inert Nun, and began to create, by simply pushing the chaos to the borders of the organized

⁸⁸ Brandon, *Creation*, p.16, 62; Sauneron, *Naissance*, p. 22-3; Traunecker, *Dieux*, p.81. This text contradicts the belief of Guilhou that inundation "did not bring but gifts and prosperity", *Réflexions sur la conception du Mal...* in *Hommages Daumas II*, p.367; G. Daressy, Une Inondation à Thèbes sous le règne d'Osorkon II. *RecTrav* 18 (1896), p. 181-6. The same author (in "Le voyage d'inspection de M. Grébaut en 1889", *ASAE* 26 (1926), p.7, note 3) admits that the inscription is from the reign of Osorkon III not Osorkon II.

⁸⁹ *Dic. Sym.*, p. 849.

world he fashioned. Thus he was not regarded as a hero who had to overcome a certain monster before establishing order and beginning the creation.⁹⁰ And even if the theme of conflict appeared in some Egyptian cosmogonies (for example, the cosmogony of Edfu and the cosmogony of Esna),⁹¹ we should point out that these myths date to the Graeco-Roman period, i.e. the very late period of Egyptian history when foreign ideas began to seep into purely Egyptian thoughts.

Thus if the organized world gradually emerged from the Nun in a simple environment, it should sink into it, when it is the time, in the same austere conditions.

But why ? Why does the world have to be destroyed ? The answer must be the universal reason: evil. It so deeply impregnated the world that everything became bad and deformed, That is why gods sent floods in other mythologies in order to "dissolve" all the rotten creatures.⁹²

A very important question imposes itself at this point: what is the origin of evil ? It could be the simple result of cosmic dualism. The spell 1466, Utt. 571 of the Pyramid Texts quoted above (see p.17) and the following spell might lead us to this thought :

“ When I was born in the Abyss before the sky existed, before the earth existed, before that which was to be made firm existed, before turmoil

⁹⁰ Dunand, *Dieux*, p.62, 72; *Dic. Sym.*, p.182, 236, 3: the Abyss was regarded as a monster in other cosmogonies, unlike the Egyptian one. See also Assmann, *Zeit*, p.21, f. n. 53, p.22; for the Babylonian conflict, see *Man, Myth & Magic*, vol.2, p.536-7; Brandon, *Creation*, p.57, f. n. 1, p.63, p.152.

⁹¹ Meeks, *Daily*, p.20, 202, f. n. 29; Hornung, *One*, p. 159, f. n. 39; Traunecker, *Dieux*, p.90-1: he makes a good point by differentiating the primordial combat from the repressive one. The latter is frequent in the Egyptian mythology. See also Menu, *Les Cosmogonies de l'Ancienne Égypte*, in Drousseau, *Création*, p.113; Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p. 225, f. n.1.

⁹² *Dic. Sym.*, p. 394; Eliade, *Patterns*, p.160, 194, 210 ff.

existed, before that fear which arose on account of the Eye of Horus existed. (72) ”⁹³

When life did not exist, death did not either, when sky did not exist, earth did not either, so when Maat (rightness and order) did not appear, Isfet (evil and disorder) did not either.⁹⁴ Except that we know from spell 80 in the Coffin Texts that Maat was present and played a very important role in the few moments preceding the creation.⁹⁵ The presence of Isfet and of any of its manifestations (turmoil, confusion, noise, conflict, etc.) is not to be found, according to the Pyramid Texts, until *after* creation was completely established.⁹⁶ In fact, we are even led to think that it took a long time to appear when we read the following texts from the Late period describing the “Golden Era” :

“ The divine ones created the sun. Perfection (*nfr*) was established in their time and truth (*mꜣꜥt*) came forth from heaven in their days. It united itself with those who were on earth. The land was in abundance; bodies were full; there was no year of hunger in the Two Lands. Walls did not fall; thorns did not pierce in the time of the primeval Gods” (...) “ There was no unrighteousness in the land, no crocodile seized, no snake bit in the time of the First Gods. (73) ”⁹⁷

⁹³ *Pyr.* 1040, Utt. 486, p.173; Sethe II, p.80-1; Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.225; Meeks, *Daily*, p.14: he points out that the eye of Horus is the organized world and that the fear here is that the world would end.

⁹⁴ Dunand, *Dieux*, p.62, 72.

⁹⁵ In this spell, Atum describes his lassitude. That is why Nun tells him to “kiss his daughter Maat, put her at his nose, that his heart may live, for she will not be far from him”. Maat was then considered to be an inevitable force in maintaining the demiurge’s life: CT 80, I, 28 ff.; Faulkner, *CT I*, p.84; Meeks, *Daily*, p.14; Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.48, 175.

⁹⁶ Guilhou, in *Hommages Daumas II*, p. 369.

⁹⁷ These texts (four parallels with slight variations) are found in a number of places: two on the propylon of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak (Ptolemy III), one on the second pylon of the temple of Amun at Karnak (Ptolemy VI) and the last at the temple of Edfu (Ptolemy X) : Dunand, *Dieux*, p.63; Brandon, *Creation*, p.48-9; E. Otto, Das “Goldene Zeitalter” in einem Ägyptischen Text, in Derchain, *Religions*, esp. p.102-6; Kákosy, *Studia*, p.82; Traunecker, *Dieux*, p.89; Menu, in Derrousseaux, *Création*, p.106.

Thus, evil cannot be the simple result of cosmic dualism: it was not present when Maat was present. One should believe therefore that someone was responsible for bringing evil into world. Humanity can be denounced. In fact, sins committed by people were generally believed in other religions to be the direct cause of evil.⁹⁸ The first sin of men in Egyptian thought seems to be found in the myth of the "Destruction of Mankind" which fully appeared in the tomb of Sethy I. People are said to "form projects which would make them the enemies of Re". We cannot define exactly the nature of these projects but they are certainly evil ones, for which men should have been exterminated. An earlier allusion to the same myth in the "Instructions for Merikare" makes it clearer that the projects tended toward a revolt : " He (the god) slew his enemies and destroyed his own children because of their plots in making rebellion".⁹⁹

It seems actually that any evil act, opposing Maat and offending the gods or the king (who is the representative of the god on earth), was regarded as a horrible sin. In the "Declaration of Innocence" made by the deceased in front of the gods, we find among general sentences like "I have done no evil", specific ones like "I have not transgressed my nature so as to revile a god", "I have not made trouble against the king", "I have not cursed a god", " I have not done what the gods detest".¹⁰⁰ It is obvious from the "Declaration of Innocence" that evil was

⁹⁸ *Dic. Relig.* II, p.1212 ff.; *Man, Myth & Magic*, vol. 3, p.858 ff.; vol. 10, p.2580 ff.; *L'Ä II*, col. 36.

⁹⁹ Guilhou, *Vieillesse*, p.7, 15, 85, 108, 138; A. H. Gardiner, *New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt*, *JEA* I (1914), p.34; Kákosy, *Studia*, p.85; Traunecker, *Dieux*, p.90.

¹⁰⁰ Maystre, *Déclarations*, p.23, 27, 33, 35, 92, 94, 95, 97, 102; English translations from Leprohon, *Notes*, p.177-80.

regarded as a free act. In the Coffin Texts, the god makes it clear that he is not responsible for men's sins :

“ I made every man like his fellow; and I did not command that they do wrong. It is their hearts that disobey what I have said. (74) ” ¹⁰¹

The same meaning is encountered in the so-called “Banishment Stela” from the Napatan period : ¹⁰²

“They [priests of Napata] have done something without a command by the god [Amun]: They made an [evil] plan in their hearts: to kill a man who was innocent. God [Amun] did not command this to be done. (75) ”

A passage from the Admonitions of Ipuwer illustrates better this idea by showing that god does not intervene to stop evil, simply because it is a free choice :

“ Lo, why does he seek to fashion <men>, when the timid is not distinguished from the violent ? If he would bring coolness upon that which is hot, one would say: “ He is the herdsman of all; there is no evil in his heart. His herds are few, but he spends the day herding them.” There is fire in their hearts ! If only he had perceived their nature in the first generation! Then he would have smitten the evil, stretched out his arm against it, would have destroyed their seed and their heirs”(…) “Fighting has come, and the punisher of crimes commits them! There is no pilot in their hour. Where is he today ? Is he asleep ? Lo, his power is not seen! (76) ” ¹⁰³

The same notion is encountered in the Book of Asclepius, with a clear indication that only human reasoning should save men from evil :

¹⁰¹ CT 1130, VII 463-4; Faulkner, *CT III*, p.167; Lichtheim, p.132; Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.212; Dunand, *Dieux*, p.157.

¹⁰² Morenz, *Religion*, p. 58; *Urk III*, p. 111-2.

¹⁰³ *Adm 11*, 11-12,6, p. 78-80; Lichtheim, p. 159-60, 162, f. n. 24; McCrown, in *The Harvard Review* 18 (1925), p. 377.

“ I did not just say, O Asclepius and Hammon, what many repeat: “God could not he abolish evil and remove it from Nature ? (...) They say, therefore, as for them, that God should have set free the entire world of any evil : but evil is on the contrary so installed in the world that it seems to be as a member of it. Yet the supreme God took his precautions beforehand against evil, in the most possible rational way, when he deigned to endow the human souls with intellect, science and understanding. In fact, it is by these faculties, thanks to which we are raised above all the other livings, and by them alone, that we can escape the traps, the ruses, the corruption of evil. (77) ”¹⁰⁴

But are men the only source for evil ? In the Book of the Dead, chapter 175, we encounter a curious passage :

“ O Thot, what is it that has come about through the children of Nut ? They have made war, they have raised up tumult, they have done wrong, they have created rebellion, they have made slaughter, they have created imprisonment, they have reduced what was great to what is little in all that we have made; show greatness, O Thot - so says Atum. You shall not witness wrongdoing, you shall not suffer it! Shorten their years, cut short their months, because they have done hidden damage to all that you have made. (78) ”

Apart from the nice connection between the expression “children of Nut” and the stars as the children of the sky goddess, mentioned by Kákosy, the children of Nut are Osiris, Isis, Nephthys and Haroeris.¹⁰⁵ The whole atmosphere of disorder in the text clearly refers to the murder of Osiris by the hand of his brother Seth and probably also to the third episode of the Osirian myth: the contendings of Horus - son and avenger of Osiris - and Seth.

¹⁰⁴ *CH*, p.314-5. Notice that in the same book (*CH*, p.329 and p.14 in this thesis) harmful angels are believed to be the source of evil not men themselves; still this does not abolish the idea of free will.

¹⁰⁵ Kákosy, *Studia*, p.86-7; Faulkner, *BD*, spell 175; Barguet, p.260; Naville, pl. CXCVIII; Meeks, *Daily*, p.18; Guilhou, *Vieillesse*, p.94: she sees that the children of Nut can be “humanity”. I believe it is better to follow the mythology and consider them the gods mentioned above.

A Pyramid Text clearly points to that third episode :

“...which was born before anger came into being; which was born before noise came into being; which was born before strife came into being; which was born before tumult came into being ; which was born before the Eye of Horus was gouged out (?), before the testicles of Seth were torn off. (79) ” ¹⁰⁶

These texts push us strongly to believe that humanity is not alone to be blamed for causing evil. The actions of gods in mythological times can be the grounds for bringing it into the world. Let us read, for example, the reply of Neith on the issue of whether to give the kingship to Horus or to Seth in pap. Chester Beatty I :

“ Thereupon, Neith, the Great, the divine mother, sent a letter to the Ennead, saying: Give the office of Osiris to his son Horus, and do not do those great acts of wickedness which are not in their place, else I shall be angry, and the heaven shall crash to the ground. (80) ” ¹⁰⁷

In the letter of Osiris to the gods in the same papyrus, we also see how they were accused of having done evil by ignoring the right of Horus in the office of his father :

“ Thereupon he (Osiris) sent to Pre-Harakhti again, saying: Exceeding good is all that you have done, and what the Ennead has found to do ! Justice has been made to sink into the netherworld. Now you pay attention to this matter! As for this land in which I am, it is full of savage-faced messengers, and they fear not any god nor (any) goddess. I will cause them to go forth and they shall fetch the heart of whosoever does evil deeds, and they shall be here with me. (...) But behold they have invented falsehood in very truth. (81) ” ¹⁰⁸

The dramatic episodes of the Osirian myth are not the first and the only

¹⁰⁶ *Pyr.* 1463, Utt. 570, p.225; Sethe II, p.300; Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.226: she mentions other spells from the Coffin Texts referring to the Osirian myth.

¹⁰⁷ *Chester Beatty I*, p. 15,3, line 2-3, pl III A.

¹⁰⁸ *Chester Beatty I*, p.25, 15, line 4-8, XV A.

conflict between the gods.¹⁰⁹ An allusion to an obscure violent quarrel between Geb and Nut is found in the Book of the Dead :

“ I have recalled with my mouth the speech of Atum to my father when he destroyed the spirit of the wife of Geb, whose head was broken at his word. Be afraid thereof and report it, the outcry at my strength. (82) ”¹¹⁰

Another noteworthy mention of a rebellion of Osiris against Shu, punished by killing Osiris then reanimating him, is found in papyrus Salt.¹¹¹ Another revolt by Geb against Shu is believed to have taken place. The naos of Ismailia recounts how the children of Apophis attacked the palace of Shu. It seems that they did this with a certain encouragement from Geb. The actions of Geb let us think so: he chases his mother Tefnut ; he then wants to take possession of the Uraeus of his father which spits fire to him.¹¹²

We do not only find divine actions that were bad but we find also two incarnations of evil: Seth and Apophis. Both of them have a similar account of their day of birth. The birth of Seth is said to be :

“ The origin of confusion, the beginning of the jurisdiction of the great Ennead (83) ”.¹¹³

He is said to have called evil into being :

“ Cause ye evil to come into being against the one who created it. ”¹¹⁴

He even began practicing falsehood before he was born :

¹⁰⁹ Guilhou, in *Hommages Daumas* II, p. 365 : she says that the generations of gods do not fight and that the only big conflict is that of Osiris, Horus, and Seth, which is not true.

¹¹⁰ Meeks, *Daily*, p.27; Faulkner, *BD*, spell 82, p.80; Naville, pl.XCIV; Barguet, p.120, f. n. 5: this quarrel reminds Barguet of the decapitation of Isis by her son Horus.

¹¹¹ Derchain, *Salt*, p.31-3.

¹¹² Goyon, *Kêmi* VI (1936), p.30-4; Meeks, *Daily*, p.22, 71.

¹¹³ B.H.Stricker, *Spreuken Tot Beveiliging Gederende de Schrikkedagen Naar pap. I* 346. *OMRO XXIX* (1948), p.64, 68.

¹¹⁴ Kákosy, *Studia*, p.89.

“ He had thought out evil before he came out of the womb; he had created confusion before he had a name. ” ¹¹⁵

As for Apophis, he is said to have been born in an abnormal way :

“ Yet, they (the earlier gods) rejected a spit of her mouth that she (Neith) had produced in the midst of the initial water; it changed into a serpent of hundred and twenty cubits which was named Apopi. His heart conceived the revolt against Re, with his partners issued from his eye. (84) ” ¹¹⁶

Yet the negative power of Seth can be used positively: Re uses him to defeat Apophis (fig.1). This huge snake is in fact endangering the course of the sun-bark. A spell from the Book of the Dead illustrates that whole image:

“ As for the mountain of Bakhu on which the sky rests, it is in the east of the sky (...). A serpent is on the top of that mountain; it is thirty cubits long, eight cubits of its forepart are of flint, and its teeth gleam.(...) Now after a while he will turn his eye against Re, and a stoppage will occur in the Sacred Bark and a great vision among the crew, for he will swallow up seven cubits of the great waters; Seth will project a lance of iron against him and will make him vomit up all that he has swallowed.(85)” ¹¹⁷

Now after looking carefully at the notion of evil in ancient Egypt and finding that gods are no less responsible than humans for bringing it into being, is evil really the reason why Atum wants to destroy the world ? In that conversation between Atum and Thot (p.35), we saw how bitterly he complained of the children of Nut. The punishment was to shorten their lives. Did Atum get so weary of evil after that that he decided to destroy the whole world ? I do not think

¹¹⁵ Kákosy, *Studia*, p.89; Hornung, *One*, p.158. See also *Pyr.* 205, Utt 222, p.50; Sethe I, p.118 where Seth is said to have broken forth violently.

