

## Ra

**I. Introduction.** *Egyptian god.* R. simply means “sun” in the ancient Egyptian language and was used throughout Pharaonic history and beyond as the name for the sun god, the personification of the sun (WILKINSON 2003: 206; BARTA 1984: 156), written with the hieroglyphic signs D21, D36, and D5 (HANNIG 2001: 1219). R. probably represents the most important deity in ancient Egyptian mythology. As a god of creation, regeneration, afterlife, and kingship as well as the life-giving sun, his influence on the religious individual was all-embracing in every part of the country (BARTA 1984: 158f; WILKINSON 2003: 205–207). Because of his universal importance R. cannot be described as a local deity; rather, he receives certain additional characteristics in some regions, depending on the respective local cult (HORNUNG 2005: 69–71).

R. as god of creation: Several Egyptian myths of creation begin with the first rise of the sun (e.g., from the midst of the Heliopolitan Eight, the Heliopolitan Ennead, an egg, the primeval “soup,” mount, lotus, or the cow of heaven), which illuminates the dark space and therewith sets the beginning of time and of all life. Alternatively, R. creates himself (*kheper djeseft*), the other deities (by self-castration/ejaculation), and humans (from his tears). In Pyramid Text 40 the sun god creates the world with the help of wisdom (Sia), the word (Hu), and magic (Heka) (HORNUNG 2005a: 38–45; WILKINSON 2003: 206; BARTA 1984: 158). Furthermore, the myths tell us about a time when gods and humans lived together on earth under the reign of R., without night or death. As the father of Maat, R. ensured peace and order, but as the sun god became an old man the humans started a rebellion in the course of which the deities, including R., left the earth. From this point on, human kings ruled over Egypt and evil constantly threatened to halt the course of the world (HORNUNG 2005a: 43–45).

R. as god of recreation and regeneration: The sun was believed to travel the sky in the day but has to sink into the Underworld (Duat) every night in order to regenerate and be reborn the next morning. In these twelve hours R. reanimates the dead (for “a lifetime”) and has to overcome the powers of chaos represented by →Apophis to guarantee the continuous existence of life (HORNUNG 2005a: 45–48, 72; WILKINSON 2003: 206).

R. as god of kingship: As the founder of kingship by being the first king, R. plays an

important role in the mythology of kingship. From the middle of the 4th dyn. onward (Djedefre), Egyptian kings throughout the Pharaonic period declared themselves to be “the son of Ra” (*sa Ra*), serving as the sun god’s earthly manifestation in order to legitimate their sovereignty. Pharaoh also accompanied R. on his journey across the sky and through the Duat after the former’s death (BARTA 1984: 163). Therefore the analogy between the pharaoh as divine ruler and the sun god, the king of the gods who created the world and maintains the “Maat,” – the balanced order of the universe, the ambition of every king – is apparent (HORNUNG 2005: 91, 145; WILKINSON 2003: 206; BARTA 1984: 158ff).

R.–Horakhty represents the most common form of the sun god in visual art. He came into existence in the 3rd dyn. (27th–26th cent.) from an association with Horakhty, the “horizontal Horus” being associated with the rising sun and representing a certain manifestation of the falcon god Horus, the “god of kingship” (QUIRKE 2001: 25). The connection seems perspicuous since in the early dynastic period the Egyptians imagined the sun as a falcon crossing the sky from east to west (HELCK 1965: 2512). R.(–Horakhty) thus shares to some extent the same iconography as Horus (i.e., a falcon-headed man), which can cause confusion. In general, a great number of deities are identified in some domains with the sun god. Especially in the role of solar creator and sustainer of life, happiness, and Maat, this can lead to confusion, particularly when inscriptions are lacking and illustrations of these gods resemble R. Moreover, there are numerous syncretic combinations with other solar, creation-related (e.g., Amun), and even local deities, who thereby augment their character and assimilate some of R.’s qualities (HORNUNG 2005: 91). Hence it is always essential to consider the context in which a deity is depicted and to note typical (visual) characteristics and other distinctive attributes of the observed deity before identifying it.

In his main function as the sun, R.(–Horakhty) is generally depicted as the solar disk in its barque. Besides the solar disk he is predominantly illustrated as human or falcon-headed with a sun disc on top of his head, especially in his manifestation as R.–Horakhty, and presented in the solar context (WILKINSON 2003: 208f). But according to his various different characteristics, R. can also be depicted in many other ways and in even more variations when combined with other deities.

## II. Typology

### II.1. Phenotypes

A. ANTHROPOMORPHIC 1. IN THE BARQUE (1–7) 2. OTHER (8–11) B. HYBRID 1. RAM-HEADED (12–15) 2. FALCON-HEADED 2.1. With solar disk 2.1.1. Standing/seated (5, 12, 16–64, →Apophis 12a, →Resheph 4) 2.1.2. Mummy-formed (65–76) 2.2. With the Atef crown (61, 77–82) 3. CAT-HEADED (83) 4. LION-HEADED (83) 5. POSSIBLE C. THERIO-MORPHIC 1. FALCON (84–85) 2. CAT (79, 86–87) 3. LION (88–90) 4. SCARAB (91) 5. RAM-HEADED SCARAB (92) D. SYMBOLIC: SOLAR DISK (12, 93, 94–96)

#### A. ANTHROPOMORPHIC

1. IN THE BARQUE. In his function as sun god who maintains life and prevents the world from falling into chaos by traveling through the skies at day and the Underworld at night, R. is depicted standing (1–4\*), sitting (5), or squatting (6) in a boat, sometimes being pulled by several other deities. Holding *was* and *ankh* (1–4\*, 7\*) or flail and *ankh* (5), he can be placed within some kind of shrine (1, 3–4\*), which can be surrounded by (1) or made of a cobra, i.e., Mehen (2, 4\*–5) (WILKINSON 2003: 223). In reliefs from the edifice of Taharqa (690–664) in Karnak, R. wears the Pschent, (→crown [Egypt]), which represents Upper and Lower Egypt (3–4\*). This probably associates R. with Atum, who is connected to the sun god in his role as creator god (BARTA 1984: 158). In one example he is seated in the barque, wearing the solar disk (7\*).

