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
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Sherine M. ElSebaie (2000)
The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author’s permission.

L’auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L’auteur conserve la propriété du droit d’auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.
The Destiny of The World: A Study on the End of The Universe in The Light of Ancient Egyptian Texts
Sherine M. ElSebaie
Master of Arts, 2000
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.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A large number of people helped directly and indirectly to make me stand at this point and submit this thesis. These people are so numerous to an extent that pushes me not to list any names in this acknowledgment by fear I might forget to mention someone.

Professors, librarians, friends, and family, I hope they would forgive me for this and I hope they would understand that any thanks given to them would be by far insufficient.

To them all, to all of those who took sincere care in listening to me, in helping me morally and financially, in devoting to me their time to give me a piece of advice or to make me feel better, to all of those I dedicate this work.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of original texts in Appendix</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texts and Comments</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Complaints</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 The Admonitions of Ipuwer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 The Complaints of Khakheperre-Sonb</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 The Dispute between a man and his ba</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Prophecies</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 The Prophecies of Neferti</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 The Prediction of the Lamb under Bocchoris</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 The Potter’s Oracle</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 The Apocalypse of Asclepius</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Magical and Funerary texts</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Pyramid Texts</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Coffin Texts</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Book of the Dead</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Papyrus Harris VII, recto 2-4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Papyrus Leiden I 348, verso 11, 5-8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6 Papyrus Turin 137, 2-4 and 122, 1-5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- paralleled with pap. Bulaq VI, 11, 4-5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7 Papyrus Chester Beatty VII, recto 3, 5-7</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8 Papyrus Chester Beatty V, verso 5.4-6, 4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9 Papyrus Leiden I 343 + 345</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10 Papyrus New York 35.9.21, col.27, 7-8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11 Papyrus Ebers [360] 58, 6-15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.12 Metternich Stela</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.13 Graeco-Roman and Coptic Texts</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Warren Greek magical papyrus</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Coptic papyrus of Berlin 8314</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.14 Papyrus Salt 825</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- paralleled with papyrus Leiden I 348 [9] recto 4, 3-5</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- paralleled with an ostracon of Deir El Medina 1066

4. Chapter 175 of the Book of the Dead and parallel
   - Hymn to Osiris (Temple of Opet at Karnak, Ptolemy VIII, Eurgetes II)

Final Comment 46
Bibliography 47
Figures 57
Appendix 70
LIST OF 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).

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).
LIST OF ORIGINAL TEXTS IN 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 5 Ipuwer. Adm 2, 5-6, p.25.
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 15 A dispute between a man and his ba. Goedicke, lines 103-130.
Text 16 Ipuwer. Adm 6,1, p.44.
Text 19 Neferti. Helck, p.46-47.
Text 23 Neferti. Helck, p. 43-44.

Text 24 Neferti. Helck, p. 49.


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


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

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


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


Text 39 CT 619, VI 231.

Text 40 CT 1100, VII 418-9.

Text 41 CT 586, VI 208.

Text 42 CT 366, V 27.

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

Text 44 CT 368, V 30.


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

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


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

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

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


Text 60 CT 1130, VII 464.

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

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


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


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

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


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

Text 74 CT 1130, VII 463-4.


Text 76 Ipuwer. Adm 11, 11-12, 6, p.78.

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

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

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

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

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

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


Text 85 Book of the Dead. Chapter 108. Naville, pl. CXIX.

Text 86 CT 717, VI 346.

Text 87 CT 1130, VII 467-8.

Text 88 Faulkner, Hours, p.12*.

Text 89 Faulkner, Hours, p.25*.

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

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

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". 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)"

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 1, 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)

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)

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)"

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)"

---

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.
He talks again of upside-down situations and social disorders:

"The Land breaks up, is destroyed, becomes [a waste Land]. Order (\(\text{\textcopyright}\)) is cast out, Chaos (\(\text{\textcopyright}\)) is in the council hall; the plans of the gods are violated, their provisions neglected. The land is in turmoil, there is mourning everywhere. Towns, districts are grieving, all alike are burdened by wrongs." (13) (..) "He who gave orders takes orders. (14)"  

1.3 The Dispute between a man and his ba: The single preserved copy of this famous text (papyrus Berlin 3024) dates from the twelfth dynasty.