¹¹⁶ Sauneron, *Esna III* 206, 10-11, p.32; Sauneron, *Fêtes*, p.265; Sauneron, *Remarques de philologie et d'étymologie en marge des textes d'Esna* in *Mélanges Mariette*, p.235-6, n.6; Traunecker, *Dieux*, p.91; Derchain, in *Dic. Myth.* I, p. 226; Dunand, *Dieux*, p.72; Hornung, *One*, p.158.

¹¹⁷ Faulkner, *BD*, spell 108, p.101; Barguet, p.142; Naville, pl.CXIX; Traunecker, *Dieux*, p. 94; Guilhou, *Vieillesse*, p.101, 115. Notice the effect of the “eye” of Apophis, several rituals

so. If we follow the idea that everything should simply go back to the "original state", we will see that no apparent reason is given for the creation of the world. The demiurge creates simply of his will.¹¹⁸ Thus he would destroy what he created also of his free will without any reason to be sought behind this.

Moreover, he will change himself into a serpent. This is in fact the first form under which Atum was floating in the Nun before creation. A spell from the Coffin Texts describes him in the actions of a snake:

"Atum has bitten and has filled his mouth, and he coils up. (86)"¹¹⁹

The shape of a serpent was also the form of several primeval gods like: Nehebkaou, Kematef, Neferhotep, Horsomtus, and Ir-ta; as well as the four goddesses of the Ogdoad.¹²⁰ From papyrus Bremmer-Rhind, we know also how the creator god made some snakes to help him with the rest of the creation.¹²¹ It is strange how these frightening creatures which were believed to incarnate


and spells were intended to repel that evil effect. See for that, J.F. Borghouts, "The Evil Eye of Apophis", *JEA* 59 (1973), p. 114-149. See also *CT* 414, V 244-8; Faulkner, *CT* II, p.65.

¹¹⁸ Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.86 ff.; Dunand, *Dieux*, p.66 ff.; Traunecker, *Dieux*, p.84; Menu, in Derousseaux, *Création*, p.101.

¹¹⁹ *CT* 717, VI, 346; Faulkner, *CT* II, p.271. Same as *Pyr.* 425, Utt 284, p.86; Sethe I, p.221; Meeks, *Daily*, p.57 points to the green eyes of Atum as being a reminder of his original form as a serpent. For the text mentioning the green eyes of the god: Faulkner, *BD*, spell 32, p.58; Barguet, p.77; Naville, pl. XLV. On Atum as a serpent, see *LÄ* I, col. 551; *LÄ* V, col.680; K. Mysliwiec, *Studien Zum Gott Atum*. Band I (Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 5, 1978), p.95 ff. Note also that M.-Th. Derchain-Urtel showed that the serpent of the Shipwrecked Sailor is Atum-Re: "Die Schlange des Schiffbrüchigen", *SAK* 1 (1974), p.83-104; Hornung, *One*, p.164: he points to the fact that the shape of the snake is a formless element of chaos matching the chaotic state before the creation and after the destruction of the world. See also Morenz, *Religion*, p.26; Wirz, *Tod*, p.57, f. n.13.

¹²⁰ Sauneron, *Naissance*, p.37-8, p.81, f. n.43; for more details on Nehebkaou: *LÄ* IV, col. 388-90; Zandee, *Death*, p.98-100; *Wb* II, p.292; Meeks, *Daily*, p.71. Kematef: *LÄ* III, col. 382-3; *Wb* V, p.130; Neferhotep: *LÄ* IV, p.372-3; *Wb* II, p.255. Horsomtus: *LÄ* V, col. 1080-1; *Wb* III, p.123. Ir-ta: Traunecker, *Coptos*, p.149,151; *Wb* I, p.109.

¹²¹ Meeks, *Daily*, p. 15-6, p.202, f. n. 7; Faulkner, The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus III. *JEA* 23 (1937), p.172; Faulkner, *Bremmer-Rhind*, XXVI 21-23.

evil¹²² (we saw how Apophis was believed to be a snake), played such an important role in the creation of the world. They seem even to play an essential part in the rebirth of the sun each morning: in the twelfth and last hour of the night, the sun-bark is dragged through the body of a huge snake in order to be reborn as a scarab (fig.2). That snake was called "world encircler". It symbolizes the chaotic world that surrounds the organized one and which has in itself the potentials of regeneration. This same notion was better illustrated by the ancient Egyptians in the figure of the Ouroboros - the serpent biting its tail ( sd m r), ¹²³ which was regarded also as a symbol of eternity due to its circular shape. The earliest depiction of this snake is on the smallest golden shrine of Tutankhamun (fig.3). We find other representations of it as on the lid of the sarcophagus of Merenptah (fig.4), on coffins of the twenty-first dynasty (fig.5), and in the papyrus of Her-Uben A, also from the twenty-first dynasty (fig.6).

The reason behind the choice of a snake to be an element of regeneration in the cosmogony or in the daily birth of the sun is because snakes shed their skins, offering by this action an idea of indestructibility and of life after death.¹²⁴

Under this idea, the changing of Atum into a snake after the annihilation of the world might seem odd, as much as the presence of Osiris with him. Indeed, we have seen in Chapter 175 and its parallel from the temple of Opet that Osiris

¹²² Even Re fears their power. He warns Geb to be wary of them in the myth of the "Destruction of Mankind": Guilhou, *Vieillesse*, p. 11, 20, 41 f. n.141, p. 92-3.

¹²³ *Wb* IV, p.363.

¹²⁴ Hornung, *One*, p.160-1, 164, 178-9; Clark, *Myth*, p.52-3, 80-1; *LÄ* V, col. 649; Meeks, *Daily*, p.18-9; Assmann, *Zeit*, p.31-5. The snake had this symbolism in almost all the civilizations: *Man, Myth & Magic*, vol.10, p.2620; *Dic. Sym.*, p.358, 728-9, 800, 844 ff. In

is the only god to remain after the destruction of the world.¹²⁵ In Chapter 175, he is said to remain with Atum, while in the text from the Opet Temple, he will stay with Re. We know that Atum and Re are interchangeable and that they are closely associated, being two complementary aspects of the creator.¹²⁶ But the question that echoes here is why specifically Osiris, especially as we do not encounter any mention of him during the first moments of the creation. A passage from the Coffin Texts that evokes an image of the end of the world might lead us to think differently :

“ I made millions of years into something between me and that weary-hearted one, the son of Geb (i.e. Osiris). Then I shall dwell with him in one place. Mounds will become cities and cities mounds, and estate will destroy estate. (87) ”¹²⁷

The fact that the god (Re / Atum) was separated from Osiris by a huge span of time and that he will reunite again with him at the end of the world makes us feel that Osiris and Re / Atum were one thing before the creation; then because of the principle of differentiation that should characterize existence,¹²⁸ they were split .

Mesopotamia, the snake was believed to rob the immortality from Gilgamesh : *Man, Myth & Magic*, vol.3, p.860; Elliade, *Patterns*, p.289, 164; Brandon, *Man*, p.93, 126.

¹²⁵ If we adopt the interpretation of Derchain-Urtel of the story of the Shipwrecked Sailor (SAK 1 (1974) p.83-104), we must add Maat also as the only being to remain after the end of the world. Ph. Derchain adopts it (*Dic.Myth* I, p.225, 227 f. n. 9). Yet it is more secure not to do that as the whole interpretation could be pushed too far.




¹²⁶ Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p. 39-45; Faulkner, *BD*, spell 82, p.80; Barguet, p.120; Naville, pl.XCIV; Hornung, *One*, p.92-3.

¹²⁷ CT 1130, VII, 467-8; Faulkner, *CT* III, p.168; Hornung, *One*, p.163; Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.229; Lichtheim, p.132 has a very different translation. Notice that “million” is, in Egyptian, “the usual expression for what is infinite in number” : Meeks, *Daily*, p.33; Otto, *CdE* 37 (1962), p.255-6; Assmann, Königs..in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p.352.

¹²⁸ We know from the Coffin Texts how the god was alone before two things came into being: CT 261, III 382-3; Faulkner, *CT* I, p.199; Hornung, *One*, p.176; Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.36 ff., 114 ff. Dunand points out how the two sexes were not even differentiated: *Dieux*, p.57; Derchain, in *Dic. Myth* I, p.226; *LÄ* I, col.1148.

In fact the notion of Osiris *being* Re is not absent in Egyptian texts and depictions. In the Coffin Texts, we read how the *bas* of Osiris and Re meet at Mendes and become there one united *ba* (fig.7).¹²⁹ In the Book of Hours, we have sentences like: “Osiris-Atum who lives in Tjeku (88) ” or “Osiris in his form of Re (89)”.¹³⁰ In the Book of the Dead, we see how they are two polarities :

“ To me belongs, yesterday, I know tomorrow. What does it mean ? As for yesterday, that is Osiris. As for tomorrow, that is Re. (90) ”¹³¹

An illustration of the two lions of Yesterday and Tomorrow (fig.8) can then be understood as a depiction of Osiris and Re. We know also that the two divinities were believed to symbolize the two eternities: *nhh*   (the circular solar eternity), and *dt*  (the linear chthonic one). In the Book of the Dead we find special meanings to these eternities :

“ I am that great phoenix which is in Heliopolis, the supervisor of what exists. Who is he ? He is Osiris. As for what exists, that means (...) eternity and everlasting. As for eternity, it means daytime; as for everlasting, it means night. (91) ”¹³²

The meanings here match what we know about Re as being the sun-god (the disc of light) and about Osiris as being the god of the dark realm of the dead.

Although they are two opposites, the two gods were sometimes depicted in one body : a ram-headed mummy. Several illustrations of this curious mummy were found: one of them is on a papyrus dating from the nineteenth dynasty. We

¹²⁹ CT 335, IV 276; Faulkner, CT I, p. 261.

¹³⁰ Faulkner, *Hours*, p. 5, 11, 12*, 25*.

¹³¹ Faulkner, *BD*, spell 17, p.44, 48; Barguet, p.57, 60-1; Naville, pl.XXIII; Leclant, in Dunand, *Syncretismes*, p.8; Griffiths, “The Tradition of Allegory”, in Derchain, *Religions*, p.52-3.


¹³² Faulkner, *BD*, spell 17, p.44; Barguet, p.58; Naville, pl.XXIII. Same in CT 335, IV, 200; Faulkner, CT I, p.260; Traunecker, *Dieux*, p.44; Bergman, Remarks...in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p.55 Wb II, p.299; V, p.507; Dunand, *Dieux*, p.74, 76-8; LÄ II, col. 47-54; Assmann, *Zeit*, passim, esp. p.43 ff.

see a man kneeling in front of a row of gods of which the first one is named Osiris-Re (fig.9). In tomb 335 at Deir el Medina and in the tomb of Nefertari, we have the two goddesses Isis and Nephthys at each side of a ram-headed mummy. The inscription reads : "Osiris rests as Re. It is Re who rests as Osiris." (fig.10-11) The two gods are then two entities that complement each other and need one another. The journey of the sun in the netherworld helps us understand this mutual necessity: Osiris needs Re to bring him light, a precious gift considering the inky darkness of the underworld. Re needs Osiris to give him that reviving strength that will enable him to be reborn in the morning and reappear in the sky (fig.12). That is the same thing that makes Re / Atum so willing to keep Osiris with him. He needs his power of resurrection.¹³³

At this moment, we should ask ourselves: can we consider this a sign that the end of the world is not really final, and that another world will be recreated? I think we can. Several clues make us feel that the world would be reborn from the chaotic non-existence into which it will sink. Atum will be there in the shape of a serpent - symbol of renewal - waiting for that miraculous moment when he will take again consciousness of himself to recreate. He has Osiris with him. That power of life after death will enable him to overcome his weakness and regenerate once more.¹³⁴ The water in which he floats is a source of potential

¹³³ Hornung, *One*, p.93-6; Derchain, in *Dic.Myth.*, p.224; Doresse, *Visions...in La Table Ronde* n.110, p.37 ff.; Kœmoth, *Osiris*, p.58, 218, 221; Clark, *Myth*, p.157 ff.; Derchain, *Salt*, p.23, 35-7, 110, 155; Wirz, *Tod*, p.54, 59, 69; Assmann, *Zeit*, p.29. See also the article of J. Spiegel, "Versuche zur verschmelzung von Re und Osiris" in Westendorf, *Göttinger*, p.129-81; W. Barta, "Zum Wessen des Gottes Osiris..." in *ZÄS* 117 (1990), p.89-93.

¹³⁴ We know from the Coffin Texts how the god was in lassitude in the Nun : *CT* 80, II 34-5; Faulkner, *CT I*, p.84. The same idea is encountered in the myth of the destruction of Mankind where Re says that he feels his limbs as weak as the first time : Guilhou, *Vieillesse*, p.9, 17, 35 f. n. 77.

energy that he will advantageously put to use.¹³⁵ And finally was not the moment of creation called  *sp tpy* the first occasion ? It logically implies that this occasion is the first in a serie and that it will be followed by others.¹³⁶

The ancient Egyptians certainly believed that the world will be recreated. A hope in a renewal is based on several actual cyclic phenomena that they viewed in nature : the sunrise every morning is a daily victory over the energies of chaos.¹³⁷ These evil energies continue to endanger the world every day and as Morenz has pointed out, even down to the present day, Egyptian people struggle to preserve the cultivated land from the increasing desertification.¹³⁸ Another significant phenomenon would have evoked the end of the world and its renewal: small islets in the Nile can periodically emerge and stay for years with several aspects of life appearing on them (aquatic birds, animals and plants) then,

¹³⁵ Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p. 23-31; Sauneron, *Naissance*, p. 24; Dunand, *Dieux*, p. 55-6; Brandon, *Creation*, p.17-18. Water was believed to procure life, chaos and destruction in all civilizations : *Man, Myth & Magic*, vol.2, p.2997-3002; *Dic. Relig.* I, p.559 ff.; Eliade, *Patterns*, p. 188 ff.; *Dic. Sym.* p. 1081 ff.; Brandon, *Creation*, p. 68, 94, 163. Notice that water was an element of destruction during the Pleistocene Age as the polar ice caps diminished : Brandon, *Creation*, p.2. It will also be the element that will destroy our world as the increasing temperature will cause the melting of the glaciers which will increase the amount of water in the oceans and the seas. This volume of water itself is also increasing due to the thermal expansion, endangering in this way the coastal areas first and then the whole earth. See for a scientific explanation of this phenomenon : Th. R. Karl, N. Nicholls and J. Gregory, "Gli Effetti delle Attivita Umane sul Clima globale" in *Le Scienze*, n.347, July 1997, p.52-7; D. Schneider, "Crescera il Livello del Mare ?" in *Le Scienze*, n.345, May 1997, p.84-9; S. H. Schneider, "Il Clima Che Cambia" in *Le Scienze*, n.255, Nov. 1989, p.37-41; W. S. Broecker, "Il Clima Caotico" in *Le Scienze*, n.329, Jan.1996, p.46-52; Th. E. Graedel and P.J. Crutzen, "L'Atmosfera che Cambia" in *Le Scienze*, n.255, Nov.1989, p.22-30.