2. OTHER. During the 1st mill. R. barely existed, iconographically speaking, as a human outside of his barque. A relief from the tomb of Psusennes I (1050–1000) at Tanis shows R.–Horakhty sitting on a throne in the form of a *hwt*-sign, placed on a plinth resembling the *maat*-symbol, and wearing the solar disk with uraeus, a false beard, and the menat ornament (8\*). On another relief from Tanis dating to the time of Ramesses II (1279–1213), the king is depicted offering wine to standing R.–Horakhty, who holds an *ankh* and a *was*-scepter and wears the solar disk and a false beard (9). A vignette of the Greenfield papyrus contains two examples of the sun god. In the right half of the vignette he stands upright, his arms extended over rectangular objects representing lakes (the “Begetter of millions of years” and the “Great Green”; BUDGE 1912: 64). In the other half R. is mummy formed and squats “beyond the opening of the two halves of the door of the Gate of the East which is resting upon the horizon of heaven” (BUDGE 1912: 64), adorned with the sun disk and a false beard (10). On the Greenfield papyrus (11\*) he stands next to a seated goddess with the *mnpt*-sign in her hand and two

bearded mummy-formed squatting gods, while Thoth presents an *udjat*-eye on his palm, i.e., “the eye of Horus,” which he brought back after the mythical quarrel between Horus and Seth (BUDGE 1912: 64).

#### B. HYBRID

R. is rarely depicted in entirely anthropomorphic form; rather, he is depicted as a hybrid (KEEL 1994: 116), primarily as R.–Horakhty.

1. RAM-HEADED. The evening or nocturnal manifestation of R., his *ba*, is often depicted as a ram-headed figure (WILKINSON 2003: 206) similar to his anthropomorphic pendant standing in the barque and holding a *was*-scepter. Again, R. can be within a shrine, either surrounded by a cobra (12\*–13) or made of one (14), holding the epithet *iw=f*. Apart from a colorful wall painting from the tomb of Ramesses I (1292–1290) that shows R. with a small sun disk on his horns (13), in all of these illustrations ram-headed R. lacks a headdress. One example from the Hibis temple shows ram-headed R.–Horakhty standing among several other deities rather than in a barque, displaying a huge solar disk with a relatively larger uraeus on his head (15\*). He not only holds a *was*-scepter but probably also an *ankh* (now missing), and wears a scales-work tunic with two straps.

#### 2. FALCON-HEADED.

##### 2.1. With solar disk

2.1.1. Standing/seated. The *was*-scepter and the *ankh*-symbol seem to be the standard equipment of R. when standing (12\*, 16–39) or seated on a *hwt*-throne (5, 40–52), at times placed on the *maat*-plinth (40–44, 46, 48–49, 51\*). The royal insignia the flail and crook, are rarely associated with R.(–Horakhty) (53), except with the mummy-formed versions (see below). On a beautifully detailed depiction of R.–Horakhty on the 23rd dyn. (9th–8th cent.) stela of Tanetperet from Thebes, the sun god holds them in addition to the *was* and *ankh*, one of each type in his hands (32\*). A less-detailed seal from Sidon shows him with his arms hanging loosely by his sides (→Resheph 4), as does R. on a stela (54). On an unprovenanced scarab (55) falcon-headed R. is depicted in worshipping pose with raised arms before the enthroned king. Some three-dimensional objects feature straighter arms with clenched fists, but this may be related to the nature of the objects, amulets (56) and bronze statuettes (57–58). A particularly interesting illustration in a relief from the tomb of Merenptah (1213–1204) depicts a combination of the *was*-sceptre, the *djed*-symbol, and the *ankh*-sign in R.–

Horakhty's right hand aimed at the owner of the tomb (59\*). There are two examples, a sitting statue (60\*) and an amulet (61), with no scepters at all and with R.'s hands resting on his knees. Another amulet from the late New Kingdom also separates itself from the rest by its iconography: the sun god squats on a barque between two baboons without displaying any extremities, and thus holds no scepters (62). This kind of amulet of R., falcon-headed and wearing a solar disk and uraeus, was nearly always included in the funerary equipment of Late Period (7th–4th cent.) mummies. The deceased thus hoped to be included in the daily regeneration process of the sun god. (ANDREWS 1994: 88)

In regard to dress, R. of this phenotype often wears a tunic with one (17, 27) or two straps (20–25, 28–29, 32\*–33, 63\*), but sometimes only a loincloth (48, →**Resheph** 4). In one example R. seems to wear no clothes at all (due to destruction? unfinished?) (47). Generally R. also wears a menat necklace (5, 20–25, 28, 30–33, 37, 39–42, 44–46, 49–50, 58–59\*, 63\*–64, →**Apophis** 12a\*).

