

# THE BOOK OF THE AMDUAT ON PAPYRUS ZAGREB E-605

Igor Uranić

Archaeological Museum in Zagreb  
Trg Nikole Šubića Zrinskog 19  
HR-10000 Zagreb  
iuranic@amz.hr

UDK: 069(497.5 Zagreb).5:003.51(32)

Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper

*The paper deals with an ancient Egyptian text from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb collection. It provides the hieroglyphic text, with its transliteration and translation, of Papyrus Zagreb E-605. The papyrus fragment contains hours 10–12 from*

*the Amduat, dated to the 21<sup>st</sup> or 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, during the Third Intermediate Period. The text describes renewal of life in the natural cycle of the Sun at the end of the adventures of the joint nocturnal journey of the god Re and a human soul.*

**Key words:**

*Amduat, Papyrus Zagreb E-605, Sun-boat, underworld, hidden chamber, iconography, Duat, image, soul, night hours*

*Amduat* is a name used for a specific form of the Egyptian *Book of the Netherworld*,<sup>1</sup> which was the most complex composition of eschatological texts during the New Kingdom (1550–1069 BC). The earliest attestations of the *Amduat* (meaning “What is in the Netherworld”) appeared in the decoration of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty royal tombs. The text was also named the *Book of the Hidden Chamber* and is closely connected with the development of the architecture<sup>2</sup> of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. The earliest examples of the text are known from the burials of Tutmosis I and Hatshepsut, while the first complete versions were found in the tombs of the Pharaoh Tutmosis III and his vizier Useramun. Eighteenth-dynasty examples were written on the walls of the burial chambers. During the second half of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty the book was accepted by the Theban priesthood, and from the Third Intermediate Period on it became a common

element of the funerary customs of the elite. At the same time, versions of the *Amduat* reach the coffins<sup>3</sup> and papyri as well. The book was used until the Ptolemaic period. The main concern of the *Book of the Hidden Chamber* is the regeneration of a human soul supported by the Sun god, or even his own parallel renewal. The regeneration in the treatise flows through twelve sections until the soul of the dead person is revived on the horizon at the moment of the sunrise. Various obstacles and demonic creatures<sup>4</sup> try to stop the sun boat, so the journey becomes a drama. Iconographic representations of different levels of Duat, of the gods dwelling there, and also of the destiny of the human souls, provide numerous data about the ancient Egyptian concept of the afterlife and ethics. The *Amduat* itself represents a further step towards the more profound esoteric concepts of Egyptian eschatology. As such, the *Amduat* is diametrically opposed to the

1 Wente 1892; Budge 1905; Hornung 1999; 2007.

2 Roehrig 2007; Richter 2008.

3 Duarte 2017, 137–144.

4 Apophis, the great enemy of the Sun.

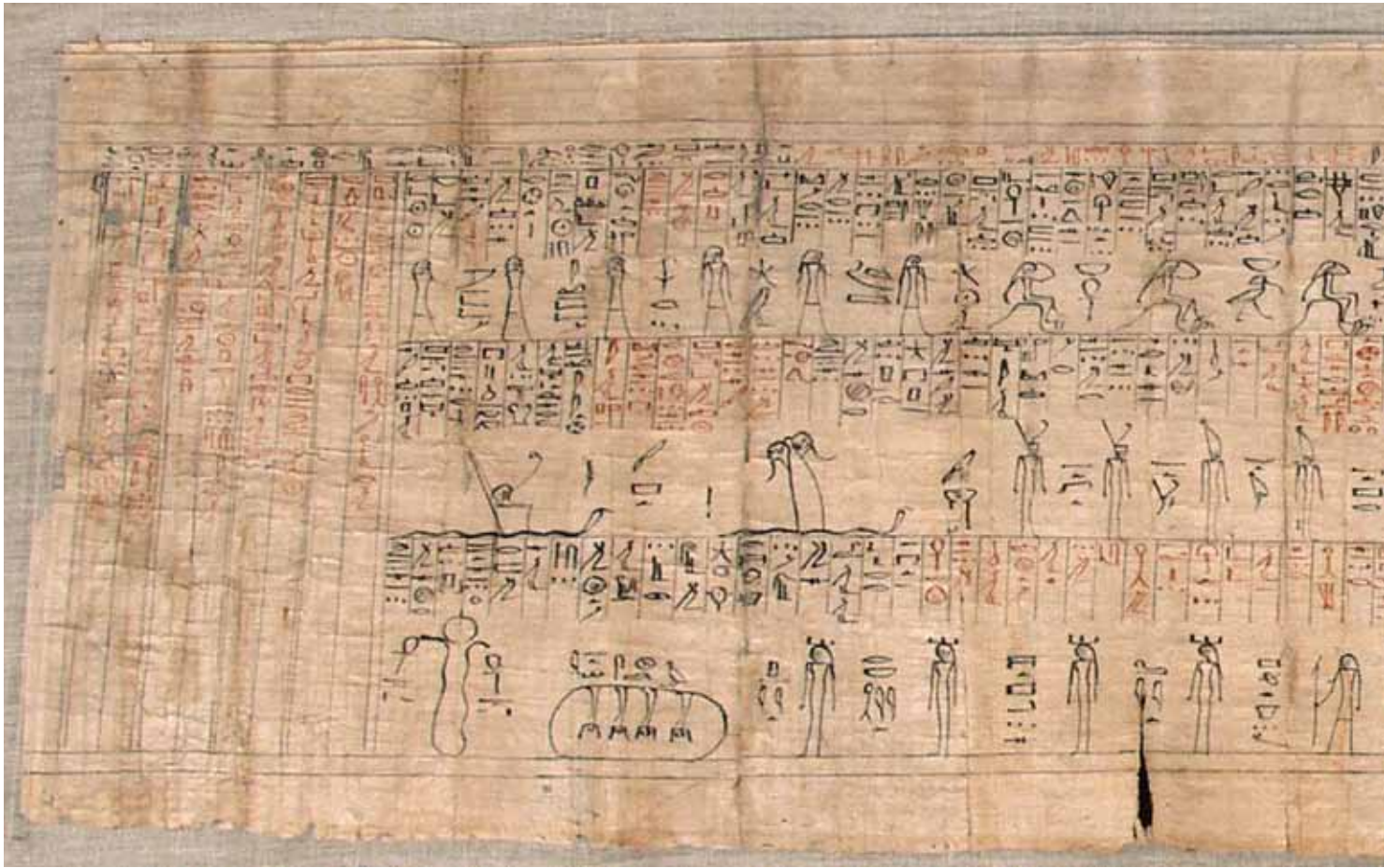


FIGURE 1. Papyrus Zagreb E-605 (photo by I. Krajcar).