¹³⁶ *Wb* III, p.438; Morenz, *Religion*, p.166-7; Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, p.59; Sauneron, *Naissance*, p.77-8; Dunand, *Dieux*, p.62; Menu, in Derausseau, *Création*, p.97; Brandon, *Creation*, p.62.

¹³⁷ Kákosy, *Studia*, p. 60; Assmann, Königs...in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, p. 369; Derchain, *Salt*, p. 25.

¹³⁸ Morenz, *Religion*, p. 171; Hornung, *One*, p. 179. See also Hornung's article "Chaotische Bereiche in der Geordneten Welt", *ZÄS* 81(1956), p.28-32, for these chaotic elements in the organized world.

because of a strong inundation, they disappear.¹³⁹ The ancient Egyptians knew that their world was like these islets: "A primeval land emerging out from the waters (...), a sphere of substance, an egg of beginnings, a primordial material swollen with life that grows while pushing at the chaos."¹⁴⁰ And that one day this sphere of life would be swallowed again in the non-existence.

¹³⁹ Derchain, in *Dic.Myth.* I, p. 225.

¹⁴⁰ Traunecker, *Coptos*, p.152. It is interesting to see how that life and eternity existing in this sphere were considered to be elements of regeneration and a protection against destruction according to the Book of Asclepius: *CH*, p.337-8.

FINAL COMMENT

As we have seen, the end of the world was seen by the ancient Egyptians as a “reversal repetition of the creation”.¹⁴¹ Even the phoenix “the supervisor of what exists” which is a solar bird always announcing the new creation, was playing an apocalyptic role by announcing the end of the world. The choice of the phoenix, symbol of resurrection, suggests that another creation would follow.¹⁴²

That is why the ancient Egyptians do not seem to look at the world’s annihilation in a negative way.¹⁴³ Their magicians were using this topic as threats. Ipuwer cries, in his despair, that the world should end. They knew it is indispensable for the world to be renewed and that this cannot happen without a total destruction of the old forms.¹⁴⁴ Thus they looked at the end of the world the same way they looked at death : a transition, a gate to life.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Kákosy, *Studia*, p. 57-8.

¹⁴² See above p. 18; *LÄ* IV, col.1030-9; VI, col.1007; Sauneron, *Naissance*, p.38; Meeks, *Daily*, p.17. It is curious to see how the phoenix was associated with eternity and resurrection even in Classical and early Christian times. On a magical amulet from the first or second C. A.D, we have a depiction of this bird enclosed within an Ouroborus: Brock, *Phoenix*, p.438, pl.IX, 3.

¹⁴³ They feared it but they did not consider it as negative and the texts evoking the end of the world were quite numerous, contrary to what is said in *LÄ* VI, col.1213.

¹⁴⁴ Hornung, *One*, p.160 -1, 181. Indeed “Destruction is the foundation of all progress” : *Dic. Sym.*, p. 236.

¹⁴⁵ “*Jamua vitae*” : *Dic. Sym.*, p. 70.

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- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Supplementa*, Wiesbaden.
- ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn.
- ZRGG *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte*, Köln.

Figures

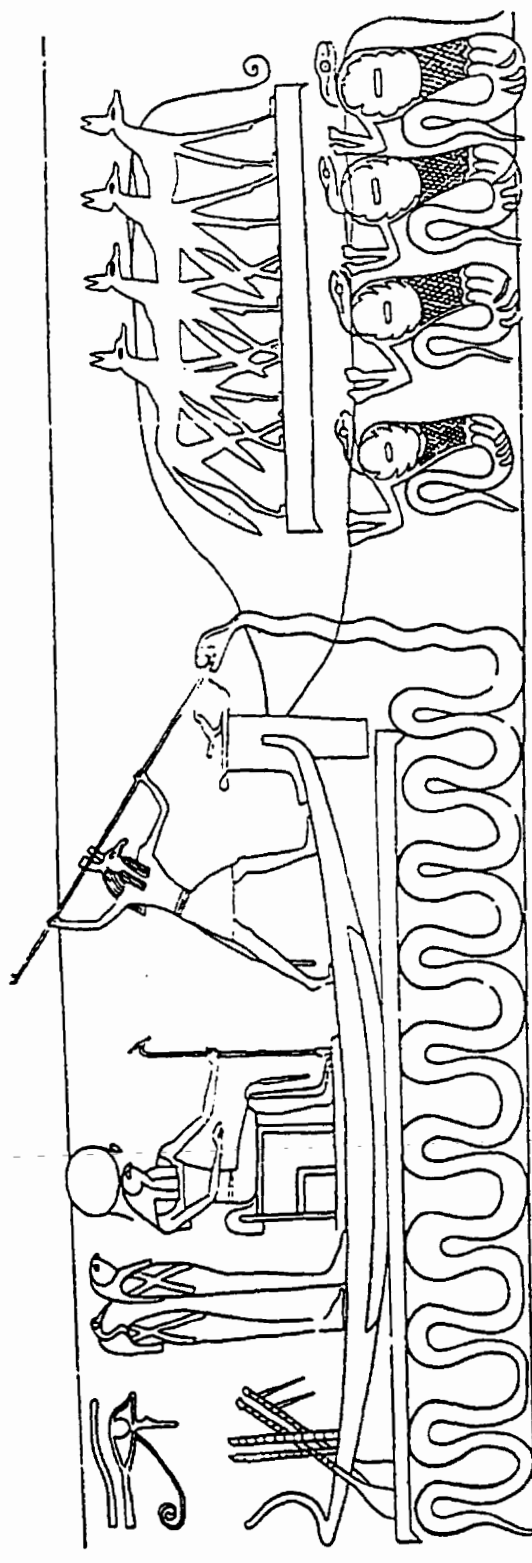


Fig. 1. Seth repelling Apophis [from the papyrus of Her-Uben B, twenty-first dynasty] (after Piankoff, *Papyri*, p.75, fig. 54).

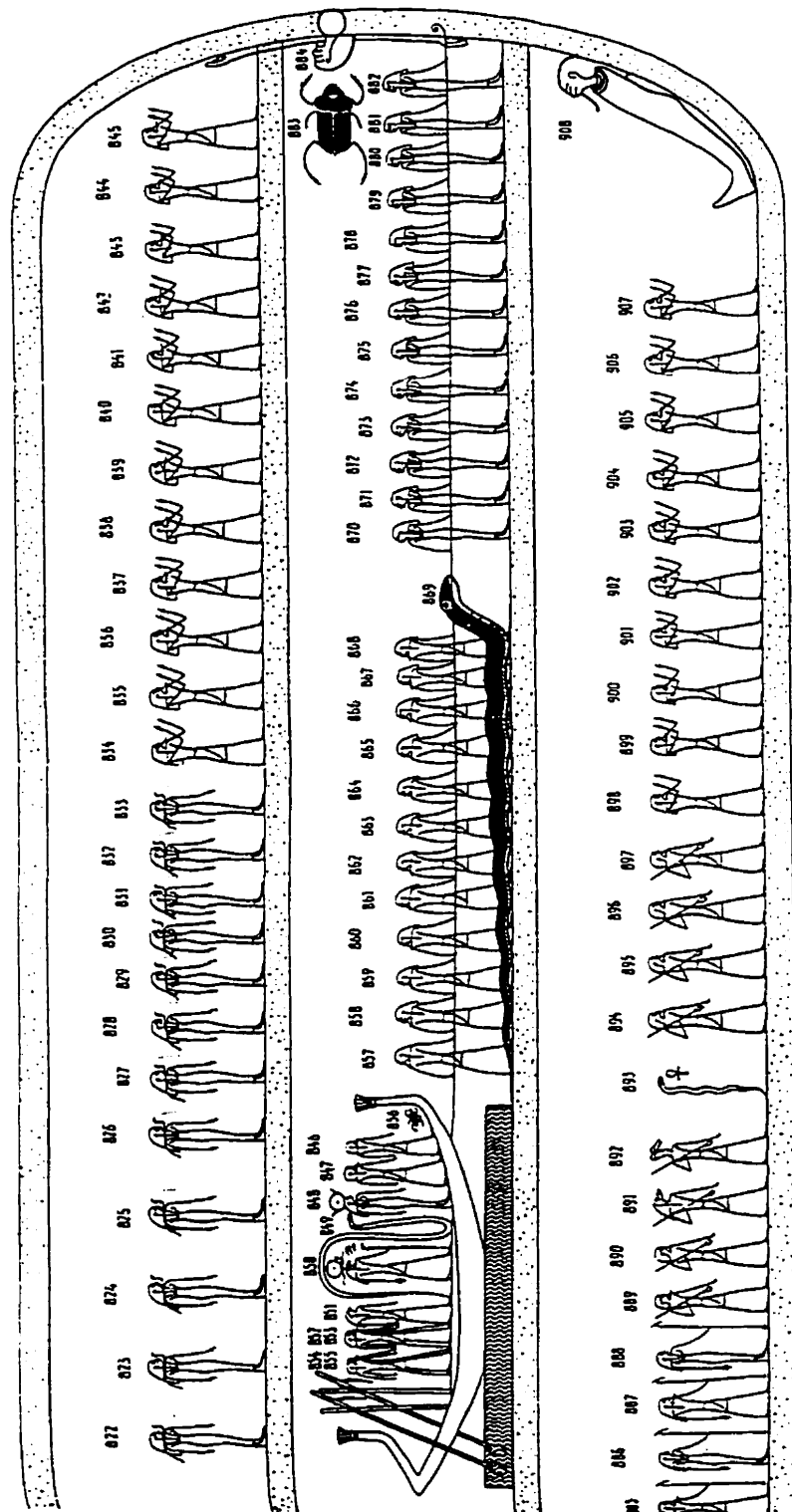


Fig. 2. The sun bark dragged through the body of a snake in the twelfth hour of the Amduat (after Hornung, *Amduat I*, zwölfte stunde).

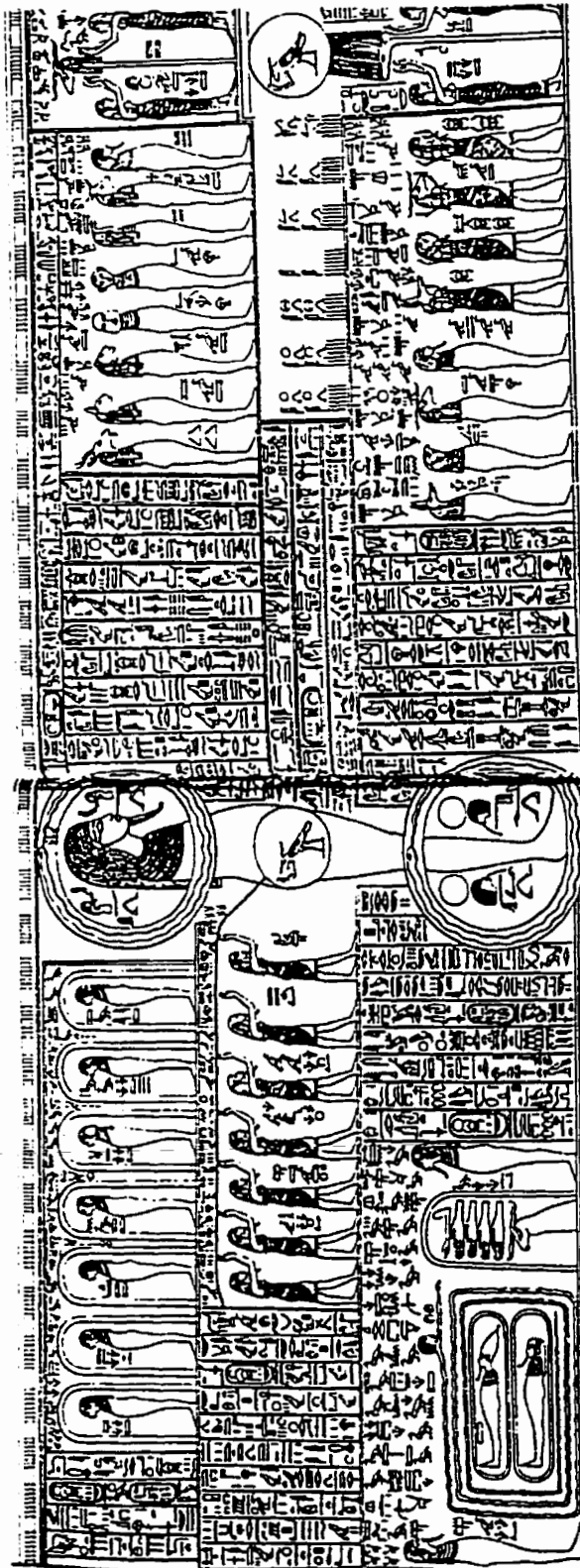


Fig. 3. The Ouroboros on the golden shrine of Tutankhamun. (after Piankoff, *Shrines*, pl. 48, fig. 41).



Fig. 4. The Ouroboros encircling the inscription on the lid of the sarcophagus of Merenptah (New Kingdom). (after Assmann, *Die Inschrift auf dem äußeren sarkophagdeckel des Merenptah*, *MDAIK* 28 (1972)).



Fig. 5. The Ouroboros on a coffin [twenty-first dynasty coffin Cairo, J. 29628] (after A.Niwinski, *Untersuchungen zur Ägyptischen Religiösen Ikonographie der 21 dyn.* GM 109 (1989) p. 56, fig. 3).



Fig. 6. The Ouroboros encircling the young sun-god, being held by Shu and Tefnut [from the papyrus of Her-Uben A, twenty-first dynasty] (after Piankoff, *Papyri*, p. 22, fig. 3).

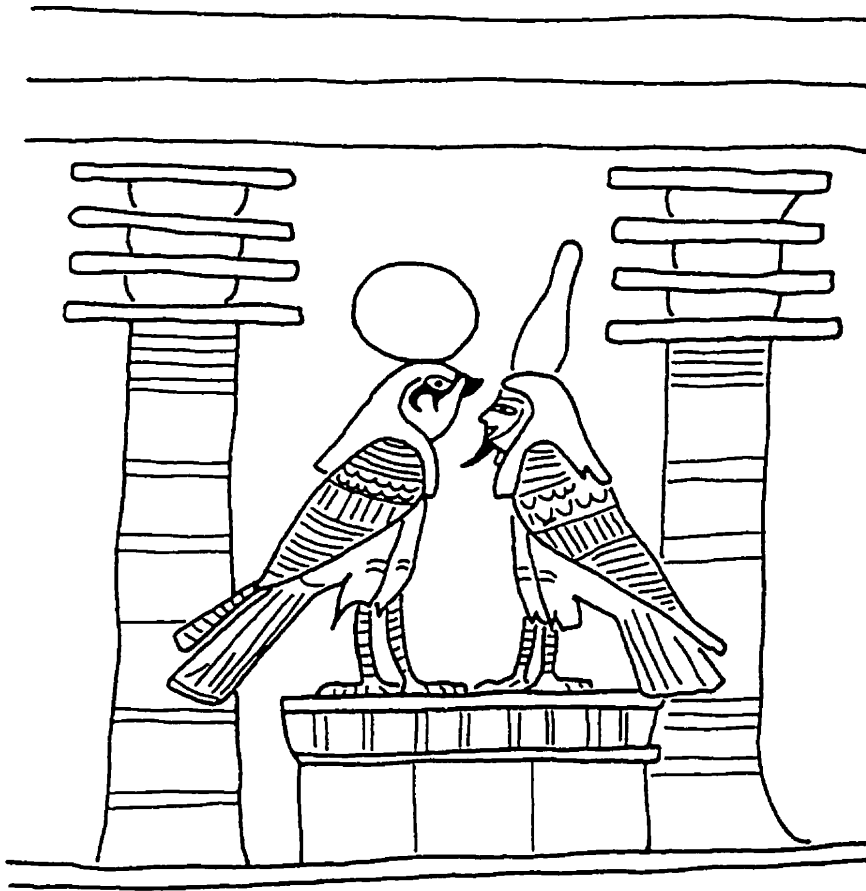


Fig. 7. The *bas* of Re & Osiris meeting at Mendes (after Spiegel, in Westendorf, *Göttinger*, p.144, fig.1).

