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Divine Taxonomy in the Underworld Books

Abstract: The Underworld Books provide a unique perspective on divine taxonomy, juxtaposing gods with large, formal cults with gods whose existence is predicated on their membership within constellations of other netherworldly divinities. Examination of the ontological status of deities within the “Catalog” of the *Book of Amduat* and the *Great Litany of the Book of Adoring Re in the West* (a.k.a. *The Litany of Re*), including their use in non-funerary contexts, reveals a new definition for *daimones* within Egyptian theology.

Among the vast corpus of Egyptian funerary texts, the Underworld Books represent a relatively untapped source for the examination of divine taxonomy – thousands of individual figures appear within these texts, labeled with names and attributes, often accompanied by textual specifications of their functions within the space-time of the divisions of the night.¹ The majority of these entities did not possess physical cult emplacements in temple or domestic settings, but their theological existence was predicated on their membership within the constellation of beings incorporated into the netherworldly treatises. Attested first in royal tombs of the New Kingdom, the Underworld Books consist of at least seven distinct compositions,² although by the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, new compilations of three or more of these individual “books” could appear in private tombs; during the Thirtieth Dynasty and early Ptolemaic Period, “interchangeable parts” of these diverse compositions were transformed into standardized templates utilized in the decoration of large stone sarcophagi.³ A diachronic survey of the deities within the Underworld Books reveals the direct juxtaposition of well-known deities that play a central role in the Egyptian pantheon with beings whose ontological status may best be termed *daimones*, thereby offering a new perspective on taxonomic divisions within the world of the divine.

The “demons” who guard the portals of the Underworld and other chthonic features in the *Book of the Dead* are often included in overviews of ancient Egyptian demonology,⁴ and the gate-guardians and other demons in the *Book of the Dead* have

1 A version of this paper was presented at the conference “Evil Spirits, Monsters, and Benevolent Protectors: Demonology in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia,” April 23, 2012 at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University, and I would like to thank Rita Lucarelli for her invitation to participate. I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for commenting on a draft of this article.

2 For overviews of the corpus, see Hornung 1992a, 1999; more recent editions of individual compositions include Roulin 1996; Darnell 2004; Hornung /Abt 2007; Manassa 2007; Müller-Roth 2008; Werning 2011; Roberson 2012.

3 Manassa 2007, 438–445, *passim*.

4 Meeks 1971; te Velde 1975; Meeks 2001.

recently received more specific analysis.⁵ While the *Book of the Dead*, like the Underworld Books, is attested primarily in funerary contexts, both corpora do occur in temple decoration and might have possessed a much more extensive non-funerary ritual application.⁶ The study of the demonology of the Underworld Books is thus not confined to an examination of the royal afterlife, but has implications for multiple aspects of religious and magical praxis. Among the rich source material of the Underworld Books, the following discussion will focus on two specific compositions: the catalog of divine entities (Catalog) in the *Book of the Hidden Chamber* (henceforth, *Amduat*) and the forms of Re in the Great Litany of the *Book of Adoring Re in the West* (henceforth, *Litany of Re*). The first text lends itself to a synchronic study, since the only complete attestation of the Catalog is the tomb of Thutmose III, which also contains the *Long Amduat*, *Short Amduat*, and *Litany of Re*. The examination of the *Litany of Re* must proceed from a diachronic perspective, since textual witnesses range from New Kingdom tombs and Twenty-First Dynasty papyri to Thirtieth Dynasty through early Ptolemaic Period sarcophagi. The following survey does not attempt an exhaustive treatment of the category *daimon* in ancient Egyptian religious thought, but provides an initial foray into the abundant information that the Underworld Books can offer a study of Egyptian taxonomy of the divine world, with particular focus on “demonology.”⁷

Catalog of Divinities in the Book of the Hidden Chamber (Amduat)

Among Egyptian religious compositions in general and the Underworld Books in particular, *Amduat* is notable for the presence of multiple paratextual elements:⁸ a title, instructions for placement in a three-dimensional space, and a “Catalog.” The paratextual elements of *Amduat* point towards an Egyptian approach to the “text” as an entity that transcends any particular exemplar, and *Amduat* represents one of the clearest examples of an “academic book” in the Egyptian textual record.⁹ While the *Short Amduat*, called the *shwty*, “summary,” in its ancient title, appears in

⁵ Lucarelli 2006, 2010.

⁶ Compare, among the many possible references, Assmann 1970; Wente 1982; Assmann/Bommas 2002; Manassa 2007, 411–430, 468–475; von Lieven, forthcoming. For netherworldly demons in non-funerary rituals, see pp. 64–66 below.

⁷ For the state of “demonology” research in Egyptology, see the introductory article by Lucarelli in the present volume and the contributions in Kousoulis 2011.

⁸ Paratext in ancient Egypt is most commonly discussed in the context of literary texts – see Moers 2001, 81–82; Parkinson 2002, 73–75.

⁹ For the *Amduat* as “academic book,” see Baines 1990, 12–13 (he refers to the Catalog as an “index”).

seven tombs and on one papyrus,¹⁰ the Catalog appears in only one complete example – Chamber F, the upper pillared hall, of the tomb of Thutmose III (KV 34).¹¹

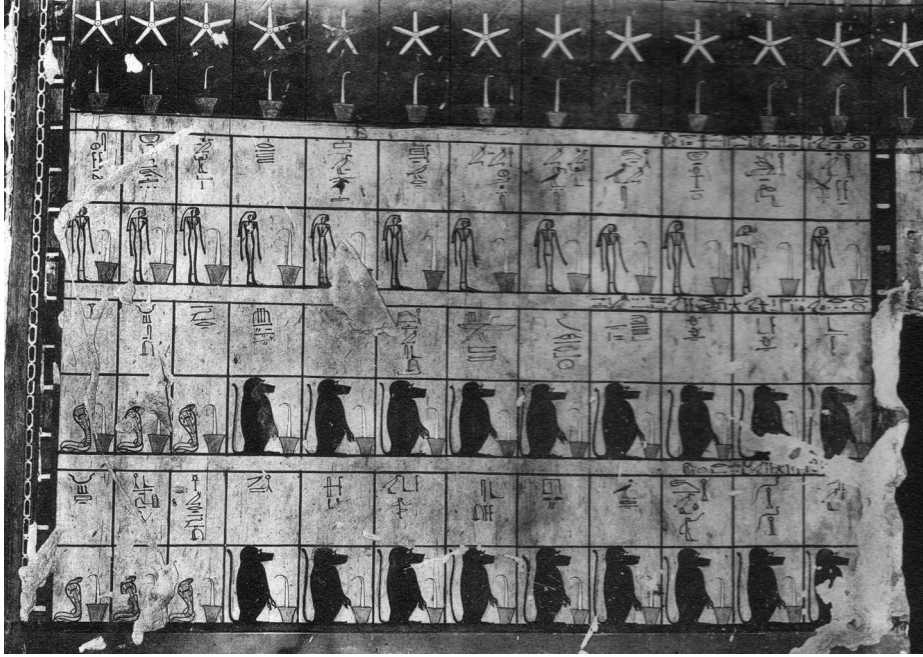


Fig. 1: First Hour of *Amduat* Catalog, tomb of Thutmose III (after Bucher 1932, pl. 14)
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Like the *Amduat* itself, the Catalog consists of twelve hours, each divided into three registers of annotated images, above which are two registers with a row each of burning incense cups (Gardiner R7) and stars.¹² The structure of the Catalog finds a close parallel in the physical layout of the upper and lower registers of the First Hour of *Amduat*: a series of stacked squares, each containing a divine entity and its name (Figures 1–2). In the Catalog, each “entry” is placed within a vertically oriented rectangle and in the First and Second Hours, a horizontal line separates the upper half, with the name of the entity, from the lower half, which contains the

¹⁰ Hornung 1967.