rather popular beliefs widespread in the *Book of the Dead*, presenting an authentic dualistic myth of the passage. The Sun and a soul are destined to travel through different reality-layers of the hidden world and to face degradation in primaevial darkness and resurrection at the end of the path. The *Amduat* is also based on unity with the Sun. The soul travels on the barque of Re. It could be said that the deceased unites with universal light. That could be assumed as a restoration of the primordial ideas of the solar religion based on the Old Kingdom cult of the Sun.

### Description

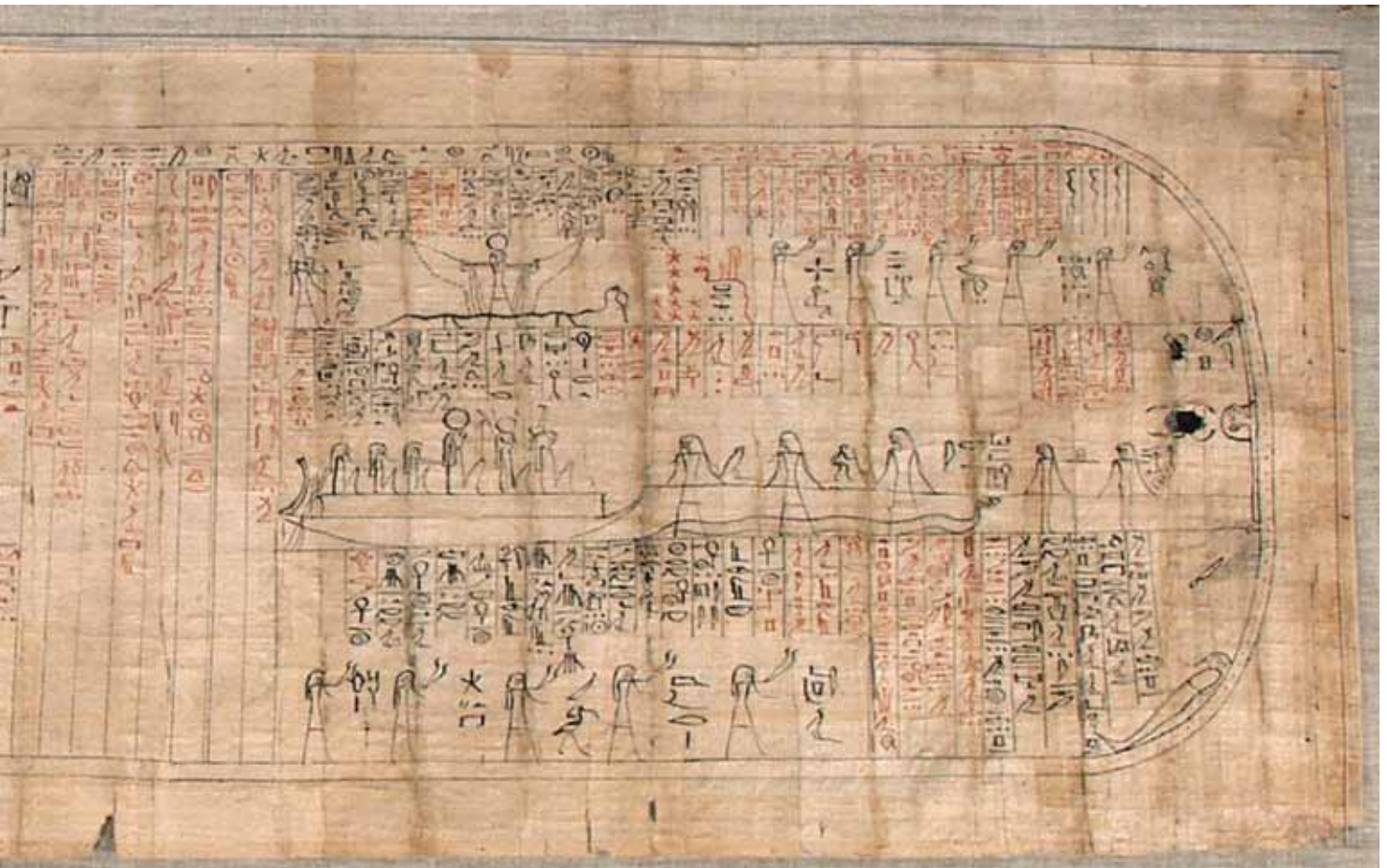
The Ancient Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb owns an extensive fragment of the *Amduat*: three chapters of the text, known as the 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> hours of the night. The papyrus originally belonged to Franz Koller's collection. The collection<sup>5</sup> was acquired by the Museum in the 19<sup>th</sup> cen-

tury, and the fragment was recorded in the inventory book as inv. no. 605 (*Papyrus Zagreb E-605*<sup>6</sup>). It seems that part of the text has been lost. The missing part of the papyrus may contain several more 'Amduat hours' and even the name of the owner himself. It is also possible that the papyrus was never finished, due to the fact that some sections in the lower register, below the text arranged in columns and written in red ink, are left empty.