**2.1.2. Mummy formed.** R. is often associated with →Osiris, the “dead sun god” (BUDGE 1912: 8), which is reflected in many illustrations of R. as a mummy-formed, seated (*hwt*-throne) (65–73), squatting (74–75), or standing (76\*) figure with arms either crossed (65–70) or outstretched and holding a crook and flail (71–72, 76\*). In one example he holds a *was*-scepter in both hands (73); in two cases he holds nothing at all because of his squatting posture (74–75). This phenotype indicates the nightly unification of the sun god (*ba*-soul) with Osiris (“corpse”), introducing him into the sun's journey and with him all the deceased (SHAW 2000: 273; HORNUNG 2005a: 109). Furthermore, the falcon head of R.–Horakhty implies the association with Horus, the son of Osiris. E. HORNUNG even suggests a particular relation to Horus who descends to his father into the Underworld, becoming Hor–Dati (Horus of the Underworld). In this funerary context and this iconography R.–Horakhty can also be linked to the falcon-headed Sokar or →Ptah–Sokar (HORNUNG 2005: 91f).

**2.2. With the *Atef* crown.** Although in the majority of cases R. simply wears a solar disk with or without a uraeus, at times he is depicted with the *Atef* crown (→crown [Egypt]). This fact adds to the previously mentioned association with Osiris who generally wears this type of headdress. R. of this type is usually seated on a *hwt*-throne, wearing the *menat* and

holding the *ankh* and *was* (77–81\*), and sometimes a crook (79). A small sun disk at the crown's base underlines the solar aspect (61, 78–81\*). In one case R. wears the *Hemhem crown* (82).

**3. CAT-HEADED.** There is one depiction from the Hibis temple of the sun god as a standing cat-headed mummy with his arms crossed, holding an oval object, possibly an egg (83).

**4. LION-HEADED.** On the same aforementioned temple wall, R. is pictured twice as a lion-headed figure holding a *was*-scepter in his left hand. One depiction shows him wearing a tunic with one strap and no headdress, and holding an *ankh* and a flail in his right hand. In the other representation R. wears a tunic with two straps and a solar disk on his head, and holds a knife in his right hand (83).

**5. POSSIBLE.** There are several representations depicting a deity whose characteristics might indicate a relation to R. since all are falcon-headed. On a ring the deity is mummy formed with a solar disk above his head, sitting opposite to another mummy-formed deity (KEEL 2010: Der el-Balah no. 3). R. GIVEON suggests that the two deities, in his opinion R. and Amun, contribute to the throne name of Ramesses VI (1145–1137), *Nb-maat-Re-mrj-Imen*, by being primarily hieroglyphs together with two other signs underneath them: *nb* and *mrj*. However, this interpretation disregards the missing *maat*-sign (KEEL 1982: 22). On a stamp seal from the Maritime Museum at Haifa a falcon-headed deity holds the hand of the king, both standing in a boat (KEEL 1994: 132, fig. 63). A fragmentary amulet from Megiddo (HERRMANN 1994: no. 265) features a figure with a round disk on its falcon head, which could represent a solar or lunar disk. If the latter is assumed it might indicate a moon-related deity like →Khonsu, who can be depicted as falcon headed. A falcon-headed amulet from Bet-Shemesh lacks a headdress (HERRMANN 1994: no. 266). Moreover, three bronze figurines exist, all probably from Lower Egypt: one exhibits the deity seated, holding a papyrus plant with a serpent in one hand and the other placed on his knee (ROEDER 1956: pl. 74c); the second shows a “stand-walking” figure in front of an obelisk, wearing the Pschent with a uraeus attached to the crown (ROEDER 1937: pl. 4b); and the third also shows a “stand-walking” figure but wearing a sun disk (ROEDER 1937: pl. 4c–d).

### C. THERIOMORPHIC

**1. FALCON.** There are two amulets in the shape of a falcon; one wears a disk on

its head (84), the other wears the *hemhem*-crown (85).

2. **CAT.** The depiction of R. as a cat cutting off the head of a serpent next to a tree (79, 86\*) is intended to recall the predynastic battle of Heliopolis which occurred next to the “Persea tree.” Followers of Seth, who were fighting against the devotees of R. and →Osiris, were defeated in a bloody battle known as the “slaughter of the Antiu” (BUDGE 1912: 12). A similar scene is illustrated on a vignette on the same papyrus; however, here R. is cutting off the head of the Apophis serpent, “the serpent of darkness” (87).

3. **LION.** R.’s connection to →Osiris is also manifested when they are depicted as two sitting lions looking in opposite directions and supporting a hieroglyphic horizon sign between them with their backs (88\*–90). The lions’ names are *sef* (“yesterday”) and *dwaw* (“today/tomorrow”), thus symbolizing Osiris and R. (BUDGE 1912: 8).

4. **SCARAB.** On a relief from Karnak R. appears as Khepri with wings emerging as the newborn sun (91).

5. **RAM-HEADED SCARAB.** A hybrid theomorphic representation of R. as Khepri occurs in an illustration as a ram-headed scarab placed within a solar disk and sitting on the Evening Barque (92).