¹¹ The main edition of the text remains Bucher 1932, pls. 14–22; the texts from the Catalog are included in Hornung’s synoptic edition (1987–1994), with source note in vol. 1, p. XI. For a description of the architectural context of the Catalog, see Roehrig 2006, 241–242.

¹² Hornung 1999, 33: “In the tomb of Thutmosis III, an exceptional instance is the catalogue of deities in the upper pillared hall (the antechamber to the sarcophagus chamber); it arranges most of the beings (though none of the enemies) who appear in the *Amduat* in the manner of a list but with their order occasionally modified, while the stars that are inserted in each case indicate the desired ascent of the king’s *ba*-soul into the heavens.”

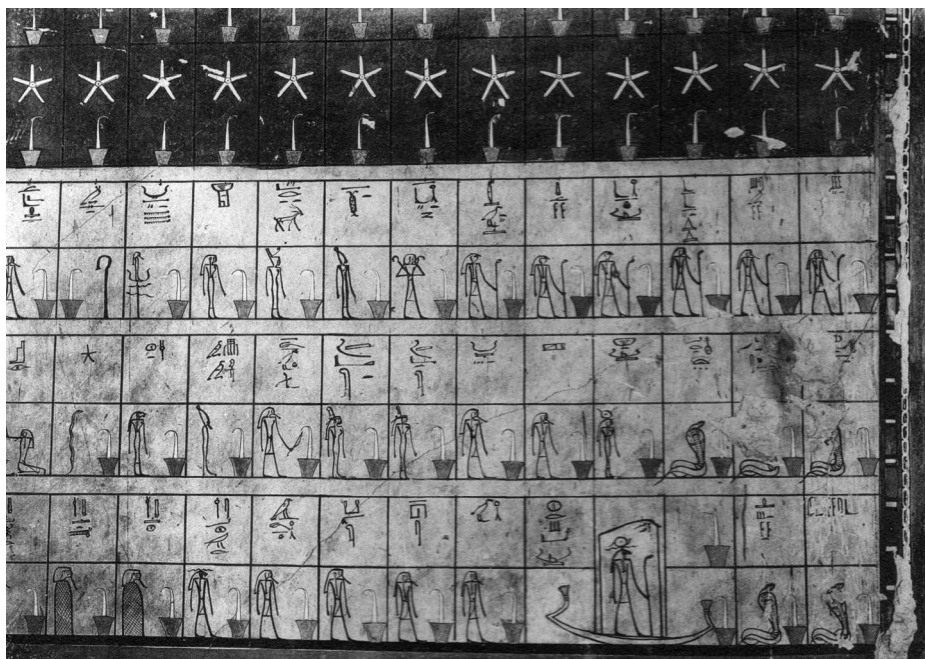


Fig. 2: First Hour of *Amduat* Catalog, tomb of Thutmose III (after Bucher 1932, pl. 14)
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image of the entity (facing right) and a burning incense cup; in the remaining hours, while the name and image continue to appear in the upper and lower portions of the rectangle, no dividing line is present.¹³ Variations from this standard template include: the bark of Re (as *iwf* “Flesh”) that takes up three rectangles (First Hour, No. 46¹⁴), entities with leftward orientation (e.g. Nos. 527, 757¹⁵), serpents in the upper half of the rectangle with seated divinities below (e.g. Nos. 279–282, 285¹⁶), and in some cases names are written twice, once with a full orthography and once in a clipped, semi-cryptographic orthography (e.g. multiple deities in the Eighth Hour). The Catalog is laid out on the four walls of Chamber F so that the twelve hours are placed one after another in a counter-clockwise fashion around the room, containing a total of 741 individual entries (Figure 3); the consecutive ordering of the hours of the Catalog creates a circular motion akin to the “ideal” arrangement of the *Long Amduat* according to the instructions within the text: west wall – Hours 1 through 4; south wall – Hours 5 and 6; north wall – Hours 7 and 8; east wall – Hours

¹³ The presence of the dividing line is also noted in Roehrig 2006, 241–242.

¹⁴ All of these designations follow the sequential numbers given to the deities within the synoptic edition of Hornung 1987–1994; a separate numbering system for the Catalog is not provided here.

¹⁵ These deities also face to the left in the standard representations in the *Long Amduat*.

¹⁶ For additional examples and commentary, see below, p. 56–58.

9 through 12.¹⁷ Unlike the other versions of the *Amduat*, the Catalog has not been the focus of a detailed examination. A complete presentation of all twelve hours lies outside the scope of the present study,¹⁸ so the following description focuses on divine taxonomy in two hours, the First and the Fourth.

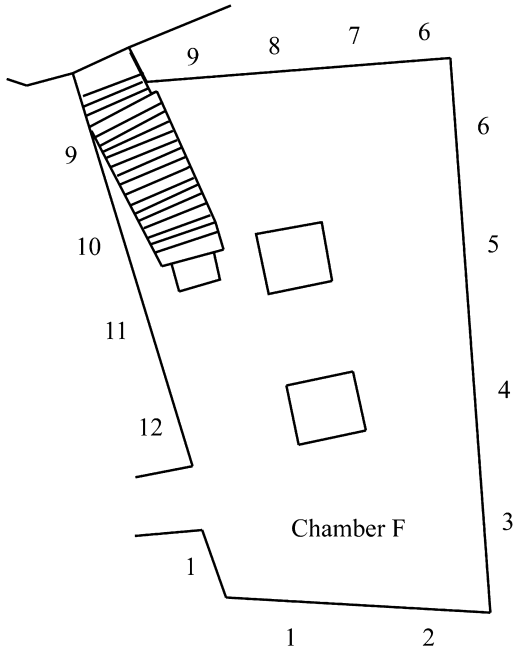


Fig. 3: Arrangement of the hours of the Catalog from the tomb of Thutmose III (after Weeks, *Atlas of the Valley of the Kings*)

The twelve hours of *Amduat*, which represent discrete units of time as well as delineated areas of space, contain over nine hundred named entities.¹⁹ The ontological status of each of these entities varies greatly. Divinities central to the Egyptian pantheon (e.g. Re, Osiris, Isis, Horus, Anubis, and Maat) appear alongside deities with a smaller purview (e.g. Hu, Sia, Mehen)²⁰, rarely attested divine entities (the majority of named divine figures in *Amduat*), and inanimate objects (stelae, *mdw-*

¹⁷ For the ideal arrangement of *Amduat*, see Barta 1969–1970; Abitz 1995, 44; Manassa 2007, 77–78, 447–452.