On the left-hand side of the preserved papyrus fragment, currently on show as part of the Museum's permanent exhibition (149.5cm x 43.5cm), eight columns of the text, written in red ink, present the 10<sup>th</sup> hour of the *Amduat*. Within the main part of the papyrus, vignettes and texts are arranged in three registers which symbolise the three realms: sky, earth and underworld. At the very end of the fragment, at the right, there is a fragmentary preserved ellipsoid form – part of a cartouche on which a mummy lies – where the end of the soul's journey through the 12 night

5 The main part of the Egyptian collection in the Museum was purchased from the Franz Koller inheritance in Prague. The collection of 1934 artefacts was brought to Zagreb in April 1868. A more detailed history of the collection can be found in: Ljubić 1889, 1; Monnet Saleh 1970, 5; Mirnik, Uranić 1999, 197–208; Tomorad 2003, 19–27; Uranić 2005, 5–6; Mirnik 2007, 16–22; Tomorad 2016, 327–329.

6 Published in: Monnet Saleh 1970, 165, cat. no. 883; Uranić 2007, 196, cat. no. 444.



hours is depicted and symbolised with the Sun in the form of a scarab elevating in the morning sky. The cartouche line seems to represent the sky. The text is placed in horizontal and vertical squares. The papyrus was mentioned by A. Niwinski<sup>7</sup> and dated<sup>8</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> or 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. If correct, this may mean that Papyrus Zagreb E-605 preserves one of the earlier versions of the *Amduat* on papyrus.

### Contents of the papyrus

The fragment describes renewal of life in the natural cycle of the Sun at the end of the adventures of the joint nocturnal journey of the god Re and a human soul. The text consists of the so-called 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> ‘night hours’ of the book. The text is written from the left towards the right side of the papyrus, where the representation of the dawn and resurrection are symbolised by the scarab. The central motif of these three chapters (hours) is

the image of the deceased and its magical role in successfully passing through the levels of Duat with the help of the gods. According to the text, the image was placed in the “hidden chamber.” Through magic, rituals and utterances, the image of the deceased becomes able to unite with Re on his own journey to the horizon. Magical means, which implies knowledge of the names of the gods, are required of the soul. The horizontal text placed on the uppermost part of the papyrus states: “[If] their names are known [he shall] travel and pass through Duat [and he shall] not be turned back from flying up before Re.”

The vignettes on *Papyrus Zagreb E-605* are arranged within three registers which are, as already mentioned, separated text fragments. Two blocks consisting of three registers are separated by squares of text, arranged in columns. The arrangement of iconographic and textual elements creates a ‘visual impression’ of six autonomous fields. On the left side of the papyrus surface, in the

<sup>7</sup> Niwinski 1989, 376.

<sup>8</sup> J. Monnet Saleh (Monnet Saleh 1970, 165, cat. no. 883) dated the papyrus to the New Kingdom, which is too early for the *Amduat* to appear on the medium of papyri.

upper register, nine anthropomorphic gods (facing East, standing or walking, three of them riding double-headed snakes) are shown. In front of each of the figures, the god's name is written. The central register displays four goddesses, two of them wearing a white crown and the other two a red one. They are followed by the hieroglyph of Amenti, the double-headed god, and a red crown. The lower register presents two snakes, each of them named as *ḥnḥ(w) t3(wy)* – “those who live in (Two) land(s)” – lifting up the sun disc. The scene described above, in many other examples, presents the images of two seated goddesses wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt and flanking the snakes facing each other. The scene is followed by the *ka*-souls hanging upside down in the oval realm<sup>9</sup> with the text *int shdw*, “the valley of those (who are) upside down”. The scene seems to represent a separate hell-like cavern (of fire pits) for souls who have been punished and detained. In other versions of the *Amduat* there are usually representations of drowned people, next to those hanging upside down, in the 10<sup>th</sup> hour. Also in other versions, around the hanging people, red points are depicted,<sup>10</sup> alluding to fire. In the *Amduat* there frequently appears “a pit of fire”, or “a pit full of corpses.” Thus, it is also possible to render the word *int* as “pit.” On the right there are four goddesses with a *ḥswt* or *smyt* sign for the desert or necropolis, and a god with a *w3s* stick. All five of them are facing left (to the West – the direction opposite to the sun's movement in Duat). There is not much doubt about the nature of the gods in this place. Their names *Pzyt* (The One Who Turns Upside Down), *Rkḥyt* (The Fiery One), *Ḥrs'w.s* (The One Who Cuts) and *Szyt* (unclear meaning) indicate their function of threat and torture. The scene is followed by the inscription *int shdw*, “the valley of those turned upside down.” This scene is also mentioned as part of the punishment in Hornung's article<sup>11</sup> on hell-like ideas in the *Amduat*, and it may be connected with the Egyptian belief according to which people who were killed by crocodiles or drowned in the Nile are not destined for eternal life. This was a consequence of the fact that their bodies were missing and could not be mummified.

### Final phase of regeneration

On the right-hand side of the papyrus, the last two hours of the night, when the last preparations for sunrise are taking place, are presented. The creator god Atum is in the upper register spreading the wings of a big snake, standing on his back. The snake is holding an *ankh* in its mouth. Behind Atum's back is a two-headed god named *ḥpr ḥrk dt t3* with the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt and *w3s* stick. Atum holds the wings of the snake and faces another god sitting on another snake facing in the opposite direction. The figure on the snake back is elevated above the stars – nine of them, and all depicted in red. Within the same register, far to the right, five gods are shown as worshipping the scarab of the rising sun. The two snakes in the eleventh division – one standing on four legs and one elevating above the stars – could

be one and the same. They, as well as the two-headed god on the left, symbolise the duality of the movement of time. Usually, in this part of the *Amduat*, Atum is represented with two *wd3t* eyes above. The winged snake is an instrument of the god Atum, being enabled to annihilate time. Of the winged snake (which is male), named “He who takes away the hours”, as well as of the other (female) snake, it is said that “he (or she) swallows his (or her) images again.” The two eyes (not represented in the Zagreb Papyrus) are symbols of the Sun and the Moon. The two eyes meet in Duat on two bars (for example on texts of hypocephalus). So the two snakes seem to be the two directions of the passage of time. The picture of the two snakes and the two-headed god being in the upper register means rather the esoteric meaning of the main event shown in the middle register of the twelfth hour.

