



## BABA AND THE BABOON DEMONS

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### ABSTRACT

Baba is a rather obscure god, occurring in magical texts since the time of the Pyramid Texts as well as in later ritual and mythical texts where he manifests as baboon or dog. This study analyzes in particular the baboon form of Baba in connection with the baboon-guardian demons in the netherworld, as they occur in mortuary compositions attested on coffins, papyri, and statues from the Middle Kingdom onward.

### BABOONS IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RELIGION AND CULTS

The significant role that baboons and monkeys play in ancient Egyptian everyday life and religion is well known, thanks to the numerous illustrations and textual mentions that we have of these animals as household pets or as divine incarnations.<sup>1</sup>

Many deities, all of them male, could manifest in particular as baboons, and, since the earliest times, they played an especially central role in the royal cult. A baboon god called *ḥd wr*, the “Great White One,” is identified with the king already in the Pyramid Texts, while there are various religious depictions that let us think that baboons were also involved in the cult of the living king.<sup>2</sup> On the ivory tablet of Serkhemet (1st Dynasty) from his tomb in Abydos, a baboon sits on some kind of stool, while on a limestone slab from the Saqqara tomb 3507 (3rd Dynasty) a baboon sits on the throne of Maat before two

kings dressed in short *heb sed* cloaks, wearing red crowns on their heads, and holding *w3s* staves in their left hands and *hts* staves in their right hands. Baboons were also widely recognized as worshippers of the sun and as a manifestation of the sun god Re himself.<sup>3</sup>

Many baboon entities are an integral part of funerary scenes decorating papyri and tomb walls. They belong to that variegated series of netherworldly inhabitants and guardian gods and demons, to which, for instance, belong the four baboons squatting around the Lake of Fire with flaming braziers in spell 126 of the Book of the Dead as a symbol of purification through fire: their *bwt* “disgust” is *isft* and they are invoked to chase away *dw*, namely, two concepts related to the sphere of cosmic and social evil.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, the god Thoth is often depicted as a squatting baboon, and baboons were also a manifestation

of the moon god Khonsu and of Hapy, one of the Four Sons of Horus. Most of the depictions of baboons and baboon-like deities occurring in the ancient Egyptian sources are generally related to Thoth and to his multiple roles within the ancient Egyptian mythological accounts and religion. Among them is, for instance, Isden/Isdes, which occurs especially in temple scenes of the later periods, although its name is already attested in the Coffin Texts.<sup>5</sup> Isden is an example of how even “minor deities” in the shape of a baboon have a long history of attestations. However, Isden and the baboons more closely related to Thoth were not the only divine baboons occurring in religious texts and depictions, especially when we look at funerary literature.

#### BABA: NOT ALL BABOONS ARE THOTH

Sexual potency and prowess was a main aspect of baboons, and it seems to be also the main characteristic of the baboon god *B³bi*, according to the primary spelling of the name in the Pyramid Texts, or *B³b³*, as it mainly occurs in the texts of the New Kingdom, or *Bebon* if we use the Greek spelling attested in Plutarch.<sup>6</sup>

Baba<sup>7</sup> does not seem to have had his own temples, similar to Bes and to other divine entities that some scholars call “minor gods”<sup>8</sup> or that could be defined as apotropaic gods with demonic traits, if we agree to consider ancient Egyptian demons as liminal entities not having a cult on earth, a difference from the main gods.<sup>9</sup> However, although Baba does not seem to have benefitted from a cult, in the earliest sources he seems to be associated to the concept of kingship of Upper Egypt and El-Kab, while in later sources he seems to compete with Thoth, possibly also in relation to local cults in the area of Heracleopolis Magna.<sup>10</sup>

Our knowledge of this demonic god is based on a number of funerary and ritual texts and on a few related images of a baboon or of a hybrid human god with the head of a baboon or dog.<sup>11</sup> None of these sources says much on the god’s whereabouts, however, only mentioning Baba’s role in relation to main gods (Thoth, Ra, or Osiris) and to the deceased. No recent studies have followed up on a few articles published in the last few decades, which were all based on Derchain’s first study of the god that appeared in *Revue d’Égyptologie* in 1952.