¹⁸ A more detailed presentation by the author is currently in preparation.

¹⁹ The three volumes of Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat* number the individual figures in *Amduat* from 1 to 908.

²⁰ Among the many possible examples, compare the juxtaposition of Osiris Wennefer (no. 182) with *ḥm ḥ3* “donkey swallower” (no. 185), the latter an attested “demonic” moniker; for this parallel, see Lucarelli 2007.

staffs, *šms*-signs, door leaves). The rarely attested deities or those unique to *Amduat* can be depicted as anthropomorphic, theriomorphic or most often, a mixture thereof, and annotated with specific functions, often describing a geographically limited range of motion. In other compositions, this category of entities with such circumscribed activities and influence would be categorized as “demons” (see below). The only groups of entities intentionally omitted from the Catalog are depictions of enemies;²¹ the sole exception is the image of goddess named *hmy.t* “Destructrix” (No. 356) who is shown holding a small figure of a damned individual, illustrating her means of sustenance:²² *ṛnh=s m snf mwt.w m spd=s di nn (n) ntr.w* “She lives from the blood of the damned and from her provisions which these gods give.” The intentional omission of “chaotic” forces within the Catalog suggests a different ontological status for evil “demons” as defined by te Velde (1975) as opposed to the morally neutral *daimones* recognized in more recent works on Egyptian demonology.²³

The Catalog begins with the deities within the First Hour of *Amduat*, which is the only hour within the *Long Amduat* to present its inhabitants in individual rectangles. Since only a single complete attestation of the Catalog is extant, one cannot determine if the First Hour of the *Long Amduat* intentionally alludes to the Catalog or if the Catalog used the First Hour as a template for all of the deities within the twelve hours of the night. Considering the long and prestigious role of “lists” in Egyptian religious compositions,²⁴ either scenario is possible. The use of the First Hour of *Amduat* in the tombs of Tutankhamun (KV 62) and Aye (KV 23) appears to represent a hybrid between the individual figures of the Catalog and the scenes that accompany the *Long Amduat*. Both tombs contain a perturbed annotation, nine baboons, two figures of Osiris worshipping a scarab within a bark, and five members of the solar bark; while the baboons and the three figures in the bark are taken from the *Long Amduat*, the five figures from the solar bark are shown outside of the bark itself, a feature that is found only in the Catalog.

The Catalog lacks a title like those present in the *Long* and *Short Amduat*, but annotations to four groups of divinities in the First Hour of the Catalog allude to

21 Compare the omission of names of enemy groups in the so-called “The Book of Quererets” (i.e. “The Spell of the Twelve Caves” or Book of the Dead Chapter 168), which is similarly divided into twelve hours and consists of lists of names (the chief publication of this text remains Piankoff /Jacquet-Gordon, 1974, 40–114; an additional copy appears on the sarcophagus of Ankhnap, CG 29031, for which see Manassa 2007, 20).

22 This is one of the few longer annotations within the Catalog, and the text is paralleled in the *Long Amduat* (Hornung 1963a, 83).

23 Kousoulis (ed.) 2011.

24 Baines 1988; Baines 1990, 7–8: “This preference for listing and grouping may have further implications for high-cultural transmission, because it devalues continuous text and narrative.” The Catalog may indicate that by the New Kingdom, lists existed both as an independent genre and as a separate “edition” of a continuous text; similarly the list aspects of the forms of the sun god in the Litany of Re should be seen against the longer litanies that are also part of the composition.

the titles of the other versions of *Amduat*. Above two sets of twelve goddesses and two sets of kneeling baboons from the First Hour, the Catalog reproduces short texts that correspond to annotations within the *Long Amduat*, but the Catalog adds the verb *rḥ* “to know”²⁵ to the *Long Amduat* text (see below). The alteration to the annotations of these groups of divinities in the Catalog provides an intertextual reference to multiple statements concerning “knowledge” in the preamble of *Amduat*:

sš n ʿ.t imn.t
ʿḥʿ.w b3.w nṯr.w šw.wt 3ḥ.w irw.w
ḥ3.t wp imn.t sb3 n 3ḥ.t imn.t
pḥ kkw-sm3.w sb3 3ḥ.t imn.t
rḥ b3.w dw3.tyw
rḥ irw.w
rḥ s3ḥ.w=sn n Rʿ
rḥ b3.w šṯ3.w
rḥ im.yt wnw.t nṯrw=sn
rḥ ḏwī=f sn
rḥ sb3.w w3.wt ʿpp.t nṯr ʿ3 ḥr=sn
rḥ šm.t wnw.t nṯr.w=sn
rḥ w3š.yw ḥtm.yw

Illuminated texts of the Hidden Chamber,
the positions of the *bas*, the gods, the shades, the *akh*-spirits, and visible forms.
The beginning is the horn of the West, namely the portal of the western horizon,
the end is the unbroken darkness, the portal of the western horizon
To know the *bas* of the Underworld dwellers;
To know their visible appearances;
To know their effective spells for Re;
To know the secret *bas*;
To know what is in the hour and their gods;
To know how he calls them;
To know the doors and the paths over which the great god passes;
To know the course of the hours and their gods;
To know the honored and the damned.

A similar list of categories of cosmographical knowledge appears in the introduction of *King as Solar Priest*.²⁶ The Catalog of *Amduat* might have been among the body of knowledge listed in *King as Solar Priest*, and the presence of the burning incense be-

²⁵ A clipped writing of *rḥt* “list” is less likely – compare the juxtaposition of the two words (clearly distinguished in orthography) in Hornung 1975, 95 *Wsir NN rḥ rḥt Imn.tyw* “Osiris NN knows the list of the Westerners.”

²⁶ Assmann 1970; von Lieven 2002. For *rḥw*-knowledge in the Underworld Books, see also Assmann 1995, 16–37; Wente 1982; Darnell 2004, 473–479.

fore each figure of the Catalog creates an implied ritual context to be accompanied by the liturgical recital of the listed names.²⁷

In addition to the use of the infinitive “to know” in the Catalog, slight textual variations between the *Long Amduat* and the Catalog also suggest an active editing process, as shown in the following comparisons (Catalog variants noted in *italics*):

Annotation to Nine Kneeling Baboons²⁸

LA:²⁹ *rn.w n.w ntr.w wnn.yw n b3 ʿ3*

Names of the gods who open for the Great Ba.