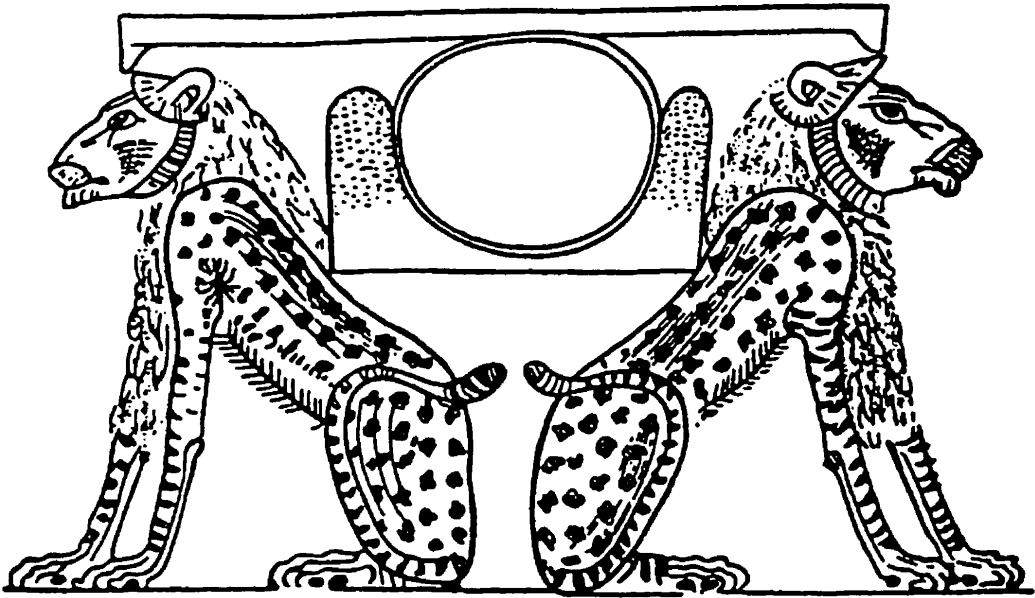


Fig. 8. The two lions of Yesterday and Tomorrow. (after Piankoff, *Shrines*, p. 49, fig. 9).

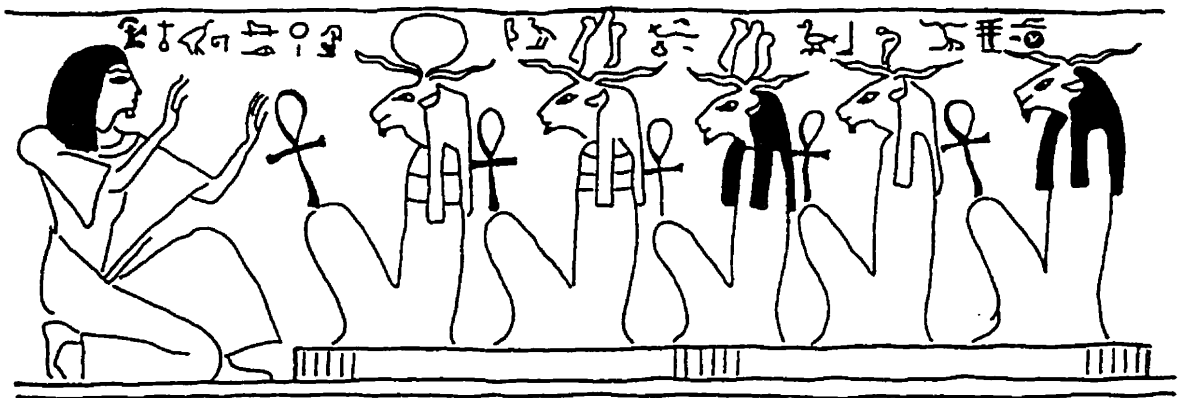


Fig. 9. A depiction on a papyrus from the nineteenth dynasty. The first god in the row is Osiris-Re. (after Spiegel, in Westendorf, *Göttinger*, p. 163, fig. 2).

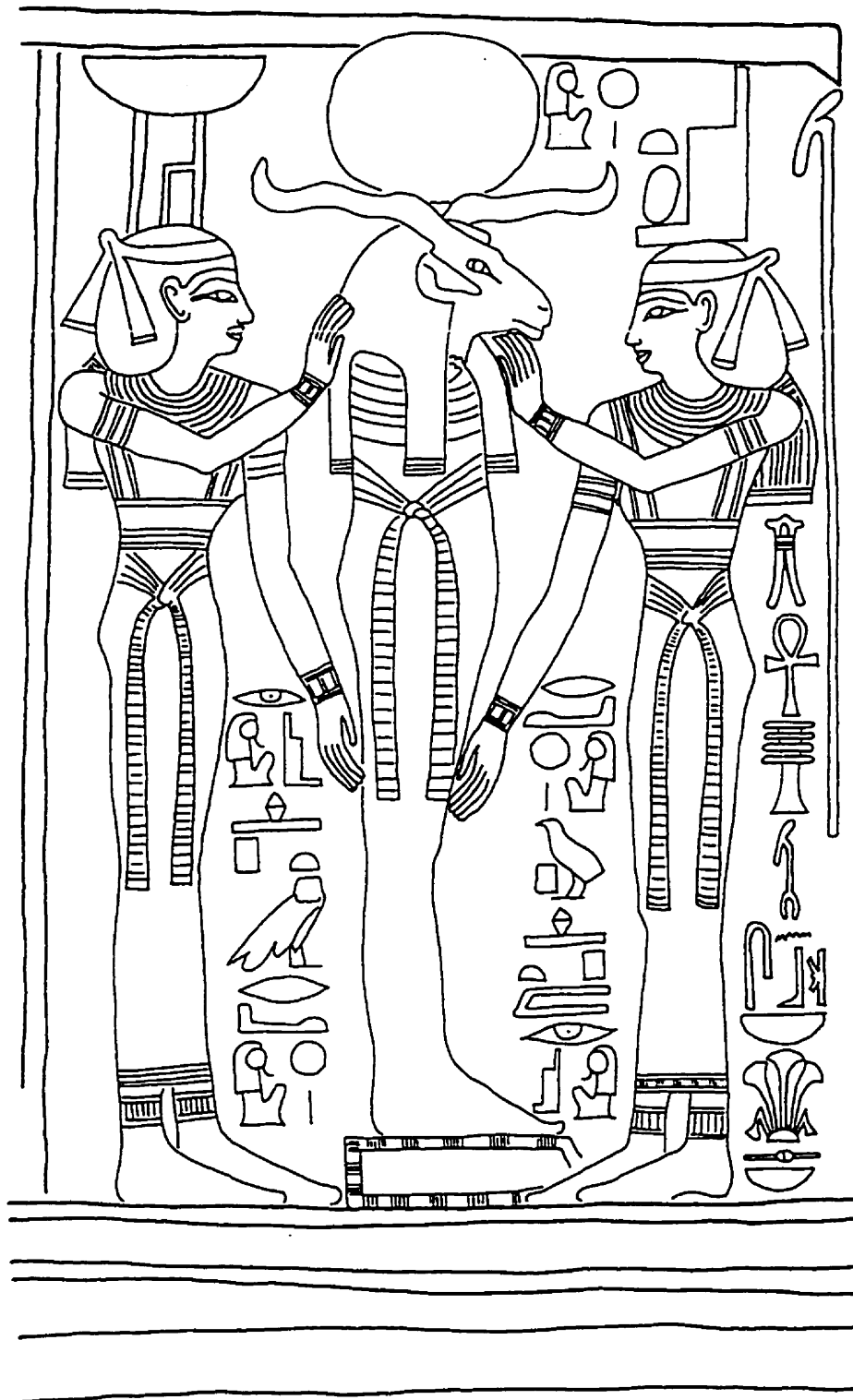
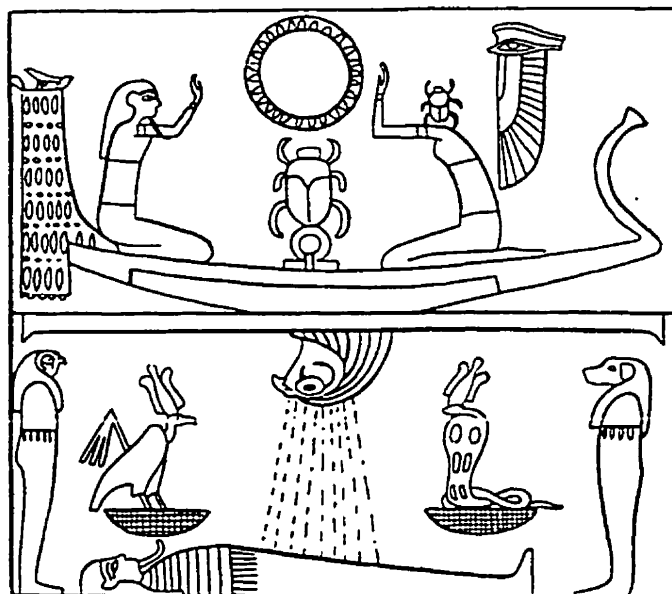


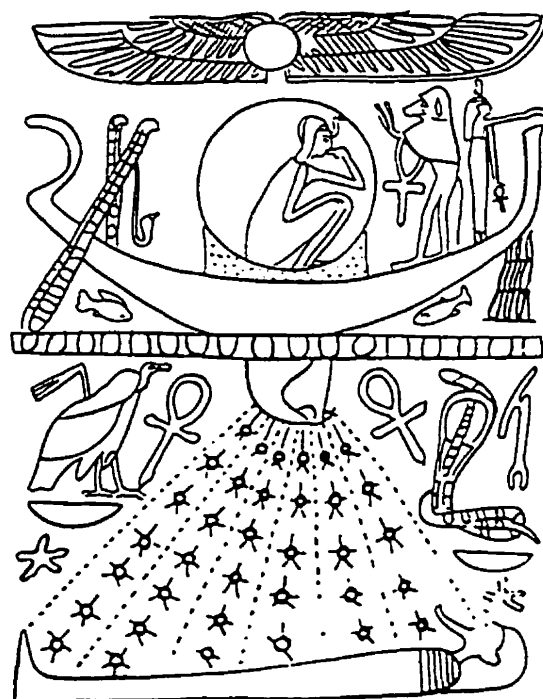
Fig. 10. The Ram-headed mummy from the tomb of Nefertari (after Spiegel, in Westendorf, *Göttinger*, p. 170, fig. 3).



Fig. 11. The Ram-headed mummy from the tomb 335 at Deir el Medina (after Derchain, *Salt*, p. 157, fig. F).



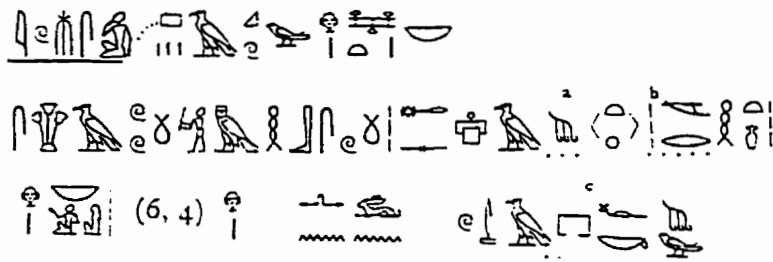
a.



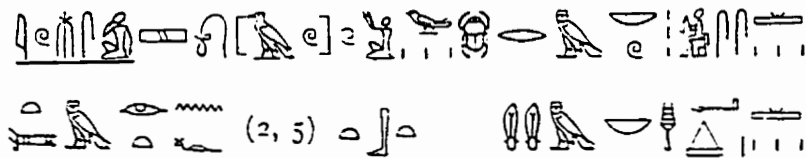
b)

Fig. 12. The interaction between Re and Osiris in the underworld as depicted on
 a) A coffin in the Turin Museum. (after Piankoff, *Papyri*, fig. 52; p. 64).
 b) The coffin of Hent-Tau, MMA, New York. (after Piankoff, *Papyri*, fig. 51; p.63).

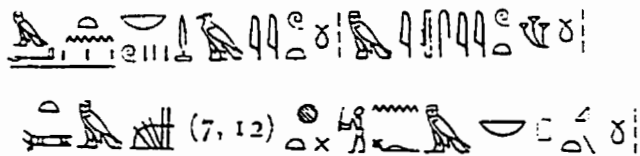
Appendix



Text 1 Ipuwer. Adm 6, 3-5, p.46.



Text 2 Ipuwer. Adm 2, 4-5, p.24.



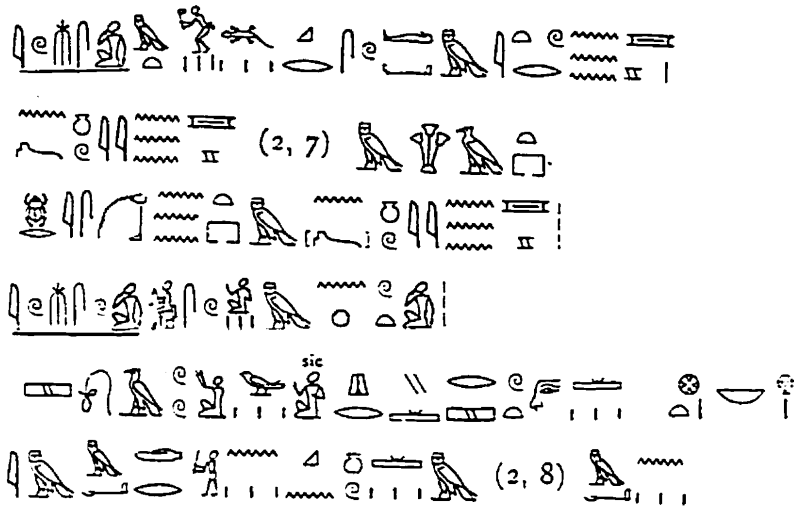
Text 3 Ipuwer. Adm 7, 11-12, p.58.



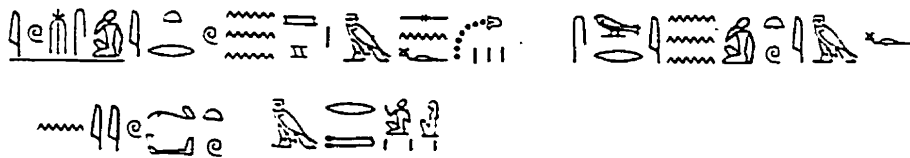
Text 4 Ipuwer. Adm 8, 2-3, p.61.



Text 5 Ipuwer. Adm 2, 5-6, p.25.



Text 6 Ipuwer. Adm 2, 6-8, p.26.



Text 7 Ipuwer. Adm 2, 10, p.27.



Text 8 Ipuwer. Adm 5, 10, p.43.



Text 9 Ipuwer. Adm 2, 12-13, p.29.



Text 10 Ipuwer. *Adm* 4, 2-3, p.36.



Text 11 Ipuwer. *Adm* 5,5, p.42.



Text 12 Khakheperre-Sonb. *Adm* Recto 2-4, p.97.



Text 13 Khakheperre-Sonb. *Adm* Recto 10-12, p.101-2.