I believe that in order to re-assess Baba’s role within ancient Egyptian religion, it would be impor-

tant to reconsider its occurrences within a wider context, namely, comparing them with references to other baboon-like demonic entities of the netherworld, which may be related more to Baba and to his role of apotropaic deity in the netherworld than to the most famous baboon-god, Thoth. In other words, we could say that, similar to the case of other animals incarnating important deities,<sup>12</sup> not all baboons have to necessarily be seen as manifestations of or being related to the sphere of a main god such as Thoth. The animal and hybrid manifestations of the ancient Egyptian divine and demonic beings are many and diverse, but at the same time we need to take in consideration that often one same animal was employed as symbol of different supernatural beings.

#### BABA IN THE PYRAMID TEXTS

The first textual occurrences of Baba, as already mentioned, date back to the Pyramid Texts. In Pyramid Text spell 549,<sup>13</sup> which concerns the king’s entering of the sky and the opening of the sky’s door, we learn that Babi can manifest with red ears and scarlet-colored anus:

Recitation: Back, Babwi (*B³bwi*) with red ears and scarlet anus,  
You have ferried to your mouth the haunch belonging to your Reput (goddess of the sedan chair [?]) (rather than one belonging to you).<sup>14</sup>

The color red seems to be a trait distinguishing the baboon from other monkeys, of which he is the king, as we will learn from another spell of this corpus (see below). In this spell Baba seems to be one of menacing guardians of the sky’s door whom the deceased king has to ward off in order to pass; in a rather ambiguous way, the spells seems to allude to Baba having stolen the meat from *Rpw.t/rpy.t*, a not well-attested goddess probably carried in a palanquin.<sup>15</sup>

*B³bwi* is very probably the oldest writing of the entity’s name, while the other writings could be defective forms of it.<sup>16</sup>

A further attestation of Baba’s appearance and function as guardian of the sky comes from Pyramid Text spell 320, where Babi is called “Lord of the Night-Sky” and *k³ i’n.w* “the Bull of the Apes”; the king clearly wishes to obtain this god’s power in the afterlife:

Recitation:<sup>17</sup>

Now that Unis has swept away the night and  
 Unis has sent off the hour-stars,  
 the controlling powers (*sh̄m.w*) will appear and  
 privilege Unis as Babi.

Unis is the son of her who does not know  
 (him): she bore Unis to yellow-face, Lord  
 of the night skies.

(He is) your greater, Lords! Hide yourselves, O  
*rekhyt*-populace (subjects), before Unis.

Unis is Babi, the Lord of the night sky,  
 The Bull of Baboons (*k³ i'n.w*), in whose absence  
 one lives.

In PT 278, one of the spells copied in the pyramid  
 of Unis against inimical beings and in particular  
 reptiles,<sup>18</sup> Baba's apotropaic power is revealed to be  
 effective against snakes and the god's spit is used as  
 magical technique against the reptile while Baba  
 meets the "Foremost of Letopolis" *hnty hm*.<sup>19</sup>

Babi has stood up to meet the Foremost of  
 Letopolis (*hnty hm*),


Let the (poison) spit stop the one whose  
 trampling is desired, you whose  
 trampling is desired.

You are released, *wfi*-snake: let Unis be  
 protected.

#### BABA IN THE COFFIN TEXTS AND THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

Baba's important role as god of the underworld continues in the main two collections of funerary texts from the Middle Kingdom (Coffin Texts) and the New Kingdom (The Book of the Dead). Most of the occurrences in the Coffin Texts are generally then transmitted in the Book of the Dead.<sup>20</sup> In the Coffin Texts, Seth is mentioned as the "deceased's protection" (CT VII, 161), while the role of Baba as guardian of the sky's door, which we have seen being prominent in the Pyramid Texts, does not play a central role anymore when the god is mentioned in the later spells. Spell 42 and spell 99 of the Book of the Dead mention, however, the god's protection of the solar boat through the identification of the god's body parts with parts of the boat (CT V, 87–88/Book of the Dead spell 99A) and of parts of the deceased's body (Book of the Dead spell 42).<sup>21</sup>

In the Book of the Dead, it is, however, Baba's most ferocious and fearful aspect that becomes more prominent, besides the new spelling of his name,

which includes the use of a peculiar hieroglyphic with the white crown on a stand  and could be the relics of a royal cult of Baba as primordial king of Upper Egypt.<sup>22</sup>

Its iconography alludes not only to a baboon, as in the Pyramid Texts, but also to a hybrid god with an anthropomorphic body and a dog head. The dog-like appearance of Baba and the similarity with Seth will also be relevant in the later documents of the Ptolemaic Period, as in Papyrus Jumilhac (see below).

