

Ancient Egyptian Rituals Against Enemies

Edited by
CARINA KÜHNE-WESPI and
JOACHIM FRIEDRICH QUACK

*Orientalische Religionen
in der Antike*

56

Mohr Siebeck

Orientalische Religionen in der Antike

Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient

Oriental Religions in Antiquity

Egypt, Israel, Ancient Near East

(ORA)

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ISBN 978-3-16-162543-5 / eISBN 978-3-16-163373-7
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-163373-7

ISSN 1869-0513 / eISSN 2568-7492 (Orientalische Religionen in der Antike)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

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Printed in Germany.

Preface

The phenomenon of ancient Egyptian Rituals against enemies can be observed throughout the ancient Egyptian history in all of Egypt and sometimes even beyond. It is present on different levels of the social hierarchy of ancient Egypt and can be traced through various types of sources – texts, images and statuettes, for instance, to name just the most obvious ones. The questions addressed to such a broad field of research can and have to be manifold. The aim of this volume is to assemble some of these questions and to gain an insight into the various approaches by which different researchers set about studying the phenomenon. The reader will therefore find as many different research questions, as many different approaches and methods, and as many different views and theses in this book as there are individual contributions in the volume at hand. By thus illuminating the phenomenon of ancient Egyptian rituals against enemies from different perspectives, we hope to gain a more thorough understanding of the phenomenon itself and of its connections to neighbouring phenomena.

The contributions to this volume were presented at the workshop “A Closer Look at Excretion Figurines” that took place at Heidelberg University in October 2017. The workshop was organized within the framework of the Collaborative Research Centre 933 “Material Text Cultures” and its subproject A03-UP1 “Materiality and Presence of Magical Signs between Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Excretion Figures and their Deposition” which was funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). The volume also contains two additional brief contributions (Quack, A Note; Diego Espinel, Lost and Found) that were written specifically for this volume.

We would like to express our thanks to the CRC 933 for supporting the workshop and the realization of the conference volume. We are especially thankful to Mohamed Sherif Ali, Linda Borrmann, Andrés Diego Espinel, Tori Lee Finlayson, Uroš Matić, Vera Michel, Athena Van der Perre and Máté Petrik – the speakers of the workshop and the authors of this volume – for their invaluable contributions and their patience. We would also like to thank Bethany Hucks for proofreading the English texts, as well as Krisztina Hevesi and Julienne Schrauder who helped formatting this volume. We are equally thankful to Clara Ward and Philipp Wiesenbach for their help in organising the workshop. We would also like to thank the (co-) editors of the ORA series – Angelika Berlejung and Nils P. Heeßel – for giving us the possibility to publish the conference papers in the ORA series, and we are very grateful to Betina Burkhart and Dominika Zgolik (Mohr Siebeck) for finalizing the publication.