Text 14 Khakheperre-Sonb. *Adm* Verso 1-3, p.106.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

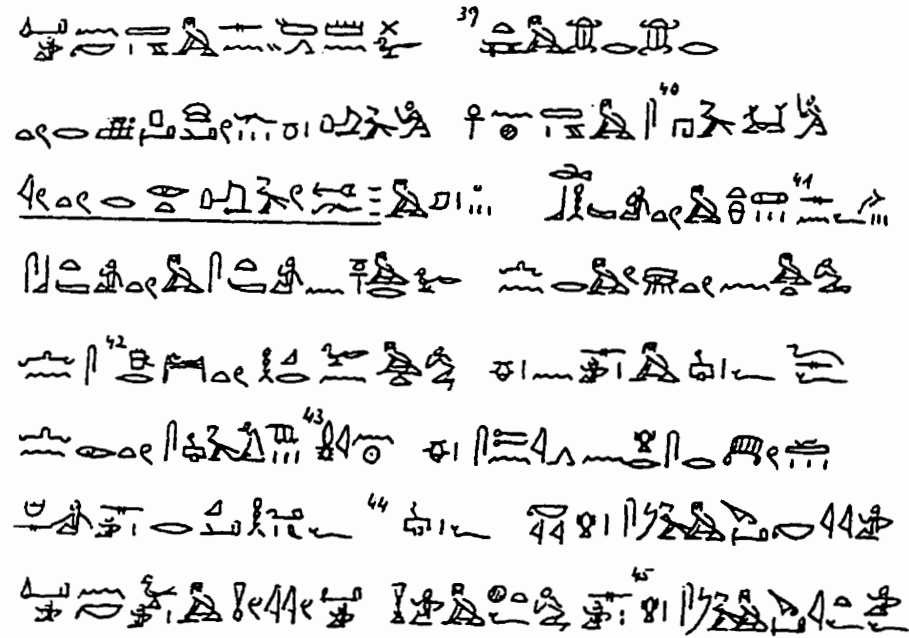
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Text 15 A dispute between a man and his *ba*. Goedicke, lines 103-130.

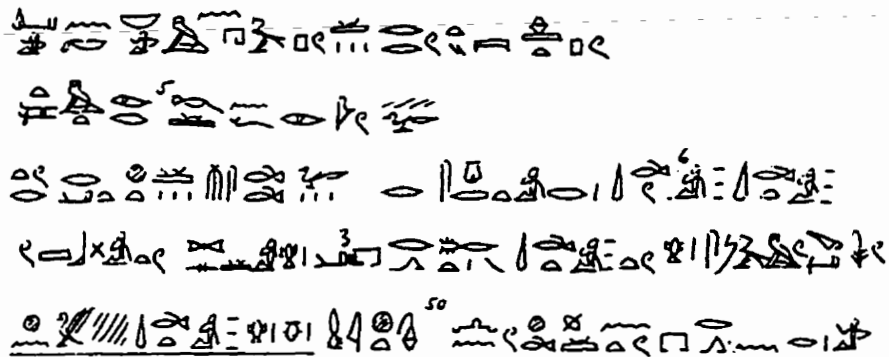


 (6, 1)

Text 16 Ipuwer. Adm 6,1, p.44.



Text 17 Neferti. Helck, p.32-35



Text 18 Neferti. Helck, p.39-42.

𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗
 𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗⁵⁵𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗
 𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗¹³𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗
 𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗
 𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗
 𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗⁵⁷𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗

Text 19 Neferti. Helck, p.46-47.

𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗

Text 20 Neferti. Helck, p.19.

𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗⁵𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗
 𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗
 𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗²⁶𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗

Text 21 Neferti. Helck, p.21-22.

𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗²⁷𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗
 𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗
 𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗²⁸𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗
 𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗
 𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗²⁹𓄊𓄎𓄓𓄥𓄗𓄣𓄥𓄗

Text 22 Neferti. Helck, p.24-5.

4. 𐎃𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎
 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎
 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎
 4. 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎
 [𐎎]𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎
 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎

Text 23 Neferti. Helck, p. 43-44.

𐎎𐎏𐎎³ 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 (𐎎𐎏𐎎) 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎

Text 24 Neferti. Helck, p. 49.

4. 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎⁹ 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎 𐎎𐎏𐎎

Text 25 Neferti. Helck, p. 57.

διὰ τὴν τοῦ Νείλου ἔνδειαν ἢ αὐτοκος |¹⁴ [γ]ῆ ἐκφθαρῆσεται ἀ-
 ποτε τὸ κύϊα. λυπηθήσονται τυφ¹⁵[φ]ῶ[ν]ι[ο]ι το[.]νυ. ἐν
 16 τε τοῖς τῶν τυφωνίων καιροῖς |¹⁶ [ἔστ]αῖ Αἴγυπτος κακοῦ ῥ-
 γημένη δεινοῖς κατ' ἔτος ἐξευρή¹⁷[μα]σ[ιν] καὶ τοῖς κια-
 κουργήμασιν. ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ἀμαυρωθή¹⁸σεται, ἰοῦ θέλιων
 ἰβλέπειν τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κακά· ἡ γῆ οὐ συμ¹⁹φλωνήσει τοῖς
 20 σιπέρμασιν·

Text 26 The Potter's Oracle. Koenen, ZPE 2, p.201.

ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν κακῶν, ἐπὶ τῶν φυλλό<ροια> παραγέ-
 32 νηται εἰς Αἴγυπτον |³² ἐξένων ἀνδρῶν. ἢ τε τῶν ζωνοφόρων
 πόλις ἐρημωθήσεται ὃν |³³ τρόπον ἢ ἐμῆ κάμιнос διὰ τὰς
 Col. II ἀνομίας, ἃς ἐποίησαντο τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ. |³⁴ τὰ ἀγά[λμ]ατα ἐκεῖ
 μετενεχθέντα πάλιν ἐ[πα]νήξει ἐπὶ τὴν |³⁵ Αἴγυπτον. ἢ τε πα-
 36 ραθαλάσσιος πόλις φυγμ[ός] ἀλιέων ἔσται διὰ |³⁶ τ[ὸ] τὸν Ἄ-
 γαθὸν Δαίμονα καὶ Κνηφιν εἰς [Μ]έμφιν πεπορευῆσθαι, |³⁷ ὥστε
 τινὰς διερχομένους λέγειν· "αὕτη π[ό]λις ἦν παντοτρόφος, |
 38 εἰς ἣν κατοικίσθη πᾶν γένος ἀνδρῶν."

Text 27 The Potter's Oracle. Koenen, *ZPE* 2, p.206.

καὶ τότε ἡ Αἴγυπτος |³⁹ ἀύξηθήσεται, ἐπὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα
 40 πέντε ἔτη εὐμενῆς |⁴⁰ ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ Ἡλίου παραγένηται βασι-
 λεύς, ἀγαθῶν δοτῆρ, καθιστά |⁴¹ μενος ὑπὸ θεᾶς μεγίστης (Ἰσι-
 δος), ὥστε εὔξασθαι τοὺς περι |⁴² ὄντας τοὺς προτετελευτηκότας
 ἀναστῆναι, ἵνα μετᾶσχωσι τῶ(ν) |⁴³ ἀγαθῶν.

Text 28 The Potter's Oracle. Koenen, *ZPE* 2, p.206.

futurum tem-
 pus est, cum adpareat Aegyptios incassum pia mente
 diuinitatem sedula religione seruasse; et omnis eorum
 sancta ueneratio in inritum casura frustrabitur. e
 5 terris enim et ad caelum recursura diuinitas lin-
 queturque Aegyptus terraque, sedes religionum quae
 fuit, uiduata numinum praesentia destituetur. alic-
 nigenis enim regionem istam terramque conplenti-
 bus non solum neglectus religionum, sed, quod est
 10 durius, quasi de legibus a religione, pietate cultuque
 diuino statuetur praescripta poena prohibitio. tunc
 terra ista sanctissima, sedes delubrorum atque tem-
 plorum, sepulcrorum erit mortuorumque plenissi-
 ma.

Text 29 The Apocalypse of Asclepius. *CH*, p.327.

inhabitabit Aegyptum Scythes
aut Indus aut aliquis talis, id est uicina barbaria.
diuinitas enim repetit caelum, deserti homines toti
morientur atque ita Aegyptus deo et homine uiduata
deseretur. te uero appello, sanctissimum flumen,
tibi que futura praedico : torrenti sanguine plenus
5 adusque ripas erumpes undaeque diuinae non solum
polluentur sanguine, sed totae rumpentur et uiuis
multo maior numerus erit sepulcrorum ; superstes
uero qui foret, lingua sola cognoscetur Aegyptius,
actibus uero uidebitur alienus.
10 **25.** quid fles, o Asclepi ? et his amplius multo-
que deterius ipsa Aegyptus suadebitur inbueturque
peioribus malis

Text 30 The Apocalypse of Asclepius. *CH* , p.327-8.

sanctitatis et pietatis magistra,
15 erit maximae crudelitatis exemplum. et tunc taedio
hominum non admirandus uidebitur mundus nec
adorandus.

Text 31 The Apocalypse of Asclepius. *CH* , p.328.

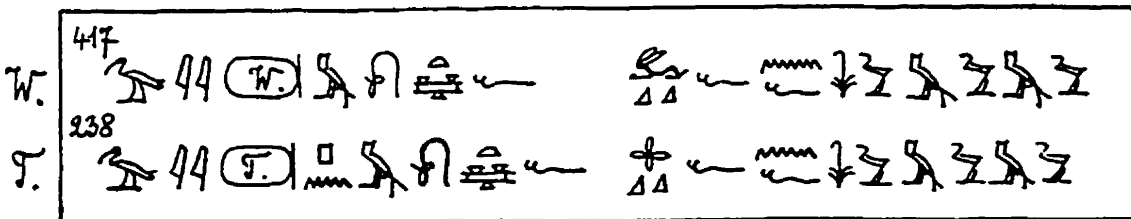
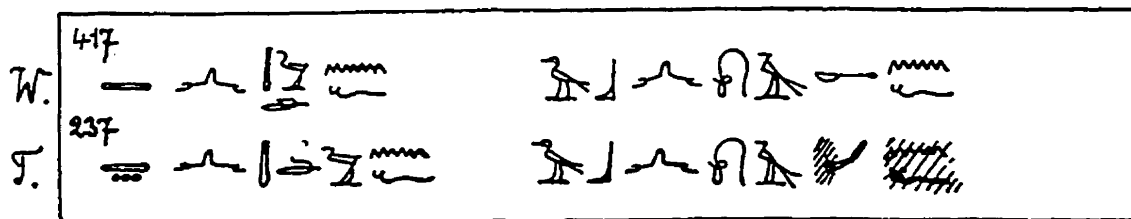
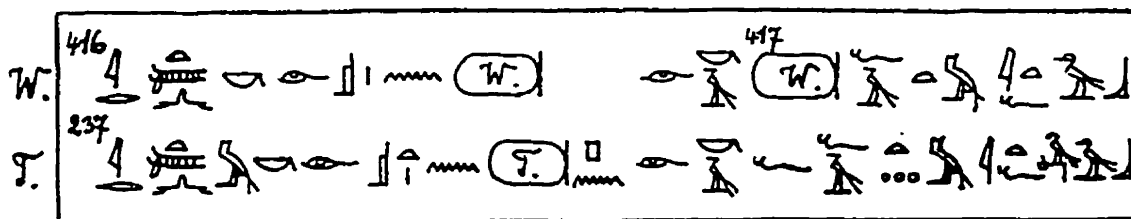
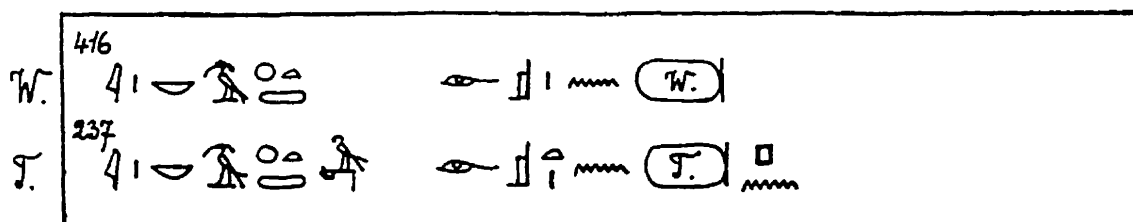
nam et tenebrae praeponentur lumini et mors uita
utilior iudicabitur ; nemo suspiciet caelum ; reli-
giosus pro insano, inreligiosus putabitur prudens,
5 furiosus fortis, pro bono habebitur pessimus.

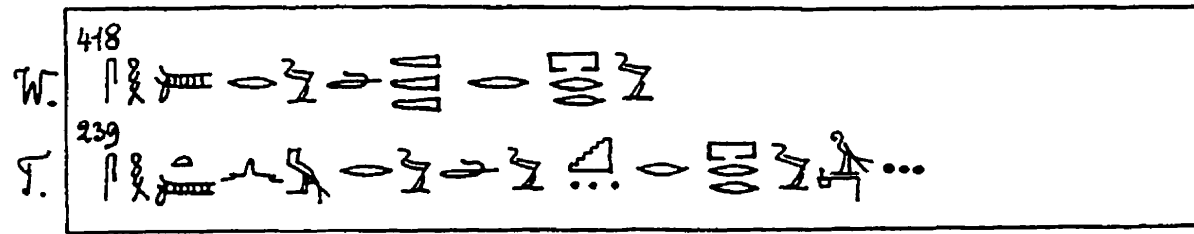
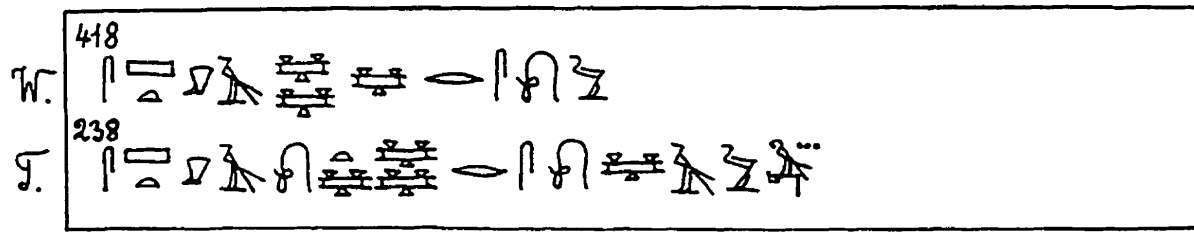
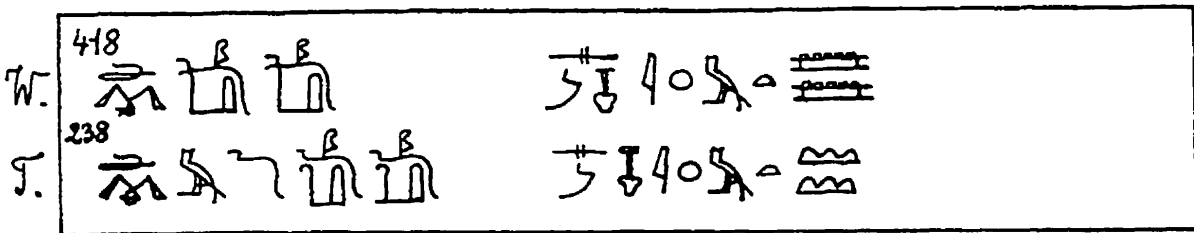
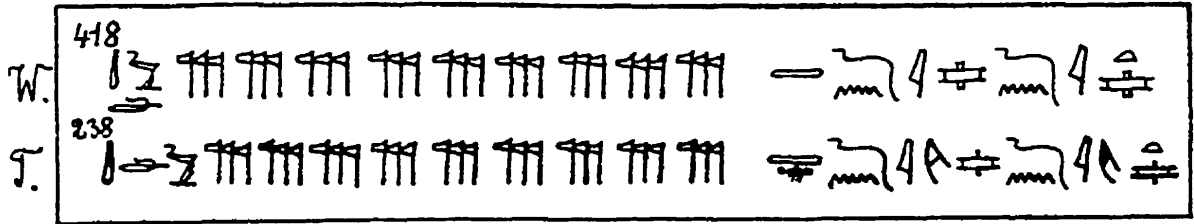
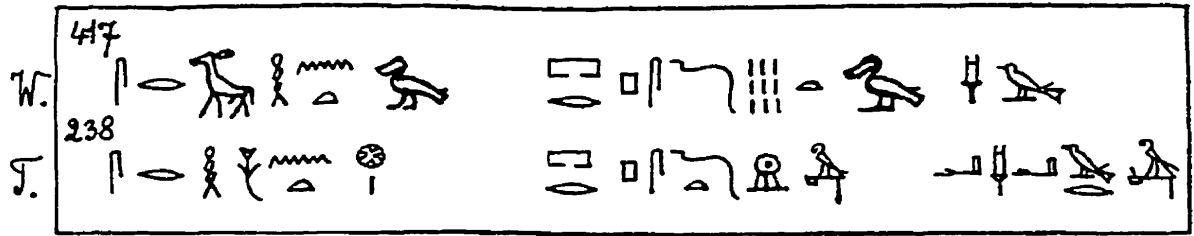
Text 32 The Apocalypse of Asclepius. *CH* , p.329.

fit deorum ab hominibus dolenda secessio ; soli
15 nocentes angeli remanent, qui humanitate commixti
ad omnia audaciae mala miseros manu iniecta con-
pellunt, in bella, in rapinas, in fraudes et in omnia
quae sunt animarum naturae contraria. tunc nec
terra constabit nec nauigabitur mare nec caelum
20 astrorum cursibus nec siderum cursus constabit in
caelo ; omnis uox diuina necessaria taciturnitate
mutescet ; fructus terrae conrumpentur nec fecunda
tellus erit et aer ipse maesto torpore languescet.
26. haec et talis senectus ueniet mundi : in-
25 ligio, inordinatio, inrationabilitas bonorum omnium.