In the central register three male and two female gods are represented as pulling the sun-boat, together with a big snake. In front of them the Sun is rising up as the Khepri-scarab towards a double line with a human head of Nut at the exit from Duat. Above the scarab there is also a description “the beauty of the Sun's eye.” In the main picture of the twelfth hour, Re is sitting on the boat preceded by Maat and Hathor, followed by three more human figures. These figures which are sitting behind Re could be gods. However, it is also possible that these are images of the deceased, i.e. of his *ka* and himself. If so, this would be the only place which shows the image of the dead person. Unlike the various versions of the *Book of the Dead*, generally speaking in the *Amduat* the deceased person – the owner of the text – is not named or represented.

Re is being completely renewed and ready to rise in the sky. In this hour the central motif is the picture of the great snake. The Sun-boat is pulled by his followers through the snake's body and so finally renewed. The boat carrying Maat, Hathor, Re and three more figures, enters the snake at his tail and comes out from his mouth. Hornung has an interesting theory<sup>12</sup> of that idea being “inversion of time necessary for general rejuvenation.” Indeed, not only time, but also various chthonic forces, frequently take the shape of a snake in Egyptian eschatology. While in the original version of the *Amduat* there were twelve human figures pulling, in *Papyrus Zagreb E-605* there are five of them (three male and two female). Above the snake the Horus (the young man) and *imi* – a man with a walking stick (the old man) – are shown. Above the head of the snake the text reads: *k3 n di ḥnḥ ntrw* – “*ka* which gave life to the gods”. This passage of the sun barque through the great snake is the central motif of the papyrus as a whole. It is, in fact, a parallel mythic image to the snake-headed barque carrying the eye of the Sun in other Third Intermediate Period *Book of the Dead* compositions.<sup>13</sup>

9 In Budge 1905, 253 translated as “the pit of fire.”

10 For example see: Kunst voor de eeuwigheid, Catalogue, National Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Brussel, 1966.

11 Hornung 1994.

12 Hornung 2007, 368.

13 See: Liptay 2006, 13–14.



## ELEVENTH HOUR (15 COLUMNS IN THE UPPER REGISTER)

1. *n wnn.f m šhr wbn pn* 2. *ḥḥḥ f n Rḥ*

He is like light. He is like Re.

3. *iw.ty.f r s=.* 4. *f nt dwz.t* 5. *wnn.f m šhr*

He does not leave his place in Duat. He is like

6. *pn dwi.* 7. *ntr pn r.* 8. *f7. pr sšm.w ny Itmw m* 8. *tmw m*

this: (When) this god calls him Atum, he comes back forth

9. *ist.* 10. *f mhr=(f) sšmw* 11. *ḥḥ. f m šw.wt mt.yw* 12. *hst=f tp.* 13. *dt=s ds wnn.* 14. *s m hri.t šdi wnw.t* 15. *irr.t. s wd ḥḥ.w*

his back and swallow (his) image. He lives on his shadow his corpse and head

13. *dt=s ds wnn.* 14. *s m hri.t šdi wnw.t* 15. *irr.t. s wd ḥḥ.w*

Her own body is upon “He who takes away the doors”. What she does is command the living

## ELEVENTH HOUR (8 ROWS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER)

1. *Rḥ rḥ-* 2. *nb* 3. *ḥm. s sš* 4. *m=s* 5. *r niw.t* 6. *wnw.t*

(of) Re every day. She swallows her image in this place. It is the eleventh hour,

7. *pw wḥ.t m* 8. *ht ntr ḥz*

one of those who follow the great god.

## ELEVENTH HOUR (26 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER)

1. *wnn. sn* 2. *m šhr* 3. *pn* 4. *iw ntr pn* 5. *ḥz* 6. *dw.f r sn*

They are like this: When this great god calls them

7. *m rmw.* 8. *=sn pr. w. n.* 9. *i imn. w* 10. *hzy.* 11. *n. i*

by their names: Come to me, the hidden ones. Shine for me

12. *štz. w* 13. *ḥ ḥḥ* 14. *n bz. w=in* 15. *shn=sn* 16. *hr šw.wt*

(with) the secret arm. Life to (ba-souls),<sup>23</sup> that they alight upon the shadows

17. *nt. tn* 18. *sš. w* 19. *imn. t* 20. *rd. w*

You are those who reveal<sup>22</sup> what was hidden and place

21. *sšm. w* 22. *r bw.f* 23. *dsr* 24. *tzw. n.* 25. *tn tpi rz. i* 26. *ḥḥw*

the image in (its) forbidden place. To you belong the breath of the living (?)

## ELEVENTH HOUR (MIDDLE REGISTER ON THE LEFT IN 14 COLUMNS)

1. *sšmw* 2. *pw štz n Hr w* 3. *wnn. sn r sbz* 4. *ny kk. w* 5. *smz. w*

These are images concealed by Horus. They are at the second gate of unified darkness.

6. *wz. t dsr. t* 7. *Szy. t* 8. *iw ntr pn* 9. *dw. f r. sn pr*

on the forbidden paths of Sais, when this god calls to them

10. *hr tp. w=sn* 11. *štz. w mhr. sn* 12. *sšm. w=* 13. *sn* 14. *m-ht*

(and) then their secret heads appear after they swallow their images again.