The second poem of the man's final answer to his ba has all its stanzas begin with the question "to whom shall I speak today?". He then enumerates the reasons why he feels so isolated; he also includes the natural consequences of this "loss of communication", which are violence and evildoing:

"Brothers are mean, the friends of today do not love. Hearts are greedy, everyone robs his comrade's goods. Kindness has perished, insolence assaulsts everyone, one is content with evil, goodness is cast to the ground everywhere. He who should enrage men by his crimes - he makes everyone laugh < at > his evildoing. Men plunder, (...). The criminal is one's intimate, the brother with whom one dealt is a foe. The past is not remembered, now one does not help him who helped. (...) One goes to strangers for affection. Faces are blank, everyone turns his face from his brothers. (...) No man's heart can be relied on. None are righteous, the land is left to evildoers. (...) No one is cheerful, he with whom one walked is no more. I am burdened with grief for lack of an intimate. Wrong roams the earth, and ends not. (15)"  

One might think that this genre of texts, "the complaints", is not relevant to the theme of "the end of the world" that we are discussing. Indeed, we do not find in these texts any natural catastrophes such as the ones normally

---

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 Ipweer 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; 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. The ancient Egyptians felt the same feelings towards these social disturbances; they knew that if evil prevailed, this meant that the end was approaching. Ipweer 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)"

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

---

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)”

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) ”

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.
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

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 (mꜣṣr) will return to its seat, while Chaos (jsfꜣ) is driven away." 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

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

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.  

In the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, the fallen political conditions were accompanied
with a tempest and possibly lunar eclipses. 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. 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.  

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 ostracon 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: 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:

---

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.
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 λαῆλαὶ κεῖν "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).
"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.

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 (Doress, Visions... in La Table Ronde n.110, p.35; Koenen, 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. Civ., 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. Civ., p.336-7, 850; a flashing star appeared in the reign of Thoutmosis III: Dic.Civ., p.25; eclipses are bad signs (mark the death of a pharaoh) : Dic. Civ., 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.

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)  

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)  

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)  

Another pyramid utterance 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 Kákosy 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 (Vieillesse, 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 prophecy”. 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; Hormung, 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)"

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)"

---

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.  

"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. 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:

"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 \( \text{wb} \) court of Hathor, I will chop off the head of a hippopotamus in the \( \text{wb} \) 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 1 343 + 1 345: 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 laru. 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, Boulak, 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 `hw, 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. Thot hurries to her and says that:

64 Jean Claude Goyon, Textes Mythologiques II. Les Révélations 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)”

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:

"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; Ill, 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)"\textsuperscript{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 flagstaffs, 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)"\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{72} CT 1130, VII 464; Faulkner, CT III, p.167; Lichtheim, p.132; Brandon, Man, p.65, f. n.1.
\textsuperscript{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;
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 (…). Proclaim 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)"

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 (šḥw), the dead, the small and big livestock, the... cry and cry, a lot, a lot ... (63)"

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)"

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 I, 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 ostracon 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.\textsuperscript{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)" \textsuperscript{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)" \textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{80} Bickel, \textit{Cosmogonie}, p.228.
\textsuperscript{82} E. Otto, Zwei Parallel Zu TB 175, \textit{CdE} 37 (1962), p.251-3; Morenz, \textit{Religion}, p. 169 : he points to the phrase "without men knowing or the gods seeing" as the normal result of world's annihilation. Otto, \textit{CdE} 37 (1962), p. 253, adds that the god "no longer has any witnesses to his existence". See also Hornung, \textit{One}, p.163-4.
the world annihilation.\footnote{Wirz, Tod, p.56, 58, 62; Baines, JEA 76 (1990), p.66.} 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.\footnote{Dunand, Dieux, p.76.} 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)" \footnote{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".}

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)" \footnote{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.}

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.\footnote{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.} But this
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.\textsuperscript{90} And even
if the theme of conflict appeared in some Egyptian cosmogonies (for example,
the cosmogony of Edfu and the cosmogony of Esna),\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

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

\textsuperscript{91} Meeks, \textit{Daily}, p.20, 202, f. n. 29; Hornung, \textit{One}, p. 159, f. n. 39; Traunecker, \textit{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

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 (tumour, 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 (m3t) 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 Armun 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, Studio, 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. 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”.

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”. It is obvious from the “Declaration of Innocence” that evil was

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 lpuwer 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.
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. 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 thereat and report it, the outcry at my strength. (82)"

Another noteworthy mention of a rebellion of Osiris against Shu, punished by killing Osiris then reanimating him, is found in papyrus Salt. 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.

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)."

He is said to have called evil into being:

"Cause ye evil to come into being against the one who created it."