**D. SYMBOLIC: SOLAR DISK.** The “purest” form of R., so to say, is the solar disk itself. It is always placed in the sun barque (12\*, 93, 94–96), can be surrounded by a cobra (probably Mehen) (94) or sitting on a pedestal (95), or on top of a falcon head flanked by *udjat*-eyes (93). In the Book of the Day R. is shown being born by Nut, and at the same time ascending on a winged scarab, which is positioned above three deities: again the goddess of the sky, Nut, being pregnant with another solar disk, with two gods flanking her. Shu, the god of air, who is standing in a barque, raises the whole formation with his outstretched arms toward the sky (12\*) (HORNUNG 1992: 486ff.).

## II.2. Associations

**A. ANTHROPOMORPHIC** 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS 1.1. In the barque (1–7) 1.2. Other (8, 11) 2. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS: King (9) **B. HYBRID** 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS 1.1. In the barque (5, 12–14, 38, 71, →Apophis 12a) 1.2. Offering/adoration scenes (48, 50, 53, 80) 1.3. Among other deities (15, 31, 51–52, 73, 83, →Resheph 4) 1.4. In the ritual of hours (16–29) 1.5. Deified king (55) 1.6. Other (75, 81) 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS: Serpent, jackal, baboon, cow, falcon, scarab–falcon (62, 73–74, 83, →Apophis 12a) 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS: 3.1. King (34–35, 37, 40, 43, 45–46, 48–50, 55, 63–64, 83) 3.2. Deceased (32–33, 42, 44, 65–72, 74, 76–77, 79) 3.3. Administrator (16–31) 3.4. Priestess (40, 78) **C. THERIOMORPHIC** 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DE-

MONS 1.1. Seth (79, 86–87) 1.2. Osiris, Isis, Nephtys, Maat, Thoth, Horus (88–90, 92) 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS: Falcon (88–89) **D. SYMBOLIC** 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS: In the barque (12, 93, 94–96) 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS: Scarab, human-headed falcon (12, 95) 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS: Priestess, servant (93, 95–96)

**General remarks.** The associations with R. are too numerous to discuss, particularly those with other deities individually. The associations of R. with other deities are thus loosely grouped by the type of scene they occur in.

### A. ANTHROPOMORPHIC

#### 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS

1.1. **In the barque.** Various deities accompany R. on his journey through the Underworld. Sometimes four anonymous gods pull the barque (1–2). In nearly all cases several deities stand on the deck, grouped around the sun god (1–5, 7\*), mostly Maat, *Wpawwt*, Ka–maat, Hu and Sia, and Horus (3–4\*), in only one certain example Imnt and Selkit (1). The baboon Thoth (→Monkey), associated with the moon and also being the locum of R. (HORNUNG 2005a: 44), occasionally joins the group (3–4\*). There is a special relationship between R. and Maat, the goddess of truth and righteousness. He is her father, he loves her and lives because of her, and he is the “Lord of the Maat” “who unites with her” (HORNUNG 2005a: 131–134). Obviously her presence is essential on the solar journey.

A papyrus of the Book of the Dead from the 21st dyn. shows two bearded gods with scarabs on their heads standing on both sides of R. and facing him with their hands raised in adoration. Jackal-headed Seth and falcon-headed Horus also face him but are positioned on a higher level, kneeling and rejoicing. In addition, a small falcon-headed mummy sits underneath the helm and a small mummy-formed Maat sits in the front (7\*). Occasionally a child “symbolizing rebirth” (perhaps →Harpocrates; QUIRKE 2001: 46) sits on the prow with its hand at its mouth (3–4\*, 6).

1.2. **Other.** Outside the solar context R. is associated with a couple of deities in different scenes. He sits back-to-back with Atum, who wears the Pschent (8\*). On the Greenfield papyrus (11\*) he is associated with a seated goddess holding the *impt*-sign in her hand.

2. **ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS: King.** There is only one illustration that shows a king, Ramesses II (1279–1213), with R. in anthropomorphic form. The king wearing the Blue →crown stands in front of R. and offers him wine (9).

## B. HYBRID

### 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS

**1.1. In the barque.** Faced with the power of evil and chaos, falcon- and ram-headed R. receives help from several deities in holding off the →Apophis-serpent (13, 71), who tries to halt the course of the world (HORNUNG 2005a: 45). On 13 Apophis is depicted in a peculiar way, coming from within the barque and showing the ram-headed sun god its tongue. Consequently in this situation R. can rely on some kind of crew on the barque, whose members possess qualities “indispensable to safe passage and effective rule” (QUIRKE 2001: 45). Again, Maat is there, as well as Hu and Sia and/or Horus (12\*, 14), sometimes only by inscription (12\*), with the Harpocrates-child sitting on the prow sucking its thumb (12\*, 14). In this case rebellious Seth also “functions as member of the barque to fight chaos” (QUIRKE 2001: 37) and stands at the prow with a spear to kill Apophis, who is coming from underneath the boat (→Apophis 12a\*). In spell 108 of the Book of the Dead he is described as a magical god holding his “spear of ore” (HORNUNG 2005a: 55). Magical Isis and Nephtys and possibly Hathor as well can be present (5). In one example falcon-headed R.-Horakhty stands alone in his barque, which is placed within a row of barques, each of which contains a different deity (38).

**1.2. Offering/adoration scenes.** Falcon-headed R.-Horakhty is often depicted as a subject in offering and adoration scenes. In this function he can be accompanied by other deities. When he is enthroned these seem to be some kind of “reinforcements” such as a serpent-headed goddess with the *Atef* crown (perhaps Amaunet, Hauhet, or Kauket; 53) or Isis (80). In one case Iusaas and Nebethetepet, two of his “feminine complements” (QUIRKE 2001: 31), stand behind the enthroned sun god (48). In another he is adored by a king in the presence of Sefkhet-abwy, “Lady of Writing” and “Mistress of the Library,” who wears some kind of flower symbol on her head (50).