## ELEVENTH HOUR (20 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER ON THE LEFT)

1. *wnn. sn* 2. *m šhr* 3. *pn* 4. *r bz pn* 5. *m sšm. w*

They are like this at this gate: As this ba-soul in images

6. *ir n Hr w* 7. *iw* 8. *ntr pn dw. f* 9. *r.* 10. *sn m* 11. *rn. w=sn*

made by Horus. This god, he calls them by their names

12. *skr. sn* 13. *m sdm.* 14. *f.* 15. *nt* 16. *szz. w*

and they breathe when they hear his voice. They are those who guard

17. *sbz r Szy. t* 19. *iwty rh. f.* 20. *n ptr*

the gate of Sais which is unknown, unseen (and) unperceived.

## ELEVENTH HOUR (LOWER REGISTER IN 34 COLUMNS)

1. *wnn. sn* 2. *m šhr* 3. *pn* 4. *sn* 5. *r tmsw m sšm* 6. (det.) 7. *m hft. w*

They are like this: They are those who make a bloody punishment among the enemies

8. (det.) 9. *Wsir* 10. *m* 11. *dwz. t* 12. *hry whz. wt* 13. *f* 14. *m*

of Osiris in Duat. “The one over his kettles” is

15. *szz. w* 16. *kr. t* 17. (det.) 18. *ḥḥ.* 19. *sn* 20. *hrw* 21. *hft. w*

the guardian of the cavern. They live on the voice of his enemies.

22. (tyw det.) 23. *m* 24. *sbh* 26. *bz. w* 27. *w* (det.) 28. *šw. wt* 29. *dd. w* 30. *n*

On the scream of the ba-souls and shadows, whom they throw

31. *sn r* 32-33. *hzd. w=sn r hzdw=sn<sup>23</sup>*

into their pits.

## ELEVENTH HOUR (8 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER)

1. *hup in hm ny ntr pn ḥz m krr. t tn wd. (f)*

Resting by the majesty of this great god in this cavern. He

2. *md. w n ntr. w imi. w. s rn ny sbz ny*

gives order to the gods who are in it. The name of the gate

3. *niw. t tn ḥk. w ntr pn ḥz hr. f shn dwz. ty*

of this city which the great god enters is “the resting place of those in Duat”.

4. *rn ny niw. t tn rz n krr. t*

The name of that place is “mouth of the cavern

5. *ipt hzw. wt rn ny wnw. t tn*

which examines the corpses”. The name of this hour

6. *grh sšm. t ntr (pn)*

of the night which guides this god

7. *sbzy. t nb. t wšz hsf. t sbi m*

is “the starry mistress of the barque”. (Who) repels the enemy

8. *pr. f*

(when) he comes forth.

20 The text starts with the Eleventh hour, then turns to the Tenth hour in two short rows, and goes back to the Eleventh again.

21 Unclear text. *tzw* is written where there used to be *bz*.

22 In the text *štz* “the secret” is written.

23 “Into the pits” is written twice.

## TWELFTH HOUR (24 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER)

1. *wnn. sn m šhr pn* 2. *nt.sn šsp.w nfr.t*

They are like this: They are those who grasp the tow rope

3. *ny R<sup>c</sup> pr m* 4. *imšh=f ḥnh ntr.w nt sn*

of the boat of Re when he comes out of the spine of the living god.

5. *stz.w ntr pn* 6. *ʿz m* 7. *sšm* 8. *sw r* 9. *wz.wt*

They are those who tow this great god on his ways

10. (det.) 11. *hr.t* 12. *nt.sn irr.w* 13. *hpr.t* 14. *m p.t* 15. *m tšw*

(of the) high. They are those who cause what happened in the sky, in wind

16. (w) 17. *m* 18. *hptw* 19. *m* 20. *d<sup>c</sup>* 21. (det.) 22. *m* 23-24. *hwi.t*

in calmness, in storm, in rain.

## TWELFTH HOUR (4 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER, RIGHT)

1. *wdt. (sn) m ḥnh.w* 2. *irr.t* 3. *wiz* 4. *m p.t*

What (they) command to the living is what the great barque performs in the sky.

## TWELFTH HOUR (28 COLUMNS IN THE LOWER REGISTER)

1. *hr. f ḥnh* 2. *sp hnty kkw.(f)*<sup>24</sup> 3. *ḥnh ʿz* 4. *hnty kkw*

... upon (by) him. Live, live, foremost of his darkness!

5. *nb- ḥnh* 6. *hks Wsir* 7. *hnty- imnty.w* 8. *m<sup>c</sup> hnty -(ḥnh)*<sup>25</sup>

Live, the lord Osiris the ruler of Westerners, and live foremost

9. *dwz.t tšw R<sup>c</sup>* 10. *n fnd=k srkw* 11. *hpr.* 12. *k ḥnh=k*

the breath of Re belongs to your nose. Your life comes into existence.

13. *ḥhw ihy (n)*<sup>26</sup> 14. *Wsir nb* 15. *ḥnh ntr.w pw* 16. *imy.w (ht)*<sup>27</sup>

Live, hail to (you) Osiris the lord of life. These are gods who are behind

17. *Wsir* 18. *hpr.w hr.f* 19. *sp tpy wnn.sn hz*

Osiris. Who emerge with him at the beginning of time. They are around

20. *sšmw pn (k)*<sup>28</sup> *rrr.t (štz) tn ḥnh. sn*

the secret chamber. They live

21. *m ḥnh.t. f im srk.sn* 22. *mdw ntr pn (m) dwz.wt*

on what it<sup>29</sup> lives on. They breathe through the words of this god, and through prayers

23. *sn ds sn wnn.sn m šhr pn*

of their own. He is like this:

24. *m sšmw pn n imn Hrw m* 25. *kkw smz.w in sšmw*

As is this mysterious image of Horus (in the) unified darkness

26. *pn n štz Šw hr*

which Shu supports below

27. *Nw.t prr zgb wr* 28. *m tš m sšmw pn*

Nut, that the great flood (may) go from the earth, from this image.