In spell 125 of the Book of the Dead, in particular in the address to the judges of the netherworld (spell 125C) as attested in the papyrus of Nu,<sup>23</sup> it is said that this dangerous god lives on human entrails and that the deceased seeks protection from him during the day of the judgment:

Rescue me from Baba, who lives on the entrails  
 of the Great One  
 On this day of the great count

In spell 18 of the Book of the Dead, Baba is also represented as baboon in the vignette of the so-called "Tribunal of Naref."<sup>24</sup> The deceased declares himself "true of voice" against his/her enemies before ten tribunals in different places and times and in front of Thoth. In this spell Baba is paired to the other netherworld judges, among which are also the main gods of creation, such as Osiris, Shu, and Ra:

The Great Tribunal of Naref  
 Is Ra, Osiris, Shu, Baba  
 The night of the mysteries of the great forms<sup>25</sup>

In spell 63A of the Book of the Dead, which is a later version of a composition found in the Coffin Texts<sup>26</sup> "for drinking water, and not burning by fire," the deceased claims identity first with the oar needed to ferry the gods, then with Baba, who is said to be "the first son of Osiris." The role of the rightful heir of Osiris is the focus of this spell, where therefore Baba enters a mythical context:

I am Baba, first son of Osiris,  
 The one to whom every god has joined,  
 Within his eye in Iunu<sup>27</sup>

A probable reference to Baba is also found in spell 93, a spell for "not letting a man be carried to the east in the underworld." The impotence or fatigue as a condition of the deceased is transformed in the

status of erection of the sexually active god, here being the phallus of Ra, according to the tradition of Baba as a virile male deity possessing a divine phallus, which goes back to the Pyramid Texts.

Finally, Baba occurs also in a peculiar composition that is mainly composed on the basis of the Book of the Dead, namely the so-called Ritual of the Hours of the Night, occurring on coffins and on temple and tomb walls starting from the 18th Dynasty (the earliest source dates to the reign of Hatshepsut) until the Roman Period. Baba occurs in a number of variants of this interesting composition, in the Eighth Hour of the Night (which includes also spell 28 of the Book of the Dead) especially in the 25th Dynasty tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) in the South Asasif.<sup>28</sup>

In the Eighth Hour of the ritual, it is said:

Recitation by the Eighth Hour of the Night,  
“the One Who is in Charge of Disturbances is  
her name, she stands for Baba”<sup>29</sup>

In the tomb of Karakhamun, moreover, Baba occurs as manifestation of the deceased also in the so-called “Hour Watch hymn” opening the text, whereas other versions of this hymn mention Geb instead. This could be a mistake in writing the names of the two gods, Geb and Baba (𓇢𓅓 and 𓇢𓅓), as noted by Griffin, but we cannot be sure that instead Baba is the name meant when Geb is also attested.<sup>30</sup>

#### BABA IN RITUAL AND TEXTS OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

Besides appearing in the main collections of funerary texts as mentioned above, Baba occurs also in a few ritual and magical texts dated to the Ptolemaic Period. In an offering text from Edfu,<sup>31</sup> which is on “presenting figs and honey,” it is said:

You go out from your trial, since you are true  
of voice, and Babi, the enemy, is in his carnage

The passage in Edfu refers to the demonization of Baba in the later periods, similar to what happens to Seth, with whom Baba can be now identified.

The demonization of Baba is especially outlined in the so-called Papyrus Jumilhac of the end of the Ptolemaic Period,<sup>32</sup> on the myths and legends of the 17th and 18th nomes of Upper Egypt. In one of the mythological episodes of this peculiar papyrus, Baba steals the belongings of Ra and then lies and accuses Thoth of being the one guilty of such bad behavior.<sup>33</sup>

Ra, however, recognizes Thoth’s innocence and condemns Baba, while a vengeful Thoth then performs a very aggressive ritual of magic on Babi while he is sleeping with a woman.