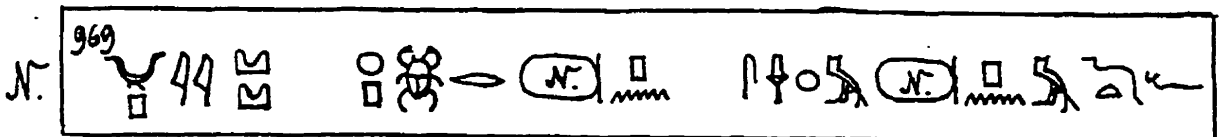
cum haec cuncta contigerint, o Asclepi, tunc ille dominus et pater, deus primipotens et unius gubernator dei, intuens in mores factaque uoluntaria, uoluntate sua, quae est dei benignitas, uitiis resistens et corruptelae omnium, errorem reuocans, malignitatem omnem uel inluuione diluens uel igne consumens uel morbis pestilentibus iisque per diuersa loca dispersis finiens ad antiquam faciem mundum reuocabit, ut et mundus ipse adorandus uideatur
 5 atque mirandus et tanti operis effector et restitutor deus ab hominibus, qui tunc erunt, frequentibus laudum praeconiis benedictionibusque celebretur. haec enim mundi genitura : cunctarum reformatio rerum bonarum et naturae ipsius sanctissima et reli-
 10 giosissima restitutio

Text 33 The Apocalypse of Asclepius. CH , p.329-31.

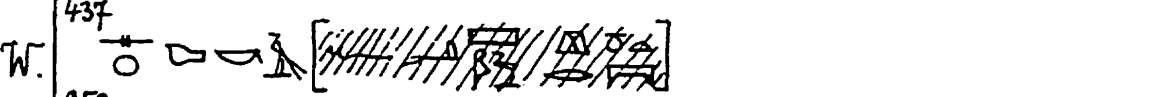
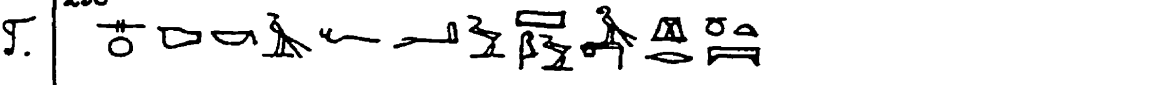



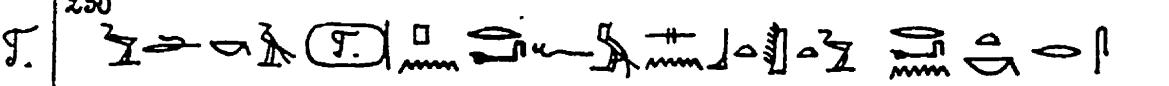


Text 34 Pyr. 277-9, Utt. 254. Sethe I, p.149-50.

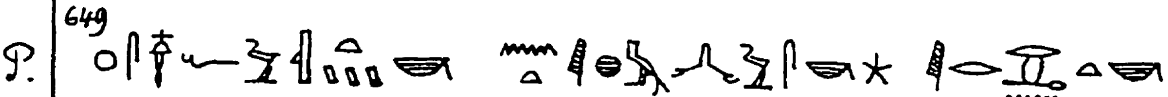
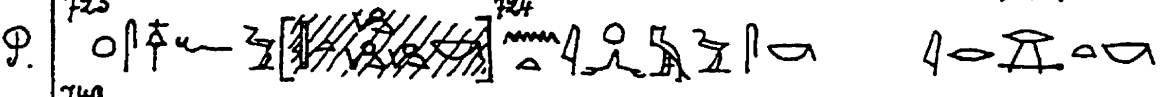
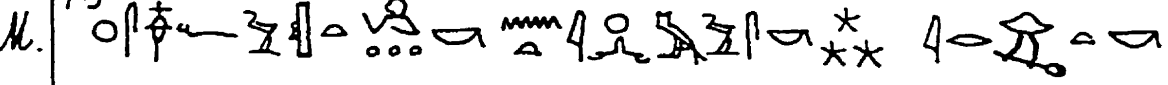





Text 35 Pyr. 2064, Utt. 685. Sethe II, p.502.

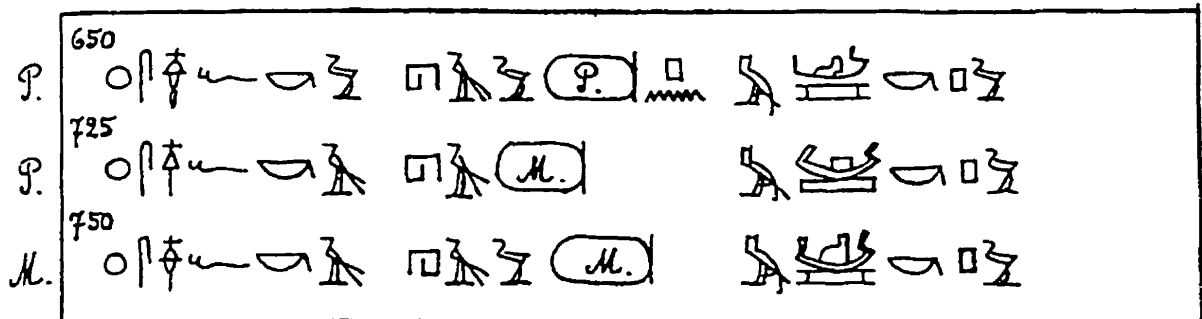
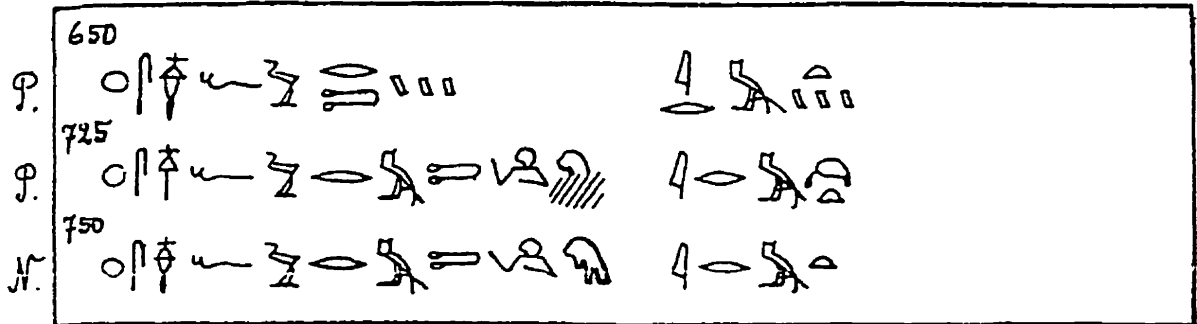
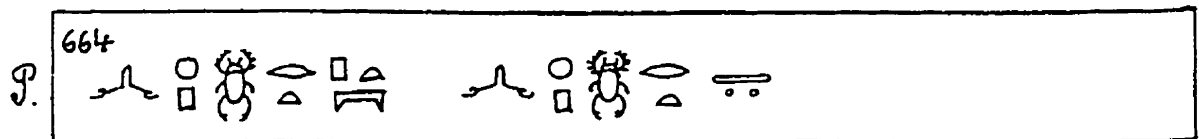
437
 W. 
 250
 F. 

438
 W. 
 250
 F. 

Text 36 Pyr. 299, Utt. 255. Sethe I, p.161.

649
 P. 
 723
 P. 
 749
 M. 

649
 P. 
 724
 P. 
 749
 M. 

Text 37 *Pyr.* 1439, *Utt.* 569. *Sethe II*, p.282-3.Text 38 *Pyr.* 1466, *Utt.* 571. *Sethe II*, p.302-3.

^c

1* with the cross-stroke of .
 2* , apparently not .
 3* Traces suit: .
 4* .

B3K	B1K

B3K	B1K

B3K	B1K

B3K	B1K

Text 39 CT 619, VI 231.

B3C	B4C	B1B0	B2B0	B1C	B6C	B7C	B9C	B1L	B3L	B2P

B3C	B4C	B1B0	B2B0	B1C	B7C	B9C	B1L	B3L

Text 40 CT 1100, VII 418-9.

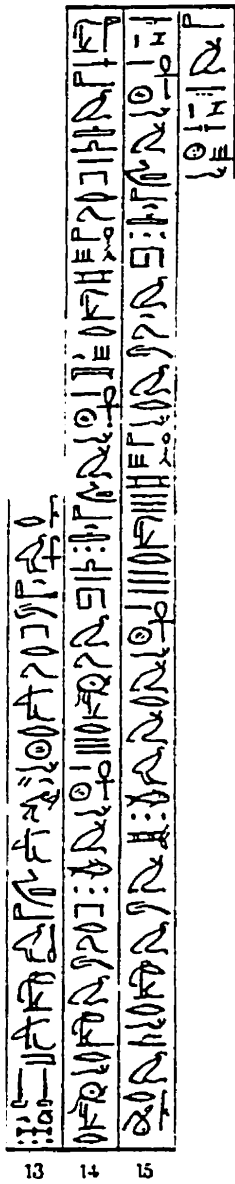
SIC
^b

SIC
^c

Text 41 CT 586, VI 208.

^b	^c		

Text 42 CT 366, V 27.



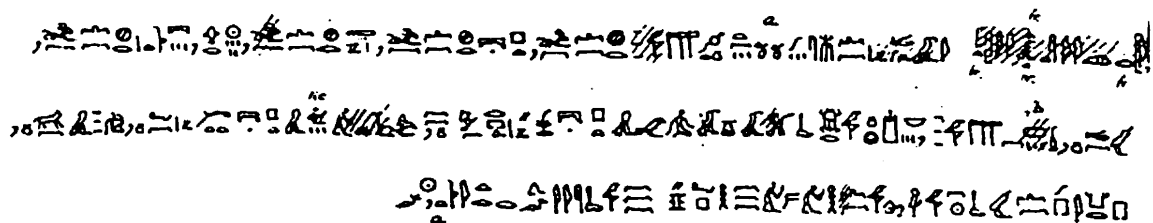
Text 43 Book of the Dead. Chapter 65. Naville, pl. LXXVII.

	B1A	B1C	B1P
e			
f			
	Sp. 369 follows.	Sp. 369 follows.	Sp. 369 follows.

Text 44 CT 368, V 30.



Text 45 pap. Harris VII, recto 2-4. Akmar, *Harris*, p. 24-5.



Text 46 pap. Leiden I 348 verso 11, 5-8. Borghouts, *Leiden*, p. 15.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Egyptian hieroglyphs, arranged in several lines.

Text 47 pap. Turin 137, 2-4. Pleyte, Turin, pl. CXXXVII.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Egyptian hieroglyphs, arranged in several lines.

Text 48 pap. Turin 122, 1-5. Pleyte, Turin, pl. CXXII.

(31) Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Egyptian hieroglyphs, arranged in two lines.

Text 49 pap. Bulaq VI, 11, 4-5. Gardiner, JEA 16 (1930), p.228, n. 31.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Egyptian hieroglyphs, arranged in two lines.

Text 50 pap. Chester Beatty VII, recto 3,5-7. Gardiner, BM, pl.33

Text 51 pap. Chester Beatty V, verso 5.4-6, 4. Gardiner, *BM*, pl. 28-9.

Text 52 pap. Leiden I 343 + I 345. Massart, *Leiden*, p.30.

