

Christoffer Theis

Material Aspects of Rituals Beyond Their Instructions

1 Introduction

From Ancient Egypt—as from other regions of the eastern Mediterranean world in Antiquity—many different rituals are passed down, inscribed on various materials as temple walls, papyri or ostraca. From a certain point of view, it seems that almost everything in Ancient Egypt is or can be connected to some sort of ritual: From inscriptions in tombs or temples to depictions of priests or pharaohs in the same sources, rituals occur in almost every part of the land and in almost all periods, spanning for over three millennia. However, beside the depictions and texts, ‘real’ archaeological remains of specific rituals are of very small quantity.¹ In some instances, remains of rituals are preserved and found by modern archaeologists, still preserved *in situ* and clearly to be connected to a specific text. These ritual remains make it possible, to get an insight into the performance of rituals in Ancient Egypt. The aim of the present paper is to try to give an insight into the objectives behind the preparation and performance of rituals by examining archaeological remains and especially by comparing the finds with the written sources. Bringing together the at-hand material from antiquity and the connected texts, which present the ritual outline and its performance, an insight into the actions and operations of priests or private individuals in antiquity becomes possible.

The main question concerning these sources is: were rituals performed according to the text *every time* and/or according to *every word*? And if not, what could be a possible explanation? Is there a scope for rituals beyond the ritual text? Was it possible for an acting person, to change the ritual arrangement away from the text, and how was this possible? And finally, how can we try to explain these inconsistencies, which can be recognized in the archaeological material: Did the ancient priests not read the ritual instructions correctly or is the material aspect of the ritual and the materiality of the *materia sacra* the much more important point, more than the accurate reading and understanding? Or can this scope be explained by personal preferences of the ancient recipients or customers of the different rituals?

¹ A comparable situation can be found in Mesopotamia. E. g. the ritual K2000+et al. about statuettes and figurines made from clay from the eighth or seventh century BC mentions objects, which should be buried beneath a temple during its construction, cf. Ambos 2004, 76ff., 55–166; Borger 1973, 176–183; Theis 2014a, 253–255, 377–380 with further literature. These figurines are quite close to the ones in the ritual instructions, but clearly not completely.

2 Performing rituals in Ancient Egypt—Scholarly points of view

Due to the immense quantity of sources for rituals in Ancient Egypt, it is not very remarkable that some statements about the performances of these rituals can be found in the literature. However, it is interesting that for most of these statements the archaeological sources have never been taken into account. In summary, the main opinion is that a rite had to be and actually was performed *stricto sensu* as it is written, the performance could not be changed without losses, and/or that the procedure of a rite had to be congruent with the original pattern in any circumstance. This opinion is represented by numerous statements in the literature; some of these shall be quoted as examples to illustrate the modern point of view. Jan Assmann describes the purpose of Egyptian rituals as follows:

Der Ritus verbietet seinem Wesen nach die Veränderung, denn hier geht es um den präzisen Vollzug einer Vorlage mit dem Ziel, jede Durchführung mit allen vorhergehenden zur Deckung zu bringen, um dadurch die Zeit selbst in ihrem Ablauf zu erneuern.²

This is comparable to the view of Wolfgang Helck:

Zunächst ging jede schöpferische Macht vom König aus, der als Weltgott [...] galt. Alle Handlungen, die auf die Welt einwirkten, musste er persönlich durchführen. Dadurch wurde seine Handlungsfreiheit stark beschränkt, und er musste sich eng an die in Ritualen festgelegten Vorschriften halten.³

Assmann and Helck see the *stricto sensu*-performance of priests and the king himself as a method for the preservation of the world, the lapse of time and their own regeneration. For instance, the so-called Sed-festival was a ritual for renewing the might of the ruler and the situation has been expressed by Brian M. Fagan in the following way:

The Heb-Sed festival, one of the greatest ceremonies of state, was performed exactly 30 years after the king's accession—and at more frequent intervals later in the reign.⁴

The performance after a period of thirty years has been commonly accepted in the discussion, but from Ancient Egypt there are many divergent regnal years attested for the first Sed-festival,⁵ so with that, there was only a tendency, but not an *exact* date in *every* instance.