In this papyrus Baba is the last of a series of dogs, each of which has a different color and is associated to a deity:

As for the red dog, his face is black and the part which is below his eyes is deeply hollow in its orbit, with yellow eyebrows (?). His eye is... and his glimpse is terrifying. He appears as Baba<sup>34</sup>

The mythological episode of Papyrus Jumilhac having Thoth and Baba as contenders is also mirrored in two texts carved on the pronaos and library walls of Edfu<sup>35</sup> as part of a series of conjurations of Seth and where Baba could be seen as an hypostasis of the former; or conversely, the contention between Thoth and Baba could be interpreted as a myth in its own.<sup>36</sup>

In the demotic magical papyrus of Leiden and London, a guardian of the netherworld is mentioned, called *Bꜣ Bꜣw*,<sup>37</sup> which Griffith-Thompson translates as “Soul of Souls.”<sup>38</sup> This guardian-like being is also addressed with epithets applying to Baba as well in the Pyramid Texts, namely “bull of the night” and “son of Nut,” and his role is also one of opening the doors of the sky, similar to Baba in the Pyramid Texts.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, instead of translating this name as “Soul of Souls,” as Griffith-Thompson originally did in the publication of the manuscript, we could recognize in this text a later attestation of Baba, which shows how the earliest characterization of the god in the Pyramid Texts did not become lost until the latest periods.<sup>40</sup>

From the examples mentioned above, I believe that there is a certain coherence in the occurrences and representations of this demonic deity from the earlier to the later periods; his shape is either that of a baboon (at least until the Middle Kingdom) or of a dog/dog-headed god and his character is mainly apotropaic and potentially aggressive as guardian of the door of the sky at the beginning of his existence, while he becomes fully demonized and dangerous, and also assimilated with Seth, in the occurrences of the Ptolemaic and Roman Period. Furthermore, in Plutarch’s *De Iside et Osiride*, in Ch. 49, *Bebon* is represented as a form or companion of Typhon and it is said that his name indicates restraint or



hindrance, because the power of Typhon resists “the deeds which proceed in good order and pursue a worthy end.”<sup>41</sup>

#### BABOON GUARDIAN-DEMONS OF THE NETHERWORLD

I think that the existence of some protective guardian-demons of the netherworld depicted on magical objects and papyri could be related to the same sphere of action of Baba and of his primordial manifestation as baboon. Protective divine figures in the form of a baboon are attested since the Middle Kingdom, if we consider the magical ivory wands (so-called apotropaia or, more recently, birth tusks) where baboon-like figures occur frequently (FIG. 1) as protectors.<sup>42</sup>

Guardian-like baboons and monkeys with knives are also part of the demonic army depicted in the Book of the Two Ways and later in the spells of the Book of the Dead originating from Middle Kingdom compositions (FIG. 2).<sup>43</sup> These protective baboon-

demons from the Middle Kingdom continue to play an important role in the tombs and in the funerary equipment during the New Kingdom and later, with attestations on papyrus, coffins, and tomb walls.<sup>44</sup> Baboons become among the most popular animals associated with the series of guardian figures protecting the body of Osiris/the deceased and decorating the exterior sides of later wooden coffins and stone sarcophagi.

Especially interesting is the motif of two squatting baboons preceded by a standing monkey with whom they seem to form a triad, which are found attested starting from the 19th Dynasty on a variety of funerary monuments, from coffins to stone sarcophagi, as well as on tomb and temple walls (FIG. 3). The earliest attestation of these guardian-like baboons is on the royal sarcophagus of Merenptah, which was then usurped by Psusennes in Tanis; they are part of a series of guardian figures that have been already studied because of their widespread occurrences

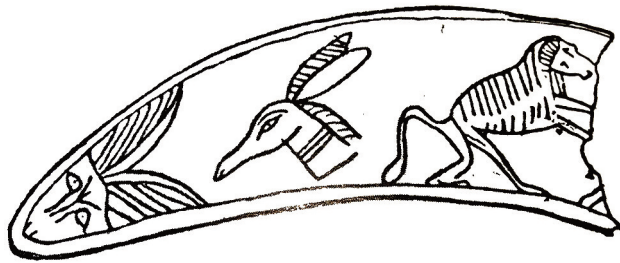


FIGURE 1: Ivory wand fragment from the “tomb of the magician” of the Ramesseum. Drawing from Quibell et al. 1898, pl. III.2a (Quirke 2016, 97; courtesy of Stephen Quirke).