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Athribis III	C. LEITZ/D. MENDEL, <i>Athribis III: Die östlichen Zugangsräume und Seitenkapellen sowie die Treppe zum Dach und die rückwärtigen Räume des Tempels Ptolemaios XII, I–II (Temples 13)</i> , Cairo 2017.
Dendara XII Edfou	S. CAUVILLE, <i>Le temple de Dendara</i> , Cairo 2007. Le Marquis DE ROCHEMONTEIX, <i>Le temple d’Edfou</i> , Vol. I (Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire [MMAF] 10), Cairo 1897; É. CHASSINAT, <i>Le temple d’Edfou</i> , Vols. II–XIV (MMAF 11 and 20–31), Cairo 1918–1928; S. CAUVILLE/D. DEVAUCHELLE, <i>Le temple d’Edfou</i> , Vol. XV (MMAF 32), Cairo 1985; 2 nd edition of Vols. I–II edited by S. CAUVILLE/D. DEVAUCHELLE, Cairo 1984–1987.
KRI V	K. A. KITCHEN, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical</i> , Vol. V: <i>Setnakht, Ramesses III and Contemporaries</i> , Oxford 1983.
LGG	C. LEITZ (ed.), <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> , 8 Vols. (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–116; 129), Leuven 2002–2003.
PM I	B. PORTER/R. L. B. MOSS/E. W. BURNEY, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> , Vol. I: <i>The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs</i> , Oxford 1960 ² .
PM II	B. PORTER/R. L. B. MOSS/E. W. BURNEY, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> , Vol. II: <i>Theban Temples</i> , Oxford 1972 ² .
RANKE, PN I	H. RANKE, <i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i> , Vol. I: <i>Verzeichnis der Namen</i> , Glückstadt 1935.
TLA	Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, <i>Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae</i> (http://aeew.bbaw.de/tla).
Urk. I	K. SETHE, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , Vol. I: <i>Urkunden des Alten Reichs</i> , Leipzig 1903–1933.
Urk. IV	K. SETHE, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , Vol. IV: <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> , Leipzig 1906–1958.
Urk. VI	S. SCHOTT, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , Vol. VI: <i>Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts</i> , Leipzig 1929–1939.
Urk. VIII	K. SETHE, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , Vol. VIII: <i>Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit</i> , Vol. I, Berlin 1957. A. ERMAN/H. GRAPOW (eds.), <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 7 Vols., Berlin 1926–1963.

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SECTION 1

THEORETICAL MODELS FOR EXECRATION RITUALS

The Indications of the Book of the Temple Concerning Rituals Against Enemies*

JOACHIM FRIEDRICH QUACK

The textual basis for my following remarks is the *Book of the Temple*, a manual of the ideal Egyptian temple. I have been working on its reconstruction now for over 20 years.¹ While I have succeeded in identifying many hundreds of individual fragments from about 50 different manuscripts, a lot is still missing, given the precarious conservation of most papyri. The text was originally composed in classical Egyptian, but there are several manuscripts with an inter-Egyptian translation into demotic, and even one or possibly two papyri in which at least part of the text is translated into Greek. All manuscripts with one uncertain exception date to the Roman period, but the basic text is likely to have been composed considerably earlier. It has sections about the architecture as well as about priests and their duties. For my actual topic, primarily the latter is of direct relevance. I should first explain the overall structure of the composition, because that will help to better situate my following quotations.

The section about priests starts in a lacuna, and several of its first parts are, so to say, floating islands, so the absolute position of them is uncertain. Probably to be placed here are sections about oaths to be sworn at the occasion of the initiation of some especially high-ranking priests, as well as regulations for the material provision of priests, including widows and children in case of premature decease. Also, in a badly preserved section, some specific priestly titles and occupations are equated with deities in certain situations.

After these more general sections, the particular ones follow. Among them, a fundamental difference has to be stressed. A first section concerns the higher-ranking people. It begins with the governor and overseer of prophets, followed by the prophets themselves, and then the different *w'b*-priests with their individual specializations. Typically, each section starts with an indication about the number of people of that rank. For the higher ones, most frequently just one person at a time is employed. But of course, the Egyptian temple had a system of phylae in monthly rotation. This is also applied in the *Book of the Temple*, which makes use of four phylae, thus reflecting a system which was working from the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2000 BCE) until 238 BCE, when the Decree of Canopus introduced a fifth phyle. The fact that the Roman Period

* This contribution was written in the framework of the collaborative research centre 933 'Material Text Cultures' financed by the DFG, where I was co-project leader of project A03 'Materiality and Presence of Magical Signs between Antiquity and the Middle Ages'.

¹ For preliminary reports, see especially QUACK, *Buch vom Tempel*; IDEM, *Organiser le culte idéal*; IDEM, *Wie normativ*.

manuscripts still follow this system, which was outdated in practical use, is one of the indications that they are based on an earlier archetype. After giving the number of personnel, each section spells out their duties in detail. Finally, regulations for the succession from father to son conclude each section.

By contrast, the later part of the duty sections is organized according to the room units of the temple. Each begins with ‘concerning’ followed by the name of the room unit in question.² Then the people working there are enumerated, with indications of their number as well as their duties. In contrast to the higher ranks, no rules of succession are laid down.