**1.3. Among other deities.** Falcon-headed R. can also sit or stand amidst or next to other deities, e.g., next to Atum (52) and Amun(-Ra) (31, 51\*), opposite Osiris (73), and as ram-headed god between Atum, Khepri (human with a scarab upon his head), Shu, lion-headed Tefnut (with a solar disk and uraeus), Geb (wearing the White crown), and Nut (with sun disk and uraeus), each of whom holds a *was*-sceptre

and an *ankh*-symbol (15\*). A relief which depicts several manifestations of R. shows ibis-shaped Thoth, Atum (who presents his children Shu and Tefnut on his hands), lion-headed →Bastet, (once with two knives and once with a knife and a serpent), a naked goddess, and a naked man without a beard (“in attitude of helplessness, perhaps accessory to the nude goddess”; DE GARRIS DAVIES 1953: 4) together with cat- and lion-headed R. (83). A seal from Sidon shows falcon-headed R.-Horakhty with jackal-headed Seth-Baal and →Resheph who stands protectively in front of the other two (→Resheph 4).

**1.4. In the ritual of hours.** All of the Northern columns of the open court of the tomb of Padihorresnet show on each of their four sides a vignette with five columns of the ritual of hours, with falcon-headed R.-Horakhty and the respective personification of the hour: Maat (16), Hu (17), Sia (19), “Asbet” (two fire-breathing serpents) (18), Saret (20), Sanseret (21), falcon-headed Horus (22), →Khonsu (23), Isis, “the god’s mother” (24), Heka (25), “He who directs the tow rope to the west” (26), and Imenet (27) (GRAEFE 2003: 104). Khonsu, who is depicted with a falcon head and wearing the sun disk and a uraeus, shares exactly the same iconography as R.-Horakhty; only the hieroglyphic signs reveal his identity.

The decoration on the Southern columns can be seen as a companion piece to the decoration on the Northern columns. It consists of vignettes of the nightly hours. Every vignette shows the personification of the respective night hour, generally flanked by two male deities, with the exception of one: the first hour presents R.-Horakhty with the personification of the first hour (which has been destroyed), adored by the deceased (28). On another vignette R.-Horakhty is accompanied by Osiris-Chontamenti, Shu, and Heka (29).

**1.5. Deified king.** On a scarab falcon-headed R.-Horakhty appears to be standing in front of enthroned Ramesses II, adoring and blessing him. This is rather unusual and indicates a high degree of deification of the king (55). In a row of sitting statues from Abu Simbel R.-Horakhty sits next to deified Ramesses II, Amun, and →Ptah (60\*).

**1.6. Other.** A bronze hand with falcon-headed R., Osiris, and Amun(-R.) all sitting on the palm probably belonged to a monumental king statue (75) (ROEDER 1937: 27). In one example ibis-headed Thoth stands before falcon-headed R. and recites the result of his examination of the

heart of a deceased, written on the palette which he holds in his left hand (81\*).

**2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS: Serpent, jackal, baboon, cow, falcon, scarab-falcon.** The sun god can be accompanied by different animals, such as when four cobras with arms together with four jackals pull the sun barque (→**Apophis 12a\***), or when two baboons (→Monkey) sitting in the barque flank R.–Horakhty and worship him (62). As ANDREWS (1994: 88) states, “Baboons were closely connected with the rising sun, whose approach they were believed to anticipate by their cries and upright posture.” Four of the seven cows of heaven stand behind the falcon-headed and mummy-formed R. (74), while two falcons sit on *serekhs*, the façade of a palace, inscribed with the Horus name of King Necho II (610–595), one facing →Osiris, the other facing R.–Horakhty (73). In one depiction a scarab with a falcon’s head, wing, and tail, wearing the *hemhem*, is associated with the sun god among several deities (83).

### 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS

**3.1. King.** The pharaoh is often depicted offering (34–35, 43, 46, 48), adoring (49, 83), presenting the *maat* (45\*), or performing a ritual dance in front of falcon-headed R.–Horakhty (47), or receiving “jubilees” from him (50). The sun god is also depicted holding hands with King Seti I (1290–1279) (63\*) and probably with Amenhotep II, both standing on a boat (KEEL 1994: 132, fig. 63; see also KEEL 1994: 110). A. WIESE interprets this scene as the transference of the world dominion (KEEL 1994: 110, n. 198). R. also gives life (in the form of an *ankh*) to a king (to his nose) (64), is greeted by Merenptah, and directs a *was*, *djed* and *ankh* (in the form of a scepter) toward his face (40). The same scenery can be found in the tomb of Siptah (37). For the deified king and R. see above § II.2.B.1.2.4 with 55.

**3.2. Deceased.** The most common scene displays R.(–Horakhty), being adored by the deceased with (44, 66–70, 74, 76\*, 79) or without an offering table (42, 44, 65, 71–72, 77). The deceased Tanetperet, wearing a long, yellow, and slightly transparent dress with folds, stands next to an offering table with her hands raised in adoration as she receives life-giving rays coming from R.–Horakhty’s solar disk (32\*). The stela of Djedamuniu(es)anch dates to the 22nd dyn. as well and is decorated in the same manner (33).