C: *rh rn.w n.w ntr.w im.yw dw3.t wnn.yw n b3 ʿ3*

To know the names of the gods *within the Duat* who open for the Great Ba.

Annotation to Twelve Goddesses³⁰

LA: *rn.w n.w ntr.wt sns.yw Im.y-t3*

Names of the goddesses who praise the One-within-the-earth.

C: *rh rn.w n.w ntr.ywt hkn.ywt Im.y-t3*

To know the names of the goddesses who *acclaim* the One-within-the-earth.

Annotation to Nine Praising Gods

LA: *rn.w n.w ntr.w dw3.yw Rʿ*

Names of the gods who adore Re.

C: *r[h rn.w n.w] ntr.w dw3.yw Rʿ*

To k[now the names of] the gods who adore Re.

Annotation to the Twelve Hour Goddesses

LA: *rn.w n.w ntr.ywt ssm.wt ntr ʿ3*

Names of the goddesses who lead the great god.

C: *rh rn.w n.w ntr.ywt ssm.yt ntr ʿ3*

To know the names of the goddesses who lead the great god.

The statements of knowledge in the Catalog not only allude to the preamble of *Amduat*, but in the context of ancient Egyptian “demonology” also parallel the requisite knowledge of the names of gate-guardians as well as the specific parts of the portals themselves in the *Book of the Dead*. As a cosmographic composition, *Amduat* does not ascribe any threatening features to the *daimones* that populate the hours of the night, but knowledge of their names is no less crucial – for in the Underworld Books, the very functioning of the cosmos, not simply the fate of a single deceased individual is at stake.³¹ The most prominent formal features of the Catalog, placing

²⁷ Compare the Late Period ritual text the “Book of Hours” (Faulkner 1958; Quack 2000).

²⁸ Hornung 1987, 114.

²⁹ *Long Amduat*, which in these texts is primarily consistent across all versions from Thutmose I to Ramesses VI.

³⁰ Hornung 1987, 116–117.

³¹ The transposition of events in an individual’s afterlife into the cosmic realm (if the process is not vice-versa) also appears in the “Judgment Hall” from the *Book of Gates*, which may represent the weighing of the heart of the sun god himself; for this scene and its cryptographic text, see Manassa 2006.

each individual entity within its own “box,” further enhances the power of knowing the names of the deities. Each deity is literally bound by lines that reinforce the control of the knowledgeable reader/practitioner over every single divine manifestation. Although no paratext records the ritual setting of the laying out and painting of the *Amduat* Catalog, the introductory section of the *Litany of Re* offers a parallel for a specific time and place in which such texts could be created (see below), and a description in the First Hour of the *Long Amduat* probably applies to the Catalog as well:³²

iw ir=tw nn mi sšm pn m imn.t n.t dw3.t
 iw ir nw n sšm.w m.ty ntr ʿ3 ds=f
 iw 3h n=f tp t3 šs m3r wr.t mi sšm=sn št3 m sš.w

One makes these (images) like this image (i.e. template) in the hidden part of the Underworld. The one who makes these images is the likeness of the great god himself. It is effective for him on earth, truly attested, like their mysterious images in writing.

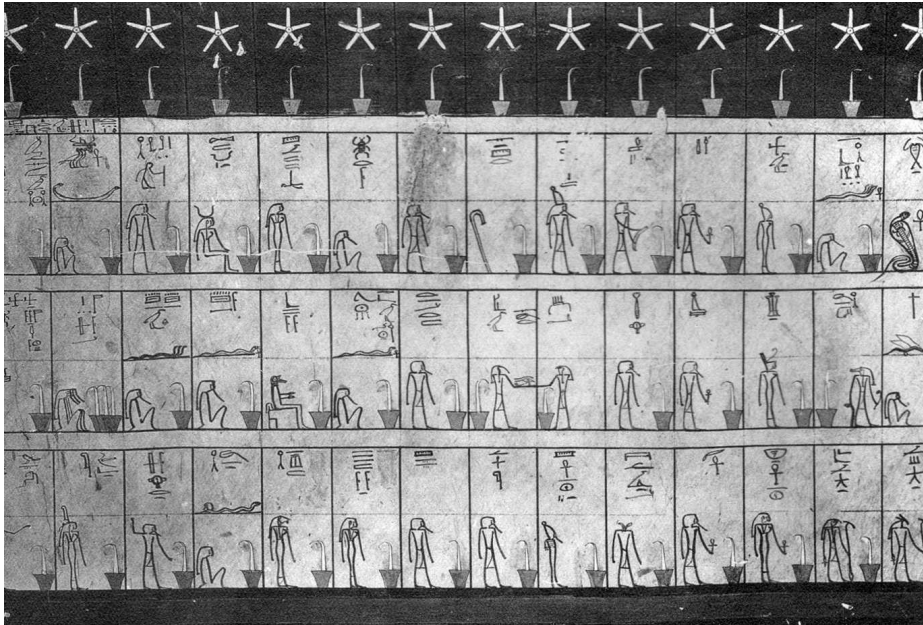


Fig. 4: Fourth Hour of *Amduat* Catalog, tomb of Thutmose III (after Bucher 1932, pl. 16)
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³² Hornung 1987, 22.

Knowing the images, as well as drawing them, confers similar benefits to the deceased,³³ for which one may compare a description of efficacious ritual knowledge in the introductory text of the Fourth Hour of the *Long Amduat*:³⁴ *iw rh ššm pn m wnm t3 r r3 rh.w m hw.t-tm* “The one who knows this image is one who eats bread with the living in the Temple of Atum.” The entities of the Fourth Hour as represented in the Catalog also offer an interesting case study for the ontological status of Netherworldly deities. The Fourth and Fifth hours of *Amduat* are designated the “land of Sokar,” and these two hours are distinctive for their sandy landscape populated by numerous ophidian entities, sporting wings, legs, or multiple heads (Figure 4).³⁵ In the Fourth Hour of *Amduat*, annotations specify that these serpents are bound to a particular location, guarding a single place within the Underworld and unable to move anywhere else. A paradigmatic example is the annotation to the serpent named *Imn* “Hidden one” from the lowest register of the Fourth Hour:³⁶

wnn=f m shr pn m r(3)-w3.t tn št3.t n.t Imh.t
iwty pr.n=f r s.t nb r nb
rh=f m hrw.w ntr.w ir.yw w3.t tn

He exists in this fashion, at the entrance of the mysterious road of Imhet,
 without him able to go to any place every day,
 while he lives from the sound of the gods that pertain to this road.

Annotations such as these grant the ophidian entities in *Amduat* two features identified as aspects of “demons” within the *Book of the Dead*: 1) being bound to a single location within the Netherworld, and 2) possessing physical needs.³⁷ The deities and *daimones* within the Underworld also exist within a hierarchy of sensory perception – those gods higher in the hierarchy can experience the sun god with all of their senses, while others can only hear, but not see, Re as he travels through the night.³⁸

Within the standard scenes that accompany the *Long Amduat*, the ophidian entities of the Land of Sokar appear alongside the other divinities within the Fourth and Fifth hours and are not otherwise differentiated from the hundreds of other divinities

³³ For example, in the passage quoted from the First Hour of the *Long Amduat*, the *Short Amduat* replaces the verb *iri* “to do” with *rh* “to know” – see Wente 1982, 163 (for similar substitutions, see *ibid.*, 164–166).