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, *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.
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.
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.\textsuperscript{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:

\textit{"Atum has bitten and has filled his mouth, and he coils up. (86)\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{120} From papyrus Bremner-Rhind, we know also how the creator god made some snakes to help him with the rest of the creation.\textsuperscript{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", \textit{JEA} 59 (1973), p. 114-149. See also \textit{CT} 414, V 244-8; Faulkner, \textit{CT} II, p.65.\textsuperscript{118} Bickel, \textit{Cosmogonie}, p.86 ff.; Dunand, \textit{Dieux}, p.66 ff.; Traunecker, \textit{Dieux}, p.84; Menu, in Derousseaux, \textit{Création}, p.101.\textsuperscript{119} \textit{CT} 717, VI, 346; Faulkner, \textit{CT} II, p.271. Same as \textit{Pyr}. 425, Utt 284, p.86; Sethe I, p.221; Meeks, \textit{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, \textit{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, \textit{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", \textit{SAK} 1 (1974), p.83-104; Hornung, \textit{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, \textit{Religion}, p.26; Wirz, \textit{Tod}, p.57, f. n.13.\textsuperscript{120} Sauneron, \textit{Naissance}, p.37-8, p.61, f. n.43; for more details on Nehebkaou: LÄ IV, col. 388-90; Zandee, \textit{Death}, p.98-100; \textit{Wb} II, p.292; Meeks, \textit{Daily}, p.71. Kematef: LÄ III, col. 382-3; \textit{Wb} V, p.130; Neferhotep: LÄ IV, p.372-3; \textit{Wb} II, p.255. Horsomtus: LÄ V, col. 1080-1; \textit{Wb} III, p.123. Ir-ta: Traunecker, \textit{Coptos}, p.149,151; \textit{Wb} I, p.109.\textsuperscript{121} Meeks, \textit{Daily}, p. 15-6, p.202, f. n. 7; Faulkner, The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus III. \textit{JEA} 23 (1937), p.172; Faulkner, \textit{Bremmer-Rhind}, XXVI 21-23.
evil\textsuperscript{122} (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 (\textit{sd m r}).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{123} Wb IV, p.363.
\textsuperscript{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. 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. 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)"

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, they were split.

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

123 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.

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

128 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.

129 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). In the Book of Hours, we have sentences like: "Osiris-Atum who lives in Tjeku (88)" or "Osiris in his form of Re (89)." 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)"

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)"

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.
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{134} The water in which he floats is a source of potential


\textsuperscript{134} We know from the Coffin Texts how the god was in lassitude in the Nun: \textit{CT} 80, II 34-5; Faulkner, \textit{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, \textit{Vieillesse}, p.9, 17, 35 f. n. 77.
energy that he will advantageously put to use.\textsuperscript{135} And finally was not the moment of creation called \textit{\textit{sp tpy}} the first occasion? It logically implies that this occasion is the first in a series and that it will be followed by others.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,

\begin{footnotesize}


\textsuperscript{137} Kákosy, \textit{Studia}, p. 60; Assmann, Königs...in Hellholm, \textit{Apocalypticism}, p. 369; Derchain, \textit{Salt}, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{138} Morenz, \textit{Religion}, p. 171; Hornung, \textit{One}, p. 179. See also Hornung’s article "Chaotische Bereiche in der Geordneten Welt", ZAS 81(1956), p.28-32, for these chaotic elements in the organized world.
\end{footnotesize}
because of a strong inundation, they disappear. 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." And that one day this sphere of life would be swallowed again in the non-existence.

---

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". 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.

That is why the ancient Egyptians do not seem to look at the world's annihilation in a negative way. 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. Thus they looked at the end of the world the same way they looked at death: a transition, a gate to life.

---

142 See above p. 18; LÁ 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 LÁ VI, col.1213.
**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adm</strong></td>
<td>Gardiner, Alan H., <em>The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage From a Hieratic papyrus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AJA</strong></td>
<td><em>American Journal of Archaeology</em>, Baltimore, ab.1897 : Norwood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Akmar, Harris</strong></td>
<td>Akmar, Ernst, <em>Le Payrus Magique Harris</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASAE</strong></td>
<td><em>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte</em>, Cairo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Assmann, Zeit</strong></td>
<td>Assmann, Jan, <em>Zeit und Ewigkeit im Alten Ägypten ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ewigkeit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heidelberg, 1975.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bickel, Cosmogonie</strong></td>
<td>Bickel, Susanne, <em>La Cosmogonie Égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire</em>. Éd. Universitaires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIFAO</strong></td>
<td><em>Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale</em>, Cairo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Borghouts</strong></td>
<td>Borghouts, J.F., <em>Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts Religious Texts Translation Series</em>, Nisaba,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author/Title</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CdE</td>
<td><em>Chronique d’Égypte</em>. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élizabeth, Brussels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author, Series</td>
<td>Title and Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hommages Daumas II</td>
<td>Hommages à François Daumas. Institut d'Égyptologie, Université Paul-Valéry, Tome II. Montpellier, 1986.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEA</td>
<td>The <em>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</em>. Published by the Egypt Exploration Society, London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klio</td>
<td><em>Klio.</em> Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Leipzig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Massart, *Leiden*  