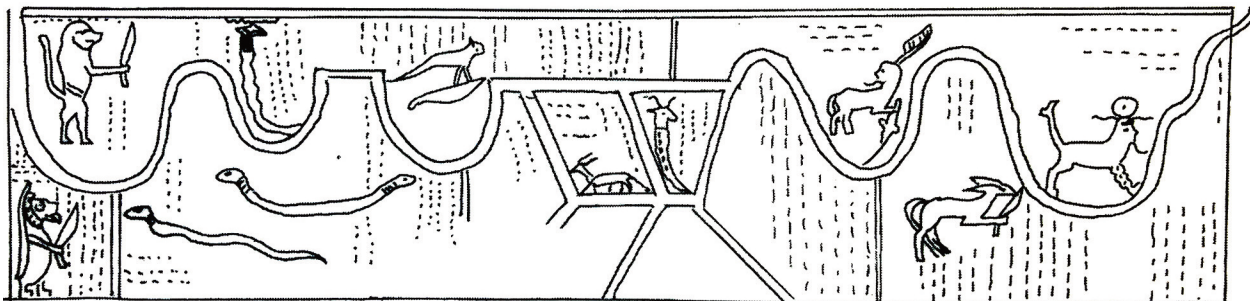


FIGURE 2: Book of the Two Ways, coffin of Sep. Drawing from Lacau 1903, pl. LV (Quirke 2016, 464; courtesy of Stephen Quirke).

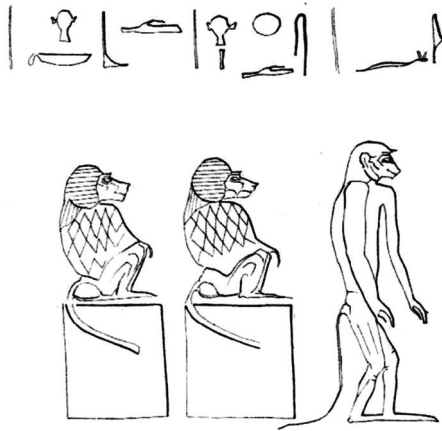


FIGURE 3: Vignette from the sarcophagus of Merenptah. Detail from Montet 1951, pl. LXXXVI (Volokhine 2019, 279; courtesy of Youri Volokhine).



FIGURE 4: Vignette of the First Mound in Spell 149 from Papyrus BM EA 10097 (unpublished; photograph courtesy of Malcom Mosher).

(also on statues) since their appearance on Merenptah's coffin.<sup>45</sup> Particularly interesting are the new occurrences of the triad found on the stone sarcophagi of Iufaa, Menekhibnekau, and Nekau from Abusir (26th/27th Dynasties).<sup>46</sup> The names of the two seated baboons, *shd-hr* "The One with Upside Down Face" and *db-hr.k* "The Hippopotamus-faced," are well-known epithets for guardian-demons since the Middle Kingdom; they occur in the Book of the Two Ways and in its later version, spell 144 of the Book of the Dead.<sup>47</sup> In spell 144, moreover, as attested in particular in the tomb of Menekhibnekau at Abusir, at least one guardian for each gate that the deceased has to pass is baboon-headed.<sup>48</sup>

An even more minacious baboon guardian-demon equipped with knives occurs in the later version (starting with a papyrus of the 21st Dynasty and especially in the Ptolemaic papyri) of spell 149 of the Book of the Dead. He is the guardian of the second of the 14 mounds of the netherworld described in the spell (FIG. 4), the main topic of which is "knowing the mounds and their inhabitants."<sup>49</sup> The second hill has the form of the hieroglyph *dw* for mountain; the caption added near the hill in the 18th Dynasty papyri says: "the god within it: Ra-Horakhty;" therefore we may consider this hieroglyph as a representation of the horizon as well.