³⁴ Hornung 1987, 63; for an expanded statement of knowledge in the annotation to the Fourth Hour on Late Period sarcophagi, see Manassa 2007, 100–103.

³⁵ For the Fourth and Fifth Hours of *Amduat*, see Hornung 1963b; Gestermann 1999; Wiebach-Koepe 2003; Manassa 2007, 100–104, 118–130.

³⁶ Annotation to No. 323 (Hornung 1992b, 378–379).

³⁷ Lucarelli 2006, 209–210.

³⁸ Compare the annotation to a serpent from the lower register of the Sixth Hour of *Amduat* called *rm mwt.w* “swallower of the dead” (No. 472; Hornung 1963a, 113): *iwty m33 sw ntr pn r3 srq nn n ššm.w im.yw q3b.w=f sdm=sn hrw ntr pn r3 r nb* “Without this great god seeing him, these images within his coils breathe, when they hear the voice of this great god every day.” See further Manassa 2008.

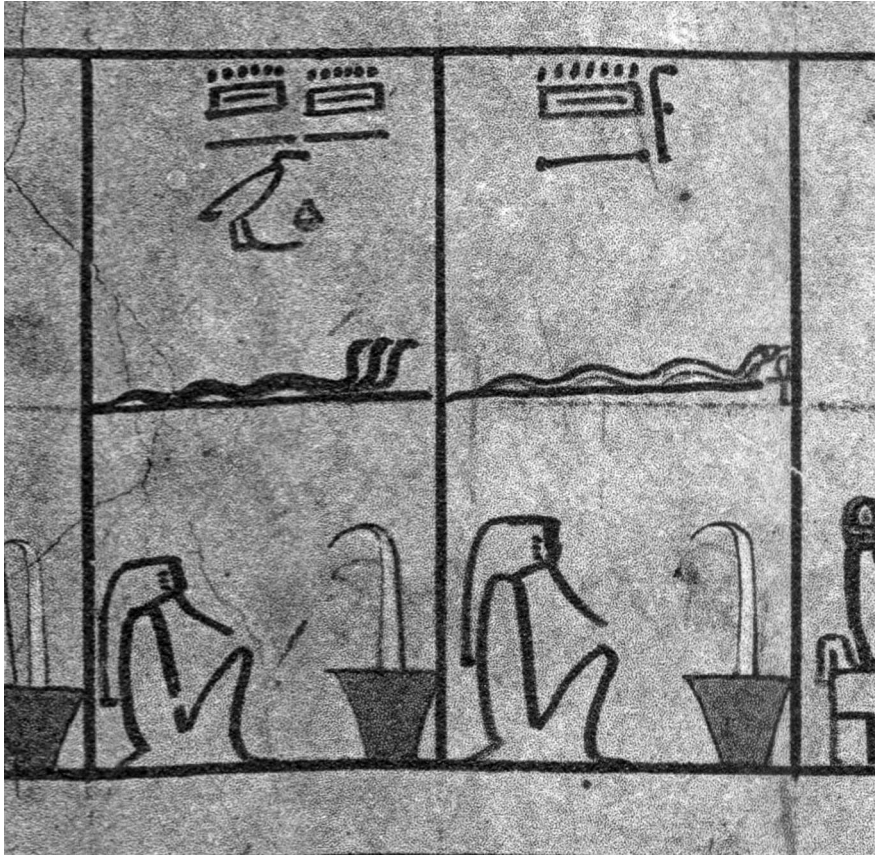


Fig. 5: Serpents no. 325 (left) and 323 (right) from Fourth Hour of the *Amduat* Catalog, tomb of Thutmose III (after Bucher 1932, pl. 16)

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within the twelve hours of the night. In the Catalog, however, deities who appear as serpents who slither or walk on legs are presented differently: the upper half of the rectangle contains the representation of the serpent entity, while the lower half contains the seated god determinative (Gardiner A40) (Figure 5). *Uraei* or standing serpents do not receive this treatment,³⁹ and it appears that serpents that move horizontally (either with or without legs) required the addition of a divine determinative. One may suggest that ophidian forms of divinity were not considered sufficient as a divine “visible form,” but that an additional divine classifier was deemed essential

³⁹ Among the many possible examples, compare No. 283, a *uraeus* serpent who does not have the divine determinative.

for their representation alongside other divinities.⁴⁰ Such restrictions did not apply to *uraei* or vertically oriented serpent forms, which suggests an ontological distinction based on the mode of locomotion and/or rearing position.⁴¹

In conclusion, a few basic themes can be identified among the potential *daimones* within *Amduat*, with particular reference to the categorization of those entities within the Catalog. First and foremost, each entity within the Catalog shares an ontological status as a divine being, placed within an individual rectangle and presented with the same incense offering. In the case of the ophidian entities, their visible forms are distinguished with an additional sign (the seated divinity, Gardiner A40). Many of these serpent forms are the same entities that are confined to a single location, like the gate-guardian demons in the *Book of the Dead*. The annotations to the deities in the First Hour of the Catalog indicate that knowledge of these entities is essential to the afterlife of the deceased, and the description of corresponding cosmographic knowledge in texts such as *King as Solar Priest* demonstrate that knowing these *daimones* is part of the maintenance of the cosmos as a whole.

Demonic Manifestations and the *Book of Adoring Re in the West*

The *Book of Adoring Re in the West*, commonly called the *Litany of Re*, contains two main sections: the “Great Litany,” an illustrated hymn to the seventy-four forms of Re in the Underworld, and seven additional litanies that express the identity of the king with the unified Re-Osiris, called *Djeba-demedj* “the United Enclosed One.”⁴² The *Litany of Re* shares with *Amduat* a lengthy title that not only describes the purpose of the text, but provides instructions as to the ritual setting of its writing:⁴³

ḥ3.t-ꜥ m md3.t n.t dw3 Rꜥ m 'Imn.t
dw3 dmd m 'Imn.t
šdd=tw md3.t tn
iw ir nn n sšm.w m ḥsb.w ḥr s3w.t
ḥft wš3
sm3ꜥ ḥrw Rꜥ pw r ḥft.yw=f m 'Imn.t
iw 3ḥ n zī tp t3
iw 3ḥ n=f m-ḥt mny=f

Beginning of the Book of Adoring Re in the West,
adoring the United One in the West.

⁴⁰ For the earlier history of the seated god (Gardiner A40) classifier, see Shalomi-Hen 2000; 2006.

⁴¹ Such distinctions accord well with the close observation of serpents and serpent behavior in ancient Egyptian funerary and ritual literature – see *inter alia* Leitz 1996; Meurer 2002; Sauneron 1989.