The first section that contains relevant material is the one about the scribe of the god’s book:³ He is defined as being of equal rank with the priest of Sakhmet and the scorpion charmer, and he belongs to the higher-ranking priests. In order to situate him better, it should be stressed that his period of activity is different from that of most other priests. While those normally serve in monthly rotation, there are two incumbents of the office of scribe of the god’s book serving in permanence. We can easily understand that it makes sense to have specially trained scribes always in the temple, instead of using only a quarter of their working time.

Following a fragmentary part that mentions the twelve hours of the day, we get:

[ntf] šhr ʿpp [hnʿ m]sḯ.w btš.w hr šhr(t) hft.īw n.w i[.]-nčrʿ [... .. m] šw m mn[h (?)] shʿ m sin m šnt.t m hmʿ.t m iḥ.t nb.t r [...] m [...]

“[It is he] who overthrows Apopis [and the ch]ildren of exhaustion, in overthrowing the enemies of the god’s ... [... .. on] papyrus, on wa[x (?)] written on clay, on acacia wood, on almond (?) wood, on all objects, in order to [...] in [...]”

This passage focuses on the writing process, quite appropriately for a writing specialist. The materials indicated can easily be parallelized with those known from scripts of execration rituals like pBremner-Rhind 23.6 (less detailed also 26.3; 28.16; 29.13; 32.43);⁴ Esna 199.28;⁵ Urk. VI, 5.9–11,⁶ as well as the notice about the efficacy of such rituals in pJumilhac XVIII, 9 f.⁷

Afterward we hear also about the participation of the scribe of the god’s book as ritualist conducting feasts of the sky and of the land. Furthermore, he inspects the people concerning possible cases of leprosy, and also the animals kept or slaughtered

² It seems that in at least some cases, like Athribis III, 158, passages from this section were incorporated in actual room descriptions in hieroglyphic inscriptions in temples.

³ For this and the following sections, see my presentation in QUACK, Priestly Scholars.

⁴ Edition of the papyrus in hieroglyphic transcription in FAULKNER, Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (BM 10188); translation of the section with the execration rituals FAULKNER, Bremner-Rhind Papyrus III.

⁵ See the edition in SAUNERON, Esna III, 15 f.; and the translation in SAUNERON, Esna V, 25.

⁶ Edition and translation by Schott in Urk. VI, 4 f.; GILL, Ritual Books of Pawerem, 279, 304, 848 f. (with overall remarks on such scripts p. 181–187).

⁷ See the edition by VANDIER, Papyrus Jumilhac and the remarks on the translation of parts of the section in question in DERCHAIN, Auteur, 25–28 (whose proposal to see a connection with the apocalyptic passage of the hermetic dialogue Asclepius, however, is based on a mistranslation of a crucial passage, see QUACK, Corpus, 223).

in the temple in order to protect sacred animals and isolate infected ones. As we can see, the participation in the execration rituals is only one part of a multi-faceted job.

The involvement of the scribe of the god's book in rituals of annihilation can be paralleled by attestations in the temple scene Edfou III, 349.5 as well as the Roman period⁸ pLouvre N 3176 (S). This is a ritual script containing the outlines of several Osirian festivals. In one of them, which takes place on Khoiak 25, we get the following indication: "The morning of day 25, while Osiris has appeared and is resting in the dromos of Amun. The Ritual of Overthrowing Seth and his Acolytes and the Ritual of Overthrowing the Dark One. The Litany of Osiris by the scribe of the god's book." (V, 31–34).⁹ Another relevant passage is found in a section headed "the writings which one should recite before Osiris at all his procession festivals, until he rests" (VI, 1). Among them, we get "Reciting the 'Fallen upon His Face' by the scribe of the god's book" (VI, 14). The scribe of the god's book is also active in the recitation accompanying the slaughtering of a red goat and a red ox at the festival of Behedet (see below).