**3.3. Administrator.** The vignettes of the ritual of the hours and the night hours in the tomb of Padihorresnet, the highest ad-

ministrator of the “God’s wife of Amun,” all show him in front of R.–Horakhty and the respective personification of the hour in kneeling (16–27), standing, or adoring pose (28–29). The governor of Thebes, Montuemhat, is depicted kneeling (30) or standing (31) next to an offering table, adoring R.–Horakhty (among others) on a stela.

**3.4. Priestess.** Nesitanebtashru, the daughter of the last “great high priest-king” Painetehem II (BUDGE 1912: ix), kneels together with a female relative, hands raised in adoration (40) or standing naked next to an offering table (78) in front of R.

### C. THERIOMORPHIC

#### 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS

**1.1. Seth.** “The god of all physical and moral evil” (BUDGE 1912: 12), i.e., Seth, is the serpent-shaped opponent of R. in the mythological battle of Heliopolis. In this scene the double falcon-headed, mummy-formed Horus, ibis-headed Thoth, a bearded god (with two plumes), perhaps Nefer-Tem/Septu (86\*–87), and a goddess (87), all seated, are present as R. in the form of a cat cuts off the head of serpentine Seth. In another example catlike R. beheads the →Apophis serpent in the presence of “the god of million years” (79).

**1.2. Osiris, Isis, Nephtys, Maat, Thoth, Horus.** As aforementioned, →Osiris is symbolized by one of two lions, the other representing R. In addition, mummy-formed Osiris wears the *Atef* crown as he sits on a *maat*-plinth with an *ankh* on his knees, and a falcon-headed, mummy-formed “Horus-god” (BUDGE 1912: 62) with the Pschent are attending leonine R. (88\*–89). On another vignette (90) Isis and Nephtys guard the mummy of Nesitanebtashru on a bier next to R. in his leonine manifestation. R. as a ram-headed scarab in a solar disk onboard the evening barque is associated with Maat and ibis-headed Thoth, who stand at the prow, while Horus steers the boat (92).

**2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS: Falcon.** A falcon on an *jmnt*-pennant with a *maat*-feather, the symbol of Amenti (BUDGE 1912: 8), and a benu-bird as the incarnation of the soul of R. are depicted twice with the sun god on the Greenfield papyrus (88\*–89).

### D. SYMBOLIC

**1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS: In the barque.** In his pure solar form as sun disk R. is associated as many fellow passengers with Horus in the back of the barque, while Thoth is “reciting the words of power which enables it to overcome all opposition” and Maat is directing

the course of the boat (96). In some examples anonymous anthropomorphic gods are present, either flanking the sun disk (94) or in an opposite barque (93). Isis and Nephtys, each together with the deceased, adore R. in his barque (95). In one illustration from the Book of the Day Nut, the goddess of the sky, is present twice. On the one hand, her presence being indicated only by her lower body and vulva, she is giving birth to the sun after its nightly journey through her body. On the other hand, Nut is illustrated as an anthropomorphic goddess being pregnant with another solar disk, also representing the sun. Shu, standing in a barque, supports her and the newborn sun, thereby participating in the daily process (12\*) (HORNUNG 1992: 486ff).

**2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS: Scarab, human-headed falcon.** In one depiction a winged scarab raises the sun upward (12\*) and “two of the eight human-headed falcons” (BUDGE 1912: 22) adore solar R. in his barque (95).

**3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS: Priestess, servant.** Nesitanebtashru, depicted twice, stands on each side of the barque with the sun disk, adoring it (95). Again, the priestess together with two female relatives kneels and adores solar R., one of them holding an ear of wheat (96). On 93 four kneeling servants with jars in their hands adore the barque which transports a falcon’s head with the sun disk.

### III. Sources

**III.1. Chronological range.** In the Old Kingdom (28th–22nd cent.) R. was already established as an important subject of worship and was thence worshipped into Roman times (SHAW 2000: 96, 437, QUIRKE 2001: 24). The first evidence of his cult was found in the name of the ruler Ra-neb, from the 2nd dyn. A first peak of the worship of R. took place in the 4th and 5th dyn. (27th–24th cent.) when the Egyptian kings began to build huge monuments dedicated to the sun god as part of their funerary cult (e.g., pyramids, obelisks, and the sun temples from Abusir), and to declare themselves to be “the son of Ra” (WILKINSON 2003: 209). From this point on the kings also incorporated “ra” into their throne names nearly without exception (SHAW 2000: 96; BARTA 1984: 162). When Amun, the local god of Thebes, gained more and more importance in the Middle Kingdom (21st–18th cent.) he soon became associated with R., resulting in the universal deity of Amun–R. (HORNUNG 2005: 91; SHAW 2000: 273f), but R.’s importance did not diminish.