² Assmann 2001, XIII; 2006, 97. Cf. Biedermann 2014, 56.

³ Helck 1981, 83.

⁴ Fagan/Garrett 2001, 80.

⁵ Cf. Hornung/Staehelin 1974, 53–57, for sources 16–43; 2006, 13–32; see also Helck 1987, 123ff.

Another point of view was expressed by Reinhold Merkelbach:

Statt vorwärts zu denken, haben die Ägypter rückwärts geblickt und gemeint, allein Befolgung der überlieferten, heiligen Rituale könne helfen. [...] Die Ägypter haben sich getäuscht, wenn sie glaubten, die korrekte Durchführung der Zeremonien werde das Heil des ganzen Landes bewirken.⁶

This tries to explain the performance of rituals with an intense trust in old rituals and the belief that only a strict adherence to a traditional, holy ritual can be helpful. A comparable point of view was expressed by Adolf Erman about the so-called archaism of the 26th dynasty with “Man nahm offenbar alles, was nur alt und seltsam war, und frug nicht erst lange danach, wo es herstammte, und ob es jemals ernstlich Geltung gehabt hatte”.⁷

The procedure of consequent ritual performance according to every written word was also presumed for particular rituals, for example for the ritual slaughtering by Rosalie David with “according to strict ritual procedures”;⁸ for the temple ritual by Robert Carlson with “These rituals had to be performed three times a day in every temple, no matter how big or small”⁹ and by Serge Sauneron with “The daily cult ritual [...] took place simultaneously, and in almost exactly the same form, in each and every Egyptian temple [...] what was carried out, each and every day.”¹⁰ and for the embalming ritual by Peter F. Kupka with “Alle minutiösen Vorschriften und das ausführliche Ritual [...] sowie die vorgeschriebene Zeitdauer mußten strenge eingehalten werden.”¹¹ A comparable view can be found in papers concerning religious rituals in other cultures, e. g. with “There were correct procedures for almost every activity and the failure to follow correct ritual was a matter for shame.”¹²

Trying to summarize the abovementioned theses, we can enunciate one sentence: ‘Every ritual in Ancient Egypt in every period was performed by everybody according to every written word of the specific ritual text in every instance’. A summary like this consequentially leads to the question: How do we know? How do we know today, if a ritual in a temple or another place was held or performed strictly according to the texts or especially to a specific ritual instruction? Do we have the possibility to establish another point of view or do we have to follow the abovementioned sentiments? Was there possibly some ‘scope’ of variation in Egypt? And if a priest could perform a variant of a ritual, the query comes up: What could have been the reasons for such a differing interpretation of a ritual and how can we detect such acting today? Is it

⁶ Merkelbach 2001, 310.

⁷ Erman 1968, 321. Cf. for other points of view concerning the Late Period Neureiter 1994, 222–233.

⁸ David 2005, 193.

⁹ Carlson 2015, 40.

¹⁰ Sauneron 2000, 89; cf. David 1998, 112.

¹¹ Kupka 1894, 176.

¹² Freeman 2004, 240.

possible to decide, if a ritual in Ancient Egypt was performed according to a strict adherence to the written instruction?

It is obvious that questions like the aforementioned can never be answered for all periods or all rituals in Ancient Egypt, due to the simple fact that for most of the rituals no archaeological remains are preserved and that some rituals do not even produce remains, e. g. the scattering of incense in a temple, the running of a Pharaoh around two markers, the burning of a small figurine made from wax, or the specific methods of slaughtering an animal.

3 According to the text or not? Two case studies of Ancient Egyptian rituals

From Ancient Egypt, only in a few instances archaeological remains of specific rituals are preserved and can be compared to written instructions. A comparison of the preserved material can shed new light on the handling of a ritual in Egypt, and presumably on the course of action of priests. I will try to answer some of the abovementioned questions with two case studies—two specific rituals, which are preserved through text(s) *and* object(s). Especially the combination of both types, manufactured archaeological remains and the associated text(s), allows an insight into the understanding, on how a ritual was executed. For all the subsequently mentioned material, we have to bear in mind that most of the sources are lost due to the immense span of time since the performance of the ritual in Ancient Egypt, and that archaeology in Egypt started as treasure-hunting: Artifacts and especially their exact find-spots are often not very well documented, especially during the 19th century and the start of the 20th century.