Directly after the scribe of the god's book follows the duty section for the priest of Sakhmet.¹⁰ His specialties are quite a lot of magical rituals for pacifying deities, as well as observations of the natural surroundings concerning possible indications of pestilence. He is also involved in the job of cattle inspection that I have already mentioned, but not with the execration rituals. To some degree, this absence of involvement can be paralleled with the fact that in the festival calendar of Esna (Esna 77), for the 1st Payni an execration ritual is briefly described which involves the slaughtering of goats without inspection by the priest of Sakhmet.¹¹ However, I will come back later to the question of this particular execration ritual and perhaps nuance the non-involvement of the priest of Sakhmet a bit.

By contrast, the scorpion charmer, who follows immediately after the priest of Sakhmet, is again fully relevant for our topic. He is involved in numerous rituals of purification and protection, especially protection from dangerous animals of all kinds and in all environments. Relatively close to the beginning of his duty sections, there is also a passage concerning execration rituals.

ntf štj mč³.t [ʔ.t (?) n.t] shr(.t) ʔpp hft.ì n R' [nt]f shr hft.ìw n.w Wsir hft.ìw n.w [nsw m] hr.t-hrw n.t r' nb

"It is he who recites the [great (?)] Book [of] overthrowing Apopis, the enemy of the sun god. It is [he] who overthrows the enemies of Osiris and the enemies of [the king in] the course of every day."

The 'Book of Overthrowing Apopis, the Enemy of the Sun God' is already well known.¹² This is exactly the title preserved in pBremner-Rhind 22.1, where also *m*

⁸ For the date, incorrectly set in the edition, see QUACK, *Übersehener Beleg*, 255 n. 2.

⁹ Edition and translation in BARGUET, *Papyrus N. 3176 (S)*, 17, 19.

¹⁰ For him, see especially VON KÄNEL, *Prêtres-ouâb*; see also ENGELMANN/HALLOF, *Sachmetpriester*; TORRAS BENEZET, *Funciones*.

¹¹ See lastly the translation in GRIMM, *Festkalender*, 112 f.

¹² SCHOTT, *Bücher und Bibliotheken*, 106 f.

hr.t-hrw n.t r' nb is given at the end of the heading. It occurs also similarly in Edfu V 135.4 and Esna 275.8, where we have more specifically ‘the great book of overthrowing Apopis’. It is possible that in Esna 199.28 we should similarly read *ntf štj mč'.t ?.t n.t šhr(.t) ?pp hft.i n R'*, although *?pp* might be omitted there. Given the uncertainties of reconstruction for the Book of the Temple where I have to work from different, all quite fragmentary papyri, I cannot guarantee whether ‘great’ was present there or not.

It is noticeable that the enemies of Osiris and the enemies of the king are conceptually linked to the archenemy of the sun god. Such a blurring of the distinction between political opponents and enemies of the gods is quite typical, and an important factor in the practical operation of execration rituals.

With this specialist, we have a rather clear demarcation of the different areas of competence. While the scribe of the god’s book is responsible for inscribing the artefacts, the scorpion charmer is the one who recites the actual recitations. That still leaves open the manufacture of the figurines as such, and indeed there are other groups involved in this process.

Unfortunately, the section in question is quite badly preserved. It forms part of the later sections covering the lower staff of the temple. The last heading preserved before the crucial sentences is “concerning the hall/broad room [...]”, with the qualifying part not preserved. However, some calculation is possible if we accept the quite reasonable premise that the sequence of room units in the later part of the duty sections is corresponding closely to the sequence of the building section which is contained in the forepart of the Book of the Temple. That one is so largely recovered that I know the order of building elements with some certainty. For situating the part in question, it is helpful that I have the heading of a section further ahead which is quite well preserved, and that is the precinct of the sacred animal (*m'r.w*). But changes in the subject make it likely that at least one more section heading is lost before the one I am discussing.