Still in the New Kingdom (16th–11th cent.) “the sun god and the king lay at the

heart of Egyptian theological thinking and cultic practice.” The cult was maintained and reinforced to ensure the continuous passage of the sun god through the heavens and the Underworld in order “to maintain the created order of the universe” (SHAW 2000: 273). Several large sun temples and sun courts were built in the times of Amenhotep III (1390–1353). Amenhotep IV (1353–1336) ultimately pursued an excessive sun cult in which the sun god Aten (who emerged from R.–Horakhty; BARTA 1984: 163) was advanced to the only and almighty deity in Egypt. Although his successors abandoned this view, the significance of the sun god was maintained, as can be seen in evidence from that time (9, 34–37, 43, 49–52, 55, 59\*–60\*, 63\*–64, possibly: KEEL 2010: Der el-Balah no. 3; KEEL 1994: 132, fig. 63). In the Ramesside period (13th–11th cent.) R. acted as the eponym of the kings. However, the vast amount of evidence comes from the 3rd Intermediate period (11th–7th cent.) when the various powers in the country sought to legitimize their rule (1–5, 7\*–8\*, 10–12\*, 14, 16–33, 38–42, 44, 46–48, 50–54, 60\*–62, 65–66, 73–74, 77–82, 84, 86\*–91, 95–96, →Apophis 12a\*). Even though R. was occasionally overshadowed by other deities in later times, his presence was all-embracing, as depictions from the Late Period indicate (15\*, 45\*, 56, 83, 92–94; possibly also: ROEDER 1937: pl. 4c–d) (WILKINSON 2003: 209).

### III.2. Geographical distribution.

In his all-embracing impact R. was worshipped in practically every part of the country. In some regions his appearance could vary to a small degree. The center and controversial origin of his cult was found in Heliopolis during the Old Kingdom, “the city of the sun” (QUIRKE 2001: 8) and probably the “country’s religious capital” of that time (SHAW 2000: 92). The sanctuary of the temple in Heliopolis was dedicated to R. (BONNET 1971: 628; WILKINSON 2003: 209; SHAW 2000: 437). In the 1st mill., however, little evidence of R. remains (6, 92; possibly also: ROEDER 1937: pl. 4d), probably due to the place’s current condition.

In his syncretic combination with Amun, R. was also worshipped to a high degree at Thebes, where the cult can be viewed as the “archetype for the Aten-cult in Amarna” (SHAW 2000: 283). Expansive cults existed in Karnak (3–4\*, 46–50, 91), Hermonthis, Hierakonpolis, Edfu, Dendera, and Nubia, among others (BARTA 1984: 165).

In the New Kingdom some kings began to develop and expand sun cults in several

regions. The funerary temple of Hatshepsut (1479–1458) in Deir el-Bahari contains a huge alabaster open-air altar for R.–Horakhty, which recalls the altars in the sun temples in Abusir from the 6th dyn. (SHAW 2000: 241). Amenhotep II built a temple to honor Amun and R.–Horakhty at Amada in Lower Nubia (SHAW 2000: 250), while Thutmose III (1479–1426) developed and expanded cults in Amada, Karnak, and Hermopolis (SHAW 2000: 263).

However, most of the iconographic evidence comes from the two “capitals” of Egypt during the 3rd Intermediate period: Tanis (8\*–9, 12\*, 34–36, 38–39, 53, 67) or nearby (56), Thebes (13, 16–33, 37, 44, 59\*, 63\*–73, 76\*), and Deir el-Bahari (1–2, 5, 11\*, 14, 40–41\*, 74, 77–81\*, 86\*–90, 93, 95–96). The difference in the amount of evidence may well be due to the unequal conditions of the locations. A depiction exists from Saqqara (94) and several more from Upper Egypt, for example Abu Simbel (43, 60\*) and the Kharga oasis (15\*, 45\*, 83). The adoration of R. was even transferred to Lebanon (→Resheph 4) and Israel/Palestine (possibly: KEEL 2010: Der el-Balah no. 3; HERRMANN 1994: nos. 265–266).

**III.3. Object types.** When relating to the daily cycle of the sun and the funerary cult temple (3–4\*) and tomb walls (6, 12\*–13, 92) are decorated with scenes of R. on his journey. As recipient of offerings and subject of worship he likewise appears on temple (9, 15\*, 45\*–50, 64, 83) and tomb walls (8\*, 16–29, 37, 40, 53, 63\*, 73), but also on stelae (30–33, 51\*, 54). Coffins from the 21st dyn. (11th–10th cent.) were objects for the illustration of the sun god in a funerary context (1–2, 5, 14, 38, 72, 79–80); one sarcophagus from the Late Period depicts the sun’s journey (94). A vast number of illustrations are also found on funerary papyri with depictions of the deceased offering and adoring R. (–Horakhty) (40–42, 44, 65–68, 70–71, 74, 76\*–78, 93, 95–96) and scenes from the Underworld Books (7\*, 10, 11\*, 86\*–90, →Apophis 12a\*). There is one example of major statuary (60\*) and one possible fragment of a colossal king’s statue in the form of a triple bronze statuette (75). Two naoi show the king offering wine to R.–Horakhty (34–36, 43), and one with Atum (67). In small statuary (57–58; possibly also: ROEDER 1937: pl. 4b–d) and amulets (39, 56, 61–62, 82, 84–85; possibly also: HERRMANN 1994: nos. 265–266), and possibly also on rings (KEEL 2010: Der el-Balah no. 3), the religious impact of R. on an individual is expressed. Amulets are

supposed to possess magical power to protect their wearer in life and death. A cylinder seal from the Levant with depictions of R. is of particular note (→Resheph 4).

**IV. Conclusion.** As has been shown, R. the sun god, as a cosmological deity with impact on all spheres of life and death in Ancient Egyptian society can be depicted in different ways depending on his function, but in all regions and at all times alike. Whether in royal or nonroyal context, his role as the creator and maintainer of life and order was indefeasible. The great number of names containing “ra,” official and nonofficial, underline this assumption (WILKINSON 2003: 209). The sun or R. is nearly always presented in a passive way, for example as the subject of adoration and offering and especially in his barque, since “in all of this activity, the sun remains the source of authority, but does not participate” (QUIRKE 2001: 45). The popular epithet of various Egyptian deities, “rich in manifestations,” definitely applies in the case of the sun god (HORNUNG 2005: 129).