3.1 Case study I: Magical bricks and Book of the Dead, chapter 151

For one specific ritual we can be sure that the archaeological remains are in the same context and in the same positions that they were placed in by the ancient priests. The so-called magical bricks are ritual objects for the protection of the tomb and the deceased, which were used from the 18th dynasty onwards.¹³ There are many tombs with niches, made for the magical bricks, and in some instances the bricks are still preserved *in situ* after more than three millennia.¹⁴ According to the text, the ritual requires a set of four bricks, as it is described in Book of the Dead, chapter 151d–g.¹⁵

¹³ Cf. Franzmeier 2010; Régen 2010; Roth/Roehrig 2002; Theis 2014, 538–574; 2015 with further literature.

¹⁴ For the objects see Theis 2014, 540–552; 2015.

¹⁵ Cf. Lüscher 1998; Theis 2014, 556–569.

The ritual performance therefore should consist of inscribing each of the bricks with the specific text in order to receive a particular attribute; finally each brick should be deposited in a small niche, carved into the four walls of the tomb. The distribution should be as follows: a brick with a statuette made from wood in the northern wall (BD 151d), one with a *ḏd*-pillar in the western wall (BD 151e), one with a torch in the southern wall (BD 151f) and one with a statuette of Anubis made from clay in the eastern wall (BD 151g). This specific deposition of the bricks in the walls and especially the sealing of the niches with clay is the reason why these objects are still in the same position after over three millennia and were discovered by archaeologists still *in situ*. The bricks, the niches in the walls and the four specific texts from the Book of the Dead, chapter 151d, e, f and g represent a unique connection of a ritual instruction with archaeological remains.

With the detailed ritual instructions from the Book of the Dead and even with the written text on the bricks themselves on a few examples, a ritual performance according to these texts could be expected. The archaeological remains on the other hand clearly show that only a small number of the bricks found *in situ* were placed in the niche described in the text.¹⁶ These specific archaeological remains clearly show that the text of the ritual described in the Book of the Dead was not put to practice exactly as written. The archaeological evidence attests an entirely different approach by the ancient priests, who used the bricks in a more practical way rather than following the strict instructions described in Book of the Dead, chapter 151.

Despite their ‘wrong’ placement, these objects still served their specific purpose as protection of the tomb through their materiality, as was already pointed out.¹⁷ However, the practice of perception is different from the ritual text itself. It does not seem to be the literal performance of the text that makes up the important part rather than the object, and with that, the ritual’s performance changes. Maybe the text itself does bear ritual effectiveness, but obviously not the strict accordance to the words themselves.¹⁸ With these points, it seems that adhering to the instructions was not the important part of the ritual, because in that case the bricks would have been situated in the correct positions—the difference between the practice of production, which suggests that the text will be fulfilled, and the practice of perception, e. g. the *in situ* placements, are totally different. Applied to the magical bricks, the six hypotheses concerning ‘Materiality’ and ‘Presence’ established by Markus Hilgert shed new light on the behavior of priests and their performance of an Ancient Egyptian ritual.¹⁹ Their material is not the material mentioned in the text (unbaked vs. baked clay), but corresponds to, as it was called “sinnhaft regulierte Handlung”.²⁰ The objects took part

¹⁶ Cf. Theis 2014, 551ff.; 2015, 90.

¹⁷ Cf. Theis 2015.

¹⁸ Cf. Theis 2015, 91.

¹⁹ S. Theis 2015, 92ff.; for the hypotheses Hilgert 2010.