In the building section, the precinct of the sacred animal is followed by the hall of offering litanies. This is limited by pylon towers and contains a number of specific shrines. Among them is the ‘house of adoration’, which serves for the purification of the king when he enters the temple, as well as the library (*pr-mč'.t*) and the document archive (*h' n sh'.w*). This information turns out to be quite helpful when it comes to situating the passage in question. A bit before it, I have remnants of a phrase “[...] of the king when he enters the temple”. After it, I have at least three attestations of the title ‘scribe’ or the verb ‘to write’, with in one case a clear indication of a title for which four people are in service. For that reason I would propose that the passage in question belongs to the description of the library, situated between the ‘house of adoration’ for the purification of the king, and the archive, which needs a lot of scribes.

The passage in question possibly starts with an enumeration of titles, all with one man on duty. At least one title is completely lost. The next one is written with a special group otherwise attested for a craftsman in the Ritual of Opening the Mouth, written with a knife above a basket repeated three times. Due to the demotic translation of the Book of the Temple, where this title occurs several times, I know that it corresponds to *sh' kt* ‘draughtsman’, although I cannot guarantee that the phonetic reading

is the same.¹³ The next title is *nḥp* ‘potter’, and then follows another title known from the Ritual of Opening the Mouth, possibly to be read as *gnw.ti* or perhaps *ks.ti*, which designates the carver.¹⁴ The goldsmith follows, and then the greater part of a line is completely lost. Unfortunately, this means that I cannot be sure if the persons indicated in this sequence of titles are still acting when the next preserved part sets in. The text gives *[nt]sn irj twt[.w rs].t n.w ḥft.i m mnḥ m sʿt.w [...]* “They [are the ones] who make execration figur[es] of the enemy in wax, in soil [...]” One line further down in the manuscript, we get the end of a word determined by the fire sign, and then *ḥr ‘ n ḥri-ḥ(?)b ḥri-tp ḥr irj(.t) ir.w=f* “under the guidance of the chief lector priest in doing his duty”. That would at least fit with my proposal to situate this section in the area of the library, because within the building section, for the library it is told that something which is lost in a lacuna is done there by the chief lector priest.

Furthermore, it is worthwhile to compare the decoration of the library of the temple of Edfu studied in detail by Fabian Wespī.¹⁵ There, the six scenes of the lower register all concern rituals of destruction of enemies, and of those in the upper register, one also shows the burning of effigies of enemies. Such a high concentration of apotropaic scenes would find a plausible explanation if indeed a significant production and destruction of execration figurines took place in the area of the library. Indeed, one of these scenes explicitly mentions the chief lector priest (who at the same time is also scribe of the god’s book).¹⁶

Of course, all this must remain quite hypothetical as long as the Book of the Temple is so fragmentary for this passage. I can neither formally prove that the craftsmen enumerated are the same ones as those who fabricate the execration figurines, nor that this section is situated in the area of the library. But both claims have at least some probability.

In any case, we can observe that the manual act of fabricating the actual figurines is the job of lower-ranking, more menial workers. Probably also the hot and potentially smelly job of being the ‘grill master’ and putting the figurines into the fire fell to some low-ranking staff member, while the lector priest only supervised it from a safe distance. We should take into account that execration rituals could require spitting on the figure while it was in the fire, so somebody would have to be quite close to the burning flames. In some cases, the addition of smelly substances like urine (pBremner-Rhind 29.15) or certain pungent plants (pBremner-Rhind 26.4; 29.15; Esna 199.28; pBM EA 10081, 35.17)¹⁷ is prescribed (similarly with faeces and urine probably also in the badly preserved passage pRamesseum C vs. 5.2–8 which is the performance instruction of a ritual against an enemy).¹⁸ So, the actual manual work of the annihilation of the figurines would not be unequivocally pleasant.

¹³ QUACK, *Organiser le culte idéal*, 17.

¹⁴ See the discussions in OTTO, *Mundöffnungsritual II*, 13–14 and DRENKHANN, *Handwerker*, 62.

¹⁵ WESPI, *Bücherhaus*.

¹⁶ Edfou III, 349.3–7, discussed by FORSHAW, *Lector*, 21 f.