In the later version of this spell, the vignette is enriched, beside the representation of the mysterious *i3wt* "the mounds," with a series of demonic

guardians; the guardian of the second hill always occurs in form of a baboon,<sup>50</sup> although in a few variants we can see a crocodile-headed demon, which still, however, has the body of a monkey.<sup>51</sup> His body, leaning forward, resembles that of an animal and has a tail; in a few cases the animal head is instead associated with a human body. The text associated with this section of the vignette of spell 149 deals with the topographic description of the Field of Rushes as one of the place where the solar boat passes by; a few parallel passages occur already in Coffin Texts 159–161 and in spell 109 of the Book of the Dead. The deceased presents himself as "tireless paddler of the boat of Ra," who can find his way in the place since he knows its measures and whereabouts:

I am the Lord of wealth in the Field of Reeds.  
O Field of Reeds, whose walls are of iron,  
whose barley grows 7 cubits tall,  
whose grain ears are 2 cubits,  
its stalk 5 cubits.  
*Akhw*-spirits of 7 cubits in their length reap  
them beside Horakhty ...  
*Akhw*-spirits of 9 cubits in their length reap  
them beside the eastern powers.<sup>52</sup>

As in the case of the other texts describing each mound in this spell, there is not a clear and direct connection of the text with the demonic figure

represented in the vignette. However, a baboon-headed being would fit well as protector of the sun god and of his journey in the solar boat, as described in the text. Since one of the main functions of Baba, as we have discussed above, was to be protector of the sun god in the boat similar to Seth, we may assume that this baboon-guardian demon is related more to the sphere of Baba than to that of Thoth. Moreover, the bowing body position, which is the most peculiar trait of this baboon, recalls fully the hamadryas baboon, the exact species that Baba seems to represent, rather than the often hybrid (baboon or ibis-headed) figure of Thoth.<sup>53</sup>

In conclusion, I think that the figure and character of Baba as a baboon god, which is also his earliest form of appearance in the Pyramid Texts, has inspired a series of baboon-like demonic entities acting as guardians of the netherworld and connected to the protection of the deceased as well as of the sun god during his daily journey. The presence of these demons show how the role that baboons play in the ancient Egyptian religion is much more varied and relate to the world of demonic netherworldly guardians as well, beside to that of the main deities.

Ancient Egypt is not an isolated example of how these fascinating animals have been seen as divine or demonic entities with a protective function; Hindu stories of the monkey army of the monkey main god Hanuman that occur in the Ramayana are some among many examples;<sup>54</sup> guardian monkeys occur in Buddhist temples as well, as protectors of the statues of the Buddha. Baboons and monkeys play various roles as netherworld spirits also in modern African religions.<sup>55</sup>

The intriguing figure of Baba, as well as the baboon demons, guardians of the netherworld, could be therefore interpreted as the ancient Egyptian expression of awe towards this wild animal, whose central role as male god or demon in polytheistic world religions is undeniable.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

CT de Buck 1935–1961  
LGG Leitz 2002–2003

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#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Two main species of monkeys that were imported from the south since there were no native monkeys in Egypt occur in images and texts; these are the so-called vervet or green monkey and the hamadryas baboon. The olive baboon with dog-like muzzle (*Papio anubis*) occurs as well in some sources. For a classification of baboon and monkey species, see Groves 2001. In ancient Egyptian, there are also different terms to distinguish at least between a green monkey (*gf*), an olive baboon (*ḥr*), and a Hamadryas baboon (*iḥn*). A study of a sketch of a baboon on ostrakon, which includes a detailed overview on baboon types present in the ancient Egyptian sources, has been produced by Patricia Podzorski and is in the course of publication. I wish to thank the author for access to her unpublished paper.
- <sup>2</sup> See Sherkova 2003, 505.
- <sup>3</sup> Among many similar depictions, see the baboons represented worshipping the boat of the sun in the famous scene depicted in the tomb of Sennedjem in Deir el Medina and representing the vignette of Spell 110 of the Book of the Dead: Bruyère 1959, pl. XIX.
- <sup>4</sup> On the concept of “evil” in ancient Egypt, see Kemboly 2010 and 2017.