²⁰ Hilgert 2010, 102.

in the ritual, and their material presence establishes their effectiveness. The magical bricks were not positioned according to the ritual text and the cardinal points, but situated around the sarcophagus in a different arrangement; and with their position in the four cardinal points, the bricks even create a special space by themselves—their presence. The effectiveness of the texts themselves and their energetic part in the ritual are much more important than the performance of the ritual *stricto sensu* literally. If we take a look at the constructional drawings of the tombs with bricks still *in situ*,²¹ we can clearly see that even a small number of priests, standing in the different angles and corners could safely determine the correct orientation of the cardinal points by shouting and indicating with their hands—one priest to another priest, from the entrance to the tomb chamber—and with that, the abovementioned thesis can explain the situation in the tombs in a better and more practical way than an explanation based on the alleged inability of the Egyptian priests to determine the correct points. This can convincingly be shown for example in the small tombs of Tutankhamun, KV 62, that of Nefertari, QV 66, that of Šn-nfr, TT 96, that of P3-sr, TT 106, or even the large tomb of Horemheb, KV 57: In all of these tombs, built either for a king, a queen or a private person, a priest could either walk in a straight line directly into the tomb chamber and to the niches, or just had to turn once. This easy access without many turning points is a strong counter-argument against the aforementioned inability theory.

3.2 Case study II: One Bes with multiple heads or many ‘Beses’?

In Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, which can be dated to the 26th dynasty (664–525 BC) and originates from Elephantine,²² two rituals on how to create an amulet with the depiction of a multi-headed god are described *en détail*. It is the god Bes with seven heads in Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, col. x+IV, 1–x+V, 8 and the god with nine heads in col. x+I, 1–x+III, 8.²³ As an example for the main question, I will use the nine-headed Bes; the comparison with the material for the seven-headed Bes will give a comparable picture. The form of appearance of this specific god is described in col. x+II, 1–4. Despite some lost information due to the state of preservation of the papyrus, the appearance of the god becomes clearly visible through the description:

The elder one with nine faces on one neck: one is the face of Bes, one is the face of a ram, one is the face of a falcon, one is the face of a crocodile, one is the face of a hippopotamus, one is the face of a lion, one is the face of a bull, one is the face of a baboon, (and) one is the face of a cat. [...] *rh.yt*-people under four wings [...] arm. Your back is that of a falcon [...] your feet are uraei, your arms are (equipped with) *wḏ3.t*-eyes, (you have) a blade and a knife in your arms, *‘nh*-sign, *ḏd*-pillar (and) *w3š*-scepter in your hand. There are snak[es] standing upon (your) knees.

²¹ Cf. Weeks 2003.

²² Cf. Quack 2013, 256.

²³ See the publication of Sauneron 1970 and Theis (forthcoming).

The nine-headed Bes is depicted in the papyrus, complementing the given description in the text (fig. 1). In this depiction, the abovementioned heads, the different scepters in the hands, the four wings, the back of a falcon and the snakes emerging from the knees are clearly visible.