MDAIK  
*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo.*

Meeks, *Daily*  

Mélanges Mariette  
*Mélanges Marietta. IFAO BdE XXXII. Cairo, 1961.*

Morenz, *Religion*  

National Geographic  
*National Geographic. National Geographic Society, Washington.*

Naville  

OMRO  
*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit Rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leide, Leiden.*

Piankoff, *Papyri*  

Piankoff, *Shrines*  

Pleyte, *Turin*  

Posener, *Divinité*  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Posener, Ostraca I</td>
<td>Posener, Georges</td>
<td><em>Catalogue des Ostraca Hiératiques Littéraires de Deir el Médineh.</em> Tome I (n.: 1001 à 1108). IFAO documents de Fouilles. Cairo, 1938.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RecTrav</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne,</em> Paris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAK</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur,</em> Hamburg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Table Ronde</td>
<td><em>La Table Ronde</em>. Revue mensuelle, Paris.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Westendorf, Göttinger


Wirz, Tod


Zandee, Death


ZÄS


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).
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-Taui, MMA, New York. (after Piankoff, Papyri, fig. 51; p.63).
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 5 Ipuwer. *Adm* 2, 5-6, p.25.

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 15. A dispute between a man and his ba. Goedicke, lines 103-130.
Text 16 Ipuwer. *Adm* 6,1, p.44.


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


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

Text 24 Neferti. Helck, p. 49.


Text 29 The Apocalypse of Asclepius. CH , p.327.
Inhabitabit Aegyptum Scythes aut Indus aut aliquis talis, id est vicina barbaria. diuinitas enim repetit caelum, deserti homines toti morientur atque ita Aegyptus deo et homine uiduata deseretur. te uto appello, sanctissimum flumen, tibique futura praedico: torrenti sanguine plenus adusque ripas crumpes undaque diuinae non solum pollutent sanguine, sed totae rumpentur et uiuis multo maior numerus erit sepulcrorum; superstes uto qui foret, lingua sola cognoscetur Aegyptius, actibus uto uidetur alienus. 25. quid fles, o Asclepi? et his amplius multoque deterius ipsa Aegyptus suadebitur inbucturque peioribus malis.


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

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

nam et tenebrae praeponentur lumini et mors uiuta utilior iudicabitur; nemo suspicet caelum; religiosus pro insano, inreligiosus putabitur prudens, furiosus fortis, pro bono habebitur pessimus.

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

fit deorum ab hominibus dolenda secessio; soli nocentes angeli remanent, qui humanitate commixti ad omnia audaciae mala miseros manu iniecta compellunt, in bella, in rapinas, in fraudes et in omnia quae sunt animarum naturae contraria. tunc nec terra constabit nec nauigabitur mare nec caelum asorum cursibus nec siderum cursus constabit in caelo; omnis uox diuina necessaria taciturnitate mutescet; fructus terrae conrumpentur nec fecunda tellus erit et aër ipse maesto torpore languescet. 26. haec et talis senectus ueniet mundi: inreligio, 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 voluntaria, voluntate sua, quae est dei benignitas, uitiis resistens et corruptelae omnium, errorem reuocans, malignitatem omnem uel inluuione diluens uel igne consumens uel morbi pestilentibus iisque per diversas loca dispersis finiens ad antiquam faciem mundum reuocabit, ut et mundus ipse adorandus uideatur atque mirandus et tanti operis effector et restitutor deus ab hominibus, qui tunc erunt, frequentibus laudum praecornis benedictionibusque celebretur. haec enim mundi genitura: cuncarum reformatio rerum bonarum et naturae ipsius sanctissima et religiosissima restitutio

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


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B3C</th>
<th>BVC</th>
<th>B120</th>
<th>B180</th>
<th>B10C</th>
<th>B1C</th>
<th>B1C</th>
<th>B9C</th>
<th>B1L</th>
<th>B3L</th>
<th>B3P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text 40  CT 1100, VII 418-9.
Text 43  Book of the Dead. Chapter 65. Naville, pl. LXXVII.

Text 44  CT 368, V 30.


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


Text 57
Text 58 Metternich Stela. Klasens, Base, p.34.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B1C</th>
<th>B1C</th>
<th>B1Bq</th>
<th>B1C</th>
<th>B1C</th>
<th>B1C</th>
<th>B1L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Text 60  CT 1130, VII 464.

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

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


Text 76 Ipupur. 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, intellegentia mentes hominum est munere dignatus. hisce enim rebus, quibus ceteris antestamus animalibus, solis possumus malitiae fraudes, dolos uitaque.

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.
Text 80 pap.Chester Beatty I. Chester Beatty I, pl. III A.
Text 82 Book of the Dead. Chapter 82. Naville, pl. XCIV.


Naville, pl. CXIX.

Text 86 CT 717, VI 346.
Text 88 Faulkner, *Hours*, p.12*.

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

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

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