- <sup>5</sup> For a list of occurrences of Isden/Isdes, see *LGG* I, 558–560. See also the D’Antoni 2013–2014. For the role of Isdes in temples, see Ismail 2019, 84–86.
- <sup>6</sup> On the origin of the name of the god, its variant and many hypotheses of interpretation, see Leitz 1994, 109, fn. 38; Derchain 1952; Derchain 1963. Currently, these three studies are also still the main references for any investigation on the character and history of attestations of the god Baba; here only a few among the numerous sources mentioned in these articles, which are relevant for a comparison with the baboon-demons, will be discussed, while for a more exhaustive overview on Baba, one should still consult those articles.
- <sup>7</sup> “Baba” will be the conventional transcription of the name used in this article, because the spelling of the god’s name varies constantly in the sources that will be mentioned.
- <sup>8</sup> See, for instance, Leitz 2004.
- <sup>9</sup> Lucarelli 2010.
- <sup>10</sup> For the relationship between Baba and Thoth, see Kurth 1992; Derchain 1952, 30–32. For the differentiation between these two gods according in particular to P. Jumilhac, see Leitz 1994.
- <sup>11</sup> For the representation of Baba as a dog rather than as baboon in sources of the New Kingdom and later, see Leitz 1994; Aufrère 2001; see *LGG* II, 736–738 for an overview of occurrences of Baba in both forms. In this article the focus will be only on the occurrences of Baba as baboon.
- <sup>12</sup> See the case of Anubis and the jackal gods, as discussed in Arnaud Quertinmont’s article in this volume.
- <sup>13</sup> The translations of the Pyramid Text passages in this article follow the edition of Allen 2015. PT 549 corresponds to Allen’s Pepi 496, a spell against the guardians of the sky’s door, and is similar to Unis PT 218, where it is said: “Pull back, Baba’s penis! (i.e., the door bolt, according to Allen) Open, sky’s door! You sealed door, open a path for Unis on the blast of heat where the gods scoop water” (Allen 2015, 60). Allen translates Baba with “Baboon” and in the glossary defines Baba as “god representing the baboon species,” (p. 426) without, therefore, considering the later occurrence of Baba as dog-headed god.
- <sup>14</sup> Allen 2015, 173.
- <sup>15</sup> Ward 1977.
- <sup>16</sup> Edel 1956, 74–76; Derchain 1963, 22.
- <sup>17</sup> Translation adapted from Allen 2015, 61 (Unis 225).
- <sup>18</sup> Allen 2015, 52 (Unis 184).
- <sup>19</sup> *LGG* V, 846.
- <sup>20</sup> For the Coffin Text occurrences, see Derchain 1952 and 1963; Altenmüller 1975, 56–57.
- <sup>21</sup> Derchain 1952, 36–37. In Spell 42 (Quirke 2013, 119): “My penis is that of Baba;” in Spell 99A (Quirke 2013, 221): “The patches on the mouth of Baba are its cords, the tail which I made Seth tail is its ties, the uppers of Baba are the ropes.”
- <sup>22</sup> Derchain 1952, 9. On the different writings of Baba’s name and their occurrences, see *LGG* II, 736–738.
- <sup>23</sup> Quirke 2013, 273.
- <sup>24</sup> Spell 18’s main topic is about the tribunals of the netherworld and Thoth; together with Spells 19 and 20, it includes appeals to this god for the justification of the deceased; see Quirke 2013, 69–79 and Stadler 2009, 320–343. On Naref as a mythological and cultic toponym related to the Herakelopolitan territory and religious tradition, see Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2017, 59–62 for the discussion on this gloss in Spell 18.
- <sup>25</sup> Quirke 2013, 72.
- <sup>26</sup> CT 359 (V, 12–14) and 361 (V, 15–16).
- <sup>27</sup> Quirke 2013, 151–152.
- <sup>28</sup> The Ritual of the Hours of the Night is being studied by Kenneth Griffin, whom I wish to thank for pointing out to me Baba’s presence in the composition and sharing the results of his study (Griffin 2017). For the Ritual of Hours on two *qrsw*-coffins, see Griffin 2018a. For the ritual in the tomb of Karakhamun, see Griffin 2018b.
- <sup>29</sup> Griffin 2017, 118; Griffin 2018a, 206.
- <sup>30</sup> Griffin 2018b, 66.
- <sup>31</sup> *Edfou* VII, 169, 11–15, 3 (west wall) (Chassinat 2009).