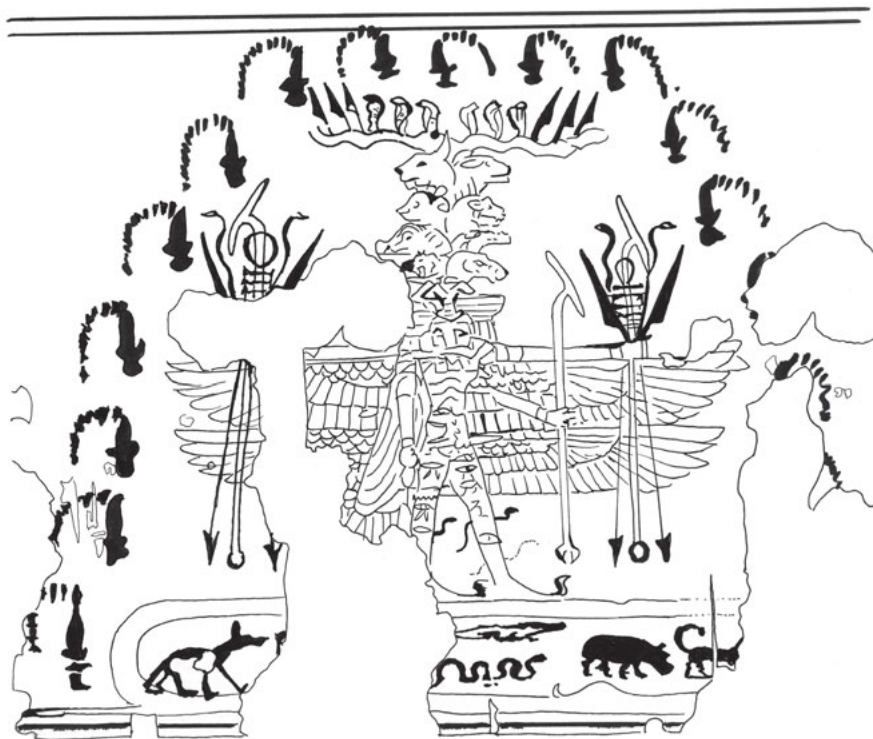


Fig. 1: Depiction of the nine-headed Bes in Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156.

Beside the textual and iconographical references of Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, there are numerous drawings and statuettes from Ancient Egypt, which clearly depict the nine-headed Bes, and the image of this god is also passed down to the so-called magical gems from late antiquity.²⁴ The depiction is applied perfectly in e. g. the statuette Paris, Louvre, E 11554.²⁵ But if we compare other statuettes, which are mainly made from Bronze or Faience, with the given information from Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, in some instances there are so many differences that we have to ask the question: Is a Bes with alternating heads and symbols *materia magica* for the same ritual or a different one? Due to the fact that the description of the nine-headed Bes in the papyrus

²⁴ See the collection of the whole material in Theis (forthcoming).

²⁵ Andreu/Rutschowskaya/Ziegler 1997, 186–188, Abb. 93; Kákossy 2002, 276f., 283, Abb. 1.



Fig. 2: Statuette London, British Museum, EA 17169.

is preserved completely, we cannot assume that there had been another description in the same text at any time. Or we have to assume that there were other descriptions of a *different* god with nine heads—it is of course a possibility that there were other papyri with descriptions of multiheaded gods, but an *argumentum ex silentio* is never a strong one. The collection of the material has clearly shown that there are great numbers of statuettes, which depict a nine headed Bes in many different ways²⁶—and with that, we would have to assume that there had been the same number of different descriptions on papyri, which are all lost today. Does this approach seem reasonable, or is there a better explanation?

As an example, we can use the statuette London, British Museum, EA 17169 (fig. 2).²⁷ The heads of this statuette are to be identified as a lion, a falcon, a jackal or a dog and a baboon on the right side, and a bull, a ram, a snake and a crocodile on the left side; the main head is clearly the head of Bes. Nevertheless, the small heads on the side of the main head (jackal or dog and snake) represent a difference to the description in the ritual, where the faces of a hippopotamus and a cat are given. The

²⁶ See the collection of the whole material in Theis (forthcoming).

²⁷ Unpublished, see the publication in Theis (forthcoming).

depictions of the heads of a jackal and a snake are quite common and can be found on various other statuettes. But there are also other differences: The feet of the statuette are clearly not depicted as snakes, the arms are not presented with *wḏ3.t*-eyes, and the uppermost arms are holding papyrus-plants, but surely no scepters. The crown of the statuette also differs from the depiction in the vignette, but this accessory is not described in the text. With that, not even the vignette is a perfect reproduction of the text itself, because the description of the crown is missing.