⁴² An alternate translation is the “United Substitute” – see Manassa 2007, 430–435.

⁴³ Hornung 1975, 1–3; Barta 1985, 15.

One recites this book.
 These images are executed in registers upon the wall,
 in the deep of the night.
 It means that Re triumphs over his enemies in the West.
 It is effective for a man on earth,
 it is effective for him after he moors.

The duality of Re and Osiris, whose union is celebrated as the “United One” throughout the *Litany of Re* is mirrored in the concluding statement about the efficacy of the text for a man on earth and in the afterlife. The title also identifies the *Litany of Re* as a ritual text, to be recited while the accompanying images are laid out in registers, referring not only to their systematic presentation, but possibly also connoting the rectangular frames in which the figures from the Great Litany appear.⁴⁴ The performative power of the drawing in the title of the *Litany of Re*, which literally encloses the power of the image, finds a close parallel in the physical layout of the *Amduat* Catalog. The recitation and drawing of the images from the *Amduat* and *Litany of Re* capture the power of the solar cycle and harness its limitless potential: not only does Re defeat his enemies thereby, it is effective for a man, living or dead.

The title of the *Litany of Re* is accompanied by an introductory scene, first attested in the tomb of Seti I. One of two illustrations within the *Litany of Re* in addition to the figures of the Great Litany, the introductory scene demonstrates the significance of the diachronic study of the Underworld Books and illustrates that appearances can be deceiving when “demons” and other noxious creatures act as protectors of the solar god. The center of the introductory scene of the *Litany of Re* is dominated by the solar disk, which contains a scarab and ram-headed deity, while the upper and lower registers contain a snake and a crocodile respectively, oriented towards an antelope with a flame between its horns.⁴⁵ The snake and crocodile are named in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty exemplars of the *Litany of Re*, but their function *vis-à-vis* the solar god is stated explicitly in only one source – the lid of the sarcophagus of Tadipakakem (CGC 29316), dating to the mid-fourth century BCE (Figure 6).⁴⁶ The deceased female owner of the sarcophagus kneels in prayer on either side of the icons of the solar god, and the snake and crocodile nearly touch her knees; the annotations indicate that the serpent and crocodile are gate guardians, just like the knife-wielding doorkeepers in the *Book of the Dead*.⁴⁷

w3mmw s3w.ty sb3 ʕnh(.t) m dw3.t

Serpent of roasting flame who guards the portal of the West in the Underworld.

hnty s3w.ty sb3 imn.ty m dw3.t

Crocodile who guards the western portal in the Underworld.

⁴⁴ Hornung 1976, 98 note 6.

⁴⁵ For the introductory scene of the *Litany*, see Hornung 1976, 28–30.

⁴⁶ Darnell 2004, 274.

⁴⁷ Manassa 2007, pl. 291 (collated version of Maspero and Gauthier 1939, 108–9).

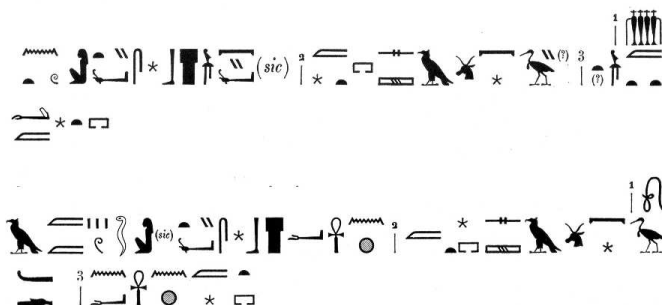
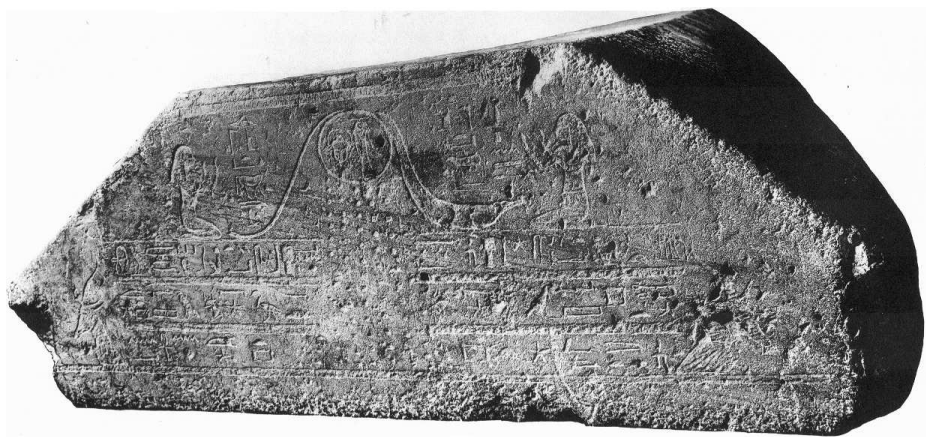


Fig. 6: Lid of the sarcophagus of Tadipakakem (CG 29316) with the introductory scene of the *Litany of Re* (after Maspero and Gauthier 1939)

Although serpents and crocodiles threaten the deceased in a vast chronological span of mortuary and temple texts,⁴⁸ the role of the reptiles is reversed in the *Litany of Re* – “demonic” forces act on behalf of the solar god, thereby assisting the deceased as she partakes in the eternal resurrection of the disk in the Netherworld.⁴⁹ Like in the *Book of the Dead*, knowledge of the demonic forces and noxious creatures transforms their hostile power into an apotropaic force; for example, in the Seventh Hour of the *Amduat*, a crocodile who guards a sandbank and from whom the eye of Re emerges is labeled on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306):⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Meurer 2002; for the destruction of crocodiles in Ptolemaic temple rituals and an overview of previous literature, see Wilson 1997.

⁴⁹ Darnell 2004, 320–21; Manassa 2007, 131–132, 310–11; Roberson 2012.

⁵⁰ Manassa 2007, 309 and pls. 219, 222.

ir rḥ s(y) m tm ʿm ʿb b3=f
 ʿb m dw3.t ḥry-idb.w
 iḥ.t=f m s3 Wsir N

The one who knows it is one whose *ba* the crocodile will not swallow.
 The crocodile in the Underworld, who is upon the bank.
 His things exist as protection of Osiris N.

The crocodile in the Seventh Hour of *Amduat* and the introductory tableau of the *Litany of Re* possess essential functions within the netherworldly landscape; on the cosmic level, the crocodile protects the solar god during his nightly peregrinations, and on the individual level, the same crocodile can protect the deceased, as attested on the sarcophagus of Tadipakakem. The implications of this dichotomy will not be explored in more depth here, but again it should be emphasized that any ancient Egyptian “demonology” must take into account the full range of religious compositions, including the Underworld Books.