- 32 Papyrus Louvre E 17110; Vandier 1961.
- 33 On this episode, see Vandier 1952, 121–123.
- 34 Papyrus Jumilhac XVI, 7.
- 35 Kurth 1992.
- 36 Kurth 1992 compares the episodes in Papyrus Jumilhac with the occurrences in the temple of Edfu, to show how Baba's role as enemy of Thoth is not to be interpreted as Baba being a Sethian manifestation.
- 37 Derchain 1952, 46.
- 38 Griffith and Thompson 1904–1909, vol. 1, 159.
- 39 For an overview on the epithets of Baba in the Pyramid Texts, see Meurer 2002, 214–218.
- 40 However, see *LGG* II, 678, where the many occurrences of the divine epithet *B3-B3w* are collected, including the one in the Leiden-London magical papyrus mentioned above. It shows how this epithet can apply to a number of different deities in various funerary and ritual texts.
- 41 For the passage from Plutarch and the other Greek occurrences of *Bebon*, see von Bissing 1952, 10–13. For the English translation of the passage in Plutarch's work: Griffiths 1970.
- 42 See, for instance, the example found in the so-called tomb of the magician at the Ramesseum: Quirke 2016, 100. Quirke (2016, 364–368) also describes the baboon variants found on other magical objects, the majority of which are related to Thoth and hold a *wedjat*-eye or a torch as a symbol of the New Year flood. I would, however, consider the baboon with a torch to be other than Thoth, since it is rather reminiscent of the four demonic baboons of the Lake of Fire in Spell 126 of the Book of the Dead. A very few motifs of a baboon with knife, not necessarily to be connected with Thoth, do exist as well on birth tusks (Quirke 2016).
- 43 See Quirke 2016, 463–478, for a review of baboons and other guardian figures in the Book of the Two Ways, which can be compared to the similar motifs on birth-tusks. See in particular pp. 464–465 for the depiction of a standing baboon with knife on the coffin of Sep (FIG. 2), identified as *ḥr ḥsf3tw* “great of face, who repels the crocodile,” a name that will be transmitted then also to one of the guardians in Spell 144 of the Book of the Dead.
- 44 Among the protective guardian-baboons on tomb walls are those of the *Amduat*, in particular the nine kneeling baboons arranged in a tableau in the First Hour of the composition: see Darnell and Manassa Darnell 2018. They occur also on the west wall of the tomb of Tutankhamon (KV 62), although twelve in number, probably in relation to the hours of the night; see Robins 2007, 327–328.
- 45 Waitkus 1987; Leclant 1962; Leclant 1961, 114–115; Clère 1986. Very recently, Youri Voloukhine (2019) published a thorough analysis of this couple of baboons. I wish to thank him for sharing this paper with me prior to its publication.
- 46 See the article of Ladislav Bareš in this volume and Bareš 2010.
- 47 For a thorough analysis of these names, their variants on different monuments and their similarity and relationship with other demonic names of guardians on statues and coffins, see the recent study of Voloukhine 2019.
- 48 See the article of Renata Landgráfova in this volume. I wish to thank Renata Landgráfova, Ladislav Bareš, and Jiří Janák for providing useful information on their studies of these sarcophagi.
- 49 On Spell 149, see Quirke 2013, 357–364; on the demons depicted in the hills, see Lucarelli 2015.
- 50 See, for instance, BM 10097 in FIG. 4 (Early Ptolemaic Period). I wish to thank Malcom Mosher for providing the photo of this papyrus. See Quirke 1993, n.158; Mosher 2010.
- 51 See, for instance, P. Ryerson in Allen 1960, pl. XLVII.
- 52 See Quirke 2013, 358–359.
- 53 A standing baboon with knife occurs also in the vignette of Spell 182 of the Book of the Dead in the papyrus of Muthetepti (BM EA 10010), with a clearly protective function towards the deceased's mummy. See Lucarelli 2012.
- 54 See Wolcott 1978.
- 55 See Tabona 2007, 40: the *shavi regudo* is a baboon spirit in the indigenous religion in Zimbabwe,

which is involved in ritual dancing. In the Ivory Coast, monkey masks represent spirits that

appear in dreams and are used in ritual performance (Reed 2003).