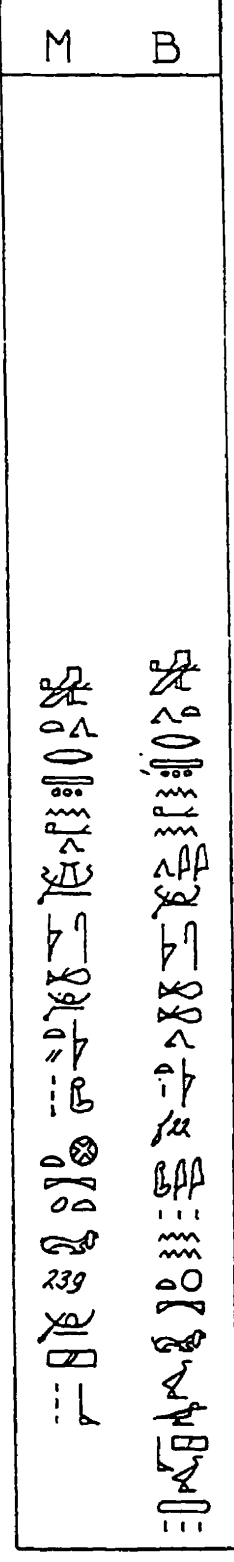
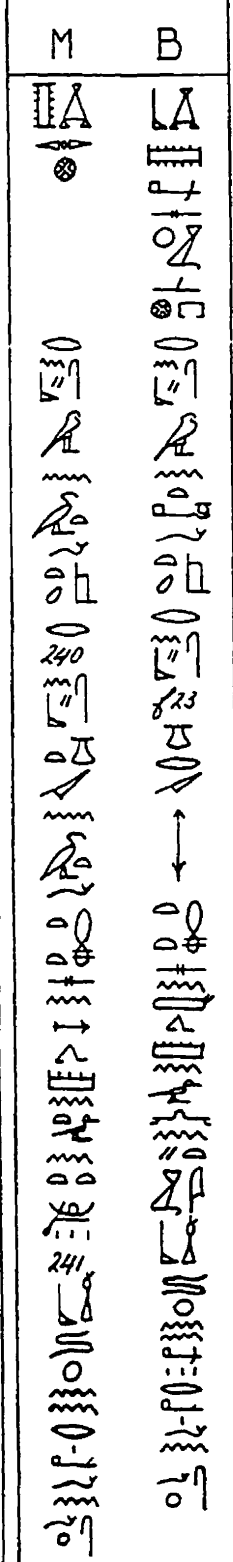
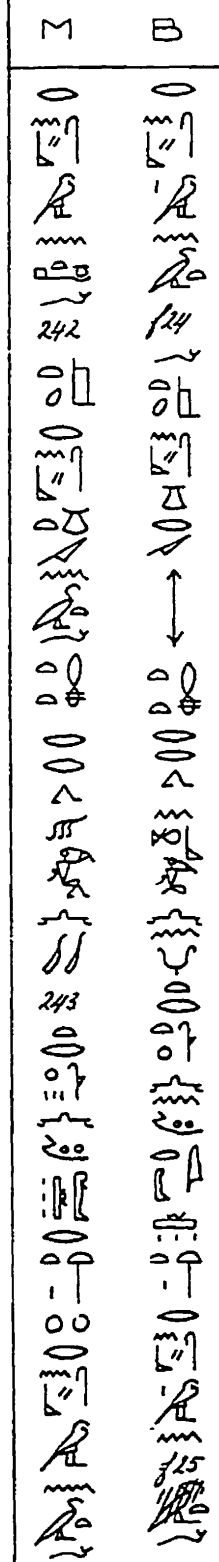
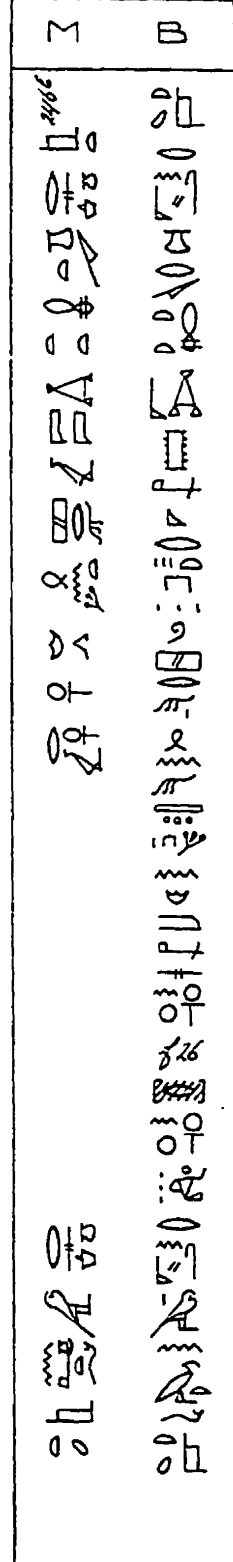
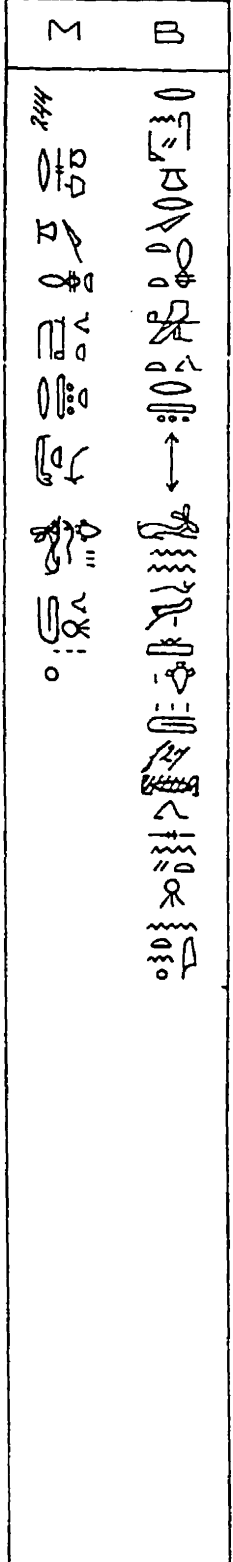
Text 53 pap. Leiden I 343 +I 345. Massart, *Leiden*, p.40.

Text 54 pap. New York 35.9.21, col. 27, 7-8. Goyon, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), p.369 (204).

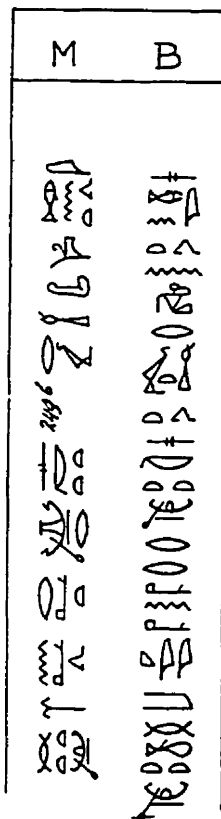
Text 55 pap. Ebers [360] 58, 6-15. Grapow, *Grundriss V*, p.84.

B	M
AA	BA

Text 56 Metternich Stela. Klasens, Base, p.27.

M	B
<p>  </p>	
M	B
<p>  </p>	
M	B
<p>  </p>	
M	B
<p>  </p>	
M	B
<p>  </p>	


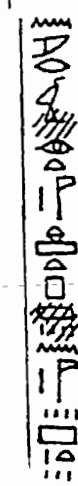
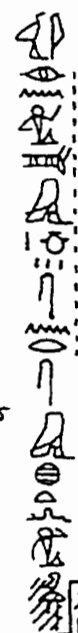
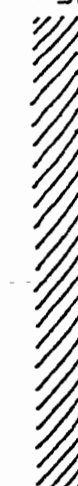
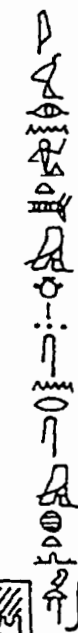
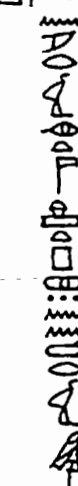

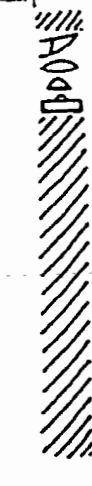

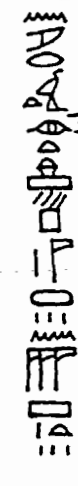

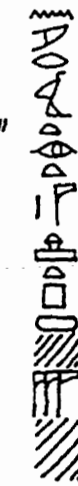

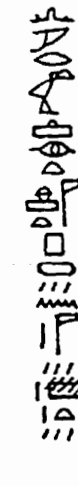
Text 57 Metternich Stela. Klasens, Base, p.31-2.



Text 58 Metternich Stela. Klasens, *Base*, p.34.

και σί-
 σω τὸ στ[ε]ρέωμα [τ]ῆς γῆς καὶ συνελεύσε-
 ται τὰ 2 στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἵν' ὁ [ἐ]κ τού-
 των μηδὲν γένηται.

Text 59 The Warren papyrus. Hunt in *Studies Griffith*, p.234.

B3C	B4C	B1B0	B1C	B6C	B9C	B1L
 	 	 	 	 	 	 

Text 60 CT 1130, VII 464.

𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅 (II. 1) 𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉𐀊𐀋 𐀌𐀍𐀎𐀏𐀐𐀑𐀒𐀓
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 𐀢𐀣𐀤𐀥𐀦𐀧𐀨𐀩𐀪𐀫𐀬𐀭 (II. 2) 𐀮𐀯𐀰
 𐀱𐀲𐀳𐀴𐀵𐀶𐀷𐀸𐀹𐀺𐀻𐀼𐀽𐀾𐀿
 𐁀𐁁𐁂𐁃𐁄𐁅𐁆𐁇𐁈𐁉𐁊𐁋𐁌𐁍𐁎
 𐁏𐁐𐁑𐁒𐁓𐁔𐁕𐁖𐁗𐁘𐁙𐁚𐁛𐁜
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 𐁪𐁫𐁬𐁭𐁮𐁯𐁰𐁱𐁲𐁳𐁴𐁵
 𐁶𐁷𐁸𐁹𐁺𐁻𐁼𐁽𐁾𐁿
 𐂀𐂁𐂂𐂃𐂄𐂅𐂆𐂇𐂈𐂉 (II. 4) 𐂊
 𐂋𐂌𐂍𐂎𐂏𐂐𐂑𐂒𐂓𐂔𐂕
 𐂖𐂗𐂘𐂙𐂚𐂛𐂜𐂝𐂞𐂟𐂠𐂡
 𐂢𐂣𐂤 (II. 5) 𐂥𐂦𐂧𐂨𐂩𐂪𐂫𐂬𐂭𐂮𐂯𐂰

Text 61 Ipuwer. Adm 10, 13-11, 1-5, p. 75-77.

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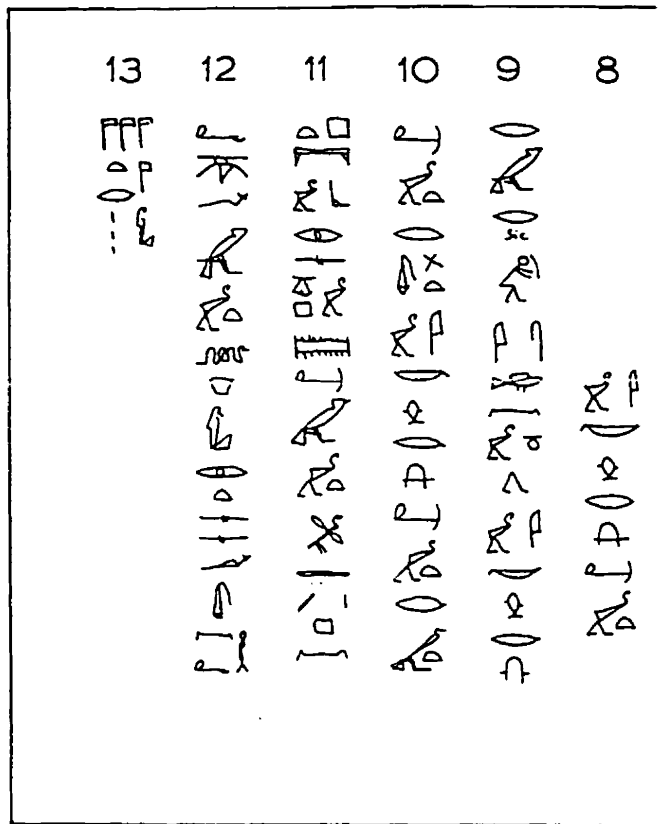
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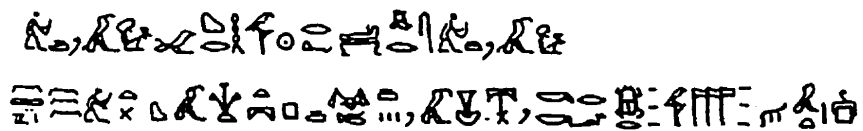
Text 62 pap. Jumilhac. Vandier, *Jumilhac*, pl. XVIII.

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 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 [𐤓𐤓] I.4 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓
 I.5 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
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 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 [𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓] I.6 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓
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 I.8 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓
 I.9

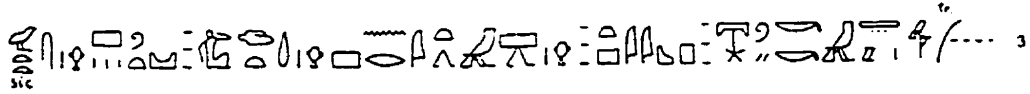
Text 63 pap. Salt 825. Derchain, Salt, pl.1.



Text 64 pap. Salt 825. Derchain, *Salt*, pl.18.



Text 65 pap. Leiden I 348 [9] recto 4, 3-5. Borghouts, *Leiden*, pl.4.

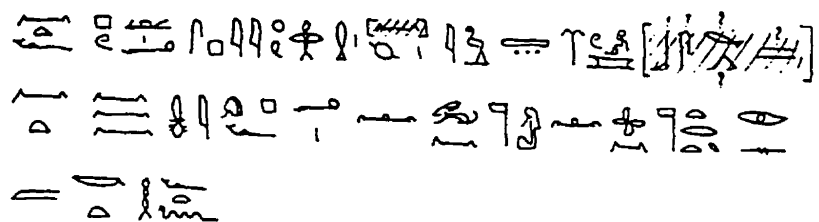


Text 66 Ostrakon Deir El Medineh 1066. Posener, *Ostraca* I, pl.36.



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Text 67 Book of the Dead. Chapter 175. Naville, pl. CXCVIII.



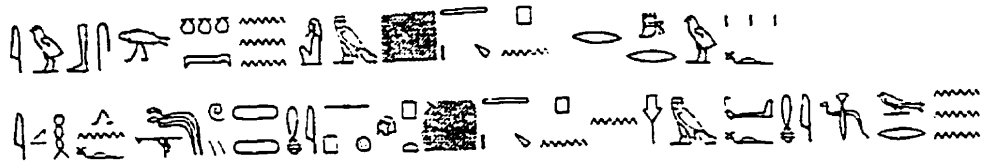
Text 68 Hymn to Osiris (Temple of Opet at Karnak). Otto, *CdE* 37(1962), p.252.



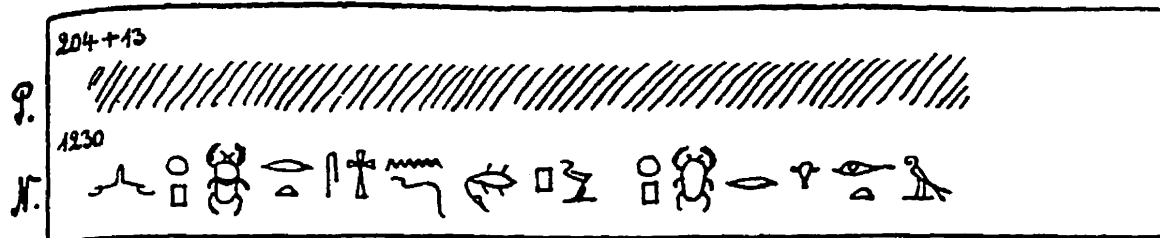
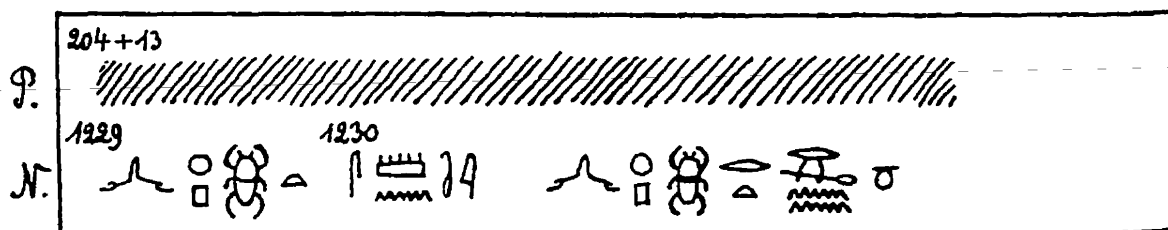
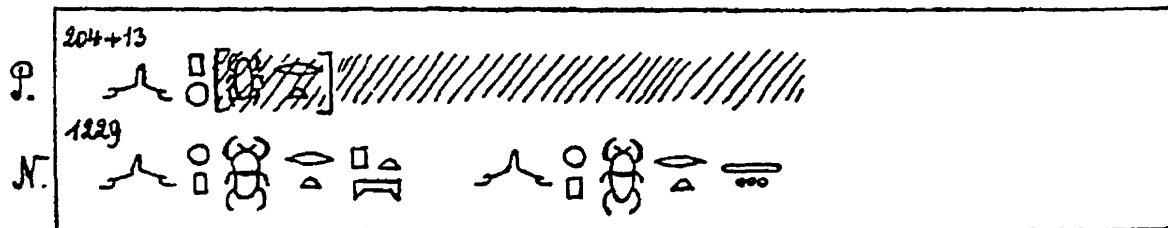
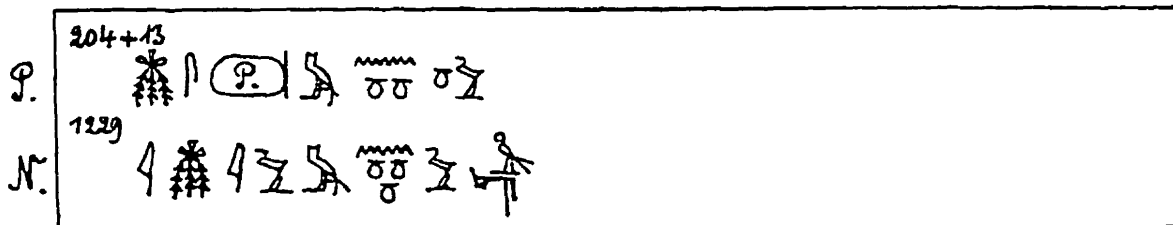
Text 69 Myth of the Destruction of Mankind. Guilhou, *Vieillesse*, pl. A1.