## TWELFTH HOUR (12 COLUMNS IN UPPER REGISTER)

1. *irrt. sn* 2. *pw m* 3. *dwzt* 4. *ntr pn ʿz*

What they do in Duat is praising the great god

5. *ḥ<sup>c</sup>. sn* 6. *r niw.t spiw.* 7. *sn ntr ʿz*

They stand at this place. They are counted among their great god

8. (m) *kft.yw*<sup>30</sup> *hnw. n. R<sup>c</sup>* 9. *m-ht f m htp (m) pt (m) h<sup>c</sup>. f*

The turquoise ones give acclamation to Re when he arrives in the sky, he appears

10. *m ir.ty hnmm.t* 11. *hpt hr nn ny ntr.w* 12. *m krr. t=sn*

24 The suffix pronoun, 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. is omitted.

25 *ḥnh* is probably missing.

26 Preposition missing

27 It should probably be: "those who follow" (or "behind") Osiris *imywht Wsir*

28 Missing *k* at the beginning.

29 The image.

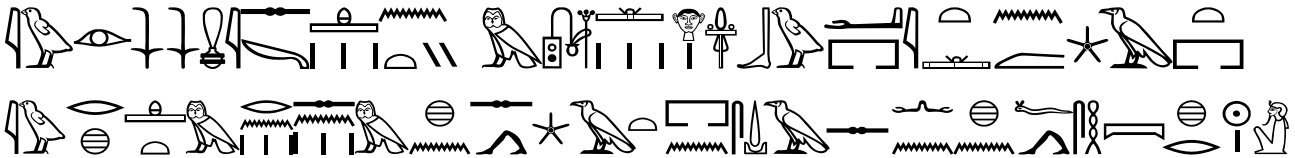
30 The word is missing "m" and "f" signs.