The intersection between the fate of the deceased in the afterlife and the manifestations of Re in the *Litany of Re* are particularly prominent in the role of the latter as gate guardians. The New Kingdom versions of the *Litany of Re* link knowledge of the names of each manifestation with the opening of the portals of the Underworld:⁵¹

iw Wsir NN nīs=f r=sn m m.w=sn
 iw Wsir NN ḏwl=f sn m ḥprw.w=sn
 sn r=sn wn=sn n Wsir NN dw3.t
 sni=sn sb3.w Št3y.t n b3=f

Osiris NN addresses them by their names;
 Osiris NN calls them by their manifestations,
 when they open for Osiris NN the Underworld,⁵²
 and when they throw back the portals of Shetayt for his *ba*.

The gate-guardian function of the figures in the text of the *Litany of Re* may find a structural parallel in the placement of the Great Litany within the first two corridors of the royal tombs and the representation of thirteen figures from the Great Litany adjoining a portal on the left wall of the second corridor of the tomb of Ramesses IX.⁵³ Non-funerary attestations of the *Litany of Re*, such as the “Cenotaph” of Seti I at Abydos and the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak, similarly maintain an association between sloping entrance corridors into subterranean chambers and the seventy-four solar forms within the Great Litany. In each architectural ensemble, either tomb or temple, the figures from the *Litany of Re* surround the liminal area between this world and the next. The ritual liturgies that accompanied the creation and con-

⁵¹ Hornung 1975, 89–91.

⁵² For the adverbial nature of the “proclitic pronoun” construction, see Roberson 2012, 109–111.

⁵³ Guilmant 1907, pls. 39–40.

tinued use of the *Litany of Re* would further “activate” the power of these divine figures within their respective models of the Duat.

Late Period attestations of the *Litany of Re* give greater and more specific prominence to the gate-keeper role of these solar manifestations. On one type of Late Period sarcophagus (Type II) that combines excerpts from the *Book of Amduat*, *Book of Gates*, *Litany of Re*, and *Book of the Night*, each side contains two to four “units” of texts and images that represent one hour of space-time during the Underworldly journey of the sun. For hours one through eleven, these units consist of two to three addresses from the Great Litany, a *sbḥ.t*-portal from the *Book of Gates*, and an hour from the *Book of Amduat*.⁵⁴ The physical juxtaposition of the figures from the *Litany* with the *sbḥ.t*-portals creates a visual ensemble paralleled by the gate guardian demons in Chapters 144, 146, and 147 of the *Book of the Dead*.

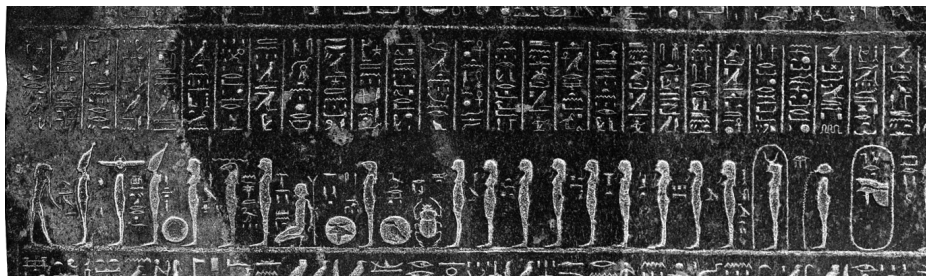


Fig. 7: Figures from the Great Litany on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306) (photograph by the author)

Another Late Period sarcophagus, inscribed for Tjaihorpata (CG 29306), includes an otherwise unattested title to the *Litany of Re*, which accompanies all seventy-six forms of the solar deity within the Great Litany (Figure 7). Although not associated with portals on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, the title to the *Litany* on his sarcophagus provides textual confirmation for the interpretation of the Litany figures juxtaposed with *sbḥ.t*-portals on the Type II sarcophagi. The extensive title to the *Litany of Re* on Tjaihorpata’s sarcophagus also links the manifestations of Re with the fate of the deceased – the divine figures of the Great Litany receive the deceased, open the portals of the Underworld, and then the deceased joins Re in his bark and continues to worship each of Re’s manifestations.⁵⁵

m.w n.w nṯr.w šzp Rꜥ m dw3.t
šzp=sn Wsir N ḥr ꜥ.wy=sn
ḥprw.w=f mī im.yw wī3=f
wn=sn n Wsir N ꜥ.w n.w Ḳgr.t

⁵⁴ Manassa 2007, 71–76.

⁵⁵ Manassa 2007, 287–288, pls. 210–211.

$\text{ḥ}p=f \text{ qrr.t=sn}$
 $\text{ḥ}q=f \text{ sb3.w n.w } \text{Ḥmn.t}$
 $\text{ḥ}ns.n=f \text{ w3.wt } \text{št3.w}$
 $\text{š3s.n=f } n\text{ṯr.w}$
 $nmi.n=f \text{ w3.t nfr.t m R3-št3w}$
 $\text{ḥ}q=f \text{ m imnt.t } \text{ḥ}n\text{ṯ} \text{ Rḥ m w3=f}$
 $dw3=f \text{ qrr.tyw dw3.t}$
 $wbn=f \text{ ḥ}n\text{ṯ}=f \text{ m } \text{3ḥ.t } \text{3b.(t) mi nb{t} } nḥḥ$

Names of the gods, who receive Re in the Underworld.
 May they receive the Osiris N with their own arms!
 May his manifestations be like those within his bark!
 May they open for Osiris N the doors of Igeret,
 so that he might travel over their caverns,
 so that he might enter the portals of the West,
 he having trodden the secret roads,
 he having passed by the gods,
 he having traversed the beautiful road of Rosetau.
 May he enter into the West with Re in his bark,
 so that he might adore the cavern-dwellers of the Underworld,
 so that he might rise with him in the eastern horizon like the
 lord of cyclical eternity.

If one accepts the definition of gate-guardian figures in the Book of the Dead as a form of “demon,” then the forms of Re in the *Litany of Re* should be incorporated within any examination of ancient Egyptian “demonology.” The figures and addresses within the Great Litany also possess a multivalent visual and textual symbolism that provides information about Egyptian classifications of the divine.⁵⁶ The solar forms in the *Litany of Re* display some of the most patently “monstrous” forms from among the corpus of Egyptian religious representations,⁵⁷ and yet these divine manifestations embody one of the most fundamental aspects of Egyptian solar religion – the union of Re and Osiris.⁵⁸ For example, in Address 64, the mummiform deity “Binder” has two ropes in place of his head, and the monstrosity of his visible form captures the power of the sun god to punish his enemies as well as showing the *corpse* of that same form:⁵⁹

$\text{ḥ}knw \text{ n=k } \text{Rḥ} \text{ q3 } \text{šḥm}$
 $nb \text{ int.wt } r \text{ ḥft.yw=f}$

⁵⁶ See already Piankoff 1964, 10–21.