Text 70 Shipwrecked sailor. De Buck, *Reading*, p.104.



Text 71 An inundation in the time of Osorkon III. Temple of Luxor. Daressy, RecTrav 18 (1896), p. 181.



Text 72 Pyr. 1040, Utt. 486. Sethe II, p.80-1.

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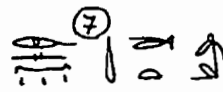
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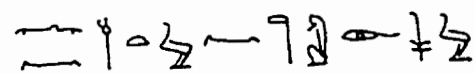
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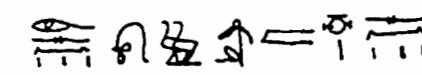
Text 73 Texts describing the "Golden Era". Otto, in Derchain, *Religions*, p.103-106.

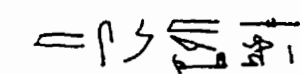
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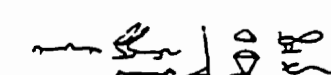
Text 74 CT 1130, VII 463-4.






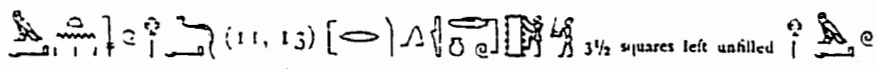


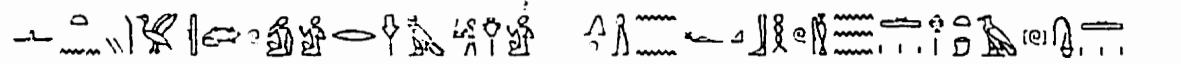


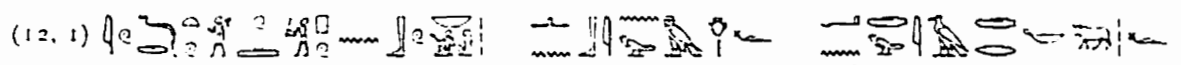


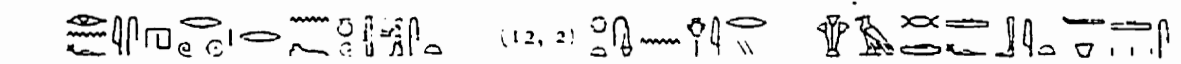


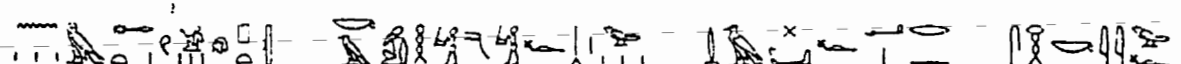
Text 75 The Banishment Stela. *Urk.* III, p.111-2.

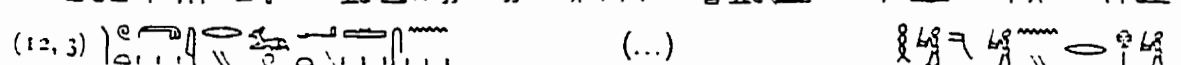


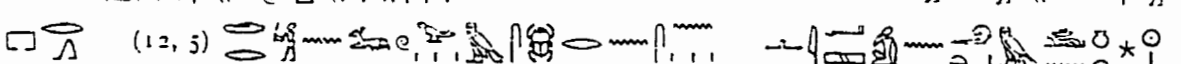


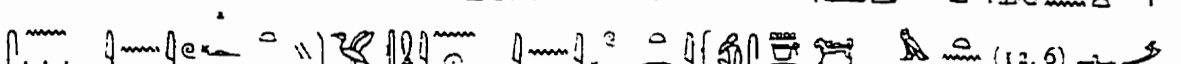


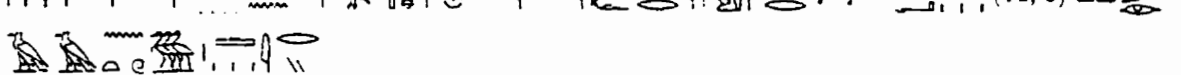










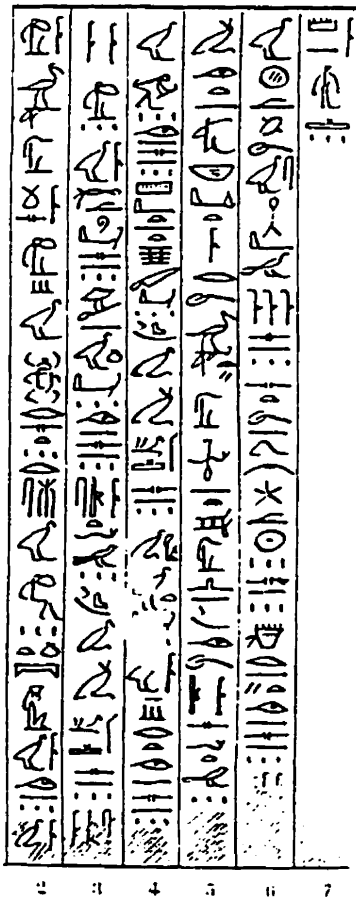


Text 76 *Ipw*. *Adm* 11, 11-12, 6, p.78.

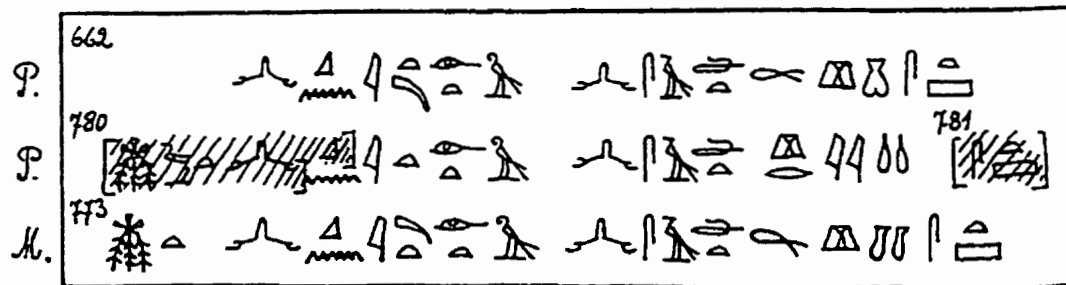
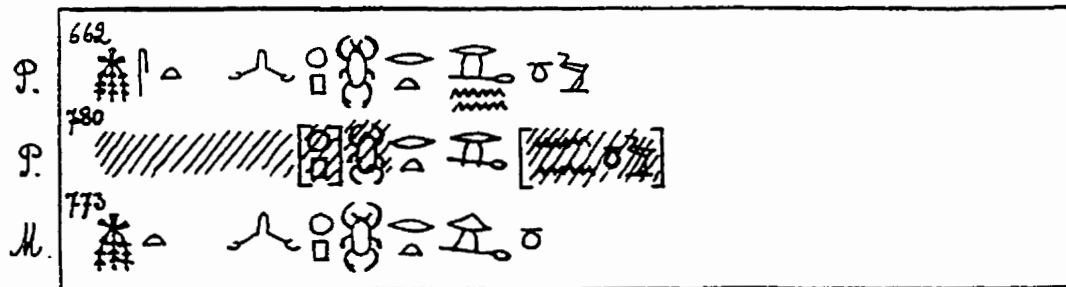
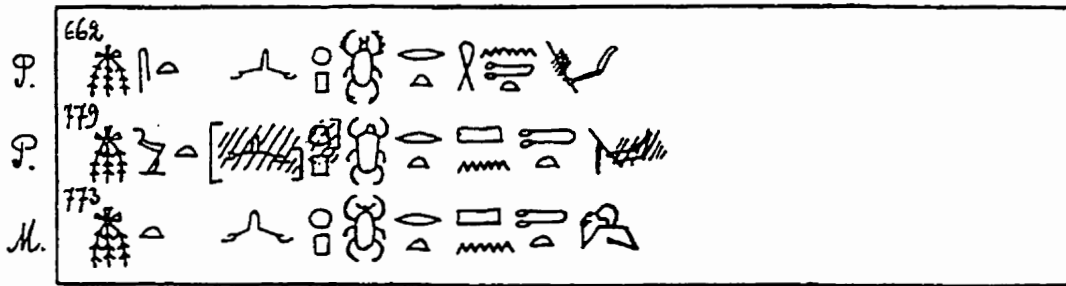
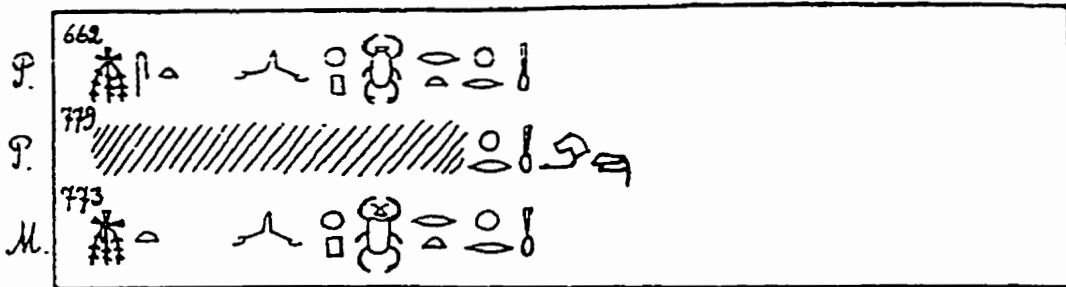
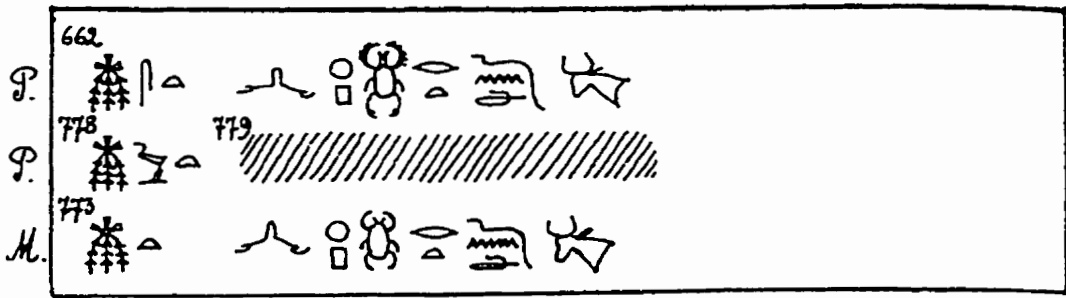
16. nec ergo dixi, o Asclepi et Hammon, quod a multis dicitur: « non poterat deus incidere atque auertere a rerum natura malitiam? » (...)

dicunt enim ipsi deum debuisse omnifariam mundum a malitia liberare; ita enim in mundo est ut quasi membrum ipsius esse uideatur. prouisum cautumque est, quantum rationabiliter potuisset a summo deo, tunc cum sensu, disciplina, intelligentia mentes hominum est munerare dignatus. hisce enim rebus, quibus ceteris antestamus animalibus, solis possumus malitiae fraudes, dolos uitiaque

Text 77 The Apocalypse of Asclepius. CH, p.314-5.



Text 78 Book of the Dead. Chapter 175. Naville, pl. CXCVIII.



Text 79 Pyr. 1463, Utt. 570. Sethe II, p.300.

𐤀𐤓𐤃𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏
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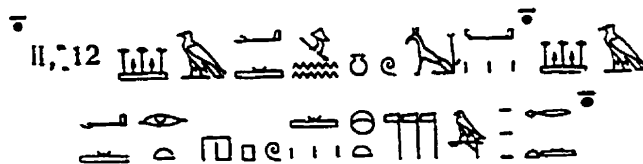
Text 80 pap.Chester Beatty I. Chester Beatty I, pl. III A.

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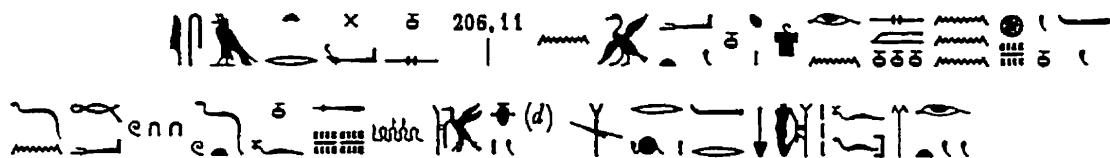
Text 81 pap.Chester Beatty I. Chester Beatty I, pl. XV A.



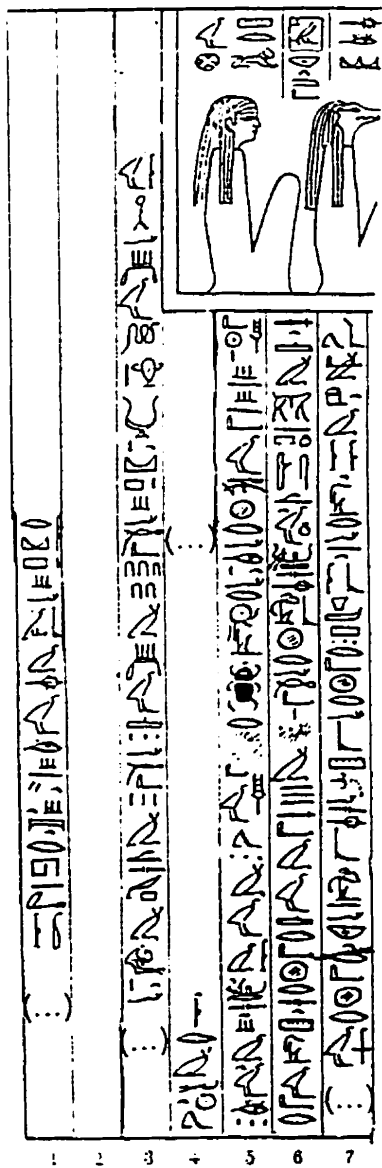
Text 82 Book of the Dead. Chapter 82. Naville, pl. XCIV.



Text 83 pap. Leiden I 346, 1, 11-12. Stricker, *OMRO XXIX* (1948), p. 64.

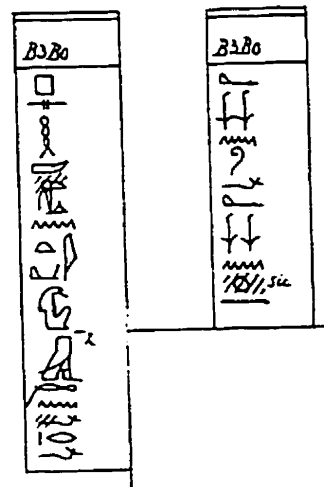


Text 84 Text describing the birth of Apophis. Sauneron, *Esna III* 206, 10-11.



Text 85 Book of the Dead. Chapter 108.

Naville, pl. CXIX.



Text 86 CT 717, VI 346.

B3C	B7C	B1C	B6C	B9C	B1L

B3C	B7C	B1C	B6C	B9C	B1L

Text 87 CT 1130, VII 467-8.

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Text 88 Faulkner, *Hours*, p.12*.

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Text 89 Faulkner, *Hours*, p.25*.

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Text 91

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Text 90 Book of the Dead. Chapter 17. Naville, pl. XXIII.

Text 91 Book of the Dead. Chapter 17. Naville, pl. XXIII.