A similar situation as with the statuette London, British Museum, EA 17169 can be found in many other objects, and this indication raises the question: Is this nine-headed Bes a ritual object for the ritual described in Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156? The similarities between the object and the text are obvious, despite some minor differences like the abovementioned heads and the *wḏ3.t*-eyes. We cannot assume that a nine-headed Bes with this specific depiction was invented in two different occasions—but how can we explain the different manifestations? The theses, already mentioned for the first case study, can also be applied to the statuettes of Bes—I will give a first insight into my ongoing research on multi-headed depictions of the god Bes.²⁸

It is obvious that the manufacturer of the statuette did not read the text correctly or accurately, otherwise he would have applied the given information. However, the statuette clearly belongs to the ritual and we can assume that its materiality and its presence are important for the ritual. The description of Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, col. x+III, 6sq. is meant for a drawing on a new papyrus. The material itself—a drawing on papyrus vs. a statuette made from Bronze—is not the important factor, but the presence of a multi-headed Bes is fundamental, otherwise the manufacturer would not have been able to change between the materials. We can assume that the statuette also takes part in the ritual in an effective way, in a network of object and actor: for Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, an amulet was created, which could be hung around a person's neck, but in contrast, the statuette can be disposed in a room besides a person or a bed during the protective ritual, and can also be hung around the neck—this case can perfectly be restored for the statuette Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Inv.-Nr. 57.1437, which was made from Gold and with a small lug on the head,²⁹ and with the specific depiction, this small mummy with multiple heads is clearly a comparable object to the multiheaded Bes. The statuette and the drawing on Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156 are present (e. g. on the neck, in the bedchamber) in relation to other artefacts or persons, and this presence leads to its effective materiality in the ritual itself.

However, despite these theses, the objects do not have a meaning of their own, they receive their relevance and their significance only within the ritual, through the ascription of meaning by the acting magicians. With that, the different depictions of Bes with multiple heads fulfill the various theses established by Hilgert about a

²⁸ For the hypotheses, cf. Hilgert 2010.

²⁹ See Steindorff 1946, 158, pl. 103 (no. 715).

‘Material-Text-Culture’; a person can read a ritual text incorrectly, the *materia magica* for this specific ritual can be changed, but the multiple heads and at least some parts of the appearance of the god have to be present in or with the object. The information present in the ritual instructions was either not read correctly or accurately or the manufacturer used other parts because the client wanted to have ‘an individual’ Bes. Despite the given description in the ritual instruction, a Bes, which slightly differs from it, because of the personal wish of the magician and/or the customer, is a Bes, which still belongs to the ritual due to its main features. However, there can be slight alternations from the ritual instruction(s) itself due to the thesis that the material itself creates the effectiveness of the ritual object, much more than an accurate rendering of the specific body parts.

4 Résumé

Unfortunately, only a few ritual remains from Ancient Egypt can be brought into discussion for a comparison with texts. There are many finds and find spots, but most of them have no corresponding textual reference, and vice versa. As it was pointed out by Irene Huber, there are clear factors which hint at the performance of rituals against future plagues and illness in the upper class, but we do not have any hints for the performance of these rituals in the lower social classes.³⁰ For most of the rituals known from texts, it is quite obvious that no archaeological remains are to be expected, e. g. of the slaughtering of an animal,³¹ the running of the Pharaoh around borderstones, the creation of a magical circle with salt,³² the ritualization of protection spells,³³ or a specific ritual for the coronation.³⁴ Taking into account the archaeological remains and comparing them to the associated textual sources, it is obvious that the rituals of the aforementioned two case studies do not have to be performed *stricto sensu* as it is written—there are possibilities for the priest to act at will. I want to point out that I do not want to say that no ritual in Egypt was ever performed according to the textual account, but we do have to mention that rituals could be performed in different ways, which were clearly not the way of the texts as we saw in the two case studies.

The two case studies above establish the possibility of an analysis of existence, of materiality, and presence of artefacts with sequences of linguistic signs.³⁵ Through the observations made for the different rituals and their remains in comparison to

³⁰ Cf. Huber 2005, 36ff.

³¹ S. e. g. Derchain 1962 or Säve-Söderbergh 1953.

³² For this specific type of ritual see Theis 2016.

³³ S. e. g. Yamazaki 2003.

³⁴ S. Sethe 1906, 202–205.