¹⁷ See WÜTHRICH, *Formule*, 207; and in more detail GILL, *Ritual Books of Pawerem*, 553 f., 938 f.

¹⁸ MEYRAT, *Papyrus magiques*, 13 f. has even proposed to understand pRamesseum C vs. specifically as an execration ritual against Nubian enemies, but in my opinion the wording of the paratextual

I can add that there is at least one more section in the Book of the Temple where something is put on the brazier (*ḥ*) under the supervision of the chief lector priest. I will come back to that one later.

These three sections cover every area where artefacts are involved which are produced for the aim of destroying them. But there is also a second aspect involved. Ritual annihilation of enemies can also be performed on living entities, and there are some cases mentioned in the Book of the Temple which I would like to discuss here. They still have their considerable problems. Mainly they are about the slaughtering of an animal called *shʿ* or *ishʿ* in the manuscripts. While the word itself is not otherwise known, the determinative of the animal hide clarifies at least its overall classification.

A first attestation is found in a rather badly preserved passage towards the end of the building section. There, we are already in the area of the sacred mound. In two consecutive lines *shḫi ishʿ* ‘to strike the Isha-animal’ is mentioned, but hardly more direct context is available. In one case, ‘in the mounds’ follows, but then the text breaks off.

This same animal is mentioned in one of the duty sections, unfortunately in relation to a title which is largely lost in a lacuna. From the preserved indications, it must be something related to the food provisions of the temple. In a rather fragmentary context, we get the phrase ‘to recognize the *shʿ*-animal’.

This same animal is also mentioned in the next duty section, although I do not really understand what it could mean there, because the passage is about clothing some group of people – the text might have been transmitted corruptly. As a matter of fact, there is a word *ishʿ* designating some sort of linen strip (WB I, 132.21). It is possible that this was intended here and that the scribe, having written the animal in the previous section, by mistake wrote the wrong determinative here.

We are on somewhat clearer ground with the following duty section, which concerns the slaughterer or butcher (*hnč.ti*). He is actually the very last in the Book of the Temple who still belongs to the higher ranks for which a succession rule is laid down. This contains as first actual duty the phrase *ntf ths shʿ* ‘he is the one who slaughters the seha-animal’. Then, quite a bit of text is lost before we come to a fragmentary phrase “to be given upon the brazier under the direction of the chief ritualist, the priest of Sakhmet, and the scorpion charmer”. Further on, the scriptorium (*pr nḥ*) is mentioned, and at the very end of the section we encounter remains of a phrase ‘overthrowing an enemy’.

This might not amount to very much, but there are some points worth exploring. The slaughterer *hnč.ti* is also the principal actor in the execration ritual described in Esna 199.¹⁹ There, he is slaughtering four red goats,²⁰ and this is connected with the

indication “this means to annihilate an enemy; it means to keep them at bay in every court to which one goes” (pRamesseum C vs. 5.8–9; read *shḫm ḥfti pw ḫr st {i}pw m ḫʿḫʿ.t nb.t šm.t r=s*, partially correcting the edition of GARDINER, Ramesseum Papyri, pl. XXXII) clearly points towards situating this practice in the frame of juridical controversies.

¹⁹ Translation in SAUNERON, Esna V, 25.

manufacturing of execration figurines. The slaughterer in this ritual description is specifically affiliated with the scriptorium. The goats and the figurines are put on a fire and burned, and finally thrown into the water. Summing this up, the title involved, the mention of the scriptorium, and the burning would all provide a link between the Esna execration ritual and the section in question of the Book of the Temple. One can also point to the fact that in pBM EA 10081, 37.15 the butcher is mentioned at the end of a substantial collection of spells against enemies.²¹ Of the people under whose supervision the butcher places the animal on the brazier according to the Book of the Temple, the scorpion charmer is himself clearly involved in execration rituals, as I have already demonstrated, and there is a great likelihood that the chief ritualist is involved in the supervision of execration rituals also in another passage of the Book of the Temple. The priest of Sakhmet, by contrast, has no clear link with execration rituals in his own duty section.