## HIEROGLYPHIC TEXT

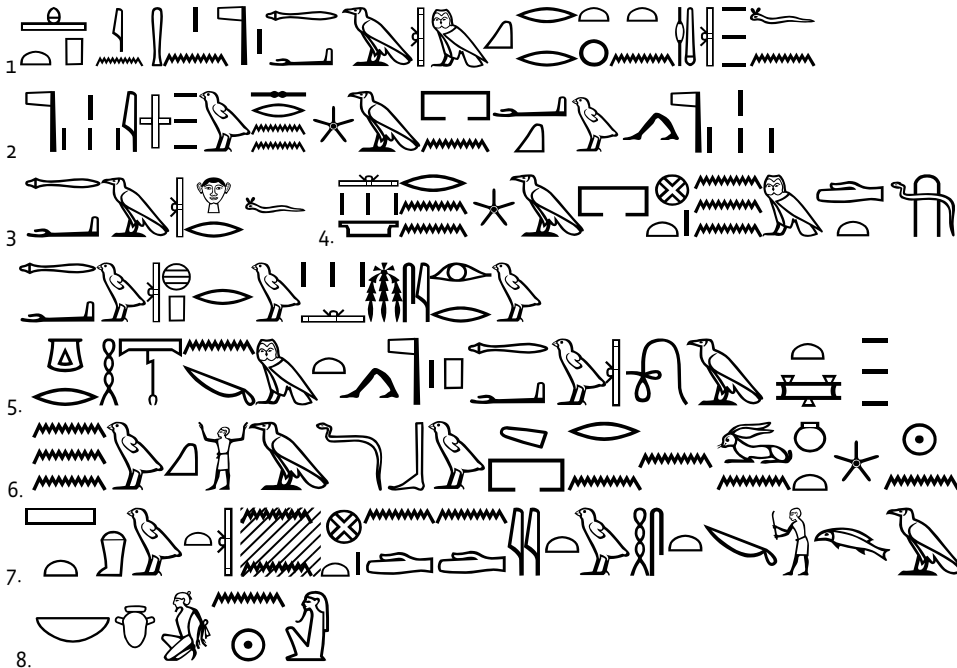
### HORIZONTAL TEXT, TOP RIGHT



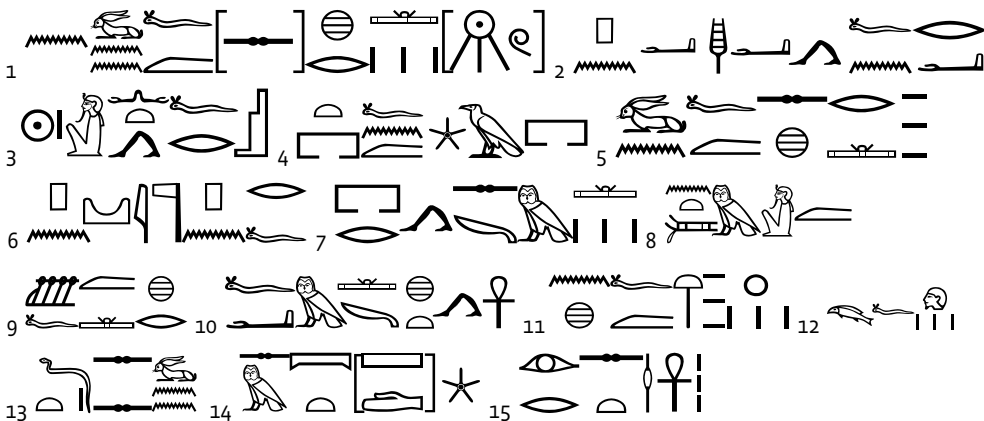
### HORIZONTAL TEXT, TOP LEFT



### ELEVENTH AND TENTH HOURS (8 COLUMNS ON THE LEFT)



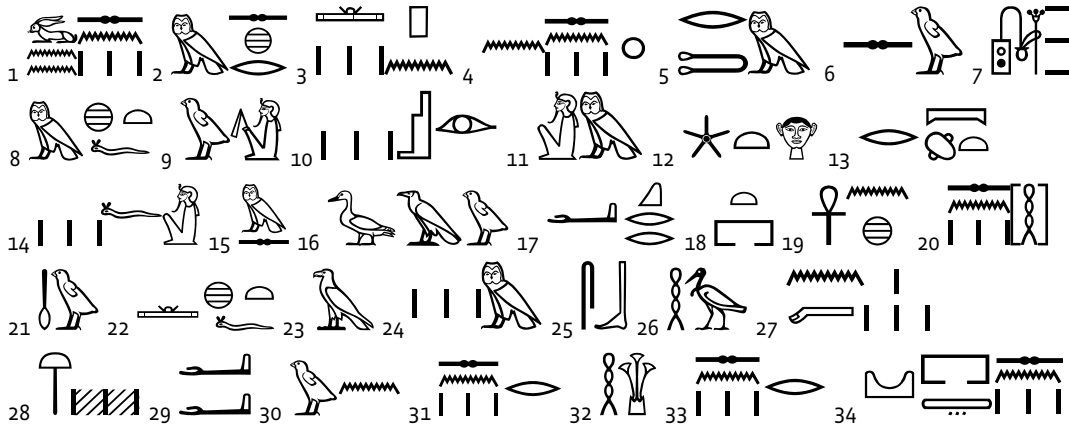
### ELEVENTH HOUR (15 COLUMNS IN THE UPPER REGISTER)



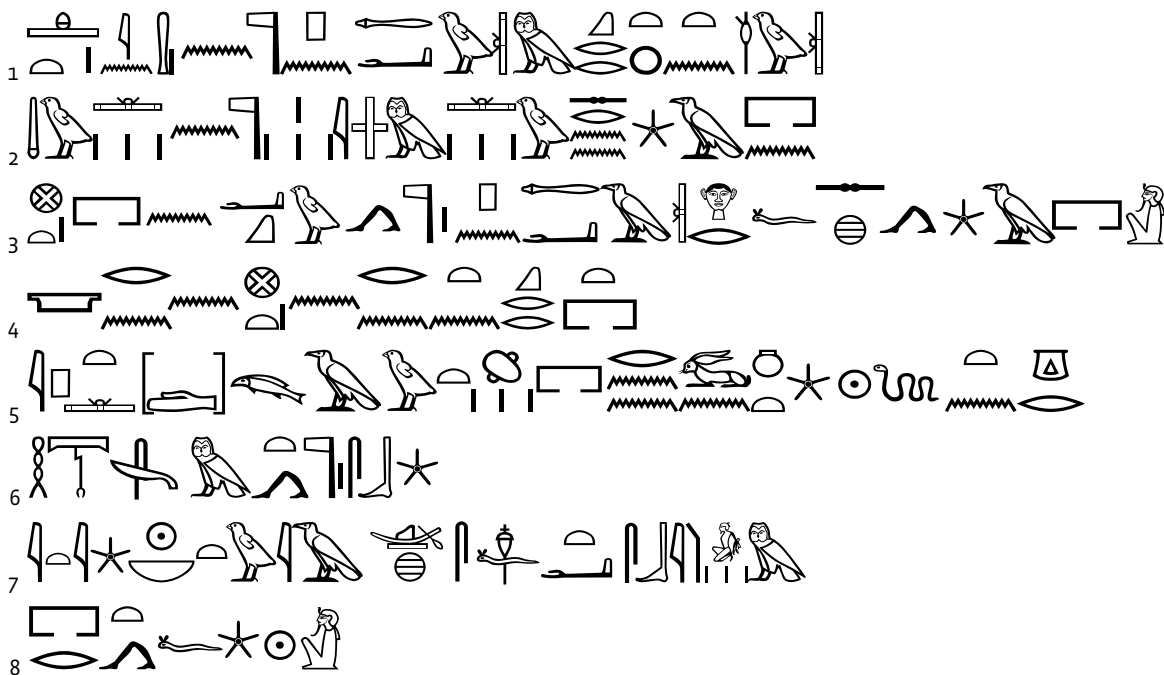




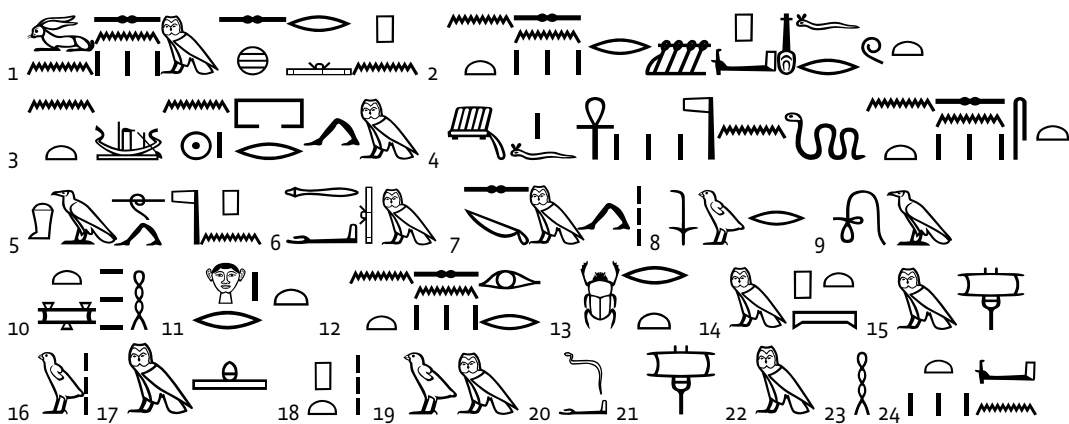
## ELEVENTH HOUR (34 COLUMNS IN THE LOWER REGISTER ON THE LEFT)