³⁵ Cf. Hilgert 2010, 105.

the texts, it becomes obvious that there was some kind of scope for rituals in Ancient Egypt, especially for their performance and their material components. We have to differentiate between the materiality of the objects made for the ritual itself or created in its process, and the performance of the ritual: the objects are clearly present in their materiality and thus effective (otherwise they would be totally useless), but the performance including the objects is different from the written words of the ritual texts. From the case studies and the archaeological remains discussed, it becomes evident that in Ancient Egypt these rituals did not have to be performed according to every word of the text, but rather in a way of a ratiocinative or reasonably modulated act. For the second case study, there is also the possibility that the different heads of Bes, which are not mentioned in the ritual, result from personal preferences of the magician or the customer, for whom the statuette was created.

Taking into account the remains from Ancient Egypt concerning the performance of rituals, we can no longer claim that rituals were *every* time in *every* period performed according to *every* word. Instead, they were obviously executed in a more sophisticated way by using different materials, different ways of placement, and further adaptations and adjustments. These alterations could possibly be established by the manufacturer of the statue, the magician, who was in charge of the ritual, or the customer himself—but it is impossible to trace the changes back to a specific individual.

A similar case was found by comparing mummies with the text of the embalming ritual: some of the parameters and acts are attested on a specific corpus of mummies, but not all of the instructions of the ritual itself are attested.³⁶ However, it is obvious that an accurate comparison of all mummies with the ritual instructions is far from being realistic, and thus the possibility remains that there are some mummies, which were mummified according to the embalming ritual. As it was pointed out, the differences to the text can only be tried to be explained by the materiality of the ritual *materia sacra* in contrast to the actual text. Presumably sometimes a priest or a magician did not read the text of a ritual correctly, but considering the abovementioned remains, the reading does not seem to be the important part, especially not the correct reading of every word—the materiality of the ritual itself seems to have been more important, and therefore, it was acceptable not to read correctly.

36 Cf. Töpfer 2015, 239, 241.

Bibliography

- Ambos, Claus (2004), *Mesopotamische Baurituale aus dem 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Dresden.
- Andreu, Guillemette/Rutschowskaya, Marie-Hélène/Ziegler, Christiane (Eds.) (1997), *L'Égypte ancienne au Louvre*, Paris.
- Assmann, Jan (2001), "Vorwort", in: Adolf Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter. Ihr Werden und Vergehen in vier Jahrtausenden*, Berlin/New York, I–XVI.
- Biedermann, Hartwig (2014), *Mutterrecht, Matriarchat und Mythos. Versuch, die Stellung der Frau in den frühen Gesellschaften zu rekonstruieren und von ihren modernen Verfälschungen zu befreien*, Norderstedt.
- Borger, Rykle (1973), "Tonmännchen und Puppen", in: *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 30, 176–183.
- Carlson, Robert (2015), *Egyptian Mythology. A concise Guide to the ancient Gods and Beliefs of Egyptian Mythology*, n. p.
- David, Rosalie (1998), *Handbook to Life in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford.
- David, Rosalie (2002), *Religion and Magic in Ancient Egypt*, London.
- Derchain, Philippe (1962), *Le sacrifice d'Oryx*, Bruxelles.
- Erman, Adolf (2016), *Die Religion der Ägypter. Ihr Werden und Vergehen in vier Jahrtausenden*, Berlin.
- Fagan, Brian M./Garrett, Kenneth (2001), *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Washington, D.C.
- Franzmeier, Henning (2010), "Die magischen Ziegel des Neuen Reiches. Material und immaterieller Wert einer Objektgruppe", in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 66, 93–105.
- Freeman, Charles (2004), *Egypt, Greece and Rome. Civilizations of the Ancient Mediterranean*, Oxford/New York.
- Helck, Wolfgang (1981), *Geschichte des Alten Ägypten*, Leiden/Köln 1981.
- Helck, Wolfgang (1987), *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 45), Wiesbaden.
- Hilgert, Markus (2010), "'Text-Anthropologie': Die Erforschung von Materialität und Präsenz des Geschriebenen als hermeneutische Strategie", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 142, 87–126.
- Hornung, Erik/Staehelin, Elisabeth (1974), *Studien zum Sedfest* (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 1), Basel.
- Hornung, Erik/Staehelin, Elisabeth (2006), *Neue Studien zum Sedfest* (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 20), Basel.
- Huber, Irene (2005), *Rituale der Seuchen- und Schadensabwehr im Vorderen Orient und Griechenland. Formen kollektiver Krisenbewältigung in der Antike* (Oriens et Occidens 10), Wiesbaden.
- Kákósy, László (2002), "À propos des statues guérisseuses et d'une statue de Bès au musée du Louvre", in: Yvan Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: À la recherche d'une définition (Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 29 et 30 septembre 2000)*, Paris, 273–284.
- Kupka, Peter F. (1894), *Wiener "Papyri". Skizzen aus Jung- und Altaegypten*, Dresden/Leipzig.
- Lüscher, Barbara (1998), *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuchspruch 151* (Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 2), Wiesbaden.
- Merkelbach, Reinhold (2001), *Isis regina – Zeus Sarapis. Die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt*, München/Leipzig.
- Neureiter, Sabine (1994), "Eine neue Interpretation des Archaismus", in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 21, 219–254.
- Quack, Joachim F. (2013), "Rezension zu Jean-Claude Goyon, Le recueil de prophylaxie contre les agressions des animaux venimeux du Musée de Brooklyn (Papyrus Wilbour 47.218.138) (SSR 5), Wiesbaden 2012", in: *Welt des Orients* 43, 256–272.