*Kerstin Stucky*

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Papyrus, 1075–713 (21st–22nd dyn.). SADEK 1985: pl. 31 **43** Naos, limestone, Abu Simbel, 1279–1213 (Ramesses II). ROEDER 1914: pl. 6:70005 (left exterior wall) **44** Papyrus, Thebes, 990–900 (late 21st dyn.–early 22nd dyn.). NIWIŃSKI 1989: pl. 4a **45\*** Relief, stone, Kharga Oasis, 525–404 (27th dyn.) DE GARRIS DAVIES 1953: pl. 54 **46–48** Relief, stone, Karnak, 1075–945 (21st dyn.). THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1979: pls. 6; 46; 66 **49–50** Relief, stone, Karnak, 1190–1075 (20th dyn.). THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1981: pls. 170A; 181 **51\*** Stela, sandstone, Kawa, 1539–1292 (18th dyn.). MACADAM 1949: pl. 2:3 **52** Naos, sandstone, Tanis, 1279–1213 (Ramesses II). ROEDER 1914: pl. 4:70003 (exterior back wall) **53** Relief, stone, Tanis, 1075–945 (21st dyn.). MONTET 1951: pl. 14 **54** Stela, stone, 728–656 (25th dyn.). LECLANT 1961: pl. 70, Doc. 44 **55** Scarab, enstatite, 1292–1190 (19th dyn.) or later. KEEL 1994: pl. 15:22 **56** Amulet, silver/gold, Tell Defenna, probably 664–525 (26th dyn.). ANDREWS 1994: fig. 98b **57–58** Statuette, bronze, probably 664–343 (Late period). ROEDER 1956: pls. 13k; 74A **59\*** Relief, stone, Thebes West, 1292–1190 (19th dyn.). WILKINSON 2003: 63 **60\*** Statue, stone, Abu Simbel, 1292–1190 (19th dyn.). WILKINSON 2003: 57 **61** Amulet, composition, 1075–525 (21st–26th dyn.). ANDREWS 1994: fig. 26e **62** Amulet, composition, 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). ANDREWS 1994: fig. 90g **63\*** Wall painting, Thebes West, 1292–1190 (19th dyn.). QUIRKE 2001: 24, fig. 4 **64** Relief, stone, Medinet Habu, 1292–1190 (19th dyn.). WILKINSON 2003: 207 **65–68** Papyrus, Thebes, 990–900 (late 21st dyn.–early 22nd dyn.). NIWIŃSKI 1989: pls. 1a; 1b; 2a; 4b **69\*** Papyrus, Thebes, 990–900 (late 21st dyn.–early 22nd dyn.). NIWIŃSKI 1989: pl. 5a **70–71** Papyrus, Thebes, 990–900 (late 21st dyn.–early 22nd dyn.). NIWIŃSKI 1989: pls. 36b; 5b **72** Coffin, wood, Thebes, 990–900 (late 21st dyn.–early 22nd dyn.). NIWIŃSKI 1988: color plate B **73** Relief, stone, Thebes, 728–656 (25th dyn.). GRAEFE 2003: pl. V2 **74** Papyrus, Deir el-Bahari, 970 (late 21st dyn.). BUDGE 1912: pl. 47 **75** Statuette, bronze, 1100 (end of New Kingdom). ROEDER 1937: pl. 15g, h **76\*** Papyrus, Thebes, 990–900 (late 21st dyn.–early 22nd dyn.). NIWIŃSKI 1989: pl. 46b **77–78** Papyrus, Deir el-Bahari, 970 (late 21st dyn.). BUDGE 1912: pls. 43; 71 **79–80** Coffin, wood, Thebes, 990–960 (late 21st dyn.). NIWIŃSKI 1988: pls. 7A; 3A **81\*** Papyrus, Deir el-Bahari, 970 (late 21st dyn.). BUDGE 1912: pl. 58 **82** Amulet, composition, 1075–656 (21st dyn.–25th dyn.). ANDREWS 1994: fig. 26b **83** Relief, stone, Kharga Oasis, 525–404 (27th dyn.) DE GARRIS DAVIES 1953: pl. 2:VI **84** Amulet, composition, 1075–656 (21st dyn.–25th dyn.). ANDREWS 1994: fig. 25c **85** Amulet, composition, 664–332 (26th dyn.–31st dyn.). ANDREWS 1994: fig. 25b **86\*–90** Papyrus, Deir el-Bahari, 970 (late 21st dyn.). BUDGE 1912: pls. 14; 87; 82; 9; 41 **91** Relief, stone, Karnak, 728–656 (25th dyn.). PARKER et al. 1979: pl. 21 **92** Relief, stone, Heliopolis, 664–525 (26th dyn.). QUIRKE 2001: 47, fig. 17 **93** Papyrus, Deir el-Bahari, 970 (late 21st dyn.). BUDGE 1912: pl. 57 **94** Coffin, wood, Saqqara, 664–332 (26th–31st dyn.). MASPERO/GAUTHIER 1939: pl. 7:2 **95–96** Papyrus, Deir el-Bahari, 970 (late 21st dyn.). BUDGE 1912: pls. 26; 79

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