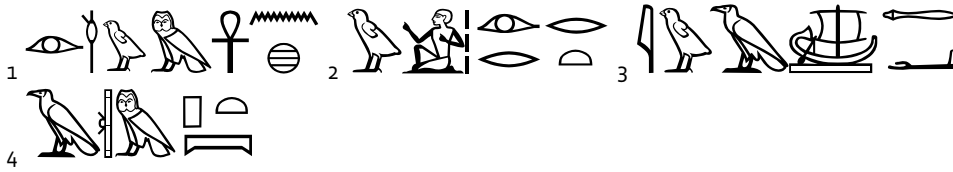
## ELEVENTH HOUR (8 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER)



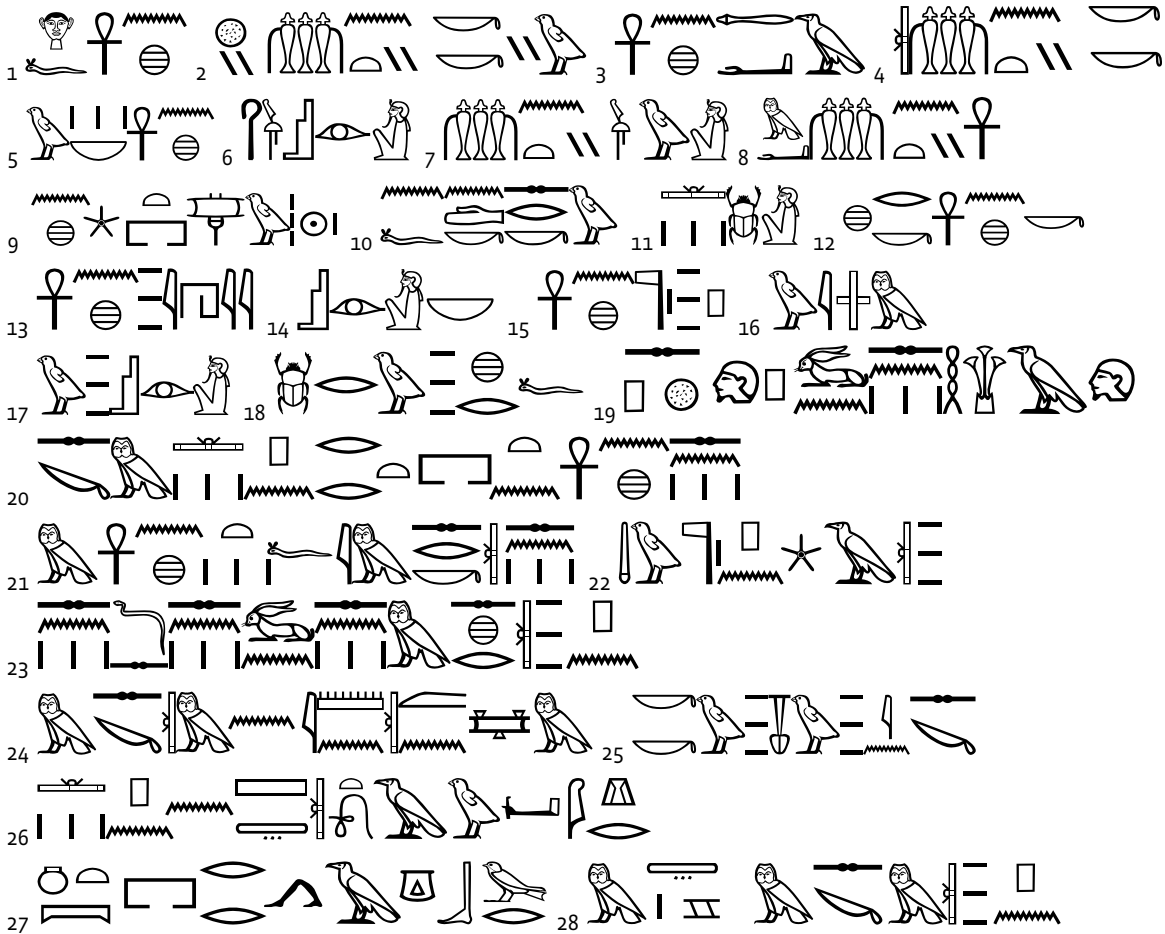
## TWELFTH HOUR (24 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER)



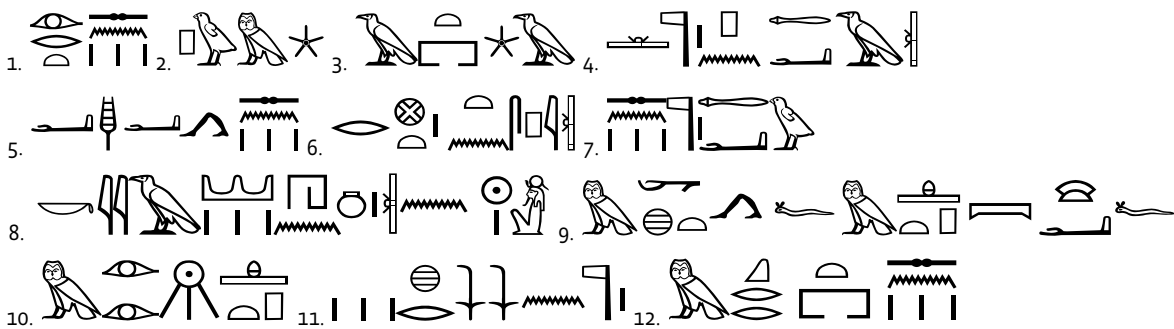
TWELFTH HOUR (4 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER, RIGHT)



TWELFTH HOUR (LOWER REGISTER IN 28 COLUMNS)



TWELFTH HOUR (12 COLUMNS IN THE UPPER REGISTER)



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