- Régen, Isabelle (2010), "When a Book of the Dead text does not match archaeology: The Case of the Protective Magical Bricks (BD 151)", in: *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 15, 267–278 <<https://www.britishmuseum.org/PDF/Regen.pdf>> (last accessed 19.04.2018).
- Roth, Ann Macy/Roehrig, Catherine H. (2002), "Magical Bricks and the Bricks of Birth", in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 88, 121–139.
- Sauneron, Serge (1970), *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* [Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156], Brooklyn, New York.
- Sauneron, Serge (2000), *The Priests of Ancient Egypt. Translated from the French by David Lorton*, New York (New edition).
- Säve-Söderbergh, Torgny (1953), *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive* (Horae Soederblomianae 3), Uppsala.
- Sethe, Kurt (1906), *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Historisch-biographische Urkunden* (Urkunden IV), Leipzig.
- Steindorff, Georg (1946), *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery*, Maryland.
- Theis, Christoffer (2014), *Magie und Raum. Der magische Schutz ausgewählter Räume im alten Ägypten nebst einem Vergleich zu angrenzenden Kulturbereichen* (Orientalische Religionen der Antike 13). Tübingen 2014.
- Theis, Christoffer (2015), "Wenn Archäologie und Philologie nicht harmonieren. Magische Ziegel, ihre Nischen und Totenbuchspruch 151d–g", in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 142, 85–95.
- Theis, Christoffer (2016), "Circulus magicus. Apotropäische Kreise in magischen Ritualen", in: Susanne Beck et al (eds.), *Gebauter Raum: Architektur – Landschaft – Mensch. Beiträge des fünften Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (MAJA 5)*, 12. 12. bis 14. 12 2014 (Göttinger Orient-Forschungen IV, 62), Wiesbaden, 193–210.
- Theis, Christoffer (forthcoming), *Der polymorphe Bes – Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung, Tradition und Devianz eines mehrköpfigen Gottes im alten Ägypten*.
- Töpfer, Susanne (2015), *Eine (Neu-)Edition der Textkomposition Balsamierungsritual (pBoulaq 3, pLouvre 5158, pDurham 1983.11+pSt. Petersburg 18128)* (Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 13), Wiesbaden.
- Weeks, Kent R. (2003), *Atlas of the Valley of the Kings* (Publications of the Theban Mapping Project 3), Cairo.
- Yamazaki, Naoko (2003), *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind. Papyrus Berlin 3027* (Achet: Schriften zur Ägyptologie B2), Berlin.

Photo Credits

Fig. 1: Rebekka-M. Müller after Sauneron 1970.

Fig. 2: Rebekka-M. Müller after a photography by Ilona Regulski (London).