The red color of the goats prescribed in the Esna ritual has a clear intention, given the obvious and well-known typhonic associations of this color.²² Perhaps another piece of evidence can be adduced here as a parallel, namely the ritual slaughtering of a red dog on the festival of Thot, as attested in pJumilhac XVI, 21 f. and XVII, 13.²³ Recently published fragments demonstrate that such a ritual killing of a red dog was also mentioned in a passage of the Ritual for Entering the Chamber of Darkness (“Book of Thot”), probably even explicitly by the scribe of the god’s book, or rather Thot himself in his form of a dog, acting in the capacity of a scribe of the god’s book.²⁴ A few lines further in the same composition, also a red hippopotamus is ritually killed.²⁵

Also to be noted is a passage in the festival of Behedet where a red goat and a red ox are slaughtered (Edfou V, 132.4).²⁶ This is accompanied by the recitation of several liturgical texts, including some obviously directed against enemies (Edfou V, 132.5), and recitation passages actually quoted in the description of the festival contain the theme of the triumph of Re against Apopis (Edfou V, 132.10). The recitation is done by the scribe of the god’s book whose involvement in rituals of annihilation I have already discussed above.

Also another red ox is slaughtered at the festival of Behedet, this time accompanied by the ritual destruction of a hippopotamus made from red wax, and crocodiles made from clay, as well as a ritual trampling of fishes for which a detailed interpretative

²⁰ For the reading of the text, misunderstood here by SAUNERON, Esna V, 25, see QUACK, Review of Leitz, 282 f. with n. 21.

²¹ See GILL, Ritual Books of Pawerem, 601, 942 f.

²² POSENER, Encre rouge; GRIFFITHS, Symbolism of Red; PINCH, Red Things.

²³ LEITZ, Auseinandersetzung.

²⁴ The text is published in JASNOW/ZAUZICH, Book of Thoth II, 216, vers 621, where, however, the word “dog” has been misread as “hippopotamus”. I will deal with the paleographical questions elsewhere.

²⁵ JASNOW/ZAUZICH, Book of Thoth II, 217, vers 625.

²⁶ NAGEL, Neumond- und Behedet-Fest, 621, 655.

commentary is given (Edfou V, 133.5–134.8).²⁷ Here, a real red animal and the effigy of one occur together.

For the *sh*²-animal, such cases open up at least possible venues of interpretation. I cannot prove that it was of red color, nor that it was a sort of goat or dog. But at least I can demonstrate that the ritual slaughtering of animals formed part of the rituals against enemies. In the case of the Esna ritual, the killing of the animal and the burning of manufactured figurines go together.

Such evidence might indicate that up to now research on execration figurines was somewhat one-sided. When it comes to archaeological relics, manufactured objects like figurines of at least vaguely human shape, or inscribed pottery shards have been in the focus. Much less attention has been given to the animal side, although already pBremner-Rhind 32.46–53 indicates the fabrication of a whole array of figurines with the heads of different animals. Of course, it becomes a lot more difficult to identify remains of actual animals who have suffered such a treatment in an execration ritual. Our best chance of distinguishing them from animals just butchered for the meat would probably be a complete burning. In principle, that should be recognizable in the archaeological record although I am not aware that anybody has pointed out clear attestations. So, I can at least ask field archaeologists to look for animal bones showing signs of a thorough burning, and to consider interpreting them along the lines of rituals against enemies.

Summing up, I present several different specialists who were each responsible for certain acts in the manufacturing of figurines, their inscriptions and the performance of the rituals. To know that at least the ideal conception of temple life involved such co-work provides, I think, some new perspectives for our understanding. But of course, we have to keep in mind that what the Book of the Temple lays down is an ideal image of a well-funded, fully staffed temple. Realities might have been quite different. Even more so, there certainly was room for execration rituals beyond the official cult of the temples, and about them no manual tells us.

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²⁷ NAGEL, *Neumond- und Behedet-Fest*, 623–627, 658–660.

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