⁵⁷ The classic study of Fischer 1987 remains useful; for a more theoretical and cross-cultural approach, see Wengrow 2011 (reference courtesy of Rita Lucarelli; the New Kingdom evidence from the *Litany of Re* complements his focus on earlier material).

⁵⁸ For this theological concept from the Middle Kingdom through the Late Period, see *inter alia* Darnell 2004; Derchain 1965, 35–37, 155–56; Manassa 2007, 386–388; Niwinski 1987/1988; Spalinger 2008; Willems 1988, 151–154.

⁵⁹ Hornung 1975, 73; for apes in the Underworld, see Manassa 2007.

w^r ʕ₃ hr.y gíf.wt
 twt is h₃.t Int.ty

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
 Lord of bindings against his enemies.
 Great sole one, chief of the monkeys.
 You are indeed the corpse of the Binder.

The *Litany of Re* demonstrates that the “demonic” powers of the sun god are the result of unification of Re and Osiris, and as stated in *Amduat*, knowledge of such “demons” is part of the cosmographic knowledge that is essential to the functioning of the cosmos.

Underworldly “Demons” in Non-Funerary Contexts

An additional avenue for future research lies in the use of the Underworld Books and its *daimones* outside of the funerary sphere. The Underworld Books possess numerous indications of their “this-worldly” applications, including the presentation of offerings to entities confined to the Netherworldly sphere.⁶⁰ The *Amduat* Catalog, which places a burning cup of incense before each of the entities, beckons the reader/practitioner to interact with the static painted images.⁶¹ The list format of the Catalog and the inclusion of incense offerings to each “entry” help to clarify *how* the text might be used, but do not indicate *where* such interactions might have occurred outside of Chamber F of the tomb of Thutmose III. The integration of the *Litany of Re* into the decorative schemes of two temple complexes might shed some light on non-funerary applications of Underworld “demonology” in Egyptian religious practice.

The *Litany of Re* appears alongside other netherworldly texts in the subterranean corridors of the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos and the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak. As models of the Duat, the decoration of such underground constructions emphasized the triumph of the solar god within the Underworld – the cosmographic knowledge contained within the Underworld Books, partially or wholly reproduced on the walls of temple chambers, enabled priests within the temples to assist the solar deity in his battle with Apep and the forces of chaos each evening.⁶² Yet temple complexes can

⁶⁰ Wente 1982; Manassa 2007, 417–424. For the *Book of the Dead* demons and non-funerary applications, see Lucarelli 2006.

⁶¹ Compare the offering tables before the mummiform deities from the “Litany” papyrus of Tjainefer (Piankoff 1964).

⁶² A statement within a solar hymn from the tomb of royal scribe Tjay (TT 23) provides confirmation of the direct link between a “book” and the solar cycle (Assmann 1983, 18):

ʔi=i mḏ₃.t
 shri=(i) hfty.w
 di=i sbi r nm.t=f

also employ the *Litany of Re* in above-ground contexts: the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos and the bark shrine of Hakoris at Karnak both include figures from the Great Litany. Within the bark shrine of Hakoris, the king presents offerings to Amun and the forms of Re from the Great Litany;⁶³ unlike the copies of the Great Litany in the royal tombs, which have a unique visible form accompanying each address, the Hakoris shrine presents the names in a table-like format and follows each name by a simple seated-god determinative. The use of a seated divine determinative in the Hakoris shrine to replace the often-monstrous forms within the Great Litany may be part of the same ontological distinctions seen in the addition of the divine determinative to the ophidian entities in the Fourth and Fifth Hours of the *Amduat* Catalog.

In Chamber G of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, the pharaoh presents offerings to the manifestations of Re-Osiris within the Great Litany;⁶⁴ the decoration of Chamber G also confirms the relationship between the figures from the Great Litany and the gate-guardian demons in the *Book of the Dead*: on the north wall, the Litany figures are followed by the triplicate gate-guardian demons from *Book of the Dead* Chapter 144.⁶⁵ The decoration of Chamber G not only hints at the origins of the Late Period significance of the role of the figures from the Great Litany as gate guardians, but also argues in favor of the Underworld Books and *Book of the Dead* being part of a unified “demonology” within ancient Egyptian theology. The existence of protective “demons” who are embodiments of the emanations of a creator deity finds an additional parallel in the seventy-seven “genies” *Pharbaithos*, a cloud of avatars of the god Hormerty, who are sent forth to battle with evil and protect the temple.⁶⁶ The inclusion of the Underworld Books within the examination of ancient Egyptian demonology ultimately points towards a new means of classifying a possible use of the term *daimones*: a type of divine entity that possesses an essential role vis-à-vis the essential functioning of the cosmos and who appears in cosmographic and magical texts, but for whom temple complexes or shrines are not solely or typically built.

The study of ancient Egyptian demonology remains an ongoing project, one to which new effort is now being directed. It is hoped that the present contribution will lead to additional work on the divine taxonomy and the presence of “demons”

I am taking hold of the book,
so that I might drive away the enemies,
so that I might place the rebel at his slaughtering place.

63 Traunecker/le Saout/Masson 1981, 57–60.

64 Mariette 1880, pls. 15–17.

65 The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CGC 29306), whose outer decoration contains excerpts from the *Book of Amduat*, *Book of Caverns*, *Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk*, and *Litany of Re* also contains (on the lower portion of the lid) two rows of guardian demons from Chapters 147 of the *Book of the Dead* (Manassa 2007).

66 Goyon 1985; the seventy-seven “genies” of *Pharbaithos* also appear on the sarcophagus of Djedher (CG 29305) – see Manassa 2007, 422–423.

in the Underworld Books. Additional analyses could expand the results of the Catalog of *Amduat* and the forms of Re in the *Litany of Re* to examine the groups of divinities with the Book of Gates, certain “monstrous” forms in the *Book of Caverns* and the *Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk*,⁶⁷ and the divine manifestations in the *Books of the Day and the Night*. The unique depictions of the solar deity in the *Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity* provide a pharaonic origin for a “demonic” figure ubiquitous on Graeco-Egyptian magical gems – Abrasax.⁶⁸ Cosmic solar god and magical guardian of the possessors of the gems, Abrasax epitomizes the duality of the “demons” in the Underworld Books: divine beings that embody the world-creative and enemy-destructive forces of the solar god, yet entities that can be harnessed for specific purposes, either for the sun god himself, or by extension, a private individual. Simply stated, in order to understand the complexities of ancient Egyptian demonology, one cannot overlook one of the largest corpora of netherworldly and cosmographic literature of pharaonic Egypt, a textual tradition that continued into the cusp between the Nectanebid and Ptolemaic periods and that may have played a much larger role in Late Period theology (and by extension demonology) than previously suspected.

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⁶⁷ In particular the catfish-headed gods who appear in both compositions – see Manassa 2007, 32–34; Roberson 2012, 256–258.

⁶⁸ Darnell 2004, 387–390; for Abrasax in Graeco-Egyptian magical gems, see Michel 2004: 105–107, *passim*.

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